

TEXTUAL CULTURES

Texts, Contexts, Interpretation

10:1

WINTER 2016

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The Invisible Hand of the Lyric

Emily Dickinson's Hypermediated Manuscripts and the Debate over Genre

Dominique Zino

ABSTRACT

Between the mid-1990s and the present, a poetics of digitization emerged around Emily Dickinson's manuscripts, performed primarily by the members of the Emily Dickinson Editorial Collective. Translating Dickinson's work across archival sources, scanned images, typographic transcripts, and coding languages has offered Dickinson's editors an escape from the determinism that accompanied the age of print and an opportunity to highlight the continuum along which the poet composed her body of work. Through multimodal, interactive exhibits, electronic editors of the Dickinson corpus often seek to demonstrate that no one medium is sufficient to represent the range of meaning implied in Dickinson's body of work. Following the treatment of Dickinson modeled by scholars such as Susan Howe, electronic editors enact a kind of lyric self-reflexivity, gradually shifting from a reflection on poetic form and metre to issues of platform and materiality. At the present moment, one in which print and electronic versions coexist alongside each other, Dickinson textual scholarship is still guided by the "invisible hand" of the lyric genre and the expectations associated with it. And yet, the more readers encounter Dickinson primarily in virtual environments, searching scanned and encoded manuscripts and interpreting them alongside typed transcripts, the more efforts to read Dickinson in traditional generic terms will continue to be unsettled. This essay describes a lineage of textual scholars who, working with Dickinson's corpus, have made media environments into a constitutive element of genre-making.

The Making of Dickinson's Visual Icons

During the last two decades of the twentieth century, when many scholars had not yet begun to question the enduring assumption that Emily Dickinson wrote predominantly lyric poems, critics and textual editors began to give closer consideration to the material properties of Dickinson's manuscripts, decrying the use of typescript editions to interpret her collected body of work. In 1985, poet and critic Susan Howe lamented that in typographical editions fragmented visual signs and marks, the very "scrawls, turn-

abouts, astonishments, strokes, cuts, masks” of the poet’s hand, were being “banished from the body of the poem proper” in an attempt to “valorize” it (1993, 140). For Howe, the overwriting of Dickinson’s scrawls between the 1890s and the 1980s and the privileging of typography over orthography among three of her most prominent editors, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Thomas Johnson, and Ralph Franklin, point to the patriarchal social structures that shaped the first century of Dickinson editorial scholarship.¹ In response, her criticism aims to validate Dickinson’s full range of poetic processes and products and to demonstrate that approaching Dickinson as a reader necessarily means approaching her as a writer. Specifically, Howe unites the roles of critic and poet through enacting the lyric genre.

Lyric poems are traditionally thought of as offering a unique encounter between a poet and the audience. Lyrics are imagined as sung in a fleeting moment, as opposed to epics, which are recited, or dramas, which are staged.² Another feature of the lyric is self-reflexiveness.³ In *My Emily Dickinson* (1985), Howe both describes and enacts Dickinson’s lyricism by turning her own act of literary criticism into what she calls an “archeological” quest. Howe *My*-nes Dickinson for meaning just as Dickinson *My*-ned writers such as Charlotte and Emily Brontë, George Eliot, and James Fenimore Cooper. Howe also enacts lyricism within the space of the page by creating her own “visual catastrophes”, a phrase she uses to describe Dickinson’s manuscript pages. For example, when presenting a reading of the poem “My Life had Stood—a Loaded Gun” (Fr764), Howe offers a representation of Dickinson’s reading that appears on the page like collected layers of

1. Howe briefly recounts her exchange with Franklin in *The Birth-Mark* (1993): “In 1985 I wrote a letter to Ralph Franklin, the busy director of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, to suggest that The Manuscript Books of Emily Dickinson show that after the ninth fascicle (about 1860) she began to break her lines with a consistency that the Johnson edition seemed to have ignored . . . I received a curt letter in response. He told me the notebooks were not artistic structures and were not intended for other readers; Dickinson has a long history of sending poems to people—individual poems—that were complete, he said. My suggestion about line breaks depended upon an ‘assumption’ that one reads in lines; he asked, ‘what happens if the form lurking in the mind is the stanza?’” (134, Howe’s italics).
2. For a foundational discussion of the history of lyric forms, see DUBROW 2000.
3. Virginia Jackson argues that “self-reflexiveness is one of the central criteria of lyric discourse” (2005, 57).

Gun in My Life
 My Life in Gun
 My in The Owner
 The Owner in My
 Catherine in Heathcliff
 Heathcliff in Catherine
 Edgar in Tom
 Tom in Edgar
 Panther in Boone
 Boone in Panther
 Doe in Rebecca
 Rebecca in Doe
 Killdeer in Deerslayer
 Hawk-eye in Kill-deer
 Serpent in Chingachgook
 Chingachgook in Serpent
 He in I
 I in He
 Childe Roland blowing Edgar's mad song.

Figure 1. Page 130 from MY EMILY DICKINSON,
 copyright ©1985 by Susan Howe. Reprinted by
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sediment (or, to use a modern analogue, like lines of code), each nesting a new associative link.

The critic's attempt to envision Dickinson's reading habits turns Howe's own manuscript into a more predominantly visual medium. The typescript page becomes a *hypermediated* space, or a space in which our attention is drawn to the presence of the printed typeface as a manipulable (and perhaps also manipulative) medium. Howe adopts this not only as a representational method but as a broader critical method, calling for a return to the manuscript versions of Dickinson's texts, to the scrawled verses hovering behind the printed page, to the medium within the medium.⁴ Readers are prompted to oscillate between seeing Dickinson's language as an imme-

4. For an extended discussion of hypermediation, see Bolter and Grusin. Their primary example of hypermediation is the "windowing" of the world through the computer interface: "The multiplicity of windows and the heterogeneity of their contents mean that the user is repeatedly brought back into contact with the interface, which she learns to read just as she would read any hypertext. She oscillates between manipulating the windows and examining their contents, just as she oscillates between looking at a hypertext as a texture of links and looking through the links to the textual units as language" (2000, 33).

diated visual product, as units of language, and as a kind of hypertextual network of associations.⁵

The appearance of Ralph Franklin's multi-volume facsimile edition, *The Manuscript Books of Emily Dickinson* (1980) also made possible a broader awareness of variations within particular poems that were being stifled in seemingly definitive print editions, aiding Martha Nell Smith, Jerome McGann, Sharon Cameron, Jeanne Holland, and Marta Werner, among others, as they theorized the poet's process based on the original ordering of the fascicles—the groups of poems Dickinson bound together in sewn booklets—as well as the styling of her orthography.⁶ “Dickinson's poetry was not written for a print medium, even though it was written in an age of print”, McGann argues. “We must accommodate typographical conventions to her work, not the other way around” (1993, 38). The challenge that Howe's scholarship represented, shifting the narrative around Dickinson from one of isolation to one of connection, from the lyric tradition of what was heard to what is seen, was realized in 1995, when Martha Nell Smith first published a plan for a hypermedia archive of Dickinson's work. Smith imagined a windowed screen in which various holographs of Dickinson's manuscript pages could appear at once, searchable by a variety of textual features, with many of the pieces united by the form she saw emerging in the correspondence between Emily and her sister-in-law Susan Dickinson, the letter-poem. “Since poetry originated in the writing to Susan, as did the hybrid genre, the letter-poem, and since the writings to her showcase experimentations in style, punctuation, lineation, drawings, mixing media, and calligraphic orthography, it is no surprise that [Susan] was disappointed to see conventional modes of print representation displace Dickinson's highly self-conscious, often humorous textual play”, Smith observed (1995, 81). In short, Howe's disruption of our general complacency about reading Dickinson in typographical form motivated textual scholars to recover a sense of immediacy with Dickinson's work by drawing attention to the heavily mediated nature of the poet's process.⁷

5. Lev Manovich has argued that “the acceptance of hyperlinking in the 1980s can be correlated with contemporary culture's suspicion of all hierarchies, and preference for the aesthetics of collage in which radically different sources are brought together within a singular cultural object” (2001, 76).

6. See McGANN 1993, CAMERON 1993, HOLLAND 1994, and WERNER 1995.

7. Gabrielle Dean, Curator of Literary Rare Books and Manuscripts at Johns Hopkins University, outlines four realms into which material inquiries into Dickinson's processes and products have fallen: investigations that complicate the

Between the mid-1990s and the present, a poetics of digitization has emerged around Dickinson's manuscripts, led primarily by the members of the Emily Dickinson Editorial Collective: Smith, Werner, Ellen Louise Hart, and Lara Vetter. Translating Dickinson's work across archival sources, scanned images, typographic transcripts, and coding languages offers Dickinson's editors, present and future, an escape from the determinism that accompanied the age of print and an opportunity to highlight the continuum along which Dickinson composed her body of work. Given the multimodality of online interactive exhibits, electronic editors of the Dickinson corpus often seek to demonstrate that no one medium is sufficient to represent the range of meaning implied in her body of work. Like Howe, they enact a kind of lyric self-reflexivity, yet one that shifts from a reflection on poetic form to platform, from metre to materiality. At the present moment, in which print and electronic versions coexist alongside each other, the "invisible hand" guiding Dickinson textual scholarship is still that of the enduring influence of the lyric genre, though an allegiance to the "code of hearing" and a faith in editorial accuracy seem to be giving way to Smith's early realization that in a world of digital surrogates "no one has to bear the burden of forging the perfect linguistic description of the artifact" (Smith 2002, 840, 846). As the next generation of readers encounter Dickinson primarily in virtual environments, searching scanned and encoded manuscripts and interpreting them alongside typed transcriptions, efforts to read Dickinson in traditional generic terms will continue to be unsettled.

