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Angelo Deidda, Donatella Pallotti and Paola Pugliatti

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Editorial

Works and Traditions: Early Modern Encounters. The title of the present issue of the *Journal of Early Modern Studies* – its first phrase in particular – would probably bring some Eliotian reminiscences to most readers' minds, even to readers who have not had the opportunity of reading the 'Call for papers' that invited contributions for this volume. At one hundred years since the publication of *The Waste Land* and *Ulysses*, the editors intended to stimulate fresh reflections upon the meaning that such baffling terms as 'work' and 'tradition' have acquired from early modern to our times. As it is, the articles that compose this volume represent – *inter alia* – a timely tribute to the two works that more than any other have contributed, in different ways, to define the initial and pivotal contours of the ways in which both terms, 'work' and 'tradition', are now understood.

Since T.S. Eliot confronted these complex issues directly in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1919), the ideas discussed in his essay have never stopped arousing new insights into an area of speculation that has proved to be of crucial importance in the field of literary and cultural studies. Particularly present in subsequent debates has been Eliot's initial idea that tradition should not be conceived as a stable order of works, an idea that has since evolved into considering that tradition – to state it briefly – has rather to be seen as a dynamic chain of intertextual connections amongst texts.

Moreover, after a century since Eliot's first formulations, to speak about tradition as a stand-alone concept has become virtually impossible. Modern and postmodern considerations of any kind of filiation, and affiliation, in cultural and literary matters – indeed, in any field of humanities – have been keenly aware of the multiplicity of agents involved in the creative process and in the transmission of culture. In addition to the role of social, cultural, and literary agents, the impact of the technological tools necessary to turn a text, for instance, into either a printed or a digital work has gained more and more critical attention.

The same multifarious approach towards the understanding of tradition has been deemed necessary, as a matter of course, to deal with the connected issues of 'authorship' and literary 'influence'. We may say that 'authors' have not 'disappeared' from works, as the case so seemed for a few decades. Or, if they have, it is on account of the plurality of voices that scholars have learned to hear, and listen to, whenever a work of art claims their attention.

However, it was Eliot himself who stated the need to acknowledge the echo of others' works behind those of individual

authors, when he argued, for example, that 'the most individual parts of [a poet's] work may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously', while at the same time dismissing the claim to find out in a particular poet 'what is individual, what is the peculiar essence of the man' (1920b, 48). In today's terms, we would perhaps say that intertextual connections could be discovered both along synchronic and diachronic lines, and that such connections run across all kinds of text.

Let us now pay attention, briefly, to the role of *readers*, when dealing with the concepts of tradition, influence, imitation, and appropriation. Once more, we will begin with Eliot: 'Immature poets imitate; mature poets steal; bad poets deface what they take, and good poets make it into something better, or at least something different' (1920a, 125). The 'good' poets – and artists in general – are for him those that make the establishing of a tradition possible; those that are to be recognised as literary 'monuments', and that, as such, 'generate' their own predecessors, so that their influence as an inspirational source may be perceived not only forward, through different epochs and genres, but also backwards.

The paradoxical logic of Eliot's argument would not hold without the associated concept that the works which compose the Tradition form a simultaneous order, in which past and present coexist at the same time.[1] More importantly, Eliot's ideas about Tradition could not have been conceived at all if the role of *readers* had not been taken, implicitly, into account. Who else, indeed, if not readers, is able to direct their selective and appreciative eyes *backwards*, and perceive both the 'pastness' and the presence of the past at a given moment? Readers, surely, but also authors *as* readers.

It is precisely at this junction that today's readers, in whatever capacity, may 'encounter' early modern works. The articles included in this volume of *JEMS*, considered as a whole, once more highlight the essential role of early modern texts, in their various instantiations, in inducing, and often shaping, our contemporary awareness of cultural and literary works as the outcome of collaborative efforts and this also implies, and demands, a reconsideration of the relationship between works and individual authors. The ideas connected to the construction of Tradition, or to its de-construction, has proved a timely and fruitful starting point.

An Eliotian *touch*, as it were, may indeed be perceived across all the articles. It is there, as a matter of course, when authors debate or recall Eliot's oeuvre directly, or some of his essays and poems, as is the case in the articles of Massimo Bacigalupo, Paul Eggert, Stephen Orgel, and Donatella Pallotti. But the same imprint is perhaps perceptible in the background of the articles whose critical path has led to investigate the ways in which the texts under scrutiny may concur in modifying established procedures of genre attribution, as in Alessandra Petrina's discussion of 'indirect translation'. The same kind of traces are present in the articles that throw light on the creative process behind Shakespeare's and Joyce's texts through perceived experience, both of facts of life and facts of fiction, as in Hans Gabler's discussion of Joyce's narrative poetics.

Likewise, the articles by Ivan Poliakov and Maria Smirnova, and Paola Pugliatti, help reconsider the rationale guiding the attribution of literary status to different types of text connected with the personal life and occupation of their authors, in times – early modernity – when the importance and value of documents related to private spheres were certainly perceived, but not clearly defined.

The fact that the literary reverence of our times towards such 'monuments' as the *King James Bible* and the *Book of Common Prayer* is largely due to the projection onto the past of present

[1] 'what happens when a new work of art is created is something that happens simultaneously to all the works of art which preceded it. … The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted; and this is conformity between the old and the new' (1920b, 49-50).

cultural and linguistic tastes, and estimation, is brought to light in John Denton's article. Finally, it is also on account of our sophisticated technical instruments that Rosetta Stein guides us to see the *presence* of what is *not* there in a few prestigious early modern texts, and find out how adventurous the print trade could be.

Let us now turn to a concise overview of the single articles, in the order in which they appear in the volume.

The article that opens the volume, ' "The *Present* of thinges *Past*": Notes on Tradition', by Donatella Pallotti, offers a survey of some of the most recent contributions about the notion of tradition, coming from different disciplinary fields. Pallotti discusses the idea that through communication and transmission, and the mobility and migration of texts, tradition is constantly re-adjusted and re-interpreted to fit different historical conditions. This process of adaptation is 'a necessary step for keeping the past vital: it is the "present" contribution to a larger cultural inheritance which future generations may renew, reinterpret and revise in their turn' (*infra*, XIX).

The first section, 'Texts Become Books', opens with Stephen Orgel's article, 'The Archeology of Texts'. Here, in the process through which texts become books, the Eliotian 'Tradition' appears to have taken the form of a special kind of 'Archaeology'. Once such a process has produced the desired result, it will be possible, in retrospect, to consider the different editions of a single text through time; each one of those editions, in its *material* form, may then be examined as a successive 'archaeological layer' of the same text in the course of its successive development as a book. We are also reminded that 'any new edition necessarily involves a process of translation' (*infra*, 7) so that the new 'work' will render in a new form not only its direct source, but also the texts in the editions that have preceded it. The new edition will bear the marks, therefore, of the entire series of such an 'archaeologic' collection of texts (and books); also, in turn, the new edition itself will compose an additional layer in the history of its successive interpretations.

Unfortunately, as Orgel shows when discussing the history of the editions of Herbert's *The Temple,* even standard scholarly editions may lose contact, in various forms, with the manuscript texts that originated them, if only by slight modifications in the layout. These alterations may interfere, *in primis,* with the possibility of displaying the full range of meanings the manuscript texts conveyed. This kind of faulty rendering, in addition, may result not only in erasing potential sense and significance, but also, more importantly, in dissipating the awareness that something vitally important for interpretation, and its history, has been lost. Orgel also makes it clear that books and readers keep constructing each other: Tradition is never the same in different times, both in terms of its conceptual definition and of the material objects assigned to it.

The second section of the volume, 'Textual Trans-Formations', is opened by Alessandra Petrina's contribution, 'Ariosto in Scotland by way of France: John Stewart of Baldynneis' *Roland Furious*'. The essay deals with the crucial function that early modern French translations of *Orlando Furioso* had for John Stewart of Baldynneis' Scottish translation. Stewart probably composed it in the mid-1580s, before John Harington's translation of 1591, which is today much more familiar to modern scholars. While discussing the role Stewart's French sources had in his translation, Petrina calls upon the notion of 'indirect translation' and its related theoretical issues, and applies it to Renaissance culture. In this context, Stewart's French sources seem to play the role, as it were, of erratic go-betweens between Ariosto and the Scottish author. Equally engaging is Petrina's final plead for a non-linear, 'horizontal' cooperative and 'symbiotic' model to describe, but also analyze, early modern indirect translation.

We seem here to be apparently far from Orgel's 'archaeological' outlook briefly mentioned above. Not so far though, if we recall Orgel's words stating that a process of translation is necessarily involved in any new edition of a text, and if we also try to apply this idea to 'indirect translations'. In the case of Stewart's work, we do not have a 'new edition' of a previous text, but the outcome of a complex process of translation – which Petrina investigates – of an Ital-

ian epic poem through French intermediaries. Stewart's work makes visible, to early twentieth century readers, not simply a translation of a source text, but also the manipulations Ariosto's text underwent in the process. More generally, as readers, we may also consider that what a translation actually translates is not only a text, but also the 'practical' and ideological 'labour' that the translating activity involves in terms of cultural commitment and historical awareness.

' "till death us do part": The Afterlife of Early Modern Religious English', by John Denton, concludes this section. The author considers that the translation of sacred and liturgical texts has always kept a special rank amongst other types of translation. In particular, when it concerns the rendering of God's words, the translated texts, ideally, ought to reflect the truth, the purity and the beauty of God's expressions. Such an impervious task, in the hands of a fallen humanity, involves all sorts of social and political arguments, as the history of the Bible's translation makes especially clear. John Denton's essay recalls the essential passages of the itinerary leading to the *King James Bible*, and also to the first authorized editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Denton highlights the fact that the wide acceptance of the 'authorised text' of both works was due, *in primis*, to their forced imposition on the vast majority of the population, by State and Church. The author then inquires into the 'veneration' paid to the *King James Bible* and the *Book of Common Prayer* by modern scholars and readers, showing that, in fact, such veneration stems from a process of revaluation, initiated in the nineteenth century. Readers have been more and more ravished by the solemnity and the beauty of the language those texts so impressively exhibit. Denton helps us understand that what may now seem an objective description of the perfection and sublimity of an early modern enterprise, is in fact the retrospective admirative tribute to an ancestral quasi-mythical world which is, for us, at the same time, forever lost and yet still with us. The tribute our time pays to Shakespeare's oeuvre may perhaps also be explained by the nostalgia for the same world, even if recreated more by imagination than historical accuracy.

The third section, 'Erasable and Hidden Texts' opens with 'The Genesis and Evolution of the Autobiographical Genre in Russian Early Modern Manuscript Culture' by Ivan Poliakov and Maria Smirnova. The article presents a discussion of some conceptual problems regarding the appearance of different kinds of texts (such as, for example, autobiographical notes, household records, or financial reports), all connected with the commercial, social or private activities of their authors, within early modern Russian history and culture. The essay opportunely starts with exploring the difficulty even to determine the appropriate time boundaries within which a Russian early modern period can be properly identified, and with the germane problem of discerning the emergence of a 'Renaissance person' in Russian culture.

The adequate terminology to be applied to Russian proto-autobiographical texts and notes is also examined, together with the uneasy task of attributing a proper genre or authorship to the disparate corpus of documents under scrutiny. The effort to unravel the many threads of these complex issues leads us to reconsider the critical tools scholars have really at their disposal to deal with texts and documents so distant from us (at least conceptually) in terms of spatial and temporal boundaries.

The awareness of the risk, or necessity, of applying our contemporary (or postmodern) sophisticated tools to 'unkempt' material of early modern times readily surfaces in Paola Pugliatti's article, 'The Text Known as Henslowe's Diary: Document, Book, Work'. We return here to the more familiar territory of English studies, since the time and place boundaries concerning 'The Text Known as Henslowe's Diary' are those of early modern England in its 'canonical' identification. Yet, the problems discussed in Pugliatti's article are as complex as those arising when dealing with texts coming from areas and periods less clearly identified. Pugliatti's object of study is a corpus of manuscript texts variously relating to the commercial or theatrical activities of the two original owners. These documents – both as material objects and textual items – are

considered in the process of being shaped into a bound book, containing John Henslowe's Accounts and Philip Henslowe's Diary. A book that was finally deposited with a mass of other manuscripts in the library of Dulwich College, possibly by Edward Alleyn.

The names of this 'theatrical' trio bespeak the importance of the documents in question, despite the manuscripts' unfortunate history of mutilation, manipulation, and forgery. A history that Pugliatti retraces in its essential stages, while examining the 'mobility' of texts pertaining to forms of *écritures ordinaires* – as Roger Chartier calls them – and therefore also of the critical terms that have defined their genre and value as cultural documents. In particular, the textual content and the material aspect of the documents associated with the term 'diary', receive special attention; all the more so since Pugliatti effectively highlights the collaborative structure of Henslowe's Diary and the authorship problems its scrutiny arises. Pugliatti's essay also reminds us that nothing in the study of 'memory objects' can be taken for granted, starting from the apparently unproblematic definition of 'book', or the complex concept of 'egodocument'.

This section, 'Erasable and Hidden Texts', closes with Rosetta Stein's '*when the poet gives empty leaves*'. The author puts forward a challenging and witty analysis – surely not at the price of neglecting solid scholarship – of how much information, in the form of hidden text, may escape the scrutiny of even skilful readers, when confronted with the trickiness of the outward appearance of early modern printed books. These may contain empty leaves which are, in fact, not blank at all. The technical and detailed discussion about the ways of exposing the 'missing' text may indeed exceed the competence of the non-specialist, but Stein's discussion also involves a 'call for reflection' of a more general order. What is at stake is the weight of conventions and of 'standardized' reading habits upon the practice of literary analysis. As readers, we are challenged to find out if there may be anything significant below the immediately visible surface not only of *texts* but also of *documents*.

Stein reveals, in the objects of her examination, half-hidden traces of text, waiting to be rediscovered by those who have the right eyes and instruments to perceive them. As if texts had a 'shadow zone' of their own, unwittily confronting the readers' automatic response to supposedly blank spaces. On a more general level, we may conclude that what scholars seem to see (or not to see), *in* texts is often what they see *through* them. Also, perhaps, that 'intentions' attributed to authors are often subtle 'inventions' of readers.

The fourth and last section, 'Traditions and Individual Talents' opens with Paul Eggert's 'The Writer's Oeuvre and the Scholar's Oeuvre'. Through his analysis on what distinguishes these two kinds of *oeuvre*, Eggert reverts to T.S. Eliot's long-lived concept of Tradition, challenging its validity and usefulness against the research opportunities scholars now have at their disposal, thanks to ever expanding digital technologies. These technologies make it possible to reconsider and reassess the conceptual validity of established perspectives in the field of literary studies. Eggert's efforts are directed to emancipate Eliot's concept of Tradition from the burden of its idealism, in particular in connection with the alleged continuity of literary 'monuments', which are for Eliot aligned in a synchronous, circular order. Such monuments, in fact, owe their outstanding importance to a cultural selection that leaves all 'secondary' works aside. Eggert invites us to consider that both monumental – i.e., 'canonical', in all effects – and 'secondary' works, have a function in the development (rather than the continuance) of literary tradition. Moreover, in all this, the personal itinerary of single authors through different stages of their art, has certainly to be taken into account. Works, Eggert contends, do develop in time during writers' lives, and bear the marks of cultural growth, as well as the traces of social engagements.

We may perhaps say that works also progress in *space*, a suggestion arising from Eggert's compelling discussion about the writer's self-memorialising oeuvre on the one hand, and the wider outlook of the scholars' oeuvre on the other. Both kinds of oeuvre are considered according

to a 'material' approach, sensitive to the transmission of texts through different documents in distinct times and media, but also responsive to the physical existence of various editions of works, and to the creative personal participation of all agents involved. A call for a 'bio-textual' perspective, 'with the scholar's oeuvre inevitably laying the necessary groundwork' (*infra*, 224): a path which doubtlessly opens to fruitful future developments.

A particular kind of bio-textual perspective may perhaps also be discerned in Hans Gabler's discussion of Joyce's 'dialogue poetics' of narrative, as emerging in his early production. In 'Emergence of James Joyce's Dialogue Poetics', Gabler's genetic approach to literary texts questions Joyce's understanding of Shakespeare's poetics of drama, identified as 'literature in dialogue'. A dialogue, Gabler's proposes, primarily set up and pursued by Shakespeare and Joyce within their respective inner experience, in surprisingly similar ways. Both authors are caught in the act of turning particular real-life experiences into texts to be incorporated – while they happen, or at a later time – in their works. Such experiences include their engagement as readers of their own writing, as well as that of other people. In particular, Joyce's poetics of narrative originates, Gabler argues, as the outcome of significant memory-stored events, registered mentally as 'perception texts'. These would be reused in Joyce's works through a dialogic exchange – which Gabler describes as intrinsically dramatic – between different sides of his literary persona. A creative process that – Gabler argues – Joyce could also find at work in Shakespeare's activity as a playwright and actor.

Particularly cogent appears Gabler's insistence that Joyce's texts 'invite, indeed necessitate reader perception and participation' (*infra*, 240), both when author and reader coincide, and when the reader is only the witness and the interpreter of the author's work. In both instances, present and past facts of life, and facts of memory, interact with one another, reshaping both experiences, those of the past and those of the present.

The volume closes with Massimo Bacigalupo's homage to *The Waste Land* and its author. '*The Waste Land* at 100: Comedy in Hell' also pays a tribute – through Eliot's quotations – to the 'reassessment of the western canon', that his poem contributed to enhancing. Bacigalupo retraces the core of Eliot's poetics, recalling some of the most memorable lines and *dicta* from his oeuvre, an oeuvre that still surprises us for the beauty, complexity, and lucidity of its insight. All the more so since Eliot's poetry, Bacigalupo aptly remarks, often pleases and communicates, in simple and enchanting ways, 'before it is understood'. The capacity to arrive directly at the reader's mind through the music of verse is a quality that Eliot found in Dante's poetry; yet, the same quality, doubtlessly, is a mark of Eliot's verse. Before any kind of thought or argument, the poet speaks through the music of his lines. A moment later the reader will be ready to realize that thought and feeling, mind and sense, have led author and reader, together, gently but steadily, *nel foco che gli affina*.

The closing words on tradition, the transmission of texts and their storage in one's memory, as well as their conscious or unconscious re-use by other writers, are entrusted to Francesco Petrarca. In a letter to his friend Giovanni Boccaccio, he distinguishes different ways of reading and recollecting. Only when you have 'thoroughly absorbed' the texts you read, he says, may you attain an imitation that is not sameness, and 'a resemblance that is not servile'.

In taking leave from this presentation, it is necessary to assume full responsibility for the synthetic account of the arguments discussed in the single articles of the volume, and for the loss of nuance and amplitude that conciseness involves. In begging the authors' pardon, we hope that a glimpse at spare fragments of their critical efforts will lead to the enjoyment of the real thing.

Angelo Deidda

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Part One

Introduction

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'The *Present* of thinges *Past*'
Notes on Tradition

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Abstract

The article revisits some influential arguments about tradition; its aim is to highlight the dynamic nature of tradition, one that allows for change and transformation. In contrast with an idea of tradition as a fixed and formalized set of normative practices handed down by repetition, the article favours an understanding of tradition that is closely attentive to the continuous construction and reinterpretation of the past. In the process of its transmission, tradition is reformulated and reshaped in response to altering cultural needs; its continuity relies on successive reconfigurations.

Keywords: *Textual Mobility, Tradition, Transmission, Transformation*

> Bvt that which is now cleere, and plaine, is, that neither *tymes* past, *nor tymes future*, haue any being. Nor is it properly sayd, that there *are*, three *Tymes.* But thus peraduenture, it might properly be sayd, that there are three *Tymes;* The *present, concerning things past*; *the present, concerning thinges present; and the present, concerning things future*. For there are three such kinds of thinges, as these, in the mind; but I see them not any were els. The *Present* of thinges *Past*, by *Memory;* the *Present* of things *Present*, by *Inspection*; the *Present* of things *Future*, by *Expectation*.
> *The Confessions of the Incomparable Doctovr S. Augustine*, Translated into English [by Matthew Tobie] 1620.
>
> Tradition is a moving image of the past.
> P. Rabinov, *Symbolic Domination*, 1975.

1. *'The hand of the gardener'*

When in 1981, sociologist Edward Shils published *Tradition*, the first comprehensive study of the history, meaning and 'prospects' of tradition, he explained his pioneering endeavour by stating that his 'book about tradition is evidence of the need

for tradition' (1981, vii). Although, as Shils highlights, many books about 'particular traditions' had already been published, there was 'however no book about tradition which tri[ed] to see the common ground and elements of tradition and which analyz[ed] what difference tradition makes in human life' (vii). Tradition, in his words,

> means many things. In its barest, most elementary sense, it means simply a *traditum*; it is anything that is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present. It makes no statement about what is handed down or in what particular combination or whether it is a physical object or a cultural construction; it says nothing about how long it has been handed down or in what manner, whether orally or in written forms. The degree of rational deliberation which has entered into its creation, presentation, and reception likewise has nothing to do with whether it is a tradition … the anonymity of its authors or creators … makes no difference as to whether it is a tradition. The decisive criterion is that, having been created through human actions, through thought and imagination, it is handed down from one generation to the next. Being handed down does not logically entail any normative, mandatory proposition … any explicit expectation that it should be accepted, appreciated, reenacted, or otherwise assimilated. (12)

One of Shils' aims was to counteract negative and dismissive ideas of tradition, viewed in opposition to 'liberty' and creativity,[1] and to propose a more nuanced understanding of tradition that highlighted its complex relationships to individuality and wilful agency, as well as the inevitability and limitedness of its authority.

Shils' project was originally presented at the Conference on the Future of Freedom, held in Milan under the auspices of the Congress for Cultural Freedom in 1955, and then published in 1958. He expressed his position metaphorically, associating tradition with the gardener's hand:

> Tradition is not the dead hand of the past but rather the hand of the gardener, which nourishes and elicits tendencies of judgment which would otherwise not be strong enough to emerge on their own. In this respect tradition is an encouragement to incipient individuality rather than its enemy. It is a stimulant to moral judgment and self-discipline rather than an opiate. (1958, 156)

As Yacoov Yadgar argues, Shils' statement critically confronts a prevalent idea of tradition as something which is, 'at best, of relevance only for understanding of the past, surely lacking relevance for understanding the present or the future … this sentiment has become foundational in the construction of the modern, Western self' (Yadgar 2013, 452).

Shils' words resonate with T.S. Eliot's opening of 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1920), published more than thirty years before, that highlights the derogative overtone that the word 'tradition' possessed:

> In English writing we seldom speak of tradition, though we occasionally apply its name in deploring its absence. We cannot refer to 'the tradition' or to 'a tradition'; at most, we employ the adjective in saying that the poetry of So-and-so is 'traditional' or even 'too traditional.' Seldom, perhaps, does the word appear except in a phrase of censure. If otherwise, it is vaguely approbative, with the implication, as to the work approved, of some pleasing archaeological reconstruction. You can hardly make the word agreeable to English ears without this comfortable reference to the reassuring science of archaeology. (1960, 47)[2]

[1] On the relationship between 'creativity' and 'tradition', see Kristeller (1983).

[2] Shils acknowledges an intellectual debt to T.S. Eliot in the 'Preface' of *Tradition* and draws attention to Eliot's 'unfathomably deep thought on tradition' (1981, viii) throughout his book.

The negative treatment of tradition underlined by Eliot and Shils has its roots in the Enlightenment belief in analytical reason and empirical science which strongly opposed traditional, inherited knowledge, perceived as a hindrance to innovation and creativity, to change, modernity and progress.[3] Traditional beliefs, Shils adds, could not be tested rationally and scientifically, they were beliefs 'because they had been believed previously' (1981, 21). Tradition became associated with ignorance and superstition and set against scientific knowledge and rationality as antitheses (5). However, Shils argues, the success achieved by the Enlightenment is due to 'its becoming a tradition' (325) and to the fact that 'it was promulgated and pursued in a society in which substantive traditions were rather strong' (*ibid.*).[4]

Another important and strictly interrelated aspect has contributed to the dismissive attitude toward tradition: it surfaced strongly at the beginning of the twentieth century but can be traced back to Descartes' idea of the individual who achieves their potential by means of disengagement from the burden of the (inherited) rules, beliefs and ideals imposed on the 'self' (10-11).[5] The ideal of a sovereign and independent individual freed from the fetters of tradition and authority 'has become a formative stage in the construction of the modern subject, or self' (Yadgar 2013, 453).[6] The conception of a subject who is potentially detached, and independent from their past has brought to life dichotomies between (individual) liberty and tradition, modernity and tradition, science and tradition, as well as derivative ideas opposing tradition with truth, rationality, objectivity, and so on (455), antinomies which have become accepted and, at least until recently, 'taken for granted' and rarely challenged.

In a more recent study, Yadgar has advocated an alternative understanding of tradition, one that 'manages to avoid and overcome the false dichotomies that have dominated social-scientific thought, such as that of the … allegedly inherent antimony between tradition and individuality or between tradition and modernity, between truth and authority, between science and tradition, etc.' At the heart of this understanding is 'an emphasis on tradition's foundational, or constitutive nature' (2013, 455). From this perspective,

> tradition emerges as a rather dynamic meta-structure into which one is born and within which and through which one acquires her sense of the world, and develops her sense of agency, subjectivity, or selfhood: in short, her individuality. Tradition is thus viewed as the infrastructure that both enables our self-understanding and sets its limits, even when this self-understanding comes to be defined by its rebelliousness against tradition. This view also stresses that tradition is meaningless without its actual, contemporaneous interpretation-application by individuals and communities, thus highlighting the rather dynamic nature of tradition. In other words, this understanding of tradition is closely attentive to the continuous formation and reformation of our constitutive past. (455-456)[7]

[3] In Shils' words, '[c]hange has become coterminous with progress; innovation has become coterminous with improvement' (Shils 1981, 4). For a full discussion of the practice and prestige of 'scientific knowledge', the Enlightenment program and the 'Traditionality of Reason', see 4-10; 21-23; 323-325).

[4] Shils defines 'substantive traditionality', 'one of the major patterns of human thought', as 'the appreciation of the accomplishments and wisdom of the past and of the institutions especially impregnated with tradition, as well as the desirability of regarding patterns inherited from the past as valid guides' (21).

[5] Yadgar quotes the opening of Descartes's first meditation as an illuminating example of how 'self-liberation' from the past and the traditional system of knowledge was considered the basis for the acquisition of 'true' knowledge (2013, 452). My discussion of tradition in this article is indebted to Yadgar's study.

[6] Opening his note, 'The Tradition', published as part of the 'Editorial Comment' in *Poetry* (1914, 3, 4), Ezra Pound remarks that 'The tradition is a beauty which we preserve and not a set of fetters to bind us' (137). His terse words make here reference to the two 'great lyric traditions … that of the Melic poets and that of Provence' (*ibid.*).

[7] In order to illuminate the complex nature of tradition, Yadgar resorts to three compelling analogies: 'tradition as language', 'tradition as narrative' and 'tradition as horizon' (2013, 457-469).

What Yadgar highlights here is both the inevitable influence that tradition has on the individual and their relevant community and the limits of this influence, since we, bearers of tradition, are also its interpreters: we do not only maintain it and make its survival possible but, more crucially, constantly (re)shape it.

The other aspect foregrounded by Yadgar is the dynamic nature of tradition: it is handed down but evolves to fit the conditions of new environments with which, inevitably, it interacts and engages. This entails perhaps that different instantiations of tradition compete and cooperate with, as well as influence one another, through the mediation of human agency. Our relationship to tradition appears dialogical in nature. Moreover, 'the continuous formation and reformation of our constitutive past' shows the 'openness' of past events to acquire new meanings in the ongoing present: the past is a permanent construction, an action that takes place in the present.[8]

Our knowledge of the past depends on what has survived to the present: only traces, fragments of evidence, selective remembrances of what ever existed remain. From these remnants, we attempt to reconstruct the past and create narratives that try to bridge the many gaps, aware that these (multiple) 'stories', being interpretations, albeit based on the evidence possessed, are never complete and are, instead, always open to revision. This means, among other things, that our inferences, conceptual and explanatory models are deeply interconnected to the transmission of the past. In this sense, tradition is 'accumulated knowledge': what is handed down also bears 'memory' of its different interpretations.

2. *Moving Images of the Past*

The refusal to acknowledge the value of tradition was associated with another long-held assumption: the idea that tradition has an essentially 'static' and unchanging nature. According to this view, tradition is considered as a kind of monolith, a fixed entity passed down to us from the past, carrying authoritative prescriptions about 'what we should believe to be true and how we should behave in the present' (Yadgar 2013, 454); in this sense, the past is a given and stagnant 'fact'. The idea that tradition is an invariable, self-contained system was reinforced by the publication in 1983 of a highly influential collection of essays, *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by two distinguished historians, Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger.[9] The book emphasizes the

[8] It is worth mentioning here a collection of essays, *Detradizionalization*, edited by Paul Heelas, Scott Lash and Paul Morris (1996), meant as a contribution to the debate around the role of traditions in contemporary society. In the introduction to the volume, Paul Heelas gives a working definition of 'detradizionalization' which 'involves a shift of authority: from "without" to "within". It entails the decline of the belief in pre-given or natural orders of things. Individual subjects are themselves called upon to exercise authority in the face of the disorder and contingency which is thereby generated. "Voice" is displaced from established sources, coming to rest with the self' (2). This radical position is opposed, in the same volume, by the so-called 'coexistence thesis' which 'holds that people … always live in terms of those typically conflicting demands associated, on the one hand, with voices of authority emanating from realms transcending the self qua self, and, on the other, with those voices emanating from the desires, expectations, and competitive or idiosyncratic aspirations of the individual' (7). According to the latter view, processes of detradizionalization occur 'alongside, or together with, tradition-maintenance, re-traditionalization and the construction of new traditions' (2). Importance is thus given to the changing character of tradition and its refashionings.

[9] The book is the result of a conference organised in 1978 by the journal *Past and Present*. After its first publication in 1983, the book was reprinted on a yearly basis, with a second edition in 1992. The latter has since been reprinted several times. Guy Beiner reports that an examination of academic citations carried out between 1990 and 2000 shows that the book was considered highly influential in the study of modern political and social history (2001, 1 and 9, note 1).

artificiality of traditions: they are 'inventions' aptly constructed to serve ideological purposes.[10] In the introductory essay, Hobsbawm explains the sense he attributes to 'invented tradition', by stating that the phrase

> is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. (1983, 1)

He further clarifies the nature of invention,

> insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition. (2)[11]

In his discussion of *The Invention of Tradition*, Guy Beiner interrogates the central concepts of Hobsbawm's thesis and points to some 'serious lacunae' in the project. In particular, in contrast to his idea of invariance as the main characteristic of tradition, Beiner calls attention to the 'inherently dynamic nature of tradition', to which it follows that the essential feature of tradition is 'adaptability, which facilitates (often transparently) modification to changing historical circumstances so as to maintain relevance and vitality' (2001, 2, 3). In order to better capture the nature of tradition, he calls for a 'reinvention of tradition', a phrase that sheds light on 'a creative process involving renewal, reinterpretation and revision' (2007, 272). To 'reinvent tradition' becomes a necessary step for keeping the past vital: it is the 'present' contribution to a larger cultural inheritance which future generations may renew, reinterpret and revise in their turn. Interpretations and reinterpretations of the past are indeed processes that take place in the present: they highlight the authority of the past over us and, at the same time, our agency in constructing this very past (Yadgar 2013, 456).

What we have observed so far shows how demanding and challenging a thorough discussion of tradition can be. It is demanding because it involves extensive and interdisciplinary knowledge in the fields of both social sciences and humanities; it is challenging because it confronts many complex and interrelated questions that require likewise complex and interrelated answers.

Some of the issues at stake concern our grip of the past, the ways we perceive and reconstruct the past, how it acquires new meanings and properties in time, how it 'changes' or 'emerges' as history unfurls, how it allows the formation of new concepts which could not have been known or applied by past actors. These aspects bring into play the degree of human agency in the process of gripping, perceiving, and reconstructing the past. They also address the options open to us as agents who are in part constrained and enabled by the conceptions of what we might be or do.[12]

[10] One may notice, in passing, that if all traditions are invented, then, dichotomies, such as liberty and tradition, modernity and tradition, science and tradition, are themselves invented.

[11] In his review of the collection, while acknowledging that 'the invention of tradition is a splendidly subversive phrase', Peter Burke highlights some 'serious ambiguities'. Hobsbawm – Burke argues – 'contrasts invented traditions with what he calls "the strength and adaptability of genuine traditions". But where does his "adaptability" … end, and invention begin? Given that all traditions change, is it possible or useful to attempt to discriminate the "genuine" antiques from the fakes? "Invention" is a process which may be more or less deliberate, more or less sudden' (1986, 317). Discussing the term 'tradition', J.C. Nyíri argues that 'fictitious traditions' 'do not necessarily fall … outside the boundaries of traditions proper' (1992, 73).

[12] According to Shils, changes in traditions are connected to the 'exercise of imagination': 'without imagination no significant modifications in the traditions which provide patterns of belief and which control the circumstances

Our knowledge of the past results from 'a transfer of information'; this involves a process of transmission and an act of communication. In its multiple original meaning of imparting and making common, 'communication' is central to the sharing of tradition; the transmission of tradition is in itself an act of communication. As K.W. Deutsch argues, communication binds together social entities: 'both society and community are developed by social learning, and … a community consists of people who have learned to communicate with each other and to understand each other well beyond the mere interchange of goods and service' (1966, 91). Furthermore, Deutsch adds,

> the relatively coherent and stable structure of memories, habits, and values … depends on existing facilities for social communication, both from the past to the present and between contemporaries. Such communication requires facilities for storing, recalling, and recombining information, channels for its dissemination and interaction, and facilities for deriving further information, as well as new changes in purposes and values, from these processes. (75)

Deutsch's reflections do not concern the 'contents' of the information communicated; they concentrate, instead, on its complexity. In his words, 'We cannot measure directly the piety, the beauty, courage, or steadfastness of human beings, but we can measure to a significant extent the ranges and kinds of messages which they can transmit to each other, the speed and accuracy with which they can do so, and the price in effort and in lost information which they have to pay' (91): the richer the cooperation among human beings in 'developing and sharing intangible treasures of knowledge, art, and values, the greater their need for … varied … and accurate communication' (*ibid.*). Among other things, communication involves the use of technologies for 'storing', 'recalling', 'recombining', 'disseminating' information, technologies that inevitably inflect, shape, or even construct the meaning of what is communicated.

Communication makes the continuity of tradition and human history possible: it is in, and by communication that traditions are transmitted; without transmission, the past will vanish. But traditions are cultural practices, not products,[13] their transmission 'cannot be described as a game of "pass the parcel" in which remnants from the past are passed on intact, without any modification, only to resurface in their original-archaic form' (Beiner 2001, 2-3). In the process of transmission, which is not necessarily linear or cyclical, traditions are 'translated' and appropriated under different historical circumstances, they are reinterpreted, 'contaminated',[14] suitably adapted to new contexts, an action that involves acceptance and integration into existing practices but also the risk of (partial) loss.[15] Their transformation is, in turn, potentially trans-

of action could be made … Imagination, directly or indirectly, is the great modifier of tradition' (1981, 228). For his discussion on the function of imagination and the role of charismatic figures, see *ibid.*, 228-235.

[13] As Beiner states, 'Objects do not intrinsically retain memory. Rather memory was generated through the meaning and interpretations that were attached to objects' (2007, 242). Shils discusses the 'endurance of past objects' and maintains that 'The inherent durability of material objects … and the durability of the physical landscape enables the past to live into the present' (1981, 63ff.). But material objects are themselves subject to time and decay, disintegration and erosion as well as deliberate destruction. Insofar as they survive, they do so only if they are maintained and protected, and, sometimes, adapted to new uses. Their preservation and restoration involve interventions that change their appearance, acts that, in turn, affect the way in which objects are perceived (64-68). For an illuminating study of the concept and practice of 'conservation in art, architecture and literature' and their philosophical theoretical foundations, see Eggert (2009).

[14] 'Contamination' is here used with a 'positive' meaning as loosely defined by Greetham (2010, 1, 10, 43-55).

[15] In an almost epigrammatic way, Shils maintains that 'Traditions change because the circumstances to which they refer change. Traditions, to survive, must be fitting to the circumstances in which they operate and to which they are directed' (1981, 258).

formative; traditions respond to changes in human/cultural experience and, at the same time, may question some of its assumptions. The past continues to exist and be transformed. Transmission involves the use of technologies and techniques for 'storing', 'recalling', 'recombining', 'disseminating' information, technologies and techniques that inevitably inflect, shape, or even construct the meaning of what is communicated: 'forms effect meaning' (McKenzie 1986, 13).

In a sense, to say that traditional knowledge is transmitted is to state the obvious; what appears particularly demanding is to account for the ways in which that knowledge is converted into cultural structures and behaviours. The questions at stake encompass how we inherit the past, what it really means to reinterpret and re-elaborate the past in different 'presents', and also, what are the relationships among the different temporalities in which processes of transmission occur.[16]

In order to better capture the dynamic and complex relationships between tradition, transmission and transformation, we can turn to the concept of 'transformission', originally introduced by Randall McLeod in textual studies and editorial theory in connection to early modern documents:

> just walk into virtually any Renaissance document, and it is liable to open in its own small ways into multiplicity, into non-identity with itself. By attending to such examples of text's mis-self-representation, we can gauge something of what I call its "transformission"—how it was *transformed* as it was *transmitted*. (And since we don't have texts that aren't transmitted, transformission should cover most everything). (1991, 266)[17]

The term and concept may be fruitfully adopted and applied to all forms of cultural texts and tradition. Following D.F. McKenzie, 'text' is here used 'to include verbal, visual, oral and numeric data, in the form of maps, print, and music, of archive of recorded sound, of films, videos, and any computer-stored information, everything in fact from epigraphy to the latest forms of discography' (1986, 13). In this sense, McLeod's idea of 'transformission' does, indeed,

[16] Most studies on tradition have in fact shed light on the interpretation of the phenomenon but have not claimed to offer 'explanations' of how tradition works. Among the few exceptions, see two monograph studies by M.D.C. Drout, *How Tradition Works* (2006) and *Tradition and Influence* (2013). In the first, Drout examines tradition in ways similar to some of those evolutionary biologists use for the investigation of the spread and success of genes. He develops a theory of tradition in terms of 'memetics' that, in his view, helps one understand how traditions are 'repeated' and appropriated in new environments or else acting to reshape those environments. In *Tradition and Influence*, Drout expands his memetic theory of tradition (seen as a particular kind of influence); his aim is to examine the various ways in which influence works and to develop a general theory of influence. Drout's approach here is slightly different, more literary and less historical than in his previous book. From a different perspective and focusing on how we inherit the past and other related issues, see Gagliardi, Latour and Memelsdorff (2010). The volume is the result of an interdisciplinary seminar, held in 2007, where invited experts from different cultural traditions discussed issues of conservation and restoration in different fields. In addition to the introductions to each seminar session, the book also contains the discussions following the presentations. For a recent and interesting discussion on 'héritage' (meaning both legacy and heritage as well as inheritance), see Birnbaum (2017), a volume collecting intellectuals' and artists' reflections on the concept of héritage'.

[17] It is interesting to notice that, more recently, the term 'transformission' has been 're-invented' and then used by a group of French archeo-geographers. In the introduction of the 2003 issue of *Études rurales*, the editor, Gérard Chouquer, writes: 'Je suggère de créer les termes plus dynamiques de "transformission*" (transformation et transmission) et de "transformaction*" (transformation et action) pour traduire la richesse de contenu de ces processus évolutifs complexes' (§ 34). [I suggest creating the more dynamic terms of 'transformission*' (transformation and transmission) and 'transformaction*' (transformation and action) to convey the semantic richness of these complex evolutionary processes]. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine. For a full description of the theory of transformission in the field of archeogeography, see Chouquer (2013, especially, 167-187).

'cover most everything'. It is by means of the process of transformission that cultural texts are actualized and become relevant to new contexts. They are shaped in new forms and elicit new meanings, and therefore transformit previous interpretations about their past lives and betray the different levels and kinds of ideological motions occurring during various phases of transmission in time.[18]

3. *'Symbolic Constellations' on the Move*

'Symbolic constellations', as Shils defines intellectual ideas, interpretations, beliefs and historical knowledge (1981, 89), though distinct from the material forms in which are embodied, are strictly and variously interrelated with each other:

> The material vehicle and the intellectual substance … have different histories, each of which is, in certain respects but certainly not in all, the precondition and ground of the other. Elaborate philosophical ideas could not be elaborated over centuries and over widely dispersed territories without being placed in material vehicles. Could Aristotle's ideas have been taken up with such elaborations in the Islamic world, while he was disregarded in Europe, if there had been only an oral tradition for the transmission of his work and for their study? Could he have come back to Europe again with such force if there were no manuscripts? … The relatively small radius of diffusion of the oral intellectual cultures of particular African societies may in part be a consequence of the absence of a written form in which words, images, and ideas could be precipitated and transported. (91)

The complex, shifting relationships between the materiality and transmission of texts and their 'essential substance' have been the focus of several important studies by Roger Chartier, who, since 2001, identified a 'durable contrast between the purity of the idea and its inevitable corruption by matter' (2007, viii) and emphasized the necessity to overcome the contrast. Chartier's illuminating, influential studies remind us, time and again, to avoid reducing texts to their 'semantic' contents and always pay attention to their material incarnations and the modes and modalities of their production, transmission, and reception. He also invites us to consider what he defines the 'double historicité' (double historicity) of the written text, a historicity related to the 'categories d'assignation, de désignation et de classement des discours propres au temps et lieu qui sont le siens' (categories of assignment, description and classification of discourses, specific to their time and place), and a historicity related to the 'formes matérielles de son inscription et de sa transmission' (material forms of its inscription and transmission). Disregard of this double historicity means 'risquer l'anachronisme qui impose aux textes anciens des formes et des significations qui leur étaient tout à fait étrangères' (2001, 801) (to risk anachronism to impose on ancient texts forms and meanings that were completely foreign to them).[19] Chartier's formulation highlights a dynamic, multitemporal approach to texts that calls attention to mobility, materiality and change rather than stability and immutability. It also shows that different traditions, closely and variously connected, are at work in texts: the tradition of symbolic constellations, the tradition of the material object in which the intellectual substance is embodied, and the tradition of the instruments, technologies and materials used to produce the physical artifact.

[18] Significantly, the words 'tradition' and 'betray' are etymologically related, both deriving from, and sharing Latin origins.

[19] For a discussion of Chartier's idea of the double historicity of written texts, see Braida (2007, 26-38).

In one of his most recent books, Chartier devotes particular attention to the 'migration' of texts; their mobility is examined through a careful reconstruction of each phase of their historical transmission and analysis of the plurality of circulating versions of the 'same' work (2020).[20] Chartier's reflections show that texts are not crystallized in history but, on the contrary, they move through history and, in their 'migrations', change, they are no longer the 'same'. New techniques of transmission, the new physical forms in which they are embodied affect, and, indeed, effect their meanings: each migration brings about new configurations and new interpretations, that fit the historical environment in which the process takes place: texts acquire new senses for new readers and might suggest new ways in which they could be used. In the course of their migrations, texts are contaminated, invaded and memorially infiltrated by other texts (Greetham 2010), filled with the multifarious 'intentions' of non-authorial agents (those of collaborators, copyists, printers, editors, translators, censors, bookseller, readers, etc.) and they witness multiple historical circumstances.[21]

Texts do not only move through history but have the ability to 'mobilize others: other texts, people, instruments, technologies, places, and space … more generally speaking, they effect changes, both small modifications and large-scale transformation' (Asdal and Jordheim 2018, 59, 74). They act, interact and are acted upon: they are 'part of historical processes, events and discourses' (58).

4. *'… by memory'*

In the passage by Augustine quoted in the epigraph, another word calls for our attention, i.e. 'memory', a term loaded with meaning and applied to many phenomena. In Augustine's reflection, memory connects the temporal dimensions of the past, present and future; in other words, we summon up the past in the present with a view to the future:[22] 'If you don't look back, / the future never happens', says poet Rita Dove (1999, ll. 5-6).[23]

Moreover, memory has a dynamic nature, it is not simply a 'vessel which retains the record of the experience undergone in the past and of knowledge gained through the recorded and remembered experiences of others, living and dead' (Shils 1981, 50). As studies from diverse fields of knowledge have shown, the process of remembering is not a passive retrieval from a memory box but an activity always involving a reinterpretation of the past in the present; it is a reconstructive process and, as such, is susceptible to distortion and manipulation.

[20] The English revised version is forthcoming (2022).

[21] In *Éditer et traduire* (2021), Chartier argues that the mobility of texts is due to different reasons: the instability of the attribution system (i.e., whether the text exhibits or not the name of the author on the title page); textual variants and revisions, whether authorial or editorial, inserted in different editions; the transformations of the material forms and publication formats in different editions, which contribute to bringing about new meanings and interpretations of the 'same' work; the 'migration' of texts from one the genre to another, and from one language to another (11-16). In this study, Chartier addresses issues concerning translation and untranslatability and claims that translation is a process that is not limited to a 'movement' from one language to another but can be fruitfully applied to works that are transformed by the different forms of their publication, although their language remains the same. In this sense, according to Chartier, different editions of the 'same' work can be considered forms of translation. Like translations, successive editions create new readerships and new meanings (15). On this issue, see also Stephen Orgel's article in this volume of *JEMS*.

[22] Augustine's meditation on memory is contained in Book X of the *Confessions*.

[23] A full discussion of the concept of 'memory' and the manifold issues related to its nature and functions as well as debates concerning 'collective memory' goes beyond the scope of this article.

What is remembered and what is forgotten, and why, change over time, and are, in part at least, conditioned by history. Furthermore, what is recollected and what is obscured in the present are crucial aspects for our knowledge of the past: they are political acts that serve to build the image that a society, or a community wants to convey of itself. In this sense, the kind of past and the traditions that become manifest in the heritage of a particular society, together with the values that emerge, tell us much about the cultural constitution of that society (see Assman 1995, 133).

In the above sections, the brief overview of some of the issues concerning tradition and the complexities inherent in our relationship to the past, has highlighted the dynamic nature of tradition, one that enables the 'continuous formation and reformation of our constitutive past' (Yadgar 2013, 456). Tradition is understood as an ongoing interpretation of the past and, since it lives through interpretation, tradition is bound to change over time. Changes can take place by different, sometime interrelated, processes: encounters with other traditions, addition, amalgamation, absorption, fusion, ramification, disaggregation, attenuation and dissolution.[24] Nonetheless, despite change, traditions, in some form, survive.

Our relationship to the past can vary considerably in strength and efficacity but can never cease to exist completely; if a society, as John Berger put it: 'is cut off from its own past is far less free to choose and to act as a [society] … than one that has been able to situate itself in history' (Berger 2008, 26). A position that refutes a conservative idea of tradition as having an unchanging, rigidly normative and authoritative nature:

> The past is never there waiting to be discovered, to be recognized by exactly what it was. History always constitutes the relation between a present and its past … The past is not for living in; it is a well of conclusions from which we draw in order to act. (4)

To be situated in history (and tradition) affects us but is not an obstacle to knowledge and understanding, on the contrary, it enables us to choose and act. It is what makes change possible.

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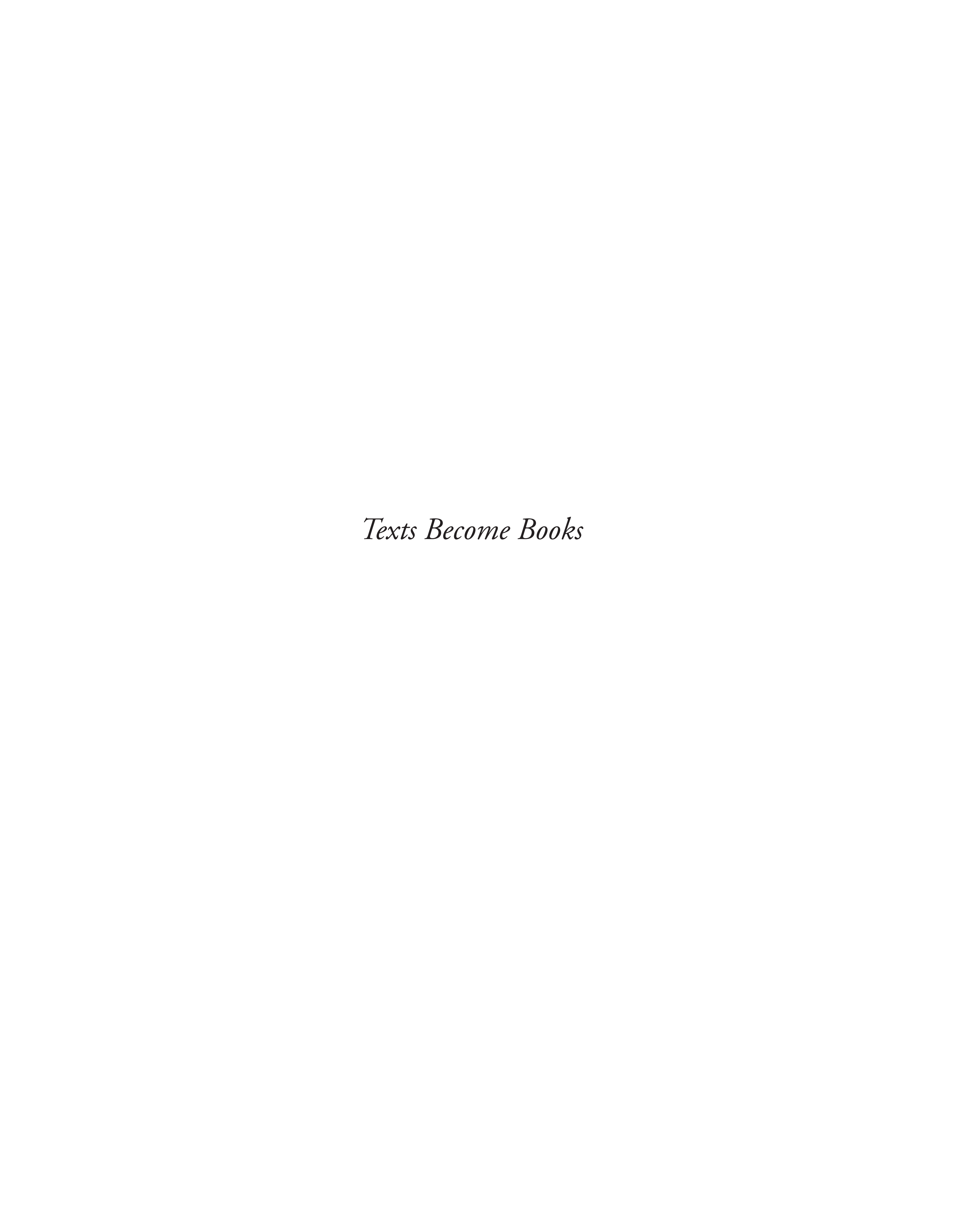
Part Two

Case Studies



Texts Become Books

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The Archeology of Texts

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Abstract

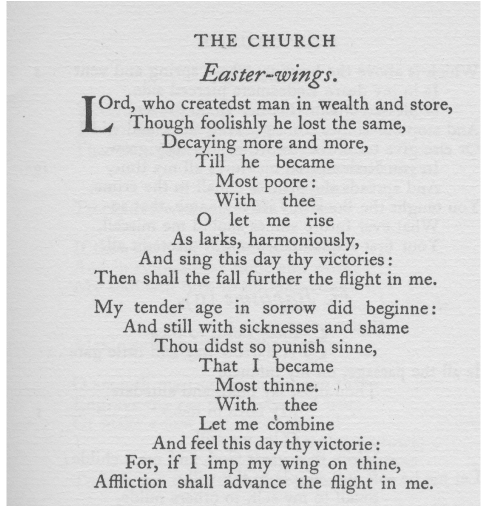
The interpretation of literary texts is at least partly a form of archeology. The history of the book has become a separate discipline because for the most part literary history has ignored it. But it cannot be ignored: books change from era to era, and any new edition of a text necessarily involves a process of translation.

Keywords: *Book History, Editing, Illustration, Typography*

Books have been, for several millennia, the material embodiment of knowledge and culture – not the only embodiment (there are works of art, architecture, diagrams, maps), but for us, an essential one for any kind of knowledge involving texts. Texts, of course, do not need to be books – they do not even need to be written. The oldest poems were composed to be recited, only written down centuries later. Cicero composed his orations in his head, and wrote them down – or more probably dictated them to a scribe – only after he had delivered them, as a way of preserving them. Most of Montaigne's essays were dictated. Throughout history authors have never written books; they have created texts, not always by writing, which were turned into books by scribes, editors, printers, publishers. These then required a distribution system, the book trade, for the books to reach purchasers and readers – the finished book in the hands of a reader is actually quite distant from the author.

When texts become books they are material objects, manufactured at a particular time and, however subsequently mediated by interpretation, embedded within that time. Literary interpretation, unless it disregards history entirely, is at least partly a form of archeology. This is the book's historicity, the way it is situated in history. The History of the Book has become a separate discipline. It had to become a separate discipline because much of the time literary history has ignored it. My essay begins with an example of how it matters. George Herbert's *The Temple* was first published in 1633 in a slim duodecimo, a tiny volume of less than 200 pages, easily slipped into a pocket or purse – a

true *vademecum*: you could always have it with you. It retained this format throughout its many seventeenth-century editions. The standard modern scholarly edition, however, the Oxford English Texts version of F.E. Hutchinson, is a massive volume of 680 pages weighing 3.3 pounds. Nowhere in the compendious commentary is it acknowledged that the work is misrepresented by the modern format, that the original book's portability, modesty and discreetness were elements of its meaning and a factor in its reception.



THE CHURCH

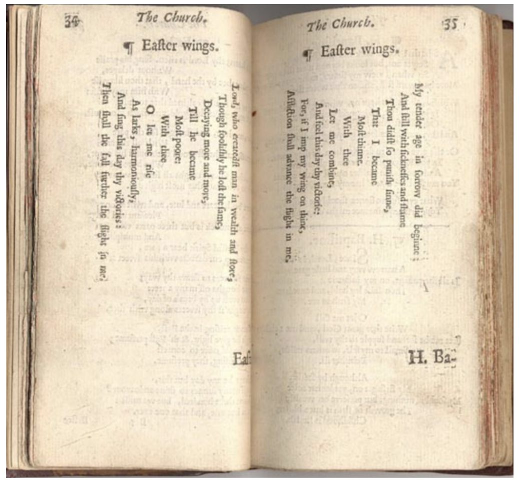
Easter-wings.

LOrd, who createdst man in wealth and store,
Though foolishly he lost the same,
Decaying more and more,
Till he became
Most poore:
With thee
O let me rise
As larks, harmoniously,
And sing this day thy victories:
Then shall the fall further the flight in me.

My tender age in sorrow did beginne:
And still with sicknesses and shame
Thou didst so punish sinne,
That I became
Most thinne.
With thee
Let me combine
And feel this day thy victorie:
For, if I imp my wing on thine,
Affliction shall advance the flight in me.

Figure 1 – George Herbert, 'Easter Wings' from *The Temple* in modern typography, Private Collection

The disregard of historicity extends to the editing of the modern edition. Figure 1 shows Hutchinson's version of the poem *Easter-Wings*, which is the standard modern version. This looks quite straightforward, though the imagery evoked by the title makes more sense as it is printed in 1633 (figure 2), where it is clearly two sets of wings.



34 The Church.

¶ Easter wings.

The Church. 35

¶ Easter wings.

H. Ba-

Figure 2 – George Herbert, 'Easter Wings' as printed in all seventeenth-century editions, Private Collection

But looking at it that way, it is not clear that we understand how to read it. If we turn the book so the text becomes legible, we see that what we assumed was the second stanza has become the first stanza. The poem makes sense this way; but do we even know that it is a two-stanza poem? Turning the book again, it looks like two separate poems, each titled *Easter-Wings*. There is no reason why this should not be the case: in the volume there are two poems called *Jordan*, three called *Love*, five called *Affliction*; and elsewhere in the book when a poem runs over onto the next page, the title is not repeated. Moreover, throughout the volume the pilcrows (the paragraph markers) are used to indicate new poems, not new stanzas. In fact, *Easter-Wings* makes sense in either order or as two separate poems. There is, however, a manuscript of *The Temple*, a scribal copy with corrections and changes in Herbert's own hand, which shows the poem – or poems – in progress, on facing pages, with many revisions: in the manuscript, it is clearly two poems with the same stanza form facing each other (Charles 1977, folia 27v, 28r).[1] Our scholarly Oxford text's typography ignores the poem's history, and simply closes down all the options embedded in that history.

How did we get from Herbert's two poems to our single poem? Why, in the preparation of the standard modern scholarly edition, was it assumed that the format was irrelevant? Presumably the vertical typography of the printed text was too playful for this scholarly edition; but is the playful format not part of the meaning? Clearly it was in London in 1633, but had ceased to be in Oxford by the mid-twentieth century. What kind of information, what range of meaning, then, do books preserve? The answer will change according to the time and place. In this particular case, the issue would have been what had to be censored out of the poem's presentation: censored is a strong word, but *Easter-Wings* has surely been deliberately misrepresented – devotional poetry is not supposed to be *fun*; neither is scholarship. Hutchinson claimed he was basing his text on the manuscript (which does not have the vertical typography), but as we have seen even this is not true: in the manuscript *Easter-Wings* is two poems, not one.[2]

Still, books change from era to era, and any new edition necessarily involves a process of translation. Shakespeare in the original editions has for several centuries been, for most readers, basically unreadable, and not only because of the archaic spelling, but because so much needs to be explained: we have, culturally, forgotten so much that in Shakespeare's time was common knowledge. The translation renders these ancient texts legible; but it also transforms them into something that speaks to us, not to a world 400 years in the past. Only by working with the original texts can we have a sense of what has also been lost – or, as in the case of *Easter-Wings,* suppressed. Books do certainly conserve the historicity of texts, but that historicity itself keeps changing: it changes as we do, as what we attend to does, as what we want it to account for and explain does, as what we acknowledge to constitute an explanation does, and most of all, as what we want out of Herbert or Shakespeare or literature itself does. All history, and all historicity, is constructed.

The idea of literature includes an idea of permanence – this is often credited to the print revolution, but that is nonsense. Horace declared his poetry *aere perennius,* more lasting than bronze, 1500 years before Gutenberg; Shakespeare claimed his sonnets, circulating in manuscript among his friends, would preserve his love even to the edge of doom. But most writing, in whatever form, scribal, printed, even carved in stone, has been utterly ephemeral – only seven of Sophocles' 120 plays survive; only fragments of Sappho. On the other hand, ephemera was precisely what kept printers in business: while the typesetting slowly proceeded on the monuments of early printing,

[1] In the Bodleian manuscript of *The Temple*, a fair copy entirely in a scribal hand, the two poems are on the recto and verso of a single leaf, and hence are not even facing each other.

[2] For a beautifully detailed discussion, see McLeod (1994, 61-172).

the same presses were turning out innumerable broadsheets, pamphlets, decrees, proclamations, prayers, ballads, etc.: these paid the bills. During times of crisis, polemical pamphlets filled the bookstalls in huge numbers and were swiftly replaced by the replies they generated. The pamphlets were characteristically unstable, often attacked or refuted before they were even published. They were also almost instantly outdated; for the publisher, the creation of a continuing market for instantaneous refutation was the pamphlet's greatest virtue.

The book in such cases was less a product than a process, part of an ongoing dialectic. But the critical element in that process, from the point of view of history – and the reason books have a history at all – was the very small group of purchasers who collected and preserved those ephemera, the bibliophiles who focused not on the obviously valuable but on the seemingly worthless. A single collector, a single connoisseur of the worthless, can be the agent of history – for example George Thomason, who for twenty years collected every polemical scrap relating to the English Civil War and Commonwealth, and thereby created a value for those ephemera and an invaluable archive for the future, the Thomason collection, about 22,000 items, now in the British Library.

Publishers of course also from the beginning had a vision of permanence, an idea of cultural capital – it is not accidental that the first printed book in Europe was the Bible. The dissemination of ephemera paid for the creation of The Great Book. And yet great books on the whole were not good business – the Bible soon became a best seller, but not soon enough to save Gutenberg from bankruptcy; most of the first edition of the *Hypnerotomachia*, today a bibliophile's treasure, remained unsold; the Shakespeare first folio sold out, but too slowly to keep its publisher in business; *Moby Dick* and *The Scarlet Letter* sold very poorly, and did not become 'great' literature until the 1920s: literature, especially great literature, at least in its inception, has often been a losing proposition.

Think about what we want out of reading. When books were scrolls, the format assumed that the norm of reading was consecutive – you started at the beginning and read through to the end. But the history of reading is a history of changing modes of attention. The transition from scroll to codex is a transition from continuous to discontinuous reading: as Peter Stallybrass observes, 'the history of the codex is the history of the bookmark' (2002, 42). The Bible is a central example. The material reality of the Torah, a huge double scroll, would seem to preclude a discontinuous reading – it is all but impossible to read the book any other way than consecutively. And yet the rabbis, over many centuries, produced a commentary that demanded the most discontinuous of readings, a code of ethics that depended on the constant comparison of widely separated passages. Scripture was amenable to any amount of reordering and recontextualization, and the study of the sacred texts included, as an essential element, the development of a prodigious memory. The Christian Bible, through its narrative structure, seems no less to demand consecutive reading: it runs from Genesis to Apocalypse, beginning at the beginning and ending with, or even a little after, the end. But the material history of the sacred texts positively inhibits such a reading. John Locke said that 'Scripture crumbled into Verses, which quickly turn into independent Aphorisms' (1733, vii). Consider the difference between a fifteenth-century bible and a seventeenth-century bible. Gutenberg's page was a dense black mass of type. It included no verse markers, and did not even have running heads to indicate what book of the bible you were reading: that information, if you wanted it in the book, had to be put in by hand, along with any rubrication and decoration. A century and a half later, the Geneva Bible page, in figure 3, looks like an annotated school text.

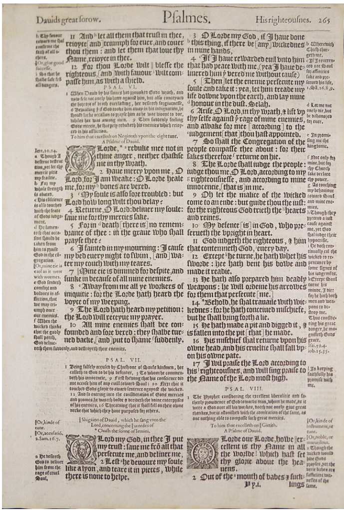

Dauids great sorow. Psalmes. His righteousnes. 265

Figure 3 – A page of the Geneva Bible, London, 1589, Private Collection

The annotations are designed as guides to reading, but it is increasingly assumed that the reader will require guidance. Increasingly, also, the Bible looks less and less like a whole continuous work, more like a compilation of excerptable fragments; and those, of course, could be used to bolster widely varying positions in theological debates.

The history of reading has some significant consequences for modern notions of the norms of reading. Is continuity really the norm? Consecutive reading is certainly essential if we are undertaking to follow a narrative or a logical argument. But reading has always had many other ends. Suppose we are reading for wisdom? Then the extraction of dicta might very well be our primary purpose, and separable nuggets of philosophy would take precedence over narrative or logical coherence. How many Anglophone people even know that there are biblical sources for 'a drop in the bucket' and 'a fly in the ointment'? There are, of course, many books that are not designed to be read consecutively – books are not only literature: dictionaries, encyclopedias, almanacs, handbooks of all sorts. Most modern books of information depend for their usefulness not on their narrative coherence or the persuasiveness of their argument, but on the capaciousness of their indexes – we go to them to find what we are looking for, and the coherence is that of the reader's narrative, not the author's.

If readers construct books, books also construct readers. Formats keep changing. We know what a book is because the title page tells us, but initially, books did not have title pages – why did those develop, and what is on them? This has everything to do with the book trade, the development of marketability. The growth of the title page involves a significant transformation in how the relation of books to readers was conceived. Unbound sheets in the bookseller's shop were labeled; but to make the label part of the book, to make it not only what sold the book but what then encapsulated the book's identity, was really a huge change (and even now antiquarian books missing their title pages have lost a large percentage of their value). Then develop tables of contents, chapter headings, glosses, notes, indexes – what, following Gérard Genette, we call paratexts: we still have some sense that they are not *really* part of the book. The most interesting and conflicted modern paratext is surely the dust jacket. Publishers spend huge amounts of money having these designed, often by famous artists, on the assumption that they attract buyers; and they are so highly prized by collectors of modern first editions that a book that has lost its dust jacket has lost a good deal of its value – there is even a market for

forged dust jackets (for the first editions of such novels as *The Great Gatsby* or *A Farewell to Arms*). But dust jackets are completely ignored by bibliographers, and routinely discarded by libraries. Is the dust jacket part of the book or not? The answer will depend on whom you ask.

Paratexts are guides to the material; but over the years what sort of information has the potential buyer required to turn her or him into a reader? (Women become increasingly visible as readers and book collectors from the sixteenth century onward). To begin with, not necessarily the author's name, which for a modern reader would be a primary selling point. Despite the fact that by the early seventeenth century Shakespeare's name was sufficiently famous to sell a number of books with which in fact he had no connection, most of the early quartos of his own plays were issued anonymously. Shakespeare's name first appears on the title page of a play in the 1598 quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost* – he had been writing plays for seven or eight years at that point, and both *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece,* which include his name (though not on their title pages), were selling well: he was already well known as a poet. Would his name on the 1597 quartos of *Romeo and Juliet, Richard II* and *Richard III* not have attracted purchasers? But what the title pages advertise are the acting companies – *Romeo and Juliet* adds the information that the play is, like *Love's Labour's Lost,* 'excellent conceited', witty and poetical, and was played 'with great applause'. But this advertisement says nothing about the witty, successful author: plays were not yet literature; moreover, literature could still be anonymous.

For Shakespeare, 1598 was the watershed: in that year in addition to *Love's Labour's Lost,* his name appears on new editions of the two Richard plays, and thereafter regularly appears on the title pages of his plays and poetry (as well as on those of some other people's). But in general, the author remains an elusive character in book publishing well into the seventeenth century. Sometimes the concealment is deliberate, of course – in satires and polemics. But consider some less straightforward examples. The first editions of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* and Donne's collected poems identify the authors only by initials, Sir P.S.; J.D. The initials tell you that the author is somebody important – too important to have his name revealed; but if you belong to the right social or intellectual circle, you will know whom the initials stand for. The mystery, then, flattered those in the know, and assured everyone else that the book was prestigious. Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* offered purchasers a different sort of nominal tease. On the title page the name of the author is given only as 'Democritus Junior', hence an epigone of Democritus, the pre-Socratic philosopher-scientist who postulated the existence of atoms, and thus got to the heart of all matter. On the engraved title page commissioned for the third edition there is actually a portrait of Burton, but nothing identifying the image as a portrait of the author. Burton's name appears nowhere in the book. Surely not everyone knew who 'Democritus Junior' was, but that really did not matter: what attracted a purchaser was a large, handsome, obviously learned work, eventually with a very elaborate engraved title page. The obvious pseudonym served as both a claim of profundity and an intriguing puzzle. This vast treatise is not without its element of playfulness.

Let us turn now to what is for modern readers of encyclopedic works the most essential paratext, the index. Burton's *Anatomy* is certainly encyclopedic, but consulting it for information is a daunting task. Burton supplied the book with an elaborate synoptic outline, but this gives little help, not least because it includes no page references. This is a case where an encyclopedic index would seem called for. The 1621 first edition has none. The 1624 second edition was 'corrected and augmented by the author' – the improvements involved a promotion from quarto to folio and a good deal of new material, but still no mention of the author's name. An index is provided, but it is singularly erratic and vague: characteristic entries under A include 'All are melancholy' and 'All beautiful parts attractive in love'; under B, 'Best site of an house' and 'Black eyes best'. Though bugloss wine is said in the text to be effective in curing leprosy, neither bugloss nor

leprosy is indexed. Examples could be endlessly multiplied: what are readers expected to use this index for? Nor, as the work went through its many revisions, was the index revised: the seventh edition of 1660 has the same index as the second edition.

In contrast, continental scientific texts often have splendid indexes, which were clearly felt to constitute a significant part of the book's value – these were generally placed before the text, not at the end. But the English seem to have had more resistance to serious indexes than continental publishers: for example, both Helkiah Crooke's compendious medical encyclopedia *Mikrokosmographia* and Plutarch's great biographical compendium the *Lives* in Sir Thomas North's translation were issued without indexes. It is probably the half-hearted quality of Burton's index that is most striking, as if the publisher is asking, how do you make an index?

Moreover, as the Burton reveals, even when books acknowledge the value of an index, there is no agreement about the appropriate form for the references: how to list things, what needs to be cross-referenced, what, indeed, constitutes an adequate reference – no agreement, that is, about how readers are expected to construe what they are looking for. Here are some samples from the index to the 1550 second edition of Edward Halle's chronicle *The vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, which covers English history from Henry IV to the Tudors (the first edition, published in 1548, had no index). 'Abell, ffetherstone and Powell, executed in Smithfield for treason' appears under both Abell and ffetherstone, but not under Powell. 'Abbot of Jerney hanged at Tiburn' appears under Abbot but not under Jerney. 'Acte made in Spain called Premetica' is listed under Acte but not under Premetica. The index is, however, consistent about the listing of proper names: only the given name is indexed. Thus Anne Bulleyn is under Anne, not Bulleyn; Stephen Gardiner is under Stephen. This is standard sixteenth-century practice; so Juliet asks 'Wherefore art thou Romeo?', not 'Wherefore art thou Montague?' If she were looking for him in a sixteenth-century index, she would look under R.

Even when the index was recognized as essential to the book, its utility was another matter. Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorick* in its 1567 first edition includes an index keyed to the book's folio numbers, not to page numbers (each folio consists of 2 pages, recto or front and verso or back; so a reference to the recto of folio 57 would be numbered 57,1, and a reference to the verso would be 57,2). This is an accurate and useful index. But the identical index is reprinted in the 1584 edition, which is foliated with *page* numbers, not folio numbers, rendering the index largely useless. Why then is the old index included? Presumably simply because the format seems to require it – handbooks need indexes, or at least, need to look as if they have indexes. This is the reason that we find so many books with marginal subject headings written in by their owners – readers require guides; and this I imagine was how the strange Burton *Anatomy* index was compiled, out of some reader's marginal subject headings.

The same text may mean different things to different readers – this is hardly a radical contention. The question, and it is always an open one, is how far the meaning is inherent in the text; and, if it is inherent, how far it is determined by the author; and, if it is, how far we can know the author's intention, or even whether the author's intention has any relevance at all. And is the meaning of a work several hundred years old the same now as its meaning when it was new – to what extent are meanings transhistorical; to what extent is Shakespeare's or Spenser's or Donne's historicity preserved by the texts of their writings? Is what we mean by Shakespeare what the seventeenth century meant? It is not that there are no answers to such questions, but the answers keep changing according to what we want literature to tell us and what we want out of reading. In fact, if we try to historicize early modern texts, the issue of the author's intention becomes especially complicated, since the author is often little more than a name, sometimes not even that, and must be deduced or even constructed out of the text – the issue becomes positively perilous when the text is the Bible.

When the author's name is deduced from the text, or inserted into it, the text generally must also be revised to suit it. As soon as Shakespeare's name became a marketable commodity it was attached not only to his works, but to poems and plays by less famous writers, producing a factitious historicity, but also testifying to how important the claim of historicity had become. Books preserve Shakespeare's historicity, and that was what sold the books. And since that historicity was increasingly what was meant by 'Shakespeare', the plays and poems were subject to any amount of revision and interpretation to produce an acceptable, marketable Shakespeare. Where exactly *is* the historical Shakespeare in that?

So I conclude with the changing ways in which the book market has constructed authors. Increasingly a frontispiece portrait became essential, as the author moved to the center of the text, replacing the publisher or the patron. The titlepage portrait in the Shakespeare folio is now so famous that it seems normative, but it is actually quite a new idea, and Ben Jonson, in his commendatory poem facing it, advises you to ignore it: 'Reader, looke / Not on his Picture, but his Booke' (Shakespeare 1623). The picture, Jonson says, captures nothing of what is distinctive about Shakespeare: the wit, the intelligence, are expressed only by the writing. Jonson did not want his portrait in his own folio, published in 1616. Instead, he commissioned the allegorical titlepage in figure 4, anatomizing his place in relation to classical drama, with his name at the center of a triumphal arch.

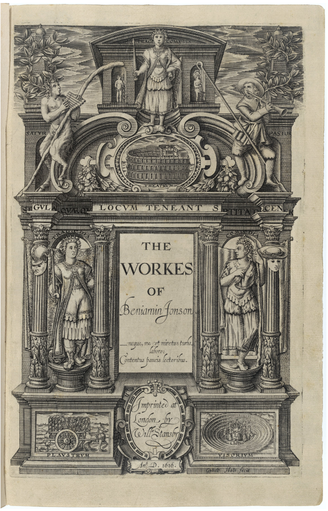


Figure 4 – Ben Jonson, *Workes*, 1616, title page, Private Colletion

But readers wanted portraits. So the 1640 Jonson second folio, published three years after his death, has as its frontispiece figure 5, an engraved version of the only surviving painting of Jonson done during his lifetime, by Abraham Blyenberch, probably in 1621. Adaptations of this portrait continued to confront readers in editions of Jonson throughout the century; and by the eighteenth-century bibliophiles began adding the engraving to their copies of Jonson's first folio, as if something were missing. Antiquarian book dealers now often advertise perfectly complete copies of the 1616 folio as 'lacking the portrait'. This may be simply ignorance; but it also reflects what purchasers for several hundred years have wanted the Jonson folio to be.

Figure 5 – William Vaughan after Abraham Blyenberch,
portrait of Ben Jonson included in the 1640 folio (c. 1627), Private Collection

What we do to books is an index to what we want out of them, and it is a rare case in which we want simply entertainment or information. When Milton says in *Areopagitica* that 'books are not absolutely dead things' (1644, 4) he is arguing against an assumption that indeed that is what they are; and we could press very hard on the adverb 'absolutely'. It is ironic, certainly, but it also surely registers the reasonableness of the counter-argument: books are not absolutely dead, but almost. We need to balance this sense of the insufficiency of the book against our own sense of the book's finality. Milton's argument continues by insisting that books 'preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie … of that living intellect that bred them' (*ibid.*). It hardly needs to be added that books do nothing of the sort without readers, just as the elixir in the vial has no efficacy unless you drink it – that is the point of the essay, the reason books must not be censored before publication: they must be allowed to reach readers. And embellishments and marginalia are commonplace because even in the hands of a reader the book never adequately expressed itself, always needed something more – explanation, decoration, something to help us remember it, or even simply our names, something to make it ours, something to make it not absolutely dead.

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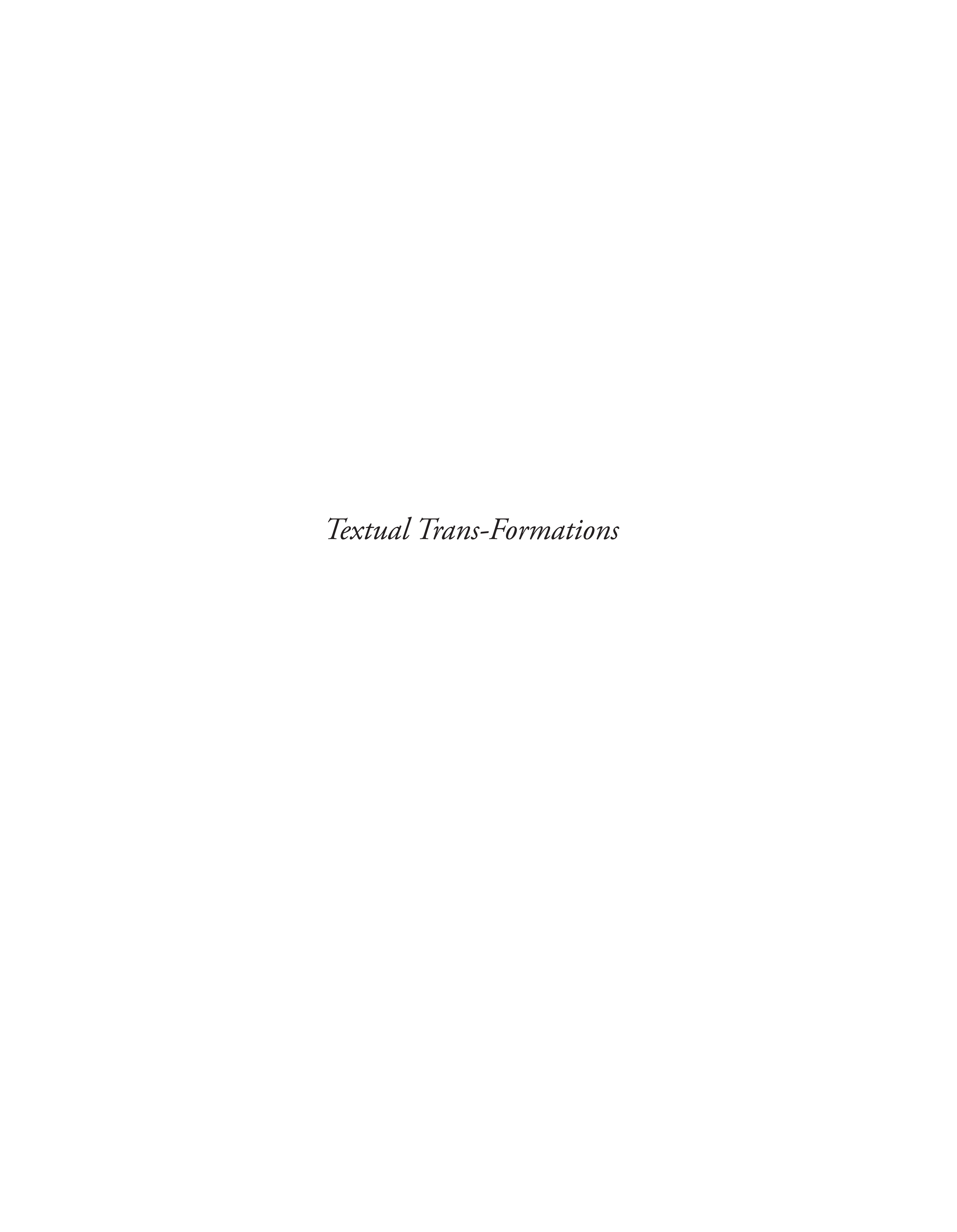

Textual Trans-Formations

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Ariosto in Scotland by Way of France John Stewart of Baldynneis' *Roland Furious*

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Abstract

The article discusses John Stewart of Baldynneis' version of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* as a case study for early modern indirect translation. Written in the 1580s, this translation precedes John Harington's, and was composed at the court of James VI of Scotland. The young king had promoted a vernacular revival through a group of poets, translators and musicians; he himself translated a number of works by Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, such as *L'Uranie*, while Thomas Hudson translated another work by Du Bartas, *La Judith*. In this perspective, a translation of an Italian epic poem might seem to run counter to the prevailing fashion at court; but this translation owes much to intermediary French versions, such as Philippe Desportes' *Roland Furieux* and *Angelique*. My analysis proceeds through the examination of individual passages that reveal the interplay of original text, intermediary translations, and final version.

Keywords: *James VI/I; John Stewart of Baldynneis; Ludovico Ariosto;* Orlando Furioso*; Philippe Desportes*

1. *A Translation of Ariosto in Early Modern Scotland*

Elizabethan translations and adaptations of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* have been often studied; the only complete translation, John Harington's *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*, published in 1591, has been the object of special attention. Harington's version paralleled another poetic enterprise greatly indebted to Ariosto's poem, Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, first published (though in a version limited to books I-III) in 1590. The two works, supreme examples of translation and appropriation, ideally project for us a twin image of the magnitude of Ariosto's influence in the British Isles. They were surrounded by partial translations, allusions, rewritings, or versions of individual tales, beginning with Peter Beverley's *Historie of Ariodanto and Ieneura*, printed in 1566, and with a witness as late as 1607, Gervase Markham's *Rodomonths Infernall or the Diuell Conquered*. Pas-

sages from the poem were set to music, or constituted the basis for theatrical performances, such as Greene's popular stage adaptation *The Historie of Orlando Furioso* (1592). An Ariosto canon developed in early modern England, to the point that the pioneer of Anglo-Italian studies, Mary Augusta Scott, could state that 'Ariosto was far and away the most popular Italian poet with the Elizabethans' (1896, 378).[1] The existence of a Scottish version of the *Furioso* is often overlooked, yet this version, probably composed in the mid-1580s (McDiarmid 1948, 12-18; McClune 2013b, 122), precedes Harington's and constitutes the first English-language rendition which attempts to take stock of the poem as a whole. It is, however, difficult to gauge the place of this translation within this very special canon. This is not only due to the persistent marginality of Scottish writing before the Union of the Crowns, but to the impossibility of applying to the progress of Scottish literature between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century the traditional medieval/early modern categories (Johnson and Petrina 2018, ix-xiv). The trajectory of early modern writing in Scotland follows very different paths from those travelled in England. This translation of Ariosto is a case in point.

The Scottish version of the poem, *Ane abbregement of roland furiovs translait ovt of Ariost*, was undertaken by John Stewart of Baldynneis (*fl.* 1539-1607), and composed at the court of James VI. It survives in a presentation manuscript (now Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 19.2.6), presumably prepared for the King, which includes other poems by Stewart.[2] Unlike Harington's translation, it did not respond to the Elizabethan fashion for Italian writing. Rather, it was the product of a different perspective. A copy of the *Orlando Furioso* in an Italian edition was in the library of Mary Queen of Scots; this, possibly the first copy of the poem in Italian recorded in Scotland (Purves 1946, 72), may have been available both to King James and to some of the members of the court. The young King, recently come out of his tutelage and educated by the humanist George Buchanan about classicism and Calvinism, had promoted a vernacular revival at his court, through a group of poets, translators and musicians. This literary activity appears to have been marked by his desire to continue to enfranchise Scottish literary writing from its dependence on the English model – hence his relying preferably on French contemporary references. James himself, beside writing poems and composing a short treatise on poetics, *Reulis and Cautelis* (1584), which acknowledged its debt to Joachim du Bellay's *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise*, translated a number of works by the Huguenot courtier and poet Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, such as *L'Uranie*, while Thomas Hudson translated, at the King's bidding, another poem by Du Bartas, *La Judith*. Contemporary French literature appears to have been the prevailing model at court.

[1] For early surveys of the influence of Ariosto in English literature, see Benedetti 1914; Sammut 1971. More recent and detailed overviews can be found in Johnson-Haddad 1994; Scarsi 2010; Hiscock 2019. An edition of early modern English translations of Boiardo's, Ariosto's and Tasso's epic poems is forthcoming for the MHRA Tudor and Stuart Translation Series, edited by Joshua Reid. My warmest thanks to Anna Bettoni, Oscar Meana, Massimiliano Morini, and Telmo Pievani, who discussed with me various points of this article and contributed ideas and help. This article began its life as a paper delivered at the RSA international conference, 2021, and I wish to thank the panel organizers and participants for the ensuing discussion. Alasdair A. MacDonald and Joshua Reid read drafts of this article and offered invaluable suggestions, for which I am profoundly grateful. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their helpful insights.

[2] No other work by Stewart of Baldynneis has survived, which leaves us with the puzzling image of a writer producing an impressive body of poems and translations in his mid-forties and perhaps not writing anything else before or after. The fact that the same apparently happened to another poet and translator who worked within the King's circle, Thomas Hudson, suggests that this activity of translation and poetic composition was more strongly linked to royal command or royal expectations than has been supposed.

In this perspective, a translation of an Italian epic poem might seem to run counter to the dominant fashion. However, Italian literature did play a role at King James' court: another member of this literary circle, William Fowler, completed in 1587 a translation of Petrarch's *Triumphi*, dedicating it to Jean Fleming, Lady Thirlestane, and would then go on to translate Machiavelli's *Principe*. As for Stewart of Baldynneis, his literary enterprise appears different from the efforts of both the translators from the French and William Fowler, since his very free translation of Ariosto, though often relying on the Italian original, owes much to intermediary translations in French: scholars agree on identifying these intermediary texts with Philippe Desportes' *Roland Furieux* and *Angelique*, as well as with the translations of Jean Martin (1543) and (less probably) Gabriele Chappuys (1576) (Dunlop 1915, 303-310; McDiarmid 1948, 16; Jack 1972, 60-63).

Stewart's achievement is then a classic instance of translation through one or more intermediary versions, and it is presented here as a complex case study, both of early modern intellectual attitudes and of later responses to the practice of literary translation through or with intermediary texts. Its analysis prompts the question of what should be our approach to indirect translation in early modern Europe, an approach that still awaits a systematic attempt at a theoretical definition. My study proceeds through the examination of the overall structure as well as of individual passages that reveal the interplay of original text, intermediary translations, and final version.[3]

2. *From Ariosto to Desportes to Stewart of Baldynneis*

As happened with a number of Italian writers, from Petrarch to Machiavelli, Ariosto's name and fame had reached France before arriving in the British Isles, and the extremely high number of Italian editions published in the sixteenth century helped this circulation. Joachim Du Bellay proclaimed Ariosto a model for contemporary writers, explaining how only in his case 'j'oseroy (n'estoit la saincteté des vieulx poëmes) comparer à un Homere et Virgile' (I would dare (were it not for the sanctity of the old poems) compare to a Homer and Virgil; Helgerson 2006, 378-379). French writers undertook translations or imitations of Ariosto's poem, beginning with an anonymous prose version published in Lyon in 1543, generally attributed to Jean Martin and preceding the first Spanish (1549), English (1591) and even Paduan (1558) versions (Cioranescu 1939, 76-86). It was subsequently reprinted, and other complete translations, such as the already mentioned one by Gabriele Chappuys (in effect a revision of Martin's 1543 translation), were undertaken throughout the sixteenth century (Gorris 2000, 173-174). Then, as the Italian editions of the poem multiplied (the third, definitive version of the poem was reprinted at least 136 times between 1532 and the end of the century), there followed translations of individual cantos, or episodes of the poem (Javitch 1991, 10-20). A notable instance of this selective reception is the volume *Imitations de quelques chans de l'Arioste, par divers poetes François*, published in Paris by Lucas Breyer in 1572. It included adaptations or rewritings by Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Louis d'Orleans and Philippe Desportes. Desportes (1546-1606), one of the members of the Pléiade and the author of an incredibly high number of imitations from Italian poetry, then revised and re-published his *Imitations de l'Arioste* in 1574 (Cameron 1935; Cioranescu 1936; Purves 1946, 69-70).

[3] As far as the intermediary translations are concerned, my main focus is Philippe Desportes; I make only passing references to the prose versions of Jean Martin and Gabriele Chappuys. It should be noted that, in his discussion of the literary activity at King James' court, J. Derrick McClure (1991) proposed the use of the word *transcreation* as a more satisfactory alternative to *translation*; I find that this neologism, though suggestive, still awaits a full definition.

Desportes' contribution strikes at the heart of Ariosto's narrative innovation, subverting it radically. Like other French versions, it presents the reader with what has been called a 'fractured' Ariosto, observed through a series of selective readings (Gorris 2000, 180). These are translated into poems, each dedicated to a single character (Orlando, Rodomonte, Bradamante and Angelica).[4] Desportes does not attempt to find a continuum in Ariosto's narrative, offering instead a series of *tableaux* focused on individual characters, trying to bring them back to a linear development. While this entails a radical pruning of much of Ariosto's material, it also gives him the opportunity to expand on individual portraits, freezing characters in a single attitude whose description is often enriched by classical allusions. Occasionally he expands beyond the limits of Ariosto's poem, showing for example the journey of Rodomonte's soul in the otherworld (while Ariosto stops at the character's death), or offering a continuation of Angelica's adventures. This freedom, as we shall see, also inspired Stewart of Baldynneis.

Stewart's debt to Desportes has been analysed before, and it has been shown that it concerns not only his translation of Ariosto, but also other poetic compositions such as his sonnet 'Of ane Fontane', which might go to show his greater familiarity with French than with Italian (Dunlop 1915, 303-310). Possibly on the basis of this compositional background, most studies of Stewart's translation of Ariosto, taking into account Desportes' role, consider it part of a linear sequence from Italian to French to Scots. The usual approach to Stewart's reworking of Ariosto's material has been coloured by the expectation of finding a form of imitation at one remove, a hyper-simplified version of *Orlando Furioso* (Jack 1972, 57-71). But what we find as we look more closely at Stewart's poem is a more articulated approach. The double influence of Ariosto and Desportes (as well as the possible influence of Jean Martin) works at a micro-level (words, individual lines, images, the creation of neologisms), but also at the level of structure, and in this case the intermediary translation does not simply create a model but rather suggests a creative solution. The result is a poem with a complex and individual agenda, a text which fascinates scholars but remains impervious, as shown by the difficulties its editors have experienced.[5] Much of this obscurity is due to its relationship with its sources, which forces us to reassess our expectations concerning literary translation and imitation.

The first hypothesis we form when we approach the Scottish poem is that Stewart was working on Desportes' basic structure, and wanted to build something more complex, though short of Ariosto's original. Reduction is one of the organizing principles, and Ariosto's 46 cantos become 12. The work is introduced in the manuscript's opening folio as *Ane abbregement of roland furiovs translait ovt of Ariost*, leading readers to expect not only a physical shortening but also simplification. Yet such an approach would be not only reductive but misleading. Scholarly evaluations may be equally misleading: John Purves called it 'a cento or pastiche built up round certain episodes of the Furioso, especially those in which Orlando and Angelica appear' (1946, 75), but this dismissive assessment is not only influenced by a mental attitude that sees any alteration of a supposed literary original as a diminution, but also, evoking the usefully confusing image of the pastiche, discourages any attempt at retracing Stewart's narrative structure.

[4] For ease of reference, throughout this article I shall refer to the characters in the spelling used by Ariosto. Translations into modern English are mine, unless otherwise noted.

[5] There are two editions of the text: Crockett 1913 presents only an accurate transcription, and is printed as volume 2; volume 1, which should have contained an introduction and notes, was never published. This is the edition used here. A more recent edition is Heddle 2008, which, however, leaves a number of questions open. For an assessment of Heddle's edition, see Elliott 2010. A new edition by Kate McClune, for the Scottish Text Society, has been announced.

Stewart eliminates a large number of Ariosto's characters and plot lines, and finds help in Desportes' choice of individual characters, further narrowing the focus on two characters, Orlando and Angelica; Desportes' *La mort de Rodomont* and *Complainte de Bradamant* do not appear to have been used. The Scottish writer interlaces his cantos, of very unequal length, according to a simpler pattern than Ariosto's; yet the end result is far more complex than the collection of individual scenes favoured by Desportes. The Scottish poem can be read as a continuum, but Stewart allows also (and perhaps prefers) a reading of individual scenes. The overall structure of his poem departs significantly from the original Italian and from Desportes' version, as the following table shows:[6]

Stewart of Baldynneis	Ludovico Ariosto	Philippe Desportes
canto 1 (84 lines)		
How Cupid wounded Orlando (1-16)	--	*Roland Furieux* 1-28
Orlando's fame (17-84)	--	*Roland Furieux* 29-76
canto 2 (516 lines)		
Dedication to the Muses (1-3)	--	--
Presentation of Angelica (4-16)	--	*Angelique* 1-18
Orlando loses Angelica in the Pyrenees (17-32)	I.5-7	--
Angelica assigned to the Duke of Bavaria (33-64)	I.8-9	--
Angelica pursued by Rinaldo and Ferrau (65-177)	I.10-29	--
Angelica and Sacripante (178-347)	I.41-58	--
Duel between Sacripante and Bradamante (348-422)	I.60-67	--
Baiardo (423-468)	I.73-76	--
Rinaldo pursues Angelica (469-516)	I.77-81	--
canto 3 (440 lines)		
Invocation to Love (1-8)	--	--
Duel between Rinaldo and Sacripante (9-59)	II.3-10	--
Escape of Angelica (60-76)	II.11-12	--
Angelica and the hermit (77-345)	VIII.47-50	--
Comparison with Jupiter and Europa (113-120)	--	--
Comparison with Chaucer's Emelie (232-239)	--	--
Biblical references (*passim*)	--	--
Angelica's exposure to the Orc (346-440)	VIII.62-63	--
Invocation to Fortune (406-416)	VIII.66	--
canto 4 (172 lines)		
Dedication to Melpomene (1-18)	--	--
Orlando's grief (19-94)	VIII.73-78	--
Orlando's dream (95-108)	VIII.80-83	--
Orlando's awakening and renewed grief (109-120)	VIII.85	--
Orlando's rescue of Olimpia (121-172)	IX.5-6	--
canto 5 (152 lines)		
Apology for his method (1-22)	--	--

[6] The edition used for all quotations and references to the Italian original is Caretti 1966. For Desportes' version I have used Michiels 1858. This table owes much to Purves 1946; Sammut 1971, 35-39; Heddle 2008, 141-264.

Angelica rescued from the Orc (23-72)	X.95-98; VIII	--
Ruggiero and the Hippogriff (73-108)	X	--
Angelica's escape from Ruggiero (109-148)	X; XI.6-9	--
Orlando's plight (149-152)	--	--
canto 6 (116 lines)		
Wanderings of Orlando (1-46)	--	--
Orlando's arrival at the palace of Atlante (47-116)	XI.81-83; XII.1-16	--
canto 7 (252 lines)		
Dedication to the Muses (1-12)	--	--
Angelica and the shepherds (13-29)	XI; XII.67	--
Angelica's arrival at the palace of Atlante (30-100)	XII.24-36	--
Orlando's duel with Ferraù (101-240)	XII.39-46	--
Angelica's escape (241-252)	XII.23-66	--
canto 8 (168 lines)		
Orlando's grief (1-8)	--	*Roland Furieux* 335-448
Author's decision to compress his story (9-17)	XII.67-85; XIII.1-44	--
Summary of events concerning Orlando (18-116)	XII.67-80; XIII.33	*Roland Furieux* 65-70
Zerbino and Isabella (117-125)	XII.91-93; XIII.3-31; XX.132-137, 140-141; XXIII.54, 63-64, 67-69, 97	
Orlando and Mandricardo (126-168)	XXIII.39-91	*Roland Furieux* 81-88
canto 9 (76 lines)		
Angelica falling in love (1-68)	XIX.17-20	*Angelique* 19-28
Comparison with Criseyde (69-71)	--	--
Comparison with Thisbe (72-76)	--	--
canto 10 (244 lines)		
Angelica and Medoro: marriage and departure	XIX.24-41	--
Angelica compared to mythological figures (1-22)	--	--
Ultimate fate of Angelica (23-40)	--	*Angelique* 13-16
Pastoral idyll with wounded Medoro (41-144)	--	*Angelique* 191-212
Lovers compared to famous women and men (145-212)	--	--
Departure (213-244)	--	*Angelique* 85-110
canto 11 (630 lines)		
Lament of the author on his shortcomings (1-20)	--	--
Indictment of Fortune (21-152)	--	--
Orlando sees names carved on trees (153-194)	XXIII.102-106	*Roland Furieux* 95-112; *Angelique* 122-138
Events leading to Orlando's madness (195-410)	XXIII.99-136	*Roland Furieux* 113-144, 177-182; *Angelique* 139-150
Madness of Orlando (411-600)	XXIII.126-128; XXIV.1-13	*Roland Furieux* 449-518; *Angelique* 151-152
Orlando meets Angelica and Medoro (601-614)	XXIX.57-64	*Roland Furieux* 145-164
Conclusion (615-630)	--	--

canto 12 (88 lines)		
Dedication to Clio (1-6)	--	--
Moral reflections and Biblical allusions (7-20)	--	--
Prophecy: Orlando healed by Astolfo and St John (21-88)	--	*Roland Furieux* 519-522
Orlando contrasted with Joseph, David, or the Bethulians (43-58)	--	--

This list, highlighting the influence of the French intermediate source mostly at the beginning and at the end of the poem, shows Stewart's use of the texts at his disposal. Of course, it does not mark amplifications or condensations with any exactitude, it does not note individual images or metaphors that are transposed from one section of the narration to the other, nor does it take into account borrowings from sources other than Ariosto and Desportes, but it helps understand how Desportes would have been useful to give Stewart's work a sense of direction and of closure, since the Scottish writer was obviously uneasy with Ariosto's inventive roaming. It also gives us a glimpse of Stewart's freedom in transposing and transforming his material, an attitude which helps us regauge our notion of indirect translation, as I hope to show in the concluding section.

This overview can be complemented with some instances of close reading. An analysis of individual passages and of their change from the source text to one and the other translation will make Stewart's technique clearer.

3. *Instances of Close Reading*

R.D.S. Jack proposes an interesting example of the Scottish writer's borrowing technique, taking the instance of this passage from Ariosto:

perché né targa né capel difende
La fatal Durindana, ove discende. (XII.79) [7]

Desportes offers this rendition:

car rien ne les deffend,
Maille ny corselet, quand Durandal descend. (*Roland Furieux*, 55-56)[8]

Stewart, probably borrowing directly from Desportes, inserts the passage in the opening section, as a part of the description of Orlando's prowess in battle:

As lustie falcon litle larks dois plume,
So harneis flew, Quhair DVRANDAL discends. (I.53-54)[9]

The comparison shows Stewart's deviation from both Italian and French versions. In Ariosto, this is an incidental element in a description of a battle; Desportes, instead, chooses accumulation as a way of delineating character, and Stewart follows him in this choice. Jack thus concludes that 'The inference is clear. Desportes borrowed this instance from Ariosto as a means of quickly bolstering the character of his hero, while Stewart in his turn followed Desportes. Such explicit description was, of course, unnecessary for Ariosto, who could assume that his readers were already familiar with Orlando's character' (1972, 59). However, having accepted Desportes'

[7] (because neither shield nor helmet can defend the place where Durindana descends).
[8] (because nothing can defend them, neither armour nor chain mail, when Durindana descends).
[9] (As a bold falcon plucks the feathers of the little larks, so the armour flies away, where Durindana descends).

transposition of the passage to a different section of his poem, and with a different purpose, Stewart goes further, transforming the brief enumeration of defensive pieces of armour into an equally short list of animals that creates an imaginative simile.

A further instance makes this point clearer. A longer simile appears in Ariosto's canto I and in the opening section of Desportes' *Roland Furieux*, but Stewart moves it to a very late stage of his translation. Ariosto, in his turn indebted to one of Horace's amorous poems (*Carmina* I.xxiii.1-10), inserts this simile in the scene in which Angelica is first seen fleeing from her suitors, particularly the persevering but irreproachably chaste Rinaldo, and uses it to express the anxiety of the young woman:

Qual pargoletta o damma o capriuola,
che tra le fronde del natio boschetto
alla madre veduta abbia la gola
stringer dal pardo, o aprirle 'l fianco o 'l petto,
di selva in selva dal crudel s'invola,
e di paura triema e di sospetto:
ad ogni sterpo che passando tocca,
esser si crede all'empia fera in bocca. (I.34)[10]

For a moment this Chinese beauty, exotic and remote like an early modern Turandot, becomes endearingly fragile, thanks to the feminization of the animals evoked in the simile. Angelica's helplessness had been emphasized also in previous passages in which she was referred to as 'timida pastorella' (I.11: a fearful shepherdess) and 'donzella ispaventata' (I.15: a frightened maid); thus the image is part of a careful construction of Angelica as a potential victim (Cavallo 2013, 28-32). Philippe Desportes re-orients it by transposing it to the opening section of *Roland Furieux*, a poem only tangentially concerned with Angelica. Here the passage is used to describe the terrified people who disperse upon the arrival of the mad Orlando:

Comme un jeune chevreuil, qui dedans son bocage
A veu le fier lyon, chaud de soif et de rage,
Qui massacre sa mere et, convoiteux de sang,
En deux coups la déchire et luy mange le flanc;
Craintif, il prend la fuite, et d'une course isnelle
Eschappe et se dérobe à la beste cruelle;
Une branche, une feuille, une halaine de vent
L'horreur du grand lyon luy remet au devant. (*Roland Furieux*, 65-72)[11]

Desportes consciously chooses and manipulates some of the elements contained in Ariosto's simile. The change of gender in the young defenceless animal, the new relevance and the grisly details given to the predator, the maternal image no longer used to emphasize the victim's tenderness but the predator's cruelty – all this suggests a new use of the simile, which is concluded by recalling the setting: 'Ainsi devant Roland la tourbe espouvantée / S'enfuit' (73-74: So the

[10] (Like a fawn, or a kid, who has seen through the branches of her native woods her mother, whose throat is pressed by the leopard, or whose side or breast is torn open, and flies through the forest to escape the cruel predator, shaking with fear: each time a twig snaps she feels she is already devoured by the beast).

[11] (Like a young roe deer, who from inside a bush has seen the fierce lion, hot with thirst and rage, kill his mother and, greedy for blood, rip her in two and devour her side; terrified, he escapes and, with a quick flight, eludes the cruel beast; a twig, a leaf, a breath of wind bring back to him the horror of the great lion).

terrified crowd flew from Orlando). This is no elegant amorous chase, ironically underlined by the contrast between the image of the fearful youngling and the boringly honourable intentions of Rinaldo; it is rather the frightful apparition of a bloodthirsty warrior, scattering a terrified crowd in front of him. In this light, every detail radically changes its role and importance.

Stewart of Baldynneis follows Desportes in that he is here summarizing the events accompanying Orlando's madness. So the image once again describes the terrified people:

As litill lambe, The quhilk had sein percace
The Radgeing lyon In ane bocage greine
Ryfe and deuouir hir mother in that place
Vith bluidie mouth And fyrie creuale eine,
Vill, till eschew the bittir beist in teine
As it best may, fast skip away vith speid,
Absconding it in busse not to be seine (VIII.81-87)[12]

The debt to Desportes is evident, and includes semantic calques such as *bocage*;[13] but at the same time the changes are significant. Desportes' young roe deer is transformed into a lamb, evoking connotations of fragile femininity that hark back to Ariosto's *pargoletta*, and is *skipping* rather than simply escaping; Stewart also brings back from Ariosto the image of the temporary refuge of the young animal, *absconding* in a bush. While the narrative choice is indebted to Desportes, Ariosto lends further nuances to Stewart's passage, which re-focuses our attention upon the victims' defencelessness. As in the case of the first example, while Stewart follows Desportes in the collocation of the passages, he also goes back to Ariosto to gather further details that will enrich the combination and modify it.

The last, vastly different instance I would adduce is the scene in Ariosto's canto I featuring Sacripante, and his famous complaint 'la verginella è simile alla rosa', as it appears in Ariosto's (I.41-44) and in Baldynneis' (II.178-256). The changes in both structure and mood are striking. In Ariosto the lament begins in a Petrarchan vein, evoking the topos of burning and freezing as the effects of love, but we soon discover that what causes these states is not love but *pensier*, the thought that Angelica might belong to somebody else. Sacripante is one of the many knights in love with her, but he is also persuaded that there is no honour among men: any man who can approach Angelica will *ipso facto* have her. This ironically reduces the loved woman to a rich prize, a fruit or a flower. Sacripante's obsession is that somebody else will pluck the rose before he does, so that, should he find her once she has been plucked, she would have lost her value. At the same time, he cannot stop desiring her, which prompts a question that, once again, seems to have Petrarchan overtones in the two opening lines, until we look closely into it, and see how *pensier*, thought, is soon turned into *far*, action:

– Pensier (dicea) che 'l cor m'aggiacci et ardi,
e causi il duol che sempre il rode e lima,
che debbo far, poi ch'io son giunto tardi,
e ch'altri a côrre il frutto è andato prima? (I.41)[14]

[12] (Like a little lamb, who from inside a green grove has seen the raging lion rip and devour her mother, with a bloody mouth and fiery, cruel eyes, will skip away as fast as possible so as to avoid the cruel beast, hiding in a bush so as not to be seen).

[13] Both the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* mention this word as first appearing in English with Stewart's poem (Heddle 2014, 65).

[14] (O thought, he said, who freeze and burn my heart, and give it a gnawing pain, what should I do, since I am too late, and others have plucked the fruit before me?).

Sacripante's plight is preceded by another, apparently unrelated episode: Ferraù, another Saracen knight, is fruitlessly searching in the river for a helmet he has lost, but as he lingers on the river bank a ghost appears: it is the ghost of Argalìa, Angelica's brother, killed and robbed by him. Argalìa berates Ferraù for wishing to keep what is not rightfully his (I.24-28). The episode casts some light on what is to follow: desire does not obey rules, yet regrets the lack of rules when such a lack becomes an impediment to desire. Later in the canto, Sacripante will declare his plan to rape Angelica, since, he says,

So ben ch'a donna non si può far cosa
che più soave e più piacevol sia,
ancor che se ne mostri disdegnosa,
e talor mesta e flebil se ne stia (I.58)[15]

Ariosto presents this contrast by introducing Sacripante with all the accoutrements of the Petrarchan lover, yet making him a determined and self-justifying would-be rapist. The irony therefore does not invest only the character: Petrarchism is made gentle fun of by contrasting Sacripante's portrayal with the utterance of his real desire.

Little of this irony remains in Baldynneis. The episode of Ferraù's helmet is eliminated, so the arrival on the scene of Sacripante is introduced only by various knights fighting for Angelica and by the lady escaping them. Her temporary escape is underlined by a long anaphoric passage in which the pleasure of her restful solitude evokes a pastoral idyll (II.145-151). This passage has the function of highlighting the appearance of the sobbing and sighing Sacripante as he and Angelica, one weeping and the other resting in separate parts of the wood, are for a moment wholly static, symmetrical figures. Sacripante's lament, in the Scottish version, is more than twice as long as in the Italian, incidentally giving the lie to the word *abbregement* which Stewart uses to define his work. As is true of most Petrarchist poetry, Sacripante's lament, in this version, is almost solely concentrated upon himself: his obsessive repetition of the word *thocht*, with an anaphoric shift between lines 180-182 and lines 185-187, turns his regret at an action he has not performed yet (the taking of Angelica) into self-reflection:

'O thocht,'[16] Sayis he, 'that both dois birne and freis
My blaiknit brest, Quhilk may No mirth Imbrace.
O Thocht Inchantit be my vickit eis,
O frounyng Thocht, Thocht fauor fremdlie fleis,
O Thocht, that thinks all vther thochts bot vaine,
Except the Thocht, Quhilk vith my Thocht aggreis,
To Think on hir, Quha Thochtles maks the paine.
This onlie thocht dois all my Thochts constraine,
This onlie thocht dois gnaw my hart in tuay,
This onlie thocht, Quhilk I may not Refraine,
Dois duyne my dayis In deedlie deip decay (178-188)[17]

[15] (I well know that nothing sweeter or pleasanter can be done to a woman, even though she appears to disdain it, and to look sad and downcast).

[16] I have followed Heddle's edition in the reading of the first two words ('O thought'). Crockett's reading is 'I thought', which seems nonsensical in this context.

[17] (O thought, he says, that both does burn and freeze my pallid breast, which may receive no joy. O thought, my wicked eyes are enchanted, o frowning thought, thought escapes all friendly favour, o thought, who think all other thoughts are vain, except the thought, which agrees with my thought, to think of her, which makes the pain thoughtless. This one thought constrains all other thoughts, this one thought tears my heart in two, this one thought, from which I may not refrain, drives my days into deep and deadly decay).

Such introspection completely does away with Ariosto's irony: this knight is never going to turn his static thought into action, and the climactic cascade of plosive alliterative Ds in the final line underlines this. Timothy Nelson comments on the changes adopted by Stewart, noting the insistence on decorum on the part of the Scottish poet, his proposing a love complaint in aureate diction, 'a genre in which humour and irony normally have no place' (1968, 107). He then continues:

> But the most remarkable difference between the Italian and the Scots versions of Sacripante's complaint is in the ending. Ariosto's prince – though moderately certain that all hope is past, and that the prize has already been carried off by another – resolves to go on loving in spite of all. Stewart's, by contrast … finally reaches the solution adopted by every mediaeval lover worth his salt when confronted with unpalatable rumours about his lady – he simply refuses to believe them. (108)

The contemplation of the effects of love prompts a regretful moralizing upon its dangers. Rather than inviting readers to share an ironic enjoyment of the absurdity of love, Stewart turns the lament into a reflection that invites readers to set themselves at a safe distance from such a dangerous and self-destructive state of mind, even if this risks altering the narrative structure (Nelson 1968, 111; McClune 2013a, 338).

This is an instance in which Stewart's freedom with the Italian original owes nothing directly to any French intermediate version: Desportes does not translate this episode, while both Jean Martin and Gabriele Chappuys offer a literal translation that preserves Ariosto's irony, often adopting semantic calques. Though we might reasonably suppose that Stewart might have used one or the other of the prose translations to obtain some help in understanding the *littera* of Ariosto's poem, they did not offer him the freedom of interpretation that might take him to this startlingly new interpretation of Sacripante's lament. On the other hand, the shift in tone might have been suggested, indirectly, by Desportes. The latter's insistence on individual portraits introduces an element of reflection in the observation of each character that in the case of Ariosto was lightened by the never-ending evolving of the plot. Once the reader is no longer drawn irresistibly in the convoluted adventures of knights and ladies, their actions are seen in all their paradoxical nature. This is evident in the case of *Angelique*: though lavish in his praise of the beauty of Angelica and Medoro, the French poet cannot help reflecting on the woman falling in love with such a lowly infantryman as a form of *contrappasso*: the very observation of the absurdity of her situation prompts a reflection on what is perceived as her error, her inability to join mercy to beauty. Angelica almost becomes cunning in the use of her attractions, as shown by terms such as *receloit* in this passage:

> Celle qui receloit des attraits pour surprendre
> Les braves, qui pensoient contre Amour se deffendre,
> Qui surmonta Renaud, Ferragut et Roland;
> Mais, sans aucun soucy de leur mal violant,
> Ni de tant de combats qu'ils avoient pour elle,
> Se fist tousjours connoistre aussi fiere que belle. (*Angelique*, 5-10)[18]

Stewart makes use of this suggestion by insisting on the connection between contemplation and reflection, and in this sense Sacripante's lament offers an ideal opportunity. As we shall see in

[18] (She who makes use of her charms to surprise the brave ones, who think they can defend themselves against Love, she who conquered Rinaldo, Ferraù and Orlando; but, without suspecting the strength of their pain, or the fights they had for her, always showed herself as bold as she was beautiful).

the following section, this moralizing tendency becomes also one of the fundamental elements in the construction of the Scottish poem's structure.

4. Roland Furious *'Translait out of Ariost'*

It is difficult to discern an overarching pattern in *Roland Furious*. The poem has been assessed as both an abridgement and an elaboration upon the original; for some scholars, it is an attempt to imprison the Italian poem within a conventionalizing structure that greatly reduces Ariosto's variety, as well as his panoply of characters and stories, to a more regular and systematic frame (Nelson 1968, 106). Rather than either translating closely or excerpting, Stewart prefers to impose a new order, that requires him to compress or expand as the case may be. This order is generally symmetrical: laments follow one another (Sacripante in canto II, Angelica in canto III, Orlando in canto IV), while the translator attempts to maintain the alternation of the two stories of Angelica and Orlando (Jack 1978, 22). Stewart may have proposed the twin development of these stories as a spiritual journey, which moves from the helplessness of all characters, lost in a *selva oscura*, in canto II to the Biblical overtones and prophetic mode of canto XII; such a reading is confirmed if we chart the increasing presence of Biblical allusions from the initial to the final cantos. These elements show that Desportes did not offer Stewart a model to imitate (save perhaps in the drastic reduction of the number of characters), or a new structure to copy, but rather a stimulus to the rethinking of his narrative strategy. At the same time, both translators could rely on Ariosto's vast canvas: there are passages in both versions in which the reader is simply sent back to Ariosto for further information. One such instance is the final couplet of Desportes' *Roland Furieux*, in which, having described the hero's madness, he concludes: 'Le vaillant Mirthe anglois, sur un coursier qui vole, / Luy rapporta son sens dedans une fiole' (*Roland Furieux*, 521-522: The valiant English myrtle, on a flying steed, brought back his wit inside a vial). The reader is given no explanation about the mysterious *myrthe Anglois*, who is Astolfo, transformed earlier in Ariosto's poem into a myrtle bush, and who will subsequently fly to the moon to recover Orlando's wit. All this explanation is deemed to be unnecessary, since the reader will be aware that Desportes' poem operates within a larger palimpsest. Stewart offers similar passages, explicitly asking the reader to go back to the Italian original for more information, as he does for instance in the course of a long summary of Orlando's adventures: 'Bot to declair mair amplie of this rout, / As Ariost my author dois report' (VIII.113-114: But to speak more at length of this rout, as Ariosto, my author, reports). The reader is expected to find in the translation not an equivalent and a substitute of the original, but a rewriting to be approached in full consciousness of the existence of the Italian poem.

The Scottish translator operates a further change that draws him apart from both Ariosto and Desportes: he radically rethinks the role of the narrator, who explicitly guides the narrative and does not exhibit the *sprezzatura* or the ironical overtones so frequent in Ariosto. Desportes' narrator tends to disappear behind the contemplation of his characters; Stewart's narrator instead often explains his modus operandi and bewails the obstacles he meets. He also introduces instances and episodes from classical and Biblical mythology, asking the reader to pause and reflect on the meaning of the story. To both Italian original and French intermediary, Stewart, acting as a translator and glosser, adds a literary patina that is sometimes systematic (as in the dedication of individual cantos to one or the other classical figure), sometimes merely incidental, being inserted in specific passages. In the Scottish poem, Ariosto's characters are often compared to characters drawn from a wide library: from Chaucer's Criseyde to the Biblical David, from Thisbe to Boccaccio's Emilia. *Roland Furious* thus becomes a literary experiment, that inventively uses Ariosto's polymorphous palimpsest with the partial guidance of Desportes' free imitations.

In so doing, Stewart marks a radical departure from Scotland's translation practices. For late-sixteenth-century writers in Scotland, one of the great models for translation was Gavin Douglas' *Eneados*, a rendition of Virgil's Latin epic into the 'Scottis' tongue, completed in 1513. Douglas employed a complex system of paratexts not only to defend his work, but also to explore the issue of translation, through references to established *auctoritates*, from Horace's *De arte poetica* to Gregory the Great, explicitly setting his own faithful rendering of Virgil's text against William Caxton's much freer version (Petrina 2018). In the Direction inserted at the end of the work, Douglas explicitly clarified his interpretative choice, pointing out not only that he had translated word for word, but that such faithfulness would make his version a very good introduction to Virgil for schoolchildren:

Ane othir proffit of our buke I mark,
That it salbe reput a neidfull wark
To thame wald Virgill to childryn expone;
For quha lyst note my versys, one by one,
Sall fynd tharin hys sentens euery deill,
And al maste word by word, that wait I weill.
Thank me tharfor, maisteris of grammar sculys,
Quhar ȝe syt techand on ȝour benkis and stulys. (Direction, 41-48, Coldwell 1956-1960, vol. IV, 189)[19]

He might even have resented the constraints imposed by this choice, since in the Prologue of Book I he describes the faithful translator as 'attachit ontill a staik' (l. 297: tied to a stake). The same image would be used by James VI of Scotland to describe the risks of literary translation and imitation in his short poetic treatise, *Reulis and Cautelis*, written in 1584, and often associated to the activity of his literary coterie: 'Especially, translating any thing out of uther language, quhilk doing, ye not onely assay not your awin ingyne of inventioun, bot be the same meanes ye are bound as to a staik to follow that buikis phrasis, quhilk ye translate' (James VI 1997, 468: Especially as you translate from another language: doing which, you do not only not test your power of invention, but by the same means you are tied, as to a stake, to follow the phrases of the book you translate). This detail, as well as a number of images in Stewart's *Roland Furious* which appear to derive from Douglas' poem (Heddle 2008, 42, 45), show the importance Douglas' model had for the King's literary coterie. In this perspective, Stewart's translation choices seem to be the result of a conscious reflection on the model offered by Douglas and on the kind of quasi-philological adherence to the original that he promoted. As noted above, much of the activity of James VI's literary coterie was focused on translation, and to judge from the extant examples, it largely followed Douglas' example: it is the case, for instance, of William Fowler's translation of Petrarch's *Triumphi*, remarkably faithful to the original but incorporating a glossing function, expanding on Petrarch's words whenever an explanation is deemed to be necessary or an allusion needs clarification. On the other hand, the monarch's own words on translation in his literary treatise, quoted above, challenge this practice in the light of a Scottish literary renaissance.

We are faced with an interesting paradox, since the King himself practises and encourages an activity he feels bound to condemn in his theoretical treatise. At the same time, we are made aware of the extent to which translation is a central concern for the group of writers surrounding

[19] (I note another good effect of this book: it shall become known to those who want to explain Virgil to children. Because those who read my lines, one by one, shall find his meaning there, almost word by word, I know that well. Thank me therefore, masters of grammar schools, where you sit, teaching, on benches and on stools).

King James, whose relationship with French models (not only the epic poems he translated, but also the poetic treatises that served as reference for his own *Reulis and Cautelis*) underlines his problematic approach to the issues of translation and imitation. Within this group, a translator dealing with Ariosto's immense poem faced a special challenge, not only because *Orlando Furioso* is as long as the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* put together, but also because its extraordinary wealth of episodes, characters and plots makes any summarizing attempt extremely difficult: the Italian writer himself referred to his work as 'la gran tela ch'io lavoro' (XIII.81: the great canvas I am working on). Modern scholars evince some surprise at Stewart's freedom in his approach to Ariosto: 'One might have expected that, after so influential a figure as Gavin Douglas had publicly savaged Caxton for producing a mere travesty of the *Aeneid*, a scholarly approach to translation would have become the rule in Scotland' (Nelson 1968, 105). Yet this choice might find its explanation in the source text. The overarching characteristic of *Orlando Furioso* is well summarized by Alexander Cioranescu who, discussing the freedom of French translators and imitators of the poem, notes that Ariosto's excess, his labyrinthine construction and dazzling variety of modes and tones, were impossible to reconcile with the taste of contemporary French poetry (1936, 36). Stewart's decision to translate Ariosto thus found in the French imitators the authorization to move away from the reverent, faithful translating and glossing that we find in Scottish translators of Virgil (such as Douglas) or Petrarch (such as William Fowler).

It has been a matter of discussion among scholars whether Stewart was following his king's advice, or even request, while translating Ariosto: in spite of the closeness of poetic models, connections between *Reulis and Cautelis* and *Roland Furious* are hard to assess, since the dating of the two works does not seem to allow for any profound influence of the one on the other. Stewart does make reference to the king on a number of occasions in the course of his translation, but it may be persuasively argued that these were later additions to an already finished work (Heddle 2008, 33-39; McClune 2013b, 119-122). What seems beyond doubt is that there is an articulate reflection on the activity of the translator behind the whole enterprise: *Roland Furious* is as much a translation as a meta-translational act. Stewart describes his approach as an unravelling of an intricate original:

This vork of myn behuifs me schers it so;
Quhyls heir, Quhyls thair, Quhyls fordwart and behind,
The historie all Interlest I find
Vith syndrie sayings of so great delyt,
That singlie most I from the rest out spind. (V.7-11)[20]

Elsewhere, he describes Ariosto's *copia* as a matter of concern:

As Ariost in hich and vordie verse
The circumstance moir copius hes compyld
Than I may retche with rasche and ruid reherse (VI.98-100)[21]

This concern appears to prompt the decision, half-way through the translation, to summarize the rest of the poem with a wholemeal compression of the narrative:

[20] (It is necessary for me to scrutinise this work of mine: now here, now there, now forward and behind, as I find the story all interlaced with sundry sayings of great delight, so that I merely spin them out from the rest).

[21] (As Ariosto has written in magnificent verse, describing the story with greater abundance than I may reach with my rash and rude attempt).

The rest I sall compact it in ane mass
Vith nales speid than this my pen may sprent (VIII.13-14)[22]

The reflection on his work is taken up once again at the beginning of the long and radically innovative canto XI, which appropriately opens with the words 'Perplexit Pen', followed by an invocation to Ramnusia (or Nemesis, one of the three Fates),[23] introducing a long indictment of Fortune. This is by far the longest section, in which Stewart draws away from his habitual sources and indulges in a complaint that *prima facie* has nothing in common with Ariosto's lightness. While lamenting his shortcomings, he inserts an interesting passage:

Vold god Bocace mycht in my place repair
This tragedie perfytlie to compyle;
Or Reuerent Ouid vold the sammyng spair
In Metamorphois of his steitlie style (XI.9-12)[24]

By mentioning Ovid and his *Metamorphoses*, Stewart evokes also a text that, like Ariosto's, was often mined, a rich repository of individual fables and striking images. But the passage is especially problematic in that it suggests not only other possible literary *auctoritates* for Stewart's effort, but also a leaning towards a different genre. Boccaccio is here referred to as the author of *De Casibus*, the work that became famous in England and Scotland thanks to John Lydgate's much-amplifying translation, *The Fall of Princes*. These allusions then give us an interesting indication of the direction Stewart is taking, since his innovation does not only concern the plot but also the genre. If Desportes explored Ariosto's poem to develop his own inclination toward lyric poetry (Cioranescu 1936, 36), the Scottish poet appears interested in the possibilities of moralizing poetry along the lines of the *de casibus* tradition (McClune 2013a). After this allusion to literary *auctoritates*, Stewart inserts a long passage that has no correspondence in either Ariosto or Desportes, consisting of a list of heroes of antiquity who fell victims to fate. Ostensibly they are proposed as counterparts of the mad Orlando, but they prompt reflections on the fickleness of Fortune:

No force auails thy fikilnes to bind.
Dame Indiscreit, I sute of the no grace;
Thow art my fo, for I culd neuir find
No kynd of fauor in thy fenyeit face. (XI.49-52)[25]

The introduction of the first-person pronoun turns this passage into a moment of self-introspection: the reader is asked to identify no longer with Orlando, but with the narrator. This change of genre also indicates a reference to much older models, from Geoffrey Chaucer to John Lydgate, as if the meeting with Ariosto and the intermediary translation had allowed Stewart to look back at a poetic tradition that appeared to be concluded in other national literatures, but, it would appear, not yet in Scotland.

[22] (I shall compact all the rest in one mass, with no less speed than this pen of mine may run).

[23] By choosing to address one of the Fates rather than one of the Muses, Stewart appears to be following the example of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, a poem he shows himself acquainted with also elsewhere.

[24] (I wish Boccaccio could take my place, in order to write this tragedy perfectly; or the revered Ovid would perform the same, turning it into a Metamorphosis, in his stately style).

[25] (No force is enough to constrain your fickleness. Indiscreet Dame, I ask you no favour; you are my enemy, since I could never find favour in your deceitful face).

The experimental nature of this translation becomes more meaningful when we consider the cultural context in which it was undertaken. The carefully prepared nature of the codex, its obvious destination as a presentation manuscript, and the circumstances that are known of Stewart's life, clearly indicate that the whole enterprise should be seen as an instance of coterie writing, as convincingly argued by Katherine McClune:

> As a handwritten text, its circulation is more limited than that of a printed book; it is directed at an exclusive audience (James VI); certain poems allude to events which presumably might have been familiar to a contemporary audience … In this presentation manuscript for the literary connoisseur James VI, the contents presumably comprise a selection of what Stewart perceived to be his most successful pieces of verse. (McClune 2013b, 121)

The recent editor of the *Roland Furious* shares the conventional scholarly opinion that this text is part of the literary activity promoted and supported by King James VI in the 1580s, an activity that allegedly prompted the creation of a circle of poets, translators and musicians, known in some modern scholarship as the Castalian band (Heddle 2008, 12-14).[26] Yet the very nature of the manuscript offers controversial evidence. The paratextual apparatus is imposing and perhaps slightly excessive, with 'a large number of prefatory, dedicatory, introductory, and even valedictory poems all flattering James and deprecating [Stewart's] own skill' (Spiller 2010, 62). The fact that Stewart, because of his peculiar life circumstances, was not actually part of the courtly coterie, throws new light on the work as an attempt on the part of the author/scribe to ingratiate himself with the King, and to enter a circle in which he did not belong (McClune 2013b, 124-126). Michael Spiller's careful examination of the manuscript leads him to suggest that it was not only put together but also physically written by Stewart, and that the choice of texts was completely his, not prompted by the King. The order in which the texts are presented is the result of a progress from lighter to graver subjects, 'from romantic action to pious moral reflection' (Spiller 2010, 63). At the same time, the whole collection may be read as a 'Stewart sampler', along the lines of the needlework samplers young ladies used to present in later times: 'a composed piece (or pieces) that showed mastery of a variety of stitches, a competence in colour, an ability to represent different shapes and even scenes' (64). This might explain why, after this one act of scribal publication, we have no further trace of Stewart of Baldynneis writing or circulating his poems. If the 'Stewart sampler' might be read as the nobleman's bid to obtain a place at court, once this attempt failed, as shown by the lack of advancement at court for Stewart, and the lack of response on the part of the King (Verweij 2016, 47-50), there was no further attempt on Stewart's part to promote his literary efforts.

The very nature of this manuscript offers an explanation and a raison d'être for Stewart's attitude towards Ariosto's poem. Approaching the Ariosto translation from this perspective, what changes for us is the *intentio auctoris*: we might read *Roland Furious* as a literary game for the cognoscenti, remembering that the intended reader, James VI, had access to Ariosto's original thanks to his mother's library, and could look at this translation as an experiment upon Ariosto. This gave Stewart extraordinary freedom in the treatment of his material, and also invited him to impose on his manipulation of Ariosto's poem a moralizing, ascending order that would mirror the larger structure of the manuscript as a whole, in a sort of *mise-en-abyme*.

[26] The notion of a Castalian band was first prompted in Shire 1969, and later discussed and made almost canonical in Jack 1972, 54-89. The first scholar to voice doubts on the composition and role of this coterie was Bawcutt 2001. See also Van Heijnsbergen 2013.

5. *Indirect Translation: A Theoretical Model*

Indirect translation, as this analysis has shown, may denote a much more complex progress than the simple passage from one text to the other. Not only can we state with a fair degree of assurance that Stewart had occasion to look at the Italian original and to alter his own text accordingly; we may also hypothesize that the very fact of having French intermediary text(s) at his disposal allowed him to take into consideration the original, which in its daunting monumentality might have proved impossible to approach on its own, and to manipulate it freely. An investigation of the work of indirect translation is often vitiated by a sense that a translator who is not looking directly at the original is in some sense diminished, but in this case we might posit instead that the use of intermediary sources created a network filiation that is far more complex than direct translation.

One major issue when we approach this topic is the shift in the critical responses to the whole issue of early modern translations and imitations of Ariosto. One of the first scholars who dealt with Stewart of Baldynneis' work, Geoffrey A. Dunlop, celebrating in 1915 the publication of first printed edition of the Scottish poet's works and focusing his attention on the *Roland Furious*, used this instance to reflect on comparative studies at large:

> The study of comparative literature is often looked upon as rather barren employment. But it is by no means such a superficial and vain study as at first sight appears. An intelligent student realises that the results obtained by such research form an important part of the history of the development of expression, which in turn must form an important chapter of the history of civilisation. (1915, 303)

Dunlop's plea helps us understand the prejudices the scholarly community had to overcome in order to approach translation with an objectively critical eye. Twenty years earlier, an Italian scholar, Francesco Flamini, had been particularly abrasive in his discussion of Desportes' imitations from Italian poetry, calling him 'un poeta italiano camuffato alla francese' (1895, 347) (an Italian poet dressed up as a Frenchman). Equally dismissive was Cecilia Rizza when, assessing French poetry in the early years of the seventeenth century as 'espressione di un momento di transizione confuso e contraddittorio' (1958, 431; the outcome of a confused and contradictory translational moment), linking such confusion and contradiction to its being strongly influenced by Italian poetry, and thus deviating from the true development of French poetry. Interestingly, different poetic traditions excite different critical responses on the subject of literary imitation and foreign influence. In the same years in which Rizza was condemning French poetry for not being true to itself, Ian Ross, discussing the development of Scottish literature in the late sixteenth century, identified the strength of poets at King James' court with their very dependence on foreign models: 'Their work is nourished on European civilization: in no sense is it provincial. But once King James took his Court to England in 1603, he abandoned Scottish poetry to the assaults of a narrow theology and to a lamentable diminution of contacts with foreign literature' (1962, 267).

Statements of this kind may strike us today as naive, since in early modern studies the cultural turn has become a dominant form of approach, yet there are still traces of this attitude in our study of texts such as the translation under examination here. Even the recent editor of *Roland Furious* had some difficulty in accommodating the concept of translation as a form of invention: discussing the work of the Pléiade, Heddle calls their literary efforts a 'necromantically creative imitation of Greek, Latin, and Italian sources', then contradicts her former statement by claiming that these writers 'painted a new picture of the poet as Orpheus reborn; an interpreter of God's ways to man, a man with a vocation, inspired by the neo-Platonic idea of "divine fury"

or inspiration' (2008, 16). Beyond any stylistic or aesthetic consideration, we feel bound to measure the closeness or distance of the Scottish poem from an *original*, in this case Ariosto's text, which acquires merit by the sole virtue of being, supposedly, original. By the same token, we measure the role of Philippe Desportes or Jean Martin as links in a chain of influence in which the passage from one text to the next is by definition a matter of descendance, as if the chain of transmission could be represented through the image of a genealogical tree whose root acts as *fons et origo* of everything that is artistically valuable in any of the deriving branches. In this attitude, there is undoubtedly at play what Joshua Reid calls 'the Romantic veneration of the original author' (2014), a veneration that has coloured our approach to the Renaissance over the past two hundred years.

In this context it is easy to see why, in spite of a recent surge of interest in translation studies, indirect translation may still lack a systematic approach and even a recognizable terminology.[27] Its role and its relation with imitation in late medieval and early modern Europe is now being approached as a subject of critical enquiry, and individual case studies may be illuminating. It is the case of A.S.G. Edwards' examination of John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, the already mentioned translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* via the French version by Laurent de Premierfait. After analysing the role of the two translators and of Lydgate's erudite patron, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, as well as William Calverley's sixteenth-century manipulation of Lydgate's work, Edwards acknowledges the difficulty of defining the final result:

> it is, in effect, a form of retranslation, a strategic redeployment and amalgamation of Calverley's main source text with other materials. This is, then, a curiously hybrid literary form in which different portions of Lydgate's work and elsewhere are blended in ways that become stylistically and tonally indistinguishable. (2013, 30)

The scholar goes on to note that this instance is not unique, and indeed, upon reflection, it seems an inevitable outcome of a century in which manuscript and print culture fruitfully intermingled, while the concept of author had not yet developed to the point of acting as a straitjacket to the text's mobility.

We should perhaps find a different metaphor for our reflections on the progress of translation and imitation. The wealth of interlacing stories offered by Ariosto makes selective reading and transformative translation easier than it would be with a more tightly-knit narrative. This examination of Stewart's approach to *Orlando Furioso* has highlighted the role of the Italian poem as a quarry, whose very open structure offers subsequent writers the possibility of mining, of identifying an individual path to retrace themes, characters, plots, or symbols. This is confirmed by the existence of fragments of Ariosto's poem being embedded in texts so far in time and cultural space as John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Giacomo Leopardi's *Canti*. The dividing line between original work and translation becomes blurred, to the point that we might apply to a poem such as Stewart's *Roland Furious* Warren Boutcher's provocative question: 'What, though, if we read Renaissance translations as "original" works by authors who happen to be translating?' (2000, 46).

Such a reading might be supported by early modern literary theory. In his *Deffence et Illustration de le Langue Françoise*, du Bellay urged contemporary poets to follow the examples of Roman writers, who became great by imitating:

[27] Some attempts have been made, especially as concerns contemporary translation. For a recent appraisal of indirect translation and the critical response to the phenomenon, see Assis, *et al.* 2017. This is an introduction to a special issue of *Translation Studies*, entirely devoted to indirect translation. See also <http://www.indirectrans.com/index.html>, accessed 1 February 2022.

Si les Romains (dira quelqu'un) n'ont vaqué à ce labeur de traduction, par quelz moyens donques ont ilz peu ainsi enrichir leur langue, voyre jusques à l'egaller quasi à la Greque? Immitant les meilleurs aucteurs Grecz, se transformant en eux, les devorant, et apres les avoir bien digerez, les convertissant en sang et nouriture, se proposant, chacun selon son naturel, et l'argument qu'il vouloit elire, le meilleur aucteur, dont ilz observoint diligemment toutes les plus rares et exquises vertuz, et icelles comme grephes, ainsi que j'ay dict devant, entoint et apliquoint à leur langue. (Du Bellay in Helgerson 2006, 336-337)[28]

The discussion on the merits and characteristics of translation was of central interest among French intellectuals in the mid-sixteenth century; the nutritional metaphor, expressing the connection between imitation and mimesis, became especially meaningful (Trotot 2019). In the same year, 1549, in which Du Bellay published his *Deffence*, Thomas Sébillet published his translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia*, inserting in the preface a defence of his work as a translator who would not follow the original *verbum de verbo*:

Si ie fay moins pour moy en traduisant anciens auteurs qu'en cérchant inventions nouvelles, ie ne suy toutefois tant a reprendre que celuy qui se vante d'avoir trouvé, ce qu'il ha mot a mot traduit des autres (1549, n.p.)[29]

The previous year, in his *Art Poétique*, Sébillet had also explored the concept of translation:

La Version ou Traduction est aujourd'huy le Poëme plus frequent et mieux receu dés estimés Pöètes et dés doctes lecteurs, a cause que chacun d'eus estime grand oeuvre et de gran pris, rendre la pure et argentine invention dés Pöètes dorée et enrichie de notre langue. Et vrayement celuy et son oeuvre meritent grande louenge, qui a peu proprement et naïvement exprimer en son langage, ce qu'en autre avoit mieux escrit au sien, aprés l'avoir bien conceu en son esperit. (1988, 187-188)[30]

At a time in which the idea of plagiarism had not yet entered the consciousness of intellectuals, the discussion on the difference between authentic or servile translation and free adaptation called into question the whole relationship of writers with ancient or contemporary models, among whom Ariosto's poem had made a belated but triumphal entry.

The Scottish courtly coterie, with its interest in contemporary French poetry, was of course aware of the debate. King James had summed up the whole issue very briefly in *Reulis and Cautelis*, partly through his strictures against close translation, partly by insisting that by using images that were frequently to be found in older poets 'it will appeare ye bot imitate and that it cummis not of your awin inventioun, quhilk is ane of the cheif properteis of ane poete' (James 1997, 468; it will appear both that you imitate and that it does not come from your own invention, which is one of the chief traits of a poet). Yet James' treatise, youthful and

[28] (If the Romans, someone will say, did not devote themselves to this labor of translation, then by what means were they able so to enrich their language, indeed to make it almost the equal of Greek? By imitating the best Greek authors, transforming themselves into them, devouring them, and, after having thoroughly digested them, converting them into blood and nourishment, selecting, each according to his own nature and the topic he wished to choose, the best author, all of whose rarest and most exquisite strengths they diligently observed and, like shoots, grafted them, as I said earlier, and adapted them to their own language).

[29] (If I do less for myself in translating ancient authors than in looking for new inventions, nevertheless I am less to blame than he who brags of having invented, while he has translated literally from others).

[30] (The version or translation is today the most frequent poem, and the best appreciated by estimable poets and learned readers, since each of them believes it a great and worthy enterprise to translate the pure and silver invention of poets, made golden and enriched by out tongue. And really we should praise the writer whose work can properly and ingenuously express in his language what others have written in theirs, after having conceived it well in their spirit).

derivative, finds little correspondence in the actual work of the poets at his court – and Stewart, in particular, was exploring a far more sophisticated possibility of interaction with his sources.

Moving from early modern to contemporary responses, the theoretical model I propose to use to describe indirect translation as practiced in early modern Europe is indebted to a theory recently proposed in the field of biological science. I refer to David Quammen's fascinating book on evolutionary biology, *The Tangled Tree*. By applying molecular phylogenetics as a method, Quammen proposes a new, post-Darwinian mode of reading evolution, eschewing the simple linear descent based on the survival of the fittest and proposing instead horizontal gene transfer:

> Evolution is trickier, far more intricate, than we had realized. The tree of life is more tangled. Genes don't move just vertically. They can also pass laterally across species boundaries, across wider gaps, even between different kingdoms of life. (2018, xi)

As summarized in a recent interview,

> the limbs and the branches on the tree of life don't always diverge, diverge, diverge into a great crown, but sometimes they come together and converge; lineages on the tree of life converging to create new possibilities undreamed of by Charles Darwin and by all classical Darwinian evolution … we need quite a completely different theory of evolution, also in philosophical terms … a theory of evolution not so focused on competition and struggle for existence but focused on cooperation and symbiosis … partnerships among lineages and different organisms, one organism within another, endosymbiosis. (*Interviste impossibili* 2020)

Endosymbiosis seems an excellent category to describe literary enterprises such as John Stewart of Baldynneis' poem, travelling through Ariosto and Desportes to evoke the forgotten models of Boccaccio, Chaucer, Lydgate, Ovid. By so doing, as I have attempted to show here, Stewart does not simply add new episodes or images to the bare bones of his most direct source, but also contaminates it, practising a form of endosymbiosis that results in the interaction between different genres and poetic modes. From the genre to the vocabulary to the stylistic choices, everything is enriched and refined by the partnership between disparate texts. A model based on cooperation and contamination rather than competition and individuality may be better suited to understand the nature of early modern indirect translation than any linear model.

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'till death us do part' The Afterlife of Early Modern Religious English

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Abstract

In 2011 and 2012 two important anniversaries were commemorated by church services, sermons, round tables, conferences and documentaries, during which hyperbolic acclamation (aka *AVolatry*) was showered on the so-called King James Bible (KJB), also known as the Authorized Version (AV), on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of its publication (1611) and the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of its last official edition (1662), which is still in use (if so desired). Tributes were paid to the translators of the Bible and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, who is considered to be the main author of the 1549 and 1552 editions, upon the latter of which subsequent editions published after his execution are based. These cornerstones of the liturgy of the Church of England, which, until the early nineteenth century, was the predominant church in the land, were claimed to have made an enormous contribution to the development and embellishment of the English language. However, one of the main aims of this article is to argue that this contribution deserves more critical scrutiny. When these two texts first appeared, the BCP in 1549, imposed on an unwilling people in place of the traditional Latin liturgy, was challenged by a serious rebellion, which was crushed with extreme violence by government forces. The KJB was considered to be nothing more than a new edition of the last (1602) printing of the Bishops' Bible; in the words of the translators themselves*:* '… we never thought from the beginning, that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one … but to make a good one better'. The consecration of these two texts as 'timeless classics' was largely the work of the nineteenth century. In the second half of the twentieth century they were mostly replaced by contemporary versions. The 'thou God' has become the 'you God'.

Keywords*: AVolatry, Book of Common Prayer (BCP), Church of England (C.of E.), King James Bible (KJB), Thomas Cranmer*

1. *Till Death Us Do Part*

The title of this article is one of the best known statements from Cranmer's BCP. One good opportunity for the examination of

the stages through which the editions of the BCP passed from 1549 to 1662 is by comparing the wedding vows, since they were in the vernacular, together with other sections, even in the pre-Reformation Latin rites, so that the couple, in this case, could understand what they were swearing to:[1]

Sarum Rite (Brook 1965, 198; Brightman 1921, vol.2 804):

Quod si puella sit, discoopertam habeat manum, si vidua tectam. Vir eam recipiat in Dei fide & sua seruandam, sicut voluit coram Sacerdote, & teneat eam per manum suam dexteram in manu sua dextera, & sic det fidem mulieri per verba de presenti ita dicens, docente Sacerdote. (Renwick 2021, 98)

I *N.* take the [thee] *N.* to my wedded wyf to haue and to holde, fro this day forwarde for better: for wors: for richere: for poorer: in sykenesse and in hele: tyl dethe vs departe if holy chyrche it woll [will] ordeyne, and therto I plight the my trouthe.

Manum retrahendo.

Deinde dicat mulier docente Sacerdote.

I N. take the N. to my Wedded housbonder to haue and to holde fro this day for warde for better: for Worse: for richer: for pouere: in sykenesse et in hele: to be bonere and buxum in bedde and at te borde tyll dethe vs departhe if holy chyrche it wol ordeyne and ther to. I plight the my trouthe.

Manum retrahendo.

'To be bonere and buxum, in bed and at the borde' meant something like 'to please her husband in bed at night and be an obedient housewife and cook ('borde' referring to the kitchen cupboard) during the day. Clearly Cranmer adapted the above English text to meet his standards of humanist decorum (especially removing any reference to bedtime activities) adding 'love and cherish' but also expecting the wife 'to obey' her husband and moving the vow for both parties in a more evangelical direction by replacing 'holy church' with God. 'Departhe', here means 'separate' (MacCulloch 2016, 420-421).

BCP 1549:

I *N.* take thee *N.* to my wedded wife, to haue and to holde from this day forwarde, for better, for wurse, for richer, for poorer, in sickenes, and in health, to loue and to cherishe, til death vs departe: according to Goddes holy ordeinaunce: And therto I plight thee my trouth.

I *N.* take thee *N.* to my wedded husbande, to haue and to holde from this day forwarde, for better, for woorse, for richer, for poorer, in sickenes, and in health, to loue and cherishe, and to obey, till death vs departe: according to Goddes holy ordeinaunce: And thereto I geue thee my trouth. (Cummings 2011, 66)

[1] Since the 1552, 1559 and 1604 versions concerning this point are very close, comparison has been limited to the pre-Reformation Latin rites, 1549 and 1662. The BCP texts are taken from Cummings 2011. The exhaustive catalogue of the editions of the BCP is Griffiths 2002.

BCP 1662:

I *N*. take thee *N.* to my wedded wife, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part, according to Gods holy ordinance; and thereto I plight thee my troth.

I *N*. take thee *N.* to my wedded husband, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish and obey, till death us do part, according to Gods holy ordinance; and thereto I give thee my troth. (Cummings 2011, 436)

The only difference in this post-Cranmerian version, apart from the updating of the spelling, is the replacement of an obsolete verb (plight), while maintaining the rhythm of the phrase, with a morpho-syntactic lexical shift in the subjunctive mood and a non-emphatic periphrastic 'do' (which was already somewhat old-fashioned; Nervalainen 2006, 108; Barber 1997, 263-264).

One of the distinguishing features of the C. of E. is its close links with the monarchy, on the basis of the principle 'cuius regio, eius religio' (i.e., 'whose realm, their religion' – meaning that the religion of the ruler is adopted by his/her subjects). This inevitably means that important religious royal (which also means state) ceremonies are held in important C. of E. churches. This, of course, is true of the enormously popular royal weddings.[2] Interestingly the two most recent weddings reflected different attitudes to religious English. William and Kate (Westminster Abbey 29 April 2011) chose traditional language i.e., an adapted version of the 1662 BCP:[3]

I *N.* take thee, *N.* to my wedded husband/wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse; for richer, for poorer; in sickness and in health; to love and to cherish, till death us do part, according to God's holy law; and thereto I give thee my troth.

Harry and Meghan (St George's Chapel Windsor Castle 19 May 2018) chose the version in the latest C.of E. Prayer Book: Common Worship (2000), which replaces all but one obsolete item:

I, *N*, take you *N*, to be my wife/husband, to have and to hold from this day forward; for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part; according to God's holy law. In the presence of God I make this vow.

For the replacement of this obsolete, but very familiar item[4] we must turn to the American BCP (1979):

In the Name of God, I, *N.*, take you, *N.*, to be my husband/wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, until we are parted by death. This is my solemn vow.

[2] The William-Kate wedding attracted a national TV audience of 27 million, while Harry and Meghan's was 18 million.

[3] They chose the second version described in the C. of E. Wedding Ceremony Words 2015: 'A service from the Book of Common Prayer (1662) is also a legally approved service. There is also a slightly updated version of the 1662 service, known as 'Alternative Services: Series One' (1928). The language is still old and traditional.

[4] *Till Death Us Do Part* was a hilarious British television sitcom that aired on BBC1 from 1965 to 1975. The title was enough for everybody to know that it dealt with the life of a married couple.

The former Bishop of London Richard Chartres in a sermon for the 350th anniversary of the 1662 BCP (2012) referred to the lack of comment on the part of regular journalists on the language choice by William and Kate, while, in the weeks after the royal wedding on 20 April 2011, the *Church Times* published several letters from members of the clergy shocked by the fact that 'the language of the liturgy remained buried in the past' and that 'once again the opportunity to present the church in a more up to date way was missed' (Chartres 2012). It seems that Harry was showing his unconventional style while his more conservative brother was under the influence of his father. Charles is notorious for his dislike of modernity whether it be in language or architecture. He even asked the Dean of Windsor to compose the following prayer in (semi) pseudo-Tudor English, especially for the service of prayer and dedication in St George's Chapel after his civil marriage to Camilla:

<u>O</u> God our Father <u>who</u>, for <u>them that love thee</u>, <u>makest</u> all things work together for the good; we thank <u>thee</u> that, <u>of thy faithfulness, thou dost</u> come out to meet us on our pilgrimage of life. Stay with us now and <u>grant</u> <u>that</u>, as we learn to love <u>thee</u> more, we may deepen our dedication to <u>thy</u> service, and find in <u>thee</u> the fullness of eternal life.[5]

2. *The Transition from Latin to the Vernacular*

In the list of Audio-visual materials in the *Works Cited* section there is a recording of a live Tridentine Mass for the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (25 March) recorded in November 1994. It offers a rare experience of a Mass in which most of the spoken parts are merely whispered (*tacite voce*) by the celebrant, and thus only just audible even to those standing near him. It provides a good idea of what it was like to be present at a sung mass of the Sarum Rite, in pre-Reformation England. Although the recording is modern, the traditional Latin Roman Mass was very similar to the Sarum Rite and had not changed for many centuries. A careful check of the relationship between audible (i.e., intoned and sung parts) and inaudible (basically whispered) ones gives a ratio of 65% inaudible to 35% audible. Since in the early sixteenth century practically nobody, except the clergy involved and the choir, had access to printed mass texts, and, in any case, only a few worshippers knew any Latin,[6] everything had to be accepted by the laity on trust. This situation came to an abrupt end with the 1549 BCP, which was 100% audible and in English, though, as we shall see, not everybody was satisfied with this new situation.

'The experience of worship in late medieval cathedral and parish church' research project (The Experience of Worship [2003-2014]), headed by John Harper and Sally Harper of Bangor University, (see also Harper *et al.* 2016), is a fascinating close up of what it was like to be a worshipper at Salisbury Cathedral – the birthplace of the Sarum Rite – and a small Welsh country church around the year 1535, well into the reign of Henry VIII, when, despite the break with Rome and the Act of Supremacy of 1534, (albeit with the Pope's name crossed out of the missals!) the full Catholic Latin Rite was still the norm and remained so until the King's

[5] The parts underlined are non-contemporary English. For this and other examples of pseudo-Tudor English in liturgical contexts see Denton 2008, 416.

[6] A curious case of what is known as 'dog Latin' (i.e, words that sound like Latin but are not) is the conjuror's 'hocus pocus', according to Archbishop Tillotson (1684, 34): 'In all probability those common juggling words of *hocus pocus* are nothing else but a corruption of *hoc est corpus*, by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the Church of Rome in their trick of Transubstantiation'. The anti-Catholic bias of the Archbishop of Canterbury (1691-1694) is evident in his insinuation that the Roman Catholic dogma of transubstantiation is nothing more than a trick.

death in 1547. The rich audio-visual material in the excellent website provides full length enactments of Sarum Rite rituals, including processions, sung masses and offices made possible by a very generous grant.

Peter Marshall brings up the question of 'whether "Henrician Catholicism" should be regarded as a tautology or an oxymoron' (2005, 22). The King would have had no doubts about opting for the former. And yet Eamon Duffy, in his influential study (2005, 379-477), devotes three chapters to the 'attack on traditional religion', the first two covering the years 1533/4-1539 and 1539-1547 (Henry VIII), while the third (448-477) covers the reign of Edward VI. The break under Edward was radical (especially with the introduction of the 1552 BCP following the more cautious 1549 edition), and belongs to the European phenomenon known as Reformation i.e., replacement of the traditional Catholic liturgy with vernacular texts, rejection of transubstantiation, auricular confession, prayers for the dead, communion in only one kind instead of both the bread and wine for the laity, prayers to saints, and purgatory, etc. As far as what is known as far as (what some scholars call) the 'Henrician Reformation' is concerned, the only real similarity is the break with Rome, and is thus something of a misnomer. Rather than Protestant, the English Church under Henry was basically Catholic without the Pope.

Henry was flanked in church affairs by Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer, both of whom were evangelical sympathizers and he allowed himself to be diverted along this line to some extent, but not too far. As has already been mentioned, he clung to the solid Catholic faith he had been brought up in. The Latin Sarum Rite Mass and other traditional ceremonies were the core of religious observance from the Chapel Royal to the smallest rural parish church.[7] As late as 1544, a new edition of Sarum Rite service books beginning with the Breviary, but going no further, incorporating post break with Rome adjustments (*Portiforium secundum vsum Sarum nouiter impressus, et a plurimis pergatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptum omittitur, vna cum aliis que christianissimo noster regis statuto repugnant*) (Anonymous 1544a),was printed by Grafton and Whitchurch. Cromwell was a keen promoter of making the Bible in English available to the faithful and Henry encouraged him in this venture, as long as the translation used was not the one by the heretic Tyndale (who had been executed in Flanders in 1536) and whom Henry detested, among other reasons, because he had criticised his divorce (Denton 2010, 147-150). Henry was flattered by comparison with Old Testament Kings handing down the Word of God to the people (and he is depicted thus on the title page of a number of English Bibles published at the time). As a consequence, injunctions were issued in 1536 and 1538 ordering the setting up of a large copy of the English Bible in every church for private reading.[8] At the same time, the evangelically-minded Bishop of Salisbury Nicholas Shaxton ordered the Epistle and Gospel at High Mass to be read in English, and, in 1543, an order in convocation provided for the reading of one chapter from the English Bible at Matins after the *Te Deum* and at Vespers after the *Magnificat*. Ironically, the versions by Coverdale (1535, second edition 1537), Rogers ('Matthew') (1537) and Taverner (1539 – a 'pirated edition') were heavily indebted to Tyndale. Nevertheless, they were granted licences by the King, who obviously had not done his homework, but relied on the advice of Cranmer and Cromwell. There was an attempt to reduce the evangelical character of the first edition of Coverdale and the result was the second edition (1537) removing most of the controversial glosses, which eventually became the Great Bible (1539, second edition 1540 with a preface by Cranmer).

[7] We are fortunate in being able to read the account of life in the parish of Morebath in this period, written by the parish priest (Duffy 2001).

[8] The standard history of the English Bible is Daniell 2003.

Far from leading to an atmosphere of harmony, the presence of the Bible in churches was actually often the source of trouble. Opponents of the traditional Latin Rite began reading from the Bible in a loud voice, ostensibly to help the illiterate, but thus disturbing the celebration going on in the chancel and this led to violent clashes. News of these disturbances reached the King's ears and his reaction was the *Acte for thadvauncement of true Religion* (1543; Luders *et al.* 1810-1828, III, 894-897) forbidding reading of the English Bible by: 'women … artificers prentisers journeymen serving men of the degrees of yomen or undre, husbandmen nor laborers' – the only exceptions being: 'everye noble man and gentleman being a householder ...' and 'everye merchaunte man being a householder and occupying the seate of merchaundayse' and 'everye noble wooman and gentlewooman in private' (896). He had previously come firmly down on the side of traditional Catholicism with the *Act of Six Articles* (1539; Luders *et al.* 1810-1828*,* III, 739-743, meant to abolish diversity of opinion) which decreed the obligation to accept: 1) Transubstantiation; 2) Communion in one kind (i.e, bread) for the laity; 3) no clerical marriage; 4) vows of chastity; 5) private masses; 6) need for auricular confession.

After the fall and execution of Cromwell in 1540, Henry relied increasingly on Cranmer who, being something of a liturgical tightrope walker, had managed to keep his head (literally, unlike Cromwell) for advice in religious matters, showing some flexibility after the traditionalist clampdown. The most significant result was the English Litany commissioned by the King in need of popular support for his war with France. On 23 May 1544, a solemn procession took place in St Paul's Cathedral, during which Cranmer's litany was sung for the first time in a musical setting by Thomas Tallis (1505-1585).[9] The new litany was a much revised version of the traditional *Litaniae Sanctorum*. The Latin text contains the names of 69 saints + 3 attributes of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Cranmer reduced this part to:

Holy virgin Mary, mother of God our Sauyour Jesu Chryst
Praye for vs
All holy Aungels and Archaungels and all holye orders of blessed spirites
Praye for vs
All holy patriarkes, and Prophetes, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, & Virgins, and all the blessed company of heauen
Praye for vs. (Anonymous 1544b)

That he had included this part only to satisfy his royal master, emerges from the fact that he cut it from the version of the litany in the first BCP after the King's death, seeing that praying to the saints was unacceptable to evangelicals.

He also had a hand in the King's Primer (Butterworth 1953, 291-303), printed by Grafton in 1545,[10] which was mostly traditional in content, though the fact that it was in English is a sign of encouragement for the young to learn their prayers in their own language, and this included the Hail Mary, which two years later, after the King's death, would soon be forgotten.

The reign of the boy King Edward VI, the 'Young Josiah, Biblical destroyer of pagan idols' marked the beginning of the first true European style Reformation in England and break with traditional liturgy and doctrine, albeit by stages. Nevertheless, from the Continental point of view, the new English National Church was still somewhat anomalous, with its bishops, two archbishops, collegiate churches and cathedrals with their deans and chapter of canons.

[9] A beautifully performed version of the litany as originally written for this special occasion is available on the CD 'Thomas Tallis Songs of Reformation' listed in the Audio-visual Sources.

[10] Ten English editions, two Latin-English and one Latin edition.

The new religious setup was in the hands of Protector Somerset (1547-1549) and Archbishop Cranmer, the latter no longer engaged in measures in contrast with his evangelical convictions. The first stage consisted in the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel at High Mass (still in Latin) in English from the 'Great Bible' (1547), followed by an English Communion text to be inserted in the Latin Mass (1548), the climax being the publication of Cranmer's BCP entirely in English in 1549.

Liturgical texts are performative in nature (Lukken 1992) and thus contain numerous rubrics addressing the celebrant. The difference between those in the Latin Sarum texts and those of the BCPs is considerable. A typical Sarum rubric consists of directions on posture and gesture as well as voice level, for example: '… accedat Sacerdos ad altare, et dicat in medio altaris tacite voce, inclinatoque corpore et junctis minibus …'.[11] A typical rubric from the BCP has quite different emphasis: '*Then shalbe read ii lessons distinctly with a loude voice, that the people maye hearen …The minister that readeth the lesson standing and turning hym so as he maye beste be hearde of all suche as be present*'. This foregrounding of audibility is not surprising in a completely new situation in church services which had up to then been mostly inaudible and what could be heard incomprehensible. However, this does not mean that this new situation was welcomed with open arms; far from it. One novelty which will not have been well received was what followed (or rather did not follow) the consecration of the bread and wine: '*These words before rehersed are to be saied, turning still to the Altar, without any eleuacion, or shewing the Sacrament to the people*' (Cummings 2011, 31). Perhaps to render the transition less traumatic for the faithful, deprived of their gaze upon the elevated bread and wine, Cranmer did include (in 1549 only) an *epiclesis*, or invocation of the Holy Spirit (taken from the Eastern Orthodox Rite), marked in the printed text by two crosses (a multimodal sign indicating signs of the cross by the celebrant over the Eucharistic elements):

Heare vs (O merciful father) we besech thee; and with thy holy spirite and worde, vouchsafe to bl✠esse and sanc✠tifie these thy gyftes, and creatures of bread and wyne, that they maie be vnto vs the bodye and bloude of thy moste derely beloued sonne Jesus Christe.

Another transitory characteristic of this 1549 BCP is the inclusion of what amounts to an English translation of the ordinary (i.e., the fixed parts) of the Latin Mass under the title: *The Supper of the Lorde, and the holy Communion, commonly called the Masse*. This is the first time (and the last) that the word Mass would be used to describe a mainstream C. of E. service.[12] Cranmer was not particularly interested in church music, but he did envisage singing with the participation of 'clerkes'. However, he will have insisted on his well-known principle of a musical setting that was 'not full of notes, but, as nere as may be, for euery sillable a note' (quoted by MacCulloch 2016, 330). To see the difference between the Mass settings of the great composers of the florid polyphonic Latin church music of the first half of the sixteenth century, it is enough to compare the setting of the word 'Benedictus' which follows the Sanctus: 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini' with the English translation in the BCP set to music by John Merbecke (c. 1505-1585): 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord'.[13] In the 'Missa O Michael' set by John Taverner (c. 1490-1545) the word 'Benedictus' (4 syllables)

[11] <http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/Sarum/Ordinary.htm>, accessed 1 February 2022.

[12] Except for the popular use of 'Midnight Mass' on Christmas Eve and usage by the 'Anglo-Catholic' wing of Anglicanism since the mid-nineteenth century.

[13] *The Booke of Common praier noted*, London Grafton 1550.

is given 99 notes, taking up 16 bars and taking 1 min. 15 secs. to sing. The word 'Blessed' (2 syllables) in the setting by Merbecke is unsurprisingly given 2 notes (!).

The Edwardian regime will have expected the people to welcome the new liturgy in their own language, but they were wrong, especially in the South-West, which was the scene of a major armed rebellion. The rebels demanded the return to the traditional liturgy and ceremonies and they were answered by a sarcastic, hostile message to 'the ignorant men of Devonshire and Cornwall' from Cranmer (Cranmer 1549; MacCulloch 2016, 438-440) and by savage reprisals by government forces (Duffy 2005, 468; Marshall 2017, 333).

A less overt way of challenging the liturgical reform, especially by older priests who had been celebrating the Latin mass for many years was by 'counterfeiting the mass' (Haigh 1993, 176) i.e., by following traditional paralinguistic, vestimentary and kinesic codes, while lay folk continued with their traditional devotions and silent reading of their primers, even though the evangelical reformers aiming to 'subsume private devotion within the public liturgy of the church' (Targoff 2001, 4) made this more difficult. However, this kind of passive resistance was made more difficult by the far more evangelical second BCP of 1552, a product of the new regime following the fall and execution of Somerset.

Some differences between the two BCPs can be illustrated by extracts from the service of Matins (later Morning Prayer) preceded by the Sarum text which was Cranmer's source:

Sarum Rite

Incipiat serutium hoc modo
Domine labia mea aperies.
Chorus respondeat
Et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam.
Sacerdos statim
Deus in adiutorium meum intende.
R
Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
Et in saecula saeculorum. Amen. (Brightman 1921, vol. I, 132-133)

BCP 1549

An ordre for Mattyns dayly through the yere
The priest beeyng in the quier, shall begynne with a loude voyce the Lordes prayer, called the Pater noster.
…
Then lykewyse he shall saye.
O Lorde open thou my lippes.
Aunswere
And my mouth shall shewe forth thy prayse.
Priest
O God, make spede to saue me.
Aunswere
O Lorde, make haste to helpe me.
Priest
Glory be to the father, and to the sonne, and to the holy ghost.
As it was in the beginning, is nowe, and euer shal be: worlde without ende. Amen.
Prayse ye the Lorde.
And from Easter to Trinitie Sonday
Alleluya (*Ibid.*)

BCP 1552

An ordre for Morninge prayer dayly throughout the yeare
Then shall the Minister begin the Lordes prayer with a loude voice
Then lykewyse he shall saye.
O Lorde, open thou our lyppes.
Aunswere
And our mouth shal shewe forth thy prayse.
Prieste
O God, make spede to saue vs.
Aunswere
O Lord, make haste to helpe vs.
Prieste
Glory be to the father, and to the sonne: and to the holy ghost.
As it was in the beginning, is nowe, and euer shalbe: worlde wythout ende. Amen.
Prayse ye the Lorde. (*Ibid.*)

The differences between the two English versions are subtle but significant, beginning with the introduction of the term 'Minister' and the replacement of the traditional name 'Matins' (one of the chanted monastic hours) with a more homely term. The pronominal switch from singular to plural is particularly significant as it involves both minister and congregation, though the latter had a passive role: in the words of a somewhat hostile source, 'a monotone dialogue between curate and clerk' (Duffy 2005, 465).

3. *World Without End*

'Prayer Book prose has seeped into the collective consciousness more profoundly than that of any other book written in English, even the Bible'. (Cummings 2011, ix)

This statement, linked with the hype surrounding the 350th anniversary of the 1662 BCP, can find some justification, albeit with less emphasis, with regard to one of the most memorable of Cranmer's phrases, which is the title of this section. It is not clear whether he actually invented it, but it certainly began to appear in texts associated with him, especially with the Great Bible (1539, 1540), the bible version used in the first two BCPs (1549, 1552) and in some evangelical primers (especially the King's Primer of 1545; Burton 1834; Butterworth 1953) continuing with the Bishops' Bible (1568) and finally the KJB (1611).

The source is the Latin Doxology (more precisely the Lesser Doxology):

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Cranmer: Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

The phrase in question meaning 'for ever and ever' (which is now preferred in contemporary liturgical texts) entered 'the collective consciousness' providing the title for several films, novels, comics and even three rock groups. Pride of place is occupied by Ken Follet's international bestselling historical novel (2007), set in the fourteenth century in England, followed by a popular TV adaptation (2012).

From the late sixteenth century onwards, writers could count on their readers' or audiences' knowledge of the BCP and KJB when quoting phrases from them, especially while church attendance (which meant C. of E. at least until the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century) was compulsory.[14] Unsurprisingly, Shakespeare is a prime example:

Qu. A time, methinks, too short
To make a world-without-end bargaine in. (*Love's Labour's Lost*, 5.2, 754-755)[15]

Nor dare I chide the world without end houre,
Whilst I, my sovereign, watch the clock for you (Sonnet 57, 5-6)

Charles Dickens also counted on his readers' knowledge of the BCP when describing the school and other institutions in imaginary industrial Coketown with their materialistic attitude, where facts have become the content of a new religion, appropriately represented by a parody of the BCP doxology:

The M'Choakumchild school was all fact, and the school of design was all fact, and the relations between master and man were all fact, and everything was fact between the lying in hospital and the cemetery, and what you couldn't state in figures, or show to be purchaseable in the cheapest market and saleable in the dearest, *was not*, *and never should be, world without end, Amen*. (1854, 168)

He also imitates the obsessive use of the conjunction 'and', a stylistic feature of the KJB.

Samuel Beckett in his play *Happy Days* has the despairing protagonist mumble a half-forgotten prayer invoking eternal life so that she will not have to face death. To achieve this effect he also turns to Cranmer:

… *Long pause.*
WINNIE *(gazing at zenith).* Another heavenly day.
(Pause. Head back level, eyes front, pause.
She clasps hands to breast, closes eyes. Lips
move in inaudible prayer, say ten seconds.
Lips still. Hands remain clasped. Low.) For
Jesus Christ sake Amen. *(Eyes open, hands*
unclasp, return to mound. Pause. She clasps
hands to breast again, closes eyes, lips move
again in inaudible addendum, say five seconds.
Low.) World without end Amen. *(Eyes open,*
hands unclasp, return to mound. Pause.) (1961, 8)

In *Hamlet* (Scene 18, 213) Shakespeare uses a Cranmerian phrase from the Nicene Creed ('And He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead'), when Laertes, jumping into his sister Ophelia's grave, says to the gravedigger: 'Now pile your dust upon the quick and the dead …'. Shakespeare's audience would have understood the reference to the Creed and the meaning of 'quick' (i.e., 'living') and thus Laertes' wish to be buried with his sister's corpse. A modern audience could be somewhat perplexed.

The study by Swift is particularly persuasive when dealing with links between *Macbeth* and the rite of baptism in the BCP (2012, 193-246), not only in Macbeth's and Lady Macbeth's

[14] A fascinating anthology of references to the practice of Anglican liturgy as described in English literature is Taylor 1993.

[15] Shakespeare quotes are from Taylor *et al.* 2016.

obsession with washing the blood from their hands. Furthermore, the knocking at the castle door that follows King Duncan's murder recalls the words spoken by the minister during the rite: 'Knock, and it shall be opened unto you' and 'Open the gate unto us that knock; that these infants may enjoy the everlasting benediction of thy heavenly washing'. When Lady Macbeth cries, 'Out, damned spot' (5.1.30), Swift refers again to baptism, which cleanses every 'spot or wrinkle'(Bishops' Bible 1568, Eph 5.27: 'To make it vnto hym selfe a glorious Churche, not hauyng spot or wrinckle, or any such thyng: but that it should be holy, and without blame').

In a lighter vein we turn to a witty parody by Jane Austen, in *Pride and Prejudice*, where, as a parson's daughter she and her readers (who will all, if married, have participated in a BCP wedding ceremony) were familiar with the words describing the purpose of matrimony. Austen's version is an outrageous parody: Mr Collins makes his marriage proposal to Elizabeth Bennet:

> My reasons for marrying are, first, that I think it a right thing for every clergyman in easy circumstances (like myself) to set the example of matrimony in his parish. Secondly, that I am convinced it will add very greatly to my happiness; and thirdly—which perhaps I ought to have mentioned earlier, that it is the particular advice and recommendation of the very noble lady whom I have the honour of calling patroness. (1813, 148)

All her readers will have noted that he made no mention of love for or the happiness of his bride to be, and actually was interested, above all, in the approval of his noble patroness Lady Catherine de Bourgh.

The real reasons for marriage are set out in the BCP as follows:

> First, It was ordained for the procreation of children, to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and to the praise of his holy Name. Secondly, It was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication; that such persons as have not the gift of continency might marry … Thirdly, It was ordained for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity. (Cummings 2011, 435)

Occasionally the above-mentioned 'collective consciousness' can get things wrong. Probably the most famous case is the attribution to Neville Chamberlain of the phrase 'Peace in our time'. Even a philologist like Stella Brook (1965, 195) linked it with the versicle 'Give peace in our time, o Lord' from the liturgy for Morning and Evening Prayer in the BCP. The phrase was allegedly used by Chamberlain from the balcony of number 10 Downing St. after his return from the disgraceful betrayal of Czechoslovakia at the 1938 Munich conference. The problem is that the media made a mistake with a preposition! What he actually did was to quote Disraeli, who, on his return from the Congress of Berlin in 1878 said 'I have returned from Germany with peace *for* our time'. The misunderstanding no doubt arose from familiarity with the versicle in the BCP in which Cranmer translated the seventh century hymn: 'Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris. Quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis, nisi tu Deus noster' as:

> Priest. Give peace in our time, O Lord.
> Answer. Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God. (BCP 1662, Cummings 2011, 255)

To conclude, a few words about the relationship between the faithful and a liturgy in a language they did not understand. In Italy the first mass in Italian was celebrated in Rome by Pope Paul VI on 7 March 1965. The reception of what they could hear of the Latin mass which the majority could not understand is the subject of a fascinating study by Gian Luigi Beccaria.

One interesting result is that two common words in contemporary Italian are the end product of this misunderstanding: 'visibilio' (2002, 110-111) means a large quantity. Actually it is the result of reciting the Creed in very approximate Latin at the words: 'visibilium omnium et invisibilium' misunderstood as meaning something like 'a lot of things'. The other example is 'repulisti' (107) from Psalm 43 *quare me repulisti?* (Why did you abandon me?) Because of the word sounding something like 'ripulire' (to clean) this word in contemporary Italian means something like a thorough cleaning operation. At least from 1965 Italians can not only hear most of the mass but also understand it!

4. *From the Birth of the KJB to the Rise of AVolatry*

On his way to London, after the death of Elizabeth, King James VI of Scotland, now also James I of England, was met by a delegation of the Godly (aka Puritan) wing of the Church of England and presented with the so-called millenary petition (owing to its alleged 1,000 or so signatures) in the hope that he would apply the austere Presbyterian church set-up in Scotland to his new Kingdom. They were to be disappointed, since James was delighted with the prospect of becoming the head of a Church like that left by Elizabeth. He had had enough of the rigours of Scottish Presbyterianism.

He did, however, agree to hold a three-day conference starting on 14 January 1604 at Hampton Court Palace to discuss the matter. We have a detailed account of the proceedings by William Barlow dean of Chester (Barlow 1604). The Bishops' group was led by Richard Bancroft (at the time bishop of London and from November 1604 to 1610 archbishop of Canterbury) and the Puritans by John Rainolds (president of Corpus Christi College Oxford). On the second day a well-known remark by the King, clearly illustrating his stance on Church government, is recorded twice: 'rouing their calling & vse in the Church, and closed it vppe with this short Aphorisme, No Bishop, no King' and 'But if once you were out, and they in place, I knowe what would become of my Supremacie. No Bishop, no King, as before I sayd'. (Barlow 1604, 27 and 62). The only concrete decision to emerge from the conference followed a proposal by John Rainolds to undertake a new translation of the Bible.

Although the bishops present were satisfied with the version of the Bible read in churches and bearing their name (the so-called Bishops' Bible – first edition 1568, last edition 1602), the King agreed to a new translation (which was to bear his name long after his death, particularly in the USA, while Britain prefers the term 'Authorised Version') mostly because he wanted a more accurate, better researched and less controversial version in contrast with the so-called Geneva Bible (first edition 1560, last edition 1640) which he disliked owing to its 'anti-monarchical' reputation.[16] An example of the King's consequent dislike of polemical marginal notes, which are frequent in the Geneva version, is given below:

Dan. 3:19
Geneva: Then was Nebuchad-nezzar ful of rage, and the forme of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego: therefore he charged and commanded that they shulde heate the fornace at once seuen times more than it was wonte to be heat.
Marginal Note: This declareth that the more, that tyrants rage, & the more witty they shewe them selues in inuenting strange and cruel punishements, the more is God glorified by his seruants to whome he

[16] In 1579 it was published in Scotland and dedicated to the then James VI, but that does not mean that it met with his approval.

giueth constancie to abide the crueltie of their punishment: for euer he deliuereth them from death, or els for this life giueth them a better.

Under the leadership of Bancroft a list of procedures (here in modern spelling) for the six separate companies of a total of 54 scholars meeting in Westminster, Oxford and Cambridge was drawn up following the King's instructions (Campbell 2010, 35-46; Rhodes *et al.* 2013, 176-181):

1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit.
2. The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained, as near as may be, accordingly as they are vulgarly used.
3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, as the word church, not to be translated congregation.
4. When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most eminent Fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogies of faith.
5. The division of chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.
6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed, in the text.
7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.
8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter, or chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.
9. As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for His Majesty is very careful in this point.
10. If any company, upon the review of their book, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the place, and withal send their reasons, to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the General Meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work.
11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority to send to any learned man in the land for his judgment on such a place.
12. Letters to be sent from every Bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as; being skilful in the tongues; have taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.
13. The Directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place, and the King's Professors in Hebrew or Greek in either university.
14. These translations to be used; when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: Tyndale's; Matthew's Rogers'; Coverdale's, Whitchurch's [i.e. the Great Bible]; Geneva. (Rhodes *et al.* 2013, 179-181)

A later instruction:

… three or four of the most ancient and grave divines, in either of the universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned … to be overseers of the translations … for the better observation of the fourth rule. (181)

Despite all these detailed instructions most scholars now agree that the differences between the text of the KJB and Tyndale's translation are rather limited. One widely accepted analysis (Nielsen and Skousen 1998) gives Tyndale's contribution to the KJB New Testament as about 84 % of the text, and for the Old Testament as about 76 %. Below there is a sample from a well-known passage in St. John's gospel first in Tyndale followed by the KJB. The similarities are very striking:

John 14:1-9
Tyndale [1] Let not youre hertes be troubled. Beleue in God, and beleue in me. [2] In my fathers housse are many mansions. If it were not so, I wolde haue tolde you. I go to prepare a place for you. [3] And yf I go to prepare a place for you, I will come agayne, and receaue you euen vnto my selfe that where I am, there maye ye be also. [4] And whither I go ye knowe, and the waye ye knowe. [5] Thomas sayde vnto him: Lorde we knowe not whither thou goest. Also how is it possible for vs to knowe the waye? [6] Jesus sayde vnto him: I am the waye, the truthe and the lyfe. And no man commeth vnto the father, but by me. [7] If ye had knowen me, ye had knowen my father also. And now ye knowe him, and haue sene him. [8] Philip sayde vnto him: Lorde shew vs the father, and it suffiseth vs. [9] Jesus sayde vnto him: haue I bene so longe tyme with you: and yet hast thou not knowen me? Philip, he that hath sene me, hath sene the father. And how sayest thou then: shew vs the father?

KJB [1] Let not your heart be troubled: yee beleeue in God, beleeue also in me.[2] In my Fathers house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would haue told you: I goe to prepare a place for you.[3] And if I goe and prepare a place for you, I will come againe, and receiue you vnto my selfe, that where I am, there ye may be also.[4] And whither I goe yee know, and the way ye know.[5] Thomas saith vnto him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest: and how can we know the way? [6] Iesus saith vnto him, I am the Way, the Trueth, and the Life: no man commeth vnto the Father but by mee.[7] If ye had knowen me, ye should haue knowen my Father also: and from henceforth ye know him, and haue seene him [8] Philip sayth vnto him, Lord, shew vs the Father, and it sufficeth vs.[9] Iesus saith vnto him, Haue I bin so long time with you, and yet hast thou not knowen me, Philip? he that hath seene me, hath seene the father, and how sayest thou then, Shew vs the father?

Seven years later, after the companies had completed their tasks, which were followed by a nine month long period occupied by general meetings in London, when texts were read aloud to test speakability. In an age of widespread illiteracy the ear was foregrounded rather than the eye for a text that was to be read in churches. The completed translation was finally published in 1611:

THE HOLY BIBLE, Conteyning the Old Testament, AND THE NEW: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: & with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised by his Maiesties Speciall Comandement. Appointed to be read in Churches. Imprinted in London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. Anno Dom. 1611.

The printing history for the first hundred years or so is characterised by a number of embarrassing disasters[17] (Campbell 2010, 105-113). The first edition that is virtually identical in spelling and punctuation to modern versions is the impeccable 1769 edition by Benjamin Blaney in Oxford, as illustrated by comparing editions before and after:

Matt.1:20 But while hee thought on these things, behold, the Angel of the Lord appeared vnto him in a dreame, saying, Ioseph thou sonne of Dauid, feare not to take vnto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceiued in her, is of the holy Ghost.

Blaney: But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.

[17] The worst is to be found in the so-called 'wicked Bible' of 1631 which printed at Ex. 20:14 'thou shalt commit adultery' (Campbell 2010, 110, figure 19).

The kowtowing dedicatory epistle to King James is followed by one of the most significant documents in the history of Early Modern translation theory: 'The Translators to the Reader' by Miles Smith (Bishop of Gloucester from 1612) (Rhodes *et al.* 2013, 181-198). As was common at the time, the translation process is presented by Bishop Smith in metaphorical terms (Denton 1992 and 2016, 23-31):

> Translation it is that openeth the window, to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtaine, that we may looke into the most Holy place; that remooueth the couer of the well, that wee may come by the water, euen as Iacob rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well, by which meanes the flockes of Laban were watered. (Rhodes *et al.* 2013, 185)

Another well-known passage illustrates the translators' approach in contrast with both the Puritans and Papists:

> Lastly, wee haue on the one side auoided the scrupulositie of the Puritanes, who leaue the olde Ecclesticall words, and betake them to other, as when they put washing for Baptisme, and Congregation in stead of Church: as also on the other side we haue shunned the obscuritie of the Papists, in their Azimes, Tunike, Rational, Holocausts, Præpuce, Pasche, and a number of such like, whereof their late Translation is full, and that of purpose to darken the sence, that since they must needs translate the Bible, yet by the language thereof, it may bee kept from being vnderstood. But we desire that the Scripture may speake like it selfe, as in the language of Canaan, that it may bee vnderstood euen of the very vulgar. (Rhodes *et al.* 2013, 198)

The reference to Papists concerns the Roman Catholic translation produced at the English college in Douai and completed in 1578 in Reims. A comparison of the KJB and the Douai/Reims version needs no further comment:

> Num.6:17
> KJB: And he shall offer the ramme for a sacrifice of peace offerings vnto the Lord, with the basket of vnleauened bread.
>
> Douai-Reims: The ramme he shal immolate for a pacifique hoste to the Lord, offering withal the baskette of azymes.

The remarks by Smith on the view that the translation he was presenting to readers was a cross between a new translation and a new edition of an already existing one (i.e., the 1602 edition of the Bishops' Bible) did not mean that it would immediately replace existing bibles read out in churches, which it did not. Even though the Bishops' Bible had a poor reputation for accuracy, it continued to be used in churches and the Geneva Bible was still extensively used in private households for private reading, its last edition, dating from 1640, as a handy study bible. Although the KJB proclaims that it is 'appointed to be read in churches' there is no trace of any official edict to this effect. The KJB was gradually purchased by the parishes, where it remained in exclusive use until the mid-twentieth century and after that on a more selective basis (e.g., during choral evensong in cathedrals):

> Truly (good Christian Reader) wee neuer thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one … but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not iustly to be excepted against; that hath bene our indeauour, that our marke. (Rhodes *et al.* 2013, 194)

The translation method chosen was what the most influential translation theorist, at least in the field of biblical translation, called 'formal equivalence'.[18]

Luke 15: 11-14
Εἶπεν δέ Ἄνθρωπός τις εἶχεν δύο υἱούς. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῶν τῷ πατρί Πάτερ, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας: ὁ δὲ διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βίον. καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συναγαγὼν πάντα ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακράν, καὶ ἐκεῖ διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν ἀσώτως. δαπανήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο λιμὸς ἰσχυρὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρξατο ὑστερεῖσθαι.

And hee said, A certaine man had two sonnes:
And the yonger of them said to his father, Father, giue me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he diuided vnto them his liuing. And not many dayes after, the yonger sonne gathered al together, and tooke his iourney into a farre countrey, and there wasted his substance with riotous liuing. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land, and he beganne to be in want.

The English translation of the beginning of the parable of the Prodigal Son from St. Luke's Gospel features 8 occurrences of the conjunction 'and' as against the Greek δέ (3) and καὶ (4). This type of parataxis is excessive by normal English standards, even in the seventieth century. The author of the Gospel was not a native speaker of Greek but was arguably influenced by the need for repetition of the conjunction which in Semitic languages is a marker of formal style.[19]

Since the mid-eighteenth century, the KJB or Authorized Version has been the object of what David Norton calls 'AVolatry' (i.e., an object of unlimited devotion), a good example of hyperbole being the phrase 'the noblest composition in the universe', apparently placing the KJB beyond the planet Earth (!) (Norton 2000, 256; Hamlin 2015, 469) coined by Samuel Jackson Pratt (1777). By the first half of the twentieth century (Norton 2000, 400-404) and later, if the celebrations of its 400th anniversary in 2011 are anything to go by, this trend shows no signs of decline. The anniversary was marked by documentaries (e.g., 'KJB The Book that Changed the World' – Lionsgate docudrama 2011, 'When God Spoke English: the Making of the King James Bible' – BBC 4 documentary 2011), round tables, conferences and publications. During the special service in Westminster Abbey on 16 November 2011 in the presence of the Queen, the broadcaster of the ceremony, Melvyn Bragg, called the King James Bible the 'DNA of the English language', and that, as hyperbole, is difficult to beat.

It is often claimed that the KJB has extensively influenced the English commonly used today by speakers who are unaware of a specific idiom being of biblical origin, examples being 'to give up the ghost', 'to be the salt of the earth', 'a law unto him/herself' 'by the skin of one's teeth' (a Hebrew expression), etc. A recent study by David Crystal (2010) labels 257 phrases from the KJB as contemporary English idiom. However, when checking them against previous translations, the surprising result is that only 18 belong exclusively to the KJB. Furthermore, as far as lexical creativity is concerned, Shakespeare coined about 1,000 new words, the KJB only about 40.

[18] The dichotomy formal vs dynamic equivalence first appeared in Nida 1964. The question will be further discussed in Section 5.

[19] Strong 1890 gives 2,532 occurrences of καί in the Greek New Testament with 848 in St. Luke (the highest number).

5. *Crisis for Cranmer and King James: The 'great leap forward' from Thou to You*

The BCP and KJB were originally written in the standard Early Modern English (albeit in a somewhat formal register) of the time, i.e., over a span of roughly 100 years (1549-1662),[20] within the dates of the appearance of the first and fifth editions of the BCP and the first edition of the KJB (1611). The BCP was partly based on translation of Latin liturgical texts and partly original writing by Thomas Cranmer (1549 and 1552) (with some later contributions to the 1662 edition). The KJB, in line with its predecessors, was partly based on English translations from the Latin Vulgate and then from the Hebrew and Greek sources available to the early modern translators. In the subsequent three centuries (roughly 1662-1980) the religious linguistic situation of the C. of E. remained basically unchanged. The problem was, however, that the surrounding linguistic environment had changed beyond recognition. Post-early modern church goers and Bible readers were faced with a language that had become ever more problematic to say the very least. Arguably the most striking feature was the contrast between the single and plural forms of the second person pronoun, which was not only a question of singular vs plural (thou-you), but also of the choice of either on power, solidarity and (more subtle) attitudinal and emotional grounds (Walker 2007; Mazzon 2010), as well as occasional switches between the two (Ronberg 1992, 80). An extension of pronoun switching is investigated in an innovative study (based on, as is often the case, a Shakespeare play) by Clara Calvo (1992) linking pronoun switching with a change of topic or crossing a boundary. In the latter case, this boundary could be between the worldly (you) and the sacred (thou).

For the early modern Bible translators the universal practice with second person pronouns was source text singular: thou/thee, source text plural: ye/you, irrespective of the social status of the addressees. Thus in Gen 47.3 Joseph presents some of his brothers to Pharoah:

Tyndale Pentateuch 1530: And Pharao sayde vnto his brethren: what is your occupation? And they sayde vnto Pharao: feaders of shepe are thi seruauntes, both we and also oure fathers.

KJB 1611: And Pharaoh said vnto his brethren, What is your occupation? And they said vnto Pharaoh, Thy seruants are shepherds, both wee and also our fathers.

In the liturgical context, however, the idea of a common belonging to a Christian fraternity predominates, best symbolized by the ritual 'thou'. Unsurprisingly, God as our Father is also addressed with the T form (e.g., Lord's Prayer), thus endowing 'thou' with a strong religious connotation. Nevertheless, in the BCP, in less sacramental 'core' services, close attention is also paid to contemporary (i.e., mid-sixteenth century) address conventions, as can be seen in the ceremony known as the Churching of Women, in which the woman concerned is addressed with the non-committal 'you'.

The two more relevant parts of the BCP I shall now examine in this perspective are the Catechism as a prelude to confirmation and one section of the Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons (The Ordinal).

[20] The ill-fated BCP of 1927-1928 was an example of doctrinal not linguistic modification. Since the C. of E. is an Established Church, Parliamentary approval was required for the so-called Deposited or Proposed BCP (a state of affairs, i.e., political interference in church matters previously deplored by the Oxford Movement), which had been accepted by the organs of church government. However, it was rejected by the House of Commons in December 1927 and a revised version suffered the same fate the following year. The main problem seemed to have been an innovation by way of allowing the reserved sacrament, which to many non-conformist MPs smacked of 'popery' (Spinks 2006).

The catechism to be learnt by the young in a question and answer format was included in the first BCP and appeared basically unchanged in all subsequent editions:

> Question. What is your name? Aunswere. N. or M. Question. Who gaue you thys name? Aunswere. My Godfathers and Godmothers in my baptisme, wherein I was made a member of Christe, the childe of god … (Cummings 2011, 59)

> Question. What doest thou chiefely learne in these articles of thy beliefe? (Cummings 2011, 60)

What is striking in this fragment is the abrupt shift from 'you' to 'thou' which continues throughout. Stella Brook's frequently cited (and now somewhat dated) study of the language of the BCP has this to say:

> That part of the catechism which goes back to 1549 employs both you and thou and the fluctuation is too haphazard to be explained by the assumption that the children are sometimes addressed collectively, sometimes individually. (1965, 54)

If we look at the exchanges in the light of a passage from the worldly to the sacred, then 'haphazard' does not explain the shift. Brook implies that the distinction between you and thou had become 'blurred' by this time, arguably a very unsatisfactory explanation at such an early stage. The matter of fact questions use 'you' while those dealing with the sanctity of confirmation use 'thou'.

Similar remarks can be made about the pronoun switches in the Ordinal, first published separately from the BCP in 1550 and only totally integrated into it in 1662. I have chosen to concentrate on the order for the consecration of bishops. The candidate for a bishopric is presented to the presiding archbishop by two bishops who address the latter, as his rank requires, with 'you'. The archbishop then puts a series of questions to the candidate, using the respectful 'you' to a person of high status, though not yet a member of the Episcopal hierarchy. Significantly, the switch to 'thou' is linked with the liturgical gesture of 'laying on of hands' and admittance of the candidate to full membership of the hierarchy. The giving of the Bible might at first sight appear to present more problems, there being a switch from 'thou' to 'you' about half-way through. Actually this can be explained by a topic division. In the 1550 version, the bishop places the Bible on the new bishop's neck, in accordance with traditional Catholic practice. Then in the second separate section hands over the staff of office, a less 'sacred' gesture, coinciding with the switch to you. In the version linked with the new 1552 edition of the BCP the two sections are joined. The Bible is handed over and no mention is made of giving the new bishop a staff.

Crisis for Cranmer and King James is the title of a collection of articles edited by an eminent scholar in the field of the sociology of religion, who was also an Anglican clergyman (Martin 1980, followed by Martin and Mullen 1981). It challenges the growing trend towards updating sacred liturgical and biblical texts and argues in favour of the retention of tradition.

It was only from the second half of the twentieth century that the linguistic winds of change began to blow (Buchanan 2006a), at least as far as the BCP is concerned The Bible was a somewhat different matter, undergoing a light breeze at the end of the nineteenth century, via a stronger wind of change in the mid-twentieth century to a gale in the second half of the century!

A major problem for modern readers of the original KJB text is not differences in spelling and punctuation, since this aspect of the text from the 1769 Blayney edition onwards had been modernized. This process did not, however, cover lexical items no longer in current usage or terms that had undergone a change in meaning. A classic example of the latter case is the word

'prevent' not only present in prayer texts ('prevent and follow us, O Lord') but also in the KJB, as the example from 1 Thess. 4: 15 shows:

KJB: For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep.

Apart from the problem with 'asleep', which here means 'dead', 'prevent' with the meaning of 'come before' is incomprehensible for the average modern reader (or listener). This can only be resolved by a translation into contemporary English, such as that in the 1966 Good News Bible:

GNB anglicised version: What we are teaching you now is the Lord's teaching: we who are alive on the day the Lord comes will not go ahead of those who have died.

From the late nineteenth century the need was widely felt for a revision of the KJB text, going beyond Blayney's cosmetic edition. A series of more invasive modifications (Campbell 2010, 212-235) began with the Revised Version (RV NT 1881, OT 1885) in which it was made clear that the revisers' aim was 'to improve the text not to replace it'. The Byzantine Greek 'Textus Receptus' was replaced for the revision by more authentic Greek texts; since the revision was philological, no attempt to update the text linguistically was contemplated. To illustrate the various stages of revision we will return to the text of the Parable of the Prodigal Son (in this case the final verses: Luke 15: 29-32):

KJB Blayney edition 1769: 29 And he answering said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends: 30 But as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf. 31 And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine. 32 It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.

RV 1881: 29 But he answered and said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine: and [*yet*] thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends: 30 but when this thy son came, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou killedst for him the fatted calf. 31 And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that is mine is thine. 32 But it was meet to make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive [*again*]; and [*was*] lost, and is found.

Clearly the revisers were conscious of the fact that this was a text that would be read in church to a congregation (it is the second lesson for evensong on Ash Wednesday), who would be used to hearing the solemn tones of the KJB. Listening to this version they probably would not have noticed much difference.

The next revision was the Revised Standard Version (RSV NT 1946, OT 1952), an entirely American enterprise:

RSV 1946: 29 But he answered his father, "Lo, these many years I have served you, and I never disobeyed your command; yet you never gave me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends.
30 But when this son of yours came, who has devoured your living with harlots, you killed for him the fatted calf!" 31 And he said to him, "Son, you are always with me, and all that is mine is yours. 32 It was fitting to make merry and be glad, for this your brother was dead, and is alive; he was lost, and is found".

While the RV had kept the use of 'thou' forms and verb endings, not only when addressing the Deity, the RSV used 'you' for humans and 'thou' only for the Deity.

RSV1952: Ex. 4:10 But Moses said to the LORD, 'Oh, my Lord, I am not eloquent, either heretofore or since thou hast spoken to thy servant; but I am slow of speech and of tongue'.

Although this version dates from the mid-twentieth century, several obsolete constructions survive, most noticeably 'this your brother', just enough to supply those nostalgic for the classic KJB with a whiff of what they admired so much.

After this, we come to the revised revision, i.e., the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV 1989), in which 'thou' has disappeared even for the Deity and the morphosyntax and lexis are contemporary, albeit a little stiff, as can be seen from two extracts, one from the Old Testament and the other from the New Testament:

NRSV 1989: 29 But he answered his father, "Listen! For all these years I have been working like a slave for you, and I have never disobeyed your command; yet you have never given me even a young goat so that I might celebrate with my friends. 30 But when this son of yours came back, who has devoured your property with prostitutes, you killed the fatted calf for him!" 31 Then the father said to him, "Son, you are always with me, and all that is mine is yours. 32 But we had to celebrate and rejoice, because this brother of yours was dead and has come to life; he was lost and has been found".

NRSV 1989: Ex. 4:10 But Moses said to the LORD, 'O my Lord, I have never been eloquent, neither in the past nor even now that you have spoken to your servant; but I am slow of speech and slow of tongue'.

The expression 'killed the fatted calf', despite its unusual verb morphology ('fatted'), is still acceptable, owing to its status as an idiom (Crystal 2010, 184 and 277) which simply means 'to celebrate a special event with food and drink' (not necessarily involving calves). A version of the parable which has shaken off the influence of the KJB is provided by the Good News Bible (1966) very much under the influence of Nida's dynamic or functional equivalence (Nida 1964; Nida and Taber 1969; De Waard and Nida 1986)[21]

GNB anglicised version 1966: (29) But he spoke back to his father, "Look, all these years I have worked for you like a slave, and I have never disobeyed your orders. What have you given me? Not even a goat for me to have a feast with my friends! (30) But this son of yours wasted all your property on prostitutes, and when he comes back home, you kill the prize calf for him!" (31) "My son," the father answered, "you are always here with me, and everything I have is yours. (32) But we had to celebrate and be happy, because your brother was dead, but now he is alive; he was lost, but now he has been found".

The above version seems to target readers rather than listeners in church e.g., the kind of reader who exclaimed: 'this must not be the Bible, I can understand it' (Nida and Taber 1969, 7). An equally contemporary version could arguably be seen as more suitable for the context of a church service:

REB 1989: (29) But he retorted,"You know how I have slaved for you all these years; I never once disobeyed your orders; yet you never gave me so much as a kid, to celebrate with my friends. (30) But now that this son of yours turns up, after running through your money with his women, you kill the fatted

[21] Nida's well-known dichotomy (i.e., privileging content over form) is discussed in Pym 2014, 8-9 and 31. In De Waard's and Nida's 1986 volume, 'dynamic' was replaced by 'functional'. Despite the fact that the authors state that the difference between the two terms is minimal, their traditionalist detractors in clerical circles, who favoured literal translation (i.e., formal equivalence) implied that the contested dynamic equivalence had been dropped, showing how unreliable the authors were. I was informed by (now the late) Professor Nida, during a conversation at a conference held at the Catholic University of Milan in 2005, that he had protested about this misinformation, but to no avail.

calf for him." (31) "My boy," said the father, "you are always with me and everything I have is yours. (32) How could we fail to celebrate this happy day? Your brother here was dead and has come back to life; he was lost and has been found".[22]

To return to the question of parataxis already mentioned in Section 4, i.e., the Semitized Koiné Greek used by the writers of the New Testament, reflecting a high level of formality, which, when transferred to the translated text has a childish effect (Nida and Taber 1969, 14; Denton 1990, 183). In the parable examined, as in other similar texts, the conjunctions καὶ and δέ in first and second position respectively, introducing the verses when literally translated as 'and' and 'but' in particular are highly deviant in modern English. Taking the complete parable (Luke 15: 11-32), the statistics for the Greek text, the KJB and its revisions are as follows:

δέ and καὶ and their English translation in initial position:
Greek text: καὶ 8 δέ 12: total 20 (22 verses)
KJB and 16 but 2: total 18 (22 verses)
RV and 12 but 6 total: 18 (22 verses)
RSV and 10 but 3 so 2 total: 15 (22 verses)
NRSV and 1 but 5 so 2 total: 8 (22 verses)

By the late twentieth century, the last of a series of revised C. of E. services (Alternative Services Series 3 1973-1979) established the principle that the Church favoured contemporary language for worship, addressing the Deity as 'you' being only the most visible and most publicized sign of this turning point. By this time, Communion, rather than Morning or Evening Prayer, had become the main Sunday service in parish churches. Choral Evensong continued (using the 1662 BCP and the 1611 KJB) mostly in cathedrals and Oxbridge College Chapels and has a loyal following for the live BBC broadcasts.[23]

1980 saw the publication of the Alternative Service Book (ASB), intended as an alternative to the 1662 BCP, but actually replacing it in very many situations. After twenty years the ASB was replaced by the group of texts known as Common Worship (CW, from 2000 onwards),[24] which is now the most authoritative point of reference for contemporary C. of E. liturgy. Protection of the BCP encouraged the setting up of several Prayer Book Societies for the defence of traditional Anglican worship (Mullen 2000; Dailey 2011, the latter being the less polemical of the two), and pleas were made for the maintenance of 'a sacred [i.e., non contemporary] language of worship' (Spurr 1995; Toon and Tarsitano 2003); what Buchanan calls 'the liturgical antiquities of the Church of England' (2006b, 266).