Thirty years after Howe's important intervention, my essay describes how textual scholars have made media environments into a constitutive element of genre-making rather than an afterthought. After recounting a recent debate over the relationship between genre and medium among Dickinson scholars, I revisit Thomas Wentworth Higginson's preface to the first edition of Dickinson's *Poems* (1890) to demonstrate that knowledge structures in a digital age—what new media scholars call "folksonomies"—require us to conceptualize media and genre side by side. As readers encounter Dickinson's work exposed, transcribed, and described

boundaries between a completed, public text and an unfinished, private one; studies of the material features of the poet's reading and writing environment; surveys of the use of scrapbooks, albums, and commonplace books that defined the material culture of poetic production during Dickinson's lifetime; and, finally, the way virtual environments make the poet's materials more visible and readable (2013, 293, 300).

down to the smallest material detail in electronic environments, a next generation of Dickinson textual scholars will need to keep one eye on contextualizing and historicizing Dickinson's materials and another on understanding how generic classifications are established and how they endure.

Remediation and “Regenreing”

In October of 2007, a special issue of *PMLA*, “Remapping Genre” opened with an introductory statement by Wai Chee Dimock entitled “Genres as Fields of Knowledge”. Dimock offered that the “recursive, heterogeneous, and heterodox process” through which genres come into existence involves continuous input from other genres. She proposed the coinage of “a somewhat awkward term, a gerund, *regenreing*” to emphasize the way genre change takes at least two forms; through “cumulative reuse” genres build up and accumulate layers of meaning like a palimpsest, but they also migrate to other environments and contexts. “For too long originality has been held up as the touchstone of creative authorship. . . . Surely it should not be the only touchstone. Genres can do much to guide us in the opposite direction”, Dimock asserts, in which the emphasis is on “the art of receiving, and affirm[ing] it as art: crafty, experimental, even risk-taking” (2007, 1380).⁸ This focus on receiving, Dimock suggests, parallels the way new media come into being, or the process media theorists Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin have called “remediation”. The logic of remediation suggests that as new technologies replace older technologies, we receive them under the assumption that they will repair a lack of immediacy and transparency in the older technology. Photography was thought to produce a more immediate experience than painting, film a more immediate experience than photography, television than film, and virtual reality than television (BOLTER and GRUSIN, 2000, 60). The desire by textual editors, especially over the last three decades, to peel back the typescript Dickinson poem to “reveal” the medium within the medium makes the changing presentation of Emily Dickinson's body of work an ideal case study of remediation. And, though it is tempting to argue otherwise, remediation is never a neutral process.

8. Dimock draws her comment about the overdetermination of originality as a hallmark of creativity from Peter Stallybrass's remarks in the same journal issue.

Material culture scholars point out that the types of paper on which Dickinson wrote situate her within historical and cultural networks (Socarides 2012). Following this literal paper trail is a way of showing how the poet “recognize[d], respond[ed] to, act[ed] meaningfully and consequentially within, and thus participat[ed] in the reproduction of, recurring situations”, which is exactly how genre theorists define participation in genre systems (BAWARSHI and REIFF 2010, 212). In other words, the remediation of Dickinson’s oeuvre has long happened as part of conversations about “regenreing”. Dickinson’s habits of composing on borrowed or used materials become part of the poet’s response to social expectations, motives, relationships between readers and writers (BAWARSHI and REIFF 2010, 13). In other words, tangible, print media implicates its users in networks of social exchange that provoke types of textual reproduction. Whether Dickinson writes on fine stationary paper or chocolate candy wrappers, media, particularly when understood as part of a process of change, heighten readers’ and editors’ awareness of genre and force them to engage with regenreing. When moving from close reading handwritten letters, loose pages, and fascicles to the first typescript edition in the 1890s, and when moving again from typescript editions to electronic archives in the 1990s, the transformation of textual representation through shifting forms of media also transforms critics’ and readers’ ideas about what counts as a generic marker.

Limited attention has been given to analyzing how receiving Dickinson’s materials in electronic environments changes the way we understand and use genre systems. Among the members of the Dickinson Editorial Collective, which has, since the 1990s, shouldered the majority of the electronic editing of Dickinson’s texts, Marta Werner has framed her textual scholarship as an effort to “un-edit” Dickinson, arguing that facsimiles of Dickinson’s manuscripts allow scholars to imagine the possibility of presenting Dickinson’s textual artifacts to an audience with “a minimum of interference”. In her printed monograph, *Emily Dickinson’s Open Folios* (1996)—a facsimile edition of the late body of letters and fragments exchanged between Dickinson and possible lover, Judge Otis Lord—and in the corresponding digital installation hosted on the Emily Dickinson Archives, “Ravished Slates”, Werner aims to subvert the limitations of typographic text while also reminding readers and viewers of the presence of the original materials; for instance, she uses a detailed notational system to record the catalog number of each leaf and sheet, occasionally adding the word “verso” to indicate when Dickinson was writing on the back of a leaf of stationery or other surface (“Lost Events”).

More recently, the method of accommodating typographical conventions to Dickinson's work has informed *The Gorgeous Nothings* (2013), edited by Werner and textile artist Jen Bervin, with a preface by Howe. This edition of the series of verses and fragments written on envelopes and other "scraps" places pristine facsimiles in the midst of generous portions of white space, sometimes using only a tenth of the full nine-inch by twelve-inch page to display a two-inch fragment. Typographical transcriptions created in Adobe InDesign do not present parallel lines of text in stanzas but, instead, transcribe each letter as it would have appeared on the page, complete with all aberrant marks, and placed within a boarder that matches the asymmetrical outlines and ripped edges of the paper scraps on which the words were found. This approach reflects "[the editors'] belief that Dickinson's manuscript is the primary space to read her work and is the highest authority on all questions" and "gesture[s] back to the 'bright Orthography' of Dickinson's manuscripts" (WERNER and BERVIN 2013, 16 note 14). In this case, the immediacy and self-reflexiveness that characterize lyric discourse merge with careful practices of hypermediation to underline the constructed nature of a transcription left floating in the vast open space of a 12 x 15 inch page. The editors' sensitivity to the uses of the blank page and the process of working across mediums and across modes of transcription suggests the "double logic" that drives acts of remediation: such textual editing involves highlighting and multiplying acts of mediation in order to generate "a feeling of fullness, a satiety of experience, which can be taken as reality" (BOLTER and GRUSIN 2000, 53).

In 2005, twenty years after Howe's *My Emily Dickinson* was first published, Virginia Jackson pointed to Howe's and Werner's editorial strategies as part of a more pervasive phenomenon around interpreting Dickinson. Jackson called this trend "lyric reading". Rather than insisting, with McGann, that a print tradition must be accommodated to Dickinson's orthography, Jackson argued that a codex print tradition is what made possible the enduring scholarly assumption that Dickinson was writing "lyric poems". Dickinson's texts have been framed since the publication of the first edition of her poems in 1890 as objects that point to a narrative of "individual creation or individual reception", as both sceneless and isolated, Jackson claims. Contemporary textual editors who attempt to "rescue", "release", and "liberate" a work that is difficult to categorize by implicitly reading it as a "lyric" fall into a long line of late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century editors of Dickinson who have idealized lyric poetry as a "temporally self-present or unmediated" genre (9). Such rescue efforts, Jackson argues, ironically doom it to

a perpetually uncharacterizable future: “The aspects of Dickinson’s writing that do not fit into any modern model of the lyric—verse mixed with prose, lines written in variation, or lines . . . dependent on their artificial contexts—have been left to suffer under the weight of variorum editions or have been transformed into weightless, digitized images of fading manuscript made possible by invisible hands” (2005, 13).⁹ According to Jackson, when we read Dickinson, we read not only what does or does not appear on the printed page or screen; we read through an entire history of printing. At the same time, we do not automatically bring new generic assumptions to a text simply because we digitize it.

Yet if textual scholars who have contributed to creating a poetics of digitization around Dickinson’s remediated visual icons have perhaps underestimated the historicized impact of genre on our reading practices, Jackson’s argument in 2005 risked overdetermining it:

The fact that Werner’s immensely technologically accomplished representation of the unprinted Dickinson ends in a fundamental form of lyric reading demonstrates that reading’s dependence on the cultural mediation of any medium—whether print, pixels, or skywriting. As long as there is a cultural consensus that Dickinson wrote poems *and* as long as poems are considered essentially lyric and as long as the cultural mediation of lyrics is primarily interpretive and largely academic—indeed, as long as lyrics need to be interpreted in order to *be* lyrics—then the media of Dickinson’s publication will not change the message [. . .] It is not the medium but the genre that determines the message. (2005, 52, italics in original)

More than a decade after Jackson made this argument, and many digital Dickinson archives later, one must wonder whether encountering a poem in a new media environment can eventually undermine the tendency to label a poem as “essentially lyric”. In the early 2000s, it may not have been

9. The notion of delivering a manuscript through “invisible hands” might also be understood as a corollary of what digital humanist Matthew Kirschenbaum calls the “haptic fallacy”, “the belief that electronic objects are immaterial simply because we cannot reach out and touch them” (“Materiality and Matter and Stuff”). In general, the “double bind” Jackson sees in labeling a text as a lyric is that it demands that readers “surmis[e] associations between literal accident and figurative meaning” (2005, 67).

possible for scholars to see the extent to which both media and genre may become interdependent.¹⁰ A decade after Jackson's critique of Werner's project, we are better poised to study how the lyric tradition might be both reinforced and disrupted by multi-faceted digital representations and connections across manuscripts. The last few decades of digital editing of Dickinson's papers reveal the law of remediation at work: the desire to achieve some intimacy with the original documents will drive the use of the current technology and the development of new tools. Working with digital surrogates—the shift from what Smith calls preparing to hear to preparing to see—relieves scholars from starting critical inquiries with the assumption that Dickinson wrote lyric poems. Jackson's argument marks a turning point, an implicit challenge, as I see it, to electronic editors to make visible the presence of remediation in the editorial process. By heightening readers' attention to the cumulative impact of media environments on interpretive practices, editors of digital editions have the potential to redefine an understanding of lyrics as not immediately self-present but as constructed through multiple mediations and exchanges.

In the electronic exhibit *Radical Scatters: Emily Dickinson's Late Fragments and Related Texts, 1870–1886*, first operated through the University of Michigan (1999–2007) and currently run through the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Werner compiled Dickinson's textual fragments from six formal archives and a private collection.¹¹ Werner and the Dickinson Editorial Collective have come to call the transformation of material objects into electronic objects “diplomatic transcripts”. The combined use of print technology, Macromedia Freehand, and Adobe Photoshop to represent various aspects of Dickinson's handwriting in *Radical Scatters*, Werner notes, provides “a partial escape from print, from the logic of iden-

10. The genre of the lyric may be a fiction, as Jackson expertly shows, but the fiction guiding lyric reading is akin to the rhetoric around digitization and modes of digital markup. Even Jackson cannot resist equating digital editing to a mystical process in which imagined pixels on a screen are a step away from “skywriting”. Her use of the phrase “invisible hand” highlights what she takes to be the self-effacing, mysterious, or undetermined nature of the role of the digital editor.
11. These include Amherst College Library (29 fragments), Houghton Library (12), Boston Public Library (6), New York Public Library (1), Yale University Library (1), Princeton University Library (1), The Rosenbach Museum and Library (1), the Jones Library, Inc. (1)—and one fragment from the private collection of Donald Oresman .

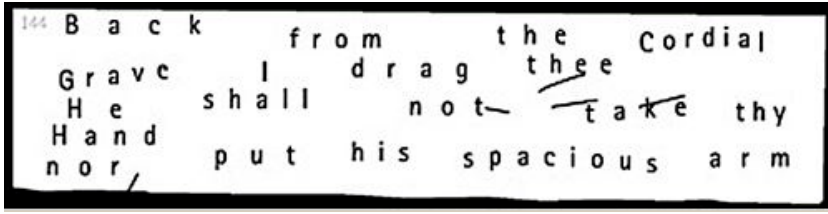


Figure 2. A diplomatic transcription of manuscript A 144, a fragment written on both sides of a scrap of paper that may or may not belong with other fragments in the collection. © The University of Nebraska–Lincoln.

tity and fixity”. Diplomatic transcriptions, she explains, are intended to highlight the work of multiple editorial hands:

We [Werner and Patrick Bryant, her former graduate assistant at Georgia State] began by calling a facsimile of the manuscript to be translated to the screen and tracing its contours, seams, instresses to create a frame and body for the text. Next, we typed directly over the facsimile, reporting as precisely as possible the orthography, punctuation, line breaks, and spaces between letters and words. Though only three fonts were used to distinguish among three constantly recurring scriptural styles (rough-copy; intermediate-copy; fair-copy hand), font sizes were varied according to the size of the handwriting on the individual documents [. . .] Marks made on the transcripts by copyists, editors, cataloguers, and others appear when still discernible in grey italic font and in shadow. (“A Woe of Ecstasy”)

While creating the diplomatic transcription, in order to render the fullest possible experience of the primary source material, the original document itself must be overwritten by a new set of marks and tracings. Digital manipulations of the text necessarily become more primary in the effort to “restore” a fuller sense of materiality to the host object: “When a diplomatic transcription is complete, it covers the image of the manuscript, concealing and even appearing to master it. Only, however, for an instant. For the precise moment when the facsimile is obscured by the transcript, a kind of ‘kinetic occlusion’ occurs: the transcript is ‘lifted off’ and placed behind the facsimile, effecting a sudden restoration of the visible over the legible” (“A Woe of Ecstasy”). The anxiety around the difference between the visible and the legible that began with Howe’s representation of Dick-

inson's text finds an expression a quarter of a century later in Werner's poetic description of the work of media in electronic environments.

This engagement with the text leads Werner, as editor, to draw certain conclusions about genre. She rejects the status of the fragments as "aphorisms" and "epigrams" ("Most Arrows") without connections to or repetitions across other poems or letters. Insisting upon the unclassifiable status of the fragments, the *Radical Scatters* archive invents new generic classifications, dividing fragments into "core texts" and "trace fragments". Core texts have been assigned composition dates after 1870 and are "materially discrete". Trace fragments "are caught between their attraction to specific bounded texts and their resistance to incorporation . . . like leitmotifs, the fragments both influence the modalities of the compositions in which they momentarily take asylum and carry those leitmotifs beyond the finished composition into another space and time" ("A Woe of Ecstasy"). Each core fragment is contextualized through an impressive range of data: physical description, the original collection where the fragment was found, a transmission history (some verifiable, some more speculative), a publication history that notes how twentieth-century editors (i.e., JOHNSON and FRANKLIN) numbered and dated the fragments, and a paragraph of commentary about relationships between the texts in which the fragments appear and their variant forms. Werner's unique organizational contribution is twofold—a system that would be impossible to replicate in a print edition. First, she arranges these fragments into "constellations" that indicate the various ways each fragment appears as a "trace" in other texts that were penned either before or after the fragment was composed, all hyperlinked across the collection so that one can move back and forth between the pages that house each fragment. Sometimes two discrete fragments are linked, while other hyperlinked paths through the collection demonstrate connections between as many as six discrete texts. *Radical Scatters* is also meticulous in its cataloging of what earlier editors might have discarded as repetitive and unremarkable material, which provides Werner with distinct evidence about Dickinson's composing process: "just as poems often evolve out of fragments, so they often break down into fragments again, after attaining, briefly, a finished form. These fragments, while belonging to the constellation of texts that includes the poems in which they appear as traces, may also achieve the status of freestanding lyrics" (Commentary on A 313/314).

Sometimes this process of remediation leads Werner to declare that Dickinson's late fragments are "extrageneric" (the kind of lyric reading of Dickinson with which Jackson takes issue). But Werner also notes that

the existence of fragments across both prose and verse “suggests the need to reimagine the boundaries between ‘poems,’ ‘letters,’ ‘drafts,’ and ‘fragments’” (“A Woe of Ecstasy”).¹² Werner argues that a material “is often a metaphorical as well as an actual container for thoughts—an envelope shaped like a bird carries a text about flight; an envelope seal becomes the space for a meditation on secrecy; the two sides of a document are inscribed with rhyming texts; a torn edge corresponds to a textual verge, etc.—maintaining the integrity of the physical document facilitates further investigation into the relationship between Dickinson’s medium and her messages” (“Navigating in the Archive: Orientation, Disorientation, Reorientation”). Genre theorist Charles Bazerman has contended that we construct our perception of “new communicative domains” using forms we already know as a starting point (BAWARSHI and REIFF 2010, 160). Thus, importantly, while the lyric is Werner’s way into the database, it is not the preordained end point of the electronic editing of Dickinson’s poems. If, as Jackson contends, a print tradition has long dictated the ways readers would read Dickinson’s “lyric poems”, how will the predominance of digital editions in the 21st-century impact the way future editors and readers understand the genres in which she wrote?

Emergent Materialities, Emergent Genres: Lyric Folksonomies

According to Jackson, what differentiates her historicization of the lyric genre from other critics’ automatic inscription of Dickinson’s poems within the lyric tradition is the fact that the latter ascribes to a notion of genre as “medium” while she understands genre as “work” (2005, 46).¹³ Yet for

12. More recently, Werner has also classified the poems Dickinson wrote on used envelopes as “limit texts”, comparing them to “John Clare’s asylum writings, Friedrich Hölderlin’s most inscrutable fragments, Marcel Duchamp’s late notes, C. S. Pierce’s existential graphs, Antonin Artaud’s ‘spells’. ‘In such documents, that may or may not be ‘art’”, Werner writes, “we have, on the one hand, a sense that someone is there, close to us, writing, and, on the other, that no one—that is to say, that no ‘author’—is there at all. . . these limit-texts, composed at the border of the unreadable, may reveal more starkly than ever the conditions of the modern manuscript and the stakes involved in encountering it” (2011, 74).
13. Jackson borrows this distinction from Stanley Cavell. Cavell calls for “*resisting* (by understanding) the temptation to think of a medium simply as a familiar material (for instance, sound, color, words), as if this were an unprejudicial

the twenty-first century electronic editor, a text is not already a familiar material; using the medium itself is *work*. HTML encoding dictates how a browser displays paragraphs, fonts, or images; TEI (Textual Encoding Initiative) encoding adds descriptive or analytical meaning to a text's basic digital documentation, including details about structure, meter, bibliographic context, and manuscript details.¹⁴

Electronic databases operate through a logic of inclusion. They are—at a basic level—collections that users can view, navigate, and search (MANOVICH 2000, 219). As cultural forms, Lev Manovich has noted, they privilege collecting over storytelling or narrative. Scholars of the American lyric tradition have repeated this database-narrative binary. “[Database] is the enemy of narrative, threatening it at every sentence, always shimmering, accessible, *there*”, Ed Folsom, co-editor of the digital Walt Whitman Archive, insists. “It threatens to displace narrative, to infect and deconstruct narrative endlessly, to make it retreat behind the database or dissolve back into it, to become finally its own sprawling genre, presenting a subject as it has never been possible to present it” (2007, 1577). The vastness of databases makes tagging necessary, either by a single editor, multiple editors, or a series of users. When navigating a database, taxonomic structures of knowledge tied to pre-determined categories into which individual ideas or things are arranged, often become faceted systems, which are arranged through use. Faceted systems allow users to navigate a tree in which every item is “tagged” with many types of properties, which they can browse through any number of potential paths (WEINBERGER 2005, 4).