Contemporary Anglican service books contain very limited, but none the less significant elements of a 'post-modern collage' (akin to the historical features conspicuously displayed in an otherwise contemporary setting in post-modern architecture). The obvious example of this phenomenon is the retention in CW of the traditional version of the Lord's Prayer:

[22] The Revised English Bible replaced the New English Bible, which had been published in 1961 (and had also used 'thou' for the Deity and 'you' for humans). The criteria followed in the new translation are illustrated in Coleman 1989; see also Denton 2008, 410.

[23] This is the oldest live outside broadcast in the BBC's history. The first broadcast was from Westminster Abbey on 7 October 1926, and it is still going strong on Radio 3 every Wednesday afternoon.

[24] There are, among many other innovations, forms of service for Candlemas, Ash Wednesday and Holy Week and Easter, not present in the 1662 BCP.

Our Father, who [which] art in heaven,
hallowed be thy name;
thy kingdom come;
thy will be done;
on [in] earth as it is in heaven.
Give us this day our daily bread.
And forgive us our trespasses,
as we forgive those who [them that]
trespass against us.
And lead us not into temptation;
but deliver us from evil.
For thine is the kingdom,
the power and the glory,
for ever and ever. Amen.

This lightly adapted version of the traditional text (the square brackets enclosing the 1662 BCP variants) comes from the 1790 Prayer Book of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (which was not subject to interference from Parliament in Westminster, after the 1776 Declaration of Independence). The ASB had tried out a more modern version of the prayer, which was widely challenged, to the extent that the above traditional version was printed alongside the unpopular modern version in the second edition of the ASB in 1992 (Denton 2008, 420).

A much more serious problem was presented by the updating of the collects, considered the greatest achievement of Cranmer's liturgical style (MacCulloch 2016, 417-420). Maintaining them as they appear in the 1662 BCP was out of the question, owing to their high number; so they had to be updated. The problem was that they all begin by addressing the Deity, followed by a relative clause which is somewhat awkward in contemporary English (Ferguson 1976; Denton 1990, 185). Most of the collects first appeared in Latin in the Sarum missal and were translated by Cranmer, while 24 of them are original compositions.

Let us take as an example the Collect for Epiphany (6 January):

Sarum Rite:

Deus qui hodiérna die unigénitum tuum géntibus stella duce revelásti: concéde propícius, ut qui jam te ex fide cognóvimus: usque ad contemplándam spéciem tue celsitúdinis perducámur. Per eúndem …

BCP 1549:

O God, which by the leading of a starre diddest manifest thy onelye begotten sonne to the Gentiles; Mercifully graunt, that we, which know thee now by faith, may after this life have the fruicion of thy glorious Godhead; through Christe our Lorde. (Gibson 1910, 52-53)

BCP 1662:

O God, who by the leading of a star didst manifest thy only begotten Son to the Gentiles: Mercifully grant, that we which know thee now by faith, may after this life have the fruition of thy glorious godhead, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.* (Cummings 2011, 282)

Common Worship 2000:

O God, who by the leading of a star manifested your only Son to the peoples of the earth: mercifully grant that we, who know you now by faith, may at last behold your glory face to face; through Jesus

Christ your Son our Lord, who is alive and reigns with you, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, one God, now and for ever.

The relative clause post-modifying the addressee is quite normal in many European languages, including Italian, but the same is not true of contemporary English. There are, however, ways of avoiding this and we can turn for help to post-Vatican II Roman Catholic translators (O'Collins and Wilkins 2017):[25]

God of mystery, on this day you revealed your only Son to the nations by the guidance of a star. We know you now by faith; lead us into that presence where we shall behold your glory face to face … (40)

The above is actually a translation submitted by the Commission for English in the Liturgy (ICEL) in 1998 and rejected by the Vatican.

The official translation authorised by the Vatican authorities now in use since 2010 and hotly contested in progressive Catholic circles (it is even said that Pope Francis is in favour of looking into the question again) reads as follows:

O God who on this day revealed your Only Begotten Son to the nations by the guidance of a star, grant in your mercy that we, who know you already by faith may be brought to behold the beauty of your sublime glory …

6. *Epilogue*

I should like to conclude with a brief description of a visit to a major centre of Anglican Liturgical Excellence i.e., Westminster Abbey, before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. It took place on a Sunday in Advent in 2018 and the service was Sung Eucharist. Walking through the main west entrance I paused to look at the statues of 10 Christian martyrs on the façade. It is a line-up of an ecumenically correct selection, with no reference to inter-denominational struggle: no Protestants killed by Catholics and no Catholics killed by Protestants (so no Thomas Cranmer burnt alive in 1556 and no St. Margaret Clitherow crushed to death by heavy weights in 1586); instead, the martyrs were modern, including St. Maximilian Kolbe starved to death in Auschwitz in 1941 and St. Oscar Romero gunned down in a church in El Salvador by a far right terrorist in 1980.

Entering the Abbey I saw two large icons (NB not statues!), one of Christ and the other of the Virgin Mary. There were candle holders in front of them where visitors could place lighted candles. The communion service from Common Worship, which is linguistically very close to the post-Vatican II English Mass, was celebrated by a priest wearing a violet chasuble (the liturgical colour for Advent) and the high altar frontal was in the same colour. The celebrant kissed the altar and censed it with a thurible. The Bible was also censed before the Gospel was read. After the consecration the celebrant elevated the host in the form of a large wafer and then the cup of wine above his head. The ordinary of the service ('Kyrie', 'Gloria' etc.) was sung in Latin because it was in a setting by Palestrina, and during communion the Latin hymn 'Pange Lingua' was sung, followed by 'Ave Verum Corpus'. The Bible readings were taken from the

[25] It is interesting to note that in the debate on English translation of the Latin rites the Roman Catholic commission held a vote on the you-thou question. The result was 7 for You and 1 for Thou (on this and other examples of inter-denominational cross-fertilisation on linguistic issues see Jasper 1989, 286-307).

New Revised Standard Version (1989). After the service small groups were allowed to enter the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor behind the mock Gothic High Altar, where members of the congregation were asked to respond 'Holy Edward Pray for us' to the priest's prayers. They were also told they could write short messages to the saint on slips of paper.

Now imagine for a moment Archbishop Cranmer witnessing all this. He would no doubt have exclaimed 'What happened to my Reformation?'

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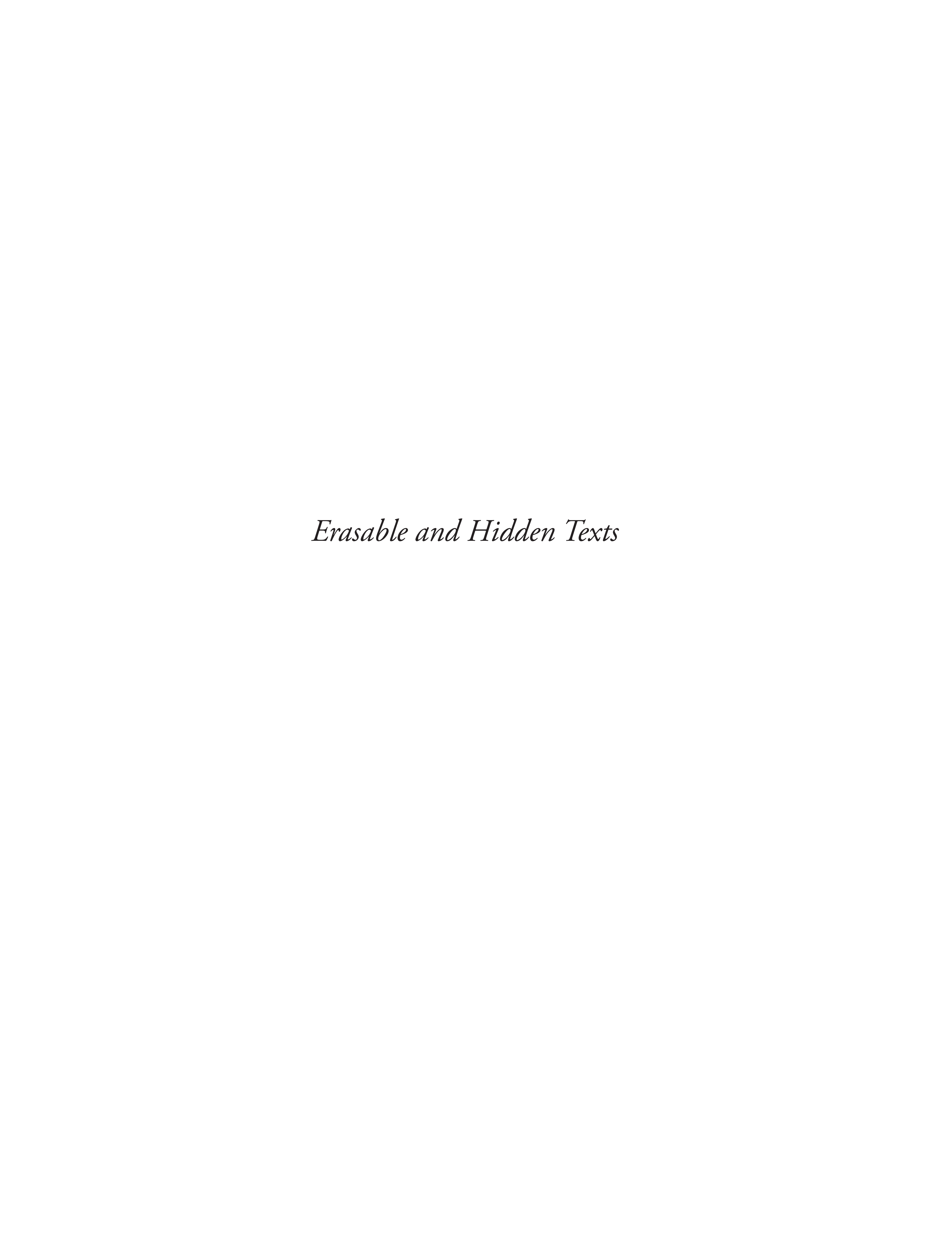

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The Genesis and Evolution of the Autobiographical Genre in Russian Early Modern Manuscript Culture

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Abstract

The article analyzes an important aspect of early modern Russian culture: the emergence and evolution of the autobiographical genre within the framework of traditional Old Russian manuscript heritage. The earliest personal notes, that can be defined proto-autobiographical, appeared in the Muscovite state in the seventeenth century within the ruling and intellectual elite, while the less 'enlightened' social groups turned to the autobiographical genre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For the most part, early Russian autobiographical texts are either memo records or inscriptions on the margins of manuscripts or printed books. The article investigates the emergence of the new autobiographical genre within the framework of traditional Russian mediaeval forms; it analyzes several models used by Russian authors of the early modern and modern period in their search for an appropriate form to note down their personal records: in textbooks and notebooks, bookkeeping ledgers, as additions to a handwritten miscellanea, as marginalia in a manuscript book or a printed one. The case studies examined reveal the ways in which, while retaining their original traditional character, the works in which the personal annotations were inscribed underwent an inner transformation precisely because of the autobiographical additions, thus acquiring a new function by being transformed into record books.

Keywords: *Autobiographies, Early Modern History, History of Russia, Manuscript Studies*

1. *Introduction: The Early Modern Period in Russia and Manuscript Culture*

A major mental rift occurred in the early modern period, laying the foundations of a transformation of the traditional Muscovite state into the westernized 'enlightened' Russian Empire. A salient feature of this time was the gradual emergence of a secular

culture, both in its traditional Old Russian forms and within the framework of new genres and of European trends.[1]

One of the preeminent aspects of Russian culture in the early modern period was literary culture. New works of literature were being created, new genres emerged, printed books made their debut and were being disseminated, while European writings and periodicals found their way to the Muscovite state. In Russia, the early modern period was marked by an emergence of secular genres: memoirs, autobiographical notes and diaries. In the seventeenth century the secular genres were practised only by an intellectual, ruling elite of the Russian state. With profound changes in Russian culture, triggered both by the in-depth internal processes and certain reforms of Peter the Great, secular book culture encompassed a wider range of social groups. Because of these changes, two parallel phenomena emerged in the course of the eighteenth century: on the one hand, the dominant intellectual and ruling elite adopted the Western strategies and forms of the autobiographical genre under the influence of European art, literature and philosophy. These works written under European influence became quite common in high society: they were copied either in numerous handwritten miscellanea or published; on the other hand, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the less privileged social groups began to gradually get involved in manuscript writing. These groups turned to self-reflecting biographical accounts and diaries in imitation of the culture and lifestyle of the nobility, but also because of the need for self-reflection, typical of modern individuals. In the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, these processes led to a considerable increase in the number of autobiographies and diary-based writings, in the range of authors, and in genre diversity. The analysis of the surviving documents that reflect this trend showed that this manuscript tradition was the one wherein the forms of the memoir and autobiographical genre that had been typical of Russian national culture were sustained and developed further. What makes these texts unique, is that they had never fallen under any palpable European influence, but carried on the Russian manuscript tradition of the seventeenth century.

In the present article, we have tried to give an account of the rich critical trend in the field of European early modern studies by Russian scholars, although the term 'early modern' has only recently emerged in studies of Russian culture, and the chronological limits of the period are still open to debate. While Russian scholars have been using it rather freely to describe European cultural contexts, the term is much less commonly used when referring to Russian history. According to Alexey Krylov, in an article on this issue, this has to do with discussions concerning the idiosyncratic historical development of Russia and with the question of to what extent the sociological and philosophical term *modernity* is applicable to Russian history (2020, 76).

The present article is based on the assumption that the beginning of the early modern period in Russia dates back to the sixteenth century, and its end to the Napoleonic Wars Era. We share the standpoint of Denis Tsypkin who considers the technique, system and 'self-identification' of writing and written culture, as related to the dynamics of the early modern period. He believes that the perceived trends and processes point to the deeply rooted changes within the Old Russian writing culture (that reveal certain Westernization trends), that peaked in the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Tsypkin 2020). We also need to point out the major gap in the educational and cultural levels of the various strata of Russian 'society', which seems to indicate that it only entered the classical modern period in the early

[1] The present study was funded by RFBR (Russian Foundation for Basic Research) according to research project no. 20-39-70005.

nineteenth century. These discrepancies in the models of readership culture of the European society are convincingly described in the monograph by Roger Chartier (1994). We also share a conclusion of Paul Bushkovitch, who maintains 'that the period of greatest change in Russian history before the twentieth century was the early modern era' (2015, 316).

The analysis of the debated issues in studies of the autobiographical genre in early modern Russian book culture calls for a brief outline of the terminological controversies related to the problem of systematizing autobiographical works. Over the last two hundred years, the terminology has much changed, reflecting the alterations of the methodological paradigms and approaches. We use the terms *autobiographical notes* and *autobiographical text* to designate the whole range of writings that an author has left behind and that pertain to him/herself and to various realms that are somehow related to his/her life or reflect his/her outlook on events and phenomena. We also appreciate the definition of *autobiography* by Philippe Lejeune as 'a retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality' (1989, 4). Yet, because hardly any of the analyzed works belong to the genre of 'mature' autobiography, being proto-autobiographical texts, autobiographical notes and autobiographical motives/elements, we hardly use the term 'autobiography' at all.[2]

As for the terminology used in textology and manuscript studies, it should be pointed out that we use the term *text* for the collections of notes we discuss. While we use the term *text* for more or less finalized pieces that the author regards as accomplished reading material, the term *document* is used to designate the material form of the recording of a text. In the present article, manuscripts and printed books and documents that contain autobiographical texts or notes are studied as documents. We use the term *author* to refer to the creator of the autobiographical notes, rather than the creator of the basic document to which the notes have been added. The author, in certain cases, can be either individual or collective.[3]

2. *Early Modern Russian Autobiography: An Outline of Critical Responses*

The main problem we encountered in our research was the transformation of the characteristics of Russian medieval literary genres into the forms of the early modern era. In the second half of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century autobiographical and proto-memoir works and individual records concerning the life of the author, the history of his family, as well as describing the events that he witnessed, began to appear in the manuscript culture of the Moscow state. These works had the external form and the content of typical Old Russian works very common in the manuscript culture of the period. For this reason, for a long time, this kind of autobiographical work did not attract the attention of researchers – the majority saw in them only private versions of well-known narratives, unable to provide any interesting information for Russian socio-political and socio-economic history.

Studies that deal with the emergence of the autobiographical genre in Russian literature are numerous. The works belonging to the positivist paradigm of the 1950s-1990s mostly outline the theoretical issues concerning their classification, and the definition of the limits of the genre, thereby dating the emergence of autobiographical literature. Since a vast number of general and specialized studies have been published during this period, we will only consider

[2] For a treatment of the various forms of autobiographical narratives, see the work of Adam Smyth, who gives an accurate outline of the genre and contributes the terms for the definition of each type (2016, 87).

[3] The most useful definition of the above-mentioned terms is to be found in an article by Hans Walter Gabler (2012).

the ones that contain reflections and conclusions which are particularly relevant to our project. The classic works summarizing the 150-year-long efforts in the studies of early modern Russian autobiographical literature are the monographs by Andrey G. Tartakovskii (1991, 1997) and his followers (Kriuchkova 1994; Chekunova 1995 and others). The survey of Russian contributions to autobiographical studies in the last thirty years shows a decline of interest in theoretical issues. In the works that are based on the interdisciplinary approach and that use the categories of the postmodernist paradigm, the limits of the autobiographical genre are treated as vague, and the terms *autobiographical texts* and *egodocuments* can apply to almost any narrative (Bezrogov 2000, 2001; Zaretskii 2002, 2016). The whole body of the studies concerning Russian autobiographical culture is based on the analysis of the memoirs and diaries of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, that are actually samples of the fully-formed varieties of the autobiographical genre.

The problems of genre definition and of the appropriate terminology to describe it are highly relevant when we try to establish at what time the first Russian autobiographical narrative emerged. Overall, all the critical works published in the last 150 years can be conventionally divided into three groups. A minority of scholars interpret the term *autobiographical texts* broadly often coinciding with the term *autobiographical data*. Those who adopt this approach date the emergence of these narratives to the early period of Old Russia, typical examples being *Pouchenie* (Instruction to Sons) by the Grand Prince Vladimir the Monomakh (twelfth century), the Russian chronicles known as *letopisi* and other sources (Garanin 1986). The second research trend, which emerged in the nineteenth century with Piotr P. Pekarskiy, is based on a different approach, that claims the later, as compared with Western Europe, emergence of the autobiographical works in Russian culture (Pekarskiy 1855). The key point of this approach is the consideration of the rapid development of the Russian self that began with the reforms of Tsar Peter the Great, largely because of expanded contacts with the Europeans. As a result of this evolution, the first autobiographical works in Russian culture appeared in the form of large, completed texts: *Zapiski* (Notes) by Andrey A. Matveiev, the travel diary by Prince Boris I. Kurakin, etc. Recent major works on the topic tend to place the early examples of the future genre in the seventeenth century, yet the time of its actual emergence has unanimously been dated to the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries (Tartakovskii 1991, 1997; Kriuchkova 1994; Chekunova 1995). Finally, there is a third group of scholars, particularly relevant to our study, who analyze sixteenth-and seventeenth-century sources in order to pinpoint the beginnings of the autobiographical genre. Their works can only be linked up as belonging to the same critical trend only on the basis of the results obtained from the detailed analysis of the specific types of texts. These monographs and theoretical essays, by no means numerous, feature various outlooks on the early examples of the autobiographical genre. Thus, the classic study by Dmitry S. Likhachov (1970) states that the development of the self-narrative and of autobiographical motives, and the emergence of the 'Renaissance' person with individual emotions, feelings and attitudes were prompted by the novellas and short literary works created by the low classes (townspeople, soldiers, or impoverished nobility) in the aftermath of the upheavel of the Time of Troubles in the early seventeenth century. Long ago, researchers studying the clergy's literary legacy noticed that, in the late sixteenth and in the seventeenth century, autobiographical elements began to emerge in the *zhitie* genre, an Orthodox religious type of text that came to Old Russia from Greece and the Balkans and describes a saint's path to faith, his exploits or martyrdom (Afinogenov 2008). The *zhities* described the unique religious experiences of new saints from the point of view of authors who either knew the saint personally or were witnesses of their experience (Ranchin 1999). In the course of the religious struggles between

the Nikonians and the Old Believers in the second half of the seventeenth century, Avvakum, the ideologist of the latter, wrote his own *zhitie*, an autobiographical piece that described his life path, religious aspirations and suffering from persecutions (Demkova 1998; Zaretskii 2002). In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, Andrey P. Bogdanov, a Moscow scholar, began working on the identification of the personal chronicles, i.e., historical works written in the form of the Russian *letopis*, conceived by the author and containing information on the events the author was an eyewitness to (Bogdanov 1985, 1990; Bogdanov and Belobrova 1985). He managed to identify a few works of the kind, yet they were only preserved in later copies, and in many cases the notion of the 'authored' and 'autobiographical' status is open to doubt. The most outstanding family chronicles of all those studied by Bogdanov were the personal records of the Shanturovs, a family of *ploshchadnie podiachii* (local clerks), a father and his two sons, from the mid-1680s to the mid-1690s, written on the first pages of one of the manuscripts they owned (Bogdanov 2020).

The earliest Russian autobiographical narrative was discovered at the turn of the twentieth century by Boris N. Morozov. It is known as the *Letopisec* (chronicle) of Iona Solovetskii,[4] a renowned spiritual scholar who lived between the late-sixteenth and the early-seventeenth century, a vagrant monk who visited the northern monasteries and put together a unique encyclopedic collection of various historical, literary and scientific studies (Morozov 2001). Without going into the details of Iona Solovetskii's life story, we would like to point out that, according to Morozov, he kept a diary of sorts during the course of his travels, recording his itinerary. In early 1621, he put together his convolute miscellanea consisting of separate parts being written previously and kept in notebooks and accompanied it with an inscription on the first page, relating his whole life: the place and time of his birth, his studies, his taking vows. We may say that Iona Solovetskii's chronicle is the first known personal autobiography of Russian culture. The problem with contemporary historiography is that the followers of the second critical trend, who consider the emergence and development of autobiographical works as the results of Peter the Great's drastic reforms, mostly explore memoirs and diaries belonging to the second half of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century; while individual scholars who work with texts belonging to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are historians and philologists specializing in the manuscript culture of the pre-Petrine Rus. Recent works do not seem to be interested in merging the two approaches – to trace the dynamics of the changes of the literary and historical works, to define their general and the specific features, to outline the tradition of the creation of the autobiographical works, to identify separate *topoi*, etc.

We believe that each of the above-mentioned approaches has its own merits and drawbacks. Therefore, we stress the importance of an integrated approach which includes two major lines of research. The subject of our study is, primarily, the analysis of the well-known texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries written in the traditional Old Russian genres (chronicle, *zhitie*, liturgy, etc), but differing from those traditional texts in meaning and authorial ideas and intent. The second line of our research takes into consideration the fact that the most part of early Russian autobiographical works (including the autobiography of Iona Solovetskii that is one the most grandiose and studied examples of the genre) appear handwritten inside other documents and that therefore it can hardly be found registered in archival catalogues; from this fact derives the necessity to search both handwritten and printed books in archives and libraries in order to discover those autobiographical works that may be hidden within them.

[4] NLR, Ms. Dep., Q. XVII. 67.

For several years now, a group of scholars from the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg State University and the Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents has conducted a project for the study of early Russian autobiographical texts based on this approach. Since certain texts are parts of various handwritten and printed books and documents (marginalia and records on the blank pages) or parts of miscellanea, rather than separate texts, they often go unidentified in the archival lists and descriptions. Using the largest archives of Russia, a comprehensive *de visu* checkout of the major collections of the Russian handwritten books has been undertaken. The preliminary result was the identification and attribution of over a hundred previously unknown autobiographical works and notes of the seventeenth , eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The comparative studies of their form, typology and contents have led to a number of observations and generalizations, and made it possible to propound several models that will be considered below.

3. *Autobiographical Texts of the Seventeenth Century in the Manuscript Tradition of the Ruling Elite of the Muscovite State and the Culture of the 'Record Books'*

In our work with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century handwritten books and documents, we focused on the writings of the secular elite of the Muscovite state. This approach has been chosen for two reasons. The first one is that the book culture of the Moscow aristocracy of this period and the problem of identifying their personal libraries is highly topical for historians. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the representatives of the Moscow ruling elite began to use their personal or family books as 'memo pads' of sorts, jotting down on their margins their readers' notes, or household records, sometimes copying personal or family documents. It seems that the analysis of these entries can help to identify the first proto-autobiographical works, such as, e.g., *Letopisec* of Iona Solovetskii (National Library of Russia, Ms. Dep., Q. XVII. 67, Iona Solovetskii, *Letopisec* (chronicle)). Secondly, most of the Soviet and Russian historians tended to concentrate on the monastic booklore and the libraries of renowned spiritual leaders, bibliophile monks, etc. The secular book culture seemed to be of little interest to these scholars, for it was thought that the Moscow aristocrats were for the most part illiterate, uneducated and uninterested in the cultural matters still prevailing in the scholarly community, even though these erroneous notions are gradually being discarded in recent studies. The above-mentioned features of this approach highlight the importance of the identification of the earliest autobiographical annotations in the private and family books of the secular elite, whose books still remain for the most part unexamined.

Our research has brought to light a number of important autobiographical narratives belonging to the second half of the seventeenth century; and we believe that it may contribute to establishing an important scholarly perspective in the study of the emergence and development of the first Russian autobiographical works, as well as their different types and forms. We will now discuss in detail the two most interesting case studies.

The first and the most representative narrative are the notes by Prince Stepan Vasilievich Romodanovskiy (1661-1680), the son of an eminent aristocrat, Prince Vasiliy Grigorjevich the Men'shoi Romodanovskiy, holder of important diplomatic and administrative posts in the reign of Tsar Alexey (1645-1676). Prince Stepan was born in 1661, and never lived to be twenty. It is very hard to reconstruct the story of his life, as he began his career in 1676 and passed away before getting a substantial number of commissions, or gaining influence at court. A book of learning materials was discovered by Ivan A. Poliakov in the Manuscript Department of the NLR (National Library of Russia), headed *Azbuka fryasckay* (The Alphabet with

printed initials).[5] It consists of two cursive handwritten books with the typical elements of the alphabets (samples of 'cursive' and 'semi-formal' writing of various sizes and styles, graphic samples of 'cursive' letters with the large old-style initials, samples of ornamental frames and clauses), several literary and historical works of various genres, samples of spelling practice by Prince Romodanovskiy and his handwritten notes. Most sections of the manuscript were written by 'uchitel' pis'ma'[6] (the teacher of writing) of Prince Romodanovskiy, Stefan Fedorov Kiriakov, who seemed to originate from the bureaucratic milieu and was a highly demanded calligraphist. The calligraphic quality of the books is extremely high, and the name of Stefan Kiriakov also surfaced in the analysis of another manuscript of Stepan Romodanovskiy, his genealogy book.[7] Codicology and handwriting analysis of the manuscript has shown that the *Azbuka fryasckay* from the NLR was put together as a collection of the learning materials produced between 1675 and 1678. The book was to serve various purposes regarding Prince Stepan's education. By his coming of age, a young man was supposed to be able to read, write and do maths. In all probability, Stefan Kiriakov was to achieve a more challenging goal, that is, to introduce the young nobleman to the patterns of decoration of manuscript texts, old printed books, acts and charters. Moreover, the student, under the supervision of his teacher, was to train in handwritings of various sizes, to be used for various formats of the page. Samples of writing, provided in the manuscript by Stefan Kiriakov, can be defined as 'fashionable' not only in the Muscovite culture of the period of the rule of Tsar Fyodor (1676-1682), but, more generally, in the Western European manuscript tradition as well. At folio 12, Prince Stepan made an attempt to duplicate in cursive writing 'Po milosti Bozhii i velikogo pravednogo ottsa nashego Stefana Savvaita' (By God's mercy and that of the great righteous father Stefan Savvait) spelled by his teacher; in what we designate as the 'Alphabet' section, he attempted to copy the outline of the cursive letters as spelled by the instructor. Thus, Kiriakov was introducing the young man to the trendy types of spelling. Numerous patterns of decoration of the handwritten and printed texts (initials, clauses, ornaments, the *fryazian* [specific ornamental] letters) turned the manuscript into a book of examples. Having gained insight into the styles of book decor, Prince Stepan could use the patterns from the manuscript to commission new volumes for his library. The book of learning materials was instrumental for the Prince's other educational pursuits.

The Prince's personal entries in the manuscript are of a unique nature. They can be classified thematically: claim of ownership, chronicle-type records of the death of Tsar Alexey (1676), a snowstorm in Moscow (1678), a list of books from his library, a note on Boyar Boris I. Morozov's donation of a chandelier to the Cathedral of the Dormition (Moscow) and a number of autobiographical notes. The latter were added to the various pages of the manuscript in the course of two or three years. As a whole, the notes provide a brief outline of all the important events in the life of Prince Stepan: his birth (5 July 1661) (figure 1), the death of his father, Prince Vasiliy (3 October 1671), the foundation of the church dedicated to the Mother-of-God icon of Kazan in the monastery of the Feast of the Cross (Moscow) as a last will of Prince Vasiliy (10 November 1674), the investiture to the retinue of Tsar Alexey during the church ceremony to celebrate Epiphany (6 January 1676), the investiture to the position of *stolnik* (pantler) at the Tsar's court (29 March 1676), the marriage to Princess Avdotia Andreievna Golitsyna (15 May 1678), the birth of their daughter, Princess Marfa (18 August 1679) (figure 2). The positioning of certain entries in the

[5] NLR, Ms. Dep., F. XIII.5.
[6] NLR, Ms. Dep., F. XIII. 5, folio 10v.
[7] SHM, Ms. Dep., coll. of Uvarov, no. 570.

manuscript is very telltale. The entries on the birth and marriage were made simultaneously and placed after a didactic tale, 'Kako podobayet detem chtiti roditeli svoikh' (How Children Should Respect their Parents). The entry concerning the construction of the church was placed inside the initial Ц (*ts*) with herbal motives, pre-written by Stefan Kiriakov (figure 3). Later, on the reverse side of the next page, Prince Stepan wrote down the note on the death of his father.

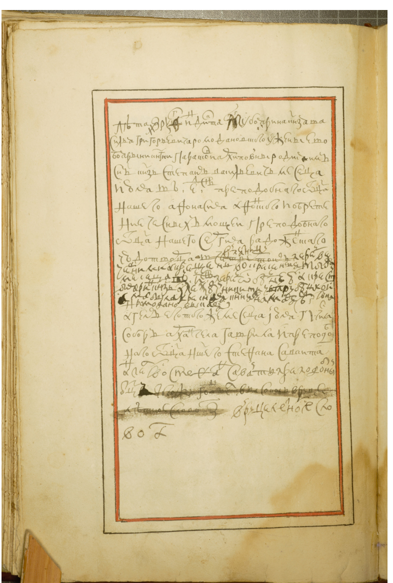

Figure 1 – The record by Prince Stepan V. Romodanovskiy about the date of his birth in his textbook, NLR, Ms. Dep., F.XIII.5, folio 91 v.

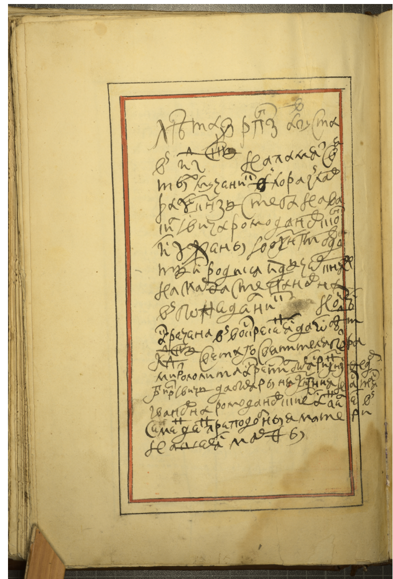

Figure 2 – The record by Prince Stepan V. Romodanovskiy about the date of his daughter's birth in his textbook, NLR, Ms. Dep., F.XIII.5, folio 92 v.

Figure 3 – The initial 'Ts' and the record by Prince Stepan V. Romodanovskiy about the foundation of church dedicated to the Mother-of-God icon of Kazan in the monastery of the Feast of the Cross (Moscow), NLR, Ms. Dep., F.XIII.5, folio 84

In all of his autobiographical entries, Prince Stepan followed the same precise pattern: the date (in many cases, mentioning the indiction and the moon circle); honour to the saints commemorated on the day of the event; description of the event; additional information (concerning the day of the baptism and the names of the godparents, the guests at the wedding, the specific time of the day when a certain ceremony was celebrated). The young man would obtain information abour certain facts from witnesses of the event, e.g., the time of his own birth, which happened 'pered vechernimi sluzhbami'[8] (before the evening service). These notes seem to have been of great importance to the Prince. He would often go back to his entries, correcting the dates and adding new data. After 1678, the notes are arranged as a diary: Prince Stepan would record the prominent events he took part in. If the Prince had not died at the age of 19, in 1680, he would probably have gone on writing his 'diary'. The following fragment is a typical Prince's record:

Leta 7187-go avgusta v 18 den' na pamyat' svyatykh muchenik Flora i Lavra u knyaz' Stepana Vasil'yevicha Romodanovskogo i u zheny yevo knyagini Ovdot'i rodisya im d'cher' knyazhna Marfa Stepanovna v ponedelnik noch'yu. A krechena v voskresen'ya da obedni 24 den', svetago svyatitelya Petra mitropolita. A krestil boyarin knyaz' Fedor Grigor'yevich' da boyarynya knyaginiya Nastas'ya Ivanovna Romodanovskiye. Angel yeye v Semen den' prepodobnyya materi nasheya Marfy[9]

[8] NLR, Ms. Dep., F. XIII. 5, folio 91v.

[9] NLR, Ms. Dep., F. XIII. 5, folio 92 v. 'Year 7187 (1679), Day 18 of August, commemoration of the holy martyrs Florus and Laurus, a daughter was born to Prince Stepan Vasilievich Romodanovskiy and his wife Princess Ovdotia, Princess Marfa Stepanovna, on the night of Monday. She was baptized on Sunday before midday liturgy on the 24th day, of the holy hierarch Peter the Metropolitan. The baptism was performed by Prince Fiodor Grigorievich Romodanovskiy and Princess Nastasia Ivanovna Romodanovskaya. Her tutelary saint is on the Simon day of our holy mother Martha'.

An important supplement to the autobiographical entries is the record about the Prince's personal library: on one of the pages, the young man listed the 20 manuscripts stored in his chest in 1678 (figure 4). This entry allowed Ivan Poliakov (2020) to correlate half of the handwritten books with the ones still kept in libraries, and discover the other parts of the Romodanovskiy library which was one of the five largest known private libraries of the ruling elite of the seventeenth century.

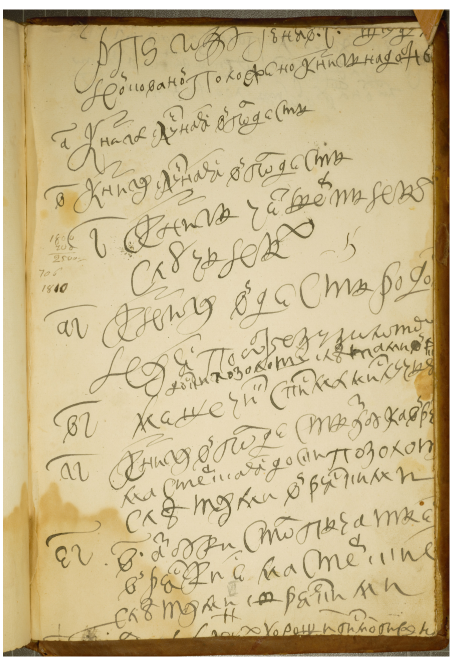

Figure 4 – The record by Prince Stepan V. Romodanovskiy about his library in his textbook, NLR, Ms. Dep., F.XIII.5, folio 6

The analysis of the personal notes of Prince Stepan Romodanovskiy shows that he deliberately collected the data about himself, his parents and family putting together a 'personal chronicle' of sorts. His intentions to learn more about his close relatives resulted in the creation of the original article about the Romodanovskiy Princes in the handwritten Ahnentafel (genealogical book) of the family.[10] Apart from the data that are standard for this type of genealogy record, the manuscript contained information about the nicknames of the Prince's relatives, about the death of his granduncle Prince Ivan Petrovich Romodanovskiy, and about the number of wounds suffered and the number of years spent in various sieges by each member of the family. To the blank pages of his service book, the Prince also copied, from the family archives, over 15 charters by his grandfather, father and uncle containing historical information on their services.[11] Thus, between his sixteenth and nineteenth year, the young Prince Stepan Romodanovskiy turned his book of learning materials into a record book for reporting the events he found particularly interesting. These include the notes pertaining to the members of his family and the major events of his life. It is noteworthy that Stepan Romodanovsky would go back to them, adding new facts and correcting mistakes (e.g., he had miscalculated

[10] SHM, Ms. Dep., coll. of Uvarov, no. 570.
[11] The United Museum of Kaluga, no. 7051.

the date and the day of the week of his own birthday). This document is important because of its personal character. The young man would retain this record book and use it for his personal notes only – this specimen of proto-autobiography would reflect his own interests, desires and needs.

A less vivid, but still very interesting autobiographical specimen are the notes by the Kropotkin princes in their family *Svyatsy* (Ordo)[12]. The manuscript was described by Yurij V. Anikhimiuk, yet the content of the Ordo was never explored, nor were the entries, that were only described, but not treated as autobiographical annotations. The notes by Prince Vasiliy Vasilievich Kropotkin in the *Svyatsy* of his father, Prince Vasiliy Petrovich, may be considered as a kind of autobiographical narrative.[13] Between the 1640s and the 1680s, Prince Vasiliy Vasilievich would use the margins and the blank pages of the *Svyatsy* to record the family events of his clan: births, deaths, promotions, as well as the historical events, e.g., the deaths of Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich, Tsaritsa Maria Ilyinichna Miloslavskaya, the birth of the children of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich.[14]

For his entries, Prince Vasiliy chose the same pattern as Prince Stepan Romodanovskiy: the date, the church holiday and the event. He would go back to the manuscript for 40 years, adding new entries about his family and about historical events, thus turning it into a family chronicle. On folio 339v he placed the 'Rospis' letam' (List of Ages), noting the age of 'myself, Prince Vasiliy' and the members of the Kropotkin Prince's clan in 1646-1647, specifying the date and the month. It is noteworthy that, writing about himself, Prince Vasiliy used the pronoun 'myself', which is by no means typical for seventeenth-century autobiographical narratives. The fact that Prince Vasiliy recorded, on the blank pages of the *Svyatsy*, the dates of births and deaths of members of his family as well as the names of their holy patrons helped him in his commemoration practices. He treated the manuscript both as a family chronicle and a notebook, and recorded some of the events in a coded writing of his own invention, providing the code at the end of the manuscript. Apart from the form and the content, the notes by Prince Vasiliy Kropotkin and Prince Stepan Romodanovskiy have one more feature in common: apparently, Prince Kropotkin also began to compile his record book on coming of age – his name was first mentioned in the boyar list as *stolnik* in 1646 (Belousov 2006, 256). Moreover, the manuscript also features the handwriting of the son of Prince Vasiliy Kropotkin, Mikhail. The latter was a renowned scholar and translator of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, who made the translation of *Dvor turskago sultana i o chinu i o stroyenii yego v Tsaregorode* (The Court of the Turkish Emperor and His Residence in Constantinople*)* by Szymon Starowolski (Belobrova 1993). Mikhail Kropotkin is a rare example of a scholar from the ruling elite of the Muscovite state who, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, would hold a fairly high position at the royal court. The analysis of his legacy is still at a very early stage – the only known handwritten book of his translations still remains unpublished.[15] Yet, we can surmise that, as in the case of Prince Stepan Romodanovskiy, Mikhail Kropotkin's creative interest was primarily triggered by the literary activities of his father and grandfather, who left their entries in the manuscript we have discovered.

[12] RSL, Ms. Dep., fond 711, no. 30.

[13] RSL, Ms. Dep., fond 711, no. 30. Vasiliy Vasilievich Kropotkin's autobiographical records were discovered and described by Iurij V. Anikhmiuk while he was cataloging fond 711, and added to the inventory. The document has not been further investigated so far.

[14] RSL, Ms. Dep., fond 711, no. 30, folia 15v., 16-17v., 214-214v., 312v., 325v., 339v.-340 v.

[15] RSL, Ms. Dep., fond 228, no. 173.

The analysis of the above-mentioned autobiographical records has shown that their creators were primarily motivated by interest in the history of their families and their own life stories. Unlike the nobility's books of genealogy and genealogical tables used by the ruling elite to determine the importance of their families and calculate their appropriate positions at the royal court, these documents were written and kept within the family circle. Their important difference from the simple ephemeral notes on various subjects (weather, interesting rumors, household issues, debts) is that they were created over a period of time. Both Prince Stepan Romodanovskiy and The Kropotkin princes *de facto* created a proto-diary, recording the most important events of their lives with exact dating and accurate details, and subsequently adding more data, also correcting the mistakes and slips of the pen. It seems that these autobiographies of the mid- and second-half of the seventeenth century, that reflect the tradition set by Iona Solovetskii, were motivated by the authors' genuine interests in their own biographies, the life stories of their kith and kin, family history and exciting historical events. Their distinctive features are that they were all recorded on the margins and blank pages of personal manuscripts, within the framework of the emerging culture of record book. They were, therefore, personal autobiographies, intended for personal and family use only, reflecting the family's concerns. We believe that these works offer a vivid picture of the crucial point in the life of the highly educated ruling elite, and testify to the gradual emergence of their individual selves in the second half of the seventeenth century, prior to Petrine reforms and to active contacts with Europeans, their cultures, lifestyles and ideologies.

4. *Autobiographical Texts in the Middle-Class Manuscript Tradition of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*

The life-writing culture and practices that the Russian intellectual and aristocratic elite developed during the seventeenth century were emulated by lower social groups from the beginning of the eighteenth century. This fact involved predominantly merchants, petit bourgeois individuals, provincial military officers, minor civil servants and parish clergy, both urban and rural. They turned to the autobiographical genre aiming to imitate the culture and lifestyle of the nobility, but also owing to an independent urge to reflect on their own lives. Some scholars, though, have rightly claimed that the members of the eighteenth-century middle class had still a fairly low level of appreciation of their private life and their involvement in the history of the country (Chekunova 1995, 25). The analysis of the extant autobiographical narratives and writings suggests that it was in the written tradition of the urban population that the typical forms and genres of Russian manuscript culture were preserved and continued to evolve. What makes such auto-biographical texts unique is the absence of any tangible European influence on their authors, which makes them the continuation of the development of the Old Russian manuscript tradition. We must note, however, that, while it can be affirmed that the middle and low strata of Russian society took part, rather intensively, in the culture of autobiographical writing, the number of authors practising this genre was rather low. Our conclusions agree with the results obtained by Rudolph Dekker in his large-scale project about Dutch egodocuments, when he points out the meagre contribution of the lower classes to Dutch autobiographical culture of the early modern period (2000).

One of the issues concerning the autobiographical works created in the eighteenth century outside the ruling and intellectual elite is the problem of their detection and genre definition. Generally speaking, the researcher has to deal with fragmentary notes scribbled on the margins or on the blank pages of manuscripts and printed books; but not all these annotations can be considered autobiographical, for certain additions or reflections as are often found on the margins

of Russian handwritten and printed books, even in earlier periods, are simply a reader's reflections and comments concerning the contents of the book itself. In such cases, the annotations do not change the form and purpose of the receiving text. On the contrary, when the marginal additions and comments appear to be the writer's personal, autobiographical annotations, the genre of the receiving work and the document's function are changed, and the basic text, while retaining its original form, is turned into a record-book. In Russian eighteenth-century book culture, several types of such transformations can be observed. On the one hand, these types are similar to those present in early modern European book culture; on the other hand, they incorporate certain features of Old Russian literature. We will consider several scenarios in which authors have used various documents for their autobiographical writings, thus altering the initial purpose of the document, either partially or completely.

4.1 *Autobiographical Writings in Financial Ledgers*

In his studies of English autobiographical texts, Adam Smyth points out that accounting documents were one of the most widespread types of handwritten books of the early modern period containing autobiographical writings (2010, 57). Our large-scale research into Russian manuscript culture leads us to believe that in the Russian context accounting ledgers were also widely used as a support for personal annotations. This practice was prompted both by the size of such books (mostly *in quarto* or even *in octavo*), that were easy to carry around and keep close at hand, and by the author's regular references to it, since the accounting entries could be made monthly, weekly or even daily. It seems that, for a Russian commoner of the eighteenth century, accounting ledgers were the closest approximation to a notebook as it is perceived today. In particular, Russian merchants of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries used ledgers to write down their autobiographical notes. During this period, the number of merchants was growing, and more and more Russian entrepreneurs were acquiring the skills of keeping various kinds of financial accounts. Literacy evolved in urban environments, the higher stratum of the merchant class was involved in local self-government, and therefore introduced to a wide range of bureaucratic documents. The Age of Enlightenment, with its ideals of the 'perfect merchant' encouraged commercial education, while the books on commerce were offering information on accounting, ledgers and bookkeeping (Kozlova 1999, 40-41).

We will consider two texts as illustration of the autobiographical writings in the household documents of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries: the book of accounting records by Osip Beliankin, a St. Petersburg trader, and the memory book of the Kolegov Merchants.[16] Both manuscripts are among the earliest known cases of a merchant's personal records in financial ledgers, and testify to the author's search for the most adequate form of personal writing.

The *Book* by Osip Beliankin is kept in the collection of the RSL (Russian State Library), in a bound volume bearing the title *Kniga zapisi kapitala, pribyli, raskhodov ikolichestva deneg v dolgakh sanktpeterburgskogo kuptsa 1-y gil'dii Osipa Belyankina sovmestno s yego tovarishchem Grigoriyem Alekseyevichem Ryabovym* (Book recording the capital, profit, expenses and funds Owned by a St. Petersburg Merchant 1st Guild Osip Beliankin together with his Partner Grigorii Alekseievich Riabov). The document is an autograph and is recorded in an *in folio* book of 78 folia. The differences in ink and manner of writing show that the *Book* was filled in from time to time, rather than all at once. Osip Dmitrievich Beliankin held a prominent position in the St. Petersburg Merchant Corporation, a company dealing with international maritime commerce (Smirnova 2020, 33-34).

[16] RSL, Ms. Dep., fond 218, folder 1273, no. 18.

The *Book* contains two strata of records written in Osip Beliankin's hand. The first one contains the data on the monthly receipts and expenses. These entries date from the years 1791-1809 and are contained in the first 39 folia of the manuscript. On the second one, there is a separate section on certain family events – births, betrothals, marriages, deaths of family members, inventory of the daughter's dowry and data on the genealogy of the Beliankin family. The same section contains disparate notes on exchange rates in Holland and the losses suffered by the Russian merchants, dates of deaths of the Russian tsars and other notes for the years 1794-1807. These entries are located at the end of the manuscript, on folia 67v and 78v. Thus, the commercial calculations were entered from the beginning of the book, and the diary notes from a second section, going on by filling pages in succession. The divisions testify to the author's intention to differentiate the notes thematically.

The second document, the *Memory Book of the Kolegov Merchants*, is kept in the Manuscript Department, NLR; it is a small bound volume in *octavo* (figure 5).

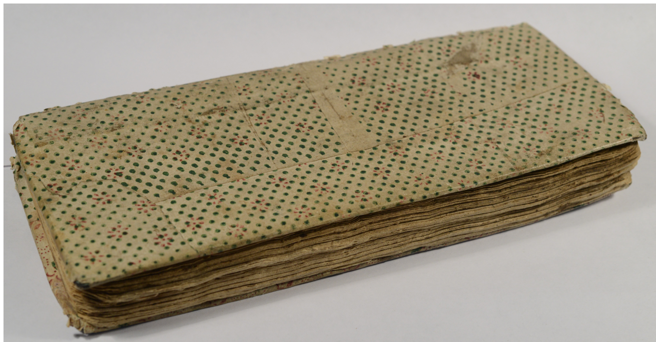

Figure 5 – *Memory Book of the Kolegov Merchants*, NLR, Ms. Dep., O. XVII. 84

The document has the author's title, *Pamyanik Petra Kolegova s bratom yevo Kondratiyem Kolegovym* (Pamianik [Memory Book] of Piotr Kolegov and his Brother Kondratii Kolegov). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Kolegovs were merchants from Ust-Sysolsk (now Syktyvkar) in Komi, East of the Urals. The family was dealing in fur trade: acquiring pelts from the native population of Siberia, and sending them to the fairs and to Archangelsk for trade exports to Europe (Rogachov 2010, 64; Smirnova 2020, 37).

The records were made by several generations of the family. From 1719 to 1841, the manuscript features over 10 different handwritings. Comparable to the *Kniga zapisi kapitala* (Book Recording the Capital) by Osip Beliankin, the manuscript can be divided into thematic sections. Primarily, inscriptions concern records of gains and expenses. This section starts on the first page of the book and extends from the 1720s until the end of the century. All the respective notes were crisscrossed or crossed out as they lost purpose. The second section consists of autobiographical records, dating from the 1780s. These notes were inserted into blank spaces, often enough between the entries of gains and losses of the first half of the eighteenth century (figure 6).

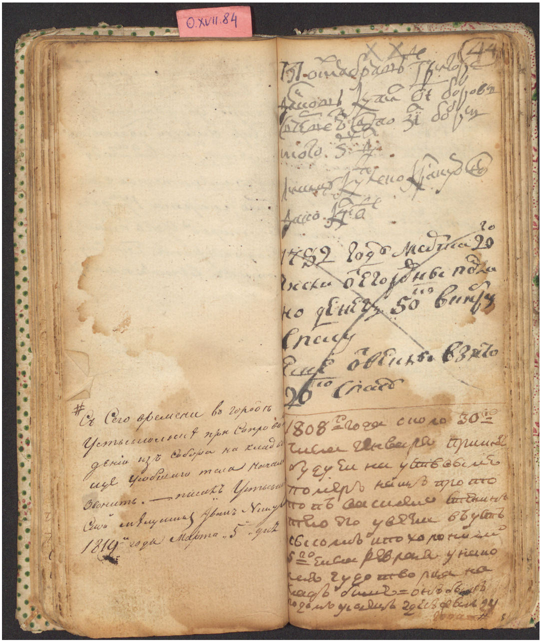

Figure 6 – *Memory Book of the Kolegov Merchants*, notes of 1737, 1752, 1808 and 1819, NLR, Ms. Dep., O. XVII. 84, folia 40 v.-41

The comparative analysis of the two types of text leads to a number of comments. Initially, both books were intended for recording financial data, but, over the course of time, came to be used for a completely different purpose, transforming them into record books of their owners: a personal one for Osip Beliankin and a family one for the Kolegovs. The recording of the dates of births and deaths was initially done for a practical purpose: they served as reminders of the commemorations in church. In this respect, the documents are close to the *synodics* (commemoration lists), or rather, to their specific type, the *pomianniks* (commemorations). Yet, over the course of time, the shortlisting of events became a supplement to the informal personal details: how a relative died, what kind of person he/she was and how pious he/she was, which are among the most notable facts of their biography. This shift of the record books into a family chronicle testifies the authors' urge to preserve the memory of their relatives and their clan against the flow of time.

The issue of defining the genre of such narratives is topical. What are they? Nancy Wright formulates this question when discussing the autobiographical components of the 1650s-1670s household accounts of lady Anne Clifford. Write's conclusions about the co-presence of different genres within one document of this type is extremely important for our study; for the case of Anne Cliffords' household accounts examined by her is very close to the cases of Osip Beliankin's and the Kolegovs' books, in that they all present a combination of two genres in the same document for, in all these cases, personal notes were accompanied by financial ones. A close analysis of the entries in Clifford's accounts led Wright to conclude on the 'modulation of the genres of the household account and diary' (2006, 241) whenever the author had to enter the expenses related to her private life (e.g. erecting the tombstone for her mother). While we agree with Wright's general conclusions, we suggest to use the term notebook (close to *libro-zibaldone* in the Western tradition) for the writings of Osip Beliankin and the Kolegovs, meaning a book

that is intended for a variety of entries: household, autobiographical, pertaining to historical events, etc., i.e. universal in its purpose.

4.2 *Autobiographical Writings in Russian Handwritten Miscellanea*

The second type of documents containing autobiographical texts of the eighteenth century is found in various handwritten miscellanea. A researcher has to take into account the challenging issue of the authorship of the miscellanea, as it configures a very complicated relationship between the commissioner, the copyist and the reader. Roger Chartier points out the blurred margins between writing and reading in handwritten books, especially in comparison with printed ones (1996, 33-37). The miscellanea testifies to the same with the utmost precision: the commissioner would determine the contents, in certain cases he/she would also act as a reader, make notes and corrections and, as the author, supplement the book by adding his/her own texts.

The miscellanea of various kinds are a significant part of the main archives of Russian handwritten books; this fact is reflected in the composition of the private libraries and readers' collections of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The handwritten miscellanea were based on the readers' interests, including not only fiction that could be published in those days, but a huge volume of texts that would not be incorporated into the printed issues: books of home cures, herbals, pilgrims' lore, local lore, low fiction' etc. (Luppov 1975, 190-192). While in the eighteenth century, cultivated Russian people had turned to printed books, the middle and low literate classes had their own literary life and interests, largely different from those of the nobles, for their culture was predominantly handwritten and anonymous, which makes it comparable to seventeenth-century traditions (Speranskiy 1963, 15).

It is no wonder that a lot of autobiographical works of the early modern period are to be found in the handwritten miscellanea. As a case study, we will describe the chronicle of a family of Moscow merchants, the Porokhovshchikovs, dating to a period between the second half of the eighteenth century and the first years of the nineteenth, and recorded on the last pages of a miscellanea from the NLR collections.

Thematically, the manuscript can be divided into three sections. The first one (folia 1-209) is a copy of the mid-eighteenth-century *Chronograph*, a monument of Old Russian literature that systemizes and narrates historical data. The second one (folia 210-226) contains excerpts from various documents of the Holy Synod, printed decrees and reports. The third section of the manuscript (folia 247-255) features the notes of the Porokhovshchikovs. Judging by the watermarks, all the parts of the volume date back to the same period, the middle and the second half of the eighteenth century.

The Porokhovshchov family chronicles has an author's title, *Zapiski raznykh godov sobrannyye moskovskogo kuptsa Petra Porokhovshchikova* (Notes from Various Years Collected by the Moscow Merchant Piotr Porokhovshchikov).[17] The *Notes* cover a long chronological period, 1753-1803, with 222 entries overall, from 1 to 11 entries for each year (figure 7).

[17] NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 775, no. 4693, folio 247.

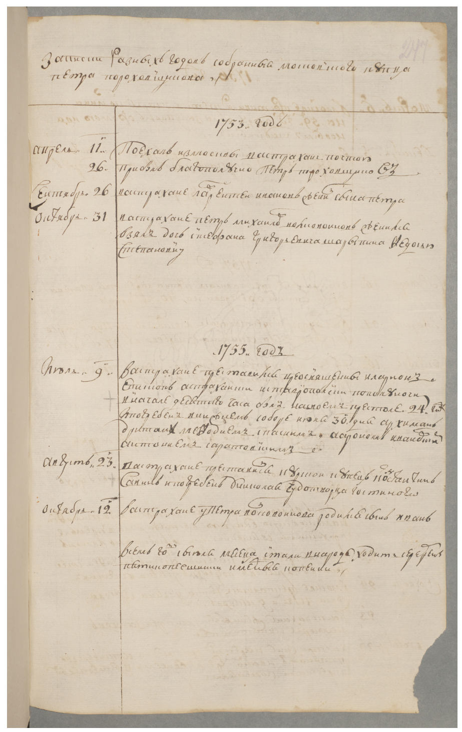

Figure 7 – The Notes from Various Years Collected by the Moscow Merchant Piotr Porokhovshchikov, NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 775, no. 4693, folio 247

The document's compiler and the owner of the manuscript was a Moscow merchant, Piotr Isaevich Porokhovshchikov (1722-1801), whose family was engaged in trade between Moscow and Astrakhan (Poliakov and Smirnova 2021, 12). With the exceptions of the last entries, he compiled the *Notes* by copying the whole text into the miscellanea in several installments. In mid-1801, his son Andrey went on with the writings and kept it alive until 1803. Such continuity is typical of the tradition of merchant families' chronicles, as shown before in the case of the Kolegovs' record book.

When we try to establish to which particular genre the family notes can be said to belong, we must consider that those of the Porokhovshchikov family belong to a tradition which was rife in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Russian literary culture, that of adding autobiographical records to handwritten miscellanea. These personal records were never the earliest inscriptions set down in the document: rather, they were additions to the basic text. This is also true in the case of the Porokhovshchikovs, who added their own 'chronicles' to their collection of historical documents and narratives. Thus, the national history told in the basic text was, in a way, supplemented by the history of one family and its environment: a practice which shows the author's deliberate intention to capture and fix the memory of himself and his family. Unlike the scattered annual entries that the Porokhovshchikovs had previously made, as well as the draft record book of the Kolegovs, this autobiographical text is specifically integrated into the miscellanea as a narrative piece not meant for practical purposes only, but also added as reading matter for the descendants and, potentially, for a broader circle of readers. We should also mention that the Porokhovshchikov's *Notes* are very close to the narratives of the Old Russian chronicles that were structured as annual

entries. This feature was singled out by Andrey G. Tartakovskii, who pointed out that, at its early stages, Russian autobiographical texts 'would retain on their faces the "birthmarks" of the Medieval legacy, including the tradition of the chronicles, that reflects the specifics of the appreciation of history at the age and the respective perception of time' (1997, 10). Thus, the *Notes* of the Porokhovshchikov merchants highlight the process of merging the new proto-diary genre to the habitual framework of traditional Russian manuscript culture.

4.3 *Autobiographical Marginalia in the Handwritten and Printed Books*

While the *Notes* by the Porokhovshchikovs are a more or less continuous narrative, the next type of autobiographical texts we are considering are fragmentary notes, marginalia from both handwritten and printed books. In the Introduction, we have outlined the fundamental differences between entries concerning the issue of ownership claims, that were also widespread in earlier periods, and the autobiographical records that highlight changes in the perception of the self and which are typical of the early modern period. According to the stimulating suggestion by Brian Vickers, 'Early modern culture was a culture of the notebook' (1968, 76-77). Since the notebooks or personal diaries, as independent documents were only introduced to the Russian manuscript culture in the Romantic period, in the eighteenth century a more appropriate form for recording private notes was deemed necessary. The forms could be either printed or handwritten books from the author's library (not compiled by the owner, unlike the miscellanea), as well as various papers no longer used. We will consider a few examples of such documents dating from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The material comes from the notebook of an unidentified military officer of the late eighteenth century and is a handwritten book of home cures discovered and researched by Alexandra B. Ippolitova (2008). The book is currently kept in the Manuscript Department of the State History Museum: it is a bound *in quarto* codex of 157 folia.[18] The volume contains a herbal and a copy of the *Prohladnii Vertograd* (Fresh Hortus Conclusus), a medical treatise widespread among readers and translated from Polish by Symeon Polotsky during the late-seventeenth century for the Russian Princess Sofia. In all the conceivable free spaces (margins, blank pages, reverse sides of the cover, unfilled graphs of the tables), feature numerous marginalia by the owner, from 28 January 1796, till 3 November 1815. The brief biographical data on the author, his interests, lifestyle, etc., can be recovered from his notes. Some of them are comments on the text, some are separated autobiographical records. Unfortunately, it seems unlikely that the name of the author could be found. Alexandra Ippolitova suggests that he was a military man, since the manuscript contains advice about repairing munitions and visiting military structures in the Caucasus (2008, 190). The composition of the entries is highly diverse, and seems to indicate that the owner was using the manuscript as a record book of a wider kind; indeed, among the notes are excerpts from books, religious, didactic and literary, encyclopedic data, records of dreams, household and culinary tips, and medical recipes.

One of the types of material used as the basis for note-taking were printed editions, including the *Mesiatseslovs* (menologies). A menology was a kind of calendar, officially printed in a book form since 1709, entitled *The Calendar*, or *Christian Menology*. The edition combines the actual calendar section with the arrangement of material by month and day of the week and a second, informative section. It had an enormous popularity in Russian society, since it combines practical information with scientific data and leisure reading.

[18] SHM, Ms. Dep., coll. of Zabelin, no. 653.

The collection of Pavel N. Tikhanov in the Manuscript Department of the NLR features 23 menologies with the autobiographical entries running from 1733 to 1828.[19] A meticulous analysis of the handwritings, entry structure and bindings led Tikhanov to distinguish several types of the menologies used as notebooks (1896).

The first author left his notes in the 1733 edition – only one volume of his notebooks has been preserved.[20] His entries are short and contain brief information about deaths (e.g., on folio 3: 'Vasilevna umerla' [Vasilevna has died]), about trips and visits from other people and about the conditions of the ice on the Oka River.

The second set of menologies dates back between 1772 and 1775, and comprises two books.[21] The author is Archpriest Georgii Petrov (1742-1825) who, in the 1770s, served for the house church of Count Grigorii Orlov, the favorite of Catherine the Great, and from 1783 for the Smolensky Cemetery Church in St. Petersburg. As Pavel Tikhanov argues, the entries 'are not what we normally consider to be properly made records: these are just brief mementos, sometimes memories' (1896, III). Apart from the notes on the weather and the ice on the Neva River, typical for a St. Petersburger, as well as the entries on receipts and payments, there are records about the Archpriest's church services (figure 8).

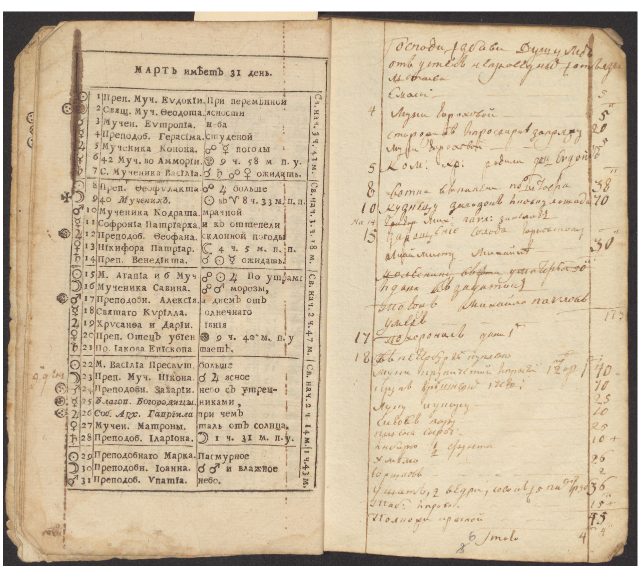
МАРТЪ имѣетъ 31 день.

Figure 8 – The notes by Archpriest Georgii Petrov in the menology of 1775, NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 777, register 3, no. 253/4, folia 5 v.-6

The third set of menologies belongs to an unidentified author and comprises 14 books for the years 1772, 1776, 1778, 1785-1787, 1789-1796,[22] with the first three written in an archaic manner, and the others by a different hand. Following Pavel Tichanov's method, we treat them as a single set for two main reasons: first, the volumes have similar stickers on the back, with the letters *S.P.*

[19] NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 777, register 3, no. 253/1-23.
[20] NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 777, register 3, no. 253/1.
[21] NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 777, register 3, no. 253/3, 4.
[22] NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 777, register 3, no. 253/2, 5-17.

(St. Petersburg) and the year; second, the type of entries in these books is rather consistent. Many of them deal with life at court: the author records the name days and birthdays of eminent citizens, presumably his acquaintances, as well as the balls, dinners, concerts in the royal circles and, most importantly, the travels of the Empress and members of the royal family. Certain entries point indirectly to the fact that the author belonged to the royal clergy (figure 9).

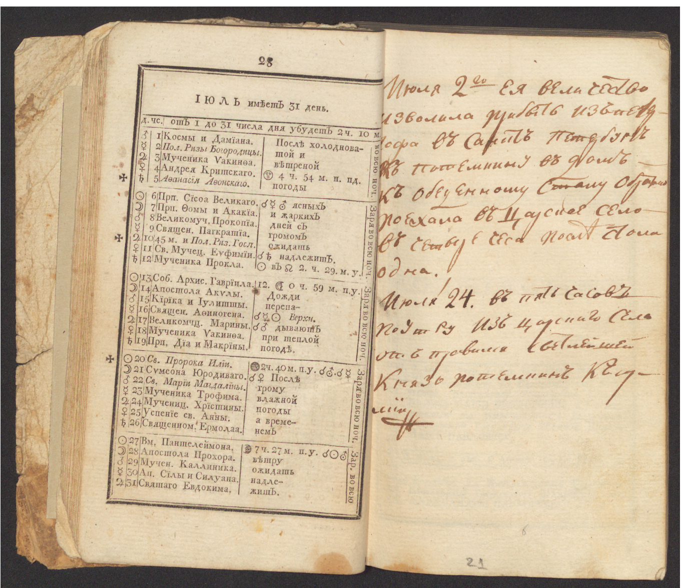

Figure 9 – Notes by the unknown author in the menology of 1791, NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 777, register 3, no. 253/12, folia 20 v.-21

The remaining four groups were not described by Pavel Tikhanov. They comprise one or two volumes each, from a later period: 1796, 1804, 1818 and 1819, 1818 and 1828.[23] The notebook of 1804 has only the back cover filled, while the volumes of 1818-1819 feature a stamp with the monogram *AN*. The book of 1796 probably belonged to a merchant, who left notes on the stock market. The latest pieces contain for the most part accounting entries.

Since the seven authors belonged to different families, we can state with confidence that they followed the widely spread tradition, using the menologies as material for personal note-taking. The format of these editions and their blank pages, coupled with the habit of consulting them on a daily basis, prompted the readers to use the books for their personal notes. We believe that Pavel Tikhanov, the scholar who owned and studied these documents, devised an appropriate name for them, the *Calendar*. It is also obvious that documents of this kind are very poorly preserved, since the contemporaries and their immediate descendants hardly attributed any value to such notes.

Another case of a document being used as a notebook is a manuscript that belonged to a village priest. It is kept in the Manuscript Department, NLR, and features 153 bound *in quarto* folia.[24] Andrey A. Titov, whose collection contains this manuscript, recorded its purchase in 1880 and suggested that the author was the father of Dmitrii Sergeievich Varnitskii, the Justice

[23] NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 777, register 3, no. 253/18-23.
[24] NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 775, no. 1062.

of the Peace of the city of Rostov, a former sexton of the church of the Holy Trinity Varnitskii Monastery in Rostov the Great. The Varnitskiis were a renowned noble family in Rostov and, in mid-nineteenth century Dmitrii Varniskii, was known as an official of the Rostov Noble Custody Board. Presumably, Titov purchased the manuscript directly from him, and recorded this fact in accordance with Dmitrii Varntskii's words.

Initially, the pages of the manuscript contained assignments for a Latin examination from the 1790s to the 1800s. Apparently, Varnitskii was a teacher of Latin, because all the sheets are filled in with students' tasks. Between students' exercises, there are various notes made by Varnitskii, in minute script. Most of them have to do with the accounting of the author's parish, his services and responsibilities, as well as with his personal accounts ('raskhod domashniy' [household expenses]), plus brief personal notes. Varnitskii inserted the entries between the lines and on the reverse side of the Latin exercises (sometimes upside down). These entries can be dated to a period between 1799 and 1805 (figure 10).

Figure 10 – Notes by S. Varnitskii on the pages of the Latin examination, NLR, Ms. Dep., fond 775, no. 1062, folia 12 v.-13

Amid the autobiographical entries, are *Rod svoy* (My family) – data on the birthdays of the family members. The text has another remarkable feature: the majority of words are abridged, which makes the work of a scholar extremely challenging.

How did Varnitskii work on the text? Judging by the way the pages are stitched into the binding, the author would take the pages covered with the Latin exercises and make his first autobiographical notes there. Subsequently, he stitched the pages, both covered with his notes and with the Latin exercises only, into one volume. Later, he would write on the pages of the bound book. Several pages towards the end of the manuscript remained blank. We may assume that, in his milieu, the author of this manuscript was a learned person for, in his record-book, he incorporated a lot of details such as the names of the months according to the Slavic, Jewish, and Moslem calendar, using the Zodiac signs as well.

Consequently, Varnitskii's notebook is an interesting case of various draft materials, i.e., pages covered with writings and no longer needed, being used as a notebook. The autobiographical notes are so tiny in size and hard to read, that one is left with the impression that the author's intention was to simply put them on paper rather than have them subsequently read. Instances of personal notes being made on the used pages are to be found in the merchants' archives until and as late as the 1880s. This practice highlights the fact that in the lower strata of the Russian society changes in self-perception, typical of the early modern period, would not occur until much later and, consequently, the adequate special form of a diary or notebook would only be introduced after a considerable lapse of time.

5. *Conclusions*

This article has taken into consideration several texts belonging to a proto-autobiographical genre produced in Russia: from the records inscribed by the representatives of the aristocratic Muscovy elite of the mid-seventeenth century and the notes jotted down by middle-class provincial authors of the late-eighteenth century. In all our case studies, the autobiographical texts are added as a supplement to existing handwritten or printed books, rather than represent autonomous documents. Prince Stepan Vasilievich Romodanovskiy put the entries into his own study book; the Kropotkin Princes used the family *Sviatsy* which contained the data on the church holidays; merchants Kolegovs and Osip Beliankin used their financial ledgers, and merchants Porokhovshchikovs the historical family miscellanea; an unidentified military officer put personal records into a manuscript book of cures; an anonymous man from St. Petersburg used printed copies of the menologies, and finally priest Varnitskii used the stitched-together pages with Latin exercises for his autobiographical records.

All these authors interfered with the initial form and purpose of the basic document's main intention. In some examples, the old form of the document went through an evolution and was adapted to the new content, other documents are considered as the result of the invasion by the author of the autobiographical notes into a completely extraneous manuscript and printed text, a fact which, however, triggers certain reflections in its reader and makes the reader position the entries in particular places (as additions). The texts described in this article demonstrate an extensive search by the Russian authors of the early modern period for the apt instruments to adequately consider the different means and forms in which authors configured their personal notes. It deals with a situation where many representatives of Russian society developed an inner desire to put on paper various issues that go beyond the purely practical records, while an accepted and stable form of making such records is absent. It took a century and a half to discover and validate it; the aristocratic and intellectual elite came up with the same need as early as mid-seventeenth century, when Russian book culture would mostly be restricted to the canon genre of Old Russian bookishness. We tend to agree with Andrey G. Tartakovskii who perceptively noted that, during the Old Russian literature period, there was no substantial literary memoir, but only disparate autobiographical notes. These mementoes 'never evolved into self-sufficient memoirs and autobiographical works, dissolving in the genre and etiquette forms that remained canonized at the period' (Tartakovskii 1980, 10). The Russian middle classes first turned to autobiographical texts and began to look for ways of recording them as late as the second half of the eighteenth century, when Russian culture fell noticeably under Western European influence. Still, until the end of the century, Russian autobiographical literature was almost entirely confined to the space of manuscript culture, being orientated towards family reading only, and was not perceived, by the authors, as a work.

No substantial changes in Russian autobiographical tradition materialized until the nineteenth century, when a culture of the notebook was finally established in Russian letters. Today, it is called the Classical Age of Russian memoirs, and coincides with the end of the transitional period of early modern times.

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The Text Known as Henslowe's Diary Document, Book, Work

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Abstract

Philip Henslowe's account and memorandum book has been known to scholars since 1845, when J.P. Collier published its transcript with introduction and notes. F.G. Fleay later called it 'the most valuable relic of all that we possess concerning the Elizabethan stage', and all subsequent scholars have agreed. Over the years the text has been thoroughly researched, duly edited, reproduced in a facsimile edition and, more recently, digitised on the website of the Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project. Why, then, dedicate yet more attention to a text so amply and authoritatively discussed? The aim of the present essay is to propose a view of the Diary in the first place as a mobile text, one which has migrated and been re-manipulated in various ways from edition to edition, in each case 'secured' in accordance with different critical principles; and secondly as a text incorporating a number of discursive genres and as raising a number of authorship attribution problems. In other words, I suggest that, rather than simply seeing the Diary – as it has generally and understandably been seen so far – as a text witnessing to events and actions and useful for filling lacunae in our knowledge of a particular historical context, we view it as a linguistic site in which distortions, restorations and interpretations have been generated, and a range of different meanings constructed.

Keywords: *Diary, Multiple Authorship, Philip Henslowe, Text Manipulation, Text Migration*

1. *The Document and the Book*[1]

The book containing the manuscript document of Philip Henslowe's accounts and miscellaneous notes is kept in the library

[1] By 'document' I mean the manuscript of the Diary as a documentary object in itself – what Paul Eggert calls 'ink on paper' (1994, 76, n. 16); but I also mean the text in its 'documentary' value as a witness and a source of information on theatre history. In referring to it as a 'book', I intend the artefact in its materiality, the bound (and rebound) volume which contains two documents: John Henslowe's Accounts and Philip Henslowe's Diary. Greg shows interest in the material aspects of the book when he says: 'It would be interesting to have a minute description of the volume before it was rebound, but such unfortunately does not appear to exist' (1904, xvii). The volume was apparently rebound when G.F. Warner undertook the preparation of his *Catalogue* (1881). I will discuss the rather problematic idea of 'work' as applied to the Diary in section 6.1 of the present article. As ever, and more than ever, Jeanne Clegg was a friendly but inflexible adviser.

of Dulwich College in South London. It was allegedly deposited there by Edward Alleyn, the founder of the College, together with a mass of other manuscripts belonging to him or to his father-in-law and partner Philip Henslowe after Henslowe's death in 1616. Until about 1790, the book reposed in a chest, undisturbed and unnoticed, together with the mass of other papers which Alleyn, for some reason, thought worth conserving.

Henslowe's text has rightly been thought of and exploited as an invaluable witness to events, actions and people connected with the entertainment business that developed in England during the last decade of the sixteenth century, and more generally, as throwing light on the practices of which the cultural experience we call 'Elizabethan theatre' was made up. Conversely, the Diary has been little studied as a mobile text subject to such migrations as transcription, reconstruction, revision, editorial securing and also distortion; and even less as a linguistic site with characteristics of its own firstly in terms of genre, but also as a sociological document springing from a (new) non-elite social class, that is, as a specimen of what Roger Chartier calls *écritures ordinaires*; or as an example of an 'egodocument' composed for the purpose of 'leaving a trace'. Finally, its meaning and structure in terms of co-authorship and collaboration appear to have been barely noticed at all.

I will first deal with the story of the transmission of the Diary from Henslowe to Alleyn and finally to the library of Dulwich College. I then outline the actions taken by its readers and editors from mid-nineteenth up to mid-twentieth century, exploring the aims which dictated the various ways of transcribing, commenting on, annotating, cataloguing and, more generally, securing but also sometimes corrupting the text. I then move on to reflect on the genre or genres to which the Diary may be ascribed, discussing the reasons why it may be inappropriate to describe it as a 'diary', exploring its 'egodocumentary' characteristics and, finally, its authorial peculiarity as a text collaboratively composed.[2]

2. *Into Alleyn's Hands*

The story of the Diary's transmission can only be a matter of inference. That the book passed into Alleyn's hands at Henslowe's death in 1616 cannot be ascertained for sure; even less is it certain that this happened at the explicit wish of Henslowe. Editors are cautious on this point. Collier maintained that 'Alleyn seems to have deposited in the [Dulwich] library, or in the archives, all the books and documents of which he was possessed, many of which had devolved into his hands from Philip Henslowe' (1845, viii). Greg stated that 'Into [Alleyn's] hands Henslowe's papers, the Diary among them, passed, presumably on the latter's death in 1616' (1904, xiii). According to Foakes and Rickert, after 1609, when the last of Henslowe's jottings was inscribed in the book, 'no doubt at [Henslowe's] death in 1616, the volume passed to Edward Alleyn … and so eventually became part of the library of the College of God's Gift' (1961, xi).

The point is that Henslowe's will does not mention either the book or other papers among his legacies (see Honigmann and Brock 1993, 101-104). Indeed, at his death, it was not clear to whom his property as a whole was to be devolved, and the Diary and the thousands of other papers were obviously the least of the concerns of the competing heirs, heirs who, in the last hours of his life, acted to secure for themselves his substantial patrimony, and who, after his death, entered into a long and tiring litigation to secure for themselves part of the deceased's

[2] More or less detailed descriptions of the Diary are to be found in Greg 1904, xv-xviii, Foakes and Rickert 1961, xii-xiv. Collier merely states that 'The manuscript is mainly in the handwriting of Henslowe', and that 'it is a folio volume of considerable bulk, bound in parchment' (1845, viii-ix).

material patrimony.[3] The theatrical papers must have been the least important of the things Philip left: proof of ownership of his more substantial properties resided elsewhere: in the muniments, contracts and other legal or semi-legal documents.

A few facts and dates need recalling in order to establish the function and significance of the book for its original users. The book had first been in the hands of Philip's brother John, who used it as an account book for his mining, wood-cutting and extracting operations in the Ashdown forest. 'The bulk of the dated accounts', Foakes and Rickert state, 'relate to 1577 and 1578' (1961, xv). After John discontinued his note-taking, the book was 'laid by for some time, for we next find it in use by Philip Henslowe in London early in 1592' (Greg 1904, xiii), when Philip started using it for his theatrical accounts, his pawnbroking activity, and other miscellaneous matters. Philip's latest entry bears the date 1609, but after 1604 its use was discontinuous and limited, and also between 1603 and 1604 entries are few, scattered and interspersed with blank spaces. We do not know whether the task of recording the accounts relating to Henslowe's and Alleyn's enterprises was entrusted to Alleyn at this time for, unfortunately, we have no sequel in Alleyn's hand, and we are forced to leave the book to subsequent stages in its transformation by editors, critics and readers.

That those papers were kept is a fact, however, for they became a (silent) part of Alleyn's bequest to his cherished College of God's Gift; and it is a fact that, for years, at least from 1609 to 1616, the Diary survived, either in Henslowe's or in Alleyn's dwelling, and was later donated to (or simply 'deposited in') the College, along with other papers and more substantial material items. Many papers may have disappeared, either lost or thrown away, but many remained, in spite of the fact that they – and the Diary, in particular – contained information that was valuable only for the time during which it had been recorded. But, if they survived, they must have been deemed by someone (Alleyn, probably) matters of some importance. Did Alleyn perceive the Diary's value for future generations of scholars? Or was the book transferred fortuitously to its resting place? In other words, was Edward Alleyn, of all the hundreds of people who took part in the unique experience that was the Elizabethan-Jacobean theatre, the only person involved in that adventure who performed the invaluable cultural gesture of preserving some witnesses to that memorable age? Or was 'the most valuable relic of all that we possess concerning the Elizabethan stage' (Fleay 1890, 95) preserved by mere chance?[4]

[3] We know the story of the case, which lasted about ten years, from records of subsequent suits in the Chancery Court and in the Star Chamber. The parties were, on the one hand, Alleyn, Henslowe's wife Agnes (who died a few months after her husband), and a certain Roger Cole, a friend of Henslowe's; and, on the other, John Henslowe, son of Philip's brother John, and Philip's younger brother William. The story somehow tarnishes Alleyn's reputation as a pious and generous philanthropist, for it appears that, with the help of Cole, in the hour of Philip's death, he made Philip sign an altered will. Henslowe, it appears, was too weak to make a proper signature, and Alleyn guided his hand; the result was a simple mark which, given the condition of the dying man when the mark was made, was deemed a proper signature. Critics who have told the story usually abstain from expressing moral evaluations. See, among others, Greg 1908, 18-21; Sisson 1929; Foakes and Rickert 1961, xi; Carson 1988, 4. The most explicit detractor of Alleyn's demeanour is John Briley, who accuses Alleyn of 'shrewder maneuvering' (1958, 330), though he does not acquit the 'opportunistic and mendacious' contenders (329). In 1929, Charles Sisson published information contained in Star Chamber Proceedings that had not hitherto been examined. According to Sisson, the Bill, dated 17 May 1617, reveals that not the whole of Henslowe's properties passed into Alleyn's hands, but that much of it went to his brother William and to other relatives. Sisson concludes that 'Henslowe provided handsomely for his own family as well as for the wife ... and for her family' (1929, 310).

[4] Grace Ioppolo states that 'In insisting in his will that his statutes and other papers remain in perpetuity at Dulwich College, Alleyn not only ensured their survival for four centuries, but recognized that his theatrical manuscripts constituted the first theatre history archive in England' (2011, 38). This may have been what the founder

3. *The Diary's Early Readers*

The first scholars to examine Philip Henslowe's account book read the manuscript, or inspected the book with diverse purposes in mind, and therefore attributed to it diverse meanings and functions.

Edmond Malone, who 'first discovered' the manuscript (Collier 1845, viii) while completing his edition of Shakespeare's plays (1790), thought of publishing some pages in the 'Emendations and Additions' to his 'Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the English Stage':[5]

> Just as this work was issuing from the press, some curious Manuscripts relative to the stage, were found at Dulwich College, and obligingly transmitted to me from thence. One of these is a large folio volume of accounts kept by Mr. Philip Henslowe …
>
> Though it is not now in my power to arrange these very curious materials in their proper places, I am unwilling that the publick should be deprived of the information and entertainment which they may afford; and therefore shall extract from them all such notices as appear to me worthy of preservation. (1821, 295-296)

The nature of Malone's interest in the Diary was therefore mainly determined by the direct or indirect support it could give to his critique and to his historical account.

John Payne Collier was a regular visitor to Dulwich. In 1841, he published, for his newly founded Shakespeare Society, an edition and transcript of Alleyn's Diary (Collier 1841), thereby ingratiating himself with the College authorities. Collier was an avid reader, a prolific writer, and a scholar who, although controversial, 'stood possessed' of a 'vast knowledge' (Greg 1904, xxxvii). At the time, he was actively engaged in promoting the Society's publishing activity with original material and, as a scholar, he thought that the extracts from Henslowe's Diary published by Malone over fifty years before required editorial revision. Accordingly, he stressed the fact that, when the text came into his hands, it was not 'in the state in which it existed when in the hands of Malone' (1845, xii). He also mentions the 'circumstance, that Malone made long and curious quotations from parts of it not now found in the manuscript' (xii-xiii), adding that 'these evidently formed a portion of it, when it was for so many years in his hands' (xiii), thereby suggesting that Malone had been responsible for their disappearance:

> There is good reason to suppose that, when Henslowe first availed himself of the parchment-covered book … leaves and parts of leaves had been cut out; but there can be no doubt that, within perhaps the last fifty years, it has been still farther mutilated … by inconsiderate lovers of the autographs of our old poets and actors. (*Ibid.*)

Collier's are the earliest allusions to Henslowe's text having suffered mutilations. As the Diary's first editor, he had an interest in censuring the use Malone had made of it; but he also had a meaner purpose: that of authenticating his own forgeries. By accusing Malone of having made cuts, or of having left some passages behind (xv), he could justify his insertions.

G.F. Warner, curator of manuscripts at the British Museum, was commissioned by the Board of Governors of the College to produce a catalogue of Alleyn's papers. He therefore had a bibliographic interest in Henslowe's Diary, as well as in the thousands of other manuscripts

intended, but in fact the only 'papers' mentioned in Alleyn's will, together with 'all the wainscotts, hanginges, pictures, Carpetts', and other material items, are 'my bookes and instruments' (Honigmann and Brock 1993, 151).

[5] My reference text is Malone 1821, the text edited by James Boswell after Malone's death (vol. III). The excerpts Malone reproduced from the Diary with notes and comments occupy pp. 297-335 of this edition. In his 1821 edition, Boswell added a few passages from the Diary and other texts to those published by Malone in his 1790 edition.

kept at Dulwich and which it was his intent to classify, number, describe and repair. Warner also stated that, while the official papers belonging to Alleyn's legacy were kept in the Treasure Chamber of the College, 'there is no reason to believe that [the private papers'] preservation was directly due either to a deliberate intention on the Founder's own part or to reverence entertained for his memory by others' (1881, vii); it was possible, therefore, that they simply 'remained, at Alleyn's death, in that part of the College buildings which he occupied' (*ibid.*).[6] As to the Diary, he noted that 'The volume has been mutilated in various places by the cutting or tearing out of leaves in whole or in part' (162); and states that 'All the leaves have now been repaired, and the excisions filled in with blank paper'; and that 'The original vellum covers … are now bound up at the beginning as fly-leaves' (163). Another of Warner's interventions consisted of numbering the pages of the Diary, that he drew in pencil in the upper right corner of each folio; this numbering has since been used as a standard means of reference; in addition, as he did with all the manuscripts and groups of manuscripts he catalogued, he gave the Diary a reference number (MS VII) which is still universally used by scholars.

As regards the 'modern fabrications', Warner believed that they were motivated by 'a desire on the part of the forger to palm off upon the world suppositious facts in connexion with Shakespeare and the other early dramatists' (xxxvi); he did his best, however, not to impute forgeries explicitly to Collier, speaking rather of 'some unscrupulous forger' who had introduced some 'spurious matter' into the manuscript (xii), and apparently acquitting Malone: 'there is nothing in all Malone's published writings to justify the least suspicion that he was capable of forgery' (xli).

The scholar to whom the book next passed was F.G. Fleay, who admitted to being daunted by 'the immense difficulty of using it for purposes of reference' (1890, 94). He published several extracts from 'the entries of play performances and [Henslowe's] payments to authors' (95),[7] entries which appeared to him to 'make the document, as a whole, the most valuable relic of all that we possess concerning the Elizabethan stage' (*ibid.*). Fleay was one of a group of late-nineteenth-century scholars who were trying to remodel Shakespeare scholarship and whose idea was to establish authorship and dating on the basis of numerical or metrical criteria by what they believed was a more 'scientific' method than had been attempted before. He was therefore highly suspicious of Collier's empirical textual demeanour, and wished to show his many flaws as an editor. Considering his forgeries, he maintained that Collier's 1845 edition of the Diary was 'a disgrace to English literature' and added that 'the Dulwich authorities would do well to have it re-edited by a competent hand, with careful elision of his numerous forgeries, and with the matter arranged in a serviceable consecution, of course without infringing on the accuracy of the text' (94-95). Fleay's advice was to result in W.W. Greg's edition of 1904.

4. *The Diary Manipulated*

4.1 *Excisions and Dispersion*

Collier seems to have been right when he stated that, after being in Malone's hands for years (apparently from at least 1790 until Malone's death in 1812), the book had been returned to Dulwich College with seriously damaging excisions. Lacking final proof thereof, however, later

[6] The alternative clearly suggests different ways in which those papers may have been considered by their proprietor; in particular, whether they were meant as noteworthy evidence of his personal and professional activities or simply as his private archive.

[7] The extracts, often interrupted by comments, occupy the pages from 95 to 116 of Fleay's book.

scholars seem unwilling to impute the disappearance of those fragments, or whole pages, to Malone, and express more nuanced opinions.

Warner notes that 'The volume has been mutilated in various places by the cutting or tearing out of leaves in whole or in part. In some cases the mutilation dates apparently from Henslowe's own time, but much of it is probably of a later period' (1881, 162-163). That one of the leaves which had been cut was dispersed and later recovered is also mentioned: 'A narrow slip, evidently cut from this volume, was bought for the British Museum at a public sale in 1878' (163). The two sides of the slip contain two autographs dated 'this xviith of July Anno 1599' and 'I. August. 1599' respectively, and concern money received from Henslowe by George Chapman and Thomas Dekker (see Foakes and Rickert 1961, 266, 267). They were obviously cut out for the sake of the two signatures.

When Greg edited the Diary, another fragment had been found and bought by the British Museum. This was a note dated 8 December 1597, and signed by Edward Alleyn. It concerns the hiring, by Henslowe, of a player, William Kendall, 'for ye space of … ij years To be redye att all Tymes to play in ye howse of the sayd philyp & in no other during the said Terme' (Greg 1904, xlix). Greg indirectly endorses the idea that this fragment may have been cut out and kept by Malone when he says that it was quoted by Malone 'as from Henslow's Diary' (xlviii).[8]

In his edition, Greg gave the position (top, middle, or foot) of all the mutilations using Warner's foliation system (xvii-xviii). He lists 26, between excisions of whole pages and of fragments. 'Those on 12 and 229', he says, 'are unquestionably old, while that on 231 was made for the sake of Alleyn's autograph … Some at least of the strips cut out of the middle of the leaves are due to unsuccessful attempts at forgery' (xviii).[9]

Foakes and Rickert confirm the Diary's page numbers listed by Greg as those where mutilations had taken place, hinting at the possibility that it may have been either Malone or Boswell who were responsible for the mutilations: 'A number of mutilations are comparatively recent, and have probably occurred since Malone had possessed the book. Several scholars have worked with it, and doubtless many people have had access to it'. They also point out that 'eleven fragments of the account-book have been traced. Perhaps more are in existence' (1961, xiii-xiv).

By 1961, other fragments had been found, dispersed in various libraries. Foakes and Rickert published a transcription of all those fragments (265-269), 'in the order of their probable placing in the *Diary*' (265): one is kept in the Bodleian Library, two (including the one reported by Warner) in the British Library, one in the collection of the Duke of Rutland, one in the Folger Shakespeare Library. In addition, 'six signatures on scraps of paper probably cut from the *Diary* have been noted in books in the Bodleian Library' (*ibid.*). These all belong to famous playwrights: Chapman, Dekker, Munday, and Wilson.

These fragments seem therefore to have been cut out in order to possess certain autograph signatures (five by Thomas Dekker, three by Thomas Downton and George Chapman, two by Henry Porter, one each by Henry Hathway, Robert Wilson, Anthony Munday, Robert Shaa, and Edward Juby). Four of the notes bear the titles of (or allusions to) texts paid for in part by

[8] Greg further commented on this fragment in his 1956 essay. He mentions the fact that the fragment had been published by Collier in his 1831 *History of Dramatic Poetry*, 'explaining that it had lain loose in a volume of old plays he had lately bought at an auction, and identifying it as having once formed part of Henslowe's Diary' (28). On this fragment, see also Foakes and Rickert 1961, 268-269.

[9] After Malone's death in 1812, James Boswell jr., the editor of Malone's 1821 variorum edition of Shakespeare's plays, had the book in his hands for several years. Some of the excisions which Collier imputes to Malone, therefore, may have been perpetrated by Boswell. Freeman and Freeman speak of 'the period of Malone's unscrupulous guardianship' (2004, 353).

Henslowe and to be delivered to him. George Chapman received money for 'a Pastorall ending in a Tragedye' (266); Hathway, Wilson and Munday part payment for 'a playe called Owen Tewder' (267); Thomas Dekker for 'a play Called Truethes supplication to Candle-light' (*ibid.*); Dekker and Downton for 'a Comedy Called The World ronnes vpon Wheeles' (268). These fragments have been excised not in the interest of scholarship but of collecting: the excisions are, in other words, the work of antiquarians using the Diary as a sort of 'inventory of personages'. Thus, the acts of removing fragments and even whole pages reshaped the meaning of the text as a whole, transforming it from a practical memorandum book into a totemic reserve of literary memorabilia to be stolen and conserved.

4.2 *Forgeries*

While composing his *Catalogue*, Warner discovered eight spurious entries in the manuscript (1881, 157-163), and Greg recorded a few more (1904, xxxvi-xlv). Warner had no doubts as to Collier's paternity of these impostures, but commented that 'it is no part of my duty either to arraign or defend him … if Mr Collier's name has been specially prominent, the blame rests with himself' (1881, xlvi). Greg put the matter more clearly: 'I accept Collier's authorship of the strange tangle of dishonest fabrication', he states, without pleading any 'extenuating circumstances' (1904, xxxvii).[10]

In the Introduction to his edition of the Diary, Greg reproduces all the forged items, explaining the rationale for each, and also lists two erasures that had not been noted before (1904, xxxviii-xlv).[11] Some of the forgeries do not seem attributable to any particular intention. Others are meant to strengthen the force of an already assessed attribution: for instance that of *Doctor Faustus* and *Tamburlaine* to Marlowe (19v)[12]. Yet others were meant to establish connections invented by the forger such as Webster's connection with Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* and the hint that Webster may have made a new version of, or made additions to the play (94). Other invented events include a loan to Thomas Nashe 'for the Jylle of dogges wch he is wrytinge for the company' (29v), another loan to Nashe, 'nowe at this tyme in the flete, (33) for the same play; Marston is imagined to have appeared as a new poet to whom a loan is made on account of a 'Boocke' (64v). Yet other forgeries include insertions, either in interlining or into blanks left in the original manuscript, of authors' names and of play titles as, for instance, in the allusion to the fact that Chettle had written a play on the legend of Sir Placidas (61 and 61v); or that money was lent to the same for a play called *Robin hoodfellowe* or *Robingoodfellowe* (116). The insertion of invented titles of plays in places left blank give the forger the opportunity to further embroider with his comments. This is the case of an imaginary play entitled *Like quits Like* (109), whose attribution to Heywood is endorsed in Collier's comment in his edition of the Diary: 'It is just possible that this may have been a play on the same story as Measure for Measure, near the end of which this line occurs: "*Like doth quit like*, And Measure still for Measure". The success of Measure for Measure at this date might have produced the rival play' (1845, 230, n. 2).[13]

[10] In his edition of the Diary, Collier inserted his forgeries, and often justified the fact that they did not appear in Malone's transcripts claming that those passages had escaped his predecessor's attention.

[11] Freeman and Freeman speak of sixteen or seventeen interpolations in the Diary that have been attributed to Collier (2004, 366).

[12] Page numbers refer to the Diary's pagination as drawn by Warren.

[13] Those in the Diary were by no means Collier's only forgeries. His boldest enterprise was perhaps the so called 'Perkins Folio', a copy of the second folio of Shakespeare's works bearing the name of a certain Thomas Perkins that,

'Forgery of books, pamphlets, broadsides and manuscripts', Paul Eggert says, 'differs from the forgery of banknotes and the like in that the former kind has the insidious capacity to mislead us in our attempts to understand the past' (2009, 75). Eggert also states that the forgery of whole texts, like those of the paintings he examines, 'can … be seen as a translation of the original paintings into the cultural vocabulary of the forger's period' (78). Collier intended his 'interlinear' and 'interspace' additions in a different way: he wanted them to become *confused* with the original. Rather than *translate to a different context* the cultural vocabulary of the document's original, by introducing elements of his own invention he intended to *falsify the historical context*: to validate and impose, as if it were authentic, *his* version of the Elizabethan theatrical scene.

Scholars who approached the Diary after the publication of Warner's *Catalogue*, and, even less, after the publication of Greg's edition should not have been misled by Collier's appropriation of Henslowe's text; not only because his impostures had been discovered and revealed, but also because the faked passages were badly feigned, and therefore easy to discern. However, very early in the history of its post-Collier reception, owing to Collier's forgeries, the Diary became a field of controversy and contention. Doubts arose about whether all those denounced by editors were the only forgeries present in the manuscript; or whether all those revealed to be later additions were to be considered forgeries, or even whether Collier was the only person responsible. And yet, in spite of the poor palaeographic quality of Collier's forgeries, such was the postulated authority of the document that even knowledgeable scholars chose to draw definite conclusions from some of the faked inscriptions. Thus, the Diary became an issue of dispute, as well as the site of possible errors and misunderstandings. A case in point is that of A.H. Bullen, a renowned literary publisher and editor, who, in the biography of Chettle he wrote for the 1887 edition of the *DNB*, 'trustingly reproduce[d]' Collier's false news that Chettle had been paid by Henslowe for a play on 'sir Placidas' (see Freeman and Freeman 2004, 368).