The binary between hierarchical and faceted knowledge structures mirrors critics' long struggle with genre: genres have been seen as either contingent empirical groupings or theoretical categories that draw upon some fundamental aspect of thought or expression (CULLER 2014, 63). As

observation rather than one of a number of ways of taking the material of a medium, and recognizing instead that only the art can define its media” (1982, 243).

14. Jackson admits that her implicit argument throughout *Dickinson's Misery* is that lyrics have been remade for consumption in the classroom (2005, 262 note 32). While she does not develop this argument, others have started to do so. Lara Vetter insists that it is precisely through creating and teaching from an electronic edition of Dickinson's writings that issues of textual editing can be discussed alongside issues of writing process, presumably not only the process of the poet but her students' writing processes as well (451). For a recent illustration of this practice with poetic materials in a classroom setting, see SINGER 2013.

digital rhetorician Jeff Rice argues, “Through tagging, the digital allows us to engage in discursive encounter. We discover the encounter among tags, among users who tag, and among user and tag. Various combination schemes emerge out of these encounters, sometimes as maps, sometimes as bookmarking, sometimes in other formations” (2005). For the future of the electronic editing of Dickinson’s work, this raises two issues. First, perhaps some uncertainty about materiality is not the result of “overdetermining” its influence but, as faceted knowledge structures replace hierarchical knowledge structures, the result of recognizing that the way scholars make arguments about materiality has shifted: nearly any type of material associated with an author can become a possible starting point for literary research. Faceted knowledge structures invite inquiry into the use and circulation of various types of materials without presuming any are inherently meaningful at the start. Secondly, as electronic collections grow, editors will have to decide whether they will retain the sole right to tag artifacts, or whether that right will be opened to teachers and their students, or even whole classrooms of students.

If one of the primary debates in Dickinson studies since the appearance of Franklin’s facsimile edition has been whether to treat a Dickinson poem as an object that depends upon its material form or as an object from which we learn by *extracting* information about Dickinson’s tendencies as a writer from a typographical reproduction, then at present it is nearly impossible to do Dickinson editorial scholarship without confronting that informational patterns are as essential as material forms. Objects, in order to be shared, are overwritten by information as they are coded and tagged. As N. Katherine Hayles has argued, “*The materiality of an embodied text is the interaction of its physical characteristics with its signifying strategies*” (2005, 104, emphasis in original). “Emergent materiality” extends beyond the physical object in order to account for physical characteristics through “the social, cultural, and technological processes that brought [the text] into being” (HAYLES 2005, 103). Howe’s interpretations of Dickinson’s poems anticipated a concept of emergent materiality, as Howe encouraged that scholars acknowledge both the “body” of the poem—the manipulation of materials on a page—alongside the strategies of editing and interpretation signified by typographical copies of the poet’s work. Hayles articulates in relation to electronic versions of texts what Howe and other scholars in the early- to mid-nineties insisted upon in relation to orthographic versions: “the disembodiment of information . . . [is] not inevitable, any more than it is inevitable we continue to accept the idea that we are *essentially*

informational patterns” (1999, 22). One of my aims in this essay has been to contextualize the balancing force of remediation that pushes scholars to return to the contextualized, material life of Dickinson’s work in electronic environments.

In 1991, McGann had already begin to describe print texts as autopoietic systems, “self-generating feedback systems that cannot be separated from those who manipulate and use them” (1991, 15). This is even more evident in electronic environments. Lara Vetter, for example, has discussed the challenge of avoiding the “disembodiment” of information when using machine-readable TEI codes to prepare hypertext versions of Dickinson’s poems. On the one hand, TEI tags often lead editors to privilege the conceptual facts of a manuscript over the material ones because the markup categories are limited when it comes to accounting for the material details of the physical artifact (2008, 442).¹⁵ On the other hand, through them we see texts not as isolated artifacts but as a systematic organization to which we are contributing. Whereas Jackson doubts that media can subvert or displace the expectations of genre, Werner’s insistence that “unforeseen orders” might emerge from creating and studying the *Radical Scatters* archive suggests the way informational codes have the capacity “to evolve spontaneously in directions the programmer may not have anticipated” (HAYLES 1999, 12).

If Werner’s descriptions are still bound to the “unforeseen and anomalous orders” of the lyric, they also point the way to understanding how formal features of electronic environments will produce new classifications and become tied to new social purposes. Jackson contends that in reading a text as a lyric “we consent to take it out of circulation and, in a sense, out of generic contingency”, calling the lyric the “modern antigenre . . . too formally distinct to be anything but a literary genre, and yet it pretends not to be any particular literary genre” (56). But in a digital environment the whole method for producing and delivering the lyric shifts. In an electronic archive, presenting a lyric genre does not mean taking it “out of circulation”. Rather, such presentation multiplies opportunities for producing meaning (BROOKE 80), making genre itself contingent on the nature of the multimedia environment.

15. While Vetter’s point is to expose the pitfalls of TEI tags, not necessarily to propose a specific solution, she refers to Joseph Gringely’s suggestion that “an ideal edition might not be an edition at all, but a guide to historically situated texts, a Baedeker of the diachronic publication history of individual works” (2008, 439).

The next section of this essay shows that the lyric genre has in fact long depended upon a broader, multi-modal media ecosystem that went beyond the realm of print culture, or at least extended what the realm of print culture might include; medium and genre in the late nineteenth century were neither separate nor static and deterministic categories. In the final section of this piece I return to the twenty first century and to Werner's *Radical Scatters* to offer an example of how the emergent materialities it presents have the potential to displace assumptions about the lyric, placing textual fragments in circulation among readers and in a constellatory relation to other Dickinson texts.

Mr. Higginson's Fancy

In 1981, in a study that served as a foundation for Barton Levi St. Armand's detailed account of the broader material culture in which Dickinson produced her manuscripts (*Emily Dickinson and Her Culture: The Soul's Society* [1984]), St. Armand and George Monteiro published their illustrated study, "The Experienced Emblem", which describes Dickinson's wide adaptation of the nineteenth-century popular emblem tradition. The study's primary objectives are "to identify the popular pictorial sources for an unusually large number of Dickinson's poems stretching through her entire artistic career . . . to show how the knowledge of a poem's source often compels the reader to interpret that poem anew; and . . . to suggest something about the various ways in which Dickinson's imagination was fired by these often crudely overstated pictures" (1981, 267–68).¹⁶ Its method is positioned at the intersection of Dean's taxonomy of material inquiries: it offers a way to describe Dickinson's poetic production and reception in terms of materiality, highlights the material features of her reading environment and how those were transferred to her writing, places these features in the context of the popularity of the illustrated emblem book tradition, and then asks how

16. Ralph Franklin's facsimile edition of Dickinson's manuscripts was published just a few months after the study appeared, perhaps even overshadowing the potential impact of "The Experienced Emblem"; on the whole, the field of Dickinson studies would move toward textual scholarship in the 80s and 90s. A 2014 Google Scholar search yielded only four citations of "The Experienced Emblem" in *The Emily Dickinson Journal*, two in 1993 (one of which is St. Armand's "Emily Dickinson and The Indicator: A Transcendental Frolic" Issue 2.2 (Fall 1993), one in 2005, and one in 2006.

physical, material emblems prompted the virtual imagery she expressed through her lexical content.

Monteiro and St. Armand describe the emblem book tradition of Dickinson's era as one that revolved around the more "simplified, appealing, and available" images in William Holmes and John Warner Barber's *Emblems and Allegories* (1848), a descendant of a more ornate tradition dating back to Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593).¹⁷ The finely etched lines rendering elaborately dressed figures amid backdrops of detailed foliage and Roman architecture in Ripa's book are replaced in the nineteenth century by a less detailed, more accessible set of images in order to make the moral message intended for its audience more transparent. When placed side by side with their precursors, the bare-boned etching and lack of varied tones are notably less sophisticated than the elaborate cross-hatching of the Ripa counterparts, which resemble history paintings more than book illustrations. A distinctly early American didacticism guides the Holmes and Barber emblem, the aim of which is clear: reduce ornamentation in and around the central figures so that they make a more direct imprint on the mind of the reader. Yet Monteiro and St. Armand also note that Holmes and Barber's emblems encompass four image-textual elements: a title, a motto (usually biblical extracts), a picture, and prose commentary that takes the shape of a "miniature sermon". By economizing Puritan dogma through the pictorial emblems and the biblical captions and moralizing explanations that accompanied them, Calvinist tenets were presented in a way that made them ripe for refiguration. In other words, Monteiro and St. Armand show, their accessibility and transparency was facilitated through hypermediation, the foregrounding of the textual and pictorial media across multiple forms. This attention to strategies of hypermediation allows the authors to

17. The edition of the Holmes and Barber's *Emblems and Allegories* (1848) that the authors use to demonstrate Dickinson's method of adaptation and transmutation of popular emblematics holds a prominent place in the emblem book tradition. *Religious Emblems* appeared in 1846, followed by *Religious Allegories* in 1848; the third printing combines the two into one volume. "These works were so popular that their piety leaped across the Atlantic, producing a British edition of *Religious Allegories* in 1854 and one of *Religious Emblems* in 1856. In 1860 appeared yet another version, *Christian Similitudes*. Still later, around 1866, all three books were brought together, along with a condensed version of [Bunyan's] *Pilgrim's Progress* and some other examples of inspirational literature, in a compendium volume entitled *The Bible Looking-Glass*, of which its publisher, Henry Howe, would later claim to have sold 120,000 copies from the "Kennebec to the Rio Grande" MONTEIRO and ST ARMAND 1981, 205).

make an argument about generic classification: emblem books are an antecedent genre that shaped Dickinson's poetic strategy. I will build on Monteiro and St. Armand's argument by demonstrating how the influence of the emblem book genre shaped the earliest reception of Dickinson's work.

Dickinson's first editors suggested the complicated ways that an awareness of the poet's media was interwoven with concerns about generic classification. The announcement that anticipated the first edition of Dickinson's poetry, "An Open Portfolio", which appeared in the *Christian Union* on September 25, 1890, emphasizes the unfinished character of Dickinson's "strokes" scrawled across a "sheaf" of paper, inviting readers to imagine a material text: "If we believe, with Ruskin, that, 'no beauty of execution can outweigh one grain or fragment of thought,' then we may often gain by the seclusion of the portfolio, which rests content with a first stroke and does not refine and prune away afterwards. Such a sheaf of unpublished verse lies before me . . .". In the same announcement, Thomas Wentworth Higginson ushers in what became, during the six years immediately after *The Poems of Emily Dickinson* (1890) appeared, one of the more common comparisons across the 1890s reviews—the association with the work of William Blake:

It is believed that the thoughtful reader will find in these pages a quality more suggestive of the poetry of William Blake than of anything to be elsewhere found—flashes of wholly original and profound insight into nature and life; words and phrases exhibiting an extraordinary vividness of descriptive and imaginative power, yet often set in a seemingly whimsical or even rugged frame. They are here published as they were written, with very few and superficial changes. . . . In many cases these verses will seem to the reader like poetry torn up by the roots, with rain and dew and earth still clinging to them, giving a freshness and a fragrance not otherwise to be conveyed. (HIGGINSON 1890, III)

There was a "second coming" of Blake's work among the Pre-Raphaelites, who were committed to the materialities of expression and thus sped the progress of a renaissance of printing (McGANN 1993, 24). The nineteenth century claimed both Blake and Dickinson as singular geniuses whose verses were interesting because they attested to the vividness of the immaterial. Yet Higginson, a devoted Ruskian Pre-Raphaelite, insisted that the poets shared a commitment not only to odd, grotesque, or spiritual themes but to the rugged materiality of textual representation. Ruskin understood, J. Hillis Miller has written, "that there is an element of writing in every

picture. In an illuminated capital the one flows into the other. They are superimposed or interwoven. The place where one stops and the other begins can scarcely be detected" (1992, 77). Indeed, Judith Farr has noted that Dickinson's earliest reviewers were the first to associate the poet with visual artists as they "struggle[ed] to find suitable analogues in the visual arts to qualities they perceived in Dickinson's poetry and were unused to meeting in popular late-Victorian verse" (1998, 64).¹⁸ In the reviews that followed Higginson's preface, critics repeated the allusions to Blake's materiality and chose other media to substantiate or resist categorizations of Dickinson's content.

As I noted earlier, entering new communicative domains means constructing impressions from forms with which we are already familiar (BAZERMAN 1997). In Higginson's preface, the connection drawn to Blake suggests his own exposure to Blake's illustrated books through New England Transcendentalist circles. In 1839, when Dickinson was still a small child, James John Garth Wilkinson edited an edition of Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience* that found its way to New England via Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, who sold the edition in her bookstore on West Street in Boston, where the Transcendentalist Club met. Both Emerson and Higginson reportedly owned copies. Excerpts from Blake's *Poetical Sketches* also appeared in the *Harbinger*, a weekly periodical first based at Brook Farm and later transplanted to New York City when Henry James Sr. took over as its editor. James published sets of poems from "Poetical Sketches" in two summer 1848 editions of the journal, listed as sent to him from an anonymous "London Correspondent". In fact, the correspondent was Wilkinson, his good friend, fellow Swedenborgian, and editor of the 1839 edition of *Songs*, who enclosed the poems with a note saying they were—in a turn of phrase very similar to those later used to describe Dickinson's work—"rough, but real gems".¹⁹ Wilkinson's preface to the 1839 edition

18. Farr offers as an example Whistler's choice of "nocturnes" to describe the artistic form of his paintings and to resist the idea that they had specific narrative content (1998, 64).

19. See Raymond H. Deck's series of articles from 1977–80, which trace the ways in which Wilkinson and Colman were important to bringing Blake's work into circulation in the United States at mid-century. Deck reports that *To Spring*, *To Summer*, *To Autumn*, and *To Winter* appeared with Wilkinson's note in the June 24th edition; the July 8th edition featured *To the Evening Star*, *To Morning*, and three of Blake's *Songs* from *Poetical Sketches*: *How sweet I roam'd*, *My silks and fine array*, and *Love and harmony combine*. In Dickinson studies, only

of *Songs* records a complicated relationship to Blake's work and creates an impression of the poet that was repeated by those reading the edition at mid-century. Wilkinson's preface respects Blake's verses for capturing an innocence Wilkinson is unable to locate among his contemporaries yet severely critiques the "lowering" of spiritual phenomenon in Blake's engravings, writing that Blake "delights to draw evil things and evil beings in their naked and final state . . . human forms [that] are gigantic petrifications . . . stony limbs, and countenances expressive of despair and stupid cruelty" (Wilkinson xix–xx qtd. in DORFMAN 1969, 49).²⁰

Despite, or perhaps because of, Wilkinson's condemnation of the pictorial aspect of Blake's visual productions, four years later Pamela Chandler Colman—the wife of the New York bookseller and publisher Samuel Colman and mother of the American landscape painter, also Samuel Coleman—began printing a series of nine of Blake's poems across four separate publications published by her husband and his co-publisher, T. H. Carter. Casting aside "petrified despair" and "stupid cruelty" of Blake's original engravings themselves but retaining Wilkinson's overall assessment of Blake's texts as representing the innocence of eternal childhood, she created drawings from Blake's engravings largely for children's publications: *Boys' and Girls' Magazine*, its bound version in three volumes entitled *Boys' and Girls' Library*, and two gift books, *The Little Keepsake for 1844* and *Child's Gem for 1845*.²¹ In the style of the emblem tradition Holmes and Barber popularized, Colman included ornamental designs

Jed Deppman has conceded that Dickinson may have encountered a few of Blake's poems in a school anthology; most other scholars argue that she probably never read him. While I do not think that Deck's research directly refutes that assumption (though it certainly unsettles it), I am arguing that the fact that Higginson owned Blake's text and read his poems in print plants the seed for the editorial connection between Dickinson and Blake. As I show in the conclusion to this essay, the connection between the poets that Higginson inaugurates in his preface to the first edition of Dickinson's poems persists over a century later in the seemingly parallel challenges twenty-first century scholars describe when adapting both poets' visual productions for electronic environments.

20. Engravings aside, Wilkinson brought to America a view of Blake as a mystical poet who had direct insight into the innocence of childhood and the powerful immateriality of the spirit.
21. Mrs. Colman was a major figure in the children's book scene and in American popular magazines in the 1830s and 40s, where she often commemorated the death of public figures with a poem (DECK 1977, 15).

from the title page and introduction of *Songs*, drawing them from second-hand engravings. Selected drawings of Blake's engravings eventually found their way into other publications of the Carter-Colman circle over the next decade.²² In 1863, London art writer Alexander Gilchrist wrote *The Life of William Blake*, "*Pictor Ignotus*", a biography with selections from Blake's prose, poetry, and engravings created to refute earlier conceptions of him as mad (DORFMAN 1969, 2). Thus, by the time Higginson's comparison between the work of Dickinson and Blake appeared in 1890, New England had already been exposed to Blake's emblematic style and illustrations for almost half a century.

Blake and Dickinson are brought into the same network of aesthetic relations because of the way Victorians perceived them as engaging with what Richard Sha has called the "seemingly immediate" form of the sketch. Despite their roughness and absences, visual and verbal sketches came to be valued through the logic that "less finish, less labor, and less fastidiousness . . . is more aesthetic, more truthful, or, in the case of women artists, more proper. . . . [the sketch] must appear to resist rhetorically if it is to maintain its truthfulness, authenticity, or propriety" (SHA 1998, 3, 1). Highlighting the image of beauty and truth lying down together until they were covered in moss in *I died for Beauty, but was scarce*—to which Higginson and his co-editor, Mabel Loomis Todd, added the title *Two Kinsmen*—Higginson writes, "The conception is weird enough for William Blake, and one can no more criticize a healthy rhyme here or there than a defect of drawing in one of Blake's pictures" (HIGGINSON 1890, 392–93). *I Died for Beauty* or *Two Kinsmen* was then repeatedly referenced during the 1890s as a poem that replicated Blake's imagery—both lexical and visual.²³

22. Much children's literature of the 1830s and 40s was subject to codes set by the American Sunday School Union, which required authors and editors "to adhere to high standards of style and content, to have an American character, and to be morally and religiously impeccable, although nondenominational", the code directly influenced Colman's correction of Blake's illustrations. She partially covers the exposed bodies of the piper and cherub that appear on Blake's frontispiece for *Songs*; to the engraving from the Introduction, she adds a harp to the angel (as she does for all the angel icons that accompany her reprinting of his poems) and she adds a dog next to Blake's engraving of a shepherd because they serve "as proper introductions to a series of moral poems and tales" (DECK 1977, 16).
23. The source of the poem's guiding conceit, as Sharon Cameron has noted, is actually Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "A Vision of Poets". In the copy of Browning's *Poems* owned by the Dickinson family, which is where Emily probably read,

A few months later, in December of 1890, an especially influential review appeared in the *Independent*: “Whatever may be said of the merits and demerits of these poems, they bear the stamp of original genius. Making allowance for a certain Emersonian diction, there is nothing like these poems in the language, unless Mr. Higginson’s fancy that they resemble William Blake’s will hold”.²⁴ Indeed, Higginson’s fancy did hold. The comparison between Dickinson and Blake is referenced sixty-two times in the reviews of Dickinson’s poetry that appear in the 1890s.²⁵

In yet another review from 1891, one of two by reviewer John W. Chadwick, who also re-printed one of Dickinson’s poems in an anthology, Chadwick pays particular attention to the layout of the first edition: “the book numbers 152 pages but it reverses to Latin rule, *non multa, sed multum* [not many, but much], so far as the amount of matter is concerned. There are many pieces—123—but many of them are but six or eight lines long, some even less; the shortest, however, filling the page as a good picture fills the wall and has no brother near the throne”. The analogy to visual media to make a claim about the genre of the poetry anthology was typical of the period. This comment is followed by the comparison to Blake: “[Blake]

“A Vision of Poets”, the following lines are marked in pencil: “There were poets true/ Who died for Beauty, as martyrs do/ For truth—the ends being scarcely two” (Vol. II 178). Browning’s modifier, “scarcely”, is retained in Dickinson’s poem: “I died for Beauty—but was scarce/ Adjusted in the Tomb/ When One who died for Truth, was lain . . .” (*Choosing, Not Choosing* 20 note 14).