4.3 *The Diary 'Secured'*

Collier had a genuine interest in all the documents concerning the early English theatre, but he also had an interest in promoting 'the spirit of inquiry and research generated by the formation and labours of the Shakespeare Society' (1845, xiv). As an editor, he also wished to mark what he thought was a deep difference between his and Malone's editorial practice. Not only, as we have seen, did he blame his predecessor for the disappearance of whole pages, but he also accused him of inaccuracy: 'he was by no means accurate', he says, 'in the information he gleaned from [the manuscript], while … he left behind him many particulars which we have carefully collected and deposited in the present volume' (xv). Concerning the Diary's contents, his main interest

in 1852, Collier announced he had found and in which, he said, were inscribed hundreds of marginal emendations made in a seventeenth-century hand; he subsequently published transcripts of these forged emendations in a new edition of Shakespeare's works. For a full account of the 'Perkins Folio' affair, see Freeman and Freeman 2004, 563-639 and 718-824; with reference to the Dulwich papers and the Diary, see *ibid*., 340-376. As to other Dulwich documents, Warner also discovered six forgeries in the manuscript of Edward Alleyn's Diary (see Collier 1841), where certain interpolations allude to the fact that Alleyn attended, at the Fortune, performances of 'as you like itt' and of 'Romeo' (Freeman and Freeman 2004, 370). The wish to establish a connection between Alleyn and Shakespeare also determined a couple of forged passages where it is affirmed that Alleyn's purchase of a property in Blackfriars was connected with the building of the Blackfriars theatre (370-371). The aim of a number of the impostures inflicted by Collier to Alleyn's diary was 'in aid of Collier's contention that Alleyn knew Shakespeare well, and took over his share in the Blackfriars playhouse in 1613, a theory for which there is not a scintilla of genuine evidence' (347).

seems to have been in what could be gleaned from it about Shakespeare. Though he was bound to acknowledge the fact that Shakespeare's name 'nowhere occurs in the text' (vii), he says that 'the manuscript, directly or incidentally, illustrates the life and works of Shakespeare' (viii).[14]

When he started working on the manuscript of Henslowe's Diary, Greg's motivation was not simply to redeem the text from Collier's manipulations.[15] A new edition of any work is always inspired by dissatisfaction with previous ones, and in this case, Greg's 'great aim' was 'accuracy' (1904, xlvi). Collier had sensed that an exact reproduction of each page and its layout would have been ideal, but his aim was impeded by technical problems: 'we could not contrive our printed page exactly to correspond with the page of the manuscript' (1845, xvii). Probably thanks to a more sophisticated reproduction technique, Greg 'succeeded in making the rectos and versos of the reprint correspond in general with those of the original', thus producing a print 'as far as possible of the nature of a facsimile' (1904, xlvi). Greg described his wish to reproduce the original layout of the pages and their numbering as a 'piece of conservatism' (*ibid*.). He was conservative also as regards the other hands appearing in the Diary.[16] More importantly, he was scrupulously conservative as regards the forgeries. In his Introduction, he considered and discussed each of those that had been discovered up to the time when his edition was published. These all appear in the text, reproduced in bold to enable easy distinction. Otherwise, however, Greg's decisions were regrettably not conservative. Especially regrettable was his decision to exclude from his text Henslowe's pawning accounts which, though not (or not always) directly connected with his theatrical enterprises, indisputably contribute to draw a sociological portrait of Philip Henslowe as a capitalist entrepreneur.

By mid-twentieth century, a new edition of the Diary, R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert say, was needed for Greg's edition had 'long been out of print and unobtainable' (1961, ix), but it was necessary also 'to reconsider the meaning of Henslowe's entries and Greg's detailed interpretation of them', and to 'encourage further scrutiny of the evidence' (*ibid.*), for 'the material in the account book is … open to fresh interpretation' (xxxiii). In general, the two editors seem to have been less exclusively concerned than Greg with the theatrical accounts. For instance, although the mining accounts recorded by John are not given in full, they are, for the first time, described in comparative detail (xv-xx) 'because of their intrinsic interest as a detailed record of operations of iron-smelting at an early period, and also because they provide further knowledge of the Henslowe family, and of Philip's background' (xiv). Furthermore, a significant addition to Greg's edition is the transcript of the whole of Philip's pawn accounts, which the editors considered as not only having 'an interest in their own right' (*ibid*.), but also as having 'a relation to the theatre' (xv), for most of these loans were 'made on behalf of the company, for which Henslowe was acting as banker and moneylender' (xxiv). Foakes and Rickert, on the contrary, simply allude to the forgeries, excluding them from their text: 'The forged entries observed by Warner and Greg are omitted from the text of the *Diary* in this edition, but are given, for the sake of references, in footnotes' (lii).

[14] A peculiar trait of Collier's edition is his idea, not shared by later editors, that, in writing his notes, Henslowe was 'assisted here and there by some clerk or scribe whom he employed' (1845, viii). Greg comments as follows: 'Whether Collier deliberately invented the scribe in order to confuse his readers, and so render the detection of his own forgeries less easy, or whether he was himself misled by the considerable variations in Henslowe's hand, I do not presume to determine' (1904, xxiv).

[15] For the mode and timing of the discovery of Collier's forgeries, from Warner's *Catalogue* to the 1961 critical edition by Foakes and Rickert, see Freeman and Freeman 2004, 364-372.

[16] These are listed, and many commented on, on pp. xxx-xxxvi of the Introduction and further annotated as they appear in the text.

The two twentieth-century editions of the Diary present not only two different texts: Greg's edition with the forgeries incorporated, though not fully integrated, but with excision of the pawn accounts, Foakes and Rickert's which totally omits the forgeries, gives an ample report of John's mining accounts and includes Philip's pawning accounts in full. The two editions, therefore, express two contrasting points of view: Greg's concern seems to be mainly the reconstruction both of the text as originally drafted (including its physical reproduction 'as far as possible of the nature of a facsimile') and of its manipulations and that of its exact documentary import as concerns the history of early modern English theatre; the later editors appear also interested in reconstructing a contextual setting, both familiar and professional. By reading both, the reader is invited to formulate two different versions of the events recorded.

A further migration of the Diary is represented by the photographic facsimile edition prepared by R.A. Foakes, published in 1977. This edition may be seen as marking a stage in the transition between the early printed editions and the latest and most ambitious securing enterprise – that of the Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project,[17] which has already digitised over 2,200 pages of manuscripts from among the Dulwich papers, Henslowe's Diary being probably the most important.

On its homepage, the Project is described as follows:

> The Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project has two aims and objectives: first, to protect and conserve these increasingly fragile manuscripts, and, second, to make their contents much more widely available in a free electronic archive and website, not only to specialist scholars but to all those interested in early modern English drama and theatre history, as well as social, economic, regional, architectural, and legal history, and palaeography and manuscript studies.[18]

The Project, which provides freely and easily accessible images of most of the Dulwich manuscripts, was begun in 2002 and its electronic website launched in 2009. As Grace Ioppolo, director of the Project, says, a number of new technologies were used to photograph each manuscript page and archive them electronically (2011, 41). Ioppolo explains the techniques employed to photograph and archive each page and, at the same time, to protect the originals being photographed (41-42). The Diary probably called for the most laborious process for, after being photographed, the book was 'disbound … in the process of repairing the spine', and then re-photographed, 'as its tight binding had caused some minute loss of text in the gutters during the original photography' (42). All the pages of Henslowe's Diary are reproduced as photographic images, and a complete transcription of each page is provided.[19]

Thanks to the Digitisation Project, the Diary is now for the first time readable as part of a vast archive of contemporary (more or less strictly related) documents, a rich reservoir of knowledge of the cultural, social and political context for Henslowe's activities in the world of entertainment as well as other areas of business. Side by side with Philip's Diary, we have photographically reproduced and nearly entirely transcribed the Diary and Account Book of Edward Alleyn,[20] a document extremely rich in detail not only of a personal, biographical nature, but also relating to historical events and figures.

As Ioppolo says, 'Henslowe's "famous" "Diary" is one part of a very large archive that has not been fully investigated or studied. Greater access to all these theatrical papers through

[17] <https://henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/>.
[18] *Ibid*.
[19] MSS 7: <https://henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/catalogue/mss-7/>.
[20] MSS 9: <https://henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/catalogue/mss-9/>.

online digitization enlarges our knowledge of the greatest age of English theatre while helping to conserve the manuscripts themselves for future generations' (45).

Adapting a statement by Paul Eggert to the acts performed in the 'securing' of Henslowe's Diary, one may say that 'Preservation turns out to have an aesthetic', and also a cultural and social ethic 'of its own. The policy is not simply an act of historical piety' (2009, 43).

5. *Issues of Genre*

5.1 *Diary*

We normally use the term 'diary' to designate those texts in which intimate feelings, reflections and facts are recorded; therefore, used to describe Henslowe's text, whose main object is accounting, the word would seem to be an inappropriate imposition. However, Philippe Lejeune uses precisely the word 'diary' to describe certain early forms of written records used for reckoning: 'The diary', he says, 'like writing itself, was born of the needs of commerce and administration'; and indeed, Lejeune's description of the 'diary' genre in the original sense of 'making a record and dating it' suits perfectly (part of) the text composed by Philip Henslowe:

> Accounting serves two purposes: an internal purpose (business management based on full and accurate information) and an external purpose (to stand as evidence in the event of a dispute). This function remains unchanged through history, from the earliest known accounting systems in Chaldea or ancient Egypt right up until today … To keep an account means that you can write and that you own something: it is a way of exercising a modicum of power, however limited. (2009a, 51)

Although the kind of diary generally discussed by Philippe Lejeune is the *journal intime*, some of the features he lists may be discerned in Henslowe's Diary. A diary, he says, is a 'Non-narrative', for 'it is not constructed like a story with a beginning, a middle and an end', and '*it is written without knowledge of the ending* …' (2009b, 170, italics in the original). But other formal features too allow us to claim the status of diary for Henslowe's text. Like any diary, its inscriptions have a (more or less regular) forward-moving time-development;[21] like any diary, it has no physical *avant-texte* that can be examined in order to detect its compositional process; like any diary it records items which are of interest primarily for its composer; like many diaries it was not meant by its author for publication.

But, in many ways, it is also different from what we normally think of as a 'diary'. Though personal, it is not private and, even less, is it secret. Its authorship is contaminated, and therefore made uncertain, by the presence of at least fifty-six hands different from that of its main drafter (Greg 1904, xxx-xxxvi). The *persona* constructed out of the items recorded is not a self-portrayal by the author, but a reader's construction. Most importantly, it does not record the drafter's feelings or states of mind: if there seem to be any, these, too, are constructions by readers, out of certain linguistic, rhetorical, or other kinds of personal and stylistic clues.[22] Unlike most

[21] The chronological development of Henslowe's Diary is not a regular sequence, for many annotations have been inserted wherever a blank space was found (see Greg 1908, 49).

[22] Evaluations of Henslowe's character and personality differ, diverge even. The first, and most severe judgement was that of J.P. Collier, for whom he was 'an ignorant man, even for the time in which he lived, and for the station he occupied' (1845, xv); F.G. Fleay maintained that 'Henslow was an illiterate moneyed man … who regarded art as a subject for exploitation, and was alike ignorant of stage management and dramatic literature' (1890, 117). Fleay

diaries, it is not a text its author would go back to, re-reading items which might remind him of particular circumstances, feelings, or states of mind, unless to check dates, figures, etc. Nor is it a sequential narration or reflection: date order is occasionally random, going forward or backward in time as free space in the book allowed. Most importantly, Henslowe's Diary is not – or is only in part, and in most cases indirectly – a first-person account. 'If, for the sake of convenience we continue to use the word "diary" to refer to Henslowe's account book', Neil Carson says, 'we must do so with the understanding that it is a misnomer' (1988, 5); Carson considers it more properly as 'a sort of "commonplace book" in which [Henslowe] recorded interesting and miscellaneous bits of information', such as aphorisms, medications and various memoranda, as well as 'legal and semi-legal records' (*ibid*.).

The question as to whether Henslowe's text is a diary in the sense of a chronologically-ordered private narrative is a comparatively idle one, as is probably also the search for the correct label to attribute to it as an 'egodocument'.[23] But the question does open up the issue of genre, that is, one of the many points of view from which the text may be examined; indeed, in terms of genre and of authorship attribution, and, even more, as a bibliographical object, Henslowe's text is an extremely complex specimen of word-combination and page-combination. As S.P. Cerasano says,

> the manuscript that we identify as "Henslowe's" *Diary* was, throughout its existence, a kind of work in progress, the product (ultimately) of many individuals rather than a static, carefully circumscribed entity. Tracing the movement of Henslowe's book … reminds scholars of the changing purposes to which various owners have put it. (2005b, 332)

Elsewhere Cerasano comments that 'it has been virtually impossible for scholars to make sense of Henslowe's book as a whole, mostly because the diversity of contents and the complexity of its organization are daunting' (2005a, 73). She therefore suggests that we take a ' "holistic" approach' to the book, 'examining it as an artifact made up of all its many parts, that stands within a well-established tradition of memorandum books or, perhaps more properly, manuscript notebooks of its time' (*ibid*.). She orientates her analysis accordingly, demonstrating that, 'Henslowe's book was utterly typical of manuscript notebooks written during the early modern period, including those created by educated authors of rank and station' (74).

also discusses his integrity as a businessman: 'he managed … to keep his actors in subservience and his poets in constant need … by lending them money and never allowing their debts to be fully paid off' (117-118). Greg was more neutral: 'Of Henslowe's knowledge or ignorance of stagecraft we have absolutely no means of judging' (1908, 112, n. 1); Chambers thought that the argument about Henslowe's morality was an idle one: 'Whether Henslowe was a good or a bad man seems to me a matter of indifference. He was a capitalist' (1923, vol. I, 368). Carol Rutter compares Henslowe's business style with the little we know of the much more professional James Burbage: 'Much more is known of Philip Henslowe, more that has served to condemn him. His detractors have ten years of the Diary's crammed sequence to watch him entering his receipts, reckoning his accounts, and noting his debts, and to suspect his motives, his capitalism, his money contaminating "art" and compromising "artists" ' (1984, 8); Neil Carson stresses the man's fair dealings with poor relatives, and concludes that 'While there is no reason to suppose that he treated his business associates with the same tolerance he showed to members of his family, neither is there any irrefutable evidence that he did not' (1988, 4-5).

[23] The term 'egodocument' was first introduced by the Amsterdam historian Jacob (Jacques) Presser in the 1950s. More or less inclusively interpreted, the category of 'egodocument' has been employed as a tool for the examination of self-narratives; but not without provoking criticism, the most important one being that certain all-inclusive uses of the term '[make] the concept unworkable' (Dekker 2002a, 9). In the 1980s, the concept of 'egodocument' encountered such perspectives as microhistory, the history of mentalities and social history, and these 'raised the value of egodocuments considerably' (10), so that it entered into the lexicon of historians. On the connection between self-narratives and microhistory, see Renders and de Haan, 2014.

5.2 *The Diary as* écriture ordinaire

In a different perspective, the Diary seems to belong to the mixed forms that Roger Chartier calls *écritures ordinaires*: 'In all Europe, though called in various ways, the *écritures ordinaires* are the same: signed private contracts, receipts and acknowledgement of debts, collections of trade secrets, commonplace books, account books or property deeds, family books, life sketches' (2001, 786)[24]. Authors of these types of egodocuments are described by Chartier as *illetrés savants* (learned illiterates). Their writing activities, he says, express

> the new exigencies of an artisanal and shopkeeper economy, which requests more and more the written report of technical processes, or of commercial transactions, of the wish of individuals desirous to have a better hold on time by drafting a script of their present produced day-by-day, by committing to writing the memory of a more or less distant past. (787)

These forms of writing are *ordinaires* in a double sense, Chartier argues: on the one hand, they were produced by ordinary people, and, on the other, they have no aesthetic finality, and are directed only towards the person that produced them or towards those who are closely linked to the author (*ibid.*). Daniel Fabre, in turn, defines *écritures ordinaires* as writings 'which are definitely distinct from the prestigious universe of the writings characterised by a volition to compose works, the authenticating signature of the author, the consecration of print' (1993, 11); and says that these written forms, though extremely varied, appear to be connected by a similar function: that of '*laisser trace*' (leaving a trace) (*ibid.*).[25] These ordinary writings, he says, are not easily 'classified into categories, and their fashioning does not immediately reveal a social identity' (12). Discussing the same kind of *écritures ordinaires* – from account books and family books to life narratives – in the Spanish *Siglo de Oro*, Antonio Castillo Gómez examines the extremely varied and heterogeneous corpus of those textual forms which, he suggests, can be classed under the umbrella term of 'memory objects' in that, in spite of the great variety of their textual manifestations, they all instance a sort of 'memory function' which is embodied in various forms and styles, and enacts various functions and intentions (2001, 821-822).

Introducing his volume on artisan autobiography, James Amelang argues for a more flexible definition of the genre 'diary' than the strict one suggested by Philippe Lejeune as a 'chronologically ordered, retrospective prose narrative whose central theme is the development of the author's personality' (1998, 13), for that definition has contributed to the a priori exclusion of all other forms of 'egodocuments' and to confusing 'all autobiography with its modern incarnations with a more strictly historical approach' (14). Amelang stresses that, when analysing and categorising the different forms of first-person writing, or egodocuments (a term, however, he in part rejects), we must bear in mind issues of authorship and motivation. He also introduces, as a pre-condition to any analysis, the issue of the individuals' social classification, a perspective that is relevant to Henslowe's position and to any examination of his Diary. In the case of artisan autobiography, the difficulty, Amelang says, 'derives from the resistance to classification of many hybrid [social] types of preindustrial Europe – those who, with one foot in one social category and the other in another, simultaneously inhabited different social universes' (24) – moving, for instance, between the worlds of guilders, lesser merchants, or of practitioners of

[24] Unless otherwise stated, translations are mine.

[25] 'Traces', 'Tracks', 'Signs', 'Clues', 'Scraps' are terms discussed by Carlo Ginzburg as integral parts of an evidential paradigm, and as 'involuntary' textual elements which allow the historian to reach certain zones of reality (see Ginzburg 1986). Ginzburg has had more to say on the same paradigm in a more recent collection of essays (2006).

such arts as those of the notary or the dentist, the student or the soldier.[26] In none of the social categories listed by Amelang, however (those he goes on to deal with as well as those he goes on to dismiss), do we find anything that approximates to the hybridity of Philip Henslowe as a member of the social world he inhabited; indeed, his social status was that of somebody exercising a new trade, which had only one explicit previous example in England, that of James Burbage. His text is, therefore, a reflection of that new trade's collaborative ways of operating.[27]

5.3 *The Diary as 'Erasable' Text*

A further genre feature of the Diary may be evoked: that of 'erasability'. Examining 'the manifold relationship between inscription and erasure, between the durable record and the ephemeral text' (2007, vii), Roger Chartier points out that 'Not all written texts are destined to last. From the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century, a variety of objects were used to record writing temporarily until, having outlived its usefulness, it could be erased'. Chartier devotes attention to the wax tablets and 'another kind of "table", a small notebook whose pages were coated with a substance that made it possible to erase what had been written and to take quick notes, not with pen and ink but with a metal stylus with which one could record a thought, a speech, a verse, or a letter' (2007, xi). One of the examples examined by Chartier is Cardenio's *librillo de memoria*, which Sancho and his master find in an abandoned valise while wandering in the Sierra Morena, and of which we are told in chapter 23 of Part One of *Don Quixote*. The *librillo* turns out to be a writing object on which to draft 'erasable' texts which are only of temporary value, and make sense, for their drafter, only for the time when they are written down. 'At this point', Chartier notices, 'one of the key themes of the Sierra Morena chapters begins to emerge: the contrast between memory as a durable trace of the past … and memory as vulnerable, ephemeral, and erasable, like that which is written as a "rough draft" on the *librillos de memoria*' (14).

The issue of erasable texts is also dealt with by Antonio Castillo Gómez in his examination of the different characteristics of various kinds of egodocuments. It is the 'conciseness and the purely enumerative function of account books' that distinguishes them from narrative genres such as 'historical memories, confessions, *livres de raison*, and autobiographical diaries'. These two types of text may be distinguished also on the basis of the kind of memory they embody: account books seem to be the outcome of a 'short' memory, while larger descriptive narrations

[26] For a story of the initial stages in the development of the term 'egodocument' since the expression was coined by Jacob (Jacques) Presser in the 1950s, see Castillo Gómez 2015, 48; von Greyerz 2010, 277, 278 and Dekker 2002b. N. Zemon Davis discusses various types of egodocument, without actually employing the term, in various kinds of sixteenth-century French texts (mainly *mémoires* and, in a few cases, letters), examining 'how a patriarchal family unit could stimulate people within its borders toward self-discovery and self-presentation' (1986, 59). In his account of self-representations from Petrarch to Descartes, Peter Burke discusses self-portraits and even 'the busts and coins of Roman emperors' as egodocuments (1997, 24). Castillo stresses the heterogeneous character of the texts discussed under the umbrella term 'egodocument', and sketches a typology of different forms: 'some of them, like spiritual autobiographies and the *discursos de vida* are near to the strictly speaking biographical model; others exclude introspection and opt for the telling of facts, either personally witnessed, or related by others; a third modality is characterised by a mixture of elements like the account book and other personal, familiar, or general notes' (2019, 57-58); a description which seems to be the most apt for Henslowe's Diary.

[27] The collaborative composition of the Diary also presents the egostatements of other, comparatively new, categories of wage-earners whose social status was uncertain: players and playwrights. Gary Taylor describes the last as artisans, 'wrighters' instead of 'writers', and the inherent features of their work as 'artiginality', for it 'has the originality proper to artisans' (2017, 25).

are the product of 'long' memory. Texts embodying a short memory are also erasable; indeed, the short memory which characterises account books is also evidenced by the frequent erasures found in them, for the 'out' items are cancelled 'once the debt has been paid' (2015, 59).[28] Long and short memory, Castillo says, have also been characterized by the anthropologist Valérie Feschet as 'hot' and 'cold' respectively; the first is that which 'verbalizes affections and emotions', while the second is that contained in official documents and legal acts (61). From the point of view of the kind of memory it embodies, Henslowe's Diary seems to belong to the families of 'short-memory', 'cold', 'erasable' texts.

6. *Authorship*

6.1 *'Author' and 'Work'*

As already noticed, the notebook in which Henslowe's text is inscribed was originally used by Philip's brother John who, 'from January 1576 to 10 December 1580 or 1581' (Foakes and Rickert 1961, xv) used it to make notes about his mining, coal-extracting and trading activities. After 1581, the book seems to have been abandoned for about ten years until, in 1592, Philip started writing on the pages which John had left blank. Moreover, 'Philip occasionally used blank pages, or spaces between old entries, to add items concerning his business, and also entered various theatrical reckonings on the first few versos (rectos for him) at this [John's] end of the book' (*ibid.*).

The two parts of the document, however, have never been treated jointly, or in comparable detail, for the text inscribed in Philip's part of the book has obviously considerably greater significance and cultural import than his brother's. In fact, it was Philip himself that distinguished his text from John's, establishing a new incipit by reversing the book and starting to write on the pages John had left blank. Since it was first discovered by Malone, the Diary has been treated as an autonomous text; but Philip's text does not exhibit a completely independent development of its own, for many of its inscriptions intrude into John's text, more or less deeply disfiguring it or, at least, partly de-authorizing it and, at the same time, disintegrating the continuity and cohesion of the Diary itself. Nor has the issue of authorship been raised in connection with the Diary, for the identity of its (main) drafter is amply witnessed to by both external and internal evidence.

As for external evidence, Philip's identity as 'author' is proven, in the first place, by the fact that the book was found by its earliest readers in the chest where his and Alleyn's papers had been kept since they were consigned to Dulwich College. Similarly, witnesses to what we know of Henslowe's life and undertakings are everywhere in the text, as are traces of the context within which he lived and developed his enterprises, of the dating of almost every item or group of items; of the names of his business collaborators, or of those of members of his family, of the titles of the plays produced as well as the names of the playwrights writing for him, and of such family and business events as the wedding of his step-daughter, the sums paid for the building or the refurbishment of his playhouses or for his bearbaiting activity. All these point indisputably to one and the same historical person. Furthermore, not only is the Diary attributable to its main drafter; owing to its authority as a document, it also permits attribution of other works mentioned in the manuscript to other authors.

[28] In many of the Diary's pages, transactions which were concluded are cancelled by a cross. In their edition, Foakes and Rickert mark each deletion by 'a heavy bracket at the beginning and end of a cancelled passage' (1961, lvi).

As for internal evidence, one of the main elements is the shape of Philip's handwriting as compared with the same in that of other papers (signed contracts and other documents) preserved in the same chest or elsewhere. However, although no responsibility for the text's authorship is explicitly attributed in the opening page(s) of the Diary, the inside of the original vellum wrapper, 'like the first and last pages', is 'covered with scribble, chiefly in Henslowe's hand' (Greg 1904, xv), in which the name 'Philippe Henslow' appears several times.[29]

As Harold Love comments in discussing the attribution of authorship to cases of self-allusion, 'Works which include extensive descriptions of the writer's own experiences should be unproblematical – exceptions are when the author is a person of exceptional obscurity …' (2002, 88). Philip Henslowe was certainly not an obscure individual; he was a person who, as well as carrying out his own activities, was assigned a number of public duties.[30] The identification of the main drafter of the Diary, therefore, should be unproblematic.

Problems, however, arise when we attribute the name of 'author' to Philip Henslowe as the Diary's originator, and call his text a 'work'. In what sense is it possible to say that Philip Henslowe is the 'author' of his Diary? And that the Diary (and John's accounts) are 'works' produced by their drafters? In other words, how should we distinguish, not only as regards the use of certain critical terms, the creators of those 'erasable', short-memory texts from the creators of those texts which we recognize, at first sight, to be 'literature', that we call 'authors'? Why should we say that the writer of a business letter does not have an author function,[31] while we read as 'authorial' Michelangelo's letters to members of his family, even though their contents are often less significant than that of a businessman's letter? Another man of the theatre, Carlo Goldoni, wrote a diary of his life and activities. The title of his work is *Mémoirs de M. Goldoni*, and the subtitle is *Pour servir à l'histoire de sa vie et à celle de son théâtre*. And is it not to gain information about the history of Henslowe's activity and of the theatre of his time that we read his Diary? How *differently*, then, do we read Goldoni's diary as compared to Henslowe's? Does the intent to publish make a difference, or does it make *the* difference?[32] Paul Eggert suggests that 'we distinguish between authorship, understood as a cult, and personal agency in a work, taken as a basis for further analysis' (2009, 63). But to suggest that we employ an attenuated term ('agency' in place of 'authorship') in referring to works to which we subjectively assign the brand of a lower 'literary' quality, or no literary quality at all, is simply to evade the problem; unless we substantiate this kind of mitigated designation with suggestions about the role and function each agent performs in each particular text.

6.2 *Agency and the Diary's Drafter(s)*

An issue related to the decision to use a diminished notion of authorship such as 'agency' is that of how to manage the category of 'style' as a criterion for attributing an 'erasable'

[29] John was more explicit when he wrote: 'This is John henslow Boke 1577' (238v; Foakes and Rickert 1961, 5), repeating several times the formula with slight variations (Greg 1904, xviii). Unless otherwise stated, quotations from the Diary are from Foakes and Rickert 1961; the first number in the quote corresponds to that inscribed by Warner on each folio, and thenceforth universally credited; the second is the page number in Foakes and Rickert's edition.

[30] 'In 1592 or 1593', Warner says, 'he became a Groom of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth, and in 1603 a Sewer of the Chamber to James I' (1881, xix).

[31] On discourses which are not endowed with the 'author function' like letters, or contracts, see Foucault in Rabinow 1984, 107-108.

[32] In private conversation, Donatella Pallotti suggested another relevant category to be examined when distinguishing between authorship and simple agency: that of the author's/agent's *name*, and its cultural-historical *meaning*.

text to an originator. Indeed, among the internal evidence categories listed by Love for the attribution of texts (2002, 51), that of 'style' appears, in this case, to be the most problematic, for it is evident that little can be said about 'style' in the Diary as 'the necessary uniqueness of the idiolect' (8) we discern in literary works. But Love comes to our rescue by quoting the words of Edward Sapir: 'There is always an individual *method*, however *poorly developed*, of *arranging* words into groups and of working these up into larger units' (*ibid*.; italics mine).

In Sapir's sentence, relevant are the term 'method', the expression 'poorly developed' and the activity of 'arranging'. 'Method' is an apt word for describing the unpretentious version of the more distinctive term 'style'; and 'method', not 'style', is indeed what is required in the configuration of an account book. What Henslowe aimed at was repetition of formulae rather than distinctive linguistic and rhetorical features, irregular assembling and accumulation rather than considered selection, predictability rather than variety, 'poorly developed' linguistic and grammatical configurations rather than the sought for *mot juste*, or the accomplished, or even impressive, construction, rudimentary sentence structure rather than innovative arrangement, bare figures and data rather than deep reflection. There certainly is a method in many of the pages Henslowe composed, for instance in the layout of long lists of payments received from performances, entries he distributes into five columns (e.g., 62v, 120-121), or in the formulae used regarding either money lent or spent (e.g., 66 r-v, 127-129).[33]

This said, we cannot ignore the presence, in the Diary, of hands other than Philip's.[34] Greg identified 63 different hands (1904, xxx-xxxiii), some of which appear in several instances (Alleyn's is the most frequent, but many of his signatures are imitations by Henslowe). Their contribution ranges from simple signatures to notes drafted by Henslowe (most frequently for debts contracted by the signatory), to signed notes about money received by Henslowe in extinction of some debt, to sums due from some player for borrowing costumes, fabric, or other theatrical chattels, to payments to the Master of the Revels, received and signed by the Master of the Revel's man, to random notes about remedies for ague or other sicknesses, to recipes, pieces of verse and maxims of various kinds.[35] The kind of author-figure we construct when reading the Diary is therefore, ultimately, that of an organizing principle that has the power of life and death over the bits of information and records he is 'arranging'. The Diary's agency consists of the controlling and sanctioning principle that dictated the kinds of speech act (promise, obligation, commitment, liability, bondage) which the various drafters were obliged to perform. In many instances, other hands draft their own notes in the first person and in their own hands, thereby 'authorially' declaring their personal engagement. The following fragments are typical of the text's arranging of such items:

[33] Grace Ioppolo uses the word 'formula' to describe such reiterative, poorly developed clauses in which payments are annotated; they, she says, 'follow a simple formula, giving the name of the payee(s), whether the payment is "in earnest" (as an advance) or in full, the date, the play purchased and the amount paid' (2006, 15). Ioppolo discusses many of these formulaic notes as having the binding force of contracts (13-24 and *passim*).

[34] Foakes and Rickert say that 'Many of these identifications should be regarded as probable rather than certain, particularly where, as in a number of instances, only one entry or signature of a person is found in the *Diary*. Even in the case of men who figure prominently in the accounts, like Downton, Shaa, Houghton or Alleyn, uncertainties still arise' (1961, l).

[35] On the vellum wrapper, we find a maxim which seems to summarise one of the essential experiences of Henslowe as a capitalist: 'for when I lent I wasse A frend & when I asked I wasse vnkind'. The sentence is repeated several times, in most cases in an incomplete form (Foakes and Rickert 1961, 3).

'Receaved . By me. Jeames Borne the 2 of March. 1591. of M^r . Phillipe. Hinchlie for. the vse. of. henerie Addames: the: some. of. three pound. and. is in [parte] fulle. of paiment. of. a recconieng Receaued in parte'. I. saye. Receaued in payte (5^v, 13).[36]

In other instances, the same kind of acknowledgement, again in the first person, is vested in more solemnly formulated terms, followed by the debtor's signature:

Be it knowne vnto all men that I henry Porter do owe vnto phillip Henchlowe the some of xs of lawfull money of England wch I did borrowe of hym the 26 of maye a° dom 1599. Henry Porter (30, 63).

Between pp. 16v and 18v (38-42), theatrical and other accounts and receipts are interrupted by a number of curious items: number games, medical recipes, ways of spotting stolen items, a way 'to make a fowle ffalle downe', 'A Rewle to knowe vnder what planet a chillde is borne in', a card game 'to tell a man at what ower he thinketh to Risse', and so on. Many of these are in unidentified hands (see, for instance, Foakes and Rickert 1961, 39, n. 2 and 40, n. 1); others may have been copied into the book by Henslowe from notes made elsewhere, probably by somebody else. In these five pages, items are undated and, at least in part, unauthored. They therefore produce both temporal and thematic discontinuity in the flow of theatrical notes, and also present a special mixed authorial status, configuring a sort of collaboratively-created interim text that one can read independently from the main text, its concerns and its compositional organization.

What should we do, in terms of agency, with these and the many other fragments drafted in hands different from Henslowe's? What is the authoriality/agency of the begetters of these fragments? Can the idea of collaborative writing and authorship be evoked?

The basic issue to be considered is that those contributions were all *dictated*, if not *imposed*, by the text's arranger; if other subjects contributed to the text's composition, the overall design and configuration, as are also the time sequence and the dating, are dictated and composed by the main drafter. Also the physical layout of each page was planned and governed by Philip: the long lists which crowd certain pages (see e.g., 98v-99r, 191-193), or, on the other hand, the shattered notes, the blank spaces, some of which may have been left to be filled later, the filling of previous blanks with notes compiled at subsequent times, and even the imposing of a different hand (mainly Philip's), intruding on certain of John's sheets, are all the outcome of the arranger's decisions.

There is, however, a mutual authenticating relationship between main drafter and the co-compilers. If, on the one hand, the verified 'author' (agent, arranger) authenticates the identity and speech act contents of the co-contributors, these contents, precisely because they appear in an authorially-validated text, strengthen the verifiability and reliability of the text's meanings. By declaring their mutual relationship, they authenticate both the main agent as source of the whole structure and the context which was the setting for the activities the Diary reports, thereby also authenticating their own status. In other words, the identification of the main agent of what we read is strengthened (also) by the contents of what the other participants write. The text's contents and meanings are thus confirmed and authored by the external evidence which is, in turn, witnessed to by the verifiability of the identity of its co-compilers.

[36] I rely on Foakes and Rickert's edition for the attribution of handwriting. In their edition, all variants from Greg are annotated.

7. *On the Absence of Books*

During the whole 2020 and part of 2021, libraries in all parts of Europe were closed, or only intermittently opened, and even the confines of many European countries were at various times shut. My initial plan had been to spend time in the British Library, and also – indeed mainly – in the Library of Dulwich College. My plans quickly disintegrated, but left a large amount of time to spend at home, reading and thinking. All I had to start my enquiry into Henslowe's Diary was a copy of the 1961 Foakes and Rickert critical edition. A number of other works were to be found on the web, but they were difficult to read, others were nowhere available. Of course, as regarded Henslowe's text, I could also examine the page-by page images published as part of the Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project, but this allows the examination of particular pages and fragments mainly to check the wording of particular sentences. When it was clear that I would not be able to reach the physical books, I started to search the web to see what I could get as substitutes. I thus learned that a facsimile of the text (Foakes 1977), had been published, but was by no means to be found; and, even if it had been available, a facsimile would not have been the thing itself.

Searching the web, however, I discovered that many of the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century books I needed were to be found in facsimile reproductions at trifling prices. The ways in which the publishers present these editions make the things they sell rather attractive. Vol. I of Greg's edition of the Diary is presented as follows: 'This book … represents a reproduction of an important historical work, maintaining the same format as the original work'. The publisher then apologises for possible 'imperfections', and concludes saying that 'We appreciate your understanding of these occasional imperfections, and sincerely hope you enjoy seeing the book in a format as close as possible to that intended by the original publisher'. If it is true, I thought, as Peter Shillingsburg says, that 'All accurate copies, whether facsimiles, transcriptions, or encodings, *are the same single linguistic text*' (1997, 72; my emphasis), then this was an opportunity to get exactly the text I needed. When the book arrived I was satisfied: when compared with the online Archive publication of the original in the internet, it seemed to keep its promise of an 'exact reproduction' of 'the same single linguistic text'.[37]

But this was only Part I of Greg's work, the volume which contains the edited text of the Diary, and I also needed Part II, the Commentary. Once again I started searching the web for Part II and found one specimen at a very reasonable price. The cover design seemed to be different from that of Part I, but no Part II with the same aspect as Part I was to be found. However, the description seemed as attractive as that of Part I: 'This book', it stated, 'has been considered by academicians and scholars of great significance and value to literature … So that the book is never forgotten we have represented this book in a print format as the same as it was originally first published'. Convinced by such expressions as 'as it was originally first published' and the added promise that the edition had been devised as 'to preserve its true nature', I bought the book; but when it arrived, I was bitterly disappointed. Although the book faithfully reproduced the pages of Greg's 1908 Part II of the work, the volume I now had in my hands differed markedly from my Part I. The print was larger, and therefore easier to read; but this made for an entirely different size of page, almost double that of Part I. Furthermore, the

[37] Both volumes of Greg's edition are reproduced in the Internet Archive: Vol. I: <https://archive.org/details/henslowesdiary01hensuoft/page/n9/mode/2up>; Vol. II: <https://archive.org/details/henslowesdiary02hensuoft>.

Apart from the small print size, the on-line facsimiles are not ideal for any reading involving checking back and forth to compare although they do, in this case, allow one to search the text for particular words or sentences.

printer had also framed the pages with an enormous blank space, one which reminded me of the purposely large blank space of the first edition of Joyce's *Ulysses*, a bulky book which, like my Greg Part II, was of a rather unusual size: a rectangle tending towards a square, presenting an abnormal relationship between the area occupied by the text and that occupied by the margins.[38] In the case of Joyce, this was a feature dictated by the author for reasons not only aesthetic, a feature which, together with the exact colour of the cover and the elzevier typeface, was meant to *mean*. As D.F. McKenzie said, 'Joyce [was] working to make textual meaning from book forms' (2004, 58); in other words, through its materiality *as a book*, *Ulysses* must speak of its incomparable exceptionality *as a text.*

But Part II of Greg's work (1908), in the cheap but bulky edition I now had in my hands, a humble print venture attired so as to figure as a precious and durable edition, appeared to me incongruous in its physical pretentiousness. On the other hand, I thought, why should I care about the size and the general aspect of that facsimile, if the document was an accurate reproduction? But I sensed I did care, because that material object confirmed, in a rather glaring way, that books always mediate texts for 'literature exists … only and always in its materializations, and … these are the conditions of its meaning rather than merely the containers of it' (Kastan 2001, 4). That unforeseen experience with the materiality of texts, in other words, suggested that an added task, dictated by the absence of the 'originals' (their first printed instantiations), was appearing on the horizon of my reflections: that of considering how, in this context, 'forms effect[ed] meaning' (McKenzie 2004, 13). I refrained from undertaking this task because this kind of reflection would have brought me away from my present concerns. But the unease, and the doubts about the acceptability of a cultural practice that devalues the *hic et nunc* of particular cultural objects and disperses their 'aura' (Walter Benjamin), remained. Was I being the victim of a sort of first-edition cult, or was I simply feeling that I was in the presence of a curious form of veiled imposture which called for further reflection?

Other books I bought in order to proceed with my inquiry into Henslowe's Diary presented similarly incongruous material features (in the case of Collier's edition of the Diary, for instance, the print was too small, the margins were too narrow for a book published in 1845); so incongruous, that, at certain moments, I thought of giving up writing and reschedule my research until I could get access to the libraries I needed; and I even thought of irrevocably consigning the matter to oblivion. If I went on trying to complete my article, it was because the exceptionality of the moment had produced certain reflections (some textual, some historical) that I thought were worth recording, and *using*. Although I had several times gone back to McKenzie's essay on Congreve's 1710 *Works* and its luminous demonstration that 'The book itself is an expressive means' (2002, 200), I had never experienced in a tangible way what this can mean, as limitation and even impediment, but also as opportunity.

As a physical object, John and Philip's book remained for me a chimera; the more I tried to get a mental and visual image of it, the more that image appeared to me fallacious. My only possible approximation was a paper model I cut out of the book according to the measurements given by editors: 'approximately 13¼ x 8 inches' (Foakes and Rickert 1961, xii). That paper model remained on my lectern to remind me that all descriptions of its size ('a large folio' according to Malone, 'a bulky folio' according to Collier, 'a folio' according to Foakes and Rickert, and 'a small folio' according to both Warner and Greg) were unreliable. It is to be

[38] See, about the size of Joyce's 1922 *Ulysses*, Van Mierlo 2013, 142-145; see also Pugliatti 2016 for a comparative discussion of the material aspect of Shakespeare's 1623 Folio and the first edition of *Ulysses*.

hoped that, in the future, we will not have to invent expedients or to cut out paper models in order to mentally visualize and conceptualize the presence of absent books.

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when the poet gives empty leaves

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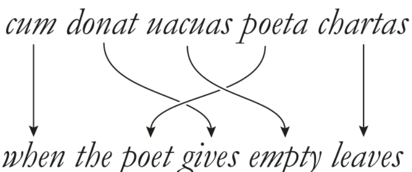
Abstract

In the right light, blank pages in renaissance books routinely reveal legible impressions of uninked typeface, especially interesting when these frisket-hidden texts are intertextual, as when typeface from Aldo Manuzio's April 1501 Vergil prints blind in his May 1501 Horace (that's the past tucked into the future) or when some of his August 1502 Dante appears blind in the same Vergil (now the future's in the past). And there's ~~up~~setting too, as illustrated in the 1732 edition of *Paradise Lost*: here and there, reprinting itself remotely *en miroir*, this text, confounding first and last things, creates an apocolapse. Read this way with me, and watch the library become a librarynth.

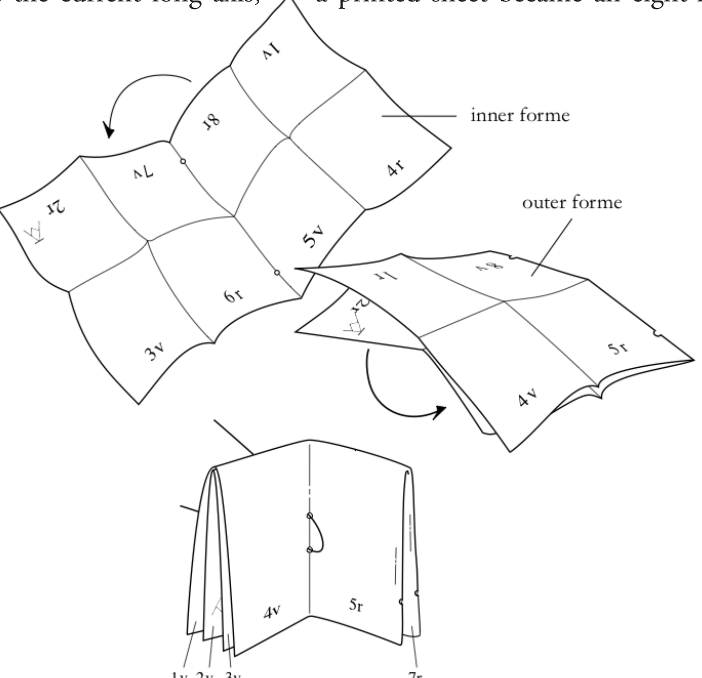
Keywords: *Aldo Manuzio, analytical bibliography, beating of quires, blind impressions, offset*

Toute vue des choses qui n'est pas étrange est fausse.



By Dott.[ssa] Rosetta Stein for Doktor Michael Cahn

A–Z[8] &[8]—that's the collation formula for Aldo Manuzio's 1501 octavo edition of Martial. Ideally, a copy consists of as many sheets as there are letters in the Latin alphabet, plus one more 'letter', '&' (the Latin ligature for 'et').[1] With these 24 letters, plus 4 numerals (also Latin letters), Aldo signed the first four rectos of each sheet: [A], A ii, A iii, A iiii … &, & ii, & iii, & iiii. Thrice-folded in half, always across the current long axis, a printed sheet became an eight-leaf quire,



with pagination and foliation as follows, 'r' and 'v' standing for the recto and verso sides of a leaf.

pagination :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
foliation, outer forme :	1r			2v	3r			4v	5r			6v	7r			8v
foliation, inner forme :		1v	2r			3v	4r			5v	6r			7v	8r	

[1] Latin has no letters j, v, or w, but 'j' is an optional shape of i and 'V' is the upper-case shape of u. In handwriting, however, a 'v' shape can be used at the start of a word. On p. 181, see 'venere' in l. 15 on the left page of this manuscript (which is said to be in Aldo's hand), in contrast to the more usual initial shape, in 'uixerunt', in l. 16.

After all 24 quires had been sewn together to make the text-block for a copy of this edition, the bolts at the head of every quire and at the fore-edges of every aft-quire had to be ploughed off or individually sliced open in order to liberate the 192 leaves for reading. That's 384 pages.

In each quire properly folded, the leaves run 1–2–3–4–5–6–7–8. But be careful. Should a binder fold backwards, the numbers will jmuble. If the third (and last) fold pictured above were convex instead of concave, then—

5–6–7–8–1–2–3–4.

If just the second were folded so:	3–4–1–2–7–8–5–6.
If just the first:	2–1–4–3–6–5–8–7.
If first and second:	4–3–2–1–8–7–6–5.
First and third:	6–5–8–7–2–1–4–3.
Second and third:	7–8–5–6–3–4–1–2.

All these unique sequences are wrong, of course, but systerratically so according to the Mathematics of Folding. Not at all chaotic. Indeed, it' slogical. Very very logical.

And what if every fold were convex?

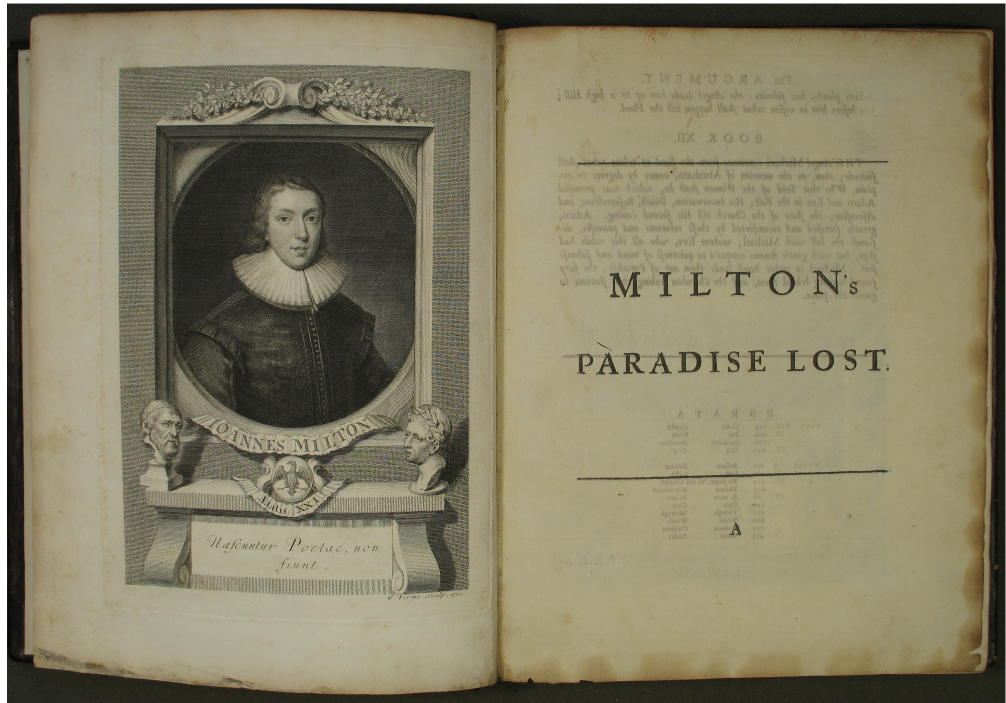
8–7–6–5–4–3–2–1

This last order of leaves might strike you as apt for an Old Testament in Hebrew. What could go wrong? But in this and all previous jumbles, the recto and verso pages of every leaf always land on their feet. Therefore, the order of pages in the first quire of such a fun bible would limp along

15–16–13–14–11–12–9–10–7–8–5–6–3–4–1–2
←

—and ’בראשית ברא אלהים‘ (‘in principio creauit dei’) would thus open the *second* page (p. 1); and that placement could well bring הוה, our Mother Eve, to crown the very *first* (p. 2).

That's the kind of topsy-turvy one expects from pagan epic, where poets typically race into the muddle. Take *Paradise Lots*, for example, in the famous quarto edition by Richard Bentley, the formidable classical scholar, whose 1699 *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris* proved that the letters were composed long *after* the author's death. The *Dissertation* is full of offsetting from one side of an opening to the other, but occasionally—strangely—farther off. (Somebody should explain that.) Bentley's Milton edition was published by Jacob Tonson in 1732. Atop the next page (peek ahead, won't you, as there's no room for it at the bottom of this page), photographed from The William Andrews Clark Memorial Library (UCLA) copy, is its title-page, on the right, signed 'A' beneath, on close inspection, the words ‘ǝlidW’, ‘ǝnobnO’, and ‘ƨǝinA’ (errors for 'Which', 'Outdone', and 'Andes' in the notes to Bk. 4)—all these words and more facing, on the left, George Vertue's *Nascuntur Poetae* ('Poets are born') portrait of young Milton (above) between busts of his predeceassors, Homer and Vergil (below). But his Mother's Bust?



Why, they're nowhere to be seen, nor are the busts of the two Moms of the other poets born.

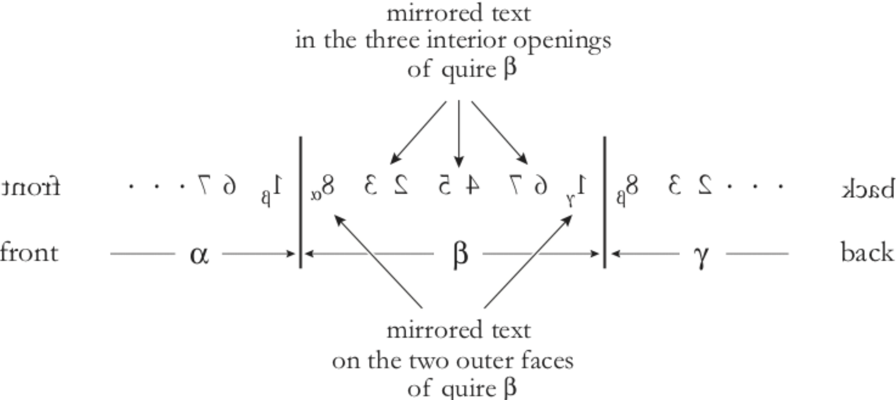
This portrait and another—of the bairn grown old and blind—are found in various configurations in some, but not all copies. Apparently, this pair of engravings was a supplement to the edition. They were printed on heavy opaque stock on a rolling press—not a printing press. (There's a lesson here: A printing press is not the only means of printing in a book.)

The letterpress sheets of Dr. Bentley's edition were meant to collate A^2 a–b^4 B–$3E^4$ 3F–$3I^2$, with Milton's long poem running into a thir dalphabet of signatures, B1r–3E4v (pp. 1–399). But two adjacent leaves, 2C4 and 2D1, were cancelled and replaced by a single bifolium in all the dozens of copies I have seen. (Without more leaves, the book thus gained a quire, and that affected the structure of sewing.) In the New York Public Library's copy 2, where all is now bound in order, this cancelling bifolium along with the four sheets following, 2E, 2F, 2G, and 2H, had earlier been folded backwards on the second of the two folds per sheet in quarto format (the spine/gutter fold), so that the order of leaves of each of these four quires ran 3–4–1–2. Sheet a was also misfolded in the same way.

Anyone with eyesight can witness these arcane details of the pre-history of this copy simply by reading the New York Public Library copy in the light of dayI mean the electric light of the Rare Book Division's reading room at 42nd & 5th. Before they were bound together, groups of quires, consolidated partly in and partly out of order (think 'shuffled like a deck of cards'), look as if they had simultaneously been pressed together. Luckily, because the ink of this copy had not yet dried, pressure exerted on this configuration caused the text to reprint itself mirror-image locally throughout the pile. In an instant, this Big Squeeze created a Hall of Mirrors—of Fun House mirrors—at least two paradises lost in one, happier far—

a library, a librarynth.

Within a typical quire of this quarto, I'll call it 'quire β', the pagination of *Paradise Lost* almost always runs as follows within the structure of a quire:

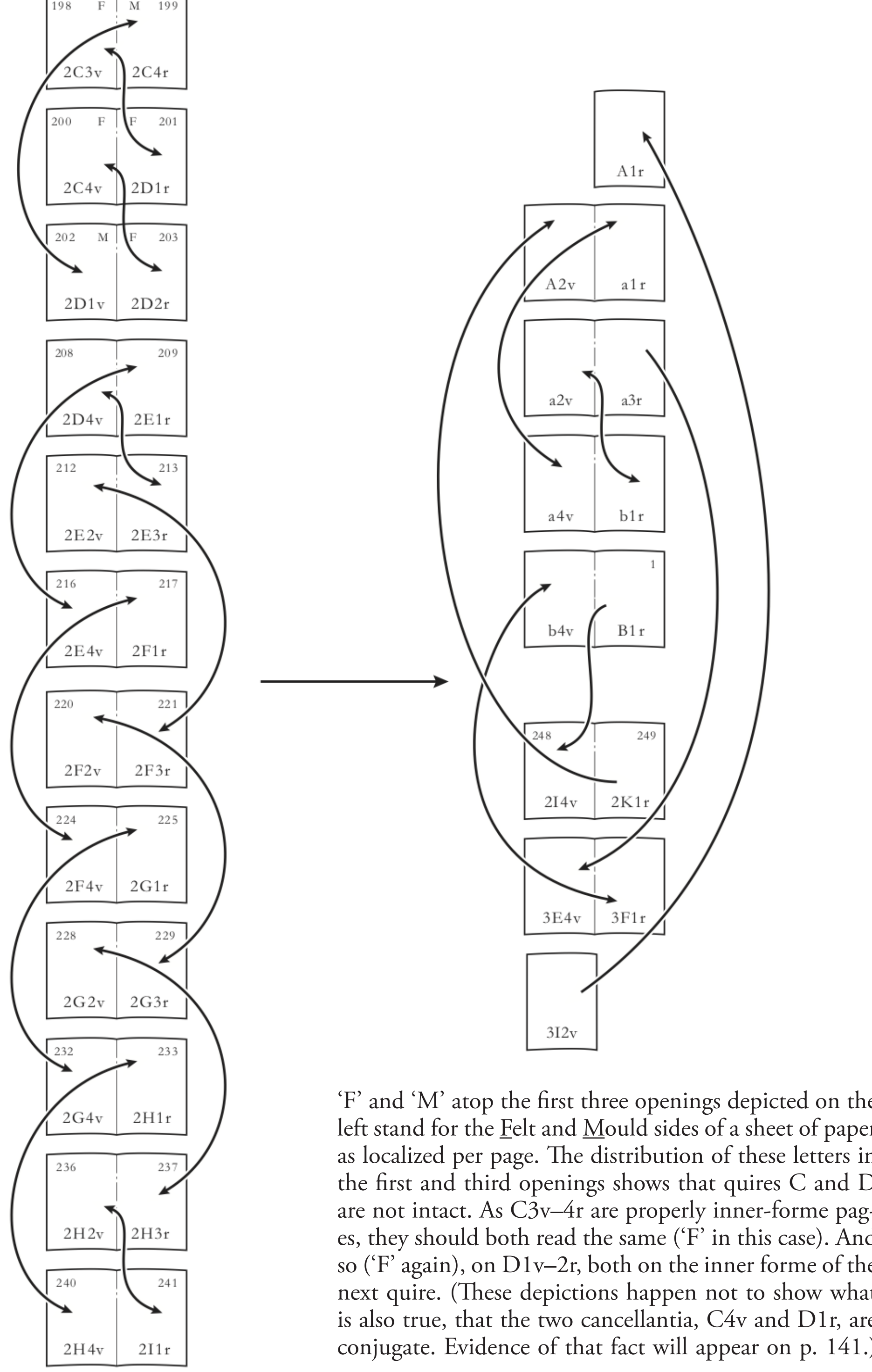


In each of the three interior openings of β, facing pages reverse their order across the gutter, so that p. 2 is reflected on p. 3 (as Ƨ), and 3 on 2 (as Ɛ). The first page of β, however, reflects the last of α (the quire before) and the last of β reflects the first of γ (the quire after). The structure of this setting-off in β is not hard to gasp, but it means—and this is important—that the material unit of a quire does not contain a unit of text: the mirrored texts at the front and back of the quires of *Paradise Lost* thus float free of the substrate—in sublimation *immediate*.

You're thinking that all this local offset is merely derivative—so why bother? But, amidst the local self-reflection in copy after copy, there is usually also something else, something other, something *remote*, which hardly seems so logical. It reminds me of refraction, as when daylight breaks open in a revelation of its colourful spectrum—a rainbow hiding there all the time. You may find disturbing the things I'm about to show you. They are like wormholes in spacetime. But I have felt nothing but awe and affection for them ever since the first encounter, when, on the Sabbath especially, my Mother made all her young daughters read Milton—in any old edition, but the older the better: 'Getting back to the source', she'd say. She even dictated to us, and we scribed. (This was before we moved back to Sumatra.) Mother was a believer. As a girl she had read *The Story of our First Parents, Selected from Milton's Paradise Lost: For the Use of Young Persons. By Mrs. Siddons*, London, 1822, as had her own mother and hers before her. I don't know before that. With few regrets, I have discontinued the practice for my two girls.

On the next page (peek ahead)is a map of nineteen remote offsets in Mom's favourite copy 2 at The New York Public Library—*remote*, I say—in contrast to the motleytude of *local* offsets just identified and explained (of α in β and β in α, β in β, and γ in β and β in γ), which are *not* shown in the coming map. The twelve examples there of remote offsetting of the accidentally retro-folded parts I mentioned earlier will display their voluptuous curves on the left side of this map, looking like one of the Solomonic columns in Bernini's *baldacchino* at Basilica di San Pietro. Michael, I dedicate this first map to Grammy and her Mother, to my Mom, and to her sisters and to all of mine, living and dead alike.

The epic challenge now is to read this work, not merely as it was first plainly printed (who can't do that?), but also as it later obscurely set off on itself, for superimposed on the ostensible *Paradise Lost* is a Snakes &L adders *Paradise Lost*, where, frankly, *here* in the one is also *there* in the other. Two at last for the price of one. It's a good idea to have your compact mirror handy.



'F' and 'M' atop the first three openings depicted on the left stand for the Felt and Mould sides of a sheet of paper as localized per page. The distribution of these letters in the first and third openings shows that quires C and D are not intact. As C3v–4r are properly inner-forme pages, they should both read the same ('F' in this case). And so ('F' again), on D1v–2r, both on the inner forme of the next quire. (These depictions happen not to show what is also true, that the two cancellantia, C4v and D1r, are conjugate. Evidence of that fact will appear on p. 141.)

A horizontal arrow pointing rightwards from the left column indicates where the contents of the column fit in the alphabetic ordering of selected openings of the book from start to finish—from the first signature, A (at the top of the right column), through to final 3I2 (at the bottom). Each opening is variously connected by curved arrows to one or two others. (As I've already explained, openings not shown here, and they are legion, are where the local offsets are found, of the verso of an opening on the recto and the recto on the verso.) The sequence of the selected book-openings down this map follows the narrative order of this edition as ideally bound. Not that all copies are well bound. The first binder of the Harvard copy screwed up.[2] She (or he, for binding wasn't always women's work) bound the cancelling bifolium 2C4–2D1 *after* rather than before the remains of 2D. (Subsequently, however, this copy was rebound in the proper order. Now, only a reader's annotation reminds us of the previous disarray.)

Curving arrows on the right of this diagram reveal seven remote off-settings, caused not by misfolding this time (except in quire a), but rather by an earlier non-narrative sequence of quires (such as I thought on p. 120 to characterize as 'shuffled'). To give you insight into how the epic was thereby reshaped, I'll sample just three of these pages with remote offset, the first and last pages of the poem (B1r and 3E4v) and the last page of the book (3I2v). Three will be enough.

• By following the arrows, observe that the first page of this poem, B1r, which ends (in l. 13) with the phrase 'my adventurous *Song*' (or '*Wing*', as Bentley corrects), which you will soon see in the photograph on p. 125—well, this page once adventurously soared not merely overleaf, onto B1v, but also winged its way hundreds of pages later (*in medias res*) to set off on 2I4v—that's later to the tune of 247 pages!—and roosted there without missing a beat. An adventurous Song (or Wing) indeed. (Page 2I4v, by the way, is the location in Bk. 8 where, in l. 173 on this page, Raphael instructs Adam to be 'lowly wife'. In my reading of the adventurous *Song* in the NYPL copy 2, this girl will *not* be taking that man's advice.)

• Consider also 3E4v, the page after the poem. Here, Tonson's printer gave us a blank. But the page has been printed since with offset—from a3r:

blank, blank—*not* blank[3]

Here on 3E4v, ɿƐɒ repeats *en miroir* the matter following—*of such Reflexions, as must arise in an attentive Reader*, from 411 pages away, very close to the front of the book.

P R E F A C E.

Sunt & mihi carmina; me quoque dicunt
Vatem paſtores: ſed non ego credulus illis.

Upon the View of what has here been ſaid, ſuch Reflexions, as theſe following, muſt neceſſarily ariſe in an attentive Reader.

Firſt, he'll be throughly convinc'd, That the Proof-ſheets of the Firſt Edition were never read to Milton: *who, unleſs he was as deaf as blind, could not poſſibly let paſs ſuch groſs and palpable Faults. Nay, the Edition, when publiſh'd, was never read to him in ſeven Years*

a3r

[2] For more on the Harvard copy, see Cloud 2013, 151. Throughout are maps of offsets in other copies of this edition and also (on pp. [158]–163, (you won't believe this), of offset evidence in the King's Library copy at the British Library of extensive previous intertextual interbifoliation of its bifolia with those of a copy of the 1724 quarto edition of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (also printed for Tonson), plus, even more astonishingly, partial sheets of an unidentified 32mo French Psalter. (Here Comes Everybody.)

[3] way, way—not way

That is where Editor Bentley—HE for Milton alone, and we for Milton in HIM—held that the Proof-sheets of the First Edition were never read to the blind poet. This alternative fact provided the editor with th'irrationale of his copy-text—as for his changes to the verses overleaf (on 3E4r)—from the erroneous conclusion as foisted off on Milton in 1667,

> * *They hand in hand with wand'ring ſteps and ſlow,*
> 649 *Through* Eden *took their ſolitary way.*

to what Milton himself must have dictated:

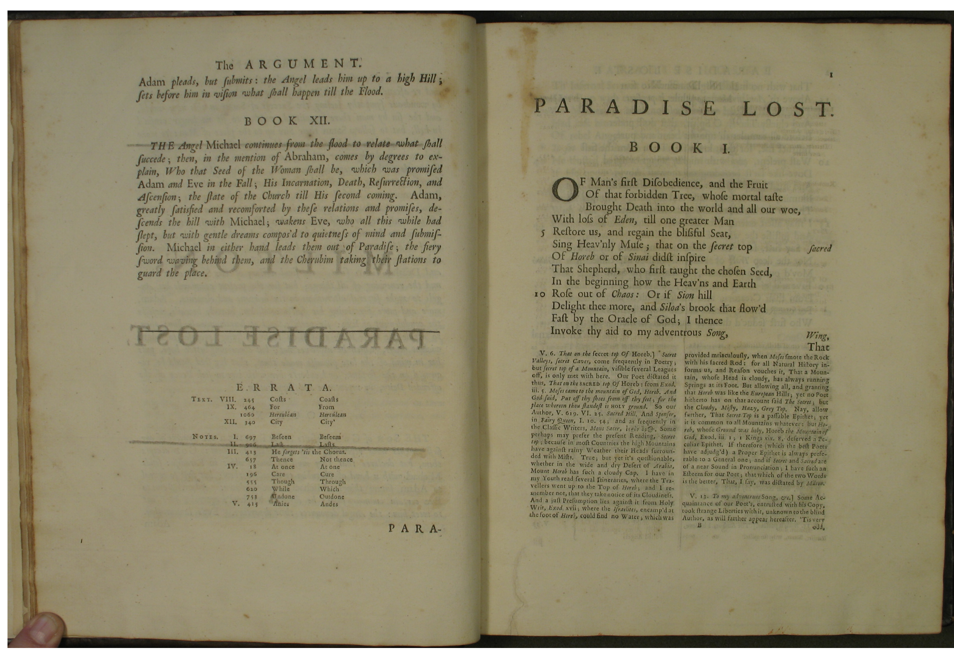
> * THEN *hand in hand with* SOCIAL *ſteps their way*
> *Through* Eden *took*, WITH HEAV'NLY COMFORT CHEER'D.

• Consider finally the last page of the volume, 3I2v, where the Index concludes with ‘ F I N I S .’ But that is hardly the end, for this ‘ F I N I S .’ sets off ‘. Ƨ I И I ꟻ ’ in a Great Leap Backwords onto A1r, the title page itself. In the end is our beginning—who said that? And in the beginning is our end. In a religious epic like Milton's, this short-circuitry reads like a parody of Christian scatology, an over-arching Apocolapse. I hardly need to tell *you* that this is a novel reading of Christian epic—like a serpent with her foot in her mouth and her head up her asp. Or a mare with wings—or a sow. This New York Library copy was good for laughs for us girls, not, of course, that we smart-ass kids could then have fathomed how such a mixing of First and Last Things had come about or have adequately mapped it.[4] But, as Mom droned on, not seeing what we saw, this daughter for one did not have to understand Metaphysics to know when it was funny. And it was funny—very very funny, uproariously drool, and still is. Anal lytical Bibliography is really funny too, I learned years later. But in a serious way. You'll see.

Half of the many copies of Bentley's edition I've seen over the years exhibit various configurations of local and remote off-setting, the Clark Library copy among them. In the photograph on p. 120, did you notice the off-setting on the title page? I bet you didn't, though it could hardly have been more in your face—or in young Milton's. Look back now and check, won't you? Perhaps you deemed the mirror-image words ‘While’, ‘Undone’, and ‘Anies’ and the like were just showing through from overleaf and were therefore fit to be ignored? Well, they didn't come from overleaf. They set off onto signature ‘A’ from the Errata on b4v, seventeen pages away. (On p. 120, I did tell you then that those errors were printed on *top* of ‘A’, did I not? ‘A’ is ‘A *underneath*’.) b4r—that's a different source of the offset on A1r than is found on the first page in the New York Public Library copy 2. The Lesson? Different copies of this work have different text: exemplars of an edition are simply not interchangeable. In the NYPL copy, the offset on A1r comes from 3I2v, the last page of the book. In the Clark Library copy, however, the offset atop A1r is a summary of Bk. 12, the last Book of the epic (as Milton revised it, from ten Books). In this exemplary exemplar, the epic narrative thus concludes on the very title page—yet another comic short-circuit, the *whole* of Cremation contracted to the *shortest* of stories.

In the next photo, you can see the source of this offset. Set off upon this opening is—what?

[4] Not that Mother laughed. We didn't tell her. But I'm telling you.


The ARGUMENT.

Adam *pleads, but ſubmits: the Angel leads him up to a high Hill; ſets before him in viſion what ſhall happen till the Flood.*

BOOK XII.

THE Angel Michael *continues from the flood to relate what ſhall ſuccede; then, in the mention of* Abraham, *comes by degrees to explain, Who that Seed of the Woman ſhall be, which was promiſed* Adam *and* Eve *in the Fall; His Incarnation, Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion; the ſtate of the Church till His ſecond coming.* Adam, *greatly ſatisfied and recomforted by theſe relations and promiſes, deſcends the hill with* Michael; *wakens* Eve, *who all this while had ſlept, but with gentle dreams compos'd to quietneſs of mind and ſubmiſſion.* Michael *in either hand leads them out of Paradiſe; the fiery ſword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking their ſtations to guard the place.*

E R R A T A.

P A R A-

1

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

OF Man's firſt Diſobedience, and the Fruit
Of that forbidden Tree, whoſe mortal taſte
Brought Death into the world and all our woe,
With loſs of *Eden*, till one greater Man
5 Reſtore us, and regain the bliſsful Seat,
Sing Heav'nly Muſe; that on the *ſecret* top *ſacred*
Of *Horeb* or of *Sinai* didſt inſpire
That Shepherd, who firſt taught the choſen Seed,
In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
10 Roſe out of *Chaos*: Or if *Sion* hill
Delight thee more, and *Siloa*'s brook that flow'd
Faſt by the Oracle of God; I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventrous *Song*, *Wing*,
That

b4v, with offset from A1r B1r, with offset from 3H2v

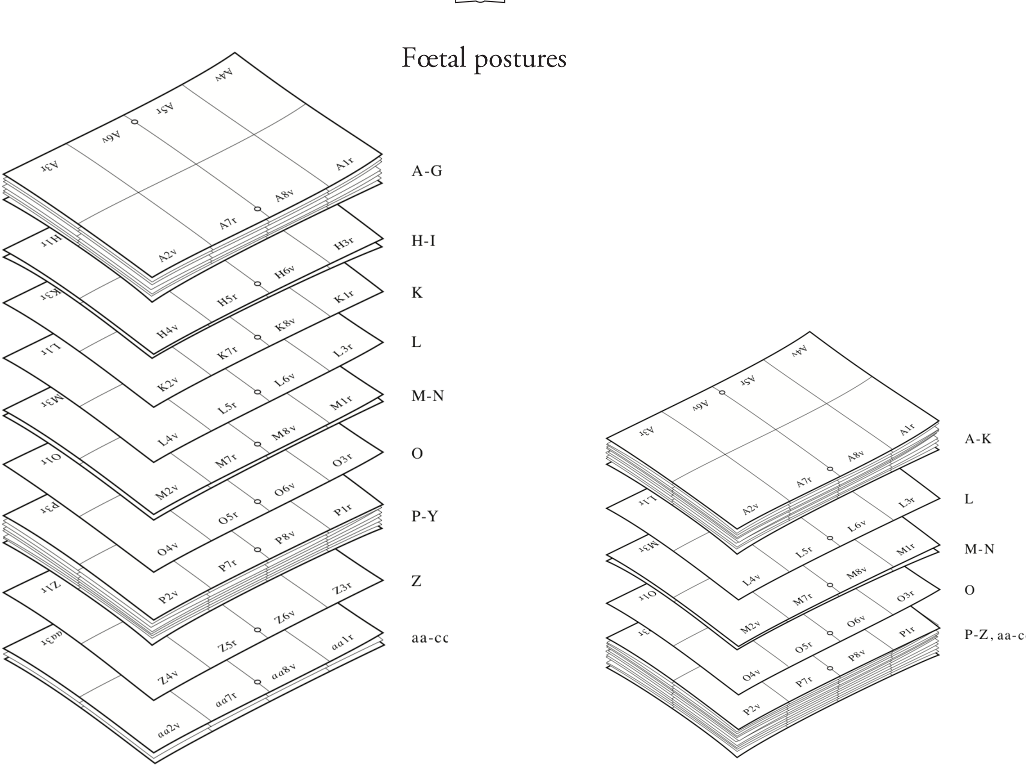
So,’T S O L E S I D A R A P‘ mid-page on b4v in the Clark Library copy reflects the title on A1r, not ‘P A R A D I S E L O S T’ high on B1r, across the gutter from it. As for this B1r page, it's in conversation with 3H2v, a page from the Index. This opening has a duel identity:

Magnify the bottom of B1r and you'll detect offset of the centred rule that runs the length of the Index page. Higher up, this rule appears doubled. The first three letters of ciceroI N D E X' (right above the letters ‘S E L' in the title) also stutter. Contrast those letters with the shadowy ones at top, which do not stutter. They are showing through from the headline overleaf.

And what of those copies (about half of them, I find) that don't exhibit any remote offsets or even local ones? No skeletons in their closets? Don't you think that their quires may once have been just as out of whack before they were presently bound? And their ink, having dried before they were compressed, mom's the word now?

Centuries ago, compressing the sheets of an edition was a common practice, for after the routine wetting of them for printing and then the drying—drying of the water, but luckily for us, not of the ink—each sheet became huffie, no more level than a potato chip (as you'll see in the text area of the photos on pp. 144 and 146). One place this compression could have taken place was in the standing press. To understand more about it, we'll need to move on to the printer's warehouse. Later, we'll come back to the 1732 *Paradise Losts*. Won't take a minute. Then back to Martial, for that poet—or rather, his printer, Aldo Manuzio—gave us blank leaves. And blank leaves—why *that*'s what this essay aims to read.

Fœtal postures

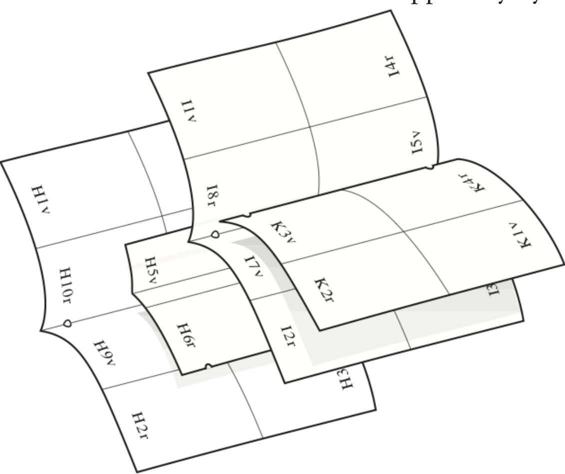


§25 of Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683/4), 'The Warehouse-keepers Office', describes a practice that predates the author: 'Gathering of Books'—that is, the gathering of unfolded sheets in 'signatural succession' to make up individual copies of an edition prior to 'Colationing'. Gathered Books of the same edition are likely to vary structurally, as in the two examples at UCLA of the Lyonese contrefaction in italic type (c1504) of the second issue of Aldo's 1502 octavo edition of Valerius Maximus (Z 233 A4V235 1503). (It was Aldo, by the way, who pioneered italic type and pioneered octavo format as well.) The contrefaction collates π^4 A–Z^8 aa–cc^8. (Whoops—I see that I excluded half-sheet π^4 from these two models; in a moment, however I'll discuss the place of partial sheets in other editions.)

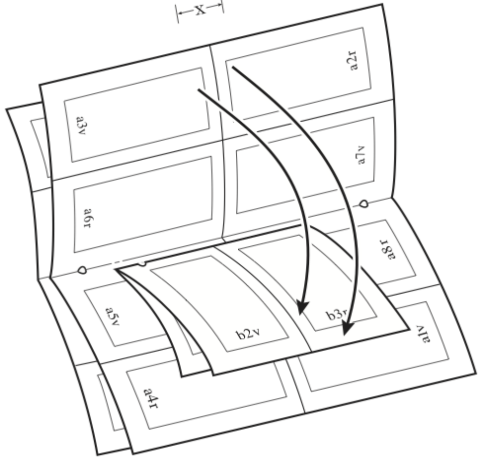
Offsetting throughout these piles indicates that each Book was complete and outer formes were always 'up'. But in one pile, H–I, L, O, and Z were rotated; in the other L and O. Moxon says it is the task of subsequent Colationing to establish the same rotation throughout.

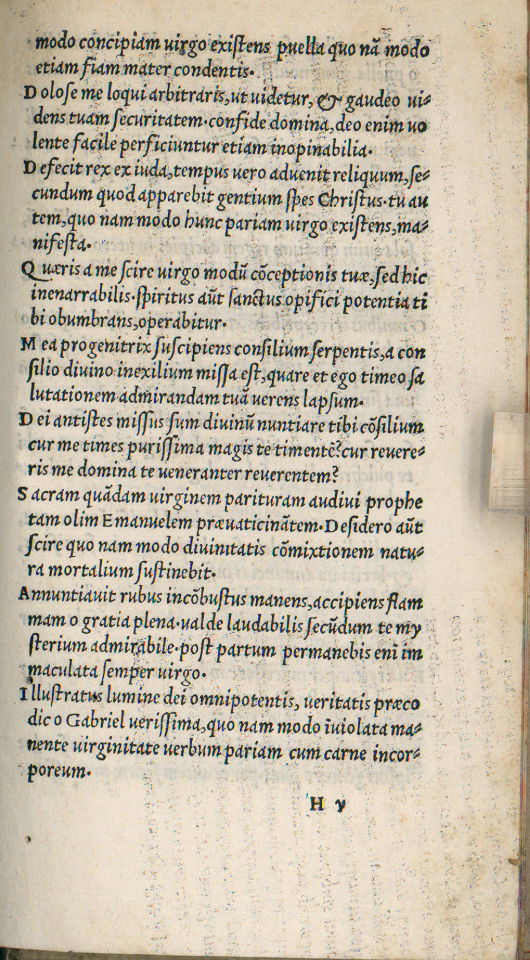
The sheets of a Book are folded in half as a unit across the long axis, outer forme outword; and groups of 5 or 10 Books are stacked alternately turned 180º for ease of counting and for stability: 'the Fold of the Book being more or less hollow in the middle', stacks in a single orientation would soon topple over. Finally, several stacks of equal height are locked up in a standing press for 'about a Day and a Night' in order to make each Book compact. If the ink has not dried by then, it would set off internally under this pressure. In this way, a standing press can subtly become another printing press. On this exciting subject, Moxon is mum.

Aldo's octavo edition of the satires of Juvenal and Persius is dated August 1501, four months before the Martial. From offsets in a Harvard copy (Lobby I.1.12) of a Lyonese page-for-page contrefaction of Aldo's edition supposedly by Balthazrd de Gabiano, the exploded diagram to the left reconstructs the centre of the folded Book. This edition collates A–G^{8} H^{10} I^{8} K^{4}. (Aldo had enlarged H to conclude the text of Juvenal there; and so, Persius began a new quire, signed 'a' in the original, but 'I' in the contrefaction. Aldo's custom was to align textual and material units.) In this central opening of the Book of the contrefaction sits half-sheet K, unfolded. (In the bound book, of course, quire K will come last.) Surrounding half-sheet K in the Book is full-sheet I, then quarter-sheet H, then full-sheet H. Not modelled here are full-sheets G, F, E, D, C, and B downwards, inner formes inward, to A, at the outside of the Book.



The Aldine press warehoused its Books similarly, as can be deduced from very faint offsets in the second of its Juvenal-Persius editions dated '1501', but printed later (some say in 1508, some in 1515 or 1517). Like the first Aldine edition of these satirists, it collates A–G^{8} H^{10} a^{8} b^{4}. Unlike half-sheet K in the Book of the Lyonese contrefaction of Aldo's Juvenal and Persius, the corresponding Aldine half-sheet b was folded in half and this fold nested in that of full-sheet a in the centre of the Book. Consequently, when sheets a and b mutually set off, the lines of offset of sheet a on b and sheet b on a ran down (not along) the affected pages. A clearer example of this vertical direction than in any Aldine I have seen comes from the downpour on H5r in copy 1 of the Harry Ransom Center Lyonese octavo of the poetry of Prudentius (PA 8122 P588 1502) printed in italic, supposedly by Guillaume Huyon. (Although not actually a contrefaction, it was based on a quarto printed by Aldo in a roman fount in 1501. More on this edition in a moment.)



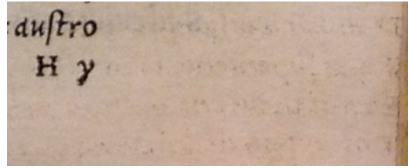

modo concipiam uirgo exiſtens puella quo nā modo
etiam fiam mater condentis.
D oloſe me loqui arbitraris, ut uidetur, & gaudeo ui-
dens tuam ſecuritatem. confide domina, deo enim uo
lente facile perficiuntur etiam inopinabilia.
D efecit rex ex iuda, tempus uero aduenit reliquum, ſe-
cundum quod apparebit gentium ſpes Chriſtus. tu au
tem, quo nam modo hunc pariam uirgo exiſtens, ma-
nifeſta.
Q uæris a me ſcire uirgo modū cōceptionis tuæ, ſed hic
inenarrabilis. ſpiritus aūt ſanctus opifici potentia ti
bi obumbrans, operabitur.
M ea progenitrix ſuſcipiens conſilium ſerpentis, a con
ſilio diuino inexilium miſſa eſt, quare et ego timeo ſa
lutationem admirandam tuā uerens lapſum.
D ei antiſtes miſſus ſum diuinū nuntiare tibi cōſilium
cur me times puriſſima magis te timentē? cur reuere-
ris me domina te ueneranter reuerentem?
S acram quādam uirginem parituram audiui prophe
tam olim Emanuelem præuaticinātem. Deſidero aūt
ſcire quo nam modo diuinitatis cōmixtionem natu-
ra mortalium ſuſtinebit.
Annuntiauit rubus incōbuſtus manens, accipiens flam
mam o gratia plena. ualde laudabilis ſecūdum te my
ſterium admirabile. poſt partum permanebis eni im
maculata ſemper uirgo.
I lluſtratus lumine dei omnipotentis, ueritatis præco
dic o Gabriel ueriſſima, quo nam modo iuiolata ma-
nente uirginitate uerbum pariam cum carne incor-
poreum.

H y

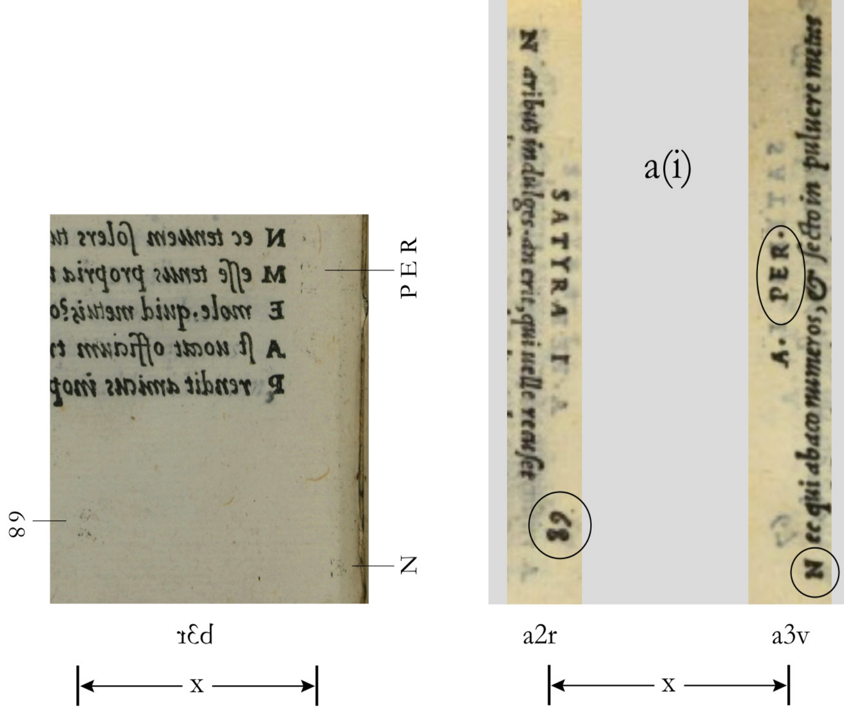
Guillaume Apollonaire, 'Il pleut'

A remarkable feature of such offsets is that often only the outlines of letters are visible. (The reason for such outlining must be that the squash of ink that regularly accumulates at the edge of the impression of a typeface takes longer to dry than the thinly-spread ink deposited by the face itself.)[5]

[5] The signature on this page of the Lyonese Prudentius represents the numeral '5' not by v, but by Hellenic y with its tail docked or perhaps bitten by a frisket. (For friskets, see pp. 135–137). As y with tail *intact* is found in Balthazard's Juvenal-Persius, y may actually be an intentional representation of 5. The lines of offset in Harvard copy Lobby I.1.12 of this edition (shown to the right), faintly visible in the fore-edge margin, are, by contrast, horizontal, not vertical.)


auſtro
H y

Shown next, on the left side, mirror-image, is the bottom of b3r (fol. 75) in Aldo's second edition of Juvenal-Persius, while to the right I have pasted up the sources of the offsets on it, which come from the top of a2r (on fol. 68) and the top of a3v (on fol. 67)—two pages that lay head to head on a(i). In this Aldine example, the lines of offset on b3r run down the page.



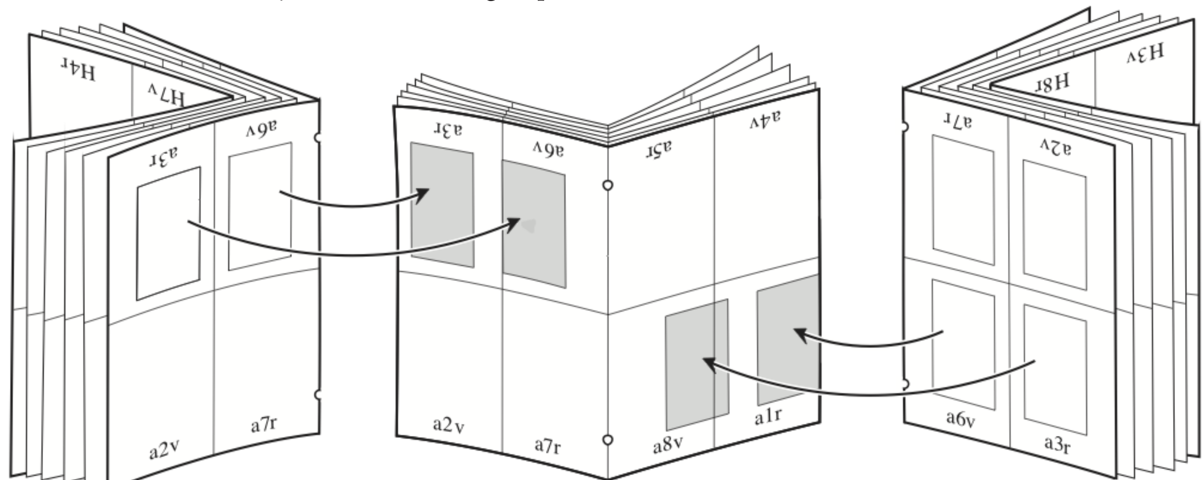
In the gutter margin of b3r appears offset of the a3v headline 'P E R' (for 'P E R S I V S') on a3v and, lower down, offset of 'N', the initial of the first word of the first verse ('N ec') on this page. In the lower margin of b3r, well to the left of offset 'N' (at distance 'x'), the folio number '68' sets off from the headline of a2r. In the previous diagram (the lower on p. 127), two arrows show the paths taken by these offsets of '68' and 'N'. The dimension 'x' appears atop that diagram as well, to represent this same distance between the base-lines of the headlines on a2r and a3v. You'd think that the measure of distance x on forme a(i) would be lost once the head of the bound text-block had been ploughed off; but it can indeed be recovered in this case through the offsets, which both fall within b3r, away from the trimmed bolt, for, in the Book from which the Harvard copy was made, the long axis of half-sheet b did not align with that of full-sheet a. Consequently, typeface from these *two* conjugate pages of sheet a was able to set off on a central area of a *single* page of sheet b, and so survive the routine trimming of the text-block.

In the first Aldine edition of Juvenal and Persius (where '1501' does mean '1501'), the leaves were not numbered; but they were so in this second edition. In the above photograph of the headline of a3r, the folio number '67' appears mirror image as show-through alongside 'N ec'. Do you see it? If '68' on a2r is correct (and it is), shouldn't the next leaf read '69', not '67'? To put this error in context, the following chart lays out by formes the folio numbers in the last three quires of this edition—H^{10}, a^{8}, and b^{4}.

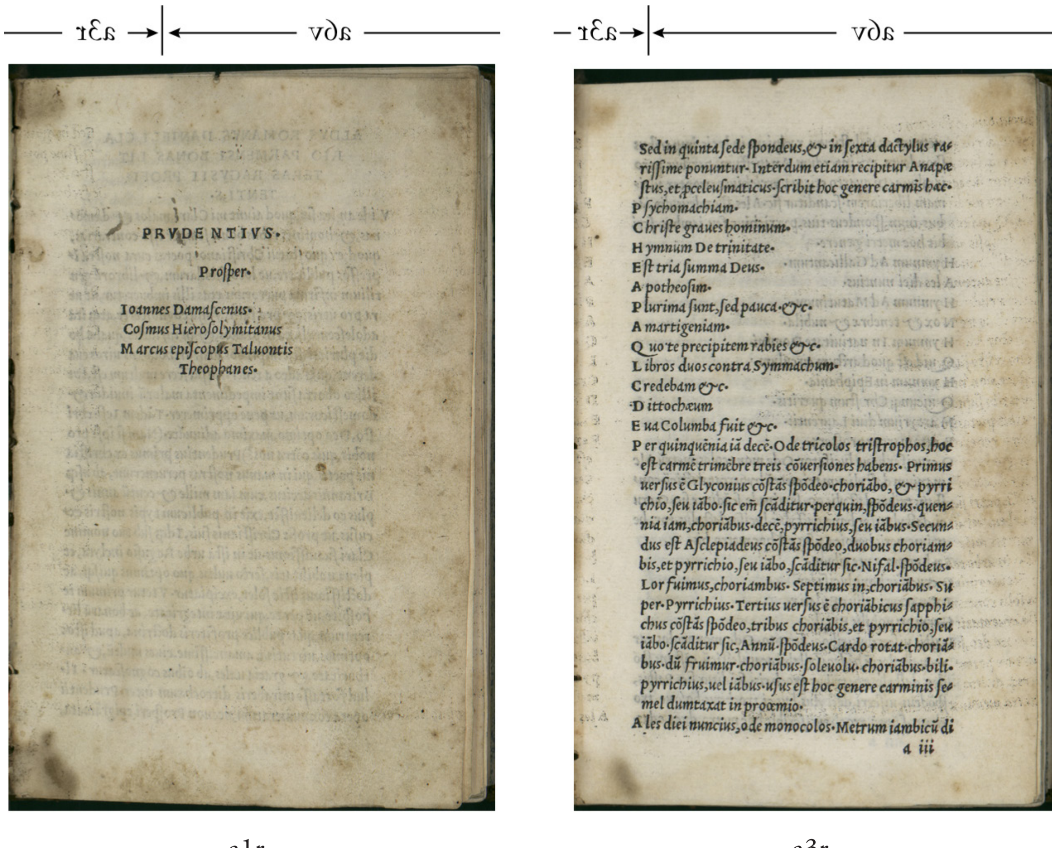
	quire H^{10}										quire a^{8}								quire^{4}			
	1r	2r	3r	4r	5r	6r	7r	8r	9r	10r	1r	2r	3r	4r	5r	6r	7r	8r	1r	2r	3r	4r
outer forme :	57		59				**61**		**63**		**65**		**67**		**69**		**71**					
inner forme :		58		60				64		66		68		70		72		74				
single forme :					61	62													**73**	**74**	**75**	**76**

Ten wrong numbers (all of them too low by 2) are underlined and printed bold. Quire H, where the problem emerges, has correct numbers though the quarter sheet, H5|H6, but thereafter, the outer-forme rectos were numbered as if the quire were a regular H^{8}—instead of an expanded H^{10}. The foliation of the outer forme in the next quire is also wrong by the same amount (and evidently for the same reason), as is that of the entire last quire (supposedly printed, like quarter-sheet H5|H6, by a single forme). These facts suggest (without actually proving) a division of labour between two non-communicating compositors, one of whom set full-sheet H(o), a(o), and half-sheet b, all with wrong numbering, while the other set quarter-sheet H5|H6 and full-sheet H(i) and a(i), all correctly numbered.

Each outer face of the outermost sheet of the folded Book shown in the centre of the next diagram, is also open to offsetting—intertextual offsetting—in the standing press, from the outermost sheets of the two Books flanking it in the pressing pile. (In this case, the central Book was obviously not stacked in a group of five or ten as Moxon advised.)



This diagram represents part of the pressing pile for the Lyonese octavo of the poetry of Prudentius, the one supposedly printed by Huyon from a quarto published by Aldo in 1501. The Lyonese printer's italic fount copied the overall italic appearance of Aldo's innovative octavos, but without his minute attention to ligatures. The Lyonese edition collates a–z^{8} &^{8} 9^{8} A–G^{8} H^{10}. The central Book in the diagram is modelled on the Harvard copy. Because of the different orientations of the flanking Books, conjugate pages a3r|a6r set off *twice* on the central one (as you'll see in the next photographs, of the Harvard copy)—once on a1r (this page is on the lower-right corner of the central Book in the diagram above) and once on a3r (on the upper left). The different alignments of these three Books mean that the shaded areas on the central Book representing offsets lie at different distances from the fold of that Book.



PRVDENTIVS.

Proſper.

Ioannes Damaſcenus.
Coſmus Hieroſolymitanus
Marcus epiſcopus Taluontis
Theophanes.

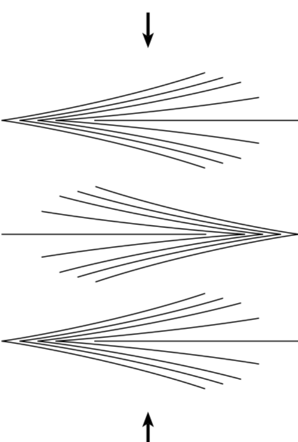
Sed in quinta ſede ſpondeus, & in ſexta dactylus ra-
riſſime ponuntur. Interdum etiam recipitur Anapæ
ſtus, et pceleuſmaticus. ſcribit hoc genere carmĩs hæc.
Pſychomachiam.
Chriſte graues hominum.
Hymnum De trinitate.
Eſt tria ſumma Deus.
Apotheoſim.
Plurima ſunt, ſed pauca. &c.
Amartigeniam.
Quo te precipitem rabies &c.
Libros duos contra Symmachum.
Credebam &c.
Dittochæum
Eua Columba fuit &c.
Per quinquẽnia iã decẽ. Ode tricolos triſtrophos, hoc
eſt carmẽ trimẽbre treis cõuerſiones habens. Primus
uerſus ẽ Glyconius cõſtãs ſpõdeo. choriãbo, & pyrri
chio, ſeu iãbo. ſic em̃ ſcãditur. perquin, ſpõdeus. quen-
nia iam, choriãbus. decẽ, pyrrichius, ſeu iãbus. Secun-
dus eſt Aſclepiadeus cõſtãs ſpõdeo, duobus choriam-
bis, et pyrrichio, ſeu iãbo, ſcãditur ſic. Niſal. ſpõdeus.
Lor fuimus, choriambus. Septimus in, choriãbus. Su
per. Pyrrichius. Tertius uerſus ẽ choriãbicus ſapphi-
chus cõſtãs ſpõdeo, tribus choriãbis, et pyrrichio, ſeu
iãbo. ſcãditur ſic, Annũ. ſpõdeus. Cardo rotat. choriã-
bus. dũ fruimur. choriãbus. ſoleuolu. choriãbus. bili.
pyrrichius, uel iãbus. uſus eſt hoc genere carminis ſe-
mel dumtaxat in proœmio.
Ales diei nuncius, ode monocolos. Metrum iambicũ di
a iii

a1r a3r

Above the photographs of these two pages of the Harvard copy, I have marked where the page division between a3r and a6v occurs in each setting-off. The difference in alignment of the two flanking Books is about a centimetre.

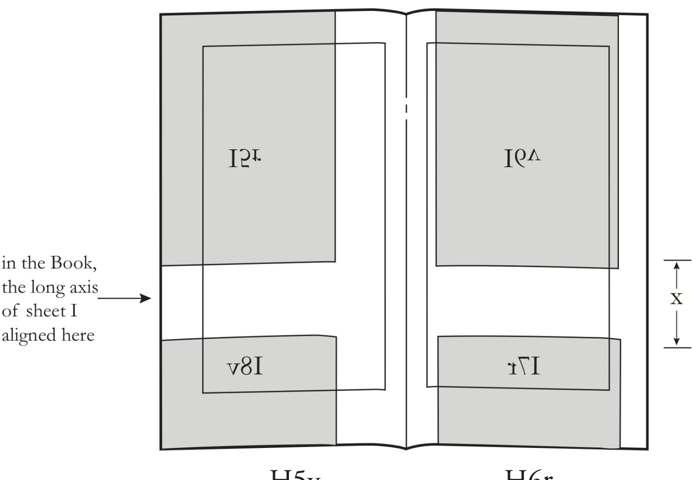
The easiest evidence of offset to detect and read here is the column of initials in the gutter margin of a3r, where the text that set off in the standing press is about to disappear into the gutter (to continue on the conjugate, a6v). Quite dark, and therefore readily legible, this offsett of a3r from the left Book into the gutter margin of a3r in the central Book clearly mirrors, just to the right of it, the typeface printed earlier, in the printing press.

On the fore-edge margin of a3r in this copy, fainter offsetting of a6v from the left Book can also be detected, but not so easily identified, as the starts of the lines set off from a6v have been trimmed off the fore-edge of a3r—and perhaps also partly trimmed off from the fore-edges of b3r and c3r of this Book, onto which they may have extended. Why 'extended'? In the previous diagram, note that the (shaded) offset pages have shifted away from the Fold of the central Book. When a folded Book consists of more than one sheet, the inner sheets will progressively protrude from the Edges opposite the Fold of the outermost sheet. In the next diagram, for example, the axis of a pile in the standing press (see the arrows) shifts away from the Fold as the number of sheets per Book increases.



Now that you know what to look for, can you not detect the same a3r column, from the right Book this time, setting off faintly in the gutter margin in the photo of a1r of the Harvard copy? Under magnification, the first three lines of prose are the easiest to make out. Good luck.