24. Kinsley Twining and William Hayes Ward, “Poems by Emily Dickinson”. *Independent* 42 (December 11, 1890), 1759. Buckingham notes that the review was believed to be written by respected critic Maurice Thompson and so held extra weight (Thompson’s actual review was less enthusiastic).
25. See Buckingham entries 2, 3, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 28, 33, 44, 45, 49, 51, 52, 54, 64, 71, 72, 78, 95, 97, 100, 120, 125, 132, 140, 145, 150, 155, 177, 178, 184, 191, 192, 194, 195, 202, 205, 232, 251, 254, 260, 310, 325, 333, 353, 371A, 455, 480, 489, 491, 494, 560, 569, 576, 579, 580, 587, App. E2, E3, E4 and the comparison to Blake’s drawing in the *Art Amateur* in entry 147. The majority of these entries attribute Higginson’s original comparison, and most agree, though some (especially English and Scottish reviewers) are skeptical of the link. I am not, however, making an argument about Dickinson and Blake’s relative poetic talents. Instead, I am suggesting that the allusions to the materiality of their verses as sketches is something that continuously brings them into the same critical conversations over the course of nearly two centuries. The comparison between the two poets also endures into the twentieth century, surfacing in reviews by William Dean Howells, Christina Rossetti, Hart Crane, Amy Lowell, Louise Bogan, Northrop Frye, Thomas Johnson, Harold Bloom, and Camille Paglia.

has the same feeling for values of words and same novel, sometimes startling, use of them". The combined power of minimalism and immediacy is continuously invoked through the rhetoric of the sketch, which continues to blur the lines between not only Dickinson and Blake's poems but their virtual "pictures" (Chadwick 1891, 171).

Three months later one of the most fervent defenses of Dickinson appeared in the *Christian Register*, written by the journal's editor, Samuel Barrows, after he received three separate letters from readers who were incensed that the *Register* would publish a poem as indecent as "God is a distant—stately Lover".²⁶ Alluding to the rhetoric of immediacy and incompleteness in Higginson's characterization of Dickinson's work as part of the "poetry of the portfolio" in the announcement and preface, Barrows argues, "Her forms of expression were unconventional, not savoring the auctioneer's catalogue, like those of Walt Whitman, who shovels out of the mine the raw material for poetry, and refuses to smelt, mould, and polish it, but more, as Mr. Higginson reminds us, like the poetry of William Blake than of any to be elsewhere found" (Barrows 1891, 274). While Barrows cites Higginson directly, later reviews often lift lines—especially the connection to Blake—directly from the preface without attribution, to the extent that one wonders whether some of the reviewers had ever read Blake, or seen reproductions of his work, or simply trusted in the habit of comparing the two that Higginson had inaugurated. If the original link to Blake is intentional and purposeful on Higginson's part, establishing Dickinson as part of a class of mystical visionaries through the rhetoric of the sketch, the parallel is also repeated almost unconsciously, even hypnotically, across reviews of her work in the 1890s. Regardless, not only Blake's themes but allusions to his mediums help critics navigate the difficulty of classifying Dickinson's verses. The following 1891 *Art Amateur* review of the first edition, for example, is especially notable for the way it conjoins the poetry of Dickinson and Blake through allusions to materiality:

26. The poem reads, "God is a distant—stately Lover—
Woos, as He states us—by His Son—
Verily, a Vicarious Courtship—
"Miles", and "Priscilla", were such an One—

But, lest the Soul—like fair "Priscilla"
Choose the Envoy—and spurn the Groom—
Vouches, with hyperbolic archness—
"Miles", and "John Alden" were Synonyme (Fr 615).

[Dickinson's] poems are, in relation to poetry, what the drawings of Blake are to pictorial art. Violating every canon of the mechanism and rules, they are yet its very essence and spirit. Indeed one wonders if ordinary finish and care would not have robbed them of some of their peculiar charm; for, without a doubt, the entirely original fancies they embody are so eerie and evanescent that to polish them were to lose their native beauty. Like the early woodcuts of the great emblem writers, they deal with great subjects in a way that, grotesque and imperfect though it be, realizes the force of the truth they express. ("New Publications", 1891, 157, my italics) ²⁷

By remediating the work of both Dickinson and Blake as part of the tradition of "the woodcuts of the great emblem writers", the reviewer capitalizes on the rhetoric of incompleteness present in many of the other reviews, while also offering a material counterpart—a virtual other—for reviewers who have not seen and may never see the original manuscripts of Blake or Dickinson and may not know their material processes. Moreover, by looking at the complexities Dickinson's first editor and critics faced when classifying her work, we can see the way the allusions to Blake were both efforts at lending a material and informational body to Dickinson's texts, while also burying them deeper in a lyric tradition. The allusion to the "roughness" of Dickinson's text mobilizes that aspect of the physicality of the original physical manuscript he had seen in the service of making both a thematic and a physical tie to Blake.

During their own lifetimes, both poets played multiple roles in relation to their work: in the case of Blake, as author, illustrator, and publisher; in Dickinson's case, as author, illustrator or collage artist, and, through her letters, as publicist. Their poems saw limited circulation and both poets expressed a certain resistance to publishing generally. Among the first round of posthumous editions, of Blake's work in the 1830s and Dickinson's in the 1890s, reproductions gave attention almost solely to the lexical and grammatical levels of their texts, rather than their layout or pictorial qualities. Furthermore, for the traditional emblematists, as the reviewer for the *Art Amateur* likely knew, painted images were to be added to poetry in order to imitate the large sum of spatial and temporal reality. Yet, for Blake—and,

27. Between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, wood block casts were replaced by metal plates. By the end of the next century, in the 1880s and 90s, a photograue technique was being used in all the illustrated monthlies with the chemical bath replacing the engraver.

I am stressing, for Dickinson—poetry and painting, word and image, or, to return to Howe’s more inclusive term, “visual productions”, were to be “multiplied by one another to give a product larger than the sum of the parts” (MITCHELL 1983, 31).²⁸ The possibilities for textual expression pursued by both poets, and the cultural habit of remediation expressed in the description of Dickinson’s textual objects as Blakean sketches and pictures, and of both poets’ work as woodcuts, display an emergent materiality that, even in the nineteenth century, led to the conflation of visual and textual material processes and the transformation of textual presence into informational pattern—conditions that textual editors have once again had to contend with as both poets’ work has been transferred into digital archives.²⁹ Even before dealing with the specific coding requirements of electronic environments, electronic editors argue that “alongside the material archive there is always the process of the virtual archive, the plane of consistency that makes possible the organization of particular objects” (Whitson and Whittaker 2013, 33).³⁰ What the Blake/Dickinson parallel reveals is that,

28. Ronald Broglio has taken Blake’s reasoning to suggest that “if objects are not themselves, or if citizens are more than themselves, they are open to a larger arena of circulation than the relational economies of capitalism and governance allow” (2007, 7).
29. Given that the fascicles have been the predominant source of Dickinson’s work, the Dickinson archive of editions is in certain ways less complicated to keep track of than the editions of Blake’s poetry; four different editions in the nineteenth century alone, edited by John Wilkinson (1839), Algernon Swinburne (1868), William Michael Rossetti (the Aldine edition, 1874), and Edwin Ellis and William Butler Yeats (1893), in addition to the selections from his poems that appeared in Alexander Gilchrist’s *The Life of William Blake* (1863, 1880). For a full discussion of the nineteenth century’s revival of Blake’s work, see DORFMAN 1969. With regard to the Dickinson archive, Marta Werner has been crucial in disrupting the insularity of the treatment of the fascicles as Dickinson’s primary text by bringing the “Lord” letters, envelope poems, and other “radical scatters” into circulation.
30. In their discussion of the challenges of creating a digital archive of the composite imagetextual manuscripts of William Blake, Roger Whitson and Jason Whittaker note that “any Blake we encounter is articulated by the powers and potentialities of [a] virtual Blake, a Blake whose image is constructed out of a cultural apparatus forming an institutional memory” (2013, 28). Blake, like Dickinson, never produced a complete catalog of his own works, and yet past collected editions have tended to frame each author’s work as a complete, established set. What the challenge of crafting an archive of Dickinson’s and Blake’s

for a 19th century audience, media became a primary mark of genre. As electronic textual editing continues to unfold, these two modes of classification will become increasingly more dependent on each other.

Fragments, Fractures, and the Hazards of 21st Century Interpretative Practice

Among the many ways a curious reader might search *Radical Scatters*, the database of Dickinson's late fragments and related texts, one is by constellation, the groupings of between two to six different trace and variant fragments. Another is by tags related to distinct features of the manuscript: media, handwriting, paper type, the condition of the document body, whether the writing contains stray letters, numbers, underlines, or other markings, and how the writing is positioned on the paper. A viewer can search using the phrase "Dickinson's writing appears on both sides of the paper/leaf" or even look for instances when "Dickinson rotated the paper during the course of the composition of a discrete text". In addition to the organizational structure of the database, the digital interface allows viewers to approximate the experience of holding the papers up to one's nose, turning them over, or placing them side by side—an experience that is consciously computer-mediated and yet offers a virtual interaction with the documents that allows one to look even more closely than one would when handling them. What such a close encounter with a brand of paper or a poet's pencil strokes can *really* tell us about what a poem means is certainly worth questioning. Yet, as both Werner and Jackson would probably agree, it delivers no fewer clues than the generic label "lyric poem".

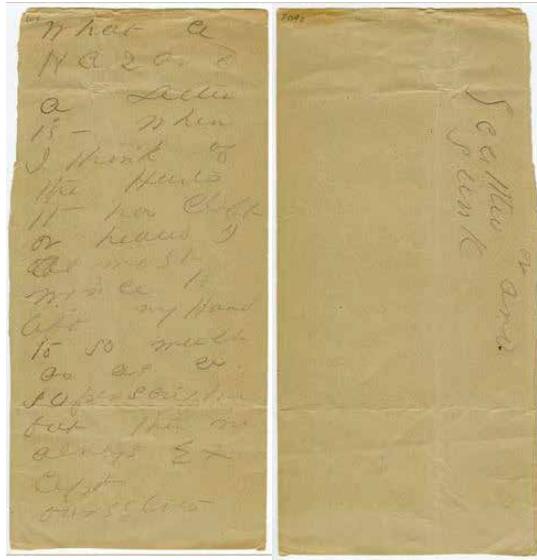
In 1995, when Martha Nell Smith first conceived of an electronic edition of Dickinson's work, she closed her plan by observing, "If we are to adopt any rule for interpretation of what the various and unpredictable yet traceably evolving Dickinson holograph marks mean, then it should be a

respective visual productions reveals is, in fact, the parallel "physical metamorphosis" their work underwent once it was publicized after their deaths (2013, 40). As Whitson and Whittaker consider the Blake archive within what they term a "wider virtual ecosystem", they invoke remediation's double logic, asking twenty-first century scholars to consider that "forms produce meaning, and . . . even a fixed text is invested with new meaning and being when the physical form through which it is presented for interpretation changes" (WHITSON AND WHITTAKER 2013, 30).

lesbian rule like that commonly invoked in the seventeenth century. The term comes from the lesbian rule that is ‘a mason’s rule of lead, which could be bent to fit the curves of a molding (Aristotle *Eth. Nie.* 5.10.7); hence fig., a principle of judgment that is pliant and accommodating’ (OED)”. Over twenty years later, this rule of accommodation must be extended beyond interpreting Dickinson’s handwriting to thinking more broadly about how what critics have called a “poem” comes into being, and the many lives it may lead in the process. While, as I mentioned earlier, Werner uses the term “extragenetic” to describe the fragments, the careful editorial commentary provided for each fragment and the hyperlinks to related fragments reflect a not-so-radical critical premise that building a constellation of resources around a text can reveal more than the isolated assessment of individual artifacts. We might conclude two things from examining what *Radical Scatters* implies about the direction of twenty-first century interpretive practice: one, in economies of electronic editing immersion in a manuscript must precede interpretation. Secondly, the processes of remediation and hypermediation displayed in a database such as *Radical Scatters* allow visitors to explore for themselves how generic categories such as the “lyric” cease to matter when they stray too far from accounting for material processes and products. Instead, the lyric poem must be constituted as an evolving exchange between the poet and unique readers, one in which the sentiment expressed is unfolding through the unique circumstances of the communication. Moreover, the personal expression need not be a self-contained whole; rather sentiments once written on one side of a paper dust jacket gain new purposes and spark new interlocutors when merged with an alternate line on the paper’s opposite side. A multimedia, searchable electronic database allows curious readers to reconstitute something as abstract as a lyric poem as a thing once held, fastened to other things, ripped apart, folded and opened and refolded. Moreover, it allows them to reconstruct a process of cross-pollination in which genres inform and borrow from each other unapologetically.

Take, for instance, a series of fragments in *Radical Scatters* that are all penned around the summer of 1885, less than a year before Dickinson’s death. One fragment, manuscript A 809, composed in pencil on a dust jacket, contains two parts. The main stanza reads

What a
Hazard
a Letter
is —When
I think of
the Hearts
it has Cleft
or healed I
almost
wince to
lift my Hand
to so much
as as [sic] a
superscription
but then we
always Ex
cept
ourselves



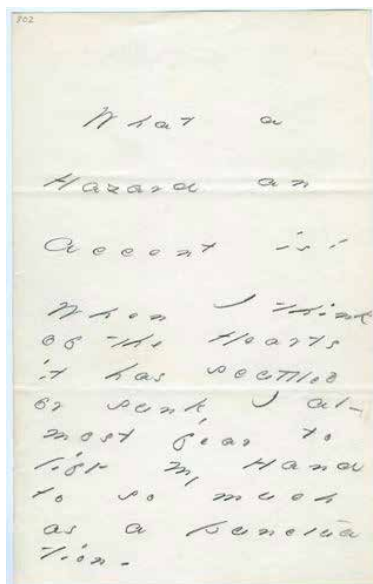
Manuscript A 809 in *Radical Scatters* © The University of Nebraska–Lincoln.

At some point while writing, Dickinson turned the paper over, rotated it ninety degrees, and wrote an alternate line as a variation of “Cleft or healed”: “or Scuttled and Sunk”. When seeing the lines as they were placed on the original manuscript pages below, that unit of thought appears more malleable, freed from the original lines to become the seed for other transactions.

Werner observes that this fragment may have been written while Dickinson was in physical pain or in a dark room, as her scrawls are larger and less carefully formed than in cleaner copies of other documents. The stanza itself is about the significance of individual marks on the page, and perhaps the concentration needed to scrawl a well-formed letter.

Another version of the same fragment, manuscript A 802 (below), reincorporates that fragment in a slightly different stanza. Again, form merges with meaning. The stanza—this time written in a clearer hand—is about the relationship between orthography and the danger of asserting one’s presence. The speaker is almost coy:

What a
Hazard an
Accent is!
When I think
of the Hearts
it has scuttled
or sunk, I al-
most fear to
lift my Hand
to so much
as a punctua-
tion —

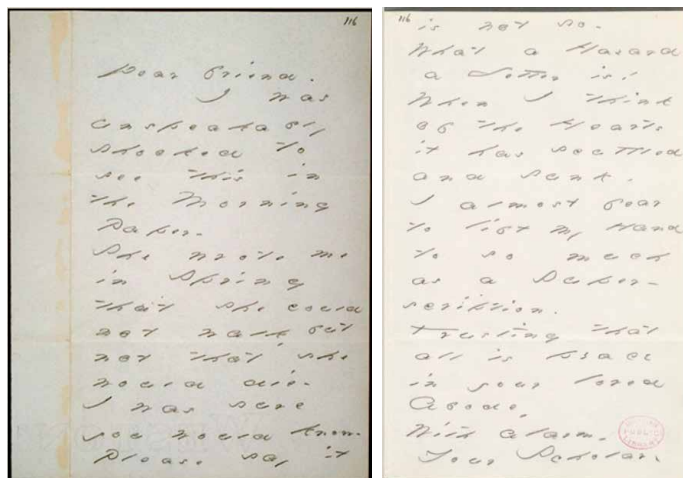


Manuscript A 802 in *Radical Scatters*
© The University of Nebraska—
Lincoln.

That manuscript, written on paper that was folded horizontally into thirds, perhaps to be mailed, is a variant version of the third text in this constellation, a text that may have been sent to Sara Philips Colton Gillett, long-time friend of Dickinson's niece (Susan and Austin Dickinson's daughter) Martha Dickinson Bianchi. Yet it seems insufficient to call this next text a letter. It is not personal, and Dickinson and Gillett likely had no relationship. It is signed more as a kind of keepsake for the receiver, more a courtesy than an intimate communication.³¹ In this third variation on the same stanza, the text reads:

31. Werner includes commentary from Thomas H. Johnson's *Letters* (1958) with this version: Sara Colton "did not know and never saw ED. . . . The tone of this [letter], the signature, the concern with rhetorical effect, make one seriously doubt that it was in fact sent to Sara Colton. Nor was it sent to Susan Dickinson, for ED never signed notes to Sue thus. Whoever received it perhaps presented it to Sara Colton as a memento" (L 1011 n).

Dear friend -
 I was
 unspeakably
 shocked to
 see this in
 the Morning
 Paper -
 She wrote me
 in Spring
 that she could
 not walk, but
 not that she
 would die -
 I was sure
 you would know -
 Please say it
 is not so -
 What a Hazard
 a Letter is!
 When I think
 of the Hearts
 it has scuttled
 and sunk -
 I almost fear
 to lift my Hand
 to so much
 as a Super-
 scription.
 Trusting that
 all is peace
 in your loved
 Abode -
 With alarm -
 Your Scholar —



Manuscript BPL Higg 116 in *Radical Scatters* © The University of Nebraska–Lincoln

In this version, the “letter” she references seems to connote the correspondence between Dickinson and Jackson months earlier, not the struggle to scrawl individual alphabetic characters that is implied in the rough-copy fragment (A802). The capital “H” and exclamation point are retained from the other versions and Dickinson never returns to the phrasing “When I

think/ of the Hearts/ it has Cleft/ or healed”—nor to the self-conscious aside “but then we always except ourselves”. The more traditional letter switches seamlessly to the more contained stanza on the second page, and then back to letter format to close the note. Given how fitting the stanza was for the occasion, it would be difficult to recognize it as a standalone piece unless one sees it in the context of the constellation through the *Radical Scatters* database. (While this version may have been written last because of the way it incorporates the other pieces, there is no way to know for sure, as Werner notes, the compositional order of these fragments.) Understood within a constellation, it becomes impossible to think of lyrics as self-identical standalone texts. They shift as they take on alternate lines, appear with in letters, or are re-written for strangers. As I have tried to show above, seeing the standalone fragments become other forms and take on other genres displays how the physicality and materiality of a text can be “mobilized”, to use Hayles’s term (2005, 103), in order to create meaning.