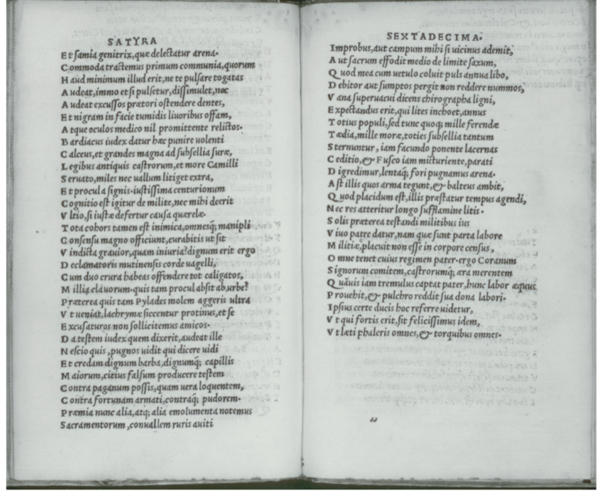
In the interior of the Book of the Juvenal-Persius contrefaction modelled atop p. 127, to which I now return, the offsets are right-side up on each page (except for the tops of the four bifolium pages on H5|H6 and whatever upside-down pages they contacted on full-sheet H(i) and on I(o) (as shown next), because bifolium H5|H6 happened to straddle the long axis of those two flanking sheets). (This positioning allows once more for the recovery of the 'x' dimension, as in the '1501' Aldine edition just discussed).



Shown next is a photograph of H9v–H10r in the Harvard copy. (It is the last opening in the full-sheet portion of quire H.) Here there is more spectacular offsetting, all right-side up this time, from just the bottom halves of two pages of I(o) (at the base of this opening), and (at the top) the bottom portions of the other two pages of quarter-sheet H(i). (In the lower diagram on the next page, the horizontal distance between vƍH and ɿƨH is larger than the distance be-

tween H5v and H6r in the diagram on the previous page because on this page the two leaves are fore-edge to fore-edge, whereas in the diagram on p. 16 they are gutter-edge to gutter-edge.)

At the right of the diagram low on this page, 'a' represents the distance from the base of the text area of H5r and H6v to the original bottom of the quarter-sheet they were printed on. (This bottom has since been trimmed to length b.) That the bottom of the quarter-sheet received offset from the tops of I7r and I8v (as shown in the model on p. 16, of opening H5v–H6r) kept the tops of these two pages from setting off on H9v and H10r—hence the large mid-page areas free of offsets on these two pages.

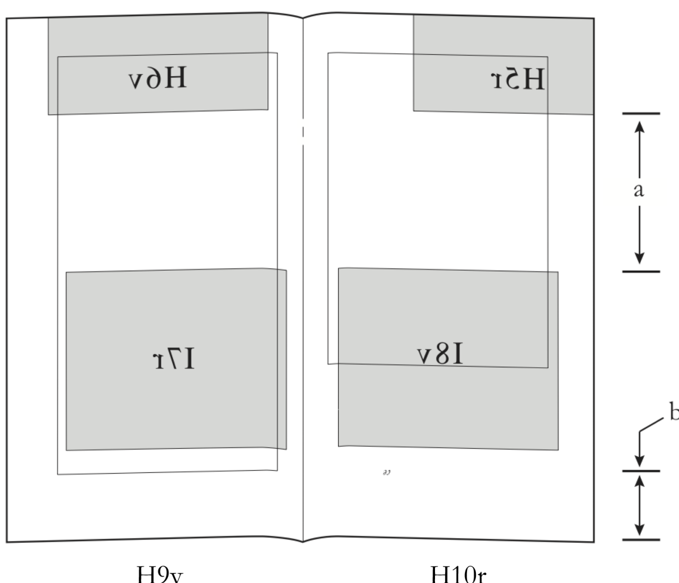


SATYRA
Et ſamia genitrix, quæ delectatur arena.
Commoda tractemus primum communia, quorum
Haud minimum illud erit, ne te pulſare togatas
Audeat, immo et ſi pulſetur, diſſimulet, nec
Audeat excuſſos prætori oſtendere dentes,
Et nigram in facie tumidis liuoribus offam,
Atque oculos medico nil promittente relictos.
Bardiacus iudex datur hæc punire uolenti
Calceus, et grandes magna ad ſubſellia ſuræ,
Legibus antiquis caſtrorum, et more Camilli
Seruato, miles nec uallum litiget extra,
Et procul a ſignis. iuſtiſſima centurionum
Cognitio eſt igitur de milite, nec mihi deerit
Vltio, ſi iuſtæ defertur cauſa querelæ.
Tota cohors tamen eſt inimica, omneſq; manipli
Conſenſu magno officiunt, curabitis ut ſit
Vindicta grauior, quam iniuria? dignum erit ergo
Declamatoris mutinenſis corde uagelli,
Cum duo crura habeas offendere tot caligatos,
Millia clauorum. quis tam procul abſit ab urbe?
Præterea quis tam Pylades molem aggeris ultra
Vt ueniat, lachrymæ ſiccentur protinus, et ſe
Excuſaturos non ſollicitemus amicos.
Da teſtem iudex quem dixerit, audeat ille
Neſcio quis, pugnos uidit qui dicere uidi
Et credam dignum barba, dignumq; capillis
Maiorum, citius falſum producere teſtem
Contra paganum poſſis, quam uera loquentem,
Contra fortunam armati, contraq; pudorem.
Præmia nunc alia, atq; alia emolumenta notemus
Sacramentorum, conuallem ruris auiti

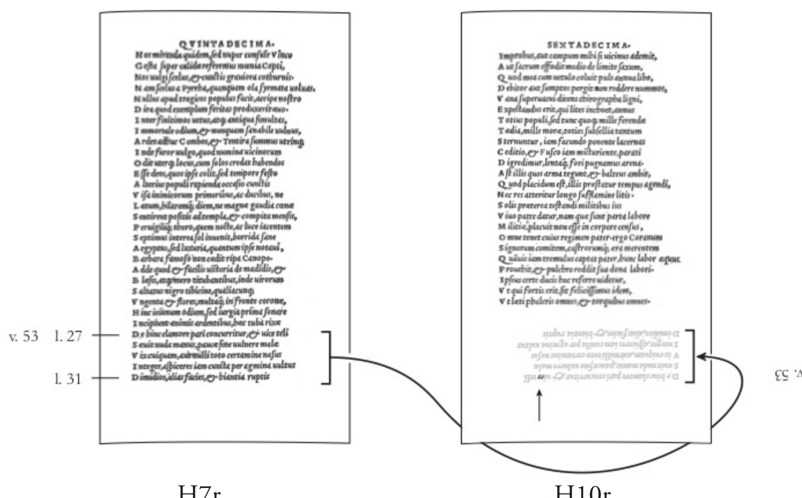
SEXTADECIMA.
Improbus, aut campum mihi ſi uicinus ademit,
Aut ſacrum effodit medio de limite ſaxum,
Quod mea cum uetulo coluit puls annua libo,
Debitor aut ſumptos pergit non reddere nummos,
Vana ſuperuacui dicens chirographa ligni,
Expectandus erit, qui lites inchoet, annus
Totius populi, ſed tunc quoq; mille ferendæ
Tædia, mille moræ, toties ſubſellia tantum
Sternuntur, iam facundo ponente lacernas
Ceditio, & Fuſco iam micturiente, parati
Digredimur, lentaq; fori pugnamus arena.
Aſt illis quos arma tegunt, & balteus ambit,
Quod placidum eſt, illis præſtatur tempus agendi,
Nec res atteritur longo ſufflamine litis.
Solis præterea teſtandi militibus ius
Viuo patre datur, nam quæ ſunt parta labore
Militiæ, placuit non eſſe in corpore cenſus,
Omne tenet cuius regimen pater. ergo Coranum
Signorum comitem, caſtrorumq; æra merentem
Quãuis iam tremulus captat pater, hunc labor æquus
Prouehit, & pulchro reddit ſua dona labori.
Ipſius certe ducis hoc referre uidetur,
Vt qui fortis erit, ſit feliciſſimus idem,
Vt læti phaleris omnes, & torquibus omnes.

H9v H10r

On H10r in every copy of this edition I've seen, just below where I8v sets off, 'ǝɔ', the last two letters of '<u>*uice*</u>', inverted, thicken the plot. The types that printed these very letters previously appeared on H7r in v. 53 of Juvenal's 'Satire 15': 'D *ein clamore pari concurritur, et* <u>*uice*</u> *teli*'. (In Aldo's original, the *c* and *e* form a ligature, but none of the printers who imitated Aldo's italic fount cared as much as he did to join such letters.) During the printing of full-sheet H(i) in the printing press (not the standing press), '*ce*' must have peeked out upside down through a small hole in the frisket into the space below the end of 'Satire 16' that had been intended to be blank. Since '*ce*' was inked, so must have been the rest of the line of type that held it in place—plus all the next *four* verses (I've now learned), vv. 54–57 of Satire 15: 27–31 (these were the last lines on H7r), which (except for '*ce*') must have printed their ink on the front of the frisket and simultaneously debossed it (think 'the inverse of Braille'), therefore printing blind up into the area of the sheet where I8v set off later. Now it's getting interesting: if they debossed the frisket, they would also have debossed and thus printed blind the sheets going through the press while '*ce*' was also printing them more legibly with ink. Blind printing here, in fact, allowed me to identify these lines. In skin copies, like that at the Houghton Library at Harvard, they can actually be read—hence the following map.

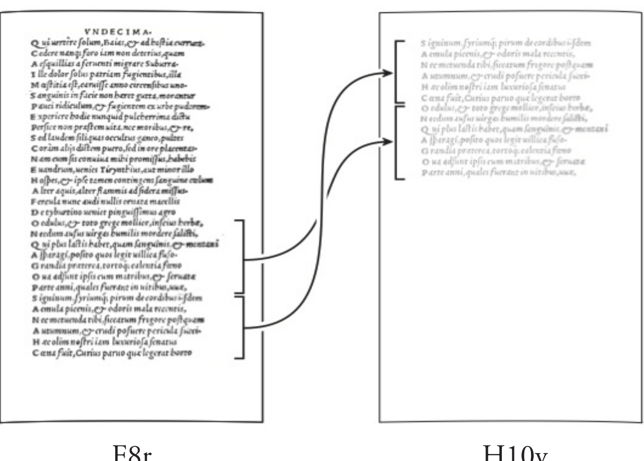


H9v H10r



H7r H10r

This H10r page remarkably blends past, present, and future. Along with all of the present, the 'SEXTADECIMA' verses on H10r, it combines some of the past, ɿ7H and ɿƧH, and some of the future, v8I. Also, printed blind overleaf is rearranged type from the more distant past, F8r, and in copies printed on skin, like the one at Harvard, some of this text can also be detected as show-through on the upper outer corner of H10r, as ɿ8Ⅎ. (In the following map, made with the help of raking light, I have yet to map the bottom of H10v.)



F8r H10v

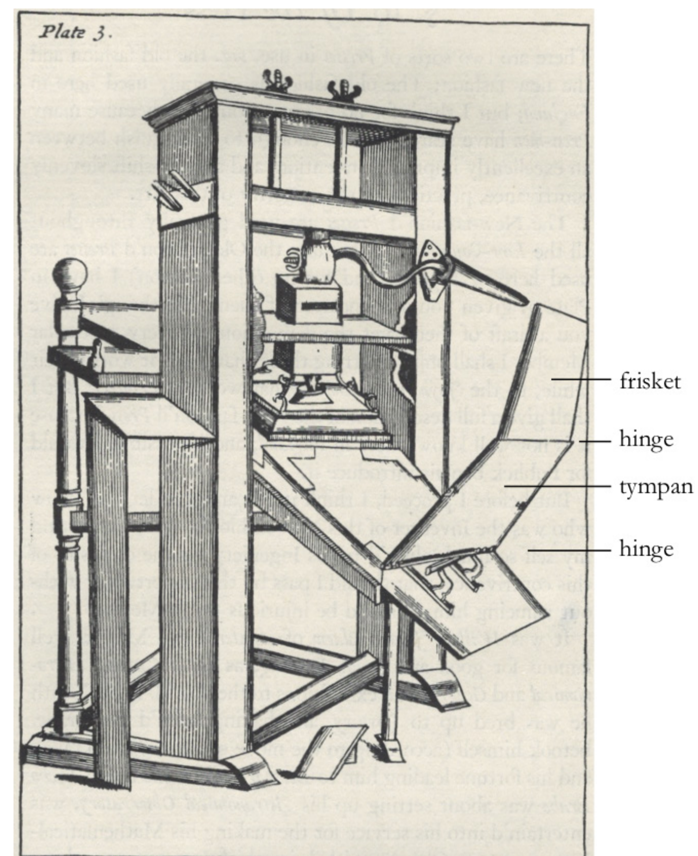
H7r and H10r are both pages on full-sheet H—H7r on the outer forme and H10r on the inner. Since the type of H7r had been broken up before H10r was imposed, we can deduce, for what it's worth, that Balthazard put the outer forme of full-sheet H sheet to press before the inner.

There is one more dizzying aspect of the offsetting onto H10r. We need to specify which setting of quarter-sheet H5|H6 pertains, for Balthazard (like Aldo) composed and imposed the text of a quarter-sheet twice so as to fill an entire forme of octavo for efficient printing of four copies per sheet (in a run only a fourth as large, therefore, as for each of the full-sheet quires in this edition). These sheets were printed by work-and-turn or end-over-end (as I'll explain in detail

when I draft Tome the Second of *Cum donat uacuas*) and therefore (this is the present point) there are likely to be variant readings in the different settings of H5 and H6 that might set off on H9v or H10r. These would not be your garden variety of stop-press variants, simply because, literally, the press would not have stopped to print them. Nor is it easy to establish which variants would have been composed earlier and which later, as they would all belong to the same printed state.

A word must be said now about two terms recently introduced: 'friskets' and 'raking light'.

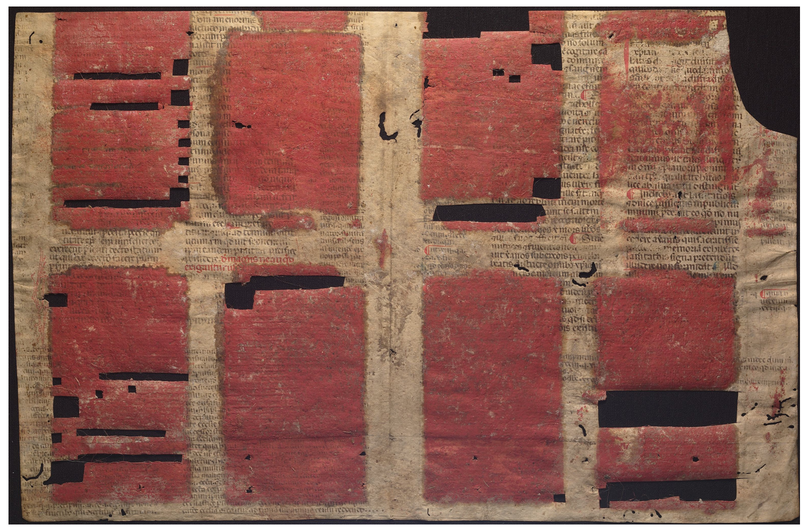
Friskets—function & dysfunction



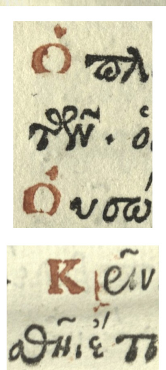
This cubist depiction of 'The Old-fashioned Press' is from §10 of Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* (1683/4). I have added labels for the platen and for four parts of the carriage assembly. (This is not the oldest, the single-pull press of the early incunable period, but rather the two-pull press, which succeeded it.) The frisket is the upper rectangular frame of the carriage assembly. This frisket-frame is covered with skin, which is also loosely called a 'frisket' (and that is the way I shall mostly refer to it hereafter). The frisket-frame hinges counter-clockwise down over the sheet to be printed, which is positioned on two registration pins out of sight on the other side of the tympan—which is the lower frame, also covered in skin. (There may be some packing between the sheet and the tympan.) The folded assembly of frisket, sheet, and tympan hinges in turn counter-clockwise down onto type locked in a chase (Moxon does not illustrate the chase), which all reposes on

the stone—then tympan, sheet, frisket, locked-up type, and stone ride together horizontally as a unit of the carriage and come to rest in one of two positions under the platen, ready for printing half a forme at a time, for in this two-pull press, only one half of a forme could be printed per pull. In these positions, the frisket holds the sheet up against the tympan. And, to expose the sheet to the pages of inked type below, windows of appropriate size are carefully cut into the frisket, whose remaining parts keep stray ink from soiling the margins of the sheet.

As Moxon's illustration neglects to depict any of these essential windows in the frisket, shown next is the Bodleian Library's Broxbourne 97.40, a cut-down frisket (now merely 27 x 41cm) that previously had been part of a manuscript in folio format on Canon Law and later as the first of two friskets for printing a single forme of some unidentified octavo in two colours—this first frisket for the red printing, the second (now lost) for the black.



Ideally, the small windows in this frisket allowed for the printing of just red initials and headings, but not of the surrounding text, which currently held the red letters in place. Once the red-printing had finished and the types that had printed red were replaced with spaces, a second frisket with windows open to the full extent of each type-page would allow for the remaining text to be printed black when the sheets already printed red were run through the press a second time, to perfect that side of each sheet.

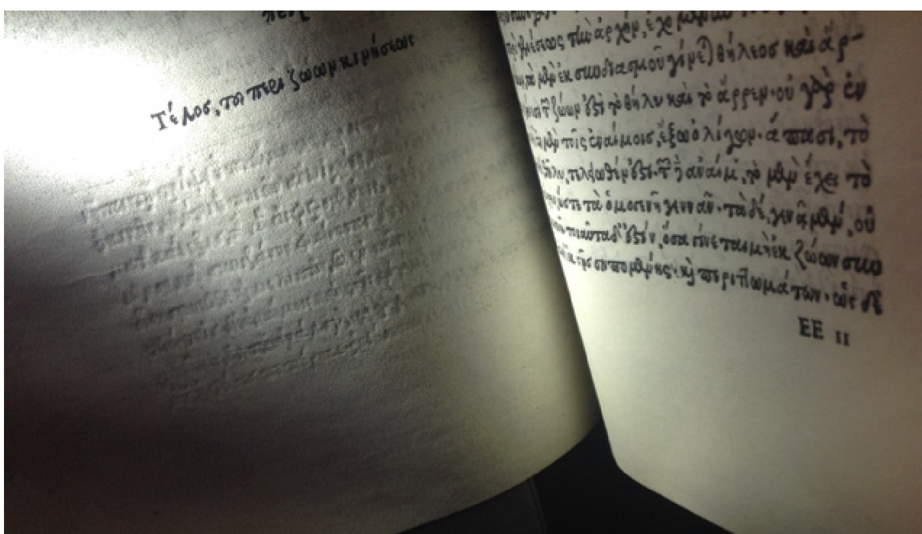


Luckily, mistakes happen—and they divulge some of a frisket's secrets. An aperture cut too large in a red frisket can prematurely reveal some of the surrounding type intended only for printing later in black. Such double printing becomes obvious when registration is off between the two print-runs (for then the black ink cannot obscure any red ink that might have printed beneath it), as in the first of the examples, to the left, of the (same) period printed twice, red first, then black, on β8r in a copy of Aldo's Greek Psalter (c1497) in the Boston Public Library (Q.405.133). Either the window cut for the red Epsilon was too wide or the frisket for the red run was off-register side to side.Registration for the black printing shifted by the distance between the red and black impressions of the period before Epsilon. In the second illustration, witness what happened to the bottoms of the two red Omicrons

on δ4v: an off-register frisket bit them. These windows were either cut too high in the frisket or the frisket shifted up. Note that the lower Omicron has a horizontal red streak at bottom, which must have been printed by the edge of the window in the frisket. In the last image from β1r, a more obvious streak can be seen. During the red run, the build-up of ink printed on the front of the frisket by the rho-iota ligature adjacent to the window must have gradually spread to the edge of the window and eventually over it and onto the upper surface of the frisket, where it was able to contact the sheet. Such a build-up and spreading of ink throughout the page areas on the frisket during the print run explains why the text printed on the Broxbourne frisket became completely illegible.

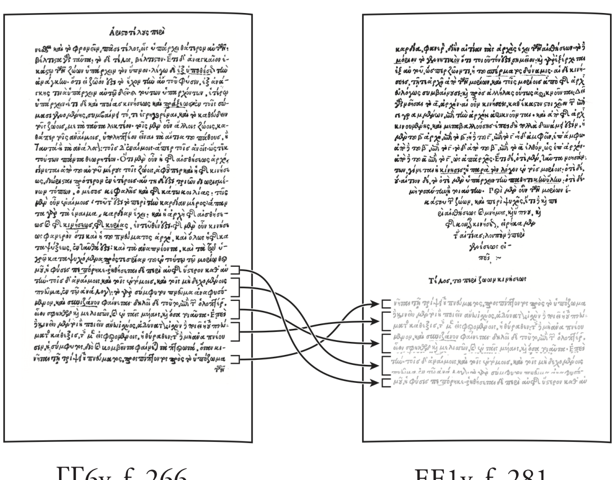
Raking light

When typeface, inked or not, bites the under side of a frisket, it compresses and debosses it along with the sheet above the frisket and any packing above that and also compresses against the platen the skin of the tympan, beyond the packing. A beam of light raking across the surface of a sheet so stamped—in my purse I always carry a tiny torch with a very tight beam—will brighten the upper surface while the depths remain in shadow. (These 'depths' were actually highest in the press, of course, for the surface to be printed faced down there.) The slight contrast of light on the surface and dark in the depths is often all one needs to reveal the presence of blind text and even to make it legible, especially in copies printed on skin, rather than on paper, for skin especially well remembers—as you can see next on the last page of *De motu animalium* in vol. 3 of the skin copy of the Aldine Aristotle at New College, Oxford (BT1.3.6), a folio-in-10s dated January 1497. It is reproduced here Courtesy of the Warden and Scholars of the College.



My light raking across EE1v from upper left reveals eight lines of blind type at the bottom of the page which have printed through a frisket whose window opened, properly, only to the last inked line—the 'Τέλοσ' or 'Finis' line. In raking light, this end is obviously *not* the last word.

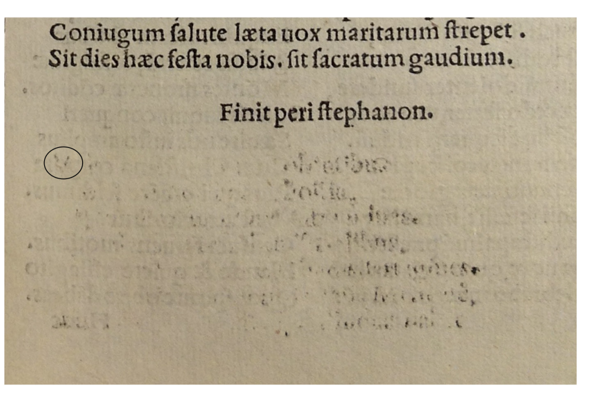
What is the source of these blind lines? It lies not where I looked for it first, in ΔΔ, the previous quire as the book is bound, but rather two quires back—on ΓΓ6v.



ΓΓ6v, f. 266 EE1v, f. 281

Why so far away?—thirteen formes, it would seem. The answer, as headline analysis showed me, is that in the schedule of composition for this portion of vol. 3, alternate quires were composed by different compositors or teams of compositors, working from the outermost forme of the quire to the innermost. Thus it was quire ΓΓ not quire ΔΔ that was composed immediately before quire EE. Accordingly, ΓΓ6v was produced merely three formes prior to EE1v, not thirteen.

As a frisket is a semi-permeable membrane, the recurring pressure of newly inked typeface on it from below in the printing press may eventually force ink up through the frisket itself, as in this example from Harvard's copy of Aldo's Prudentius (WKR 3.2.12, vol. 1), a quarto-in-8s printed on paper, where, even in the light of common day, traces of seven verses of masked type are detectable after the 'Finit' line. (Here again, a finish that is not final.)

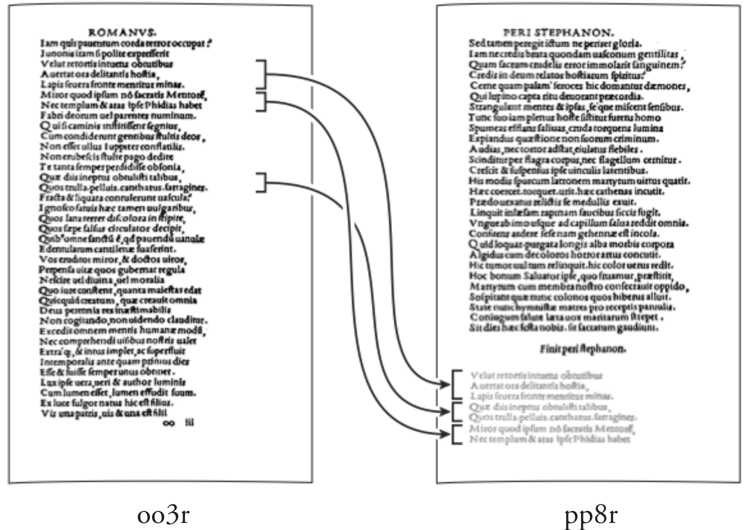


Coniugum ſalute læta uox maritarum ſtrepet .
Sit dies hæc feſta nobis . ſit ſacratum gaudium.

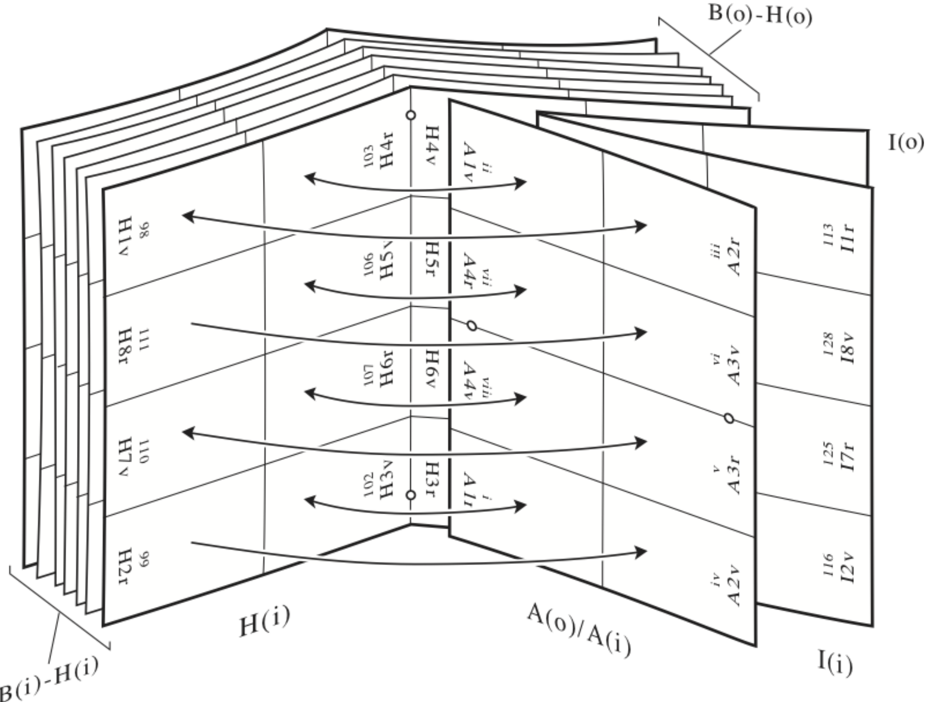
Finit peri ſtephanon.

pp8r

Can you make out the (circled) initial of the first 'blind' line—a 'V'? And this verse ends in 'bus', does it not? So, we know the exact length. And the varying verse lengths that follow (resembling the cut of a key) contain clues to the identity of the source or sources. Here they open a door to the previous quire, where, on oo3r, we see that the 'V … bus' line reads in full 'Velut retortis intuens obtutibus'. The bibliographic secret leaked by this and adjacent lines is that the outer forme of the inner sheet of quire oo has provided type for the outer forme of the outer sheet of quire pp, which, by my reckoning, is two formes away in the printing of this work.



The practice of Booking continued into the nineteenth century with a new twist, as seen in the following modelling of offsets in a typical Book of *The Strayed Reveller,* Matthew Arnold's first volume of verse. Printed by Richard Clay of Bread Street Hill, London in 1849, it collates A^4 B–I^8. This edition looks like an octavo (and is even billed as a 'small octavo' in the advertisement in Arnold's next book of poems, *Empedocles on Etna*, 1852). But Clay printed a forme of all the sixteen pages for a quire on one side of a sheet, then turned it end over end and printed the same forme on its other side. His format was therefore 16mo, not octavo. (We have already encountered similar procedures in the quarter- and half-sheets of sixteenth-century printers.)



Consequently, there is no outer forme and no inner forme. (In the diagram above and in the discussion below, I will nevertheless resort to the fiction of outer and inner formes in order efficaciously to distinguish the two sides of each half of these sheets after they have been separated.)

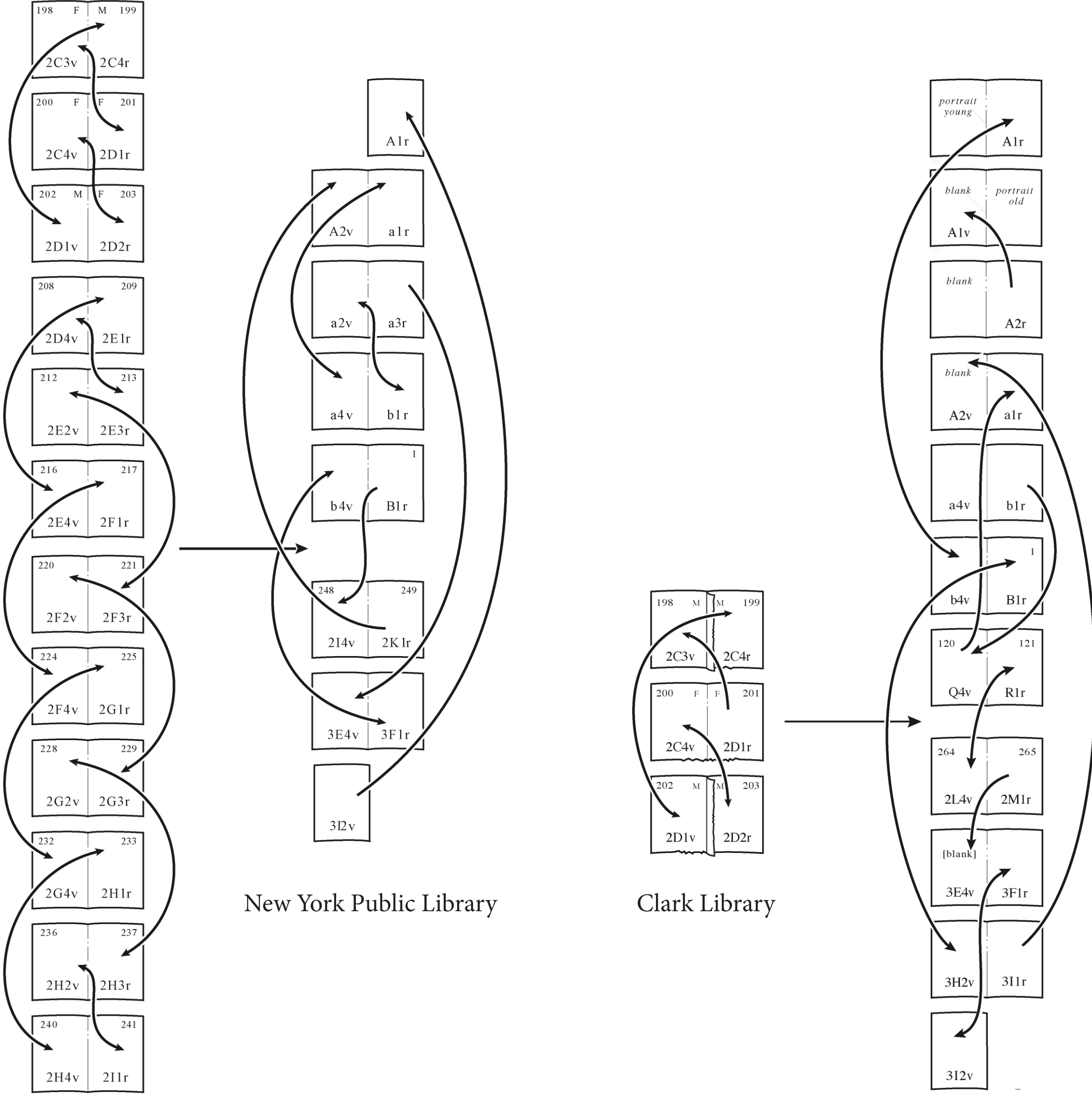
So, each Book of this edition contains Siamese twins. (The same is true for the Booked *Empedocles*, also printed by Clay, down to the same off-centre preliminary half-sheet.) In this model, note the conjugacy foot to foot of H4r and H4v, atop the fold of sheet H. Similarly, A4r and A4v nearby on the half-sheet are still conjugate, fore-edge to fore-edge, where they have been pierced by a registration pin. A pin also pierced the conjugate feet of H4r and H4v. Eventually, the cutting-in-half of the eight full-sheets and one half-sheet of each Book presented the binder with materials for one left-hand copy of *The Strayed Reveller* and one right-hand.

The family secret, guarded these almost two centuries, is that, despite appearances, these twins are not identical. In the left-hand copy, G(i) and H(o) mutually set off, as do both H(i) and A(o)/A(i) (as the arrows show in the latter instance); and, oversheet, A(i)/A(o) sets off onto I(o), and vice versa. But in the right-hand copy, it is G(o) and H(i) that set off on each other; and, oversheet, H(o) and I(i) set off mutually and not at all onto A. In both left- and right-hand copies, half-sheet A variously displays offset from H(i) and I(o); but, after cutting, only in left-hand copies do H and I show offset from A—the A of that copy. In right-hand copies, the offsetting of H(i) and I(o) onto A, the first quire of the book as bound is intertextual—i.e., from H(i) and I(o) of the other twin. In the centre of the Book, all of I(i) on the left and I(o) on the right mutually set off, but, after cutting, in left-hand copies I(i) reflects I(o), whereas in right-hand copies I(o) reflects I(i). These offsets in the central sheet of the Book (in the last quire of each of the two bound books that are made from it) are also intertextual.

So it is that though the text of Arnold printed in the printing press offers (barring misbinding) to become identically arranged in both left- and right-hand copies, the shadows in left-handed copies are differently configured than those in the right-. Only when the offsets in left- and right-handed copies are taken together can one read the Booking of this edition.[6]

But, dammit all, this sojourn in the warehouse has not brought us to an explanation of the offsets seen in the New York Public Library copy 2 of the 1732 *Paradise Lost*. In the warehouse, most every offset has proven to be remote, whereas in this copy of *Paradise Lost* most offsets are local. Furthermore, the abundant remote offsets of the warehouse are mostly on sheets adjacent in signatural succession, but in *Paradise Lost* the few offsets that are remote leap over considerable distances. Crucially, as the *Paradise Lost* offsets in the right column on p. 122, with the exception of the misfolded quire a pertain to the outsides of quires, to 1r and 4v pages in those made from full sheets (and 1r and 2v pages in half-sheet quires), they must have been made after the full sheets had been folded not just once for Booking, but rather twice for quiring in quarto. These facts indicate that to understand remote offsetting in this edition of *Paradise Lost*, we must now leave the warehouse. Next stop, the bindery.

[6] As they have no discernable offsets, quires B–E may have been printed much earlier than F–I and A or perhaps they used a more rapidly drying ink. Therefore, the outer side of the Books bear no offsets of the kind seen in the Prudentius Book. I include B–E in this diagram on analogy with the Books of *Empedocles on Etna* and those of Huyon's Prudentius, in which offsets are indeed found throughout and on the outer faces. Quires A of *The Strayed Reveller* and of *Empedocles on Etna* include the index with page numbers for each title. That was a good reason for printing sheet A late.



New York Public Library

Clark Library

Now back to *Paradise Lost*. On the right is a map of the remote offsets in the Clark Library copy. (On the left, for comparison, I have repeated the map of the New York Public Library copy beside it.) The Clark Library copy has twelve remote offsets, all different from the nine of the New York Public Library copy, but frequently involving the front or back pages of the same quires.[7] Its local offsets run, for example, through each of two narratively-continuous

[7] That 2C4|2D1 in the Clark Library copy is a cancel bifolium is suggested this time not by the mismatched Felt and Mould pages in an internal opening, as referred to on p. 122, but by the visible stubs of the original 2C4 (between pp. 198 and 199) and 2D1 (between pp. 202 and 203). Confirmation of the presence of a cancelling bifolium comes from the traces of a continuous deckle edge (depicted above) crossing the gutter along the bottom of 2C4|2D1. This example of a cancel presents a Mould surface on the outside, Felt on the inside.

units, R1r–2L4v and 2M1r–3E4v. The extremities of these two units come to attention because of the arrows that show they bear remote offsets. The first unit has 19 quires, the latter 17, each therefore containing about one third of the quires of the volume.[8] Paradoxically (this is the crazy part), in R1r–2L4v the front page sets off remotely on the back page, and vice versa, like the proverbial dog chasing her tail, except this bitch actually caught up to it. Good Girl! When written, the expression 'R1r–2L4v' appears to have a beginning and an end, but it must be understood also to go in a loop because, as the two-headed arrow proclaims, R1r once *followed* 2L4v, and 2L4v once *preceded* R1r. The other unit, 2M1r–3E4v, must also be circular, but as 3E4v left the printing press blank, it could not later make vivid the closing of the circle by setting off. The remaining quires of the Clark Library total 22, but, as six of them are half-sized, the overall bulk of this unit is like that of each of the two units previously discussed. The sequence of this third unit, A—3I—(3F–3H)—(B–Q)—(a–b), as the arrows show, is also circular, A and b mutually seetting off (with an oddity, in that quire a looks as if it were inserted late between Q and b, so that Q4v was in contact in turn with both b1r and a1r).[9] This trinitarian organization of the unbound quires hardly seems chaotic, does it?

Not to deny the role of the standing press to create remote offsets, I'm now going to give the major credit specifically to the hammer to explain the creation simultaneously of local and remote offsets in these copies of Bentley's edition. *Yes*—the hammer. Why didn't I think of it earlier? The three units just identified now will be called '*battés*'. Each was repeatedly beaten on both front and back with a hammer, then (here's the magic) split in half, and, with halves reversed, beaten again, on both faces. It was this reversal of the two halves of each *batté* allowed Missy to bite her own tail—allowed, for example, R1r and 2L4v mutually to set off, while all other offsetting in the *batté* remained local.[10] Of course, when R1r and 2L4v mutually set off, they did so *locally* in the rearranged *batté*; but when, for binding, narrative order was re-established, their offsets came to *appear* remote in the printed book. As this weird process is spelled out in R. Cloud's 'Fearful Asymmetry' (referred to in n. 2) or better still, consult R. MacGeddon's '**Hammered**',[11] I'll say no more about it here in the interest of saving time (which we're almost out of). After all, this paper was supposed to be about Martial (whose *Apophoreta* 14.12 is quoted in my title), not about Milton and his blank or over-printed pages. But first I shall take a little more space in passing, very quickly, to identify the two *battés* in the New York Public Library copy: one is B–2I, 19 quires; and the other (2K–3E)—(a–b)—(3F–3I)—A, 32 quires, with front and back mutually setting off (as now expected). That was quick.

And, second, to display the following four photos (never before published) to make the matter of hammering vivid to you without your having to turn to the outdated work of these two men (Cloud and MacGeddon)—essays in print, not convenient files online. (Nor are they

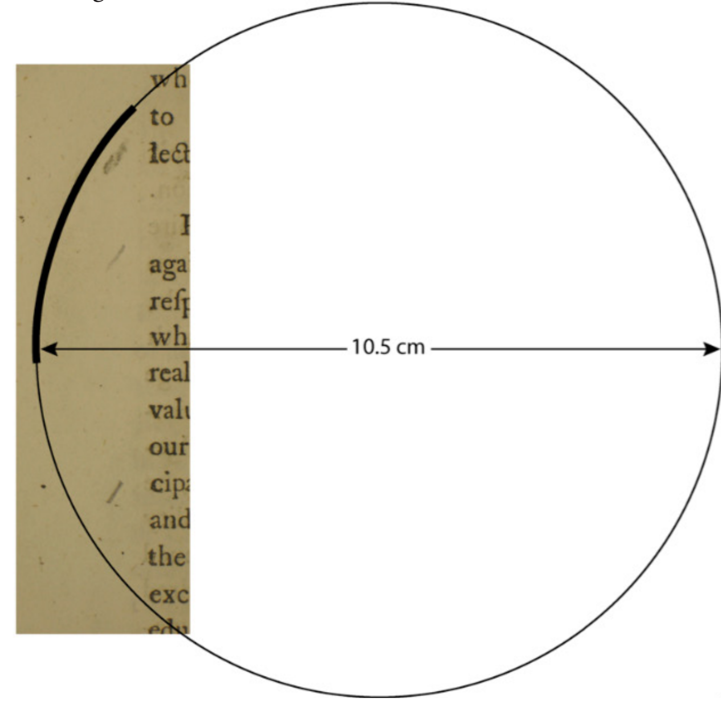
[8] In the count of 19, I treat the cancellans 2C4|2D1 as a quire, as it is separately sewn. The bulk of this unit is better expressed by '18'.

[9] I'm surprised that this second *batté* is twice the size of the other. (I wonder whether I missed remote offsetting in the middle of it?) Will have to check when this plague ends and I can travel again..

[10] This reversal offers a ready explanation for the stuttering observed on p. 125 in the remote offsetting of 'I N D E X': the contents must have shifted during the reversal and, beaten before and after, set off twice—stuttered.

[11] R. MacGeddon (2010), '**Hammered**', *Negotiating the Jacobean Printed Book*, Pete Langman, ed., Ashgate, 136–199. See also Jeffrey S. Peachey (2013), 'Beating, Rolling, and Pressing: The Compression of Signatures in Bookbinding Prior to Sewing', in *Suave Mechanicals: Essays on the History of Bookbinding*, Vol. 1, Julia Miller, ed., The Legacy Press, 316–381. I had thought that that aim of beating was to make the text-block flat. But Jeff taught me that the aim was practical: by making it compact, to keep out dust. Jeff has the largest and nicest knowledge of beating of any man living.

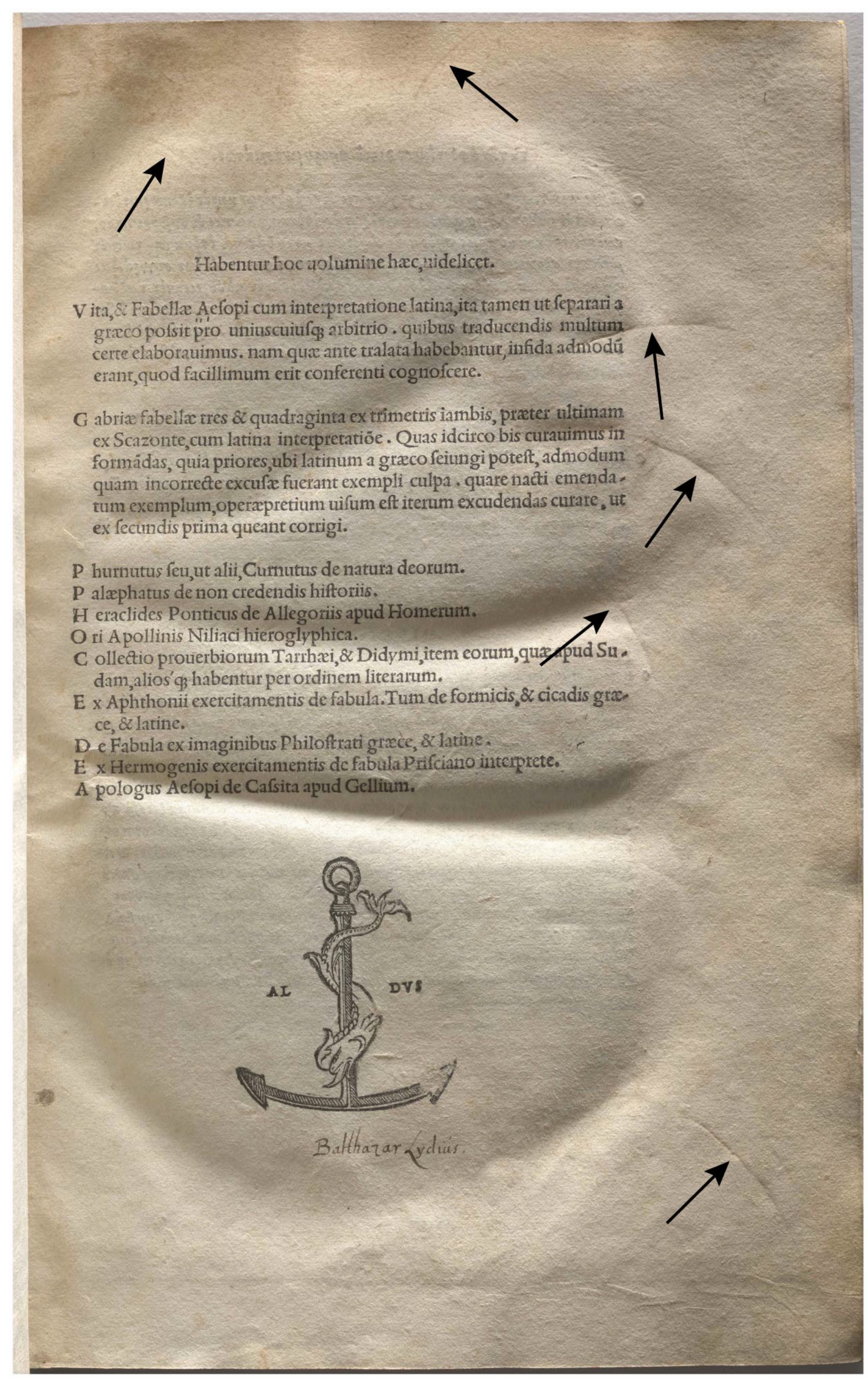
easy to read, what with their affected styles and distracting diagrams.) Seeing the following four images should be sufficient to make you believe (not *you*, Michael, for you already believe) that hammering did exist as a lead-up to book-binding and that it can explain the remote offsets in the 1732 *Paradise Lost*. Seeing will be believing. You'll see.



The image above left, with ruler, shows the inner margin of the last page of quire I (p. 64) in the copy of Maria Edgeworth's 1798 *Practical Education*, a quarto, at Queen's University, in Kingston, Ontario (reproduced here from LB 1025 .E128, courtesy of W. D. Jordan Rare Books and Special Collections). The *batté* of which p. 64 was an outer face was beaten after the ink had dried. Clumsily striking at an angle, the beater's hammer left indentations of approximately 55° of its rim. To the right, I have extended the arc full circle to recover the approximate diameter of the hammer-face: 10.5cm. (I have learned that this is a measurement close to one of the hammers in Jeffrey Peachey's collection.) An 'acute accent' just inside the arc is repeated directly below, faintly at 1.4cm and again, even less so, at 4.7cm, perhaps from less angled blows of the hammer, which left no impression of the rim this time. I suppose this 'accent' represents a flaw, if not in the hammer-face itself, then in the surface on which the quires were beaten.

The practice of beating surely predates the eighteenth century. Faint arcs of comparable measure (of a circle almost 9cm in diameter, I calculate) appear on the title page of the Morgan Library & Museum's copy of Aldo's 1505 folio edition of Aesop (PML 1114). It too must have been beaten after the ink had dried, for the indentations of the rim are clean in this example and thus appear only in raking light. Turn the leaf to see it now.

Scroll down



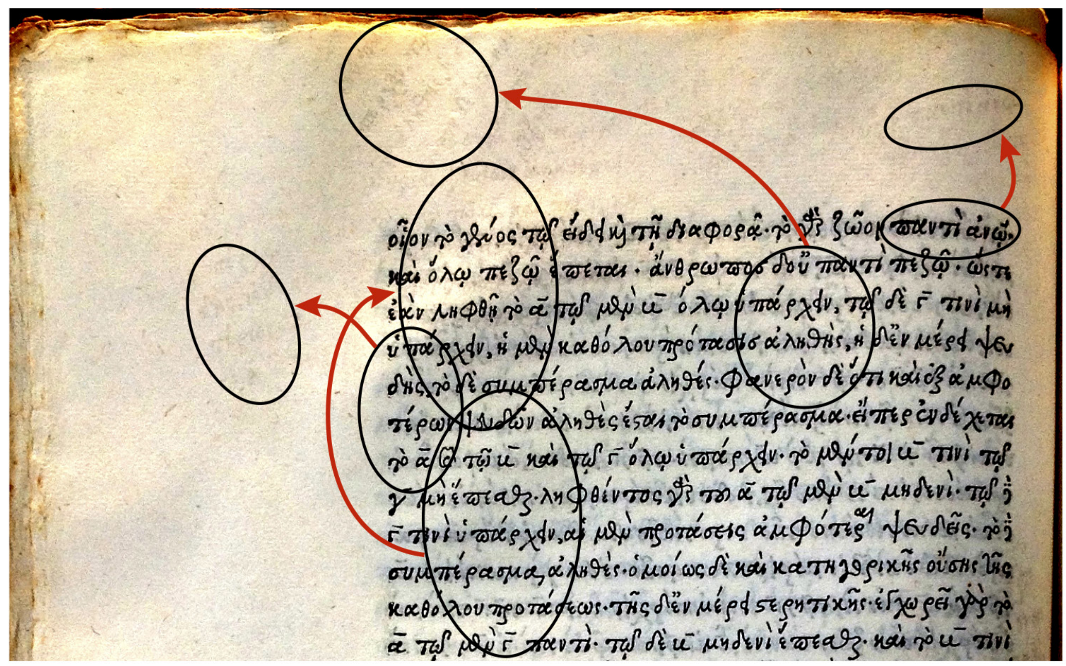
Habentur hoc uolumine hæc, uidelicet.

V ita, & Fabellæ Aesopi cum interpretatione latina, ita tamen ut separari a græco possit pro uniuscuiusque arbitrio. quibus traducendis multum certe elaborauimus. nam quæ ante tralata habebantur, insida admodū erant, quod facillimum erit conferenti cognoscere.

G abriæ fabellæ tres & quadraginta ex trimetris iambis, præter ultimam ex Scazonte, cum latina interpretatiōe. Quas idcirco bis curauimus in formādas, quia priores, ubi latinum a græco seiungi potest, admodum quam incorrecte excusæ fuerant exempli culpa. quare nacti emendatum exemplum, operæpretium uisum est iterum excudendas curare, ut ex secundis prima queant corrigi.

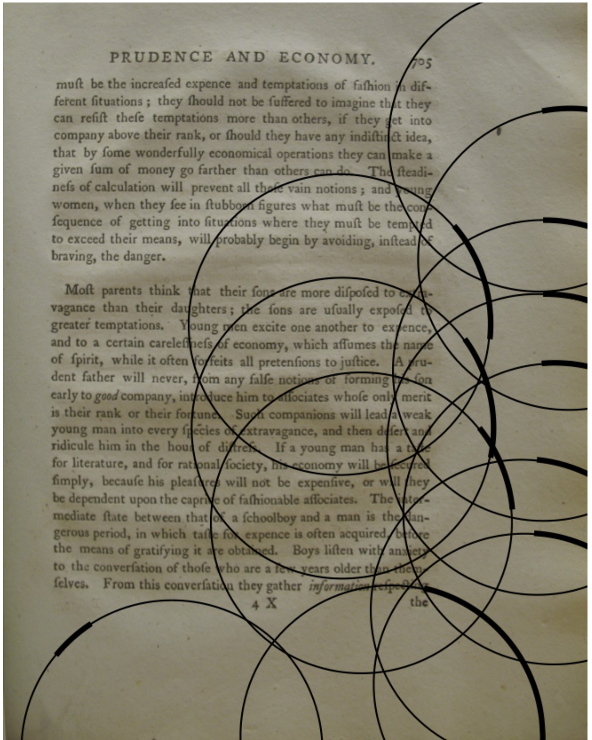
P hurnutus seu, ut alii, Curnutus de natura deorum.
P alæphatus de non credendis historiis.
H eraclides Ponticus de Allegoriis apud Homerum.
O ri Apollinis Niliaci hieroglyphica.
C ollectio prouerbiorum Tarrhæi, & Didymi, item eorum, quæ apud Sudam, aliosque habentur per ordinem literarum.
E x Aphthonii exercitamentis de fabula. Tum de formicis, & cicadis græce, & latine.
D e Fabula ex imaginibus Philostrati græce, & latine.
E x Hermogenis exercitamentis de fabula Prisciano interprete.
A pologus Aesopi de Cassita apud Gellium.

As this copy of Aesop has been rebound, the evidence of these impressed arcs cannot specify when the beating occurred. But the next image, courtesy of the Princeton University Library, from K8v in its paper copy of Aldo's November 1495 folio edition of Aristotle's *Praedicamenta* (the first of five volumes of his works published over the next three years), allows for more precision, because, luckily for us, it was beaten before the ink had dried.



Here we see evidence of properly aimed hammer blows, which left no impression of the rim. But the centre of the slightly bevelled face of the hammer, exerting maximum pressure on impact, picked up still-wet ink mirror image, then deposited it—*printed* it—right image on the next blow or blows. Each arrow in the photograph connects the place where the hammer took up ink to where it deposited it, usually after clockwise rotation of the *batté*. (There are more deposits on this page than are traced here.) This beating must have occurred soon after printing. The fact that H1r of this copy shows similar hammer transfers may establish the size of this *batté* as consisting of quires H, I, and K, each of 8 leaves—so, 24 leaves in all. If so, it was beaten only on the outsides and not split in two, then rearranged, and beaten again, as were the *battés* in the Clark Library copy of *Paradise Lost*. (Or perhaps those 24 leaves are only half of the *batté*?)

Because of debossing of the sheet during printing, the surface of the text area of each leaf increased relative to the areas surrounding. This discrepancy explains the typical buckling that ripples across the text-area of the Aesop title page and on 4X1r (p. 705) of the Jordan Library's *Practical Education*, shown next (and so throughout all the leaves of the *batté*). Evidently, hammer blows advanced around the edges of the text area to address the border between the expanded centre (expanded by the bite of the type) and the constraining unchanged periphery.


PRUDENCE AND ECONOMY. 705

muſt be the increaſed expence and temptations of faſhion in different ſituations; they ſhould not be ſuffered to imagine that they can reſiſt theſe temptations more than others, if they get into company above their rank, or ſhould they have any indiſtinct idea, that by ſome wonderfully economical operations they can make a given ſum of money go farther than others can do. The ſteadineſs of calculation will prevent all theſe vain notions; and young women, when they ſee in ſtubborn figures what muſt be the conſequence of getting into ſituations where they muſt be tempted to exceed their means, will probably begin by avoiding, inſtead of braving, the danger.

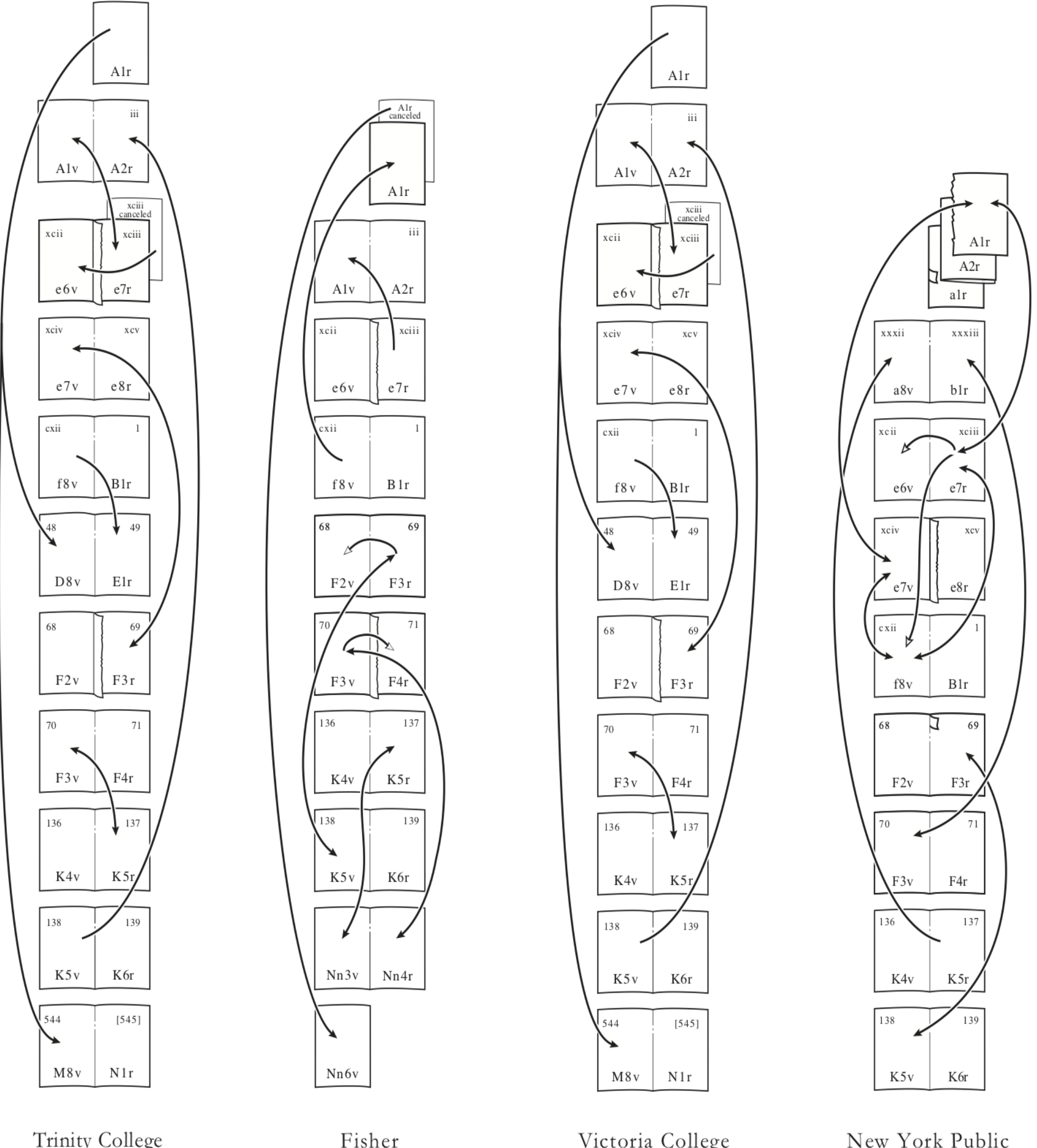
Moſt parents think that their ſons are more diſpoſed to extravagance than their daughters; the ſons are uſually expoſed to greater temptations. Young men excite one another to expence, and to a certain careleſſneſs of economy, which aſſumes the name of ſpirit, while it often forfeits all pretenſions to juſtice. A prudent father will never, from any falſe notions of forming his ſon early to *good* company, introduce him to aſſociates whoſe only merit is their rank or their fortune. Such companions will lead a weak young man into every ſpecies of extravagance, and then deſert and ridicule him in the hour of diſtreſs. If a young man has a taſte for literature, and for rational ſociety, his economy will be ſecured ſimply, becauſe his pleaſures will not be expenſive, or will they be dependent upon the caprice of faſhionable aſſociates. The intermediate ſtate between that of a ſchoolboy and a man is the dangerous period, in which taſte for expence is often acquired, before the means of gratifying it are obtained. Boys liſten with anxiety to the converſation of thoſe who are a few years older than themſelves. From this converſation they gather *information* reſpecting

4 X the

Obviously, this beating the edges of the expanded surface area of the text where it meets the more or less original dimensions of the adjacent margins could not have flattened the leaves, but it was able at least to make the *batté* compact. Jeff taught me that. Here, as in the diagram on p. 143, the short dark arc in each of the twelve rim-defining circles represents the impressions of part of the rim of the hammer, and from this arc the position of the whole face of the hammer has been projected. Of course, only those blows struck at too steep an angle have left evidence. One suspects there were also at least another twelve blows, twelve level blows along the other two sides of the text area on p. 705.

Note that the three blows along the right edge of the text area left their arcs at 2 o'clock, whereas the seven corresponding blows in the adjacent margin are at 1 o'clock—and the arc at the lower left is at 11. From such evidence, one envisions the rotation of the *batté* for beating its four edges in turn. The difference between 11 o'clock and 2 suggests a 90° rotation, but the difference between 1 and 2 o'clock merely the slight flexing of wrist and elbow in the numerous blows between rotations. With these speculations, we begin to conjure up across the centuries the varied postures of the Beater himself and his manly Work—his Work well done, if you can't detect it (as in most books one cannot).

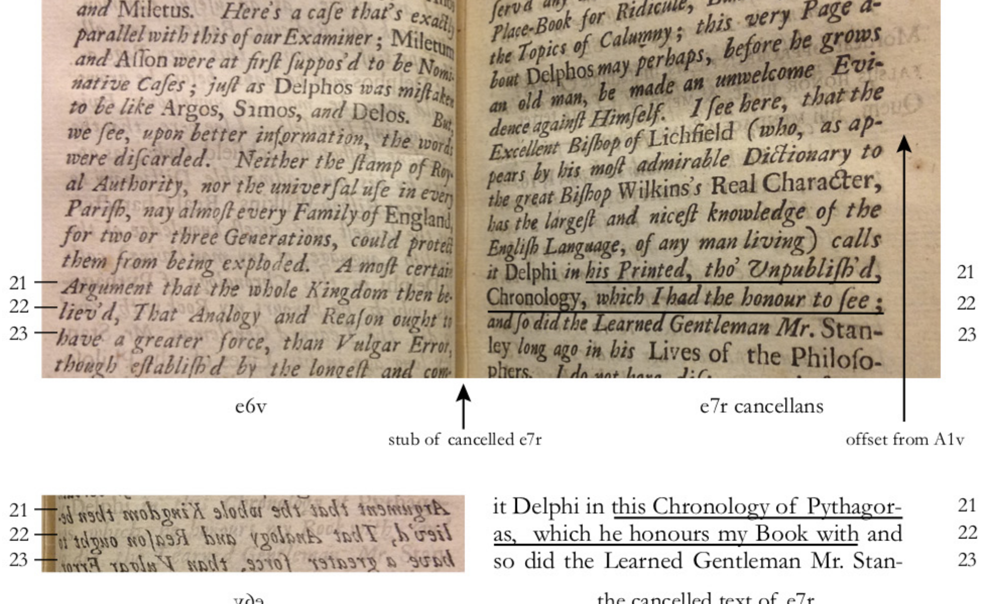
I know we're running late, but I'll include in this discussion of hammering a strong example from Bentley's 1699 octavo *A Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris* to show how textually rich offsets can be. (Some readers, Michael, may still be thinking that offsets are merely derivative.) The ideal collation for this work was A^8 a–f^8 B–$2M^8$ $2N^6$. But leaves A1, e7, F3, and K5 were replaced by cancels. The following maps of offsets argue that these cancels were present during the beatings, sometimes along with the originals, as with A1 in the Fisher Library copy and e7 in that of The John W. Graham Library, Trinity College, both at the University of Toronto (as is the Victoria College copy, also mapped here, for general interest along with the NYPL copy).



An arrow that originates from the head of another arrow and has itself a hollow head points to *right*-offset of a prior *mirror*-offset—a reflection of a reflection, a derivative of a derivative. There are two examples each in Fisher and New York Public. In the latter copy, multiple arrowheads on A1r, e7r, e7v, and f8v suggest a variety of configurations of the *battés* over time. (Recall the multiple arrows to Q4v in the map of the Clark Library copy of the 1732 *Paradise Lost* on p. 141.)

Because the original e7r set off on e6v in the Trinity copy, its early text survives *en miroir* across the gutter from the text that eventually replaced it. This copy thus archives the early and late stages of its production. That's pretty neat. (In the Trinity copy, e7r cancellans bears no offset from e6v, but it does from A1v (I can't at the moment say whether from the original A1 or from A1 cancellans).

In this photo-quote from opening e6v–7r in the Trinity College copy, the verso is replete with offset from the earlier version of the recto. As it is out of register vertically, this offset is easy to decipher with my compact mirror, especially as it differs from the cancel only in ll. 21–22.



On the left, below this excerpt from e6v and 7r cancellans, I have reproduced mirror image ll. 21–23 from e6v, directly above; and, to the right of this three-line image, I have transcribed just the layer of offset on it (despite appearances, it is the top layer) and underlined its words that differ from the later wording in the cancellans, shown directly above this transcription, where I have also underlined the corresponding words. The revised words on the cancellans are surrounded not only by the original *text* of the rest of that page, but also—surprise!—by the *original composition of it in type*, as the same typeface appearing in both the cancellans and the stub of the cancellandum in the Peterhouse copy, C.9.17, reproduced on the next page (by permission of the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge) attests: on this stub, the distinctively bent *ſh* ligature in l. 3 and the damaged d in ‘an<u>d</u>’ in l. 5 also appear in the same places on the cancellans. The revision of e7r can thus be precisely timed: before the type that had printed the early state of that page was distributed. Having consulted the Bishop of Litchfield’s *Chronology of Pythagoras* pamphlet (already printed but not yet published), Bentley must have planned for it to be bound alongside his *Dissertation*, to ‘honour his book’, as the cancellandum states. The revision to e7r is coordinate with the reprinting of the *Dissertation* title page. Both pages needed to deal with a last-minute change of plans—that the two works would, in fact, be published separately. (As Lloyd’s *Chronology* includes a collegial letter to Bentley about their shared interest, there does not seem to have been a falling out.) When I encountered this stub, it was wedged out of sight in the gutter and took five painstaking minutes to extract. Had I not been looking for a stub, I would not have seen it. By reading in the shadows, however, I could have detected that a stub did once exist, for the offset on e6v in the Peterhouse copy from e7r cancellans (not from the cancellandum, as in the Trinity copy) was blocked in the gutter by the stub; and that is why, in the Peterhouse photograph, ‘Chronology’ at the start of l. 22 sets off merely as ‘ʎgoloı ’.

The PREFACE. xciii

Lan anguage in those days all over the Nation.
So that if the Examiner's Mumpsimus
shou ould pass for an Argument, the Æneidos
shou ould be the current Language at this day;
and d those that call it Æneis must be run
dou own for Pedants. I dare venture to foretell
the e Examiner, that his Delphos in a few
yea ars will be thought as barbarous as Æneidos:
dos os: and if his Book shall happen to be preser
ser rv'd any where, as an useful Common
Pla lace-Book for Ridicule, Banter, and all
the e Topics of Calumny; this very Page about
bou out Delphos may perhaps, before he grows
an old man, be made an unwelcome Evidence
den ence against Himself. I see here, that the
Ex xcellent Bishop of Lichfield (who, as appears
pe ars by his most admirable Dictionary to
the great Bishop Wilkins's Real Character,
has the largest and nicest knowledge of the
Eng glish Language, of any man living) calls
it Delphi in his Printed, tho' Unpublish'd,
ras onology, which I had the honour to see;
so so did the Learned Gentleman Mr. Stanley
ley long ago in his Lives of the Philosophers.
phers. I do not here disparage those excel
cel ent Pens, that have unawares fallen into
to he common Error; but to defend it against
gai t manifest Reason, and to vilify those
tha would reform it, is a plain instance of
a ositive and Pedantic Genius.

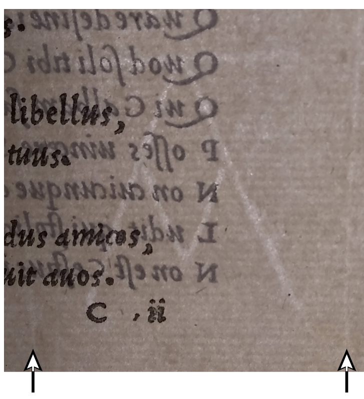
I must

‘ras onology’

Peterhouse C.9.17

Back now, quickly then, to Aldo's Martial, for I've taken too long hammering my points. But I don't regret the expenditure of time, as it has all been in the service of obscure text in out-of-the-way places. You'll have guessed by now that that's really what this essay is all about. Maybe I should have made my *modus operandy* clear at the outset? Well, it's clear now.

In the manufacture of the paper-stock used in Aldo's Martial (to which author I'll now return), there is no watermark, but a corner of each sheet was countermarked between adjacent chain-lines (see the arrows) with a giant 'letter'.[12]



Witness this 'A' shape looming here between recto and verso faces of the leaf in this Simon Fraser University Library copy in Burnaby, British Columbia, with its left foot planted behind the 'C' of signature 'C .ii'. In this photo, light taking the leaf from behind renders the countermark vivid and legible—along with Martial's text overleaf, which thus appears *en miroir*. Printers are used to reading text mirror-image, of course, since that's the look of typeface not only line by line in the composing-stick—where it is also downside up, and where the compositor can read the nick in the shank—if it is located where I have shown it in the two models I plan to present on pp. 159 and 195 (if there's room), but also page by page in the bed of the press (often upside down there too, depending on where one stands). Moreover, reading through a leaf illuminated from behind, as we have just done, was a routine practice of early binders, as shown by the next illustration, from by Dirk de Bray's tiny manuscript, 'Onderwijs van 't boek-binden', 1658, reprinted here by permission of the Noord-Hollands Archief in Haarlem from manuscript Stell 21B 201 (Hs. 201).[13] (The original measures merely 58 by 82mm.)

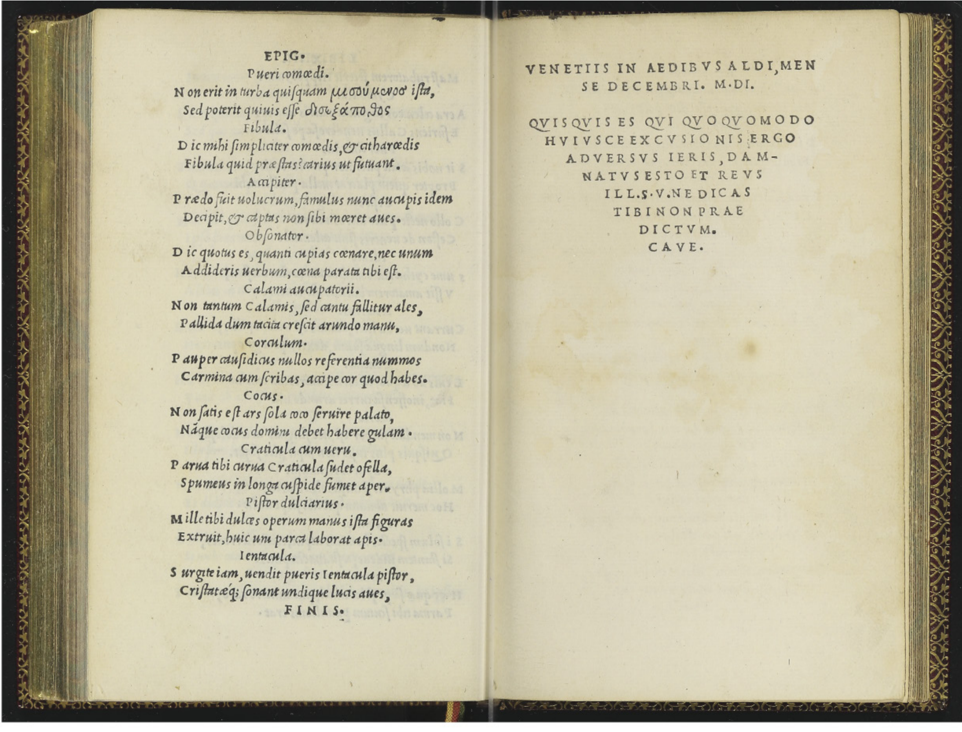
[12] On these two features of the paper mould, the countermark and the chain-lines, the wet 'stuff', so called, lay thinner than on the wire-lines, which run horizontal, about 40 times denser than the chain-lines. There are two different sizes of the 'A' countermark in Aldo's early octavos. The April 1501 Vergil has both of them, usually one in some quires throughout the edition and the other in others, which distribution helps to argue that the early quires of that edition were printed late: composition of *Aeneid*, the last of the Vergilian texts in the volume, was begun first, as its separate run of signatures and absence of pagination allowed, and *Eclogues* and *Georgics* followed, with another run of signatures. So, countermark letter 'A' implicates itself in '*letteratura*', as the Italians say. So too does the coming on stream of the new typographic sorts that appear in them (see pp. 183-184 & 191-192), late in *Aeneid*, but throughout *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. See Randall McLeod's August 1, 2016 'The Birth of Italics' Lecture no. 604 (available online) at The Rare Book School. It is a clever essay, but with a problem I can solve.

[13] In 1977, a facsimile of de Bray's manuscript was published in Dutch with English translation as *A Short Instruction in the Binding of Books*, by Nico Israel, Amsterdam.

In the foreground, at the right, ignore the fellow with the big hammer. Focus instead on two workers at the left and at centre-rear, each in the process of making the first fold on a sheet printed in-octavo by aligning its two halves with the help of sunlight shining through the windows on the left, as in Vermeer. The worker by the window holds a folder in his left hand, the one at the rear perhaps in his right. Because sheets of paper were then produced with deckle (and therefore irregular) edges, binders could not accurately fold a sheet simply by aligning its edges: they had rather, as de Bray states, to peer through a tentatively folded sheet and align the edges of a page of type printed on the front half of the sheet with the edges of a corresponding page of type on the back half, before they adjusted the fold as necessary and finally compressed it. This same deckle edge had already made it difficult for the printer to lay sheets square on the points on the tympan. (These problems for printer and binder would not be solved until the start of the nineteenth century, when the Fourdrinier machine first produced a web of 'wove' paper without deckle edges. Since then, a sheet cut from such a web would more simply be positioned for printing or folding just by its straight edges, without the need of points.

Back now to Martial.

In plain ambient light this time, here is the appearance of the penultimate opening of Aldo’s 1501 edition of Martial in the Simon Fraser copy. This essay is going to get hard now.[14]



EPIG.
Pueri comœdi.
Non erit in turba quisquam μισούμενος ista,
Sed poterit quiuis esse διοξάποθος
Fibula.
Dic mihi simpliciter comœdis, & citharœdis
Fibula quid præstas? carius ut futuant.
Accipiter.
Prædo fuit uolucrum, famulus nunc aucupis idem
Decipit, & captas non sibi mœret aues.
Obsonator.
Dic quotus es, quanti cupias cœnare, nec unum
Addideris uerbum, cœna parata tibi est.
Calami aucupatorii.
Non tantum Calamis, sed cantu fallitur ales,
Pallida dum tacita crescit arundo manu,
Corculum.
Pauper causidicus nullos referentia nummos
Carmina cum scribas, accipe cor quod habes.
Cocus.
Non satis est ars sola coco seruire palato,
Nãque cocus domini debet habere gulam.
Craticula cum ueru.
Parua tibi curua Craticula sudet ofella,
Spumeus in longa cuspide fumet aper.
Pistor dulciarius.
Mille tibi dulces operum manus ista figuras
Extruit, huic uni parca laborat apis.
Ientacula.
Surgite iam, uendit pueris Ientacula pistor,
Cristatæq; sonant undique lucis aues,
FINIS.

VENETIIS IN AEDIBVS ALDI, MEN
SE DECEMBRI. M.DI.

QVISQVIS ES QVI QVOQVOMODO
HVIVSCE EXCVSIONIS ERGO
ADVERSVS IERIS, DAM-
NATVS ESTO ET REVS
ILL.S.V. NE DICAS
TIBI NON PRAE
DICTVM.
CAVE.

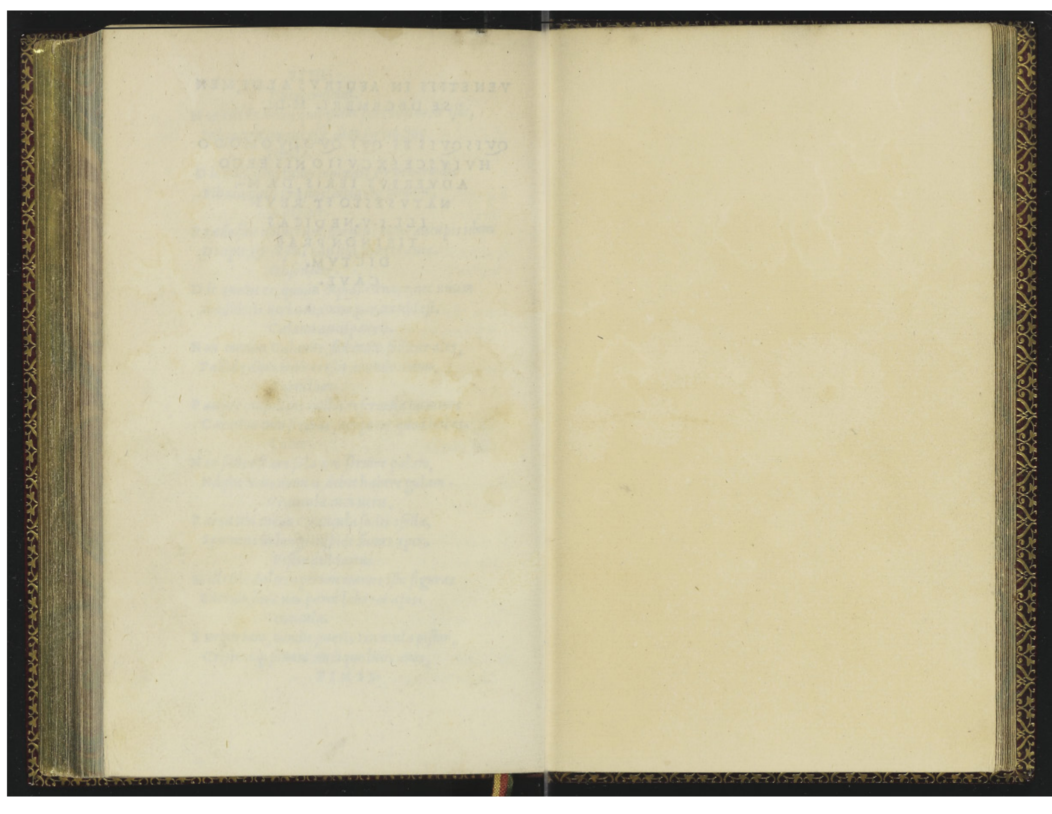
&6v &7r

Outer-forme &6v ends with ‘ F I N I S .’ below a column consisting of a headline, tabbed titles, and couplets (with second lines indented). The paper’s translucency allows one to make out more text, overleaf, on &6r, very faint and in mirror-image again. Look closely. And beyond it, right-image, even text on &5v. Who among us pays heed to such overlapping textual shadows? But there they are nevertheless, subliminally open to all—a persistence of vision and a persistence of text after we have turned away from it.

On the recto of the next leaf, &7, we find the colophon and the printer’s warning.[15] When you turn this leaf, thinking, I imagine, that all of Martial is said and done, can you not still see, *en miroir*, the colophon and warning?

[14] Courtesy of SFU Special Collections and Rare Books, Wosk-McDonald Aldine Collection, ‘Martialis Epigrammata PA 6501 A2 1501’. This copy and other volumes in the collection can be viewed online on the Library’s website. Thanks to librarian David Kloepfer for bibliographic details and photos of this copy. Images of three copies at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence can be accessed through the Edit 16 website.

[15] Aldo’s target in this warning was the critic, not, as I first mistakenly thought, the Lyonese counterfeiters, whose thefts he had not yet experienced: ‘Whoever you are who will criticize this printed work in whatever way possible, you will be condemned and stand trial before the illustrious senate of Venice. Beware of saying you have not been forewarned.’ Thanks to John Grant for this translation. He adds that ‘the priority of the condemnation before trial is definitely odd. I wonder if there is a printing error here of *et* for *ut*, the latter meaning “as, in the role of ”. It could be translated as “when brought before the illustrious senate of Venice.”’



&7v ‘&8r’

And also, right-image and even more faint, can you not also make out the preceding ‘ F I N I S .’ at the foot of &6v, where we began a moment ago—as if we hadn’t quite finished with it yet? Exactly when and where does text end in this book?—in any book? On Z3v, Martial himself advised of his own, ‘You can finish the book when and where you wish’.

Quouiscunque loco potes hunc finire libellum,

This is from poem 14.2 in modern editions, but 14.1 in Aldo’s. Later in this poem (but in the next poem in Aldo’s edition), the poet even quipped that he provided titles so that one might read only them—*lemmata sola*.

Apophoreta.
Lemmata si quæris cur sint ascripta, docebi
Vt si malueris, lemmata sola legas.

Our Martial—he was a fun guy. Funnier than Milton, I warrant, or Mrs. Siddons. Or Mother.

Did you notice that &7v is not as dark and creamy as ‘&8r’? And why have I used quotation marks in referring to the latter page and not the former?

Well, the original (blank) leaf &8 is missing in this copy—that's why. This copy does not have the ideal shape spelled out in the collation formula at the start of this essay: A–Z^8 &^{8}. Also, the 22 leaves after the 191 remaining of those that Aldo printed (the recto of the first of which 22 we see here) and also the 22 leaves at the front of this copy are of Dutch manufacture, three centuries after Aldo's publication. The watermark reads 'J KOOL CORP [18]02'.[16] Some of Kool's chain-lines run vertical, like those on Aldo's stock, but most, puzzlingly, are horizontal. What with countermarks and watermarks in various orientations, you can see that the very sheets of this volume are textual throughout—even without consideration of the poetry subsequently stamped on some of them with ink (even stamped *without* ink, as we shall soon see). Obviously, in the 235 leaves of this copy (an odd number, of course, because of the loss of &8), printer's ink does not say it all.

If it is true, as p. 70 of the UCLA catalogue tersely reports of its copy of the 1501 Martial

CONTENTS: (A1r) title (A1v) Plin. epist. III 21 (A2r–&6v) Mart. (&7r) colophon and printer's warning (&7v–&8v) blank

'(&7v–8v) blank', does it really matter that the last of Aldo's leaves in the Simon Fraser copy is missing? A defective copy does not fetch top dollar in the market, of course. But in terms just of literature, isn't the answer 'No, it doesn't matter. As there is no text on &7r–8v, nothing is lacking.' But the correct answer is 'Yes, it certainly does matter—even, in fact, as literature it matters.' How '*as literature*'? Because in books printed in the renaissance, blank pages—or just the portions of them blank only at top or bottom—are often not blank there at all. How many people know this? You do now, but how many others? There may be text to find and read in those spots—and not just the text of watermarks—your A's and your KOOL's—or the text of mere visitors, like offsets, local or remote, by standing press or hammer, or even debossed blind type, as observed in raking light. On such pages, blank is not blank. So, here's your short answer: Blank Leaves Matter—for they may not really be empty. The rest of this essay is the long answer. You'll see.

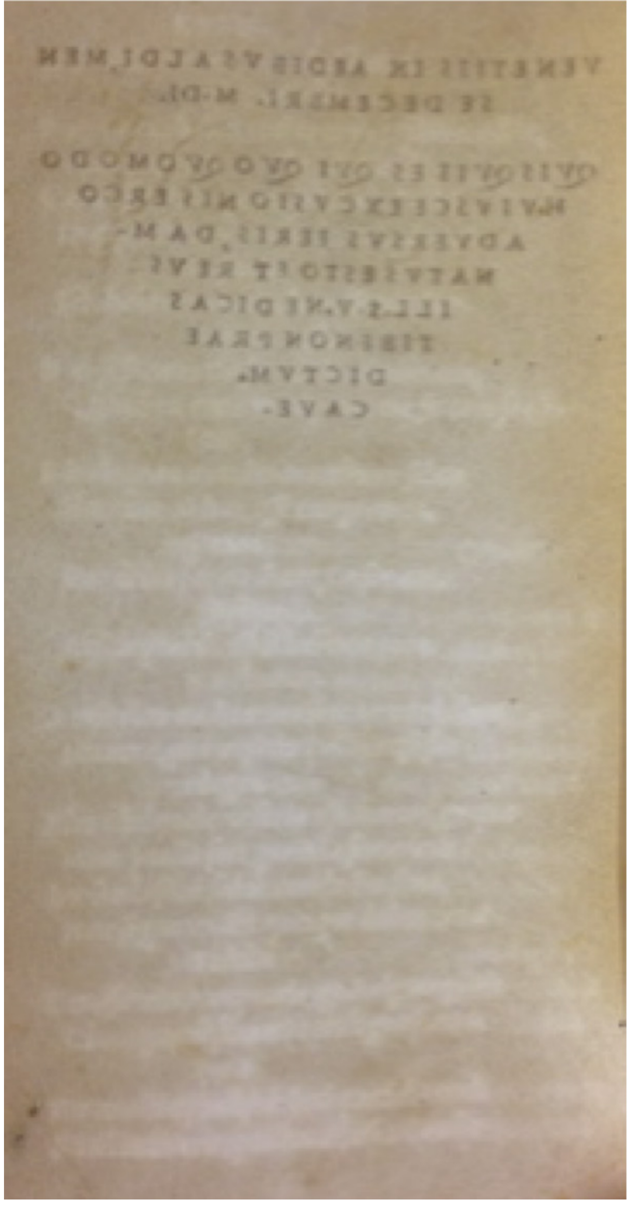
📖

text out of now here

To *see* what I mean (for seeing is believing) consider Uzielli 34, a copy of Aldo's Martial in the Giorgio Uzielli Collection of Aldine Editions at The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas. Its text was printed on skin, not paper: and so, it has no countermarks, no watermarks, no chain lines, and no deckle edges. Now, as you know, I always carry a tiny torch with a very tight beam in my purse. I did tell you this already, didn't I? (And a compact too—for its mirror). But to my surprise, raking its light across the blank pages of this copy did not create the expected shadows.

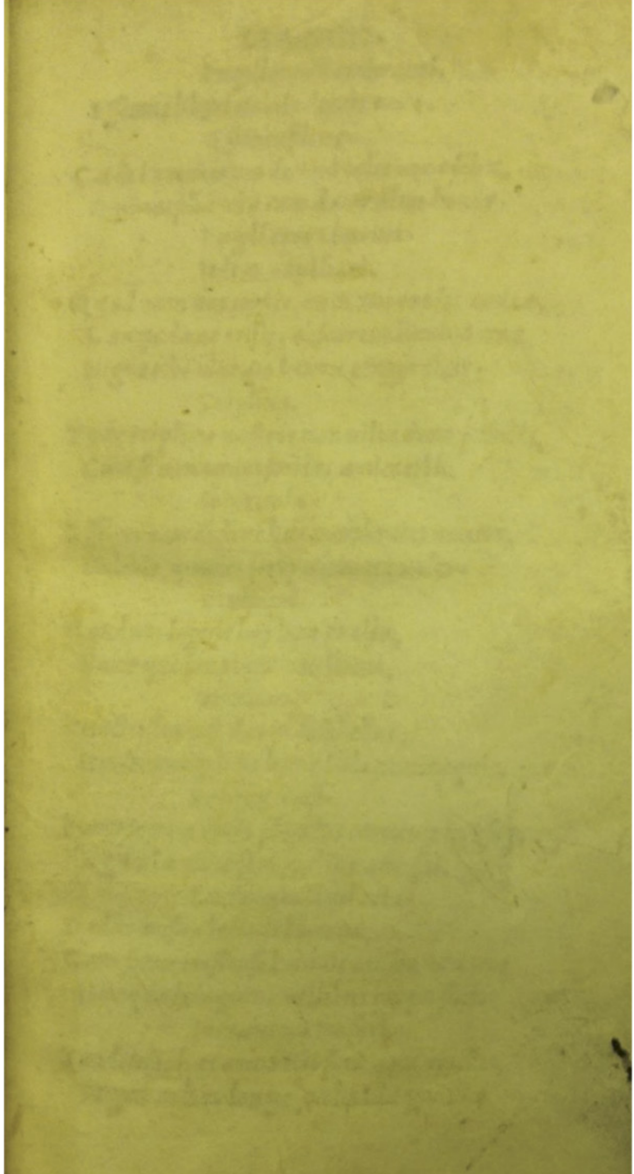
[16] Thanks to John Bidwell of the Morgan Library for identifying this Jan Kool paper, from Polecat Mill (De Bonsem), which was in the Kool family from 1774 until 1837. See Voorn (1973, 322-333 for Dutch and 553 for English).

But consider two other less familiar ways for light to bring out blind text stamped on skin. Since this medium may become more translucent where pressed or stretched, light shining through a 'blank' leaf from behind (as when we read the 'A' counter-mark on C2r) may reveal bright letters in a dark field, as shown here on &7 of this copy, viewed from the verso side.



Uzielli 34, &7v

And if a black sheet of matt paper is placed behind such a 'blank' leaf (in this case &8), as shown here, and if light comes now from the recto side, it will be partly reflected from the surface of the leaf and partly sucked up by the black sheet behind; wherever the leaf has been thinned (or eaten, please note), the field will show brighter and the letters (and the nibble) darker.



morsus tineae[17]

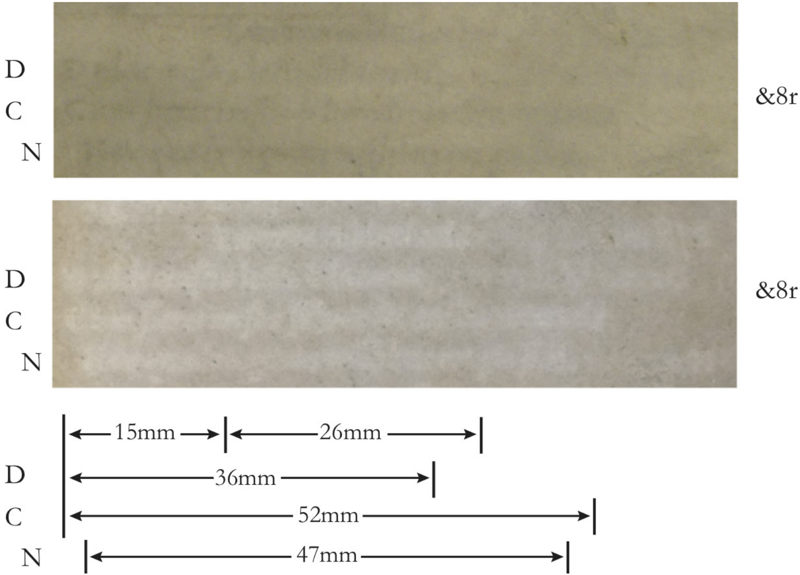
Uzielli 34, &8r

[17] A good book is thought for food.

From such *chiaroscuro*—be it light on dark or dark on light—legibility and literature may follow, as it soon shall, spectacularly, you'll see, from these two pages of Uzielli 34—&7v and &8r. Their text is all before us.

I was blind, but now I see.

What do the blind have to teach us? Consider these two snippets of the same area of &8r, from 4 to 7 lines above the base. The first photograph records reflected-light, the second through-light.



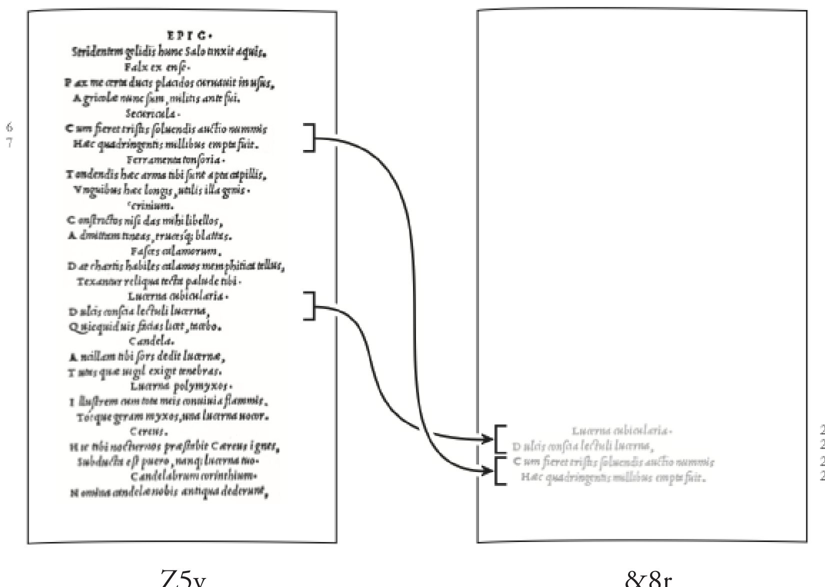
Initial capitals 'D' and 'C' and 'N' (or is it 'H'?) are legible in three lines of the top image, the first two letters flush left, the third indented. In the lower image, these initials are not as clear, but now the literary extent of each line is very easy to measure: 15cm, then 26, 36, 52, 47. As none is right-justified, they resemble the lines of verse we saw on &6v. And the centered line above them? It suggests a title. It all looks like more Martial, no?

Sometimes, you can also orient yourself by the gaps between words. The 'C' line, for example, begins with a short word. Just after the space following that word, I see the tail of an initial ſ or *f*. (What a pity Adobe Garamond Pro has no long-*s* plus ligatures that look like *f* and its ligatures, as if only atoms counted to the type designer, and not molecules, historical molecules. How Pro is that?) A similar graceful shape appears a word or two later.

On the right side of the lower image, I detect lines of text overleaf; the first, beginning with 'E', and the last with 'H' (or 'N', perhaps) are flush left (left on that side of the leaf). The second, indented, begins with 'D'; and the third is blank—blank at least in the part of it covered by the D-line (on our side of the leaf), which—I'm guessing—may obscure a centered title overleaf.

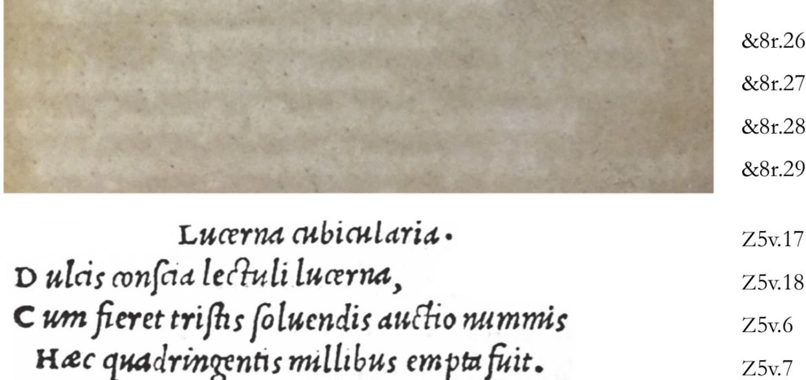
In our slow and wondering steps through this small portion of &8r, I am sure of only a couple of letters and guess at a several more. It may not look like much to go on. But coupled with the precisely measured body language, this information is actually very help-

ful, because text, whatever it may mean, is precisely configured. If, supposing that these are indeed lines of Martial's verse in italics, we thumb back through Aldo's edition with a ruler in hand (I always carry one in my purse, the gift from Father) to scout out potential sources, it takes but a few minutes to find possible matches in the previous quire for the verses of these four lines—both potential sources on Z5r, 21 pages earlier. On this page, our three initial caps (the third must be 'H', not 'N') and the indentation and length of these two pairs of lines correspond exactly to details measured in the two recent photographs of &8r:



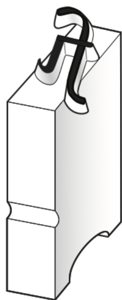
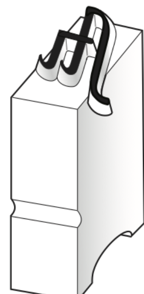
Z5v &8r

To search more thoroughly for correspondences in these four lines, I shall next juxtapose the through-light photograph of the blind impressions on &8r (above) and, in the same magnification, photographs (below) of the four lines of the two potential sources on Z5v.



Now we know, by vertical alignment, precisely where to look and what to look for. The more correspondences of shapes and locations we find, the greater our confidence that we have indeed located the source—especially so if nothing contradicts. Are you ready?

In the middle verse, the letters *ſ* and *f* (at just the right distances) are not quite as I guessed, but close enough: not *ſ* and *f*, but *f* and *ſ*—or, more accurately, the initial letters of ligatures *f* + *i* (in '*fieret*') and *ſ* + *t* + *i* (in '*triſtis*'), each printed with a single type,[18] each with a seductive kern or two, requiring support, by the way, on the shoulder or shoulders of adjacent types,

though Aldo's cases also had stand-alone *f*, *i*, and *ſ*—as well as an *ſt* ligature. Ligatures abound in Aldo's founts, but not in Pro—why, I count 25 uses of 19 ligatures in the 116 letters of just these four lines of the supposed source

æ; ce, ci, co, cu; cta, cti; fi, fu; in; mi; na, ne; ſo, ſti; ta, ti; ua, um

—for Aldo prided himself on the mechanical imitation of handwriting. Witness his petition of October 17, 1502 to the Venetian Senate for a ten-year privilege against counterfeiters. (Little good the granted privilege did him.)[19] If the alphabet is atoms, Aldo spelled in molecules.

> *Aldo Romano … ha facte lettere greche cum ligature che pareno cum calamo, et ha ritrovato invention et inzegni che ciascuno se ne maraveglia, et piu di novo ha excogitato lettere cancellaresche sive corsive latine bellissime che pareno scripte a mano …*
>
> *Aldo Romano … has made Greek letters with ligatures, which appear penned, so also other type of his invention and discovery arouse all men's admiration; and whereas he has of late devised Latin chancery or cursive letters of surpassing beauty which seem handwritten …*

The new Greek and italic founts were the achievement of his collaboration with the type-cutter Francesco da Bologna (these two men would soon fall out—but that's another story), and also with Aldo's compositors, of course, who could, if they wished, compose with letters untied. Two decades after his father's death, Aldo's son Paolo tossed out the bulk of the old man's liga-

[18] Aldo's types do not survive. I have given my models modern feet and grooves, which they may not have had. The kerning of the lead-in curls of the *f* and *ſ* ('kerning' means the extending of typeface off the edge of the type body) must be right, however, and the same with the exiting kern of the *f*. Kerns are liable to bend or break and so to create shapes sometimes distinctive enough to be recognized from one appearance to the next, like the bent-kern *ſh* ligature in l. 3 of Bentley's *Dissertation* (see above, p. 149). The exiting curl of the *f* explains why graphically the *i* on that type needs no dot (but that explanation won't do for the missing dot on the *ſti* ligature).

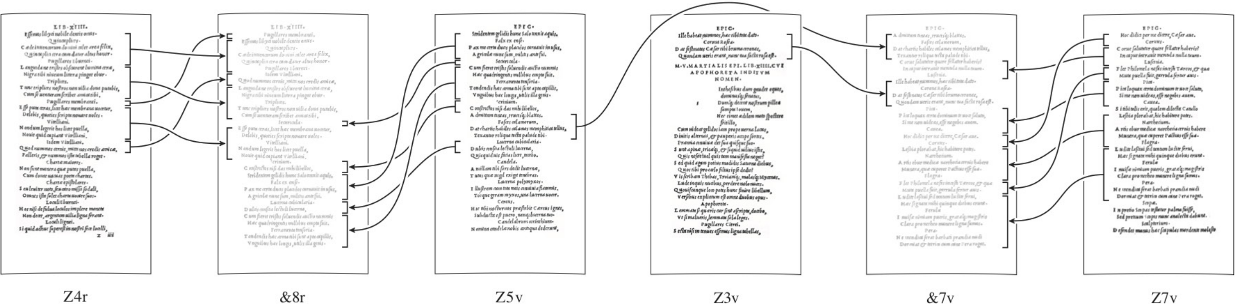
[19] For the Italian, see Fletcher (1988, 144). The English translation is based on American Institute of Graphic Arts (1927).

tures, keeping mostly those that themselves kerned extensively or were prone to fouling if the constituents were composed individually (those containing *ƒ* and *ʃ*, for example).[20] I hope to show you an example of setting without ligatures from Aldo's 1501 Vergil later—if there is still time. (It's a really choice composition.)

The word '*ʃoluendis*', slightly later in Z5v.6, shows another ligature (so called), *ʃ* + *o*—though, in fact, the two letter-shapes, despite having been cast on a single body, are not actually tied, as the etymology (< Latin *ligare*) would imply. And note also '*fuit*' in the last line and its ligature, *f* + *u*.

Ascenders and descenders also can be landmarks, as in '*cub̲icul̲aria*' ('bedroom') in the title, and '*emp̲ta*' ('bought'), in the last line. (What should be *bought* in a *bedroom*? you might well ask.) Can you not discern these shapes now? I'm not alone, am I? And note two more ligatures in these words: *c* + *u* (twice), and *t* + *a*. And so far nothing contradicts. Surely you're on board now?

Without this potential source on Z5v, I could not confidently have extended my reading of the blind type on &8r this far. Encouraged by it, in just two hours of close reading—of *very* close reading, as you can readily imagine (having come this far in the essay from either end, unless you parachuted here)—one is able to locate nearby the sources of all the blind lines on these two pages of inner-forme &—'inner-forme &' can, as you know, be written succinctly as '&(i)'—on Z3v, 4r, 5v, and 7v, all pages on Z(i).



And that means (again succinctly): Z(i) → &(i). You realize, don't you that you're not reading *Martial* now: you're reading *book*. How many people can read book? Very few. Very, very few.

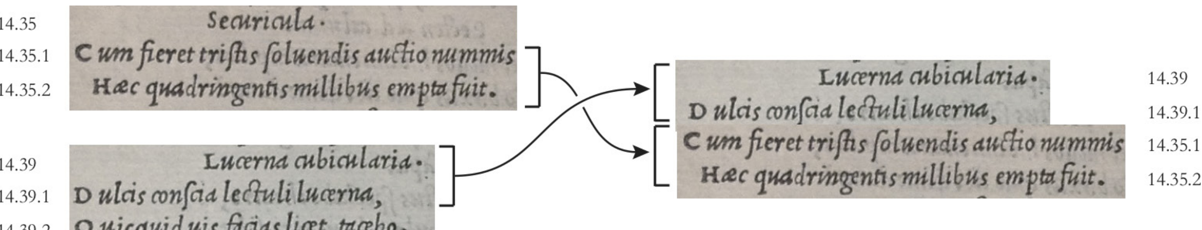
Verily, verily, blank leaves *must* matter if they are not really blank. In the last 'blanks' of this copy, presumably in all copies, whether printed on flesh or printed on paper, Aldo's Martial has been mutturing to himself for over half a millennium now.But has anyone stopped to listen? As Raimonda Modiano has explained it to me:

this is the textual unconscious

[20] A full range of Aldo's ligatures appears in Sannazaro's *Actii Synceri* in 1533, the year Paulo began printing, and again, I see, in Sannazaro's *Opera Omnia* in 1535. But, by Cicero's *Epistolae Familiares* in 1540, few of his old man's ligatures remained.

cento

Here, stripped to its essentials, enlarged and made compact, and (on the right) with its faint letters darkened, is a new version of the topsy-turvy map from the top of p. 158. It will allow us to test the claim that this blind noncesequitor matters *as literature*. And it does, it does—because, simply, noncesense itself matters.[21]



This blind text—well, it's not blind now, is it?—easily reads as a travesty of Martial's originals from Bk. 14 (it is titled '*Apophoreta*')—of 'Lucerna cubicularis', as modern editors call 14.39 and of 'Securicula' (14.35). These are epigrams to accompany gifts to 'take away' (in Greek, *apo + phoreta* means 'take away') during Saturnalia, that most topsy-turvy of Roman holidays. In *Apophoreta*, the poem for one gift, supposedly more expensive, alternates with the poem for the next gift, supposedly less so.[22] Here are Shackleton Bailey's translations from the Loeb edition.[23]

39. Bedroom Lamp
I am a lamp, confidante of your sweet bed.
You may do whatever you will, I shall be silent. (Martial 1993, III, 243)

35. Small hatchet
When a dismal auction was held for payment of debts,
This was bought for four hundred thousand. (*Ibid.*, 241)

'Securicula' needs some explanation. The editor defines the small hatchet as a child's ornament or toy and suggests that the enormous sale-price for this trinket at auction is meant to be absurd. Against the actual sale price, whatever small amount such a hatchet might normally have fetched at auction represents a vast loss to the creditor—to or from whom the epithet '*triſtis*' might well be transferred. The bedroom-lamp poem is more straightforward; but the word '*conſcia*' hints that the personified lamp may symbolize more than a confidante—hints that she is also perhaps a discrete sexual partner or an accomplice.

Aldo's three-verse cento shown above on the right, drawn from the two poems on the left, may be translated like this:

[21] Images on this and the next page are 'su concessione del Ministero della Cultura—Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze'.

[22] 'Diuitis alternas et pauperis accipe sortes' (14.1.5) provides the basis for interpreting alternate gifts as costly or cheap. See T. J. Leary (2016 [1996]), *Martial, Book XIV, The Apophoreta: Text with introduction and commentary*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, New York, etc., 13–21. As 14.35 and 14.39 are both odd-numbered, editorial juggling is required to assign opposite values to the gifts treated in these two epigrams and in some others.

[23] Martial, *Epigrams* (1993), D. R. Shackleton Bailey, trans. and ed., 3 vols., Cambridge, MA & London, UK, Harvard University Press.

39. Bedroom lamp.
When a dismal auction was held for payment of debts,
This lamp, the sweet bed's confidante,
Was bought for four hundred thousand.

No write-off this time, the Big Money[24] has bought a real prize—the confidante herself. And as money talks, so may she, and thus may well be worth her great cost. And if she does talk, who then will be *triſtis*?

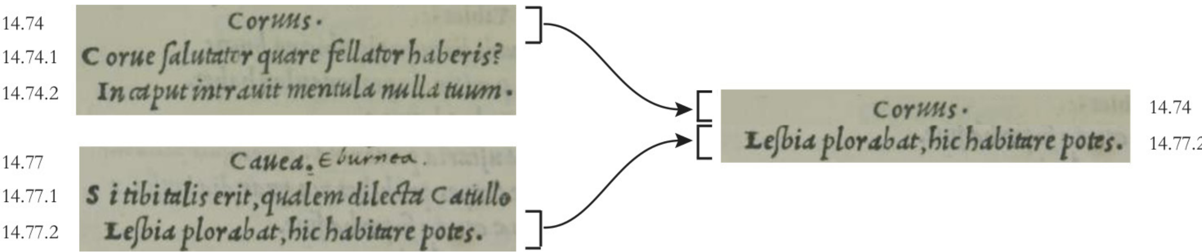
And what's the 'take-away' from the remaining scraps of 14.35 and 14.39, a title and a single verse—the parts that were not chosen—what you might call 'the Shadow Cento', or 'the Wall-Flower cento'?

35. Little hatchet.
You may do whatever you will, I shall be silent.

Here, the speaker's discrete utterance shades into complicity—perhaps, ominously, into instigation?

Without any changes to diction, these titles and verses are all Martial's (or at least Aldo's version of Martial), as are the *dramatis personæ*, the props, and *les mises-en-scène*. But with a reading of these recombined lines of type, new meanings emerge, which stand in ironic relationship to whatever we deem the Roman poet meant or to whatever his contemporaries understood from expressions in the genre of epi-gramm, evolved from Greek (when the objects themselves were said to have been inscribed, not merely written about)—and, moreover, to any meaning that the printer intended, *if* Aldo did ascribe literary meaning to his or his compositors' rearranged compositions. But really, the boss's consciousness or unconsciousness need not concern us. We moderns—nay, we post-moderns—have dredged up new ancient Saturnalian texts from where they have slumbered for centuries. And we Archaeologists of the Book have now read them—the first, I warrant, in half a millennium to do so—to be able to do so. *We* shone the light *on*. *We* shone the light *through*. The Saturnalian interpretations are ours to make.

Another? Here is the short 'C*oruus*' cento, distilled from Martial's 'Crow' and 'Cage' poems,



in the first of which Martial questions the *fellator*- or dick-head reputation of the bird he addresses—'C*orue salutator*' ('Welcoming crow')—since this poor bird's head is not so engorged.

Modern editions report the other poem, 'The Cage'—which provides the title for the cento—as 'The Ivory Cage' ('Ivory' suggesting how costly it is). In RA 383, the copy of the Martial edition photo-quoted here from the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, 'Eburnea',

[24] Four hundred thousand sesterces was, by the way, the qualification for equestrian status in ancient Rome, which, is the very status Martial claimed for himself (while crying poor-house, as in 5.13: 'Sum, fateor, semperque fui, Callistrate, pauper').

added by hand, supplies a version of the adjective associated with this epigram in a handful of authoritative manuscripts dating from as early as the ninth century. Let me translate:

> The Cage. *Ivory*
> If ever you have such [a bird] as the one that the beloved of Catullus,
> Lesbia, wept for, it can live here.

—live here 'in ivory splendor' that is (if you read the handwriting), or 'in a plain cage' (if you don't). But in Aldo's dark cento,

> The Crow.
> Lesbia was weeping. You can live here.

there is no *eburnea* and no *cauea* for any bird to inhabit, much less this big black fellaw, which is all a very far squawk from the chirping sparrow that pecked Lesbia's finger and over whose death she wept in those famous verses by her pet lover. Cento Crow (with or even without his sexual reputation) hardly seems poised, should he come to roost in Lesbia's sorrow, to comfort the lady. (I assure you that he couldn't comfort this lady when I'm lonely or sad or grieving. I wouldn't trust the likes of any such men out of their cages.)

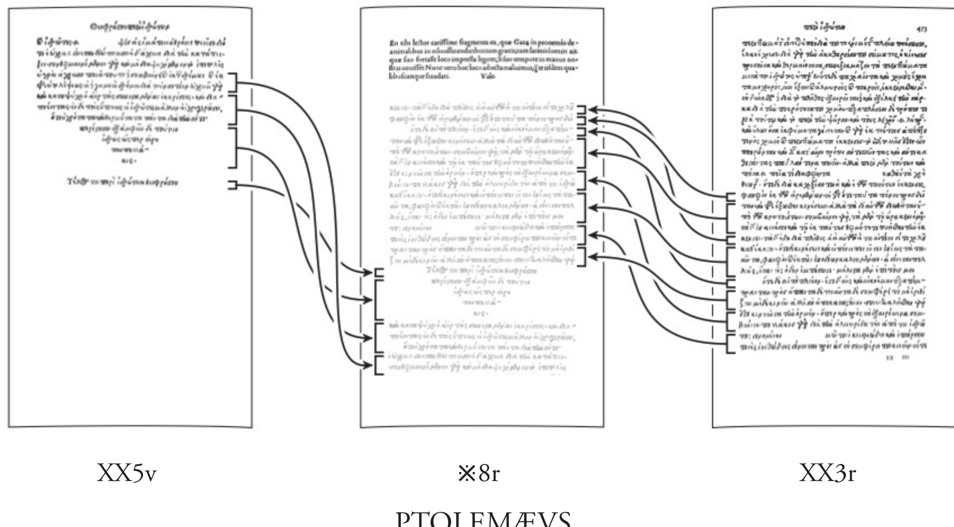
And what of the scraps from this great fast of language—our imagined Shadow Cento?

> The Cage.
> If ever you have such a one as that the beloved of Catullus,
> Welcoming crow, why are you considered a cock-sucker?
> No pecker has entered your pecker.

Aren't these poor little centos and their shadows rich and grand? Everything distorted as in a fun-house mirror? There are a hundred—a thousand more interpretations for such *cadavres exquises*, and we're just laughing up I mean just rolling up our sleeves. But there remains a very big problem—Have you noticed?—with that revelation, that 'Z(i) → &(i)' map on p. 160. It looks pretty clever, but something, I warrant, is not right with it. You'd better get serious now and attend to this problem right away. It could change everything. Reading blind type is not just fun and games, you know. There's work to be done. Critical work. And struggle and sweat.

strubbly

Here is the first of two maps of blind type in quires XX and ※, which are usually bound as the last two in vol. 3 of the monumental first edition of Aristotle printed in Greek. (It was, by the way, Aldo's Greek that helped put the *quattro cento* on the map.) The edition includes Theophrastus too, and the Greek on these three pages is actually from his *De Sudore* (*On Sweat*). Aldo published the five folio volumes of this edition between 1495 and 1498.



PTOLEMÆVS

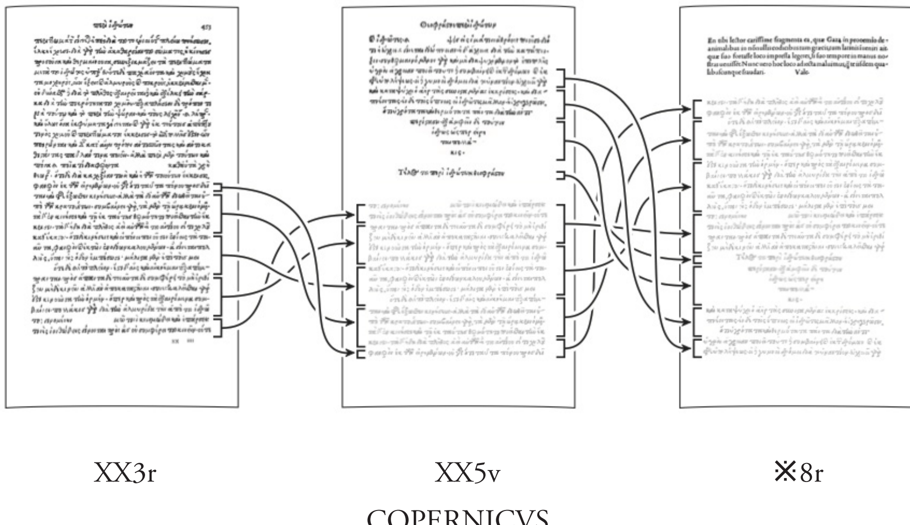
This and the next hairy map will soon lead us back to the one on p. 160 (of &7v and &8r in the 1501 Aldine Martial) with an understanding of its secrets for, as I just warned you, it hasn't really leveled with us. When, by the way, I created this the first of these two ~~Aristotle~~ maps, I had already detected the presence of blind type at the bottom of XX5v—don't expect such a space to stand empty—but I was not then able to read it. Nevertheless, I was sure that each arrow shown above connecting source and destination was accurate. And though right to think so, I was, as I often am, over-confident of how to read the map. It's been a steep learning curve for me too.

Theophrastus

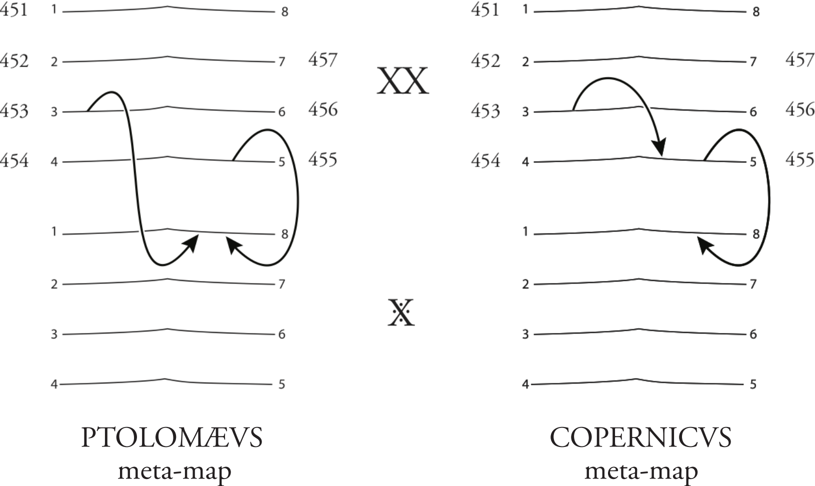
Observe that the arrays of arrows connecting the sources to their destinations exhibit different patterns. To appreciate the difference, imagine a straight rather than curved shaft connecting the nock of each arrow to its head. On the left, between pp. XX5v and ※8r, these four imagined straight arrows, if taken one after another (up the page, say) obviously rotate in one direction only. The source of each consecutive arrow follows that of the previous arrow, up XX5v, and its destination follows that of the previous arrow, down ※8r. On the right, however, though the source of each arrow, its nock, follows that of the previous arrow up the page, p. XX3r, its destination on ※8r does not progress downward in so orderly a fashion: the eight arrows between ※8r and XX3r move back and forth between just two orientations, to create two intersecting sets of four parallel arrows each. One wonders, therefore, whether there are not distinct compositional practices represented in these two transfers of lines of type? That's the question.

Why I have turned to the blind texts of a Greek philosopher to explain those of a Latin poet is because the distinctive pattern of progressions and retrogressions in the arrows on the right side of the Aristotle map mirrors the pattern of most of the arrows in the map of blind type in Martial on p. 160. (Look back now, won't you?—and see how those arrows do indeed pivot back and forth, in Ptolemaic fashion.)

When, eventually, I was able to read the blind text on Aristotle XX5v, I had, to my immense surprise—just imagine—not merely to supplement Ptolemy, but rather radically to reconfigure him—and also to differentiate time-lines:



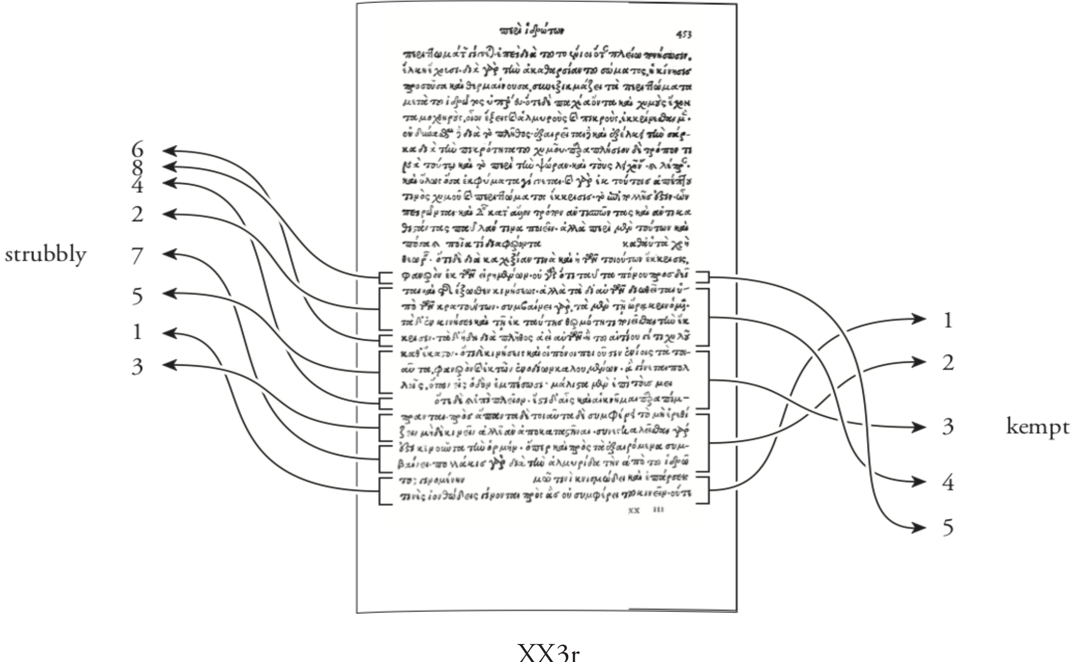
This Copernicus, the revised coiffure of the Ptolemy map, shows the same three pages, but what was then last, XX3r, is now first; furthermore, it has no immediate connection to ※8r. Time is reconfigured too: in Copernicus, it runs left to right, whereas in Ptolemy it ran from outsides to centre. What Ptolemy did not comprehend, I eventually concluded (for it takes a long time to learn to read this way, what with coming at it alone and blind), and what Copernicus does understand, is that the lines of dead type of XX3r did not proceed directly to ※8r, as in the following left meta-map, but passed thither through XX5v, as allowed on the right.



Significantly, in their passage both to and from XX5v in Copernicus, all the imagined straight arrow-shafts tracking the transfers rotate in a single direction on each page and thereby offer an answer to our question: there must have been only *one* kind of compositional practice of imposing blind type on these three pages. The alternating progressions and retrogressions of Ptolemy (think of them as epicycles), are a sign that my first map did not offer the whole truth.

Copernicus leads to a more accurate assessment of the rhythms of composition, presswork, and distribution, without contradicting Ptolemy's identification of the ultimate source of the blind lines of type on ※8r. (Ptolemy was certainly clever, but limited—partially wrong.)[25]

The graphic difference in the two groups of arrows emanating (in different directions) from XX3r in these two maps makes vivid the contrasting dynamics of the kempt Copernican universe (on the right, below)—1–2–3–4–5



XX3r

and the strubbly Ptolemaic (on the wrong)—6–8–4–2–7–5–1–3. We can now divine that, as the strubbly map of blind type on &7v and &8r in the Aldine Martial on p. 160 is Ptolemaic, somewhere there exists (or at least once existed) a prior *kempt* arrangement of the blind type emanating from these four pages of Z(i). The existence and the whereabouts of this Source now detected, but as yet unlocated, represents your new goal:

an even more unconscious unconscious

[25] In these meta-maps of quires XX and ※ on p. 165, production-time flows straight down the map, for, in the folio format of the Aristotle edition, Aldo composed and printed by formes, from the outermost forme of the outermost sheet of a quire to the innermost forme of its innermost sheet, then on to the outermost forme of the next quire. (The meta-map on p. 183 offers another example of this flow.) For this means of production, Aldo had to cast off copy into page lengths and start by composing pages 1 & 16 and, when they were at press, turn next to pp. 2 & 15, to perfect the outermost sheet.) Narrative sequence in these maps, by contrast, proceeds via Aldo's numbering of leaves—down through ff. 451 to 454–455, then up to 457 ([458] is blank–*really* blank), then on to the next quire. The leaf-numbers I have added to the meta-map (1–8 in each quire) trace the same route. (In quire ※ Aldo provided no folio numbers.) For more on the printing of the Aldine Aristotle, see McLeod and Perry (2021).

Before returning to Martial to climax, let us understand the practical implications of strubbly and kempt for the compositor of the Greek text, for in his capable hands that's where the action was. Once one grasps how easily lines of type can pie—how fragile literature can be before a compositor locks it in a chase—the following nine-panel Strubbly cartoon reads like a How-Not-To comic-strip. (Michael, see how I've made it cut-out-ready for re-assembly as one of your Daumen-Kinos).

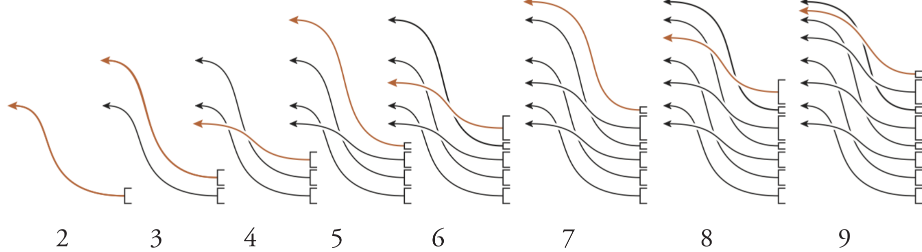
Courting disaster on ※8r with every transfer of type, this strubbly cartoon is not really a believable account of re-imposition—as you'll soon see.

Strubbly: Ptolemy in 8 transfers

Strubbly depicts the action of transposing type with, say, a reglet placed against the bottom of the source. Pushing up against the reglet with both thumbs and, applying lateral pressure with the second

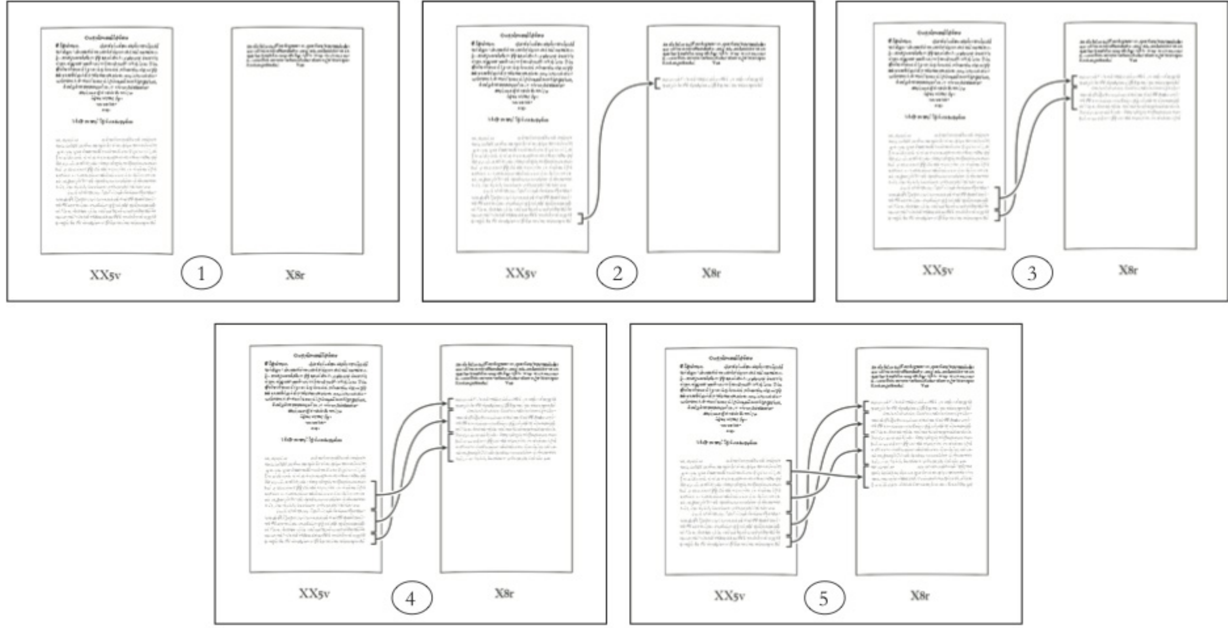
or third finger of each hand against the sides of the several lines of type to be moved (a half-dozen lines or somewhat more seems a workable number for type of this size in a column of this width), the compositor tips these lines onto the reglet, so that gravity supports them while they move to their destination. In the second panel, imagine that these few transposed lines are now tipped back onto their feet and released on p. ※8r. OK so far. But they cannot be left just standing unsupported in the middle of nowhere, as shown here, where they would be open to being jostled and knocked over during subsequent transfers of type to this page. For stability, they should be slid tight up against something solid, such as other lines of type—or against scabbards, reglets, or some such (which, in the last three panels of this cartoon must, though unseen, separate the inked lines atop the page, from the first of the blind ones below). The third panel shows a similar problem; and the fourth suggests that newly transposed lines abut a previous vulnerable 'island' of type deposited on ※8r.[26]

Although the transfers in this cartoon are always taken from the readily accessed bottom of the quarry (the bottom, retreating with every transfer), the sixth, eighth, and ninth panels show the transfers being deposited awkwardly between previous deposits, rather than added to the bottom of ※8r (to make it grow down the page with each transfer), where all would be stable. Why, one wonders, is laying-down not simply the inverse of taking-up? In the following diagram of text-vectors, the current transfer is coloured red, to make vivid its wayward motion: now you see it below, now above, now in between, reckless.



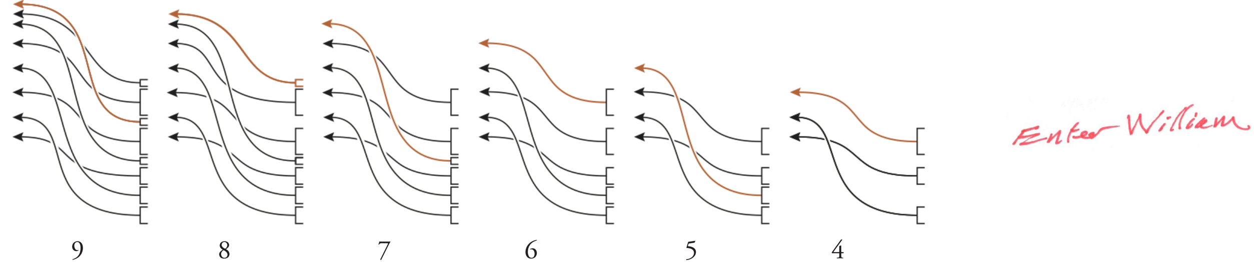
Placing the current group of transposed lines of type between previous deposits risks knocking something over. Better to place the first deposit against something stable, the second against the first, the third against the second, **usw**. Building solid in this way would mean that laying-down would indeed be the inverse of taking-up—and that is just what is evident in the following Kempt cartoon, Michael, which now comes to the rescue. It will not be a *comic*-strip this time. And see how concise it is now. That's good, surely. Here we must assume that the first group of transposed lines (see #2) abuts something solid, like a scabbard or a reglet.

[26] The closest Moxon comes to depicting such a process is in ¶ 3('Of Destribution') in §22 ('The Compositers Trade') of *Mechanick Exercises*. It treats taking-up of lines for distribution. In Plate 23, his compositor places a 'Riglet' against the top of a horizontal page of type; but in my description, placement is against the bottom. (That's certainly how I transfer lines of type—and with a flexible lead, not with a stiff reglet.)



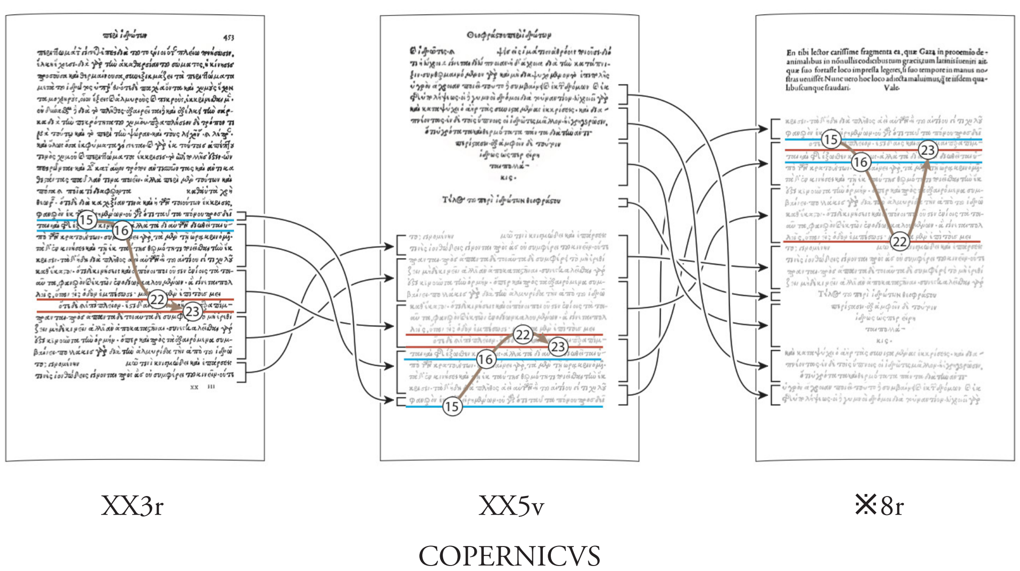
Kempt: Copernicus in 4

To be sure, in *Strubbly*, one could have built solid on ※8r by extracting successive groups of lines from various *internal* places in XX3v. But extraction from the interior of a page of type is itself awkward and would merely have shifted the instability of the whole operation from the destination page to the source page, where such extraction would have left vulnerable islands of type during excavations, such as are implied by the gaps that first appear in the following diagram of text-vectors emanating from XX3r between the brackets in 8, 6, and 4 after the transpositions (marked in red) in 9, 7, and 5.



In the eyes of an Occam, of course, what especially recommends *Kempt* over *Stubbly* is that the very same fifteen lines of type are transposed in merely four moves, not in eight.

Our perception of the structure of arrows connecting sources and destinations in Copernicus can be enhanced by numbering the lines, as in the following example of how Aldo's lines of type jmuble with each reconfiguration. My discussion of these lines and numbers will be brief, but also dense. Please read it slowly against the picture. Understanding all this will prepare you for the Joy and Beauty of the impending Magic Trick, without (I assure you) lessening the Surprise.



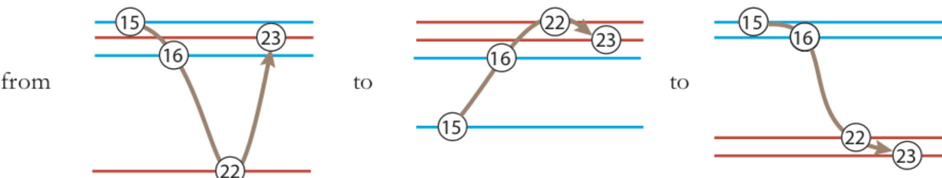
COPERNICVS

In the leftmost page of the Copernicus map (shown here again from p. 165), I have underlined and numbered two pairs of lines, arbitrarily chosen: ll. 15 and 16 in blue and ll. 22 and 23 in red. The circles bearing their numbers are strung along an arrow in numerical (i.e. narrative) order. Because the latter pair of lines is transposed from XX3r to XX5v in a single four-line group (see the third, or middle, of the five brackets on the right side of XX3r), ll. 22 and 23 remain adjacent and in the same order when transferred to the new page. Because ll. 15 and 16 are transposed in separate groups, however (see the top two brackets), they cease to be adjacent on XX5v and, in fact, reverse their sequence and move apart; and both of these early lines now appear after the later ones, ll. 22 and 23. The original sequence of numbers along the arrow, 15, 16 (and six lines later), 22, 23 has been replaced by 22, 23, 16 (one line immediately after the next), followed by 15, four lines below. Line 15, once first, is now last—and 22 is first.

In the next transfer, from XX5v to ※8r, it is the adjacent ll. 23 and 16 that are now in a single group (see the second-last bracket on the right side of XX5v); and so, their new relationship survives the next transfer. But each of the other two lines, 15 and 22, now belongs to a different group (see the bottom bracket and the second from the top—neither of which is the one containing ll. 23 and 16); they reverse their sequence and move apart. The recent reordering along the arrow, 22, 23, 16, 15, is replaced by 15, 23, 16 (one row immediately after the next again, though these are not all the same rows), followed by 22, seven lines later. Recently first, l. 22 is now last; and 15 is first once more.

Here's the thing. If one had only the last state and knew that it was a transposition of a transposition, the Magic Trick would be to understand the overall dynamic and to engineer in reverse:[27]

[27] Father was an engineer.



What might our Engineer take into account in order to start formulating her strategy? Well, in the last state (on the left), the early-numbered lines are on top, but infiltrated by a later number. Then, in the earlier state (shown in the middle), the later numbers are on top, cheek by jowl with an early number, but its mate is on the bottom. *That* is the kind of pattern, I suppose. I suppose …

Certainly, rigorous physics was at work in the compositor's transpositions of these lines of type. And there is rigorous geometry to match it in the Copernican map of his reconfigurations. Nevertheless, these migrations are hardly intuitive: one struggles to read this rewoven text in the twilight of successive blind impressions. I struggled for five years until—well, you'll see.

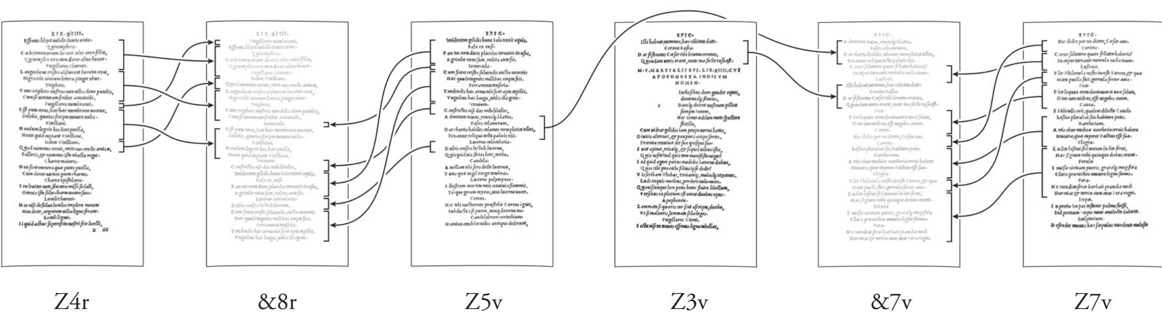
this struggle for the text is the text

Reverse engineering

The blind lines that were transposed strubbly to ※8r by twelve arrows in the Ptolemy map are transposed kemptly in the Copernicus map by merely eight. The numerous Ptolemaic retrogressions on the right side of the first of these maps—do they not invite Occam's razor? Yes, they do. Can we not now move quickly to the payoff? Yes, we can. Yes, we can.

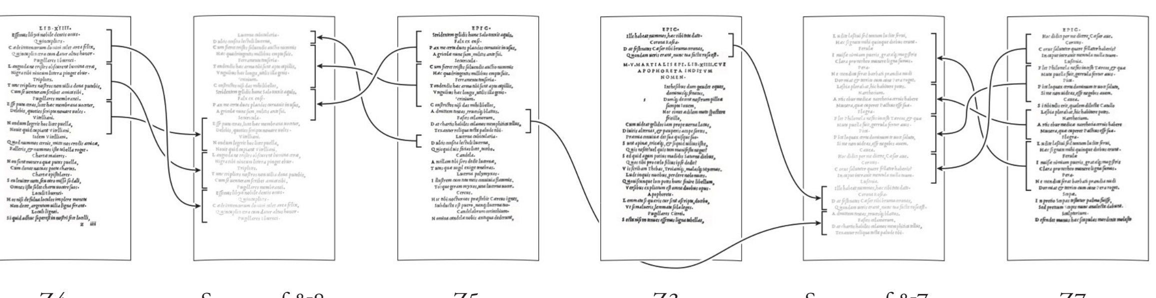
To summarize: the problem with my strubbly old Martial map on p. 160, shown here again (to refresh your memory),

and shown again atop the next page, too (for contrast there)



is that its arrows leading to the lines of blind type on &8r and &7v hide the fact that they omitted a stage of transmission. The blind texts of pp. &7v and &8r are not mere derivatives, as this map implies: each must depict, at least a derivative of a derivative. So, the Trick now will be to reconstruct the earlier derivatives, the Sources of the blind texts visible in Uzielli 34.

Are you ready for things unattempted yet in prose or diagram? Seat-belts fastened? Yes? Then, out of now here, behold its Revelation—most kempt![28]



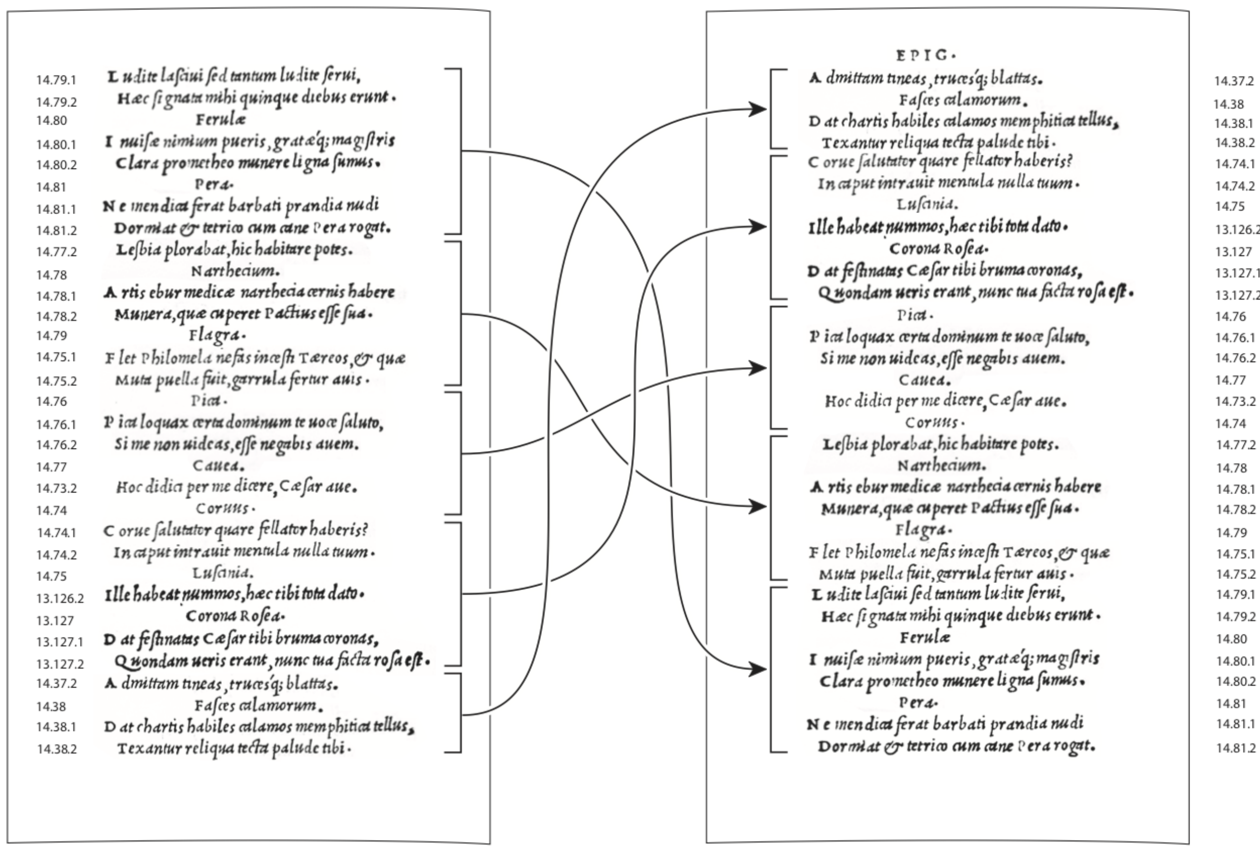
Pause now to see how simplified. But the wander of it!

We know where to locate the *later* derivatives—where we first saw them in Uzielli 34. Seeing, however obscurely, was believing. (You did—you *do* believe?) But where did or do the *earlier* derivatives, these Sources, exist? Someday, maybe, we'll know. But for now, wielding Occam's two-handed razor, we can at least flesh out the derivation from the Sources just reconstructed. Behold them next, as if in the Bibliographer's Heaven of Formes—'vacant charters' no more, enlarged now, darkened for legibility, and numbered—all for your Saturnalian reading convenience, Michael, and for all those reading over your shoulder. Start this Jumblathon—this *re*Jumblathon—when and where you wish.

[28] This latest map informs speculation about the compositor's schedule. He commenced transferring groups of lines for printing blind onto the Source of &7v from Z7v once its bottom five lines had been removed and presumably distributed. He took from low and deposited high. When Z7v was emptied after four transfers, more type came from Z3v to fill the bottom of the Source of &7v, seemingly after it had all been distributed except for its top four lines. After they went to the Source of &7v, and before the last group of lines to be transferred to that page appeared, from Z5v, Z5v itself seems to have been stripped of its last twelve lines and had already begun transferring lines to the top of the Source of &8r. By the time that Z5v was emptied, the bottom 15 lines of type on Z4r had been distributed and the remaining lines on that page went to complete the blind type on the source of &8r. Here again, blind type quarried from low on one page was deposited high on another. That was the norm.

At last, it seems, the text is all before us.[29]

Quouiscunque loco potes hunc finire libellum,



the Source of &7v &7v

OCCAM'S RAZOR 1

[29] Well, not *all* the text is before us here, for the blind headline is not distinctive enough to trace to a specific source.

You can start wherever you wish.

Quouiscunque loco potes hunc finire libellum,

14.39 Lucerna cubicularia.
14.39.1 Dulcis conscia lectuli lucerna,
14.35.1 Cum fieret tristis soluendis auctio nummis
14.35.2 Hæc quadringentis millibus empta fuit.
14.36 Ferramenta tonsoria.
14.36.1 Tondendis hæc arma tibi sunt apta capillis,
14.36.2 Vnguibus hæc longis, utilis illa genis.
14.37 Scrinium.
14.37.1 Constrictos nisi das mihi libellos,
14.33.2 Stridentem gelidis hunc Salo tinxit aquis.
14.34 Falx ex ense.
14.34.1 Pax me certa ducis placidos curuauit in usus,
14.34.2 Agricolæ nunc sum, militis ante fui.
14.35 Securicula.
14.7.1 Esse puta ceras, licet hæc membrana uocetur,
14.7.2 Delebis, quoties scripta nouare uoles.
14.8 Vitelliani.
14.8.1 Nondum legerit hos licet puella,
14.8.2 Nouit quid cupiant Vitelliani.
14.9 Idem Vitelliani.
14.9.1 Quod nummos cernis, mitti nos credis amicæ,
14.5.1 Languida ne tristes obscurent lumina ceræ,
14.5.2 Nigra tibi niueum littera pingat ebur.
14.6 Triplices.
14.6.1 Tunc triplices nostros non uilia dona putabis,
14.6.2 Cum se uenturam scribet amica tibi.
14.7 Pugillares membranei.
14.3.2 Essemus libyci nobile dentis onus.
14.4 Quincuplices.
14.4.1 Cæde iuuencorum domini calet area felix,
14.4.2 Quincuplici cera cum datur altus honor.
14.5 Pugillares Eburnei.

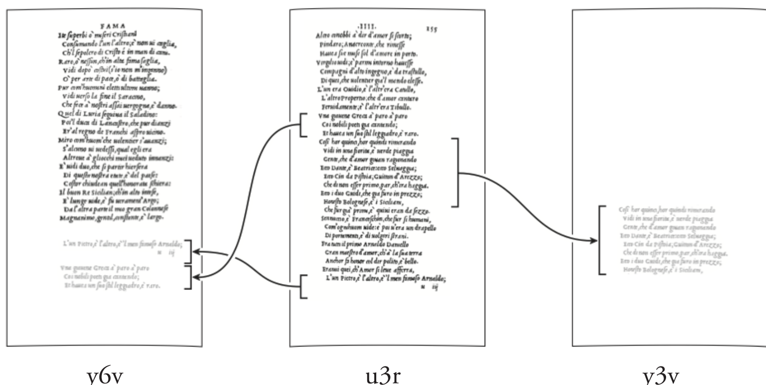
LIB. XIIII.
Pugillares membranei. 14.7
Essemus libyci nobile dentis onus. 14.3.2
Quincuplices. 14.4
Cæde iuuencorum domini calet area felix, 14.4.1
Quincuplici cera cum datur altus honor. 14.4.2
Pugillares Eburnei. 14.5
Idem Vitelliani. 14.9
Quod nummos cernis, mitti nos credis amicæ, 14.9.1
Languida ne tristes obscurent lumina ceræ, 14.5.1
Nigra tibi niueum littera pingat ebur. 14.5.2
Triplices. 14.6
Tunc triplices nostros non uilia dona putabis, 14.6.1
Cum se uenturam scribet amica tibi. 14.6.2
Securicula. 14.35
Esse puta ceras, licet hæc membrana uocetur, 14.7.1
Delebis, quoties scripta nouare uoles. 14.7.2
Vitelliani. 14.8
Nondum legerit hos licet puella, 14.8.1
Nouit quid cupiant Vitelliani. 14.8.2
Scrinium. 14.37
Constrictos nisi das mihi libellos, 14.37.1
Stridentem gelidis hunc Salo tinxit aquis. 14.33.2
Falx ex ense. 14.34
Pax me certa ducis placidos curuauit in usus, 14.34.1
Agricolæ nunc sum, militis ante fui. 14.34.2
Lucerna cubicularia. 14.39
Dulcis conscia lectuli lucerna, 14.39.1
Cum fieret tristis soluendis auctio nummis 14.35.1
Hæc quadringentis millibus empta fuit. 14.35.2
Ferramenta tonsoria. 14.36
Tondendis hæc arma tibi sunt apta capillis, 14.36.1
Vnguibus hæc longis, utilis illa genis. 14.36.2

the Source of &8r — &8r

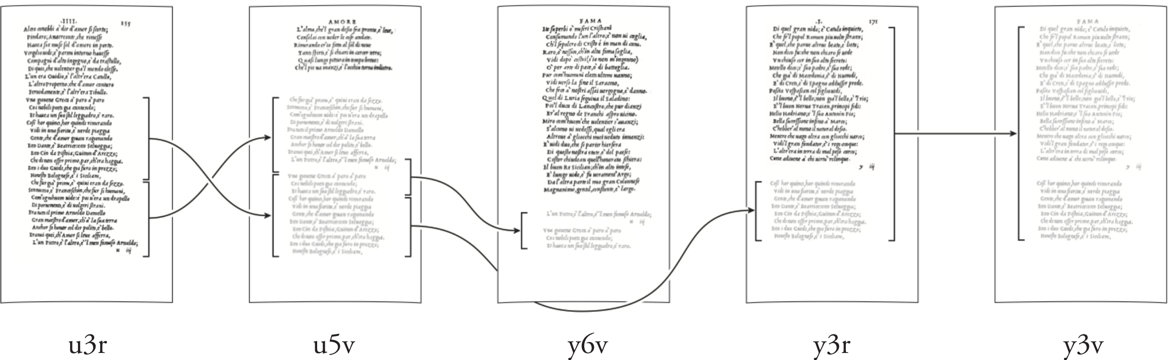
OCCAM'S RAZOR 2

Exit William.

Now you've seen reverse engineering in action, consider the following early map of my explorations of Paolo's 1533 Petrarch. So far, the blind type on y6v is fully identified, but on y3v only the base of the page. (Of course, being early doesn't mean that the derivations mapped so far may not prove to be final too.) The question is 'Is this map shaping up Ptolemaic or Copernican?'



Right, it's Ptolemaic. It doesn't exactly *look* strubbly, but the interrupted movement of blocks of type from the bottom of the source, u3r, to y6v certainly is odd: it sends type there first, then skipping over eight lines, sends type to y3r, then again to y6v. If y6v and y3v were pages in the same forme, this pattern might seem normal enough, as when Martial Z5v sends type to the Source of &8r, then to the Source of &7v, then back to the Source of &8r. But both these Source pages are on the same forme, whereas Petrarch y3v is on the inner forme and y6v on the outer. Emptying u(o) into both y(o) and y(i), supposedly in simultaneous production, would have taken much space on the stone—for three formes. Imposing in two formes at a time seems scattered—especially in light of this Copernican map that emerged after more research:

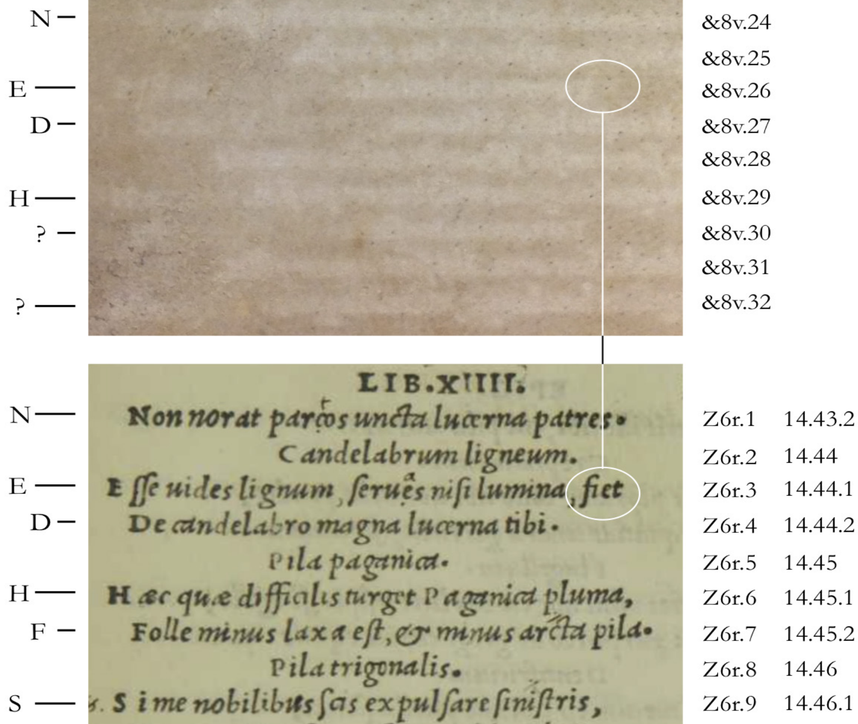


In it, y3v, again at the right end, is not a simple derivative from u3r, still at the other end; it is, rather, a derivative of a derivative of a derivative, as the intervening stages show. It is this multiplicity of stages that serves to grow the map kempt. At the start, u3v on u(o) feeds u5v on u(i), which feeds two pages in y— both y3r and y6v on a *single* forme, y(o)—and one of these y(o) pages feeds y(i). This derivation is straightforward: u(o) → u(i) → y(o) → y(i). Only a single forme was in composition at one time in this later map, outer before inner, whereas in the former, Ptolemaic, map, u(o) appears to feed both formes of y at the same time—and without evidence of passing through u(i). That is just too complicated.

und ſo weiter

Recall from p. 158 that at the right margin of ll. 26–29 in the illustration of blind type on Martial &8r, it was possible to read (or at least decipher) several faint mirror-image initials overleaf. They seemed to be ‘E’ (flush to the right margin), ‘D’ (indented), followed by the blank beginning of a line that, so I surmised, contained a title obscured by the impression of the ‘D’ verse on our (recto) side of the leaf (this verse proved to be 14.39.1), and, finally, flush to the margin, ‘H’—or was it ‘N’? (It’s always hard to decide which of such look-alike letters it might be before one has a potential source to guide interpretation.) The bright images from typeface on the recto obliterate much of the rest—text obscuring text.

Time now to flip that illustration side to side (so that we won’t have to continue reading *en miroir*), add two more lines above and three below, open our eyes wider, and take another look. With the following excerpt of the final nine lines on &8v, I’ll pair the first nine on Z6r, for I have concluded after years lost in a Dark Wood that Z6r is the source of the blind type on this part of &8v. You may be surprised to realize after what was just said about Petrarch 1533 that Z6r is yet another page from the same forme, Z(i), that fed the *other* forme of quire &.[30]



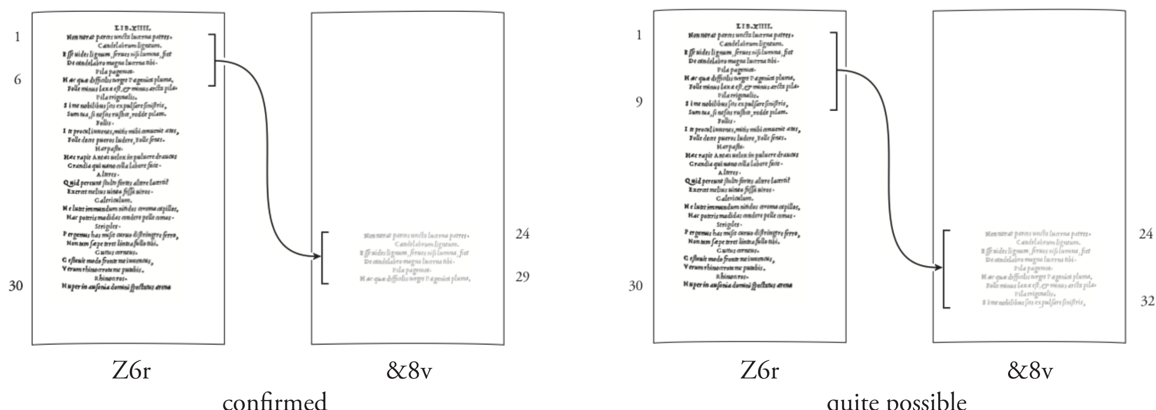
[30] The Florence copy RA 383, shown in the lower photograph, has annotations in ll. 1, 3, and 7. Lindsay (Martial 1929, n.p.) records that ‘parthos’ (*pro*-tos) (14.43.2) is found only in Thuaneum florilegium Parisinum, a ninth- or tenth-century manuscript; and he records no sources for ‘*serues*’ (14.44.1) or for ‘*arcta*’ (14.45.2). (Aldo’s edition did not break new ground on the text of this poet. He seems to have followed the corrupt text that appeared in previous printed editions.) Lindsay has litte to say about early printed texts.

The key to identifying the source of blind type is &8v, l. 26. That blind line certainly begins with ‘E *f* ’ or ‘E *ſ* ’. And near the end of this verse, where I have drawn a circle, there seems to be the eloquent oblique of an ‘*ſ* ’ or ‘*f* ’, neither of which is a terminal shape in Latin. This oblique cannot be part of text overleaf, as no Latin letter in italic slopes so, from high on the left (on that side) to low on the right. This near-end of the verse overleaf is detectable because, luckily for us, the width of the title on the corresponding line overleaf—it’s none other than our ‘L*ucerna cubicularia*’—misses obliterating it by the width of only a few letters.

As numerous verses in quires Y, Z and & have such a combination of letters, it was not immediately clear which of them was the source? Perhaps ‘E *ffugere … eſt* ’ (12.82.10) on Y1v—this ‘*f* ’ being part of an ‘*ffu*’ ligature and this ‘*ſ* ’ part of an ‘*ſt* ’ ligature? But no, the length of that line is off. Or consider ‘E *ſſem … forem*’ (13.103.2) on Z2r, the first ‘*ſ* ’ being part of an ‘*ſſ*e’ ligature, the last ‘*f* ’ part of an ‘*fo*’ ligature. No again—as this prospective source is off for the same reason, and also because the initial is indented. After searching through the candidates, I found that everything points to ‘E *ſſe … fiet*’ (14.44.1) on Z6r.3. The start of this verse is flush left and the length is just right to reach the ‘*f* ’ (it is indeed ‘*f* ’) later in the line, part of an ‘*fi*’ ligature, not a stand-alone letter. (See the vertical white line connecting the two circled appearances of the word ‘*fiet*’ from one photo to the other.)

Confirmation of three other blind initials follows quickly, all sequential in the six-line range 14.43.2–14.45.1. The last letter I can make out must be ‘H’, not ‘N’. And the blank beginnings of &8v.25 and of &8v.28 in the upper photo must indicate the presence of titles in the middle of these blind lines—titles obscured by verses overleaf. The four blind lines with legible initials in this range are, alas, the only blind lines on the whole of &(o) that I can presently identify. The body language of the left margin of the last three blind lines suggests, however, that they continue from where the identified lines of Z6r leave off—with indentation in the ante-penultimate line, a blank beginning in the penultimate, and no indentation in the last. All these features match the corresponding ones in the three lines, ll. 7–9, that follow the top six lines on Z6r already confidently identified.

So what? We now gather that at least the six blind verses identified very near the bottom of a page on &(o) (as shown here on the left)

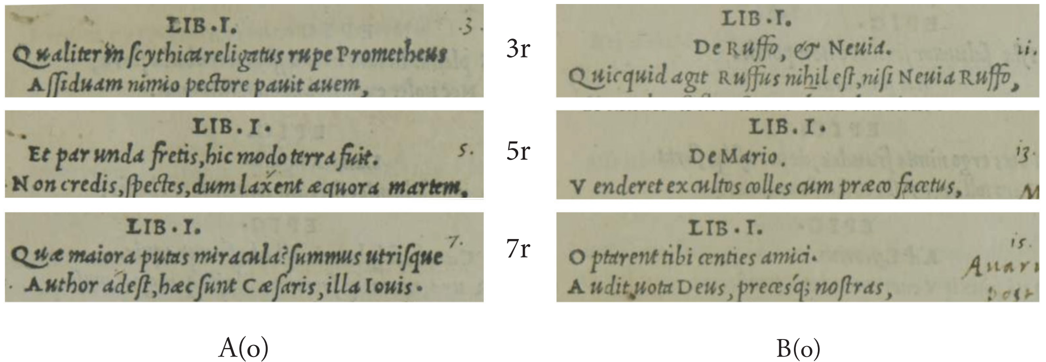


and quite possibly all of the last nine lines down to the bottom, l. 32 (as shown on the right), come from the very top of this Z(i) page—and such a transfer from one extreme of the source page to the other extreme of the destination page is significant. If we could see all the blind type on &8v, we might therefore expect that the last lines of Z6r would reappear at the top of

&8v (or at least *near* the top, because although the source, Z6r, has 30 lines, the destination has 32, and so there must be at least two lines on this page from another source). Such a transfer would be characteristic of a simple derivative, whereas the derivative of a derivative, as we know from our investigation of the text of Theophrastus (beginning on p. 163), transfers a group of lines from the top of the source to near the top of the destination (the *second* destination) and also inserts other lines in their midst. But the blind lines identified on &8v appear to be a single transfer of a coherent nine-line group from the top of one page to the bottom of another.

Why should derivation be more complex (a derivative of a derivative) from Z(i) to &(i) than from Z(i) to &(o) (seemingly a simple derivative)? That's now the question.

To attempt an answer, I'll first consider the rhythm of Aldo's production of the 1501 Martial as reflected in a sampling of its headlines. Shown next on the left are the three outer-forme recto headlines on A3r, A5r, and A7r. (I omit the A1r page, as it begins with a title, rather than a headline.)



Note that each headline sits at a unique distance from the margins. Also, the punctuation of each is usually distinctive by virtue of its particular distances from the base line and from the numeral. In addition, an individual typeface is sometimes recognizable, as is, for example, the 'I' numeral in the headline of A3r—by its minimal lower serifs. One could happily read a book just for such differences. But here's the point. Early printers usually transposed the eight justified headline settings of each octavo forme one at a time from the forme just off the press to the one in preparation. Thus, the distinctive indentation, punctuation, and type damage in A3r, A5r, and A7r recur respectively in B3r, B5r, and B7r (shown on the right, above). And every sixteen pages, outer forme after outer forme throughout a volume, these same features can be recognized *mutatis mutandis* as the recto headlines gradually evolve for naming subsequent Books.[31] (So it is that the 1r headline appearing first on B1r reappears on C1r, and thereafter on the first recto of subsequent quires.)

As similar transfers take place regularly in the headlines of the inner formes, this edition can be characterized by two distinct 'trains of production':

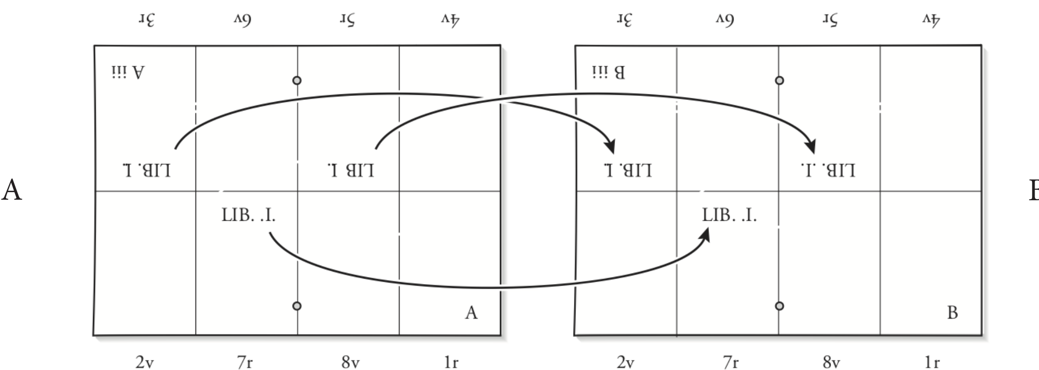
[31] And if the title of a new Book should temporarily displace the headline, as happens on S7r, where Bk. XI is announced, look for the R7r headline to reappear not 16 pages, but rather 32 pages later—on T7r.

$$A(o) \rightarrow B(o) \rightarrow C(o) \rightarrow \dots \&(o)$$

and

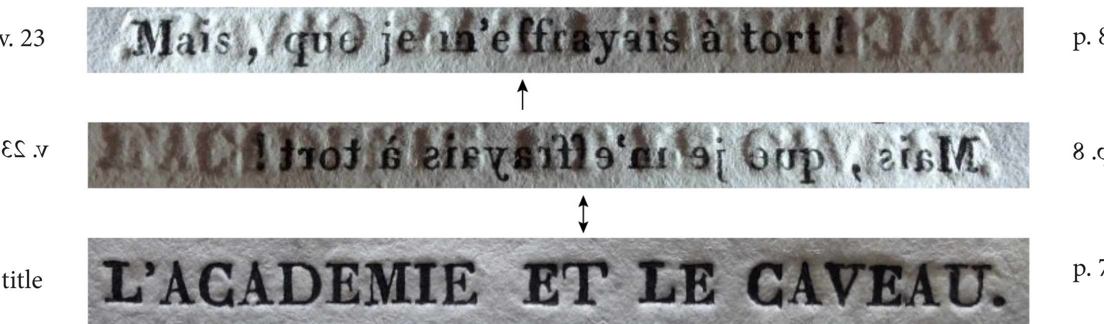
$$A(i) \rightarrow B(i) \rightarrow C(i) \rightarrow \dots \&(i).$$

How were these two trains of production coordinated? I'll begin to visualize the process as follows (but soon introduce another option). After an outer forme had been printed, its place at the press (for now, I'll assume a single press) was taken by the next forme, an inner one, already prepared. The outer forme was then washed, laid on the stone and unlocked, ready to be stripped. Beside it there would have been imposed, or would soon have been imposed, the eight type-pages of the next outer forme-in-preparation; and one by one the headlines of the old forme would have been transferred to the new. Here, I show the migration paths of the three headlines just displayed.



At some time during this process, the chase (the bounding frame) would also have been transferred, and, piece by piece, so would have been the furniture surrounding each page of type. Should any blind type have been required for the forme-in-preparation, blocks of whole lines of type could also have been moved to it from the forme being stripped. (Otherwise, its types would have been distributed one by one into the cases for later composition.)

To try to answer the question of how these two sequences 'A(o) → B(o) → C(o) → … &(o)' and 'A(i) → B(i) → C(i) →… &(i)' might have been coordinated, I'll now consider three kinds of evidence. (Five pages will take us to where we need to go.) *First*: the shadows cast by raking light—as discussed on p. 137. Recall that raking light shines neither onto the leaf from above, nor through it from behind; rather, it shines level with it, in the very plane of the leaf. The three raking-light photographs atop the next page are from an unbeaten copy of the fourth edition of de Béranger's *Chansons*, 1821 (chez les Marchands de Nouveautés) in the newly acquired François Gros collection of Tamil books at the University of Toronto. (But any old book could do; it doesn't have to be Aldine.) After a preliminary quire of seven leaves, the body of this copy is made from nine sheets of 18mo, from each of which came a quire of twelve leaves followed by one of six. In each quire, the terms 'outer forme' and 'inner forme' that applied to the printing of the sheet still apply after its division. (So, the caution on pp. 139–140 concerning the use of these terms in bound copies of *The Strayed Reveller* does not apply here.) Light raking from the left across p. 8 of quire 1 of *Chansons* casts tall-tale shadows, as in v. 23 of the poem 'L'ACADÉMIE ET LE CAVEAU', the title of which happens to print overleaf at the same height on the page. This will all be easier to visualize if I take a photograph of this line on p. 8 and show it first, then flip it side to side and show it second, like this—



and, third, align below it a photograph of the title itself, from p. 7 (with light raking from the top of the page this time). In the photograph of p. 7, the title appears appears sunken. In the first photograph of p. 8, it appears raised. Page 7 is on the inner forme, p. 8 on the outer.

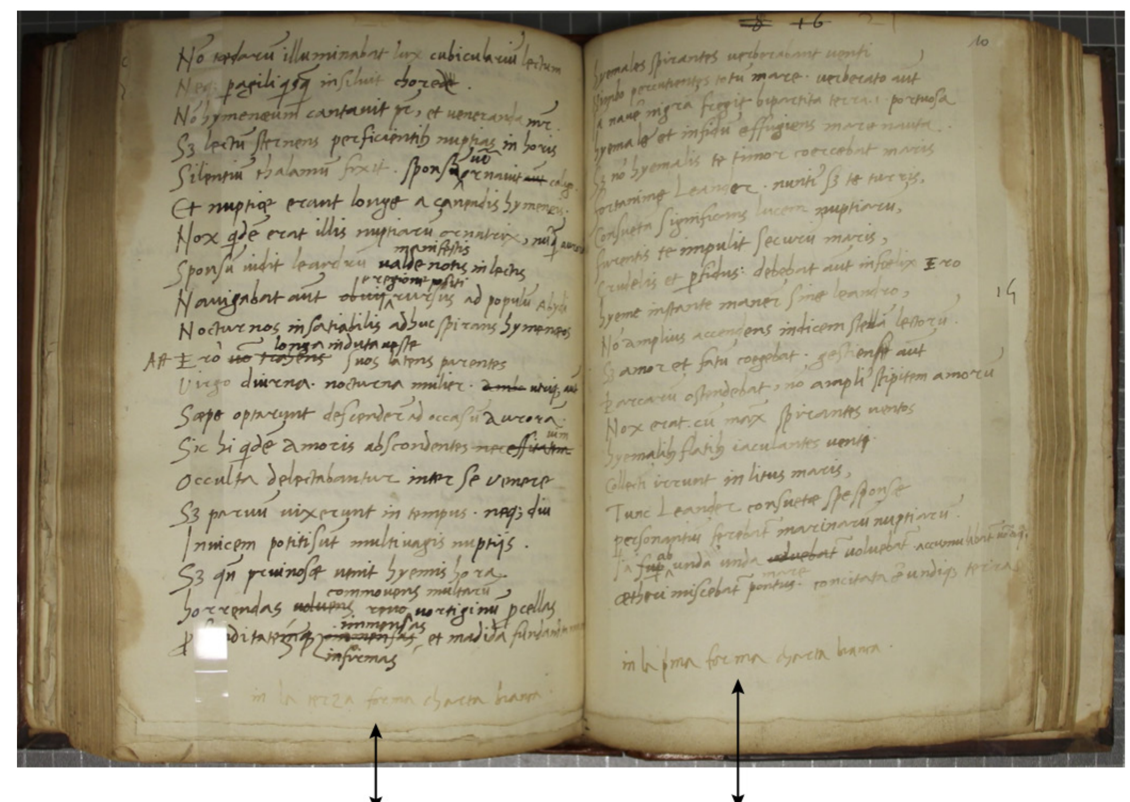
Now it gets interesting. At the arrow, mid-verse in the first of these three photographs, light raking from the left, illuminates a protuberance at the start of the first f in 'm'effrayais' (no ff ligature here), and the letter f itself, starting at the summit of this swelling, where a shadow also begins, slopes downward to the right into darkness. Obviously, in this range from light to shade, the debossed T of 'ET' had thrust the f up into the packing of the tympan of the printing press and so cancelled whatever bite the f typeface may previously have made in the sheet—when the page-8 side of the sheet had been printed. (The paper has remembered all this for two centuries!) As p. 8 is on the outer forme, we can deduce that the order through the printing press for this first sheet (and its two quires, 1 and 2) was outer forme before inner. That sequence through the press pertained for the next sheet too. (If this text had been composed seriatim, composition of the inner forme would have been completed before composition of the outer.) But, for sheets 3 through 7, as the shadows there reveal, the inner forme was printed first; in the 8th, the outer; in the 9th and last, the inner again.

Contrast copy Rari.22.A.7.13 of the 1505 Aldine octavo of poems by Augurellus in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. The play of raking light and shadow in that unbeaten (or perhaps lightly beaten) copy shows that its outer formes were all printed first. This sequence jibes with that just deduced in the Copernican map of the 1533 Petrarch on p. 175. With Aldo, it seems, inner formes of octavo routinely had the last word—vividly so in the following example from another Aldine octavo, the 1503 Euripides, where, three outer-forme pages, AA3r, 4v, and 7r, provided blind type for the inner-forme 1v page of the same sheet.

Usually in this edition, blind type migrates from the outer or inner forme of one sheet to the outer or inner forme of the next. That distance cannot reveal the sequence of formes within either sheet. But this instance from Ἱκέτιδες, *The Suppliants*, luckily allows us to observe migration from the outer to the inner forme of the same sheet, and that's a very different story. There must have been a break or a slowing in the rhythm of composition of the Aldine Euripides just after the first forme of this play.

Second: This deduced sequence of formes through Aldo's press, of outer before inner, is supported by MS.336 in the library of Beatus Rhenanus at the Bibliothèque Humaniste in Sélestat. Disordered and lacking its outermost bifolium, it is what survives of Aldo's mock-up for the Latin translation c1497 of Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, which he had printed in quarto c1495. Its quire, signed 'α', consist of five bifolia with twenty verses per page. The printed translation, signed 'b', consists of six bifolia, able to be arranged (or 'inter-bifoliated') so that the Greek and Latin versions face each other in every opening. This manuscript is relevant to our quest because at the base of each page is a direction for imposition, as in these two adjacent pages, text cast off for b10v and b11r, to be paired, respectively, with α9r and α9v.

15
16



in la terza forma charta bianca.

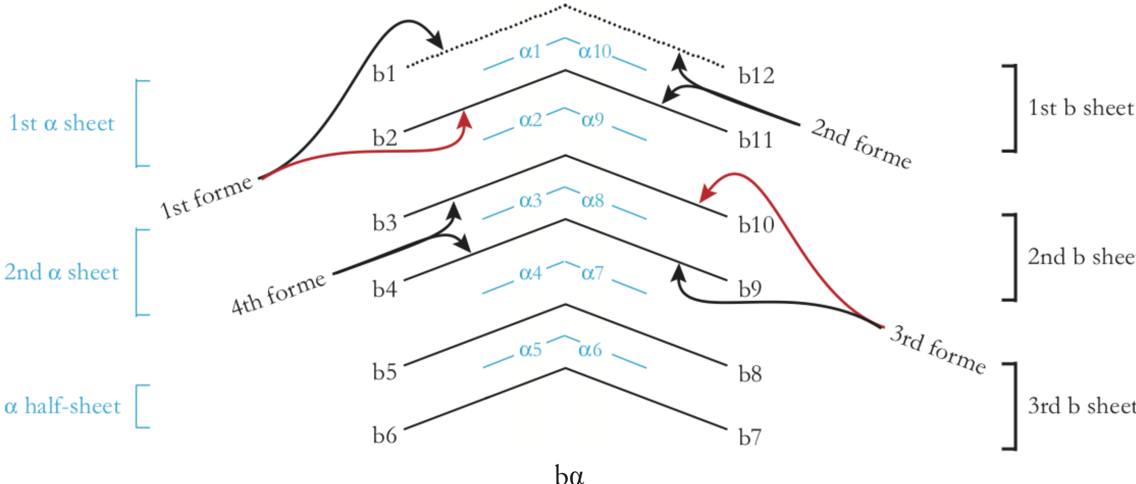
text for b10v, on the outer bifolium of the third forme, to face α9r

in la prima forma charta bianca.

text for b11r, on the inner bifolium of the first forme, to face α9v

b10v and b11r are both outer-forme pages. Their directions, reading '*charta bianca*' or 'virgin sheet', indicate that the outer forme of a sheet was to be printed before the inner, directions for which, occuring in the alternating openings, read '*charta uolta*' or 'sheet turned over'. These annotations strongly support the tentative conclusion just arrived at with the 1505 Augurellus octavo: the outer, '*bianca*', forme of each sheet was printed before the inner, the '*uolta*', and not just by chance (as we might have supposed in the case of *Chansons*), these annotations assure us, but *by design*.[32]

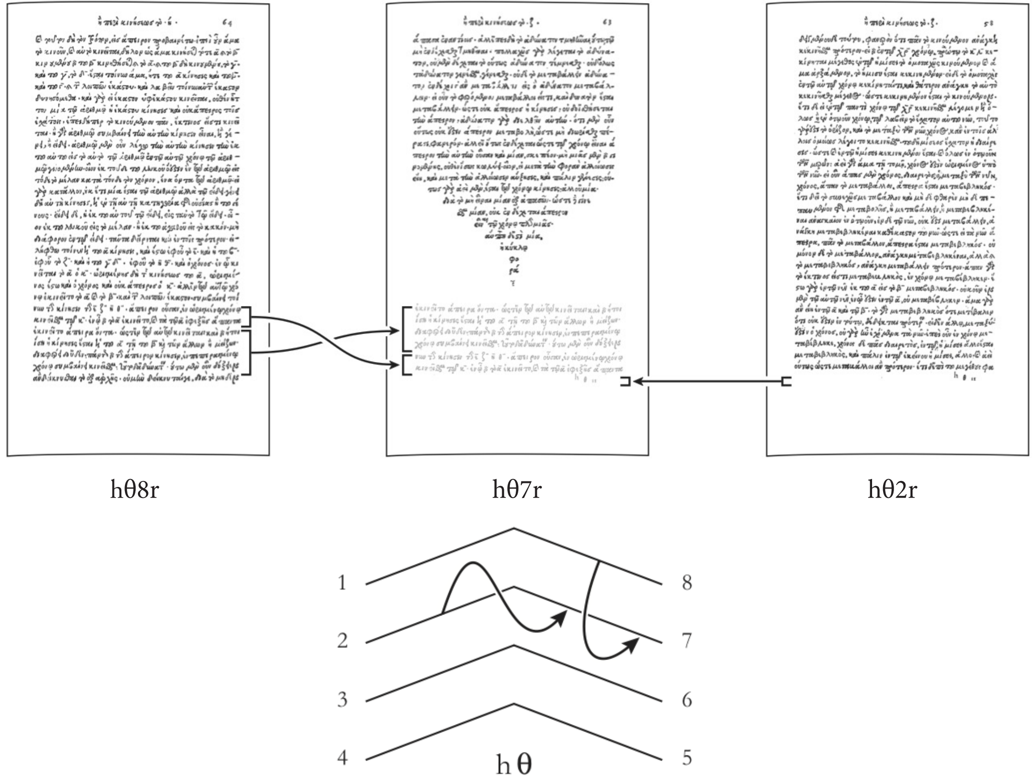
Aldo ordered the six formes of the three sheets of Latin by numbering them ('prima' and 'terza' in this case) from the outside of the quire to the centre. In the opening photographed, b10v, on the third forme, meets b11r, on the first. Why not '*terza*' meeting '*seconda*, or '*seconda*' meeting '*prima*'? The following diagram shows why: the second forme is out of the picture because it is an inner forme. In this diagram, outer formes are odd-numbered ('first' and 'third' …); inner are numbered even ('second' and 'fourth' …). The two photographed pages are on the formes associated with the red arrows.



The positions of the five Greek bifolia of quire bα, all gathered in the interior, are here indicated in blue. The Greek text of the poem begins on α2r and the translation on b2v.

[32] In the photograph on p. 181, there is numbering atop b11r: '8' and '16' (both deleted), and '21'. They are all correct according to one counting scheme or another. '21' is correct, because b11r is the 21st page among the 24 on the Latin bifolia. '16' is correct because b11r is the 16th page of the translation. '8' is also correct, but less obviously so: b11r is the eighth page of translation in the aft-quire. Since the centre of the quire, b6v–7r does not face any Greek, it cannot translate Musaeus. It consists instead of filler, two charming woodblocks and a poem on Hero and Leander in Greek by Antipater, plus Latin translation. This opening is left blank in the mock-up except for imposition directions and numbering. The first Latin text in the aft quire actually pertaining to Musaeus' poem is thus b7v, not b7r, and so b11 is the 8th page of that translation in the aft-quire, not the 10th. The undeleted numbers at the fore-edge of each b page in the mock-up count them accurately through the innermost sheet, after which many are off, as is the'15' at the side of b11r. (Recall the miscounting after the middle of H^{10} in the Aldine second 1501 Juvenal–Persius edition discussed on p. 130.) For a more detailed account of 'interbifoliation' in another of Aldo's bilingual texts, the 1501 Prudentius, see Randall McLeod's 'Appendix X' in John Grant (2017), ed. and trans., *Aldus Manutius: Humanism and the Latin Classics*, Harvard University Press, 305–311. The integrated edition of *Hero and Leander* can be seen on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The UCLA copy consists merely of quire α.

Just as in octavo and quarto formats, already discussed,the outer forme of a folio sheet was printed before the inner, as exemplified in the following map from the four-sheet quire hθ in vol. 2 of the Aristotle.



The accompanying meta-map makes clear (as does the diagram, on the previous page, showing the quire structure of the Latin bifolia translating Musaeus) what seems to be the routine order of printing a multi-sheet quire—from the outer forme of the outermost sheet to the inner forme of the innermost.[33]

Third, and last: Consider the staggered first appearances of some new italic sorts during the printing of Aldo's first octavo, the Vergil of April 1501, eight months before the Martial. (Aldo began printing in italics before his fount was complete.) The volume collates a–g^8 A–V^8 Y^4. Ligatures *im*, *nt*, *ua*, and *uu* are not found in the early *Æneid* quires A–M or even in N(o), but they do appear in N(i), and then in all formes in alphabetical order thereafter, O–Y. Ligatures *in* and *nu* appearing first throughout O are then found in all formes thereafter, P–Y, whereas *no*, *um*, and *un* appear first only in O(i) and then in P and all subsequent formes. Finally, *ne* appears first throughout P and in all formes thereafter, Q–Y.[34] These facts show that composition

[33] In this example, as in that from Euripides (on p. 180), one detects a break in or at least a slowing of the rhythm of production—in this case, after the third forme of quire hθ. Otherwise, the blind type for hθ2r would be expected no sooner than on hθ3r|6v.

[34] *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, bound at the front of the volume, in quires a–g, show all the ligatures introduced in quires N and O. Evidently, quires a–g were printed later. In the 1502 Cicero, the first of Aldo's prose octavos, the

occurred in the alphabetical order of the signatures in this range, as one expects, and that at least in quires N and O, the outer formes were composed before the inner, which fact shows that copy (an exemplar of some printed edition) for those quires (presumably for all quires of the Vergil) had in each case been cast off into page lengths and composed outer forme before inner.

M N(o) N(i) O(o) O(i) P

——— sequence of composition ———→

The printing of the outer forme of a sheet before the inner, seen in all these Aldine editions, of Aristotle, Musaeus, Euripides, Augurellus, and Petrarch, must frequently have followed the casting-off of copy and composition by formes, outer forme first.[35] In the 1502 Cicero, set seriatim, however, composition of the inner forme finished first. In that case, it is unsure whether the same sequence of formes through the press would have prevailed.

On the basis of these three kinds of evidence, we now come with some confidence to the following model for the production of the 1501 Martial:

A(o) B(o) C(o) . . . Y(o) Z(o) &(o)

A(i) B(i) C(i) . . . Y(i) Z(i) &(i)

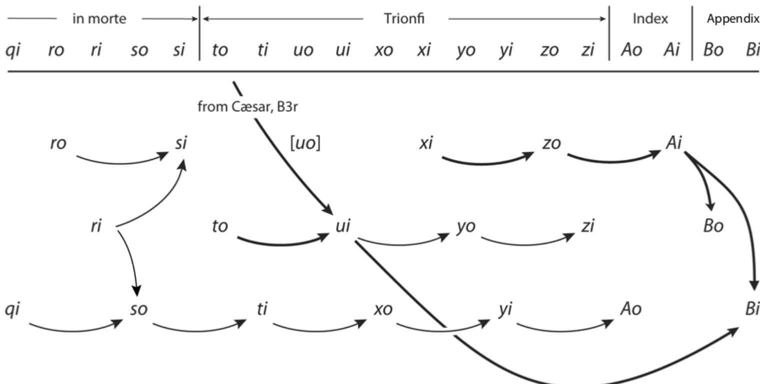
——— sequence of composition and printing ———→

My thoughts on the rhythm of production of the Martial edition have been strongly shaped by Alba Page's pioneering '~~Les égouts de Paris~~' essay, an uncut octavo insert in the Fall 2014 *Chicago Review* 59.1. There, she traces the sources of blind type in the August 1514 Aldine Petrarch—without the benefit of headline analysis (for there are no headlines in this octavo except the always-changing leaf numbers—which occur only on rectos, of course). The blind type flows along three 'sewers', as she wondrously calls them—and, in her highest flight, 'the Sewers of Hippocrene'. Alba's essay reveals that this Petrarch edition has two examples of intertextual blind type: the following diagram (reproduced here, slightly revised, with Prof. Page's kind permission)[36] shows the first of them,

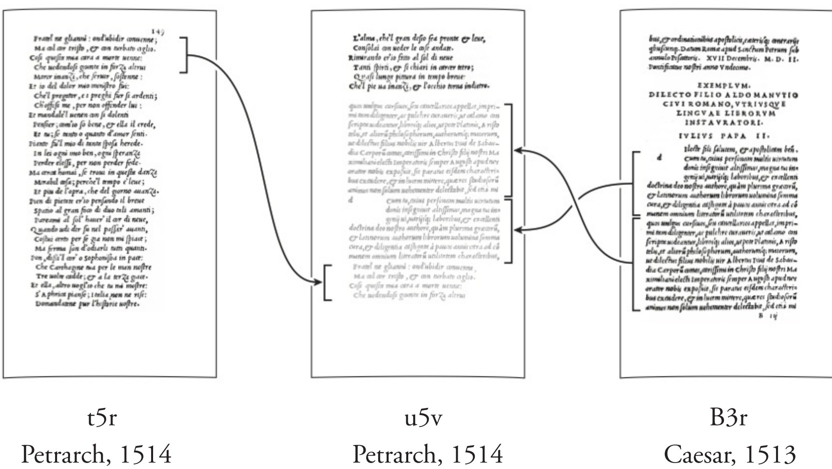
new ligatures *as* and *is* first appear intermittently on late pages of the first quire, both inner- and outer-forme. This distribution points to seriatim composition rather than composition by formes, for which copy would not need to have been cast off. Casting off prose, which certainly took place in the Aristotle edition, but not here in the Cicero, is harder than casting off verse.

[35] One supposes that the formes were also printed in the order in which they were composed. But maps of blind type in the 1502 Dante soon to be shown (on p. 187) will suggest caution in asserting this sequence specifically at moments of transition from one literary part of a volume to another or at its conclusion.

[36] This map is for the first state of the 1514 Petrarch, before the late quires y, A and B were revised and C added, at a time when the 1515 Lucretius was being printed (as blind type from it appears in 2y, as Page has discovered, and as may be shown on the last page of this essay—*if* there's room). I have added to Alba's map on the next page an arrow from '*ri*' to '*so*'—i.e., from r(i) down to s(o)—to reflect her latest finding. For wide-ranging discussion of this important edition, see the essay that got me started with Petrarch and led me to *De natura rerum* (Richardson 1991).



from a warning (another ineffectual gesture) to counterfeiters by Pope Julius in Aldo's December 1513 octavo edition of Caesar.



t5r Petrarch, 1514 | u5v Petrarch, 1514 | B3r Caesar, 1513

This map shows that the blind type at the base of Petrarch u5v came from B3r in the Caesar along with type from t5r in the Petrarch. Looking like the path of a comet in Alba's illustration at the top of this page, the blind type from Caesar enters the sewer system at u(i) in the middle, or second, sewer, and, much later—ten formes later, some of it ventures on to B(i) in the bottom, or third.[37] That type can move from one sewer to another neatly argues that the whole sewer system existed, as it were, 'under one roof'.[38]

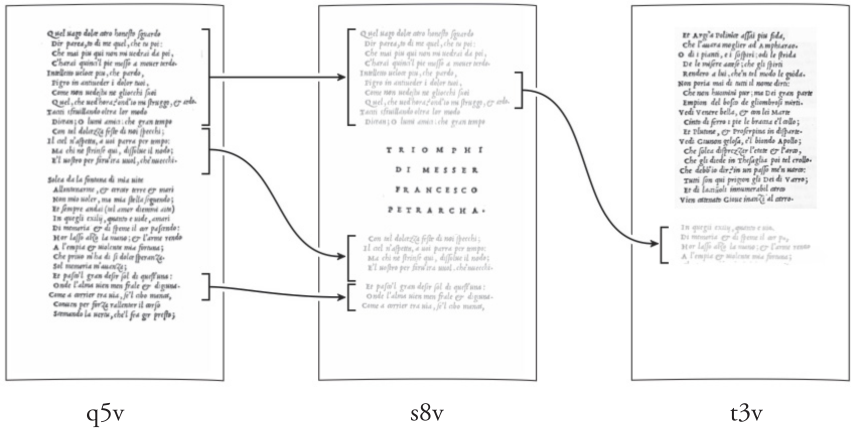
In Alba's map, the movement of dead type is indicated by the short arcing arrows which generally connect every third forme and thereby reveal that there were that many 'trains of imposition' in the 1514 Petrarch, in contrast with two in the 1501 Martial.[39] So, confined to

[37] I suppose that Aldo, thinking to use it again, kept the Pope's warning in standing type, but decided to dispense with it by the time, eight months later (if we trust colophon dates), he was printing his next octavo, the Petrarch.

[38] We are not dealing, therefore, with shared printing, as was common in Shakespeare's England, where, to pick an obvious example, *An Excellent Conceited Tragedie of Romeo and Iuliet* was printed in 1597 by John Danter, whose name appears on the title page, but also apparently by Edward Allde—under Danter's headlines '*The most excellent Tragedie,| of Romeo and Iuliet*' in quires A–D and Allde's '*The Excellent Tragedie | of Romeo and Iuliet.*' in quires E–K.

[39] Headline analysis shows that Aldo's first octavo, the 1501 Vergil, began with two sets of eight headlines in quire A (so, two 'trains of imposition'), but moved to three after H(i) and continued so into the 1501 Horace, but returned to two for the next octavo, the 1501 Petrarch.

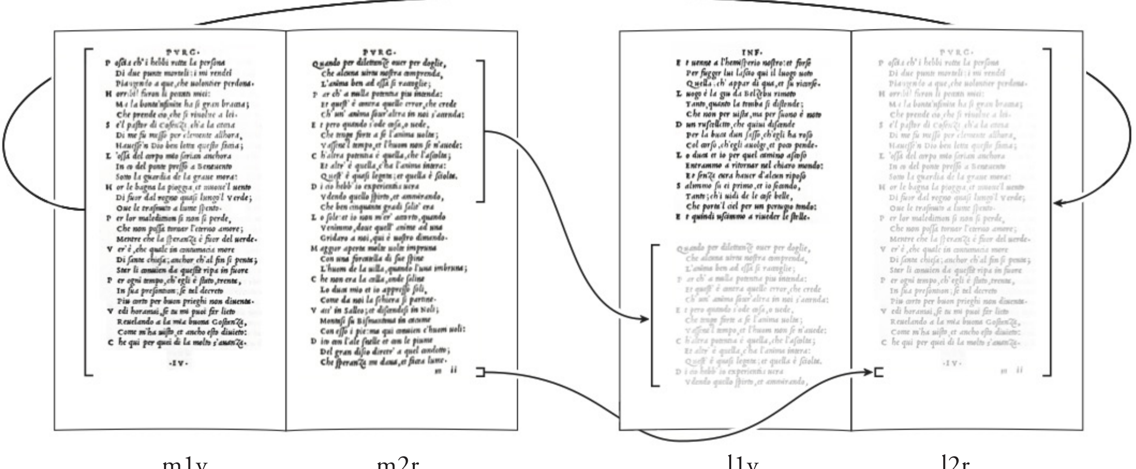
the third sewer is a remarkable continual flowing of dead type to print blind from q(i) to s(o), then to t(i), to x(o), to y(i), and finally to A(o). Sometimes it is even the very same lines of blind type that flow from one to the next—the blind leading the blind—as here from s(o) to t(i).



But you have already seen as much—have you not?—in the Copernicus map on p. 165. It may seem, by the way, that ten lines transferred from the top of q5v to the top of s8v is too much type to carry on a reglet. To address this problem, I need to revise the description of the work-pattern on the stone advanced on p. 179. Bear in mind that q5v (on the inner forme) and s8v (on the outer) occupy the very same position in a forme if one is rotated 180° relative to the other. Such rotation did not take place during headline transfers in the 1501 Martial, but it was not uncommon in Aldine octavos (it occurred first in B(o) → C(o), early in the composition of the 1501 Vergil). It does not signify a problem. If, let us imagine, the eight s(o) pages were imposed on the stone not *beside* forme q(i), but rather *into* it after the chase had been removed from around it, and its pages were being emptied. Imagine too, that to create maneuvering room around q5v, to consider this one case, the furniture surrounding this page could temporarily have been set aside. Then the ten lines of type atop q5v could simply have remained in place for printing blind in s(o); and the lower part of that page of type could merely have been drawn down the stone a distance sufficient to allow the eleven lines of type that express the *Trionfi* title on s8v and hold it in place—I'm adding the usual two blank lines above and two below these eleven—to be imposed in the gap just opened up. (These blank lines at top and bottom allow for some play in the registration of the frisket.)

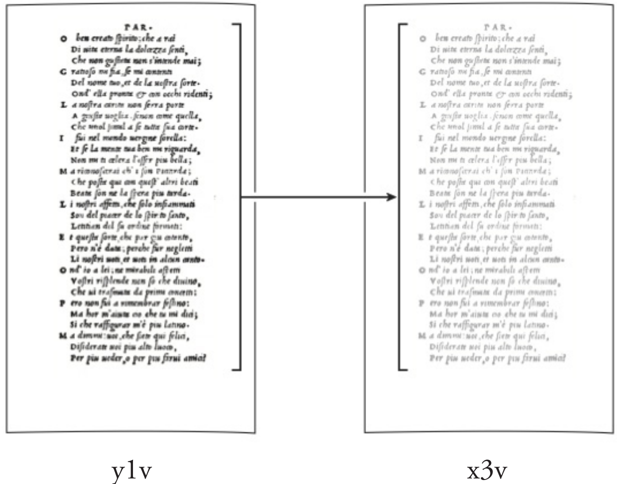
The point to make about Martial in reference to Alba's map may have to do with the relationship of literary and compositional units: when Aldo came to a literary terminus, as, for example, the end of 'In morte di Madonna Laura' in s(i) in sewer 1 of the 1514 Petrarch, or to the end of the Index in A(i) in the same sewer, dead type did overflow the current sewer into one nearby—from r(i) in sewer 2 into s(o) in sewer 3 and later from r(i) to s(i) in sewer 1. And in a second instance, from A(i) in sewer 1 to B(o) in sewer 2, then from A(i) to B(i) in sewer 3.[40] For a vivid example of this notion that unusual patterns occur at literary termini, consider the blind type of quire l in the 1502 Dante, where *Inferno* ends, on 1v, before *Purgatorio* begins, on 2v of the same quire.

[40] They were not obliged to flow that way, as we see in the case of z(i) in sewer 2, where *Trionfi* ends: it did not deliver the type to B(o) for printing blind in the same sewer. The blind type there came from sewer 1.

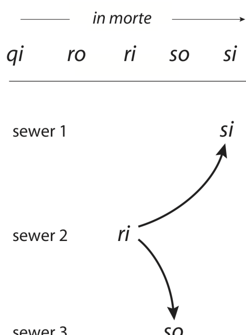


Obviously, m(i) was printed before l(i)—even before l(i) was fully imposed. The full set of sixteen 'PVRG.' headlines must have been newly composed for quire m—and only the eleven headlines relevant to l(i) were lent to it from m(i) after m(i) had been printed, before eventually being transferred from l(i) to n(i) along with the five headlines in m(i) that had lain dormant during the printing of l(i). The production sequence in this sewer was m(i) → l(i) → n(i). The junction of literary units is certainly a place to look for breaks in the usual rhythm of production. But there was also continuity in this example from Dante, as all three formes are in the same 'sewer', as Alba would have it, merely composed and printed out of alphabetical sequence.

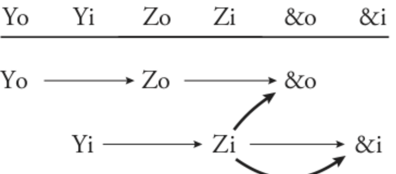
This pattern was repeated in the 1501 Dante, when y1v—quire y is the first in which all the headlines read '*Paradiso*'—supplied nine headlines (plus type for printing blind on x3r) to the quire before, where *Purgatorio* ends. Obviously, y(o) was printed before x(o). As in the previous Dante example, both of these pages, y1v and x3v, are outer forme. (The migration of type from a 1v page to a 3v page suggests that there was rotation of one forme relative to the other in this case.) The unusual sequence of formes at this literary transition was y(i) → x(i) → z(i) .



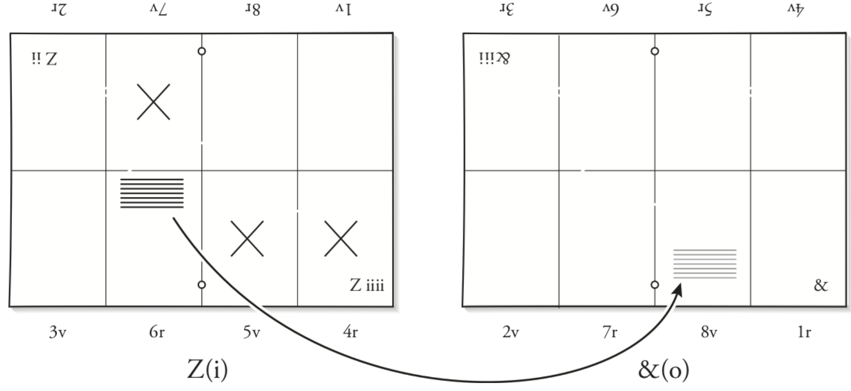
Back now to the 1514 Petrarch. The movement of blind type from r(i) in sewer 2 at the end of the literary unit '*in morte*' to both s(o) in sewer 3 and s(i) in sewer 1



prepares us for insight into a similar action in the Martial edition, to which we return at last, where Z(i) in sewer 2 provided blind type to &(o) in sewer 1 as a first-order derivative, then to &(i) in its own sewer, and this is what is puzzling, seemingly as a derivative of a derivative:



The thin horizontal arrows in this diagram recapitulate the two trains of imposition as established by headline transfers; and the bold and curved arrows represent the movement of blocks of type to print blind. (This supplying by one forme to the next two contradicts what we expect, except, as I have tried to make clear, at the end of a literary unit.) As production headed into the last quire of this edition, both formes of which would have required blind type, the headlines of Z(o) moved to &(o), as expected (except, perhaps, for the headlines on the 'blank' pages, whose sources, as I noted on p. 173, are too hard for me to identify), but the blind type for this forme came rather from Z(i), which forme must have arrived at the stone later, perhaps after Z(o), having transferred its headlines, had been totally stripped, so that there would then have been ample room on the stone to receive Z(i). The arrow in the following diagram



shows the movement of a block of type from the top of Z6r on the newly arrived Z(i) to the bottom of &8v. Supposedly, it was the last of four or five blocks to be imposed there from Z6r. (The three Xs in this diagram identify the three pages of Z(i) from which blocks of type would eventually appear in &(i), a forme not yet imposed.) This transfer from the top of the source to the bottom of the destination, as we learned on p. 169 and applied successful on pp. 171–174 in the reconstruction of the Sources, is the normal sequence for a first-order derivative, whereas the lines of dead type on the three 'X' pages that later went from Z(i) to &(i) were, puzzlingly, derivatives of derivatives.[41] Unfortunately, not enough of the blind type on &8v (or on &7r) has yet been read to confirm that the examples of blind type there are first-order derivatives. But when this plague is over, and if I live, I'll continue the quest and try to read more of the blind type on this forme.[42]

In the next section, I will propose an explanation for this difference in behaviour of blind type from the same source, Z(i), in its two destinations, &(o) and &(i). We're almost done.

When the first transfer for blind printing took place from Z(i) to &(o), groups of seven or eight lines could have been lifted from the bottom of a page in the source-forme and placed at the top of a page in the destination-forme—and so on until the source page had almost completely filled the 32 lines of the destination-page. As copy for the final quire had already been completely cast off, the compositor could easily have known by now that there were three pages (&7v, 8r, and 8v) in the last quire to be filled with blind type and a fourth (&7r) to be mostly filled—specifically almost two pages on the outer forme (to be printed first) and fully two pages on the inner (to be printed second). (The need for a total of almost four pages of blind type would have been obvious early on in any case when the casting-off of copy assigned the end of verse to &6v, to be followed on &7r with the two lines of colophon and eight of printer's warning (already shown on p. 152). Therefore, it was known by virtue of casting off before composition of the penultimate forme began that another two pages of blind type would eventually be needed for the last forme, even though its six composed pages had not yet been imposed on the stone—since &(o), the prior forme, was still in preparation there. Consequently, I speculate, the final place was presently available to impose any of the lines soon to be required for blind printing in &(i).

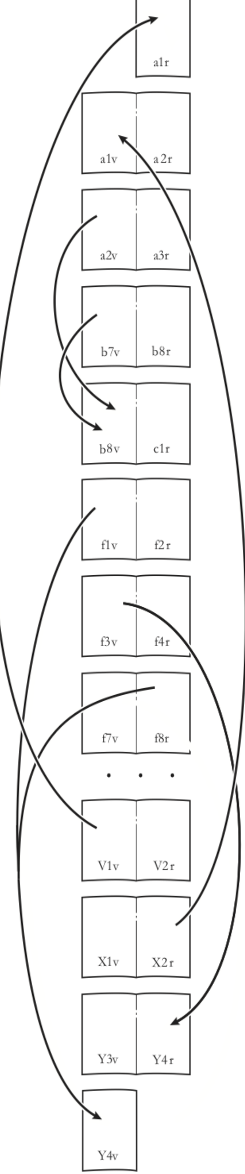
The compositor, so my suggestion goes—see whether it is plausible—again drew groups of six or seven lines at a time from Z(i), the forme being stripped, to prepare to fill this need for blind type in &(i) when its pages would eventually be imposed, by building up two new pages of type at the edge of the stone, say, or on a nearby level surface (but not in a galley, from which it could easily be reimposed *without rearrangement*)—this would have been less that a minute's work)—until such a time as the six composed pages of &(i) could have been brought to the stone for imposition, whereupon he again would have transposed these two pages that were to print blind, into &(i) itself now (that's another minute), again in groups of six or seven lines at a time, but, happily, not exactly the same six or seven this time, for if he had, we would assume they appeared in &(i) as first-order derivatives, where they would have become—in contrast to the examples

[41] As noted on p. 186, it was not a problem that this diagram shows Z(i) turned 180° relative to &(o). When the pages of &(i) were eventually put onto the stone beside Z(i) to receive headlines from it, it too could have been rotated, so that the headline of Z2r, for example, would have moved as usual to &2r, rather than to &4r.

[42] If I don't make it, maybe you'll do it? Now you know how.

of blind type on &(o), which are indeed simple derivatives—derivatives of derivatives. In my attempt at explanation, the lines destined to print blind in &(i) may have sat idle for a while at the edge of the stone after the rest of Z(i) had been stripped down to its chase, furniture, and headlines. Do you buy any of this?

Well, that is one way to explain why the blind type in Martial &(i) is not a first-order derivative. But what if, instead of sitting idle at the edge of the stone before being imposed in &(i), the type had actually printed blind somewhere, even in Martial itself, on its title page, say (if it had not yet been printed), which had room to accommodate some of it above and below the single line of inked typeface there that states the author's name? In returning from such a blind deployment, to print blind somewhere else, a block of type could appear as a derivative of a derivative. That type from the end of a book as bound could print blind on the title page is not as unlikely as it may sound, as the following account of the printing of the 1501 Vergil will show. (It will also offer insight into how to read Aldo's ligatures.)

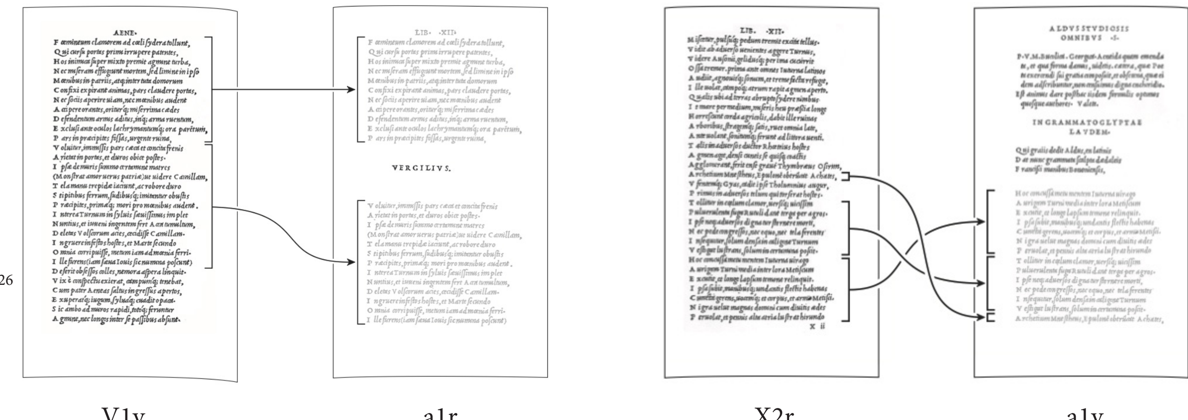


It was possible to print a sheet with a page or part-page left blank and then print the sheet again to add text. Such occurred with Aldo's first octavo, the April 1501 Vergil, according to Randall McLeod, whose work I don't entirely agree with on this edition has already been referred to and which I shall now draw on and expand. Although he is certainly correct that a forme can be multiply printed—he shows compelling examples of supplemental pressings of the title page of the 1503 Euripides and of h9v in the March 1501 portion of Philostratus—I think he is wrong about Vergil in his Rare Book School lecture.

Recall that this edition collates a–g^8 A–X^8 Y^4. Quires a–g include *Eclogues* and *Georgics*; quires A–Y, *Aeneid*. The sheets of this edition were certainly not printed in the order they were bound, as the meta-map of the sources and destinations of blind type in this edition reveals. Shown to the right, it looks like a tennis match, with volleys across the net ('. . .') that separates openings with lower-case signatures from those with upper-. Linking first and last things, this meta-map offers puzzling clues to the sequence of presswork.

Let us now descend into the details, where the angels of the argument lurk. The title page (a1r) bears blind type from ante-penultimate quire V of the book as bound, late in *Aeneid*, and the verso bears blind type from penultimate quire X, as the following two maps show.[43]

[43] As I recall, the title page of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana skin copy shows this well—or maybe it was the Rylands Library copy? Perhaps both. The British Library skin copy does not, however. Aldo reprinted its first quire, as the appearance of the late ligatures *as*, *is*, and *us* throughout it attests. (The blind type on the title page of this copy comes from the August 1502 Dante. (Nevertheless, photographs from the first quire of this famous copy are often used to illustrate Aldo's composition in 1501. Wrong!) In the first of these two maps, the two big blocks of type on V1v, 11 and 13 lines long, could easily have slid into place on the stone, if the formes V(i) and a(i) had been positioned side by side on the stone and would thus not have needed to be transferred in groups of only a few lines at a time.



V1v a1r X2r a1v

On the basis of such evidence, one might think either that production of the run of quires a–g took place at the eleventh hour (this is my view) or that quire a, having been cast off long before, composition and printing of quires b–g went ahead without it at some earlier time and composition and printing of *all* of quire a occurred later in production—starting after V(i) had come off the press and concluding after X(i) had come off the press. (Recall from the booking of Arnold's *Strayed Reveller*, that the preliminary quire, containing the index, was printed late.) Now, McLeod's idea combined parts of both scenarios: a–g was printed earlier, but with a1r and a1v left blank at that time and, later, both formes of a went to press again to print just a1r and a1v, as hinted by the two preceding maps. His scenario is possible, but a close reading of the ligatures of the first 7 quires of the Vergil as bound, a–g, and of the last 4, T–Y, raises problems. On V(i), Aldo introduced a new ligature, *ſp* (see '*conſpectu*' in l. 26 of V1v, mapped above). *ſp* also occurs in both formes of quire X, but, very curiously, the ligature is absent in Y; nor does it appear anywhere, even blind, in quires a–g. And the next octavo, the May 1501 Horace (a–s^{8}), has no *ſp* ligature until o(o), when one appears, but with a new design. Shown here are 1) *ſp* untied, as in early Vergil and early Horace; 2) *ſp* tied, late in Vergil; and 3) *ſp* tied, late in Horace.

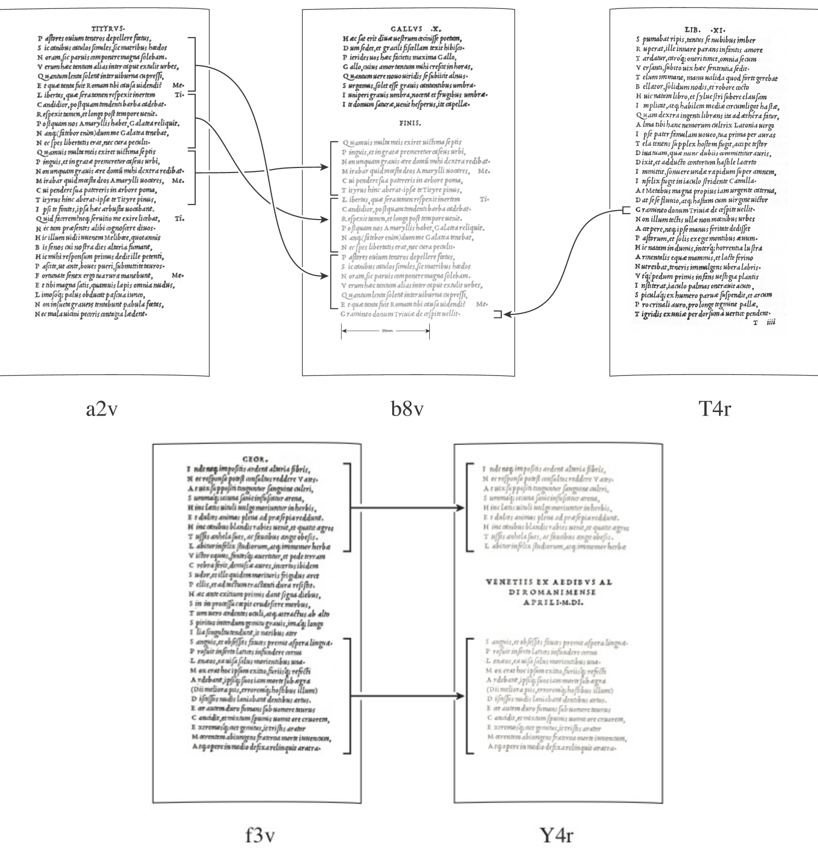
In the first design of the ligature, the descender of *p* (without serif) lyrically parallels the curve of the *ſ* beside it. Was it this flourish that led to its suppression? Or was it the low-slung *ſ* ?

The extinction of a sort had already occurred twice by quire C, when the ligature-simulating long-tailed varieties of *i* (before *b*, *i*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, and *u*) and *u* (before *c*, *i*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *t*, and *u*) employed over 200 times in A and B were discontinued. Some of these attempts to link letters were, of course, eventually fulfilled by the real ligatures introduced in quires N and O, two beginning with *i-* (*im* and *in*) and three with *u-* (*um*, *un*, and *uu*).[44] And *is* and *us* were added soon, in the 1502 Cicero. It is not as if Aldo's cases merely *added* sorts.

[44] Ligatures were never devised for *ib*, *ir*, *iu* and *uc*, *ui*, *ur*, *ut*, in which long-tailed *i* and *u* had been employed in quires A and B (some, *ib* and *uc*, for example, likely by accident, as they occur only once), but a ligature was eventually created for *ij*. The combinations of long-tailed vowels with *ir* and *ur*, which occur respectively 21 and 12 time in A and Bs, were good candidates for ligatures, but there is no evidence they were ever produced.

This information about *ſp* is relevant to how we conceive of the schedule of the end of production of the Vergil edition. The absence of *ſp* in a–g and in Y cannot determine whether any of those quires were printed *before ſp* came, inV(i) or *after* it left, following X(i). When Randy advanced the idea that each forme of a went into the press twice, the first time before V(i), to print all but its first leaf, and after X(i) when both formes of sheet a were finally perfected, he assumed that once a ligature had joined the case, it stayed. Wrong! At that point in his research he had not realized (he tells me privately) that the *ſp* ligature went extinct after having been deployed only in three formes, V(i), X(o) and X(i), as he hadn't yet surveyed ligatures in the next edition, the Horace. That's why he assumed that all of b–g and Y must have been printed *before* the *ſp* ligature appeared. (Had he looked ahead, with his obvious interest in ligatures (I should think he loves them as I do), he could have avoided Occam's third razor, which is now about to cut him.)

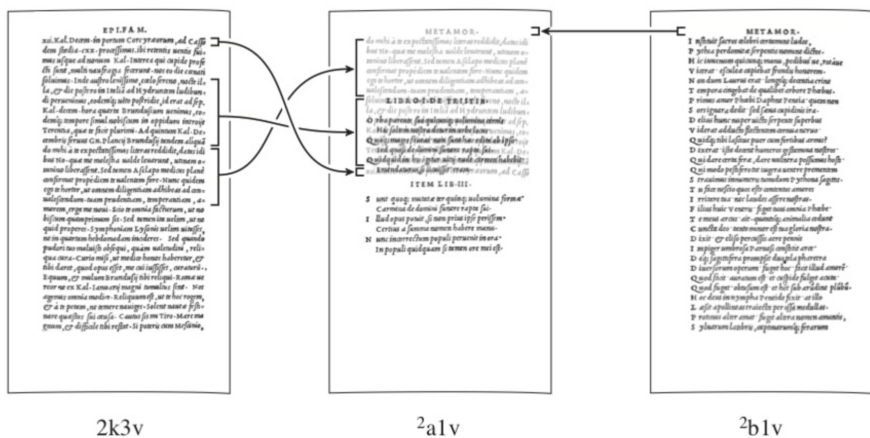
Consider two other of his maps, the first one an immense achievement, as he had to range very far from b to find T. Bibliographers are indeed patient. We do put in the hours.



In his 2016 Rare Book School lecture, the first map encouraged Ranfy to locate the start of printing of a–g soon after T(i) and before V(i), when the *ſp* ligature arrived, and the second to attach the last quire, Y, to the end of production of *Eclogues* and *Georgics*—after which V(o) was printed, then V(i) and X, with the *ſp* ligature, when, finally, sheet a was reintroduced into the press to perfect each forme with the printing of its 1r and 1v pages. This ingenious scheme was an overly elaborate dance around his not understanding the short life-span of the first *ſp* ligature. Here comes William again.

Enter William with Neil.

There was something else that could have clued this scholar into the unlikelihood that a1r and a1v were allowed to be blank when a(o) and a(i) were printed. To see what that is, consider ^{2}a1v in the first of three volumes of the works of Ovid. On the recto opposite begins *Metamorphoses*. Vol. 1 collates a–h^8 ^{2}a–z^8 A–B^8 C^4 and is dated October 1502.

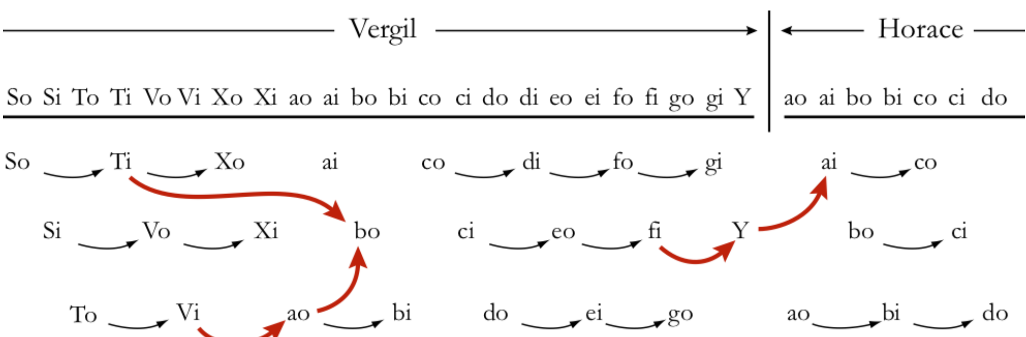


This page hosts blind type from Cicero's April 1502 *Epistolae Familiares* (a–z^8 aa–kk^8 ll^4). I have not been able to read more than the top half of the page so far—but what I can make out suggests that all the type in the body of Cicero 2k3v moved to Ovid ^{2}a1v in the usual fashion, in five or six blocks. Later, ^{2}a(i) was put back in the press to print on top of blind Cicero, with ink this time, two passages from Ovid's *Tristia* (1.7.35–40 and 3.14.19–24), set differently here than they are in vol. 3. In these extracts, the poet laments the unrevised state of his text. (He certainly has my sympathy.) Belatedly, Aldo seems to have realized a literary use for a space that he had planned to leave empty. The bibliographic lesson here is that if Aldo had planned to print Vergil a1r and a1v later with *inked* text (or even to have left them 'blank' forever), we should expect him first to have printed them *blind*. Since there is no blind text underneath the inked text on Vergil a1r and a1v, those pages must, I argue, have been printed once only.

Note that the blind headline on ^{2}a1v comes from a future Ovid page? How future, is hard to say as headlines are recycled from forme to forme. But I'm guessing ^{2}b1v. As in the Dante examples (on p. 187), one suspects the formes of the second signature of the new title were printed before the formes of the first. As Alba showed us, the rhythm of production goes off —goes backwords—at the junction of literary units.

Why are pages printed blind anyway? Neil Harris always counsels me to tell readers right away the reason for printing blind, whereas I prefer to dwell in the wonder of blind type and my aesthetic response to it. But now—yes, Neil. (And welcome to you both. Neil, William, this is my friend Michael, a Book Man.) The reader *needs* to know now because it's part of an argument about why McLeod got it wrong. I'm with you on that. As the platen of an early press was unstable, it needed support over the whole of its area as it contacted the forme in order to print each page with equal pressure. On a two-pull press, a forme of octavo with a blank page would invite the platen to tip into the void at one corner and so not press equally the three pages under it. For McLeod's hypothesis to be credible, shouldn't the skin copies he consulted have revealed blind text beneath the inked? But they don't. He was wrong. Right?

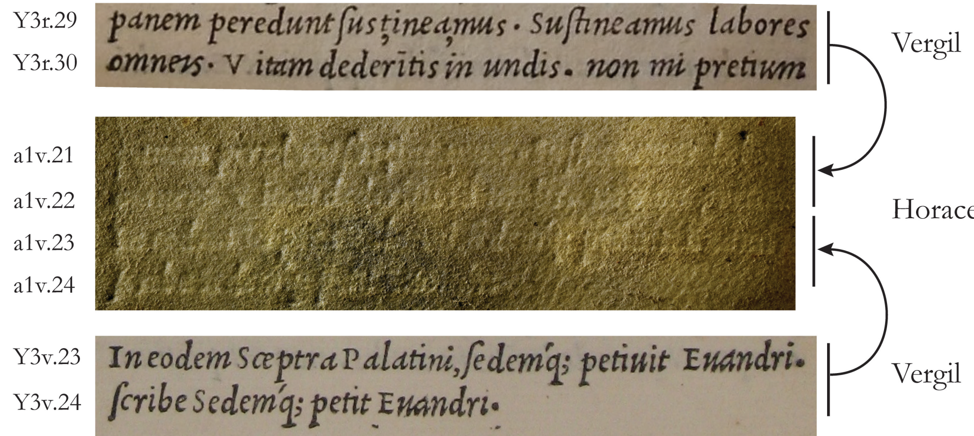
Time now, then, on the next page, to sketch the end of production of the 1501 Vergil as Alba would frame it. McLeod's account isstrubbly. Can I fashion a kempt sewer system? Aldo began printing the Vergil with two trains of production. But at K(o) he opened a third, which continued through the end of the Vergil and throughout the Horace. So, I'll need three sewers.

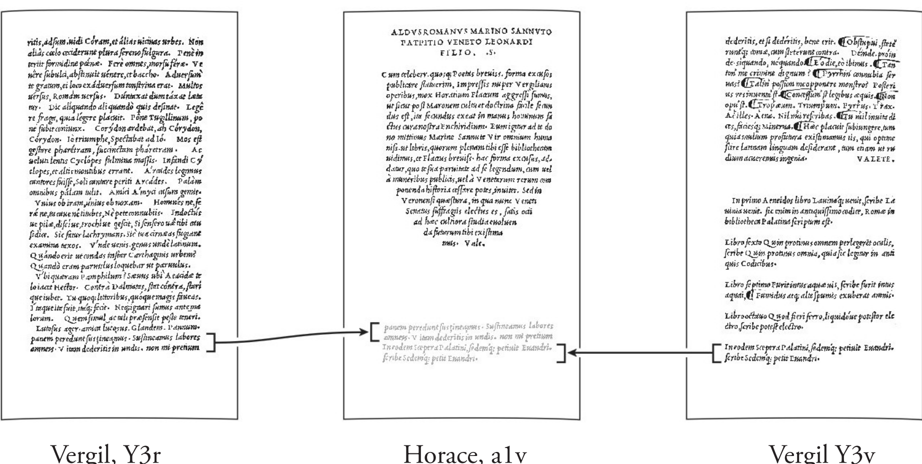


The red arrows link the sources of blind type to their destinations, and, since they all occur at literary breaks, we should not be surprised that the majority of them leap sewers. The small black arrows chart the recycling of skeletons. They are absent, of course, wherever all the headlines in a quire change, as when *Eclogues* headlines change to those of *Georgics*—between a(i) & c(o), b(o) & c(i) and b(i) & d(o). Because of these breaks, my assigments of some formes to some sewers may be arbitrary. I am counting on regularity of rhythm in production—except at the ends of literary units, of course. Having experienced the 10-forme leap in the 1514 Petrarch of Pope Julius from u(i) in Alba's sewer 1 to B(i) in sewer 2, I am not really surprised by Vergil's 7-forme leap from T(i) in sewer 1 to b(o) in sewer 2. (It may have been common at literary breaks for compositors not immediately to strip formes with discontinued headlines.)

Late production of the opening quires of the Vergil edition as bound may explain why sheets at the beginning and end of the 1732 *Paradise Lost* often mutually set off. Having been printed close to each other, they may have been stored, gathered, and booked together. Such a practice must have been common. And one doesn't have to be an analytical bibliographer to detect such a seemingly inverted schedule. On just the second page of his 1502 octavo edition of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius (or of 'Propetius' as he was misnamed in the earlier state of the title page), Aldo wrote to Marino Sanuto about what he had 'printed in the past few days' (so John Grant translates '*his diebus cura nostra impressum*', 2017, 22). Such a preface reads as a *post*face.

The last red arrow above, from Vergil Y to a(i) in Horace offers a contrasting example of a 'commonsense' beginning, one which is as far from the end as possible. In the following photograph (© British Library Board) of G. 9422, a copy of Horace printed on skin, is the evidence that supports the map that follows on the next page.



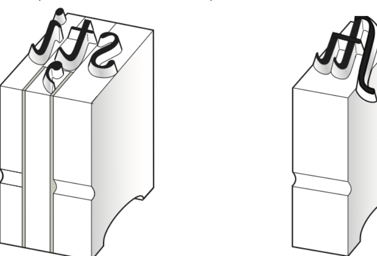


Vergil, Y3r Horace, a1v Vergil Y3v

The presence of blind type from both Vergil Y3r and Y3v on the same page of the Horace suggests that every page of Y was imposed in a single forme. (The fact that Aldo discusses diacritics on Y3r shows that he had more ambition as a textual scholar with Vergil than he did with Martial. The same can be said of Y3v, which lists several variant *Aeneid* readings in a manuscript in the Palatine Library. The UCLA catalogue wrongly describes this list as an errata). Y3v is the location of the laboured setting seriatim of the letters usual set as a ligature, which I referred to on p. 160. I was able to make room to show it after all, but only in a footnote, as there are only two pages left.[45]

Here is how the epistle to Marino Sanuto on Horace a1v begins: 'When I decided to publish in a very small format all the most famous poets, we first printed a short while ago the works of Vergil and then quickly turned to Horace.'[46] This preface, unlike that of the Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius does read like a *pre*face.)

[45] Note that '*ſuſtineamus*' appears twice in Vergil Y3r.29. The expected setting, with an *ſti* ligature, appears in the second example, but as Aldo devised a diacritic beneath the *t* in the first, he set all three letters of '*sti*' individually on that occasion (eschewing therefore an *ſt* or a *ti* ligature) and, moreover, with a unexpected round-s medially, rather than the usual long-*ſ* in that position. (The other ligatures in this word, *ſu*, *ne*, and *mu* were not affected; and ligatures *ce*, *eis*, *in*, *mi*, *mu*, *ne*, *ni*, *no*, *nt*, *ta*, *ti*, *ua*, *um*, and *un* appear as expected in the rest of the passages photo-quoted above.) In selecting a round-*s*, Aldo must have worried for the fore-kern of an *ſ* over the rejigged *t*, though as the latter letter does not have a full ascender, the kern of the *ſ* could perhaps have ridden over it without fouling. Better, he may have thought, to be safe than sorry. (The combining of *ſ* and *t* in a ligature seems not, by the way, to have been required to deal with potential fouling of *ſ* on *t*; rather, they were fused for elegance, as is especially implied by the tradition of the ligature in round-*s* and *t*—and so with the traditional tying of *c* and *t in ct* (Aldo's ligatures included the vowel (*cta*, *cte*, *cti*, *cto*, *ctu*) where there was no possibility of fouling.)

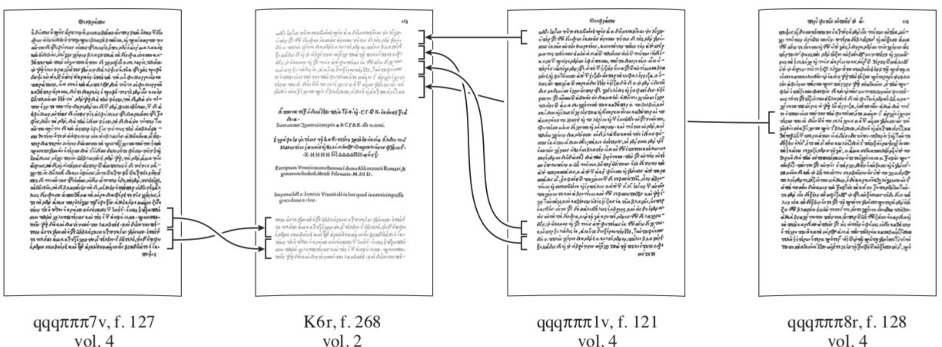


The diacritic may have been made by paring the shank front and back of a comma type; and room was made for it by also paring the front of the shank of the *t*. My model, above left, also shows (in grey) cut-down spacing types on each side of the diacritic, serving to supplement its width to that of the *t*. It is not very pretty, but it was intricate work; and it shows extraordinary effort for textual precision against a resistant medium.

[46] Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

Back, finally, to the question of where the blind type on &(i) might previously have printed blind. As the title page of the Martial edition reads merely 'M A R T I A L I S.', it had room to accommodate almost a page-worth of blind type from Z(i) before it migrated to &(i) (not that I have yet detected any blind text on the title page in the three skin copies I have seen). Some at least of the lines extracted from Z(i) could have sojourned blind on the Martial title page as a simple derivative before settling blind again on &(i), as a derivative of a derivative. But even if this were so, it could not have accommodated all the type in question. The problem remains.

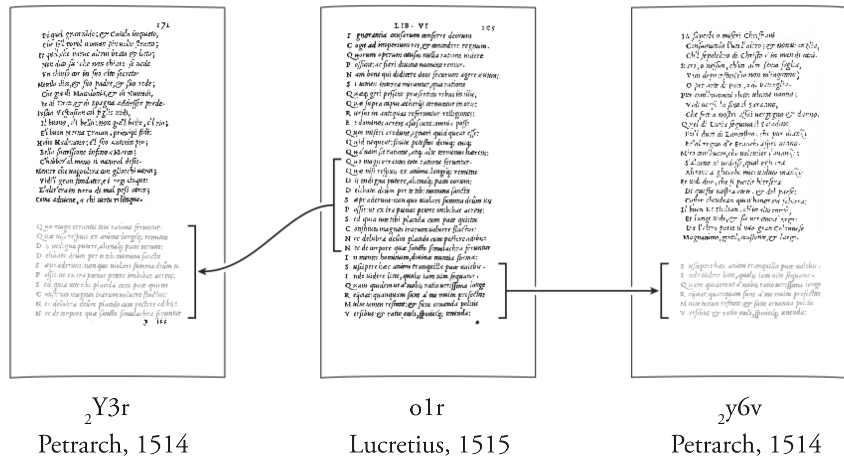
So far, I have talked of the print-run of an edition as if it were an isolated event. But a busy press could have had several projects on the go at one time and on more than one press. Consider the following intertextual map, which reveals blind type from the middle of vol. 4 of Aldo's Aristotle on the colophon page of vol. 2 of the same edition.



The colophon of vol. 4 is dated 'June 1497', that of vol. 2 'February 1497'. The February date must have persuaded the UCLA catalogue via *more Veneto* to assign the date of 1498 to vol. 2—for the two months of January and February end the year in that Venetian scheme. But this map shows that Aldo could not have been using that calendar on this occasion; and so, vol. 2 must have been produced earlier than vol. 4. For Aldo, as for us, February 1497 preceded June of the same year.

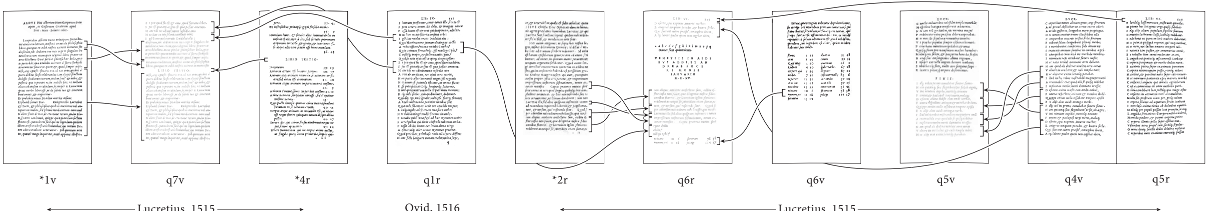
The lesson here is that we should be on the lookout for other octavos that Aldo might have been printing alongside the Martial, into which blocks of types from Martial Z(i) could have printed blind. We should think intertextually. Consider, then, that in January 1502 (according to the colophon dates), one month after the Martial, Aldo published the octavo edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propetius recently referred to. As the quires for each author had their own signing, A–E^8 F^4, A–D^8 E^4, and a–i^8, and as there was no through-pagination or -foliation, they could have been printed in any order. This edition has three 'blank' pages plus a title page with merely a single line printed on it with ink. Several of these pages could easily have hosted *all* of the two pages-worth of blind type from Martial before it returned 'home from the future', as it were, to &(i) as a derivative of a derivative—*if* production of these two editions of Latin poetry overlapped, as did vols. 2 and 4 of the Aristotle. Perhaps they did overlap. Consequently, one is advised to search for Martial in Catullus, or Tibullus, or Propertius—or in any two of them, or three. Such a randez-vous would be no stranger than finding vol. 4 of the Aristotle in vol. 2? Or finding *Purgatorio* in *Inferno*? Or *Paradiso* in *Purgatorio*? Or Statius before and after *Paradiso*? (What? I didn't tell you that already? Yes, indeed, Statius i appears in Dante o—between

Purgatory and *Paradise*; and Statius o appears in Dante H—beyond *Paradise*.)[47] Or Vergil in Horace? Or Horace in the 1501 Petrarch? Or Sannazaro in the 1514 Petrarch? Or Pope Julius in that Petrarch (as already shown on p. 185)—or, later, the 1515 Lucretius in that same 1514 Petrarch, as shown next? That's the future in the past (or the local masquerading as the remote).



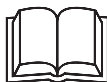
$_2$Y3r Petrarch, 1514 | o1r Lucretius, 1515 | $_2$y6v Petrarch, 1514

Or that 1515 Lucretius hosting the 1516 Ovid, which I recently mapped in the skin copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris? It's as complex, I like to think, as an organic molecule.



Or the 1501 Petrarch in Juvenal, then Juvenal immediately back into Petrarch, as if time ran backwords as well as forwords?—all of which I'll have to map out for you in the next installment, Michael, because it's complicated and, well, because having mapped it Ptolemaic, I now see that I have to revise it Copernicus, and because finally we've run out of time. This is the end. Or Cicero in Ovid? That too will have to wait. That combination is especially interesting because the inked text of Ovid is printed on top of the blind text of Cicero. That sheet *had* to go once more into the press. You'll see. Or time running ass-backwords in *Paradise Last*? Or even ass-forwords. Or both, my dear, happier, happier far—

a library, a librarynth?



[47] Both Dante and Statius have colophon dates of August 1502, but Statius has a second colophon, dated November 1502. (There are four independent signing sequences in this edition: a–e^8 ^{2}a–z^8 A–F^8 G^4 ^{2}A–B^8 ^{2}C^4.)

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Toute vue des choses qui n'est pas étrange est fausse.
Paul Valéry

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Abstract

The general argument is that the oeuvre-concept, along with the work-concept, both suitably refreshed, need to be more deliberately and self-consciously re-introduced into editorial and literary-critical study. A survey of several poets' attitudes to their own body of writings, followed by the cases of some novelists, clears the ground for two sharply contrasting understandings of the oeuvre-concept to emerge: the writer's self-memorialising oeuvre and the scholar's broader oeuvre. They expose the evasiveness of T.S. Eliot's famous appeal to tradition (in his essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' of 1919). This potentially competing concept of Eliot's depends, it is argued, on an idealism that severs its contact with the material evidence and practices of creative writing. Eliot's shifting attitude towards tradition is traced, and its historical attractions in its time are discussed.

Keywords: *Creative Writing, The Oeuvre, The Work, Tradition, T.S. Eliot*

1. *Introduction*

In T.S. Eliot's essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' of 1919, the truism that the composition of literature has been continuous in Europe since Homer received a daring tweak: the European literary tradition, Eliot claimed, is recognisable, only becomes present, as 'a simultaneous order' and as an 'ideal order' in reception (Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. II, 106). Eliot did not use that last phrase ('in reception'), but that is the implication. A highly generalised 'perception' of the inherited tradition (*ibid.*) – something like a transcendence – may occur when the whole is glimpsed or experienced as a single entity as the new work of art is mentally incorporated into it – when, as Eliot puts it, 'the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted' (*ibid.*). For the creative writer producing that new work, the moment of composition

simultaneously involves its own kind of transcendent reception since composition must be, or will constitute, a revision of that order. In Eliot's imaginary laboratory of literary creation the specific gravity of the literary shifts away from the activity and personality of the author-in-composition to that of the sustaining literary culture-in-reception, external to the writer and coming from the past. The 'perception', he argues, is not 'only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence' (*ibid.*).

From a twenty-first century perspective, Eliot's idea of the writer writing 'with his own generation in his bones' (*ibid.*) and also with this wider historical awareness is a forerunner, very idiomatically expressed, to the later post-structuralist model of culture as an interlocking tissue of discourses, which texts instantiate. The obligatory next step – seeing authorship as merely a discursive regime of limited use – is not one that Eliot would have been interested in taking. Neither, equally, was he especially interested in taking the opposite tack of pursuing the implications of the material transmission of texts. Although he occasionally had positive things to say about editorial and other historical scholarship, the two areas were not at the centre of his thinking.

Eliot was no theorist either; but he was a most ambitious thinker with a prose style and an idiomatic palette aimed to appeal more to a literary-magazine readership than an academic one. Along with the literary journalists and essayists of his generation, the attraction, when defining difficult ideas, of so-called common-sense formulations was enough for him. He had a rare gift for simplifying complex ideas, writing essays rather than professional articles. Even the lectures he wrote were essay-like, and he made the approach work very hard indeed. In 1932, in 'The Literary Mind', the redoubtable F.R. Leavis (whose ground-breaking *New Bearings in English Poetry* appeared in the same year) commended 'the quality of intelligence exhibited in [Eliot's] literary criticism … [which also] appears as plainly when he applies it to general questions … he really does something with words' (1933b, 62). Most importantly for Leavis, Eliot's successful attempt to install a serious-minded evaluative regime for literary criticism decisively countered prevailing belles-lettristic, impressionistic approaches.[1] It is no exaggeration to say that this writer, whom we know primarily for his haunting poetry, was probably the most influential literary critic in English of the twentieth century, at least until the 1960s and even later.

Eliot's implicit claim that the moment of composition is also a moment of reception of the Tradition is a satisfyingly symmetrical one: rhetorically, it is brilliant. The cost of the brilliance, however, is that it soars above the action: those actual scenes of writing where material documents (on the page, on screen) are successively produced, discarded, copied and revised. Via these material supports and these acts of writing, fragments of text come into being and, if all goes well, texts of versions of works are slowly developed until either finalised or abandoned. The work-concept is the regulative idea that we use to contain the whole process and its outcomes. Accordingly, the work is not, or need not be, treated as an idealism, as something existing over and apart from the printed and other documents that instantiate it. Only if understood as standing alone, as an ideal thing, can it be imagined as coming face to face with Tradition in some cultural-existential embrace.[2] This shortcut in Eliot's thinking does away with the ongoing intellectual-artistic project

[1] This was despite the fact that Leavis' falling-out with Eliot over the latter's slighting of D.H. Lawrence's importance was already brewing; see Leavis 1955, Introduction. By 1976, Leavis had changed his mind completely on the importance of the essay, dismissing it as 'only speciously distinguished, not merely marked stylistically as it is by affectation, but pretentiously null as thought' (16).

[2] These sentences summarise more extended argument in *The Work and the Reader in Literary Studies* (Eggert 2019a). The implications of incorporating the reader into the work-concept, as well as relying on the material basis of text, are also explored in Eggert 2009 and 2013.

that supports the writing and that the writing expresses. This project I shall call the oeuvre, but its nature depends, as we shall see, on one's perspective on it.

Like the work-concept, the oeuvre was a more or less unproblematic idea, current in Eliot's lifetime, that could simply be invoked. The *Oxford English Dictionary* witnesses the anglicised use of the French borrowing *œuvre* (for *work*) from the late nineteenth century and gives two main contrasting usages: (1) a single *work* (as in *chef d'œuvre*) and (2), the principal meaning, secured by 1917: 'The works produced by an artist, composer, or writer, regarded collectively'. It is the latter usage that is at issue here, and its application rather depends on who is doing the regarding. The two parties I will concentrate on are the writer and the scholar-critic, since their two perspectives on the oeuvre are likely to vary. A survey of several poets' attitudes to their own body of writings, followed by the cases of some novelists, will clear the ground for two sharply contrasting understandings of the oeuvre-concept to emerge. They bring into focus the oddity of Eliot's (alternative) appeal to Tradition, which thereby transfers attention to why he appealed to it *when* he did. My general argument is that the oeuvre-concept, along with the work-concept, both suitably refreshed, need to be more deliberately and self-consciously re-introduced into editorial and literary-critical study. First steps towards a necessary theorising of the oeuvre are taken in the final section, thereby superseding (I argue) Eliot's evasive Tradition-concept.

2. *Poets' Oeuvres: From Jonson to Yeats*

Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio publication of his self-consciously styled 'Works' announced a new attitude towards authorship, and especially his own. It included of course his poems but also his plays, a form normally printed in cheap, pamphlet-style quartos and generally not considered at the time as 'works'. That claim was more familiar in relation to classical authors. The volume itself was 'the culmination of a history of typographical experiment which can be traced through Jonson's early quartos'.[3] Jonson also substantially revised several of the plays for the Folio and added specially written dedicatory letters, none of them from figures connected with the theatre. That was not the place to consolidate one's reputation; the theatre was only to be regarded with contempt, so that Jonson was treading a delicate path.

Publication of such collected editions during the writer's lifetime was unusual at the time. Most of Sidney's, Fulke Greville's and Donne's writings had to wait until after their deaths. Only then could such 'Remains', as they were sometimes titled, be safely published, free from the consequences for the author of the changing favours of the Court. In contrast, Jonson had the rare opportunity of defining what his own oeuvre (as we would now call it) consisted in, and of establishing its texts in one luxury volume. In comparison, Shakespeare's Works did not appear until 1623, seven years after his death.

The affront to convention must have been felt. In his biography of Jonson, Ian Donaldson quotes two epigrams of the time:

To Mr Ben Jonson demanding the reason why he called his plays 'works'
Pray tell me, Ben, where doth the mystery lurk,
What others call a play you call a work.

[3] For this quotation and other information mentioned here, see the unpaginated 'General Introduction', subsection 'Choice of Copy-Texts in Online Edition', in Bevington *et al.* 2013, which is based on (and expands) Bevington *et al.* 2012.

Thus answered by a friend in Mr Jonson's defence
The author's friend thus for the author says,
Ben's plays are works, when others' works are plays.[4]

In its editorial approach, the recent Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson (Bevington *et al.* 2012) departs from the famous Herford and Simpson edition of 1925-1952. Both included works that the Folio omitted; but Herford and Simpson relied on the texts of the Folio on the grounds (that have turned out to be only partly true) that Jonson saw the Works volume through the press himself, attending more or less daily to corrections as the sheets came off the press.

The Cambridge Edition is the first to give full consideration to the manuscript witnesses of the poems, especially of the uncollected poems. More flexibility has also been introduced into the editing when weighing the merits of the plays and masques in their various printed and, in some cases, manuscript forms. With the plays, the edition adopts a more versional approach, providing reading texts based on the quarto editions of the plays *Sejanus* and *Volpone*, partly because of the way they 'attest to the two plays intricate and immediate embedment in their historical moments' (Bevington *et al.* 2013, n.p.). But with *The Alchemist* and *Cataline* they choose the Folio texts because of the minimal but systematic revisions apparent in the Folio. As well as edited texts and textual collations, the Online Edition (2013) contains facsimile images and transcriptions of the quartos and Folio, as well as the major manuscripts – an overview that, even if Herford and Simpson had conceived of it, they would have found impossible to provide. In summary, the editorial conspectus on Jonson – what might be called the scholar's oeuvre – has expanded around but also includes the author's, although, in using that latter term 'oeuvre' in relation to Jonson in his own time, care remains necessary.

Even in more recent times, not all authors, nor even all poets, have seen their works as forming an oeuvre. In his landmark edition of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's Poems, J.C.C. Mays, though keenly aware of the scholar's oeuvre he has just edited, comments:

> Coleridge's poems do not add up to an *oeuvre* in the sense defined by twentieth-century masters. There are indications that he made an effort to shape individual successive collections, in different ways, but the compromises and contradictions he allowed are as evident as the controlling hand … he appears to have had no steady idea of the literary persona he was putting before the world … His relation with individual poems also continued long after their first versions, so that he overwrote his original intentions; or his relation ceased, so that he ignored the mistakes and errors which crept in. Coleridge's approach to the majority of his poems is fluid and opportunistic. (2001, vol. I, xcv)

These considerations left Mays with a dilemma. In what groupings and sequence or sequences should he present the poems? Given the writer's (non-existent) sense of an oeuvre only one conclusion was possible: 'There is no way of arranging the poems, in a way which suggests their different kinds of status and the relation between them, which is not an interference' (vol. I, cxviii). Ultimately he settled on a chronological presentation as 'the most easily understood, the most familiar, and therefore the most neutral … To clarify relationships by arranging the material into ordered groups would be "a case merely of substituting unfamiliar chaos for familiar confusion" ' (*ibid*., cxxxvi).[5] Thus the presentation of the scholar's oeuvre as limited

[4] Epigrams 269, 270 in *Wit's Recreation*, 1640, but 'probably in circulation much earlier'; quoted in Donaldson 2011, 326-327.

[5] Mays is quoting Potter 1933, xxvii.

by the book form (reading texts plus apparatus of variant readings) emerges in this six-volume edition as an argument or series of arguments about both texts and sequence, and inherently open to counter-argument.

The case was intriguingly different with Wordsworth. Here we see the concept that would become known as the oeuvre taking on a self-conscious and deliberate form at the writer's hands. The title of Wordsworth's second collection of poems, *Lyrical Ballads*, of 1798 (to which Coleridge contributed) implied two generic categories of poem, the lyric and the ballad, but here melded into one. In the next edition of 1800 (in two volumes now), the poems were rearranged but not into distinct groupings. Rather, the 'unbroken arrangements' of the poems were, as Jared Curtis puts it, 'based loosely on contrasting and cumulative effects' (Curtis 1983, 36). Then, in 1807, a further expansion led to *Poems, in Two Volumes*. In the first volume, four categories were employed to group the poems: 'The Orchard Pathway', 'Poems Composed during a Tour, Chiefly on Foot', and 'Sonnets' distributed between 'Dedicated to Liberty' and 'Miscellaneous'. However, the logic or effect of the categories was unclear to some early reviewers.[6] Stung by their criticisms, Wordsworth explained his motivation for the groupings in letters to friends. He wanted to enrich the experience of reading individual, often short, poems by placing them within categories that would sustain each poem so that, as he said, 'if individually they want weight, perhaps, as a Body, they may not be so deficient' (quoted *ibid.*).

In 1814, in his 'Preface' to *The Excursion*, Wordsworth describes his great, autobiographical long poem *The Prelude*, which was still in development, as being like the 'ante-chapel' to a gothic church (i.e. the not-yet-written *Recluse*) and his earlier poems as 'little cells, oratories, and sepulchral recesses' of that church (Owen and Smyser 1974, vol. III, 5-6). Wim Van Mierlo comments: 'The great edifice that is the work depends on slotting the individual components into their ideal constellation, something which can be achieved only over time and through constantly revisiting what was already written' (2020, 18). If for 'work' in Van Mierlo's formulation we read 'oeuvre' there is further clarification – and, indeed, the 1815 *Poems* would go some way towards embodying it.

That publication was something like an oeuvre-defining moment. Wordsworth had evidently been considering the organisational question since first mentioning it to Coleridge in 1809. The existing category 'Sonnets Dedicated to Liberty' was divided into two to allow for poems written since 1807. 'Miscellaneous Sonnets' was retained and eleven more categories were added: 'Poems Referring to the Period of Childhood', 'Juvenile Pieces', 'Poems Founded on the Affections', 'Poems of the Fancy', 'Poems of the Imagination', 'Poems Proceeding from Sentiment and Reflection', 'Poems on the Naming of Places', 'Inscriptions', 'Poems Referring to the Period of Old Age', 'Epitaphs and Elegiac Poems', 'Ode – Intimations, &c.'. The omnibus category Lyrical Ballads, removed in 1807, was not restored. Mixing and resequencing the poems from earlier selections with newer ones also meant removing indications of original publication dates. Chronology would not therefore be a determinant either.

Finally, Wordsworth wrote a new preface to explain this 'monument of classification', as James Heffernan called it in 1979 (108):

poems, apparently miscellaneous, may with propriety be arranged either with reference to the powers of mind *predominant* in the production of them; or to the mould in which they are cast; or, lastly, to the subjects to which they relate. From each of these considerations, the following Poems have been divided

[6] See Curtis 1983, 36-37. Categories employed in volume 2 were: 'Poems Written during a Tour in Scotland', 'Moods of my Own Mind' and 'The Blind Highland Boy; With Other Poems' (61-62).

into classes; which, that the work may more obviously correspond with the course of human life, and for the sake of exhibiting in the three requisites of a legitimate whole, a beginning, a middle, and an end, have been also arranged, as far as it was possible, according to an order of time, commencing with Childhood, and terminating with Old Age, Death, and Immortality. (Owen and Smyser 1974, vol. III, 28)

Wordsworth's new categories of 1815 have been discussed from Foucauldian, editorial and other perspectives.[7] The matter is not straightforward since Wordsworth's categories have overlapping imperatives and conflicting criteria (thematic, generic, chronological, psychological). But what is clear is that they at least involved a curation of their contents on the author's part intended to influence how readers would understand the collection as a whole and thus the relationship of each poem to it. The rough thematic-chronological ordering of poems within each category, from childhood to old age and beyond, betokens or invites a parallel with the poet's own life, something Wordsworth had already expended much energy upon in the successive versions and extensions of *The Prelude*, and would go on doing so until 1839. It was never published in his lifetime partly because Wordsworth could not finish the long philosophical poem to which it was to be a prelude, *The Recluse*. But in 1815, almost as a stepping stone, the writing self would be embodied, figuratively, in the sequence and organisation of the poems across the two volumes.

So it was that the 1815 publication served as a first representation of Wordsworth's poetic oeuvre for readers, but one that was destined (for this long-lived poet) to be superseded over and again in his future collections as more poems and categories were added. Nevertheless, a poet's oeuvre had confidently been cast into the public domain as an authorially curated object. The magnificent Cornell Wordsworth series of scholarly editions (1975-2008) would take its own, more encompassing and versional path in determining and presenting its corresponding scholar's oeuvre.[8]

To jump a century forward to W.B. Yeats is to find the poet's self-memorialising being taken to a new self-conscious height. Each successive Yeats collection witnessed the process both in the textual revision and sequencing of poems, as well as in the physical design of the volumes, especially those from Cuala Press. So, in his edition of the *Early Poetry, Volume II* in the Cornell Yeats series, George Bornstein reproduces 'the orderings of eight different manuscript lists of Yeats differing in important ways from the published orderings' (1994, 523). Each new context, Bornstein argues, exposes 'new meanings (or new fault lines) for any given poem as well as for the entire sequence' (2). Yeats almost never printed volume contents in chronological order of composition; rather, the 'customary role of the opening poem of a Yeats volume' is, Bornstein argues elsewhere, to present 'a parable of escape from this world … which ensuing poems will react against in various ways' (2001, 67).

When, as Warwick Gould has commented, the opportunity for a new seven-volume deluxe Collected Works loomed in the 1930s, Yeats' 'dream of finality, perfectionism, a collected works, an *oeuvre* (which he openly wanted from 1895 onwards), "something intended, complete" '

[7] E.g., James Garrett (2008) compares contemporary schema of classification such as in the first British Census of 1801 as forms of exercising control over erstwhile abstract conceptions or natural entities. For text-critical evidence of Wordsworth's development of the categories, see Ketcham 1989, 26-32; and, for the poet's manuscript and printed category lists, see *ibid.*, 608-631.

[8] See further, Eggert (forthcoming); the Cornell series policy is to give pride of place to 'the earliest provisionally complete text' of any poem (Parrish 1997, 99), to then use it to serve as a base text for the apparatus, recording earlier and later readings in manuscript and print; and to provide 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.

(Gould 2018, 482) began to seem possible.[9] But supervening circumstances meant that Yeats died in 1939 before it could be produced, leaving many editorial cruxes to be determined and a legacy of sharp divisions of editorial opinion.[10] Gould considers that Yeats, in his preparations, 'updated his collected works as a self-image, and his canon-formations involved the relegation of works which did not fit his idea of a *Collected Works* as a "permanent self". "*It is myself that I remake*" was his reply to those who regretted this textual husbandry' (2018, 480).

This oeuvre-formation – what Hugh Kenner in 1955 described as Yeats' 'deliberated artistic Testament' (1956, 585) – involved the relegation of various of his writings; he hoped they would fall into oblivion. But of course the later scholar is aware that no such selection and revision carried out within a poet's lifetime can be determinative. Newly written poems are liable to drive out the old; new versions, the result of revision, supersede their predecessors; authorial notes to poems, added or expanded, foreshadow a changed climate of reception and try to guide it; and the sequencing of contents is changed from one manuscript copying to the next in the wait for the oeuvre-defining volume that is delayed or does not arrive.

So it was for the colonial New South Wales poet Charles Harpur (1813-1868). He spent much of the 1860s in just such a state of preparation, as his manuscripts, now preserved in the Mitchell Library in Sydney, attest. The anticipated volume publication in London did not proceed. Fifteen years after the poet's death, his widow's relatives, at her earnest entreaty, financed the selection and editing of a handsome volume to be published locally. With nothing like the poetic prestige that, courtesy of the intervening movements of Aestheticism and Symbolism, Yeats was able to invoke, Harpur's editor in 1883 felt at liberty to impose the standards of taste and decorum of the day, amidst protests, too late to be effective, from Mrs Harpur. The modern scholarly editor has choices to make, and cannot help but face the fact that the author's repeated oeuvre-formation in manuscript was itself a process or performance, to which his death put an arbitrary end. In this elongated purview, the textual adjustments and abridgements for the volume of 1883, *Poems*, fall into place as another performance: but editorial this time. The scholar needs the conspectus: in editorial practice, the author's oeuvre is not the scholar's oeuvre. Nor need it be in literary-critical practice.

3. *Novelists' Oeuvres: From Goethe to Conrad*

There can be no scholar's oeuvre if there is nothing, or relatively little, to study. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe made sure there was. He retained his papers throughout much of his life; and in 1896 they came to the new Goethe and Schiller Archive in Weimar from his family, to whom they had passed after his death in 1832. At the opening of the Archive, the ongoing Weimar Edition of Goethe's Works (1887-1919) was celebrated. The existence of those papers had permitted the editors, in the Edition's ultimately 143 volumes, to include '*everything* that has been left behind of his *personal essence*'.[11]

This included items that Goethe had himself excluded from his famous *Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* (1827-1831). He had previously been involved in earlier complete-works editions,

[9] Gould is quoting Yeats' 'A General Introduction for my Work': the poet, when he writes, 'never speaks directly as to someone at the breakfast table … he has been reborn as an idea, something intended, complete … he is more type than man, more passion than type' (Yeats 1961, 509).

[10] E.g., Gould 1994, 2018.

[11] Translated in Piper 2006, 125 from Suphan 1887, xvii–xix. Bernard Suphan was director of the project. See further, Piper 2006 and Plachta 2004. I have also drawn from an unpublished conference paper by Plachta (2001), for which I thank him.

for which there was a commercial imperative in the then German states: the print marketplace scanted copyright protection over earlier works and permitted piracy. Revised authorised editions were attempts to channel sales towards them, from which author and publisher would benefit.

The publication of Wieland's *Sämtliche Werke* (1794-1811) had created a taste for the final authorised edition. In his collected edition, Wieland acknowledged the validity of earlier versions of his works by including their variant readings. And then, in the publication of Schiller's complete works by his publisher Cotta after Schiller's death in 1805, the works were organised in chronological order. A certain spirit of editorial scholarship was in the air, and Goethe would employ a philologist, Carl Wilhelm Göttling, to correct the texts of his already published works for his *Ausgabe letzter Hand*, while he, Goethe, got on with revising *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* and his autobiographical writings.

When, in 1826, Goethe had first announced his *Ausgabe letzter Hand*, he pushed back against commentators on an earlier complete edition of his works who had criticised him for not following the chronological ordering carried out for Schiller's works. From Goethe's point of view his works were, rather, the 'creations of a talent' that came from 'a certain centre'. Instead of developing methodically over time, step by step, that creative urge ('something from deep inside') had gone off in all directions, some further pursued, some not.[12] So he settled on an arrangement by traditional literary genres, reined in his assistant who was wanting to collate and analyse the textual transmission of his works on philological principles in order to establish their texts (when all Goethe wanted Göttling to do was to correct egregious misprints), and selected only those writings he wished to be preserved.

The tension between the scholarly desire for completion (as in the Weimar Edition) and the authorial desire to present a coherent whole, a completed creation, would be further heightened when, in the twentieth century, scholarly editors began to realise the effects of uncritically accepting the texts of the *Ausgabe letzter Hand*. It had inevitably incorporated an accretion of unintended errors in the typesettings of the editions that went before it, as one was typeset from the other. First-edition texts began to be preferred, since any interest in tracking textual genesis and development might be hindered by privileging texts the author had expressly authorised in the formation of *his* oeuvre, to use the twentieth-century term. Once again, the scholar's oeuvre could not be identical with the writer's.

Walter Scott's so-called *Magnum Opus* collected edition of his Waverley novels, published in 48 volumes from 1829 to 1833, was typeset from series previously published by Constable in 1822 and 1824, and by Cadell in 1827 and 1833. Into specially prepared copies of each of the works published prior to Scott's death in 1832, blank leaves were inserted, making up the Interleaved Set now preserved at the National Library of Scotland. Scott was thus able to make revisions and corrections, and also add annotations, which were usually of an antiquarian nature. There were both short notes intended to be set as footnotes and lengthy notes for end-of-chapter placement. Scott carried out most of this work probably between 1828 and 1831. Collected editions of his novels had begun to appear in his lifetime from 1819, before the advent of the Magnum Opus edition; but *it* turned out to be the runaway success.

The prospectus for subscriptions was issued in late February 1828. The original idea was to print 4,000 copies of each volume, but the take-up justified initial runs of 10,000, rising for

[12] Translated in Plachta 2001; originally in the daily newspaper *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* (July 1826): Anon. 1985, vol. XXII, 757-765.

the early, more popular titles to 30,000 by the time the last of the 48 volumes had appeared.[13] It eventually appeared in large octavo, duodecimo and 18mo formats, thus catering to popular demand through cheaper prices. In this way, the new, expanded authorised edition would become, by virtue of frequent reprinting, the recognised point of entry into Scott's Waverley novels.

The motivation for undertaking the annotations was originally not scholarly but commercial. Scott was a financial partner in the Constable publishing firm; but their London printer failed in January 1826, throwing Constable and Scott into excessive amounts of debt. An idea that had previously been proposed by Constable was revived. It was for Scott to prepare an annotated collected edition of the Waverley novels so as to create new, potentially profitable and ultimately saleable intellectual property.[14]

Scott's annotations were derived from his own recollections, from letters he received from correspondents from whom he had sought information, and from other independent research, including a visit to the British Library. Acting more like a belles-lettristric scholar than an author, but of course claiming the privilege and special insight of being author, Scott became more and more committed to the job as the long process went on. He rarely missed an opportunity to add information, revise inserted correspondence, correct proofs, and insert new information that had only just come to hand. He strove to avoid loss and repetition of new material and errors of the press. In an open letter of 19 November 1830 to his publisher and all involved in the printing of *Peveril of the Peak*, Scott (now beset by a series of strokes) appealed in frustration for '*running copy* … without delay and not after long intervals so that the whole may be kept in view at the same time' (quoted in Millgate 1987, 9). As he proceeded with the notes he was also revising and correcting the text, generally lightly and unsystematically, and writing new introductions. He must have had the sense that the Magnum Opus edition would be his testament, the nearest thing to a writer's oeuvre that a novelist could achieve.

And so it proved until, that is, a new generation of editorial scholars got to work in the 1980s. They reasoned that, while the texts of the Magnum Opus editions benefited from Scott's corrections, the editions intervening between the first and the Magnum, as well as the Magnum's own typesetting, must have introduced successive rounds of typesetters' regularisation and error, each one incorporated into the next, that cumulatively undermined the authority of the Magnum's texts. A preference for a return to earlier copy-texts emerged in the attempt to establish a readable text that would capture the period of initial creation. Scott's oeuvre-defining moment would assume its place, under the scholar's purview, in the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels (30 vols., 1993-2012), but only as a later version far removed from the original one in which the Edition was primarily interested.[15] The joint textual authority of the Interleaved Set and the Magnum Opus edition derives more from reception than initial composition. This is a condition endemic to late or so-called deathbed editions. The upshot is that, once again, the scholar's oeuvre and the writer's oeuvre deviated from one another.

The addition by poets or novelists of annotation to their works is not rare, and Scott's prestige throughout the nineteenth century may have helped it become less so. Charles Harpur

[13] Factual information here is drawn from Millgate 1987 and Brown 1987.

[14] Cadell, who ultimately acquired the entire copyright, described the Interleaved Set used as printer's copy for the annotated edition as the material evidence of a new copyright 'so far as these alterations go' (quoted in Millgate 1987, 5). A. & C. Black purchased the copyright from Cadell in 1851 and the Interleaved Set was used again in preparing their Centenary Edition in 1871 (Scott was born in 1771).

[15] See general editor David S. Hewitt's account of the editorial rationale (1988); it responds to the many complexities in the transmission of Scott's texts.

often added notes or expanded existing ones when his poems appeared in newspapers or were reprinted in them in the 1850s and 1860s; Yeats added 46 pages of notes to *The Wind Among the Reeds* (1899); and T.S. Eliot famously added notes to *The Waste Land* (1922). Long before them all, Ben Jonson had added epistles and other paratextual material to his plays in the Folio, in the hope of guiding reader response and achieving a higher esteem for himself in aristocratic circles. All these examples may be understood as authors performing curatorial duties on behalf of their works, culturing them into what by the twentieth century would be called an oeuvre – a writer's oeuvre, which the later scholarly editor is likely to see very differently.

Although collected editions of writers' novels arose in the eighteenth century, by the concluding decades of the nineteenth century the need for market differentiation on the part of publishers, anxious that their back-titles go on selling, had led to the collected *édition de luxe*. This form typically appealed to the book collector because of its luxury binding, special paper stocks, authorial signatures on the title-page, and limited issues, sometimes hand-numbered. Henry James rose to the bait when offered the chance of such an edition by his American publisher Scribner. As there would necessarily be a new typesetting, the opportunity presented itself for him to revise the texts of his previously published works so as to bring the earlier ones 'into alignment of style, color and general literary presentment with the work of his maturity', as Scribner's advertising would put it. There would be a 'complete unity of effect' in what became known as James' New York Edition (1907-1909).[16] His consistently heavy revisions, together with his newly written prefaces, amounted to a sort of manifesto on the art of the novel (as R.P. Blackmur would entitle James' new prefaces when he gathered them into a book in 1934). The collected edition would usher the revised works into the modern moment: it would make them a product *of* that moment.

The extant corrected proofs confirm that James worked very hard at his self-imposed task, lending a new sophistication to the texts of his earlier works and redefining the *édition de luxe* in so doing. The job once finished, James told a correspondent: 'It has made me ten years older … but it has really made my poor old books, I think, twenty or thirty years younger'.[17] The New York Edition would be a quintessentially authorial final expression, a monumentalising of the form in which James wished his works to be read in the future, including after his death (he would die in 1916). It was also, for the purposes of the present essay, an oeuvre-delimiting moment in that he intended all along that the New York Edition be 'selective as well as collective; I want to quietly disown a few things by not thus supremely adopting them'.[18] In fact, only about half of his shorter fictions made the cut, and several of his novels and novellas, including *Washington Square*, *The Europeans* and *The Bostonians*, were not considered worthy by James to be memorialised in this way, or at least not within the 23 volumes that his publisher allowed him.

There had been an earlier Collective Edition of James' works in 1883, published by Macmillan; but James, then travelling in the USA, had had little to do with it. There is no evidence he corrected proofs, which would have been virtually impossible to organise in any case. In comparison to the New York Edition, this was not a case of a self-defined writer's oeuvre coming into existence. The collected format itself is no guarantee of it but, in default of anything better, for readers the format may come to stand in for it.

[16] From Scribner's December 1907 prospectus 'The Novels and Tales of Henry James' (quoted in Anesko 2009, 193, 197). Anesko's article is the primary source of information here. See further, Nashe 2003 and the Penguin Classics edition of James' *Portrait of a Lady*: 'with text based on the 1882 edition rather than the 1908 New York edition' (Horne 2011, iv); in its Appendix IV (644-682), it conveniently localises and documents the issues broached here.

[17] James to Witter Bynner, 20 [September] 1908; quoted in Anesko 2009, 196.

[18] James to James B. Pinker, 6 June 1905; quoted in Anesko 2009, 194.

This proved to be the case with Joseph Conrad, and for some decades scholars were taken in by the substitution. In a letter of February 1917 Conrad wrote: 'The only edition in which I take interest is the Collected Edition … For the text, it will be exactly the text of the English 1st editions freed from misprints and with, perhaps, a few (very few) verbal alterations.'[19] This declaration was written when the idea of deluxe Collected Editions (American and English) of his works was under discussion, though the fulfilment of the idea, one profoundly welcome to Conrad, would wait until after the War. The Collected Editions came out from 1921 in English (Heinemann) and American (Doubleday) editions. In 1928, his friend the literary critic Richard Curle recalled Conrad's telling him that the Collected Editions – 'that Conrad considered his final text' – would represent him for posterity (Curle 1968, 64). And so, more or less, it turned out. Reprintings derived from Doubleday plates were regularly issued in both countries under different series names by various publishers in the coming decades. The major one for the British marketplace and its commercial territories was that issued by Dent.

Publishers, Conrad critics and some editors of student and general-reader editions were by and large content to take Conrad at his word. The 1960s Penguin editions of Conrad simply reset the Dent Collected texts without further consideration. The more scholarly 1960s Norton editions of *Lord Jim* and *Heart of Darkness* used the texts of the Heinemann Collected Edition, by then supposed to be the more authoritative.[20] The idea sorted well with a commitment to the study of the 'concrete' text, that favoured term of the New Critical imagination.[21]

Somewhat as in the case with Scott, the status and reliability of those Collected texts as an indicator of Conrad's wishes – and thus as carriers of his oeuvre – were shot out of the water once the scholar-editors got properly to work in the 1980s. It was gradually established that the Collected texts mainly derive from already copy-edited first-edition texts, themselves usually derived from serial publications edited, sometimes heavily, for magazine audiences. During the production of those original publications the actual line of transmission was re-invented each time, responding to tight deadlines and other practical necessities. Complications inevitably arose. First, Conrad faced the necessity to supply copy for dual first editions on either side of the Atlantic and, similarly, for prior single or double magazine serialisation. Second, there was the need to check proofs expeditiously to meet publishing schedules, or to delegate the job. Often magazine proofs might serve as printer's copy for one or both book publishers. Or book proofs of the one publisher could serve as copy for the other. The net result was that there was no practicable way for Conrad to have kept a close check on his proliferating texts as publication of the first editions approached.

The Collecteds in the 1920s only exacerbated the problem. Conrad read lightly over the proofs of their first few volumes but thereafter seems to have delegated the responsibility to his live-in secretary.[22] This should not be surprising, despite his commitment to this new and welcome publishing project. Conrad was a reluctant and not especially proficient proof corrector. He was usually itching to get on with the new work in hand, not to be interrupted by the old: 'I don't want to correct I want to write', he said with some irritation in a letter of 1908.[23]

[19] Conrad to Reginald Leon (Karl *et al.* 1983-2007, vol. VI, 34).

[20] For an overview of the evidence supporting these conclusions, see Eggert 2021; some of its material is adapted here.

[21] For René Wellek in 1941, 'the object of literary study [is] the concrete work of art' (741). His essay became a recognised theoretical underpinning for New Criticism when republished as a chapter in successive editions of his and Austin Warren's *Theory of Literature* from 1949.

[22] See further, Stape 2000.

[23] Conrad to Pinker (Karl *et al.* 1983-2007, vol. IV, 60).

Conrad was a professional author, not a textual critic or student of textual transmission. He made efforts to keep control of his texts. He noticed a percentage of the changes typists and typesetters made, but the independent revisions he made to remedy those errors show that he did not systematically check the new typing or proofs against the preceding document. Although he occasionally voiced outrage at his texts being tampered with, or at the prospect of it, the texts of his works were changed in hundreds, sometimes thousands of ways, mostly minor, as part of the normal business of printing and publishing magazines and books, and then again in new editions – including, importantly, the Collecteds. A gradual drift away from an authorial style was the result.

The Collected volumes were introduced by prefaces. From April 1919, Conrad was hard at work on what would be called, in each case, the 'Author's Note'. He had written ten by the end of the year. The idea he had conceived in 1917 held firm. Rejecting his agent's suggestion at the time that his prefaces might be like Henry James' elaborate technical discussions for his New York edition, Conrad replied: 'I have formed for myself a conception of my public as the sort of people that would accept graciously a few intimate words but would not care for long disquisitions about art'.[24] In practice, the Author's Notes would be basically reminiscent, revealing something of the origins of each tale and Conrad's struggle to resolve it into a narrative form, but with their cordial surfaces sometimes complicated by defensive even combative undertones.

These prefaces – propagated on both sides of the Atlantic in printing after printing – lent the Collecteds an authority and a pride of place in the bookselling marketplace for some decades, one that ultimately called out an independent scholarly assessment. As is frequently the case, it was the editors who did it. The case for relegating the Collected texts was made by Sid Reid in the first volume of the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Joseph Conrad in 1990. It was a remarkable piece of text-critical argument, and Reid's conclusions have been confirmed and extended in successive volumes.[25] It meant that the scholars' oeuvre would need to be painstakingly reconstructed, novel by novel, story by story, essay by essay at the level of the work and of the version. Only now, as the Cambridge series nears its end, can we begin to say that the two oeuvres have been clarified in their differences from one another.

That still leaves much interpretation of the scholar's oeuvre to do, since a methodology for studying the intermingled genesis of Conrad's writings, and the effects that chronological overlaps and biographical conditioning have on their meanings, is only now being generally recognised as a literary-critical problem, one that is far from settled, and not only with Conrad. Allied problems – such as the place in the scholar's oeuvre (but usually not in the writer's) of fragments, juvenilia, dubious attributions, erotica, collaborations and non-literary writings – are yet to be properly negotiated on a theoretical basis by a text-critically and book-historically aware literary criticism.

4. *D.H. Lawrence and T.S. Eliot*

D.H. Lawrence evinced very little of Yeats' priestly attention to his own writings. Unlike Yeats, Lawrence rarely re-read them, especially the fiction (*Sons and Lovers* is the only known exception); but with the poetry, he was obliged to do so. There was the necessity of gathering together, selecting, revising and sequencing those poems previously published in magazines into individual collections of poetry; and then, in late 1927 and early 1928, gathering and revising the published collections, together with some uncollected poems, into what would become his two-volume *Collected Poems* of 1928.

[24] Conrad to Pinker [14 July? 1917] (Karl *et al.* 1983-2007, vol. VI, 108).
[25] See Harkness and Reid 1990, 283-293.

As he performed this editing of his earlier poetry he would have been aware that there were twenty years of poetic endeavour on the line: how would it be regarded? In the 'Note' he wrote to accompany *Collected Poems*, he showed himself aware of the disconcerting tonal sharpness and extravagance of idea demonstrated by some of the poems in his 1917 collection *Look! We Have Come Through!* He asked his readers 'to fill in the background of the poems, as far as possible … What was uttered in the cruel spring of 1917 should not be dislocated and heard as if sounding out of the void' (Pollnitz 2013-2018, vol. I, 656).

This statement pushed Lawrence to an intriguing generalisation, which still has application for scholarly editors today:

> It seems to me that no poetry, not even the best, should be judged as if it existed in the absolute, in the vacuum of the absolute. Even the best poetry, when it is at all personal, needs the penumbra of its own time and place and circumstance, to make it full and whole. If we knew a little more of Shakespeare's self and circumstance, how much more complete the sonnets would be to us, how their strange torn edges would be softened and merged into a whole body! (*Ibid.*)

To announce a standard and to live up to it are two different things, and it has to be said that Lawrence proved not to be the most consistent of self-editors. He claimed that he had 'tried to arrange the poems, as far as possible, in chronological order, the order in which they were written … because many of the poems are so personal, that in their fragmentary fashion, they make up a biography of an emotional and inner life' (655). But only in a rough and ready way can it be said that he succeeded. Like any poet, as he prepared his earlier writings for new publication, the tension between respecting the earlier texts as being of their moment and his aesthetic desire to improve them was all too pressing, and Lawrence fudged the issue as best he could. (I return to this below.)

Lawrence was defining his poetic oeuvre via his collecting and editing. But it was a temporary achievement since there were more poems to come – and we don't know what he would have done had he lived long enough to review all of *them*. Before he died in 1930 scores of new poems, mostly short, would flow from his pen, none of which could be included in *Collected Poems*. The only perspective on his oeuvre that can encompass *all* of the poems is the post-mortem one: the scholarly one.

The Cambridge three-volume edition (Pollnitz 2013-2018) respected his final intentions of 1928 in its first two volumes (thus establishing reading texts of his authorially defined oeuvre), and added those poems that, in 1928, were yet to be written. But it broke free in its third volume by printing selected early versions of the same poems as well as those that had been lost sight of in 1927-1928 because they had not been selected for the earlier collections. (Lawrence had worked without his manuscripts or earlier magazine printings to hand.) In effect, two oeuvres, based on conflicting principles, were published, in silent critique of one another: the one in service of the ideal form of the writer's oeuvre and of the work-texts in it; and the other opening up for inspection significant stages in the process of text development over time (see further, Eggert 2020).

Adopting that latter, versional perspective is to glimpse what virtually all of Lawrence's other works (short fiction, novels, plays, essays) have in common with one another and with the poems. With Lawrence, each piece of writing emerges characteristically as a staged encounter with new subject matter. Each one re-engages and localises Lawrence's existing repertoire, only to move beyond it. Each engagement is provisional. The versions produced by this process seem to dissolve into their 'works' (as we traditionally call those regulative containers), and the works dissolve into his oeuvre. All form part, over time, of a single, ongoing intellectual project that the scholar will want to understand. Within that project, Lawrence's poetic self-canonising of

November 1927 to January 1928 appears as only one more moment, once again showing that the poet's self-curated oeuvre on the one hand, and the scholar's contextualising of it within an encompassing, more continuous and intermingled process of writing and revision on the other, are two different things.

T.S. Eliot's modelling of the moment of writing, with the writer addressing the Tradition, is in a different world from the two perspectives on the oeuvre that we have been inspecting so far. They are overleapt at a bound by Eliot's idealist concept. But the overleaping leaves him with the problem of finding a way to mediate between the abstraction and the practical realities of writing, and it leaves him open to the suspicion that his Tradition was less a principle than a historical reflection or symptom, something that made sense at the time, that served its turn, but was doomed to become only a curiosity a century later. I'll deal with the latter problem first.

In 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', Eliot characterises the literary tradition thus: 'The existing monuments form an ideal order' (Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. II, 106). In 'The Function of Criticism' (1923), he went further: the tradition of world literature, of European literature and of national literatures is, in each case, not to be regarded as 'a collection of the writings of individuals but as "organic wholes," as systems in relation to which, and only in relation to which, individual works of literary art, and the works of individual artists, have their significance'. For artists, it is 'a common inheritance and a common cause' (II, 458).

The appeal of looking at the past in this way must have been its restorative effect, its being what David Goldie calls a 'manifestly reintegrative' strategy (1998, 59). Eliot could not but have been affected by the anxieties of his age in the years immediately following the First World War. In Britain, cynicism about politics was rampant. 'Homes fit for heroes', the popular slogan at the end of the war, had become, as the novelist and leftwing commentator Douglas Goldring later recalled, 'a bitter jest' (1945, 6). At the time, in his 1920 novel *The Black Curtain*, Goldring wrote: 'The civilisation of the West might now indeed be refashioned on a nobler and more spiritual basis. And if this were done, then the dead would not have died in vain' (232). Goldring dedicated the novel to D.H. Lawrence, but Lawrence would have had no truck with that 'nobler and more spiritual basis'. Memories harden in retrospect, when at the time opportunity may have been glimpsed or anticipated. Eliot's Tradition must have had something of that hopeful flavour at a moment when the certainties, ideals and sentiments of the Victorian past were under severe questioning. In 1920, John Middleton Murry diagnosed a 'continual disintegration of the consciousness' that had found its way into literature (quoted in Goldie 1998, 48).[26] In comparison, Eliot's concept of Tradition offered a model of integration and renewal.

To make the conceptual gesture was one thing, but to sustain it was another: Eliot would need to find a way to keep the abstraction (Tradition) and the activity of writing in communication. In the next several years in a number of essays Eliot offers various filaments to help connect the two. But they don't add up cumulatively to a coherent case, let alone a theory. For instance, Eliot offers a historical claim about a 'dissociation of sensibility' having occurred since the seventeenth century (this, to explain his disaffection from nineteenth-century poetry, as he would ruefully reflect in 1961) (Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. II, 380, vol. VIII, 463). He values a mastery of technique that permits the writer to retain contact with the subject as opposed to cultivating the rhythmic seductiveness of poets such as Swinburne and Tennyson. He counsels the control of excessive subjectivity in the poet, which could be partly managed via reliance on

[26] From Murry, 'Poetry and Criticism', *Athenaeum*, 26 March 1920.

an objective correlative used as the formula for the evoked emotion (vol. II, 125). He stresses the need for 'the historical sense' (106) and thus for 'a very highly developed sense of fact' (as opposed to self-indulgent emotion) in the writer, and for a good education (464).[27] He allowed himself to become committed to what, in an extended dispute with John Middleton Murry from 1923, he accepted as 'Classicism' as opposed to Murry's 'Romanticism'.[28] A deference towards Murry's 'Outside Authority' (462) in each of these cases in turn necessitated, Eliot argued, an impersonality on the part of the writer: 'There is accordingly something outside of the artist to which he owes allegiance, a devotion to which he must surrender and sacrifice himself in order to earn and to obtain his unique position' (458). Eliot was, as he himself admitted much later, attracted to positions that laid down fertile soil for his own form of poetry, but he dressed the arguments in a persuasive rhetoric of disinterestedness that seemed to lend them universal application.[29]

So Eliot could criticise both William Blake and Lawrence for the eccentricity of their writing, which he linked to the alleged poverty of their educations and reading, and Lawrence's supposed lack of a sense of humour.[30] In fact, as the Cambridge eight-volume edition of his letters has amply documented, Lawrence was a wide but unorthodox, often distinctively creative reader. He certainly had 'his own generation in his bones'; but, unlike Eliot, he found it an entrapment. In 1916, when asking Ottoline Morrell to send him 'a history of early Egypt, before the Greeks', he specified 'a book not too big, because I like to fill it in myself, and the contentions of learned men are so irritating' (Boulton 1979-2000, vol. II, 529).

Eliot, on the other hand, sought to maintain a position or rhetoric of cultural authority that he could share with his audience, could exemplify in his own essays and reviews, and, in his editing of the *Criterion* from 1922, could encourage in contributors (see, e.g., Heywood Thomas 1930). In this atmosphere, unorthodox outsiders were apt to be regarded with suspicion. Yet again and again, and more especially as he grew more self-reflective with age, Eliot evinces in his prose a disarming honesty and even a modesty that belie his rhetoric, and he deploys an understated ironic wit that lightens it. He never wrote a serious essay on Lawrence and may not have read many of his works.[31] He made many comments about Lawrence but equivocated in his judgements, as he himself recognised in 'To Criticize the Critic' in 1961 (Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. VIII, 467); probably he was influenced by those essays on Lawrence that he published in the *Criterion* and by Murry's biography of Lawrence, *Son of Woman*, which he himself reviewed in 1931 (vol. IV, 313-319).

The equivocation about Lawrence was not something Eliot ever became at ease with. Encountering Lawrence's personally direct and serious, sometimes reverential renderings of sexual feelings and sexual intercourse in whatever of his writings that Eliot read in the 1910s and 1920s brought out in him, in 1927, a display of witty condescension, which – in the need for it – is itself revealing, but not about Lawrence:

[27] For Eliot's conceptualising 'the historical sense' from 1918, see vol. II, 112 n. 4.

[28] As part of another dispute, Murry had been forced to defend 'the inner voice', and to claim that 'the writer achieves impersonality through personality', so that 'romanticism … is itself the English tradition', thus neatly turning the tables on Eliot's established position; quoted in Goldie 1998, 101 (from Murry, 'On Fear and on Romanticism', *Adelphi*, September 1923), and see further 96-118.

[29] 'I was implicitly defending the sort of poetry that I and my friends wrote' (Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. VIII, 460).

[30] See, e.g., 'William Blake' in Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. II, 190-191; and (re Lawrence), 'To Criticize the Critic', vol. VIII, 467.

[31] This is the conclusion of Crick and DiSanto (2009, 141); but cf. Eliot's 'Introduction' to the 1937 collection *Revelation* (in Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. V, 472-496, see 485-488).

When his characters make love – or perform Mr. Lawrence's equivalent for love-making − and they do nothing else – they not only lose all the amenities, refinements and graces which many centuries have built up in order to make love-making tolerable; they seem to reascend the metamorphoses of evolution, passing backward beyond ape and fish to some hideous coition of protoplasm. (vol. III, 90)

A line could be drawn from this defensive ironic display to the less showy Eliot that wrote those feeble erotic poems to his second wife Valerie, whom he married in 1957.[32]

As Eliot grew older he began to entertain another model that cut across the one based on the writer's address to Tradition. In his 1932 essay 'John Ford' he makes some remarks on Shakespeare. Although he refuses to generalise them, believing Shakespeare to be a special case, they are closer in spirit to what I have been calling the scholar's oeuvre and to the editorial and literary-critical methodology it would potentially generate:

The standard set by Shakespeare is that of a continuous development from first to last: a development in which the choice both of theme and of dramatic and verse technique in each play seems to be determined increasingly by Shakespeare's state of feeling, by the particular stage of his emotional maturity at the time. What is 'the whole man' is not simply his greatest or maturest achievement, but the whole pattern formed by the sequence of plays; so that we may say confidently that the full meaning of any one of his plays is not in itself alone, but in that play in the order in which it was written, in its relation to all of Shakespeare's other plays, earlier and later: we must know all of Shakespeare's work in order to know any of it. No other dramatist of the time approaches anywhere near to this perfection of pattern. (Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. IV, 474)

Even if the heavy emphasis on evaluative judgement remains, particularly the enduring criterion of 'maturity' that goes back to Eliot's essays of the 1910s, and even if Eliot forces the synchronic ('perfection of pattern') upon the diachronic ('earlier and later'), there is nevertheless a noticeable shift from the Tradition of 1919 to oeuvre in 1932. Perhaps Eliot had sensed the overreach, or wooliness, in his model of tradition-and-the-writer, and had begun to see the need for a complementary model that would recognise the perspective of the reader-interpreter as being different from that of the writer. But he did not force the issue to a decisive clarification. He remained in two minds. In 1964 he wrote, in a preface to a new edition of his Charles Eliot Norton lectures of 1932-1933, that he wished 'some anthologist of the future' would choose one of those lectures rather than continue to prefer 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' – which was 'perhaps the most juvenile [of my literary-critical essays] and certainly the first to appear in print' – though, he added, 'I do not repudiate it' (575-576).[33]

Curiously, in that same year 1932, Eliot ensured that the essays he chose for his own *Selected Essays* would all, on the Contents page, be dated by their first appearance (vol. VIII, 459).[34] He had evidently seen, in relation to his own writings, that chronology was essential for

[32] See Ricks and McCue 2015, vol. I, 316-319; e.g. 'And our middle parts are busy with each other' in 'How the Tall Girl and I Play Together', 316.

[33] The Tradition, or at least its implications, retained currency in Eliot's thinking. In 1937, on the issue of fact and education, he commented: 'Lawrence, even had he acquired a great deal more knowledge and information than he ever came to possess, would always have remained uneducated. By being "educated" I mean having such an apprehension of the contours of the map of what had been written in the past, as to see instinctively where everything belongs … it means some understanding of one's own ignorance' (Introduction to *Revelation*: Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. V, 486).

[34] Eliot misdated 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' to 1917: it had in fact first appeared in two parts in *Egoist* in September-October and November-December 1919. The correct date appeared in the second American edition of *Selected Essays* in 1950 and the third English edition of 1951. Eliot told bibliographer Donald Gallup in 1948 he had done the datings in 1932 'by guesswork' (Gallup 1952, 18). He got several dates wrong.

understanding the oeuvre. Works should not be treated as if they inhabited an eternal aesthetic present. The marriage of past and present in his model of Tradition and the writer could therefore not stand – or, at least, not stand alone. In his essay of 1961, 'To Criticize the Critic', he looks back over his own prose writings and ironically notes the drift in his opinions. He drives home the observation that 'we shall appreciate that value [of literary criticism that survives and has value 'out of its historical context'] all the more precisely if we also attempt to put ourselves at the point of view of the writer and his first readers' (vol. VIII, 461).

Later in the 'John Ford' essay, Eliot partially abandons or heavily qualifies one more dimension of his model: his signature call for the impersonality of the writer, which in 1919 he had illustrated by appeal to the chemical analogy of the catalyst.[35] There is room for legitimate disagreement about what he meant in 1919 by the term *impersonality*, and what he defined it against; and it is likely that he was still struggling to come to grips with it as a principle. But his new preparedness in 1932 to name and value the expression of its opposite is telling:

> in all these [early seventeenth-century] dramatists there is the essential, as well as the superficies, of poetry; they give the pattern, or we may say the undertone, of the personal emotion, the personal drama and struggle, which no biography, however full and intimate, could give us; which nothing can give us but our experience of the plays themselves. (vol. IV, 482)

He manages here to keep at bay what the New Critics would soon be calling the biographical fallacy, and in that last clause, by shifting the literary-critical scene to one of reception, he retracts a little of what he has just granted – the relevance of 'the personal emotion' to the poetry. But he has granted it all the same, and now centrally rather than only as something to be overcome.[36]

In 1919 Eliot had understood Tradition as alive in the moment of writing: the writer writes with 'a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of the literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order' (Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. II, 106). His formulation means more than the writer's needing simply to be imbued with the Tradition (so that the new piece of writing will be permeated by prior reading). But Eliot does not go so far as to imply the writer is seized by it (as if the Tradition came down from above and led to the creation of the poem, as in a moment of Romantic inspiration). Rather, the writing condition means to be seized *of* it.

But to accept this special condition, strengthened by Eliot's emphasis on impersonality, as the basis of an analytical method is to sideline and thus overlook the prior, less elevating middle ground: in Eliot's case, his strained first marriage, his evident disdain of sex, his sense of alienation, his own and his first wife Vivienne's depression, and his nervous breakdown while writing *The Waste Land*.[37] It is an illusion to think that the personal can be overleaped without cost in favour of an aesthetic of impersonality and disinterestedness. Many years later Eliot commented that the 'personal emotion' is also transferred to the reader (he had Donne in mind but could equally have been thinking about himself); and that 'the personality' of the poet was 'the only thing that holds his poems, or any one poem, together'.[38] It would have a conditioning effect on the developing

[35] In fact he mixed up the analogy: see Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. II, 113 n. 16.

[36] Cf. from 1919: 'Poetry is not a turning loose of emotion, but an escape from emotion; it is not the expression of personality, but an escape from personality. But, of course, only those who have personality and emotions know what it means to want to escape from these things' (111).

[37] For a stimulating reading of the poem in relation to Eliot's life in the period of its genesis, see Worthen 2009, 90-113.

[38] Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. II, 696. I owe this point to Worthen 2009, 95.

oeuvre, which must consequently be understood as agented, personal and taking shape on the page day-by-day. At this practical level, Eliot's Tradition emerges as an idealism that collapses once you look at the archival remains of the writing process, where there is so much going on: the existence of documents witnessing stages of revision and multiple versions; their links to other writings of around the same time; the roles of the collaborator or of the publisher's reader in shaping the text as first published;[39] and sometimes the effects of a bowdlerising publisher.

5. *A Shifting Sense of Tradition, and F.R. Leavis*

The historical crisis which Eliot's Tradition-concept implicitly addressed may have been resolving itself for Eliot but not so for others. F.R. Leavis, now in his mid thirties, addressed it in an essay of 1930, 'Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture', which is seized of a sense of alarming cultural decline – of 'a breach in continuity' (1933a, 17). This phrase gave the title for the collection in which the essay would be reprinted in 1933: *For Continuity*. Although partly influenced by Eliot in this, Leavis' prognosis was different: 'the need to work very actively for cultural continuity' (4) would not be satisfied by Marxist cultural initiatives or by welcoming the fake economic progress indicated by the present machine age, but only, as he puts it in the 1930 essay, by the educated minority's 'keep[ing] alive the subtlest and most perishable parts of tradition. Upon them depend the implicit standards that order the finer living of an age … In their keeping … is the language, the changing idiom, upon which fine living depends' (15). A 'strong current of criticism is needed as never before' (31-32): literary criticism therefore had an immensely serious role to play if the decline was to be reversed.

The inverse of the decline was the supposed existence of a golden age, an organic community, before the coming of the industrial machine, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Like many others of his generation of writers and intellectuals, Leavis (born in 1895) was profoundly attracted by the idea (see Leavis and Thompson 1933, 87-98). Lawrence, Ezra Pound, Irving Babbitt, R.G. Collingwood, John Dover Wilson: all had their versions of it; and of course Eliot's famous 'dissociation of sensibility', which he announced in 1921, implied a previous halcyon, more integrated period. Georgian poetry anthologies, before, during and after the War, had the effect of endowing the English countryside with a glow, understood as a heritage beyond compare. David Goldie interprets the combination as an 'anxious concern with psychic integrity and cultural continuity' in a period of national crisis (1998, 51).

At around the same time, R.W. Chambers was speaking to the same concern about continuity, except it was coming from a different source. In 1932, exactly a century after the initiation of a new period of edition-making of works of Old and Middle English, and almost seventy years after the formation of the Early English Text Society by Frederick James Furnivall in 1864, Chambers reflected on the influence of the editions on the question of whether there was a continuity in English prose, from the eighth century right through to the early Modern period. He argued that the *Oxford English Dictionary* (which had recently been completed in 1928) had shown irrefutably that the language itself was continuous, and that the newly acquired knowledge from the editions and elsewhere proved the broader continuity in prose. Furnivall is said to have been in no doubt about this from the start, believing that 'all these were monuments of one and the same tongue' (Chambers, 1932, vi).

[39] E.g., Pound in the case of *The Waste Land*; Edward Garnett reshaping Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*, Thomas Mark editing Yeats' collections, Maxwell Perkins with F. Scott Fitzgerald's novels, and, latterly, Gary Fisketjon at Knopf with Peter Carey's novels.

Some ten years later in 1942, in a lecture entitled 'The Classics and the Man of Letters', Eliot's views were shifting, and Chambers was part of the reason. Although Eliot would remain critical of the method of 'look[ing] at one writer after another, without balancing this point of view by the imaginative grasp of a national literature as a whole' (Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. VIII, 296), his idea of Tradition was morphing into the plainer and less abstract one of 'continuity', which embraced not just the literary 'monuments' of 1919 but also now the second-rate:

> The continuity of a literature is essential to its greatness; it is very largely the function of secondary writers to preserve this continuity, and to provide a body of writing which is not necessarily read by posterity, but which plays a great part in forming the link between those writers who continue to be read. This continuity is largely unconscious, and only visible in historical retrospect: I need only refer you for evidence to the monumental, though brief, essay by Professor R.W. Chambers on *The Continuity of English Prose*. And it is within this continuity, and within this environment, that, for my present purpose, individual authors have to be considered. (vol. VI, 297)

Chambers' essay, separately published in 1932 as *On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School*, was in fact an extract from his introduction to an edition of Nicholas Harpsfield's *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, Sometymes Lord High Chanceller of England: Written in the Tyme of Queene Marie and Now Edited from 8 MSS,* edited by Chambers and E.V. Hitchcock for the Early English Text Society.

The fact that the extract was separately published shows that the matter was, or was felt to be, a current concern in 1932. It was evidently a moment, for some at least, of cultural self-congratulation at what had been achieved since the Romantic-nationalist spirit had swept across European countries in the nineteenth century, recuperating folk traditions and gathering up the recovery of Old and Middle English texts along the way. The 1942 lecture came along suavely in Chambers' wake, reducing the young Eliot's claims of 1919 and 1923 while hanging on, if less insistently now, to a model that attached the work to the literary continuity, itself now 'largely unconscious, and only visible in historical retrospect', but with education or 'knowledge' still being the key: 'We can say of Shakespeare, that never has a man turned so little knowledge to such great account' (Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. VI, 298).[40] The middle of another world war was an apposite moment to take up the national-culture question once again.

In 1942, as Eliot was dialing down his response to cultural crisis and finding a counterbalance in his acquired Anglo-Catholicism, Leavis was dialing his up, and would go on doing so until his death in 1978, engaging all the while in a sporadic warfare with Eliot over the latter's treatment of D.H. Lawrence. This was not fertile soil for the growth of a text-critical and interpretative scholarship of the oeuvre that got down to the level of the version and even to text genesis – not when, on one side of the Atlantic, the New Critical commitment to the professional study of poems as verbal icons, as concrete works, was soon to dictate the terms of literary study and when, on the other side, the narrative of cultural decline gave literary criticism its distinctive mission. The advent of new post-structuralist forms of literary theory overturned the field during the 1980s but added their own impediment to a form of study of modern literature that editions and digital archives have – since then and partly in response – slowly been making possible.

[40] According to Chambers, '[T]he case for continuity in the history of English poetry was put by Furnivall's successor in the directorship of the Early English Text Society, Sir Israel Gollancz, in an address which he gave to the Philological Society in 1920 … he subsequently printed this address in pamphlet form' (1932, viii).

The irony for an article about the writer's oeuvre and the scholar's oeuvre is that Eliot's own self-curated prose oeuvre – his *Selected Essays*, which went through three, successively enlarged editions from 1932 to 1951, enjoyed many intervening and subsequent reprintings and left a great many of his prose writings, lectures and reviews by the wayside – has recently been complemented, or superseded, by a near-complete scholar's oeuvre of the prose. This followed a long scholar-adventurer's campaign by Ronald Schuchard to convince Eliot's second wife Valerie Eliot to override Eliot's express wish that she not commission editions of his prose. He was 68 when they married and she only 30; he died eight years later in 1965. But, before she died in 2012, she finally found the courage to insist that everything be published.[41]

It was a natural conclusion to reach for the person who had edited *The Waste Land*: *A Facsimile and Transcript of the Original Drafts Including the Annotations of Ezra Pound* in 1971. The title says it all. This book opened the lid on Eliot's working methods, gradually creating an appetite among Modernist scholars for the authorial materials – the scholar's oeuvre – that then, for decades, never seemed to come. When with Valerie Eliot's blessing they did, the resulting scholarly editions of the prose (2014-2019), general-edited by Schuchard, occupied eight annotated volumes. Their appearance ran in parallel with a similar opening-up of Eliot's poetic oeuvre, edited in two large, heavily annotated volumes by Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue (2015), together with textual apparatus and commentary, and with nine volumes of Eliot's correspondence (2009-2021), edited by Valerie Eliot, John Haffenden and Hugh Haughton.[42]

6. *A Theory of the Oeuvre*

The question that led me to write this article was: does Eliot's Tradition need to be theorised, along with the work and the oeuvre concepts? The scholar's oeuvre and the writer's oeuvre necessarily look backwards in time, but Eliot's model is forever located in an existential present as the writer reaches out to the Tradition, itself located in the past but re-forming itself in the moment of writing. But since that Tradition, if we are to grant its existence as other than an abstraction, must be composed of countless bodies of writing, each one more or less differently propelled, the new writer, in the moment of writing, can only be cognisant of a tiny subset familiar through reading or report. The changing membership of the Tradition – who's in, who's out, and thus whom the new writer is most likely to have engaged with – is in fact the subject of many of the younger Eliot's essays, where he often shows himself more interested in the writers' innovations in expression or in metre than in their subject matter. This is not to criticise his angle of reception: he took what he needed, and, as he himself famously said, 'Immature poets imitate; mature poets steal' (Schuchard 2014-2019, vol. II, 245).

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the writer's address to the Tradition was always, and could only be, partial. Even the polymath Ezra Pound's reading must have had its limits. And if *The Waste Land* is held to be the exemplar for the presence of the past in Eliot's poetry, which in turn evidences his own engagement with the Tradition, then we see immediately that that past has been reduced to a series of verbal shards evocative of a present that is incapable of generating meaning.

For my purposes here, the more important problem with Eliot's invocation of a Tradition as a 'simultaneous order' is its synchronicity, whereas traditions are normally understood as

[41] I take these details from an unpublished conference paper (Schuchard 2017), for which I thank him.

[42] In 1988 the first volume of Eliot's letters (edited by Valerie Eliot alone) appeared, but then there was nothing until 2009 when that volume was revised, followed by the appearance of the next eight volumes covering the period 1898-1941, with more to come.

operating across time. So too do text-genesis, revision and production. They take place diachronically, each in its own 'time and place and circumstance'. Each work is gradually articulated along the vertebrae of the oeuvre, the writing of each one stimulated by the nerves that connect it to those that precede it.

Because the work and oeuvre concepts embrace sufficiently well the writer's reading (whether it consisted of the first-raters or the second-raters, whether orthodox or eccentric) as a stimulus to writing, I conclude that there is no need to chase down an idealist abstraction such as the young Eliot's Tradition and then to try to subject it to theorising. Both trajectories – work and oeuvre, and work and Tradition – are concerned with the relationship of the part to the whole; but Eliot's whole is a will o' the wisp. Helplessly dependent as it is on an idealism and with poor translation into actual practice, his Tradition-concept is mainly a distraction. We need instead a theory that captures the life of the work in composition, production and reception, and which thereby exposes for study its overlaps with other works within the oeuvre in *their* respective and overlapping phases. The version-concept then nests into the same dynamic.

The oeuvre-concept covers a multitude of contingencies in creative practice. Some writers cannot help themselves: given the commercial opportunity, they *have* to make improvements in their text; and they will select this piece, but not that one, for republication. The instinct for improvement is entirely understandable. 'One changes for the sake of new readers, not for the sake of old ones', said Yeats in 1901 (Kelly 1986-2005, vol. III, 102), showing, as Warwick Gould puts it,

> that audience was to the forefront in that constant reconstruction of books and texts consequent upon Yeats' continual self-construction. 'Whatever changes I have made are but an attempt to express better what I thought and felt when I was a very young man' he said in 1925, fully aware of the attendant paradoxes. … 'One is always cutting out the dead wood.' (Gould 2018, 485: quoting Allt and Alspach 1957, 842, 848)

Similarly with Lawrence. If he was to observe his editorial criterion of 1927-28 when preparing his *Collected Poems* – to respect the poems in their own 'time and place and circumstance' – strictly, he would have left their texts as he found them in the already published collections. This is because to revise them actively once again was to puncture their 'penumbra', to forfeit their synchronicity with their original moment of volume publication and, in his editorial capacity, to treat them instead diachronically by pulling them, via their new revisions, into the 1927-28 present.

Like Yeats, Lawrence was alert to this objection and bizarrely defended his practice by distancing himself as a young man from the young man's demon [or *daimon*] so as to 'let the demon say his say'. As a result he writes, 'many poems are changed, some entirely re-written, re-cast' – because, he says, 'the young man interfered with his demon' (Pollnitz 2013-2018, vol. I, 656). This defence of self-contradictory editorial practice is tricksy; but of course, as author, Lawrence was perfectly entitled to make whatever revisions he wished, as was Yeats. The question for modern scholars editing works in such situations is: are they bound to follow suit or does the writer's improving instinct in the oeuvre-defining moment simply become one more moment to be made available for study in the *scholar's* oeuvre, as we watch the creative instinct re-engage fascinatingly with the publishing environment once again?

The oeuvre-concept runs parallel with the work-concept in that there is no ideal form of either available to us. But both are available to us as regulative ideas. Writers may settle on their oeuvres via their choices for a collected edition, say; but there can be little prospect of definitiveness (and thus of an ideal oeuvre). If the writer keeps writing after the collection is published, the given oeuvre is immediately thrown into question; or, should a second such collection come

into prospect, the writer may well make different decisions as to the inclusions and exclusions, and may also enter into another round of textual revision. And the realities of textual transmission over time usually mean that the writer's detailed control over the texts of the works chosen for the would-be oeuvre-defining publication or set of publications stands at a remove from the writer's own preferences, mixed-in with those of publishers' editors and typesetters. Editorial efforts to render static such a memorialisation are doomed to failure, to succumb to one compromise after another.

Equally, the scholar's oeuvre can never be definitive since there will always be work documents that have been lost along the road to publication, or, say, oral agreements between writer and publisher's editor, or instructions from writer to typist that have not been recorded. And even though, one might object, all changes to born-digital documents are in theory retrievable, their ongoing accessibility is subject to the changing regimes of software and hardware environments. And finally there is that ontological gap between proposal and disposal: text in the writer's mind and text on the page, the one stimulating the other in a closed loop, about which creative process only informed guesses are available, at best.

Only when we realise the need for such regulative conceptual structures as the version, the work, and the oeuvre can the malleability and changeableness be accommodated and make sense: the work-concept embraces versional variability; the oeuvre-concept embraces work-variability and interrelatedness. More than that, the oeuvre-concept underwrites the scholar's or critic's orderings: for example, the works as agented, as chronological in their development, as multi-documented and versioned, or as variable instantiations of discourse.

The overlap and the interconnections among works and versions, especially contemporaneous ones, point to a methodology for understanding the genetic process of the writing and therefore the 'personal emotion' of the writer, as Eliot succinctly put it. The editorial platform that would support this pursuit has been largely restricted so far to book formats and online PDFs. Yet it is becoming technically possible now to begin to put such a theoretical position into practical operation. Online critical archives are gradually assembling the materials and writing the tools to make this sort of examination possible.

The disruptive function of the digital scholarly edition (DSE) and the archival expectations it has brought with it (i.e. potentially to contain all of the scholar's oeuvre: every document witnessing every version of every work) are beginning to naturalise what might be called the keyhole view on the oeuvre: the synchronic slice of a single chronological moment through the documents then active, a view that pans out to encompass the adjacent writings on the timeline, in whatever stage of genesis or production they may happen to be. Understanding the authorial intertextuality of the oeuvre is or would be the goal. But to achieve it, we have to be prepared to relegate the *writer's* oeuvre to its performative place within the broader scholarly one.

Revealing and critically describing the contours of the intellectual or creative journey that the writer undertook is to adopt a bio-textual perspective. I believe this can be done under the signs of the work and the oeuvre, with the scholar's oeuvre inevitably laying the necessary groundwork by respecting the vectors of materiality, chronology and agency.

Assembling the scholar's oeuvre might be described as archival in intent. I regularly use the term 'critical archive' to refer to the digital-technical environment in which the gathering and interpreting can take place.[43] Yet the term 'archive', which we have been using for DSEs for nearly thirty years now, is problematic. Professional archivists object to the usage.[44] A digital 'archive'

[43] The Charles Harpur Critical Archive offers an example (Eggert 2019b).
[44] See Galey 2021, Eggert 2019a, 195-196 n. 1 and Tyacke 2007.

in this sense is, from the archivist's point of view, only a special-purpose collection. Its image files may be derived from documents in several archives. Such a collection may gather the documents witnessing a single work (and all its extant versions), a group of works, or all the works in the oeuvre. In other words, the scholar's oeuvre (or some selected part of it), I am now saying, is the content of the critical archive: this proposed relationship of environment and content sufficiently resolves the archivists' objection. For literary studies, the writer's oeuvre is understood as the (attempted or would-be) static achievement, the self-memorialisation, and the scholar's oeuvre as the more or less fluid activity witnessed by the gathered documents and by the texts of those that can be reconstructed.

The two oeuvre-concepts are not fully separable since, during the author's lifetime, textual change is, in practice, inevitable: new versions of a poem may come about in response to editorial demand; fragmentary text may be experimented with and left behind but later incorporated in some other work; the opportunity to revise a novel in typescript or proof, or two versions of it for different readerships, will lead to changed text on a minor or on a major scale; and new editions may provide further opportunities. In the case of long forms such as the novel, the monumentalising urge is typically brought out by collected editions. But even they represent, for the scholar's oeuvre, simply one more stage in the long line of responses to revisional opportunity. The scholarly editor may decide to privilege that collected form as copy-text, or only to take emendations from it, or to reject it altogether as unauthoritative (as we saw with Scott and Conrad). But the editor nevertheless requires the conspectus of the scholar's oeuvre, and the requisite text-critical analysis, before doing so. The Selected Verse or the Collected Verse is the parallel case for poetry.

New opportunities for interpretative and evaluative literary criticism, as well as for discursive critique, open up when the author-centred scholar's oeuvre is admitted back into the literary-critical arena and recognised as the expanded object of attention. Literary criticism will change if agency, chronology and text-bearing material documents are brought more consciously and deliberately into focus. This is why a theory of the work that gets back to basics is necessary – as is, I now believe, a theory of the oeuvre. This essay is offered as a start in addressing the latter need.[45]

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[45] I wish to thank my colleague David Chinitz for his clarifying comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

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Emergence of James Joyce's Dialogue Poetics

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Abstract

The present essay pursues a genetic trajectory through Joyce's oeuvre from early 1903 to the end of 1918, that is from his epiphanies through *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* to the beginnings of *Ulysses* in its initial Telemachus episode and its twin early Hamlet chapter that became Scylla & Charybdis, ninth of the novel's eighteen episodes. The focus in this is directed in particular on the emergence of Joyce's dialogue poetics through his sustained engagement with Shakespeare's work and his art. When in 1912, in Trieste, Joyce immersed himself in the study of Shakespeare and *Hamlet* towards a series of lectures he had been invited to give, his approach appears to have been guided by the author-to-author question: 'How does he / How did he do it?' The question is suitably adaptable to a critical analysis of the emergence of Joyce's poetics of narrative during the creativity span this essay covers. Joyce's oeuvre over these years was progressively generated through ever writing text from texts, a constant interplay of perception texts and new original writing. The mode of narrative in dialogue his texts develop both in open scenic exchanges and in silent reflections stimulates, too, for it demands, the reader's dialogic involvement.

Keywords: *Early Joyce, Genetics of Writing, Hamlet and Shakespeare, Narrative in Dialogue, Perception Text,* Ulysses

Preamble

In this year 2022, we commemorate the publication of James Joyce's *Ulysses* one hundred years ago. On 2 February 1922, his fortieth birthday, Joyce held in his hands the first copy of the book towards and on which he had crafted his art, and developed himself, for twenty years and more. Our closest encounter with the emergence of that writing comes through the unfolding of its processes themselves. With a mind-set to the genetics of literary texts, the essay to follow endeavours to respond to the signals of creative awareness, experience, pre-reading issuing into composition, such as they remain materially discernible in the authorial writing that survives. Our genetic pursuit sets in where Joyce's writing begins with his epiphany vignettes. Our central interest

is on his literary work in prose from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* to mid-*Ulysses*. This is a period of creativity where self-reflection on his art in terms of both poetics and technique shows at its perhaps most intense in Joyce's authorship. At its centre in the mid-nineteen-tens is Joyce's encounter from author to author with William Shakespeare. It is the period through which he develops into a modernist writer.

Just upon reaching the age of eighteen years, James Joyce on 20 January 1900 lectured to the Literary and Historical Society of University College Dublin from his essay 'Drama and Life' (Barry 2000, 23-29). 'Drama' of the present and the prospective future is 'life', we understand, under a condition of literature. Crown witness is Shakespeare. 'Shakespeare was before all else a literary artist … [his] work … was literature in dialogue' (23). The present essay builds upon the assumption that here lies the origin of Joyce's poetics as it grew and exfoliated, over close to two decades of writing, to reaching Scylla and Charybdis, his Hamlet-and-Shakespeare chapter at midpoint in *Ulysses*. 'Literature' is his chosen medium of art. 'Drama' is his narrative aspiration. 'Life' is the key to attaining it. He perceives – senses, observes, experiences, reads – life epiphanies throughout his day-to-day and night-to-night existence. Whether he senses, observes, experiences, reads – we posit reading-into-text as Joyce's core mode of perception, and of committing perception – perception text – into his prodigious memory. It is from his read and memory-stored perception texts that he creates and generates literary texts in and of his own writing. For these, he develops an increasingly refined poetics of drama narration, constitutive of narrative character and action in scene and dialogue. This narrative mode, too, deepens progressively to protagonist self-dialogue – scenically silent, audible only in the reading. Inviting, indeed demanding, reader perception and participation, the silent protagonist self-dialogues in narrated scenes establish, as well, the reader as participatory character dialogically within the literary artefact. It is under such premises that the following essay in its own mode of genetically critical analysis and argument reviews the emergence of Joyce's literary art.

I

James Joyce lived and thrived from 1904 to 1915 in Trieste. He was there liberated to the full to English as his language of literary creation.[1] As his language of public address, at the same time, he went for Italian. From 1907 onwards, and in the native language of his audiences and readers, he delivered lectures at the Università Popolare and wrote articles for the newspaper *Il Piccolo della Sera*. Significantly, the one theme that united his lectures and articles was Ireland and things Irish, historical and contemporary. He wished to convey to his fellow citizens in his chosen exile a perception and experience of his home country. In 1914, he planned a collection for Italian readers of his Triestine essays on the matter of Ireland. The war broke out, the book was never published. It was to have borne the title *L'Irlanda alla sbarra* (Ireland at the Bar). The 1907 *Il Piccolo della Sera* article so named was to have opened it.

'Ireland at the Bar' sets out the case of an, in effect, colonialist British atrocity of condemning and hanging an accused native Irishman not guilty of the deed under sentence. In August 1882, a whole family by the name of (English) Joyce, (Gaelic) Seoighe, had been murdered in their home in Maamtrasna in Western Ireland. Brought to court with the perpetrators of the deed was also one Miles Joyce. He was family-related to both the murdered family and the gang rightly accused. Court procedures by which he could have been vindicated foundered catastrophically on the insuperable language barrier between the English judge and the Gaelic-only accused.

[1] At somewhat greater length, I argued as much in Gabler 2004.

Opening the collection of Joyce's Triestine journalism, this narrative would have made its impact through its high personal engagement. Joyce tells the story not just from an historian's de-personalised middle distance. What it brings home is a deep concern of the present: the condition of Ireland under British rule, with its indigenous population in effect permanently muted through the absolute language barrier.[2] The narrative's strong personal undercurrent is likely due, too, to Joyce's felt knowledge that the Maamtrasna murders happened in his own lifetime. Admittedly, he was just six months old when they did and cannot in any sense have had a memory of them. Yet not only would he have heard them talked about. Being who he was, he would, too, have read of them. Among his father's books was shelved the pamphlet account of 1884 by T. Harrington, M.P., *The Maamtrasna massacre: impeachment of the trials*. This is how it reads:

> The third prisoner, Myles Joyce, was, before a quarter of an hour had elapsed, brought into the dock to stand his trial for complicity in the murder. The prisoner is older than either of the previous men who have been tried. He was dressed in older garments, but, unlike them, he did not appear to have the slightest knowledge of the language in which his trial is being conducted. He sits in the dock like them … with his head leaning upon his arms, which he reels upon the bar of the dock. (1884, Appendix, 29)[3]

This, by contrast, is what we read by James Joyce:

> The old man, as well as the other prisoners knew no English. The court was obliged to have recourse to the services of an interpreter. The cross-examination conducted with the help of this individual was sometimes tragic and sometimes comic. On one side there was the official interpreter and on the other the patriarch of the wretched tribe, who being little used to civil customs, seemed stupefied by all those judicial proceedings.
>
> The magistrate said: "Ask the accused whether he saw the woman on that morning."
>
> The question was repeated to him in Irish and the old man burst into complicated explanations gesturing, appealing to the other accused men & to heaven. Then worn out by the effort, he was silent again and the interpreter, addressing the magistrate, said:
>
> —He says that he did not, your worship.
>
> —Ask him whether he was close by that place at that time.
>
> The old man began again speaking and protesting; shouting, almost beside himself with the anguish of not understanding and of not making himself understood, weeping with anger and terror. And the interpreter, again drily:
>
> —He says no, your worship.
>
> At the end of the cross-examination the poor old man was found guilty and the case was sent forward to the Higher Court, which sentenced him to death. On the day of the execution of the sentence the square in front of the gaol was filled with people who on their knees were howling prayers in Irish for the repose of poor Miles Joyce's soul. Legend says that even the hangman could not make himself understood by the victim and that losing patience, he gave the miserable man's head a kick to thrust it into the noose.[4]

[2] A recent account is Kelleher 2018.

[3] The Appendix to Harrington's report is an abridged version of the text the *Freeman's Journal* published on 14 November 1882.

[4] The translation here given is not the one offered in Barry 2000, 145-147 (which usefully appends, however, all of Joyce's Triestine articles in the Italian original; see *L'Irlanda alla sbarra* on 217-219). *The James Joyce Archive* (*JJA* 2) provides a sequence of translations into English from Joyce's Italian that may have been a communal effort of family and friends in Trieste in the mid-1910s. These survive somewhat fragmentarily from the archives of Stanislaus Joyce, meanwhile in the holdings of Cornell University Library. They are likely to have been prepared for an edition in English of Joyce's Triestine Italian articles that, like its Italian counterpart, was never realised. The translations were with some probability overseen, at least through select stretches, by Joyce himself. In their language and style the Triestine translations feel distinctly closer to James Joyce's tone, rhythms and usage of English in the early 1910s than do later translations more readily accessible (Groden *et al.* 1977-1979, vol. 2, 664-665).

This is Joycean narrative. At the same time, it is not Joycean invention. James Joyce did not invent freely. His artistry craved supports and scaffolds: structures from which and into which to be textured. Undoubtedly, his extraordinary powers of memory helped him at many a stile. But why, and most pertinently how, was memory activated into creative thinking and writing? Recourse could be taken to time-honoured traditions of memory systems that reach back even into antiquity:

> The rainladen trees of the avenue evoked in him, as always, memories of the girls and women in the plays of Gerhart Hauptmann: and the memory of their pale sorrows and the fragrance falling from the wet branches mingled in a mood of quiet joy. His morning walk across the city had begun: and he foreknew that as he passed the sloblands of Fairview he would think of the cloistral silverveined prose of Newman, that as he walked along the North Strand Road, glancing idly at the windows of the provision shops, he would recall the dark humour of Guido Cavalcanti and smile, that as he went by Baird's stonecutting works in Talbot Place the spirit of Ibsen would blow through him like a keen wind, a spirit of wayward boyish beauty, and that passing a grimy marine dealer's shop beyond the Liffey he would repeat the song by Ben Jonson which begins:
>
> *I was not wearier where I lay.* (Joyce 1993, V, 71-86)

This accords with a Ciceronian memory template: text triggered from memory by recalling in the imagination given pre-defined nodes of an ambulatory circuit. In the case of Cicero, the rhetor would memorise a speech, ambling, say, through the rooms of a house. In performance, he would mentally pass again through that house and in each room re-envisaged recall the memory-stored text allocated to this room, or that piece of furniture, for his next argument in the speech under delivery.[5] What Joyce describes for Stephen Dedalus is, we may be sure, modelled on his own, James Joyce's, practice. The memory marks in Dublin by which Stephen's morning walk leads, or might lead him, call up texts that he (Stephen *a.k.a.* the young student James Joyce) has read. The narrative progress in the passage cited relies on atmospheric association. This is increasingly aggregated into textual echoes and culminates in a text quote from a poem by Ben Jonson. In other words, Joyce in the process of writing generates his composition from a bouquet of felt texts of perception – perception texts. Amalgamating the perception texts in all their fragrances results in a fresh imaginatively scenic telling of Stephen Dedalus' late-morning ambulation through Dublin.

It is texts mentally or physically given, perception texts, that Joyce in composition transforms into text of his writing. His every experience, lived experience just as reading experience, was throughout, it appears, patterned in memory as text. To call up these perception texts therefore meant to read them. Creatively to do so meant to perceive and grasp their narratable core so as to transform it into autonomous narration. In the example of Joyce's telling the *The Maamtrasna massacre* in 'Ireland at the Bar', memory from experience and memory from reading coalesce. The emotional jolt when encountering the event in first reading the record of it can be felt through Joyce's text engendered from the record. While the past recounted by Tim Harrington as information to be read in print thus amounts to being the very perception text anterior to the text that Joyce shaped, it is unlikely that, writing *L'Irlanda alla sbarra* in

[5] A standard reference work for enquiring into memory systems is still Yates 1966.

1907 in Trieste, he would actually have had Harrington's pamphlet at hand to re-read. He re-perceived from memory the text once read and the emotion experienced from it.

Through Joyce's creativity, then, Harrington's record was remoulded. But so summarising we hardly begin to discern what constitutes the quality and originality of the target text engendered from its perception text. In generating 'Ireland at the Bar' from its perception substrate, Joyce composed the narrative – specifically the opening as extracted above – scenically, both as a scene in dialogues among the characters in the court room and, in parallel, as a latent dialogue between the narration and the reader. Even in its guise as narrative, the passage thus becomes thoroughly dramatic. It exemplifies *in nuce* Joyce's notion of the 'esthetic image' that he has Stephen Dedalus offer to Lynch in *A Portrait* (V, 1464-1465): 'The esthetic image in the dramatic form is life purified in and projected from the human imagination'. There is hardly a more succinct definition, and indeed awareness, conceivable of Joyce's sense of the interrelationship between his perception texts and the target texts he turns them into. The concept of the 'esthetic image' that Joyce has Stephen define also deepens our understanding of the ever-quoted punch line that follows: 'The artist, like the God of creation, remains within or behind or beyond or above his handywork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails' (1467-1469). This proclamation is quintessentially dramatic and so in itself of the nature of an esthetic image. The perception texts from which it is generated, that give it power, and through which we fathom its depths, extend through western writing from Aristotle through medieval theology and philology up to literary renewals by Joyce's recent literary forebears, one Flaubert among them.

* * *

I proposed the term 'perception text' in an earlier investigation. A conference in York in 2012 explored the nature and range of Joyce's non-fictional writing. This theme offered a frame within which to discuss the relationship between perception texts and texts of James Joyce's fictional writing. On the premise that Joyce never invented independently when writing, I sought to show that what he wrote derived from – no: was kindled by – experience, emotion, knowledge and understanding perceived and read, and thence memory-stored in mental text mode for recycling into subsequent text composition. In his writing, Joyce relied on perception texts from which his own texts were creatively generated.

James Joyce's perception texts may be exogenous, as was the account of the Maamtrasna case at court. Equally, they may be texts of his own earlier writing. By common understanding, *Stephen Hero*, for example, is the genetic antecedent to *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. As drafted, *Stephen Hero* was hence the perception text for *A Portrait*. The surviving draft fragment as a matter of fact even preserves written traces of how it was reworked towards the novel.[6] *Stephen Hero*, in its turn, sprang largely, we must assume, from Joyce's memory store of biographical and autobiographical perception. The writing aggregates the perception matter into a cumulated, and thereby at most proto-fictional, narrative. Hence I argued (and still do) that, in contrast to *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, the fiction, the narrative *Stephen Hero* is as yet basically non-fictional.[7]

As we are beginning to see, the 'perception text'-to-'text' correlation touches in essentials on James Joyce's creativity. It so sheds light on his emergent poetics. What these are, and how he endeavours to write in accordance with them, Joyce seldom talks about, it is true, *in propria*

[6] See Melchior 1988.

[7] The York conference was held in 2012, the essays from it were published in 2018. My contribution came out in parallel: Gabler 2018a comprises end paragraphs left out of the otherwise identical Gabler 2018b.

persona. We must both intuit and analyse what he does and critically assess just how he shapes language and narrative into the design and articulation of his original writing.

* * *

Joyce's first endeavours to realise original writing in practice are the vignettes in language he himself labelled his 'epiphanies'. In the words of Stephen Daedalus of *Stephen Hero*, he defines the epiphany by its nature which he decrees as a spiritual manifestation: 'By an epiphany he meant a sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself' (Joyce 1963, 211). Emphasising the effect a piece of writing must have so as to be recognised as an epiphany, Daedalus, for the benefit of his conversation partner and for ours, casts himself as an outside observer, an analyst and (as it were) a critic. He does not reveal the secrets of the workshop, does not lay open how an epiphany should be composed to attain that effect; that is: how, practically, to make it. What we initially have to go on, therefore, are the written outcomes of Joyce's epiphany writing, such as:

56.

High up in the old, dark-windowed house: firelight in the narrow room: dusk outside. An old woman bustles about, making tea; she tells of the changes, her odd ways, and what the priest and the doctor said..... I hear her words in the distance. I wander among the coals, among the ways of adventure...... Christ! What is in the doorway?..... A skull - a monkey; a creature drawn hither to the fire, to the voices: a silly creature.

- Is that Mary Ellen? -
- No, Eliza, it's Jim -
- O..... O, goodnight, Jim -
- D'ye want anything, Eliza? -
- I thought it was Mary Ellen..... I thought you were Mary Ellen, Jim -

Figure 1 – 'Epiphany 5' by the Joyce (1991) numbering. *The James Joyce Archive*, Groden *et al.* 1977-1979, vol. 7, 54

High up in the old, dark-windowed house: firelight in the narrow room: dusk outside. An old woman bustles about, making tea; she tells of the changes, her odd ways, and what the priest and the doctor said. …. I hear her words in the distance. I wander among the coals, among the ways of adventure …… Christ! What is in the doorway? …. A skull – a monkey; a creature drawn hither to the fire, to the voices: a silly creature.
—Is that Mary Ellen?—
—No, Eliza, it's Jim …—
—D'ye want anything, Eliza?—
—I thought it was Mary Ellen ….. I thought you were Mary Ellen, Jim—[8]

This is unmistakably the texting of a situation remembered. At the same time, the altercations in spoken words betray a basic pre-organisation in text shape of the moment recalled. Joyce's notions of 'the esthetic image in the dramatic form' are a guide to appreciating how he worked the epiphany. The text vignette basically sets out a scene. This is played out between three characters: Eliza, an answering voice from a character of no name, and 'I'=Jim. It begins with a lengthy introduction wavering between narrative and stage direction and culminates in dialogue directly rendered, encapsuled in opening and closing dashes. What the record does not convey is what caused it to be written at all, nor what in reading we should make of it: 'what it means'.

James Joyce wrote poetry and composed epiphanies largely before venturing into extended prose. His epiphany phase lasted essentially until his sojourn in Paris from late 1902 to well into 1903. His epiphany vignettes began to serve as perception texts for narrative. His apparently earliest writing of extended prose can be dated to 1903. In the spring a telegram called him back from Paris to the deathbed of his mother. Over the summer months, her son read to her first attempts at the narrative that a few months later was, by suggestion from brother Stanislaus, given the title *Stephen Hero*.[9] Neither do those attempts survive, nor does anything of the continuation until the 'University episode' as encompassed in the narrative's one extant fragment. Ample evidence of Joyce's re-use of epiphanies as perception texts pervades *Stephen Hero* as we have it, as well as *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and even *Ulysses*.

The writing history of *A Portrait* is complicated. In the extant fair copy, Chapter II is materially the earliest. It dates, it appears, from a period of composition prior to that of the novel's first chapter as we have it, and of the chapters following. In its second segment, we re-encounter the Eliza epiphany: Eliza is now Ellen, the person mistakenly expected is Josephine, and Jim is of course Stephen. The vignette, revised as it is, comes second in a concatenation of scenes (ll. 253 to 356) that recognisably incorporates three epiphany adaptations. The integration of epiphany cores in this stretch of the Chapter II text bears witness to the determination to weld such erstwhile individual vignettes into the narrative. What this involves is revision of the identifiable perception texts to splice them into the continuous text flow, while at the same time lending the narrative a dramatically scenic quality.

Most momentous in this respect is the integration into the *Portrait* fiction of the epiphany that in its vignette original reads thus:

[8] Epiphany no. 56 in Stanislaus Joyce's numbering; the handwriting is his.
[9] Detailed by me on pp. xv-xvi in Joyce 2007. This edition adopts the reading text from Joyce 1984 ^{2}1986.

44

The children who have stayed latest
are getting on their things to go home for
the party is over. This is the last tram. The
lank brown horses know it and shake
their bells to the clear night, in admonition.
The conductor talks with the driver; both
nod often in the green light of the lamp.
There is nobody near.
We seem to listen, I on the upper step and
she on the lower. She comes up to my step
many times and goes down again, between
our phrases, and once or twice remains
beside me, forgetting to go down, and
then goes down..... Let be; let be.... And
now she does not urge her vanities,—her fine
dress and sash and long black stockings,—
for now (wisdom of children) we seem to
know that this end will please us better
than any end we have laboured for.

Jas. A. Joyce

Figure 2 – 'Epiphany 3' by the Joyce (1991) numbering. *The James Joyce Archive*, Groden *et al.* 1977-1979, vol. 7, 64

In the fiction of *A Portrait*, its fresh instantiation is embedded in a continuous narrative culminating at this point in the epiphany re-use. The first sentence of the original record is extended into a full paragraph. Then follows the re-instantiation in narrator's rendering (*Erlebte Rede*) from what was in this case a truly intimate perception text:

It was the last tram. The lank brown horses knew it and shook their bells to the clear night in admonition. The conductor talked with the driver, both nodding often in the green light of the lamp. On the empty seats of the tram were scattered a few coloured tickets. No sound of footsteps came up or down the road. No sound broke the peace of the night save when the lank brown horses rubbed their noses together and shook their bells.
They seemed to listen, he on the upper step and she on the lower. She came up to his step many times and went down to hers again between their phrases and once or twice stood close beside him for some moments on the upper step, forgetting to go down, and then went down. His heart danced upon her movements like a cork upon a tide. He heard what her eyes said to him from beneath their cowl and knew that in some dim past, whether in life or in revery, he had heard their tale before. He saw her urge her vanities, her fine dress and sash and long black stockings, and knew that he had yielded to them a thousand times. Yet a voice within him spoke above the noise of his dancing heart, asking him would he take her gift to which he had only to stretch out his hand. And he remembered the day when he and Eileen had stood looking into the hotel grounds, watching the waiters running up a trail of bunting on the flagstaff and the foxterrier scampering to and fro on the sunny lawn, and how, all of a sudden, she had broken out into a peal of laughter and had run down the sloping curve of the path. Now, as then, he stood listlessly in his place, seemingly a tranquil watcher of the scene before him.
—She too wants me to catch hold of her, he thought. That's why she came with me to the tram. I could easily catch hold of her when she comes up to my step: nobody is looking. I could hold her and kiss her.
But he did neither: and, when he was sitting alone in the deserted tram, he tore his ticket into shreds and stared gloomily at the corrugated footboard. (Joyce 1993, II, 322-356)

This has become a thoroughly narrative text, while it has retained and in moments even intensified its scenic potential. Retained, too, is the dialogic quality we have begun to recognise as constitutive of the composition of original Joycean 'target' text from perception texts. Significantly, though, dialogue in the ordinary sense of exchanges in spoken words is absent. Exchanges between driver and conductor are reduced just to their nods. Response or the lack thereof between the boy and girl expresses itself, and is in the telling rendered, through gesture and in body language alone. Dialogue verbalised is cast as inaudible. Given exclusively to the boy, Stephen, it is altogether interior self-dialogue. It feels, one might say, like stream of consciousness before the fact.

Over and above this, the singularity of this instance of a text of narrative fiction generated from its perception text lies in the reversal of the core insight of the event mirrored. The perception text's phrase: 'And now she does not urge her vanities' turns in the *Portrait* instantiation into its opposite: 'He saw her urge her vanities…'. Re-focussing the perception text's 'I' into the narrated 'he' permits in the fiction to reverse the characters' characters into their respective opposites: a coyly prude girl and an uncommunicative boy insecure in his vain superiority. In

the service of Joyce's composition of narrative prose, re-use of the perception text modified liberates at will the fictional realisation from the contingencies of the source perception.

What went by the wayside from the perception text in the present instance, however, was its epiphany nucleus, its 'sudden spiritual manifestation'. The phrase in the perception text that marks the moment is 'And now she does not urge her vanities', and the awareness drawn from it '(wisdom of children)' is in third-person narration confirmed through the perception text's entire peroration. In contrast: the gain in characterisation – let us call it: realistic characterisation – achieved in re-composition meant a sacrifice of the original epiphanic moment. The loss was recognised and made up for in the narrative continuation. This allows us to witness the birth (as it were) of a perception text on-the-fly, instantly turned into narrative. The key phrase defining that moment is: 'And he *remembered* [my emphasis] the day when he and Eileen had stood looking into the hotel grounds …'. This conjures up a perception scene at once paralleled with the present experience on the steps of the tram: 'Now, as then, he stood listlessly in his place …'. Stephen is shown locked in his inertia. Alone he departs in the deserted tram and, tearing his ticket into shreds, 'stare[s] gloomily at the corrugated footboard'. This nadir of mood marks the climactic moment of the redoubled perception-through-memory scene. It kindles insight – yet not, within the fiction, Stephen's subjective insight, but instead objectively the sudden manifestation to the reader of the significance, the 'sudden spiritual manifestation', engendered through the transubstantiation of the 'It was the last tram' epiphany into the narrative fiction, now here in *A Portrait*, Chapter II, redoubled through the telling of a second perception remembered.

The effect achieved is momentous. It evidences how Joyce performed the task he appears to have set himself: to write prose in terms of the parameters of drama. Puzzled as we may long have been by generally no more than observing how pre-existing epiphanies were strewn out *literatim* or modified over Joyce's works from *Stephen Hero* to *Ulysses*, we gain from the present example a closer understanding of Joyce's early poetics. Evolving his prose writing practice, he deployed the epiphany template as blueprint for narrative composition centred dramatically on character, dialogue and scene.

As character, the narrated 'he' of the fiction is, as shown, distinct from the perception text's 'I'. Whereas that 'I' is contingent on the epiphany's memory substratum, the novel's 'he' – its protagonist – is engendered from language in the original autonomy of fiction. In this autonomy established through the art of writing, 'he' has, like any and every narrated character, the potential for development, for being developed, through the fiction's narrated events and time.

* * *

The potential for text development is a main driving force of the creative process. In course of the emergence of a composition, it springs from impulses of revision. Re-visioning, seeing text written afresh and anew, relies essentially on the author's reading capacity. It kindles in turn the author's reimagining and recomposing text written. The author's response on re-reading text in progress is hence properly a very first reader response to it. Reader response is thus an integral element to creativity in literary art. This is a dimension that Joyce recognised in his writing and re-writing – in his own creative response to texts of his that become for him fresh perception texts. He demonstrates such recognising and responding in Chapter V of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, where after narrated ten years of the protagonist's life through the novel, 'he' is made to anchor his memory once more in the conception text of the 'It was the last tram' epiphany:

He had written verses for her again after ten years. Ten years
before she had worn her shawl cowlwise about her head, send-

> ing sprays of her warm breath into the night air, tapping her foot upon the glassy road. It was the last tram; the lank brown horses knew it and shook their bells to the clear night in admonition. The conductor talked with the driver, both nodding often in the green light of the lamp. They stood on the steps of the tram, he on the upper, she on the lower. She came up to his step many times between their phrases and went down again and once or twice remained beside him forgetting to go down and then went down. Let be! Let be!
> Ten years from that wisdom of children to his folly. If he sent her the verses? They would be read out at breakfast amid the tapping of eggshells. Folly indeed! The brothers would laugh and try to wrest the page from each other with their strong hard fingers. The suave priest, her uncle, seated in his armchair, would hold the page at arm's length, read it smiling and approve of the literary form. (Joyce 1993, V, 1706-1723)

This instantiation of the 'It was the last tram' epiphany may be said to have two perception texts. One is the seminal notation in Stanislaus Joyce's hand from James Joyce's early experimental days of writing vignettes in drama or prose notation. This version is re-instantiated here in much of its setting, in the noddings of conductor and driver, the ups and downs on the steps of the tram, the girl's 'remain[ing] beside him forgetting to go down and then [going] down' – a courtship dance apostrophised, as in the epiphany, as 'wisdom of children'. The other perception text for this passage from the novel's fifth chapter is, cannot help being, the instantiation in the second chapter. The double encounter in the one fiction with this text the same and not the same provides significant interpretational leverage – or, more specifically: from out of the contrast between the instantiations in the second and in the fifth chapter, it demands, even as it activates, heightened reader participation. We note, for example, that an awareness on Stephen's part in Chapter II that 'she urges her vanities' is in Chapter V not repeated. Do we understand, therefore, that the narrator behind the second chapter's 'he' is unreliable; meaning: should we have read, should we read the observation as given in Chapter II as 'his' (Stephen's) 'mis-reading' of the girl? This is a serious option. It goes together with, even as it adds to the complexity and depth of interpretatively assessing, Stephen's insisting on his 'folly' then, ten years ago, and now.

Recognising and exploring correlations of perception texts and narrated text generated from them does not narrow interpretation. It opens the range of options for reader response to, and participation in, the text read. Looking at the two instantiations of the use in *A Portrait* of what was originally the 'It was the last tram' epiphany, we realise that they are in essence the author's, James Joyce's, arrangement into the narrative of perception texts, dissonant in their consonance, for the reader. In the Chapter II instantiation, it is the reader's task to perceive the youths on the steps of the tram as a coyly prude girl and an uncommunicative boy insecure in his vain superiority, as well as to measure the girl's perception against the neutral narrator's rendering. From the Chapter V instantiation, the reader is challenged to second read the girl's perception of the passage in Chapter II, as well as to relate both instantiations, the past in Chapter II and the present in Chapter V, to Stephen's now-present memory recall of the parting on the steps of the tram ten years back and to his self-awareness now, both as he articulates it and as the narrative conveys it. The perceptions and the likely enough manifold understandings generated from them in the reader are 'spiritual manifestations' – if we wish to uphold the high-falutin' Dedalus coinage – else, interpretative insights, or even just reading options. In all events, the text

in its author arrangement offers challenges and gives incentives to active participatory reading. From the reading spring moments of each and any reader's experiencing the narrative read in the text through which it presents itself. The reader memory-stores such reading experiences to re-read from memory, when and wherever, under given recall stimuli.

* * *

As materially written down, Joyce's epiphanies record experience gained from observation, memory or dreams. We have seen that he turned to them for the perception and memory they stored so as to develop from them new and original writing. The effect of their transfer was to infuse into his evolving narrative prose the principle of the dramatically heightened instance of perception. Albeit that the records of epiphanic moments as they happen to have been preserved are but incidental survivors from the workshop, they have yet paradigmatic significance. They help us to understand an essential dimension of Joyce's mode and nature of creative writing. Transferred and integrated into the run of Joyce's early narratives, his epiphany vignettes furthered essentially the development of his narrative art in practice as well as conceptually. His texts with increasing intensity invite, indeed necessitate, reader perception and participation. Joyce thus decisively extended the 'perception-text' to 'text' networking of his writing to encompass also the reading of that writing. His entire oeuvre will eventually imply the assumption, and the demand on the reader, that the text read enters, as read, into the reader's realms of experience. Through attaining the stance and the capacity to write and to narrate texts the reader must always co-construct, Joyce establishes himself as a modernist writer.

II

The resumption of the 'It was the last tram' epiphany in Chapter V of *A Portrait* dovetails with Joyce's momentous re-encounter with Shakespeare. Focused on his in-depth exploration of *Hamlet*, it culminated in a series of twelve *Amleto* lectures, given in English, in late 1912 and into 1913 to the Università Popolare in Trieste – a grander appointment than his occasional earlier engagements at that institution, let alone his stints as journalist in Trieste since 1907. The invitation now, a dozen years after lecturing on 'Drama and Life' to the Literary and Historical Society of University College Dublin, stimulated him to delve deeply into Shakespeare studies. From early spring through the summer and into the autumn of 1912 he did extensive research in preparation for his subject (Quillian 1974-1975). What through this immersion he came to realise was – not to put too fine a point on it – that Shakespeare wrote like him.

The perspective is not paradoxical, nor as aggrandising as it appears. Joyce had in the process of his own writing over the dozen or so years since 'Drama and Life' experienced the force and responded to the creative stimulus of his erstwhile phrasing that Shakespeare's work was 'literature in dialogue'. The notion meanwhile answered very individually to his deep urge for innovation – to 'make it new' as Ezra Pound would summon the writers and artists of his generation to do – and soon did, not least under the strong impression that Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* made on him.

For Joyce, researching Shakespeare over those months from early summer to autumn 1912 meant intense immersion in the works and a most searching engagement with their author. The encounter and rapport were deeply from author to author. The scrutiny of *Hamlet* in particular was for Joyce, no doubt, foremost an explorative adventure under a fellow author's guiding question: 'How does he do it?'. How does Shakespeare arrange, say, the situation in the play when the

ghost of Hamlet's father demands of the son Hamlet to revenge the murder by which the father was killed? An anecdote that goes back to Shakespearean times served as pivot to the writer's, Joyce's, perception of how the writer, Shakespeare, construed the dramatic situation and correlated its significances. The anecdote has it that the actor who played the role of the ghost of Hamlet's father was also their leading playwright, as well as a main shareholder of the company – and the author of the play to be performed. The actor was William Shakespeare. On top of this, Joyce draws on William Shakespeare's personal tragedy. Shakespeare had a son by the name of Hamnet, or Hamlet, who died at the age of 11 years.

For the sake of argument, let us posit that Joyce read, and so construed as Shakespeare's, the author's and actor's, reading of the moment very much as he makes Stephen Dedalus set it out to his audience, the librarians in Dublin's National Library in the Scylla & Charybdis episode of *Ulysses*:

The play begins.
An actor enters, clad
in the cast-off mail of a buck
of the court, a wellset man
with a deep voice. It is the ghost,
King Hamlet. The actor is
Shakespeare. And Shakespeare
speaks his words, calling the
young man to whom he
speaks, by name
Hamlet, I am thy father's spirit
and bidding him list. To his
son he speaks, to his son the
prince, young Hamlet, and
to his son Hamlet [*sic*] Shakespeare
who has died in Stratford that
his namesake may live
for ever.[10]

To create the Russian-dolls' effect of Stephen Dedalus' speech to the librarians, James Joyce the author chooses his language carefully. 'Shakespeare speaks his words': that is, William Shakespeare speaks (Stephen says) the words he (Shakespeare) has written for the actor (Shakespeare) to deliver in pronouncing what he (Shakespeare), impersonating the ghost of Hamlet's father, by his own (Shakespeare's) playscript has to utter. This is the performative situation that James Joyce sees in the configuration of Shakespeare's play at this scenic moment, and on which he, Joyce, consequently draws to configure the fiction's soliloquy for Stephen Dedalus. Texting that soliloquy, Joyce momentously transforms the perception text drawn from Shakespeare's play text. The intense emotional involvement of the play's characters, as well as of at least one of the actors: William Shakespeare, and the double-take on the son(s) Hamlet and Ham(n) et are all manifest only in Joyce's text for Stephen – yet they follow all from James Joyce's, the author's, guiding question in exposing himself to William Shakespeare, the pre-author: 'How does he do it?' James Joyce's answer through Stephen Dedalus to his own question is simply (as it were) that it is all a matter of logic:

[10] This is a transcription strictly from Joyce's first extant penning of the Scylla & Charybdis episode of late 1918, in the copybook NLI8_A in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin. Cf. *U* 9, 174-180.

Is it possible that that
actor, a ghost by absence, in the
vesture of the elder Hamlet,
a ghost by death, speaking his
own words to his own son,
(for had Hamlet [*sic*] Shakespeare
lived he would have been
then a young man of twenty)
is it possible that he did not draw
the logical conclusion of those premises.
I am the murdered father; you are
the dispossessed son: your mother is
the guilty queen. (*Ibid.*)

Joyce construed into Stephen Dedalus' delivery of his, Stephen's, views on William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* and Hamlet/Hamnet, the text he, Joyce, read from the perception text as configured in Shakespeare's, the author's, arrangement of the character constellation and dialogue in *Hamlet*. An aspect of Joyce's recognition that Shakespeare wrote like himself is likely to have involved an assumption that Shakespeare constituted his text and dialogue from, in turn, perception texts available to him. Shakespeare's main source for *Hamlet* was, as we know, the *Historica Danica* of Saxo Grammaticus. I will not here open an academic investigation of the text correlations between the play *Hamlet* and the source or sources within Shakespeare's material reach to assess whether Joyce was objectively correct in his assurance about Shakespeare's working methods and strategies, let alone the modes in which Shakespeare's creativity expressed itself. It is Joyce's imaginative leap that Shakespeare wrote like him which spurs on his, Joyce's, creativity. We do not need to validate Shakespeare through Joyce. But there is every reason to pay Joyce respect for validating by Shakespeare his early poetics and his endeavour to realise it through the early decades of his creative writing as literature in dialogue.

* * *

We remarked above that Stephen and the girl in the 'It was the last tram' episode in Chapter II of *A Portrait* were not in spoken dialogue with one another, but that instead the narrative was texted as an intense silent self-dialogue of Stephen with himself. In the novel's mode of being told through a third-person neutral voice, that dialogue is narrated, not acted. The narrative feels, as suggested, like stream of consciousness before the fact. Without mediation through a neutral voice we encounter instead in the opening passage of the Proteus episode of *Ulysses* a self-dialogue of Stephen's in dramatic immediacy:

Ineluctable modality of the visible: at least that if no more, thought through my eyes. Signatures of all things I am here to read, seaspawn and seawrack, the nearing tide, that rusty boot. Snotgreen, bluesilver, rust: coloured signs. Limits of the diaphane. But he adds: in bodies. Then he was aware of them bodies before of them coloured. How? By knocking his sconce against them, sure. Go easy. Bald he was and a millionaire, *maestro di color che sanno*. Limit of the diaphane in. Why in? Diaphane, adiaphane. If you can put your five fingers through it it is a gate, if not a door. Shut your eyes and see. (*U* 3, 1-9)

Employing the stream of consciousness technique for character narration sourced to the flow of awareness, observation and thought of the (given) protagonist is, as we know, the change of narrative stance of *Ulysses* over *A Portrait*. Stephen Dedalus is the protagonist of Telemachus, Nestor, and Proteus, the first three episodes of *Ulysses*, as he was throughout *A Portrait*. Once more he is given that role in Scylla & Charybdis, the ninth episode of *Ulysses* as published. Fascinatingly, though elusively since lost, there existed of that chapter a fore-runner, a Hamlet chapter that Joyce announced to Ezra Pound in 1916 as written and sharable, and months later in 1917 offered him for publication whole or in part (though it would suffer, Joyce said, were it published only in excerpts).[11] Pound, though it was he who had enquired about something publishable, did not take Joyce up on the Hamlet chapter offer.

What this means is that the first episodes that Joyce drafted for *Ulysses* were Telemachus and the Hamlet chapter that was to become Scylla & Charybdis. Telemachus and Hamlet in conjunction allow us to assess how Joyce, moving on from *A Portrait* to *Ulysses*, radicalised his declared poetics. In terms of narrative patterning, he broke through to his own original realisation of 'literature in dialogue'. He eliminated the third-person narrator. The foundations for the new modes of dialogue to which he advanced were laid in Telemachus and the Hamlet chapter. Their dialogic patterns were to govern *Ulysses* through its entire first half of nine episodes, with Scylla & Charybdis, finally datable to 1918, as the eventual capstone.

Telemachus represents the first phase in the process. From beginning to end, conversing in dialogue is the chapter's dominant propulsion force. Into its constant flow of the spoken word between Mulligan, Stephen, and later Haines (not to forget the milkwoman), it is true, are interspersed textual islands of Stephen's reflection, most memorable among them his vision of his mother after her death appearing to him in a dream (*U* 1, 102-110).[12] Yet Stephen's silent reflections and memories are relatively few and far between in the chapter. Over-all, and in terms of narrative technique, Telemachus carries on and forward the mode in which the first and third section of Chapter V of *A Portrait* progresses. These sections run an untrammelled course of spoken dialogue between Stephen and all his fellow students who cross his path through Dublin and whom, scene upon scene, he takes on in groups, or sequesters singly in discussions that he, soliloquising, dominates. Telemachus radicalises what those two *Portrait* sections began. It reduces to near-zero the mediation through a third-party narrator. It proceeds instead as a play-script in disguise. In narrating Telemachus on the pattern once already realised in Chapter V of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Joyce strove to emulate and to re-originalise the notion and practice of 'literature in dialogue'. The literature he achieves in such self-telling narrative possesses the performative quality of drama.

In his ensuing bid for shaping his literary practice to his literature-in-dialogue poetics, the Hamlet chapter, Joyce focuses on the dramatic potential of soliloquy and rhetorical performance. For this, he needs just one protagonist performer – besides, of course, an audience. His performer is his trusted stand-by (and *alter ego*) Stephen Dedalus. Him he casts to lecture on Shakespeare and Hamlet to the librarians at his (Joyce's and Stephen's) regular haunt, Dublin's National Library.

* * *

[11] James Joyce to Ezra Pound, 9 April 1917, Gilbert 1966, 101.

[12] Originally, it should be borne in mind, this was an epiphany, possibly the last one Joyce wrote. Now, in the incipient new fiction, it is redeployed according to the pattern of epiphany reuses in *A Portrait*.

The earliest material state in which Scylla & Charybdis exists is a draft of late 1918 in three copybooks.[13] It is the closest we get to the lost Hamlet of 1916. While it thus provides but mediate evidence, it yet permits detailed inference and fair deductions about the nature and time and pertinently about the state of the 1916 text. The 1918 draft for Scylla & Charybdis runs sure-footed, on the whole, through its 33 copybook pages. There sprout throughout revisions and additions, accommodated between the lines and in the margins to the consecutive writing on the right-hand pages, as well as spread over the blank areas opposite on the left (i.e., the versos of the preceding pages). I stripped the many-layered draft text (with computer aid) to its basic level before accretion of all revisions and editions.[14] So assured is this core text of the draft that we may confidently posit that it represents the main substance of delivery from the lost 1916 Hamlet. It renders evident a carefully worked progression, stage by stage, through Stephen's performing to his audience of librarians. The basic process design is dialogically scenic. Throughout, the librarians get their responses, questions and queries in that spur Stephen on in his lecturing. Yet at its core, this basic draft layer strings together the series of Stephen's soliloquies on the theme first of Hamlet; and beyond, soon, on Shakespeare and all the biographical circumstances Joyce read and structured as his perception texts towards visualising and turning into narrative his sense of Shakespeare's art. For this, Joyce operated the rhetorical strategy of deduction through logic to steer his perception of Shakespeare's presumed perceptions into the Scylla & Charybdis episode's, erstwhile Hamlet chapter's, text for Stephen's soliloquised performance. To get his perspective across, Joyce lets Russell, one of the librarians, pontificate in contrast:

Art has to show us ideas,
formless spiritual essences. The
supreme question about a work of
art is out of how deep a life
does it spring.
….
The rest is speculation of
schoolboys for schoolboys.

To which Stephen retorts:

— The schoolmen were schoolboys at
first, Stephen said. Aristotle
himself was Plato's prize
schoolboy at first.

And the quips and bantering go on:

— That model schoolboy, Stephen said,
would ~~no doubt~~ find Hamlet's
thoughts on the immortality
of his soul as shallow as Plato's.
John Eglinton said
sharply:

[13] Copybooks NLI8_A, _B and _C.

[14] The link to my *Basic-Hamlet Proposition* (2020) is <https://lmu-munich.academia.edu/HansWalterGabler/Drafts>, accessed 1 Febuary 2022.

— I confess it makes my blood
boil to hear anyone compare
Plato and Aristotle.
— Which of the two would have
banished the creator of *Hamlet*
from his commonwealth?,
Stephen asked.[15]

This is strictly foree-play to Stephen's Shakespeare exegesis which starts in earnest with the 'What is a ghost?' soliloquy already quoted, and from which Stephen's logical soliloquising against the librarians' scoffings takes its course. We have skipped however in the bantering sequence just given an important intercalation after 'Aristotle himself was Plato's prize schoolboy at first'.

Formless spiritual essences. Father,
Son and Holy Breath. I am the fire
on the altar. I am the sacrificial
butter. Masters of the Great white
lodge. The Christ's bridesister, moisture
of light, born of a virgin, repentant
Sophia departed to the plane of
buddhi. Mrs Cooper Oakley saw
H.P.B's elemental.
Fie! Fie! You naughtn't
to look, missus, when a lady's a
showing of her elemental.[16]

This is a full-blown 'stream of consciousness' silent self-dialogue of Stephen's. It picks up Russell's late nineteenth-century secularised conception of art and mock-rechristianises it. It is, at the same time, integral to the bantering sequence about Plato and Aristotle, schoolboys and schoolmen, and Hamlet and his creator in their commonwealth. We may take this sequence in all its elements as exemplary for the mode of realising literature in dialogue through Hamlet 1916 to Scylla & Charybdis of late autumn 1918. What the draft's basic layer makes manifest is a mode for narrative in dialogue different from that realised for Telemachus. In contrast to Telemachus, the Hamlet/Scylla & Charybdis alternative has one actor protagonist, Stephen Dedalus. It realises the literature in dialogue stance through combining Stephen the orator with Stephen the silent reflecting thinker. His speech-runs, often extensive, are dialogic in themselves both through their rhetoric and through always either provoking or parrying the librarians' responses. At this overt level, the episode acts out (as it were) a stage play theatrically, as an entertaining playlet titled, say, 'An Afternoon at Dublin's National Library'. Yet interwoven into the performable playlet is a dimension of literature in dialogue, that is, in drama mode, that the reader alone is given the privilege to discern and savour. This is the Stephen's-only mental drama in silent self-dialogues.

* * *

[15] See above, n. 10. Cf. *U* 9, 48-60 – giving an example of considerable accretion of text from the basic layer of the 1918 draft, as here shown, to the text of *Ulysses*, first edition of 1922.

[16] See above, n. 10. Cf. *U* 9, 61-73.

The Scylla & Charybdis episode was finished in fair copy on New Year's Eve 1918. The text at this time gives ample evidence of Joyce's ease, after five Leopold Bloom chapters, of negotiating silent self-dialogue in an episode's over-all flow. The extant draft for the chapter antedates the fair copy by only around two months. The cumulative accretion of revisions even during this brief time span comprises a fair number of additions of self-dialogues of Stephen's – not to mention that such additions further increased through typescript, two typescript revisions and several proofs towards the first-edition text. On the other hand, stripping the draft to its basic-layer text reveals that Stephen's silent self-dialogues, as an element of the episode's compositional design, are in full presence already at that earliest material level of the chapter text. The alternation of dialogic soliloquy and silent self-dialogues gives every appearance of being a basic pattern already of the earlier lost instantiation of the Hamlet chapter text, and so of Joyce's writing it in close succession to the drafting of the opening episode for *Ulysses*, Telemachus.

In his self-dialogues in Scylla & Charybdis, Stephen reflects threefold: on his ongoing overt performance; on his self-awareness and the changes it has undergone; or on moments of memory. What all three modes have in common in narrative terms is that the third-person neutral narrator as mediator of Stephen, the person narrated, has been replaced by Stephen in person as his own dialogic respondent in silent reflection. This suggests that Joyce's new-found-land of the silent self-dialogue in the stream of consciousness mode is his response as text-dispositioning author to his earlier narrative solution that we pinpointed above from the example of Stephen's self-dialogic silent rejection of the girl on the steps of the tram in the 'It was the last tram' sequence in *Portrait*, Chapter II. Joyce's own earlier writing mode has now become the perception text against which he pitches his present urge to find a new narrative solution for conveying Stephen in silent self-dialogue.

His reflections on his ongoing overt performance often take the form of unvoiced interjections:

—As we weave and unweave our bodies,
Stephen said, from day to day
so does the artist
weave and unweave his image. And
as the mole on my left shoulder is
where it was when I was born
though all my body has been
woven of new stuff time after
time so fro [*sic*] the ghost of unquiet
father the image of the unliving
son looks forth. At his age I
shall see myself as I sit here
today but by reflection from
that which then I shall be.
Got round that neatly.[17]

The final 'Got round that neatly.' is precisely such an unvoiced interjection after the intellectually demanding explication of weaving and unweaving in art as in body. The model of artistic creation that Stephen here sketches out we may even read, under our preoccupation in the present essay, as supporting that very model of generating original writing from perception and perception texts.

[17] See above, n. 10. Cf. *U* 9, 376-386 where the silent comment given in the draft has been altered.

It is possible to dig yet deeper, though. Even just a single-line silent comment given to Stephen can reveal how far back into ultimately Joycean memory its ancestral line reaches. About one quarter into the base text of the 1918 draft, Stephen and the librarians begin to argue about how to judge what the intimacy of William Shakespeare and Ann Hathaway was and how their relationship fared once Shakespeare left for London:

Had the
sensual poet who wrote *Venus and Adonis*,
do you think, his eyes in his back that
he chose in all Warwickshire the ugliest
doxy to lie withal? He was chosen more
than a chooser. The goddess who bends
over the boy is a young, ripe and
ardent woman who forces in a
cornfield a lover, younger than
herself.
—Ryefield, Mr Best said.
He murmured then with blond
delight for all who would hear:
Between the acres of the rye
These pretty countryfolk would lie

Whereupon follows enigmatically Stephen's one-line silent interjection:

Paris: a wellpleased pleaser.[18]

This is at the draft's base level one of as yet but few one-line interjections of silent thought into Stephen's overt oration. What such interjections have in common is a dialogic response to the spoken text into which they are spliced. They sound so frequently as Joyce's self-dialogue with his text in progress, as self-comments on having managed turns of phrase or complex lines of argument successfully. Happily, he has his alter ego Stephen at hand in the fiction as spokesman for his own satisfaction with what he has artfully achieved. Through subsequent re-readings and re-workings of the chapter text, the Joycean self-dialogues in the guise of Stephen's silent thought accumulate. Among the chapter's intercalations of reflections in silent thought, the instance 'Paris: a wellpleased pleaser' has an intriguingly complex ancestry. Just how it is supposed to reflect on Stephen's sense of Shakespeare's predicament uttered in the preceding lines is difficult to pin down, in the first place. At least, though, on second reflection, it might seem possible for the reader to link it back to the Proteus chapter:

Paris rawly waking, crude sunlight on her lemon streets … In Rodot's Yvonne and Madeleine newmake their tumbled beauties … Faces of Paris men go by, their wellpleased pleasers, curled *conquistadores*. (*U* 3, 209-215)

But the connection is in fact not easy to establish on the level of Stephen Dedalus, the fictional character. The paragraph of reference in Proteus is not one in the stream of consciousness narrative mode. Stephen Dedalus cannot therefore, as the character in the fiction he is, be altogether plausibly assumed to remember having thought it.

The memory, however elusive in *Ulysses*, is that of James Joyce. Its earliest source is to be found in a collection of prose vignettes Joyce assembled and calligraphed on loose sheets around

[18] See above, n. 10. Cf. *U* 9, 245-268.

1914 in Trieste. We are back in those seminal Trieste years of Joyce's creativity from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* towards *Ulysses*. A child's hand (Giorgio's? Lucia's?) wrote 'Giacomo Joyce' on the front of the notebook cover. This has since been taken as the collection's title. One vignette in the sequence reads:

> *The lady goes apace, apace, apace* …..Pure air on the
> upland road. Trieste is waking rawly: raw sunlight over
> its huddled browntiled roofs, testudoform; a multitude
> of prostrate bugs await a national deliverance. Bellumo
> rises from the bed of his wife's lover's wife: the busy
> housewife is astir, sloe-eyed, a saucer of acetic acid in
> her hand…..Pure air and silence on the upland road:
> and hoofs. A girl on horseback. Hedda! Hedda Gabler! (Ellman 1968, 8)[19]

This is a vivid scene in the mode of Joyce's epiphanies of a decade earlier, and similarly composed out of an autobiographic impulse powerful enough to ignite a sudden spiritual manifestation – which we do not, however, have enough extra-textual knowledge to specify. The prose vignette, under the aegis of Joyce's writing economy, finds re-use. Within two to three years at most since written from what we assume was a moment in Joyce's experience, it served him as perception text for a largely identical sketch, last in a series of seventeen brief prose vignettes divided off by asterisks in preparation for the Proteus chapter of *Ulysses*:[20]

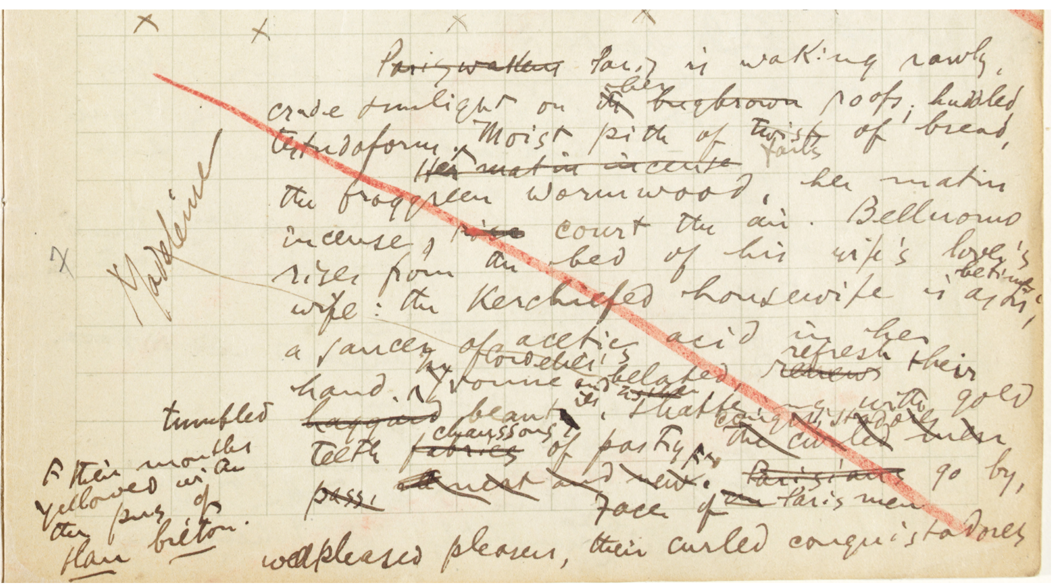

Figure 3 – National Library of Ireland, *The Joyce Papers 2002*, II.ii.1.a. Notebook, pre-numbering page [9] 7

[19] In the holograph original, I relish encountering my family name scripted in James Joyce's hand.

[20] The full sequence of 17 text vignettes between asterisks, of which this is the last, constitutes the first section of the notebook with earliest extant draft writing for Proteus and Sirens, <http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000357771#page/2/mode/1up>, accessed 1 February 2022.

The densely worked-over draft demonstrates what creative energy went into the re-perception of the perception text from *Giacomo Joyce*. The result of the authorial working-over of the draft sketch reads:

> Paris is waking rawly, crude sunlight on her roofs, huddled testudoform. Moist pith of farls of bread, the froggreen wormwood, her matin incense, court the air. Belluomo rises from the bed of his wife's lover's wife: the kerchiefed housewife is astir betimes, a saucer of acetic acid in her hand. In Cordelier's Yvonne and Madeleine belated, refresh their tumbled beauties, shattering with gold teeth chaussons of pastry, their mouths yellowed with the pus of flan bréton [*sic*].
>
> Faces of Paris men go by, wellpleased pleasers, their curled conquistadores

We get some sense of the surge of creativity as well as emotion that energized the enigmatic moment of silent reflection now in Proteus narrated as Stephen's.[21] The creative thought and emotion are in truth James Joyce's in his real-life authorial presence.

It is then once more James Joyce who, maybe two years after writing and working over the 'Paris is waking rawly' vignette, and approximately a year after integrating it into the episode text for Proteus, at the moment of composing the Scylla & Charybdis draft, responds again to a flash of memory that he writes in as a spurt of silent reflection into Stephen's mind: 'Paris: a wellpleased pleaser'. Stephen Dedalus the fictional character is merely the author's vehicle for conveying his, the author's, James Joyce's, present and remembered thought and feeling. Or does he on top of all that reflect, too, on his ongoing work of writing the present novel, half-way into it by episode count as he meanwhile is? Perceptive reading reception in its full depth potential means reader openness to perception of the fullest real-author dimensions of the text written. True enough, via its antecedent perception texts, the 'Paris: a wellpleased pleaser' phrase suggests a Trieste-to-Paris city trajectory. Yet over and above that, as intercalated into Scylla & Charybdis it may in addition reference Paris, infamous ravisher of Helen, causer of the Trojan war – and prize opponent thus of Ulysses.[22]

Through the Hamlet chapter draft, even at its basic level of inscription that we have isolated, the author in person moves insistently to the fore. While Stephen remains of course in the narrated foreground, James Joyce's simultaneous presence is in Stephen's impersonation increasingly to be felt. As the chapter proceeds, Stephen is cast to grow increasingly unsure in his self-estimate:

The fabulous artificer, a
hawklike man. You flew. What to find?
Paris. What did you find? Stephanos
Dedalos. Your crown where is it? Here.
Young men, christian association
hat. Lapwing …
Name yourself: Lapwing.[23]

From memory to re-orient the self grows painful. Stephen recognises his Dedalian flight as his Icarian fall, even though thereby he found Paris and his name (in the pseudo-Greek original). Yet despondent, he feels reduced even to that ground-creeping bird by the image of which Horatio disparages King Claudius' messenger in the fifth act of *Hamlet*.[24] Still, outwardly the situation in

[21] For the state of the text published, cf. *U* 3, 209-215.
[22] Daniel Ferrer, your suggestion (private) helped me at this stile.
[23] See above, n. 10. Cf. *U* 9, 952-954.
[24] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* 5.2,178.

the library remains contained. After an infinitesimal moment in action time, Stephen smoothly continues in his overt delivery. Somewhat earlier he had suffered a stronger memory shock. An attendant entered with a message for Mr Best that Stephen for a second thought was for him. He was caught off-guard and, with a sense of despair, felt defenceless against the influx of memory:

—Sir, there's a gentleman outside
to see you. **Me?** Says he's
your father. **Enter Magee Mor: Japhet**
in search of a son
And mine?
Hurrying to her squalid deathbed
from gay Paris on the quayside I touched
his hand. Fine, brown and shrunken. A
drunkard's hand. The voice, new
warmth, speaking new tones remembered.
The eyes that wish me well. But do they
know me?
—A father is a necessary evil, Stephen said
battling with despair.[25]

Diverting a memory response is the initial reaction to the attendant's message. Stephen gasps silently '**Me?**' off-script of his performance, and a sketchy notation for text composition of other than personal response content (**'Enter Magee Mor: Japhet in search of a son'**) encroaches into the draft neither realised nor deleted. The shock of the attendant's announcement of a man outside 'says he is your father' is too strong to fend off: '**And mine?**'

The scene remembered is deeply fraught. In terms of the narrative and our academically critical parameters for assessing composition and guiding our reading of fiction, what we are given to read is fictional Stephen Dedalus in Scylla & Charybdis linked back to fictional Stephen Dedalus in the Proteus chapter at the moment when he received that (mis-spelled) French telegram: 'Nother dying come home father' (*U* 3, 199). By our critical conventions we would leave explication at that. Yet the author of *Ulysses* dramatically pulls down the fences of academic enclosure. He does so too when he makes Stephen Dedalus remember that he found the name Stephanos Dedalos in Paris. It is James Joyce as the man and author in person who, through the text he has written to be fictionally delivered or thought by Stephen Dedalus, communicates what he felt and thought at a key moment in his life directly to the reader. The situation conveyed in his words through the narrative's protagonist is his experience. Under the reading contract for fiction, it is recounted as thought and remembered by Stephen Dedalus. Yet what we read and experience is simultaneously not fictional. It is not to be re-experienced in reading merely as invented for the reality-effect of the narrated protagonist in the fictional never-never-land on the occasion of the performance of a playlet at the National Library in Dublin on the fictional date of 16 June 1904. The experience is James Joyce's personal experience on a real day in March 1903 when, summoned by the telegram, he came home to Ireland and was met on the quayside (in Kingstown, now Dun Laoghaire) by his father, John Stanislaus Joyce.

The perception-text referent, then, for Telemachus, with Nestor and Proteus, and for the Hamlet chapter as it is progressing to become Scylla & Charybdis, is the man James Joyce. But just what, artistically and compositionally, does Joyce the author do to achieve this double

[25] See above, n. 10. Cf. *U* 9, 819-828.

perspective for the reader? Receptively reading the text written as *Ulysses*, the novel, the reader yet also receives through the text written the unmediated communication – dramatically unmediated, it might be said – of the author's real-life experience and emotion behind the fiction read. Joyce has already given us the template, I suggest, on which in the Hamlet chapter Scylla & Charybdis he modelled the correlation-in-composition and relationship-in-performance of James Joyce and Stephen Dedalus. The logic of the scene as he, Joyce, perceives it when Hamlet encounters the ghost of his father, arises for him, as we noted, from the treble nature of that scene: the play as a whole was written by William Shakespeare. In performance, William Shakespeare the actor took the part of the ghost. The words he spoke as actor were the words written by him as the play's author. Taking this constellation seriously as Joyce's perception text for composing his Hamlet chapter Scylla & Charybdis, its interplay of Stephen Dedalus and his author becomes perfectly lucid. James Joyce is the chapter's text author. By strength of his pseudonym Stephanos Dedalos / Stephen Dedalus he impersonates, he infuses himself into, the protagonist of the playlet in Dublin's National Library. The text that as actor he speaks is the text he wrote as author. Resurrecting that text in performing it through Stephen, his medium, Joyce is thus, in a manner, the ghost behind the text the reader reads. In that, Joyce composed the episode text for Stephen at two levels, moreover, the overt and the silent, the situation is really fourfold in nature. The silent level Joyce short-circuited as his immediate line of communication from author to reader. On that circuit, Joyce is not the ghost behind the text. Not disguised or shielded by the mask of fiction, he communicates directly that he the son – the felt Hamlet of the re-encounter – meets a ghost there on the quayside, his father in 'questionable shape': 'new warmth, new tones', and '[t]he eyes that wish me well. But do they know me?'. Instantly thereupon, though, Joyce the author has his *alter ego* resume the overt oration: '—A father is a necessary evil, Stephen said'. Yet reading Joyce's message to us we sense his despair in real life at that moment in (photographically speaking) treble exposure with Stephen's despair, too, and with Hamlet's. Joyce designs a poetics to compose like Shakespeare, since before him Shakespeare wrote like Joyce.

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The Waste Land at 100
Comedy in Hell

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Abstract

After one hundred years, *The Waste Land* continues to appeal to new readers and performers while preserving its status as a monument of twentieth-century literature that conveys the spirit of the times more than any other poem of the period. Its numerous sources, borrowings and quotations have become familiar to generations of readers who have inherited the canon established by Eliot: Dante and his contemporaries, the Elizabethans and Jacobeans, and the French Symbolists. But *The Waste Land* also brings together fragments of culture high and low and is a sympathetic portrayal of a modern inferno that the poet shares with the wraiths whose voices he intercepts. Thus it is a classic, a poem for all times and all people, a Shakespearean phantasmagoria that mixes classes, languages and cultures, and finally is animated by the zest and gusto of the eternal survivor.

Keywords: *Modernism, Reader-Response Criticism,* The Waste Land*, T.S. Eliot, Western Canon*

> As the taste for my own poetry spread, so did the taste for the poets to whom I owed the greatest debt and about whom I had written. Their poetry, and mine, were congenial to that age. I sometimes wonder whether that age is not coming to an end.
>
> T.S. Eliot, 'To Criticize the Critic', 1965

The Waste Land is now a century old. It has become part of our perception of twentieth-century literature and of literature in general, as Eliot suggested about important new work in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'. *The Waste Land* is itself a reassessment of the Western canon; it feeds upon a number of texts, thus suggesting their relevance, if only by contrast, to the modern predicament. It reaches back to ancient Indian religious works in its quest for spiritual answers to the postwar moral vacuum, but chiefly rests its argument on Western tradition from the Bible to Dante, the Elizabethans and Jacobeans (Spenser, Shakespeare, Middleton and others), and the French

Symbolists. Section I, 'The Burial of the Dead', closes with quotations from John Webster and Charles Baudelaire, the poet of the modern 'unreal city'. Eliot does not hesitate to terminate the section with the final line of 'Au Lecteur', the prologue to Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal*. The speaker addresses a companion in a past war, Stetson, first with words from Webster, then as 'You! hypocrite lecteur! – mon semblable, – mon frère!' (Eliot 2015, l. 76). (The straw-man Stetson morphing into the poem's implicit reader).[1] Eliot's borrowing has given new currency to Baudelaire's statement of complicity between reader and writer, so that today we can hardly tell if we know the line from Eliot or Baudelaire. I suppose many English-speaking readers would say that their source is Eliot, not a work that few enthusiasts read in the original.

It is also a question why Eliot's reader can be accused of hypocrisy, or of being the poet's brother accomplice. Baudelaire's eloquent poem lists a series of sins that beset mankind, of which 'ennui' is the worst, therefore the arraignment of the reader who is curiously parsing the poet's list of horrors is timely, like turning the tables on the detached onlooker. In Eliot it establishes a bond, it invents an audience similarly disposed and culpable, ready to enjoy the peep show from a distance. It is possibly also self-accusation, an unmasking of the distancing with which the previous pages have described the London crowd or recorded the talk of Marie, the Hyacinth girl, and Madame Sosostris. In any case, this unapologetic reuse of the punchline from a major predecessor as the final flourish in a new work establishes at least that we cannot do without Baudelaire if we are to write not only about the modern city but also about modern readership. On the other hand, the speaker who addresses Stetson (and us) with lines from Webster and Baudelaire is also a character in the poem, whose brain can't get rid of certain fragments and favourite quotations – like 'hypocrite lecteur'.

The phrase 'You! hypocrite lecteur!' has the quality of exactness and the sound of Eliot's own work, which tends to crispness, concision, crackling sounds, as in 'cruellest month' – unexpected collocations so striking that they become proverbial: the cruellest month, the winter of our discontent … It must also be the rhythm that makes such phrases memorable, as in 'These fragments I have shored against my ruins' (l. 430) – a sonorous iambic pentameter, with the internal rhyme I-my, and the self-reflexive gesture of looking back from the finale (by way of a set of fragments) to *The Waste Land* as a whole.

The writers that Eliot foregrounds and pushes on our attention so that we cannot but follow him and become readers of Webster and Baudelaire, not to speak of Dante, present a highly dramatic vision of existence as tension and contradiction, damnation and salvation. They are tormented Christians with an awareness of, and unceasing confrontation with, sin and evil. This darkness to some extent envelops Eliot's work, sardonic though it often is – just as in Dante's *Inferno* we find occasional comedy. Eliot would have us share his preferred sources and touchstones for their magical sounds and for the aptness of the situations that they describe. This is true for example of Dante's phrase about the penitential fire, '*Poi s'ascose nel foco che gli affina*' (l. 427), which could serve as an epigraph to Eliot's entire poetic quest, which makes much of 'askesis' and renunciation, of a continuing process of 'purification of the motive' (*Little Gidding*, III, l. 49), of scrupulous puritanical examination of one's actions, that are mostly found wanting.

But there is, as I suggested, relief in Eliot's purgatory: music of course, fragments of beauty, panoramas of all times … Eliot insisted that poetry must please, and 'can communicate before it is understood' ('Dante', in Eliot 1951, 238). For a century generations of readers of English

[1] All quotations of Eliot's poems are taken from Eliot 2015.

have been enchanted by the musical visions of *The Waste Land*, occasionally considering a passage more attentively to question its various implications, but chiefly fascinated by the movement of the poem, its endless presentation of a more or less horrible beauty: 'And bones cast in a little low dry garret, / Rattled by the rat's foot only, year to year' (ll.194-195). But we have also intimations of the paradisal vision, 'Looking into the heart of light, the silence' (l. 41), and the fun of such figures as Madame Sosostris, or Lil's talkative friend in the pub of 'The Game of Chess'.

Eliot is a ventriloquist, to some extent a realist, in this allegedly very literary and high-brow poem. His characters speak in their own voices. They are the damned or purging souls of his 'Comedy', just like the Prufrock and Gerontion of earlier soliloquies. They are individual characters with universal traits. There are class distinctions, as between the lady and the cockney in 'A Game of Chess', but they are equally given a sympathetic hearing. Likewise, in 'The Fire Sermon', the three Thames-daughters ('So rudely forced' – l.100), or 'the typist home at teatime' (l. 222) who waits for her unattractive lover. Eliot watches with some repulsion, as Tiresias, but is really complicit, 'hypocrite', as the everyday ordeal and senselessness of urban life is displayed before his and our eyes.

The hypocritical reader of *The Waste Land* is in possession of all that is necessary to follow the course of the poem. As mentioned above, Eliot claimed that such a work should please also those who, for example, forget who Tiresias was. After all, Tiresias identifies himself as an ancient Greek from (Oedipus') Thebes (l. 245). And the Rhine-daughters? (see note to l. 266, 2015, 75). Even among today's literate readers one can't always expect familiarity with *Tristan* and *Götterdämmerung*. The poem's quotations from Wagner may make sense even if we are unaware of their provenance. We are fortunate though if we know the children's choir in *Parsifal* and recognize it in the citation from Verlaine (l. 202). Critics have spoken of Eliot's 'echo chamber'. He introduces us into his mind, language and associations, which, if looked at in detail, are related to the poem's themes. Besides, a naïve reader does not exist. We pretend (hypocritically) to naïveté, but we share to some extent (or come to share) Eliot's culture and vision. There is no first reading. We may come to the poem after hearing the sonorous rendition given by actors like Robert Speaight or by Eliot himself (who, we remember, 'chanted' *The Waste Land* to Leonard and Virginia Woolf – Woolf 1978, 178). The rhythms have enthralled us, and so have the clear images and crisp sounds.

The Waste Land is possibly more theatrical than Eliot's plays, which today are rarely performed and looked upon as curiosities. They were successful and staged at home and abroad in their day because suitable to those 'tranquillized' times (to borrow Robert Lowell's adjective) and because of Eliot's authority. On the other hand, Eliot's poetry still finds readers in unexpected quarters, as in a short feature film by Lilya Lifanova, *Flight Over Wasteland* (2017), which shuffles around words and episodes in a fresh and creative performance. In one scene, the actors just sang the line 'Co co rico co co rico' (l. 392). It was revealing to listen to this music in a new sequence.

In *The Waste Land* Eliot took risks, courted nonsense and obscenity, but spoke to his readers. He objectified (to go back to a favourite formula) his personal drama and the drama of the times. The Woolfs, who had not responded positively to Joyce's monumental objectification of the same year, found the diffident and cultivated American more to their liking, and published *The Waste Land* with its somewhat tongue-in-cheek notes. Hundreds, thousands of readers followed suit and were captivated by the monstrous but sly poem. A lament from the depths – *de profundis* – of a nervous breakdown and a disastrous marriage which however kept its poise, was able to put the material into shape (benefiting from Ezra Pound's rough handling of the drafts), and finally was a triumph of simplicity, complexity, and directness. Eliot was

able to express his times, coming out of his library of fragments and echoes. He portrayed the crisis of a cultivated mind in ways not so different from the ways of his Prufrock (who is also haunted by his reading), but now there were many voices as in a theatre – or a dream – and Eliot could become, not without irony, the poet of modernity.

We discover his many voices whenever we turn to his work, and it is a relief to read some of his lighter prose and verse, especially because after the 1920s he became rather more solemn, justifying to some extent Pound's references to 'the Reverend Eliot' (1995, 231). But in *The Waste Land* and elsewhere (the Sweeney poems, *Sweeney Agonistes*) Eliot was able to mix reverence with irreverence, even with blasphemy, as his brother Henry pointed out in a notable essay-as-letter he wrote to the overzealous convert to Anglo-Catholicism (Eliot 2017, 748-761).

In his Harvard lectures of 1933 Eliot has an immensely amusing discussion of I.A. Richards' notion that 'poetry is capable of saving us', and his psychological instructions about how to go about evaluating work and being saved. These are pages that make one laugh out loud, as I suppose the Harvard audience must have done in 1933. For example, Richards invites his readers to contemplate among other things 'The facts of birth and death, in their inexplicable oddity'. Eliot comments: 'I cannot see why the facts of birth and death should appear odd in themselves, unless we have a conception of some other way of coming into the world and of leaving it, which strikes us as more natural' (1933, 132-133).

Eliot's sense of fun and incongruity, allied with his seriousness, was important in providing his work with the centrality and balance which it preserves even in its more radical gestures, as in the religious fervours of 'Ash-Wednesday'. A poem of penitence, it harks back to the close of Dante's 'Purgatory' and the *Vita Nuova* (about which Eliot wrote with unusual interest and perceptiveness), and uses directly passages from Christian services (just as section I of *The Waste Land*, 'The Burial of the Dead', is named after the Church of England funeral service – a point usually missed by non-Anglicans, i.e., the majority). But the Biblical and Pre-Raphaelite imagery of 'Ash-Wednesday' is 'religious' in no very strict sense. It is a dream of the spirit, a fantasy, a 'high dream' as Eliot called Dante's (1951, 262), and uses the beautiful language of the service just as *The Waste Land* uses Webster – and in fact 'Ash-Wednesday' opens by paraphrasing (appropriating, even defacing) Guido Cavalcanti and Shakespeare: 'Because I do not hope to turn / Desiring this man's gift and that man's scope' (ll. 3-4). It is again a suggestive, musical, use of language, images and ideas, to present or evoke human feelings that are shared by Christians and non-Christians alike.

Indeed it can be (and has been) argued that the liberal Unitarianism of Eliot's upbringing is hardly suppressed by his conversion to a more strict Christian position, and his religion remains even in the *Quartets* a religion as culture and acceptance (beneficence), which continues to turn to Dante as well as to the *Bhagavad Gita*, thus proclaiming a shared thirst for a moral and religious vision of the hardships and attainments possible in life, today as in the distant past.

Among these attainments is a place 'even [for] a very good dinner', as one is startled and delighted to find in the Reverend Eliot's solemn *Quartets* ('The Dry Salvages', II, l. 44). Or, on a profounder note, we see him stop in *The Waste Land* 'Beside a public bar in Lower Thames Street', to listen to 'The pleasant whining of a mandoline / And a clatter and a chatter from within' (ll. 260-262). Clatter, chatter, whining … He picks up these sounds, basks in them and reproduces them. The world is present through its sounds, in a moment of listening and suspension. Here, in the purgatory and waste land of life, there is comfort and relief. Just stop and listen. As Eliot claimed, poetry should first of all give pleasure ('The Social Function of Poetry' in Eliot 1957, 18).

In the light of the evidence of new readings, editions, translations and adaptations of *The Waste Land*, Eliot's pessimism as to the survival of the tradition he created for himself (see the epigraph to this article), and consequently of his own best work, turns out to have been excessive. Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa once remarked (in the 1950s) that Eliot was a poet who still had to produce his masterpiece (2004, 1362). This is an interesting proposition, at least for the light it casts on the international response to Eliot, and on its historical and cultural vicissitudes. Yet Eliot himself (as we may expect) was able to describe most convincingly *The Waste Land* as the kind of work which writers can produce but once in a lifetime, and by which (whether they like it or not) they and their age will be remembered:

As for our literary reputation, remember that people like Joyce and myself may help to keep the temperature level, but we can't send it any higher. There is something an author does *once* (if at all) in his generation that he can't ever do again. We can go on writing stuff that nobody else could write, if you like, but the *Waste Land* and *Ulysses* remain the historic points. (To Geoffrey Faber, 15 April 1936, 2015, 578)

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In the Atrium of the Writer's Memory

In at least two letters to Giovanni Boccaccio, Francesco Petrarca raised the issue of imitation and, more generally, of the way in which writers should manage their relationship with tradition. This relationship is shaped by the different ways in which reading and storing in one's memory are done. If you read a work only one time and in haste, you may keep in your memory fragments of that text which you can immediately reuse in your own work; these will be without fail recognized as someone else's doing, and appear in your work as evident copy. On the contrary, 'whatever we have slowly learned we know better': indeed, we have 'absorbed' so thoroughly those writings on which we have pondered with time and leisure that they have become our own: so much so that, when you re-use them, they look 'new and original'.

To Giovanni Boccaccio, concerning the law of imitation.
October 1359, from a villa near the river Adda

Soon after your departure and despite my distress, because I still do not know how to remain idle (yet, to tell the truth, everything that I do is nothing or very nearly nothing), I detained as a personal favor our friend to have him help with the work that I had begun with you: revising the transcripts of the *Bucolicum carmen*, a copy of which you had taken with you. As I conferred with that good man with his old-fashioned ways, not a slow-witted friend but a really slow reader, I noticed several short words repeated more frequently than I wished as well as some other things in need of more polish. Thus, I urged you not to hasten your transcription or to give a copy to our Francesco, knowing your interest in all that I possess, especially my writings; indeed, were your love not interfering with your judgment, they would be unworthy of your fingers or your eyes. I thought that I could easily make the corrections in a few hours after returning to my country dwelling, where I was preparing to hasten on the first of July; but I was mistaken. The frequent, and almost annual, revolts in Liguria kept me in the city despite my great love of the country and hatred of cities; very recently, since my fear was beginning to appear greater than the actual danger, around the beginning of October, which was quite late, my confidence managed to overcome the bothersome delay, and I arrived at the

Adda's banks, which for the time being is the site of my solitary retreat. I have now been here eight days where constant rain and an inclement autumn, or rather an early winter, promise an all too short respite. Nevertheless, during this brief interval, which forbidding skies and inclement weather threaten to cut short, I have concentrated on revising that poem, and in the process realized that a reader's slowness aids a corrector's labor. Unquestionably if a polished, quick, and intelligent reader makes the material being read a delight, then a slow, hesitant, and obtuse reader helps to uncover and detect errors. Nor, by Jove, does this differ from anything else. Give a faulty horse to a skillful rider, experienced in horsemanship, and faults remain hidden; with an inexperienced rider, they all will be evident. Entrust an unjust cause to a distinguished lawyer and he will skillfully obscure the injustice; bring an inexperienced lawyer to court and the unfairness of the case will be revealed along with the defender's ineptitude. Perhaps you forget the decision of Marcus Cato the Censor to replace at once the academic Carneades, leader of a philosophical delegation sent to Rome by the Athenians, giving as his reason that it was not easy to grasp how much truth or falsehood there was in anything he said. That truly is the way it is: an expert's skill conceals all defects. While our friend was reading, I saw what I had not seen while you were reading, and I have now really learned that when pleasure is sought from a work, one must have a quick and pleasing reader, whereas when corrections are sought, the reader must be slow and awkward. In any event, whatever changes I wish to make in the poem are indicated separately so as not to fill this letter with boring details.

There is one thing that I thought must not be kept from you or excluded from this letter, something that was unknown to me until today, and still is unbelievable and astonishing. Whenever we write something new, we often err in what is most familiar to us, for it deceives us in the very act of writing; whatever we have slowly learned we know better. You will ask: 'What are you saying? Isn't this a contradiction? It is impossible for opposites to be both true; how can you write that what we know better we know less, and what we absorbed more slowly we know more firmly? What Sphinx or enigma is this?' I shall explain. Something similar happens in other areas, as, for example, when something hidden more carefully by the head of a household is less readily available, or when something buried more deeply is uncovered with greater difficulty; but these apply to material things, with which I am not dealing. So as not to keep you in suspense with circumlocutions, here is an example. Only once have I read Ennius, Plautus, Felix Capella, and Apuleius, and then it was done hastily and quickly, brooking no delay except as one would in unknown territory. Proceeding in this fashion, I saw many things, culled a few, retained even fewer, and these I laid aside as common property in an open place, in the very atrium, so to speak, of my memory. Consequently, whenever I happen either to hear or use them, I quickly recognize that they are not mine, and recall whose they are; these really belong to others, and I have them in my possession with the awareness that they are not my own. I have read Virgil, Flaccus, Severinus, Tullius not once but countless times, nor was my reading rushed but leisurely, pondering them as I went with all the powers of my intellect; I ate in the morning what I would digest in the evening, I swallowed as a boy what I would ruminate upon as an older man. I have thoroughly absorbed these writings, implanting them not only in my memory but in my marrow, and they have so become one with my mind that were I never to read them for the remainder of my life, they would cling to me, having taken root in the innermost recesses of my mind. But sometimes I may forget the author, since through long usage and continual possession I may adopt them and for some time regard them as my own; and besieged by the mass of such writings, I may forget whose they are and whether they are mine or others'. This then is what I meant about more familiar things deceiving us more than others; if at times out of habit they return to the memory, it often happens that to the

preoccupied mind, deeply intent on something else, they seem not only to be yours but to your surprise, new and original. Why do I say you would be surprised? Surely, you too will readily admit to having experienced something similar. I have really spent a great deal of time trying to identify my sources; I call to witness our Apollo, the only son of the heavenly Jove and true God of wisdom, Christ, that I have not been eager to plunder, that I have refrained from intellectual as well as from material thefts. If anything contrary to this is found in my works, it results from an intellectual kinship in the case of authors whom I have not read (as I wrote you in my previous letter) or, in the case of others, from the type of error or forgetfulness that we are now discussing. I grant that I like to embellish my life with sayings and admonitions from others, but not my writings unless I acknowledge the author or make some significant change in arriving at my own concept from many and varied sources in imitation of the bees. Otherwise, I much prefer that my style be my own, uncultivated and rude, but made to fit, as a garment, to the measure of my mind, rather than to someone else's, which may be more elegant, ambitious, and adorned, but deriving from a greater genius, one that continually slips off, unfitted to the humble proportions of my intellect. Every garment befits the actor but not every style the writer; each must develop and keep his own lest either by dressing grotesquely in others' clothes or by being plucked of our feathers by birds flocking to reclaim their own, we may be ridiculed like the crow. Surely each of us naturally possesses something individual and personal in his voice and speech as well as in his looks and gestures that is easier, more useful, and more rewarding to cultivate and correct than to change. Someone may comment, 'And what do you think of yourself?' Not you, my dear friend, who know me well, but one of those who observe others, being totally secure in their silence and safe from critics, have learned to direct stinging barbs against our every word. Let them carefully listen since they bluster only on the basis of what they hear. I do not resemble Juvenal's description, 'A distinguished prophet not of public vein, who usually repeats nothing that has been said, nor strikes a poem with common and ordinary coin,' whom the writer himself did not wish to identify but simply to imagine. Nor am I like Horace: 'I was the first to plant free footsteps along an untrodden path,' or 'I first revealed Parian iambics to Latium'; nor am I like Lucretius: 'Alone do I wander over the remote pathways of the Muses, previously trodden by no man'; nor like Virgil: 'I love to climb gentle slopes to the heights where never had earlier footsteps gone to the Castalian fount.' And so? I am one who intends to follow our forebears' path but not always others' tracks; I am one who wishes upon occasion to make use of others' writings, not secretly but with their leave, and whenever possible I prefer my own; I am one who delights in imitation and not in sameness, in a resemblance that is not servile, where the imitator's genius shines forth rather than his blindness or his ineptitude; I am one who much prefers not having a guide than being compelled to follow one slavishly. I do want a guide who leads me, not one who binds me to him, one who leaves me free use of my own sight, judgment, and freedom; I do not want him to forbid me to step where I wish, to go beyond him in some things, to attempt the inaccessible, to follow a shorter or, if I wish, an easier path, and to hasten or stop or even to part ways and to return. But in my excessive wandering I have been distracting you unduly. At issue today is the tenth eclogue of my pastoral poem where I had written in a certain section, 'Solio sublimis acerno'; upon a later rereading of the verse, I noticed its close similarity to Virgil's words in the seventh book of his divine poem, 'Solioque invitat acerno.' Consequently, you are to change them and substitute the following, 'E sede verendus acerna.' For I wished the Roman imperial throne to be of maple because in Virgil the Trojan horse is of maple; and thus, as in theology wood was the first cause of human misery and later of human redemption, so in poetry not only that same wood in general but that same tree in particular caused the ruin of

the resurrected empire. There you have the gist of my thought, nor is there need of further explanation. In the same eclogue was a passage that was oddly overlooked because of my familiarity with it, and thus I made a mistake that would not have happened had I been less familiar with it; nor was it a passage merely resembling another, but identical. The same happened to me as to the person who cannot see a friend right before his eyes. The passage read in this fashion: 'Quid enim non carmina possum?' Finally coming to my senses, I realized that the end of the verse was not mine; but for a while I did not recognize whose it was for the simple reason that, as I said, I had made it already my own; but at length I discovered it in Naso's *Metamorphoses*. Therefore you are to change this as well, replacing it with the following: 'Quid enim vim carmines equet?' — a verse that is inferior neither in expression nor in content. Let this then be mine even if it must be mine as corrected; let the other return to its master and be Naso's, for I could not steal it from him if I wished, nor would I wish to if I could. Although I do know that some ancient writers, Virgil in particular (as when he boasts of having taken away Hercules's club), not only translated innumerable verses from Greek into Latin, but transferred them from foreign works into their own, not out of ignorance — since one cannot imagine such illustrious and evident examples being stolen from this or that source — nor, one gathers, for the sake of stealing, but rather for the sake of competing. In any case, they either had greater freedom or a different mentality. As for me, if forced by necessity, I would allow myself to use another's words knowingly, but for the purpose of looking better. If out of ignorance I ever do sin against this principle, make certain that I hear about it: I shall readily recognize your good faith and return what I have stolen. The two verses that we have been discussing fall into this category; and if you find more, feel free to correct them or admonish me in a friendly way. For you or any of my friends cannot do anything more pleasing for me than to show a truly friendly, free, and intrepid mind in correcting my errors. No criticism is more welcome than one that censures my ways: I stand ready to rectify most willingly my style and my life not only upon the advice of friends but also at the barkings of my rivals, provided amidst the shadows of envy there shines a glimmer of truth. Live happily, remember me, and farewell.[1]

[1] From *Francesco Petrarch, Letters on Familiar Matters (Rerum Familiarium Libri)* edited and translated by Aldo S. Bernardo, New York, Italica Press, 2005, vol. III, 211-215. Copyright 2005 by Aldo S. Bernardo. Used by permission of Italica Press.

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Stephen Orgel is the J.E. Reynolds Professor in the Humanities, Emeritus, at Stanford University. His most recent books are *The Invention of Shakespeare* (2022), *Wit's Treasury* (2021), *The Reader in the Book* (2015), *Spectacular Performances* (2011), *Imagining Shakespeare* (2003), and *The Authentic Shakespeare* (2002). *The Idea of the Book* is forthcoming from Oxford. He is the general editor of the New Pelican Shakespeare, and has edited *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale* in the Oxford Shakespeare.

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