In this essay I have attempted to trace how our encounters with Dickinson’s work, from the 1890s to the present moment, have been guided by our insatiable desire for immediacy, on the one hand, and by critical applications of strategies of hypermediacy and remediation, on the other. My point throughout this essay has been that the dual desire for immediacy and the strategy of hypermediacy that have defined our encounters with Dickinson’s work since the 1890s reveal that critics have never really had the luxury of thinking about any material as “unprejudicial”. Whether describing a poem in relation to emblem books or facsimiles in relation to encoded text, there are no pure raw materials that, in themselves, are foundational to interpreting texts—only emergent materialities. The kinship network of our interpretive experience, as Dimock reminds us, involves simultaneous processes of remediating and regenreing.

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This Page Will Cry . . . Which Page? Whose Tears?

Słowacki, Yeats, Materiality of the Text
and Theory of Representation

Mateusz Antoniuk

ABSTRACT

In this essay, the author reads a Polish Romantic poem written by Juliusz Słowacki. A close reading of the text leads toward a genetic analysis of its first draft, as well as a meditation on Słowacki's philosophy of textual representation (which appears to be deeply ambiguous). Inspired by George Bornstein's conception of textual materiality and by genetic criticism, the author also demonstrates the parallel between Słowacki's poem and the lyric When You Are Old by W. B. Yeats.

TO WHICH “PAGE” DOES MY TITLE REFER? WHAT ETERNAL CRYING, weeping, what strange tears (shed by the paper!) am I thinking of? What do Juliusz Słowacki and William Butler Yeats, the key figures of Polish Romanticism and Anglo-Irish modernism, have in common? And, finally, what kind of “textual materiality”, what “theory of representation”, will be discussed in this essay? All these questions will be answered in the following paragraphs. At the center of the discussion, though, stands one short poem, consisting of two stanzas and eight lines.¹

Introduction: Poet and Poem

Juliusz Słowacki (1809–1849) was a poet, playwright and prosaist. His works belong to the epoch of Romanticism, which in Polish literature took place between 1820 and 1860. In this time Poland did not exist as an independent state and was divided between three neighboring powers: the Russian

1. I wish to thank Ben Koschalka for his help with making stylistic adjustments to this article.

Empire, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Kingdom of Prussia (Poland had lost its independence in 1795, and would regain it only in 1918, after the First World War). The political situation affected Słowacki's biography: he spent the major parts of his adult life as an émigré, living in Paris (the main center of Polish emigration at the time), but he also travelled extensively through Europe and the Middle East.

As a poet, Słowacki was inspired by contemporary foreign authors like Byron, but also by the old masters of European literature, including Dante, Ariosto, Shakespeare and Calderón.² He is widely considered to be a virtuoso of rhyme and rhythm in the Polish language. Słowacki's poetry has a wide range of voice, which can sound solemn as in *Anhelli*, a prosaic work written in biblical style and describing the martyrology of Polish political prisoners in Siberia³, but also ironic like in the long digressive poem *Beniowski*, in which he deconstructs Romantic mythology, language and imagination.⁴

In the last period of his life and work, Słowacki became a "mystical poet". He strongly believed that God had entrusted him with a mission of revealing the truth about the sources, course, and ultimate objectives of history. He was obsessed with creating his own mystical system—the definitive, religious interpretation of human and natural history (at this point we should add that Słowacki was quite well-oriented in the early, pre-Darwinian concepts of evolution). This "system"—contained in poems, prose works and dramas—was never finished, and remained a set of historiosophical and cosmological intuitions, far from precision, coherence and, of course, Catholic orthodoxy.⁵

2. Słowacki, for example, made an authorial paraphrase of *El Principe Constante* by Pedro Calderón, which reinterprets the famous baroque masterpiece. The Shakespearian references in Słowacki's works are numerous; among them the most interesting seems to be a drama entitled *Balladyna*, which has a strong intertextual relationship to *Macbeth*. *Balladyna* is a text available in English translation; see *Poland's Angry Romantic Poet. Two Poems and a Play by Juliusz Słowacki* 2009, 31–155.
3. In this work the allusions to Dante can be seen. Słowacki's poem shows the journey through "the hell of Siberia", which imitates the journey through the infernal sphere in the first part of the *Divine Comedy*.
4. *Beniowski* is partially available in English translation; see *Poland's Angry Romantic Poet . . .*, 171–304. The ironical and self-mocking aspects of Słowacki's works can be treated as an individual variant of the "romantic irony"; see *Romantic Irony* 1988, 225–240.
5. With this in mind, it is no surprise that in 1909 Cardinal Jan Puzyna, the bishop of Krakow, refused permission to move Słowacki's remains from Montmartre

Śłowacki was a loner. He never married, and had no children. When he was dying in Paris at the age 40, he was a literary outsider. The Polish émigré community was divided in its attitude to his oeuvre, much of which remained unpublished at the time of Śłowacki's death. In the following decades, however, there was an increased perception of the high value of Śłowacki's works, and subsequent generations of Polish philologists, editors, and archivists made efforts to prepare a full critical edition of his works, including texts never published by the author. Nowadays all the poems, dramas, works in prose and letters written by Śłowacki are gathered in a collection of more than 20 volumes. Next to Adam Mickiewicz, almost a generation older (1798–1855), Śłowacki is undisputedly considered to be the greatest author of Polish Romanticism, and one of the key figures in Polish culture as a whole.⁶

As stated in the introduction, of all Juliusz Śłowacki's important works I have chosen only one short poem. In the “core” of this text we will find some interesting points to deliberate.

Bo to jest wieszczka najjaśniejsza chwała,
Że w posąg mieni nawet pożegnanie.
Ta kartka wieki tu będzie płakała,
I leż jej stanie.

Kiedy w daleką odjeżdżasz krainę,
Ja kończę moje na ziemi wygnanie,
Ale samotny — ale łzami płynę,
I to pisanie . . . (ŚŁOWACKI 2005, 258)

Cemetery in Paris to Wawel Cathedral, the necropolis of Polish kings and national heroes. The bishop regarded Śłowacki as a heretic (Śłowacki's remains were finally buried in Wawel Cathedral almost twenty years later). Over time, the Church's attitude to Śłowacki was changing — the theological inaccuracies in the poet's works, as well as his critical opinion of the nineteenth-century papacy and institutional Church, became historical details. For example, Pope John Paul II (born 1920) belonged to the generation whose imagination was strongly affected by Romantic poetry — Śłowacki was his favourite Polish poet.

6. A general view of Śłowacki's oeuvre (as well as of Polish Romanticism) is given by *The History of Polish Literature*. London 1969. This monograph was written by Czesław Miłosz (1911–2004), Polish poet, Nobel Prize Winner and professor of Slavic literatures at the University of California, Berkeley (see Miłosz 1983, 232–242).

Juliusz Słowacki wrote this poem at the end of his short, intensive life, not later than in 1846, not earlier than in 1844. For more than thirty years the text remained in Słowacki's papers—its first, posthumous publication took place in 1879. The English translation of the poem reads as follows:

For it is the poet's brightest glory,
That of mere parting he makes a monument.
This page will cry here for a century,
Its tears won't be spent.

When you depart towards distant frontiers,
I finish on this earth my banishment,
Yet I am lonely—yet I dissolve in tears—
This writing too I end. (SŁOWACKI 1999, 39)

As is often the case, here too the translation lacks many subtle features of the original. Of course, the original “melody” (rhymes, rhythm, pattern of accents) was changed and destabilized. But it is not only the tone of poem that is lost in translation; some meanings too were converted. In the first line, the translator uses the word “poet”, when the original in the same place does not use the word “poeta” (the strict equivalent of English “poet”) but “wieszcz”. This term—very typical of the Polish Romantic vocabulary and much more solemn than the common “poet”—does not have a simple equivalent in the vocabulary of English Romanticism. The Polish “wieszcz” denoted both “poet” and “prophet” in a religious or quasi-religious sense.

In the third line, the translator tries to preserve both the meaning and the rhyme—this is the reason for the singular form of noun at the end of this line (“This page will cry here for a century”—correspondence to “glory”). In fact, Słowacki used the plural form—he was writing about “centuries” of constant weeping.

In the first line of the second stanza, the translator mentions an excursion “towards distant frontiers”. In doing so, he ensures a rhyme with the word “tears” and maintains a similar figurative meaning, yet without being semantically faithful to the original: Słowacki wrote of “distant lands”.

In the third line of the second stanza, the translation unavoidably loses a special aspect of the original poetic language. In the original we can find a difficult expression there, quite strange from the grammatical point of view, and a little unclear (also for a native reader of Polish): “łzami płynę”. This phrase may be understood as it is by the translator: “I dissolve in

tears". But this is not an obvious reading; there is also another possibility of interpretation: "I am sailing on the water of my tears". What was Słowacki saying, what did he mean, when he said: "Izami plynę"? Whatever he intended, he left the poem, whose syntactical structure is not definitely closed and completely clear—and this ambiguity (rather intended by the author) was completely effaced by the translation.

In spite of all these confusions, problematic details and lost features, the general meaning of the text seems to be quite easy to capture, both in the original and in translation. There is no doubt that *For it is the poet's brightest glory* is a self-referential poem, which means here: this is a literary work that refers to the very nature of literature. We would be justified in saying that Słowacki's poem performs praise of poetry. The term "perform" is appropriate here, I think, as it emphasizes the rhetorical activity of the text. This poem tries to persuade us that poetry (great poetry, of course) can really triumph over time and death. There is no doubt that the passage about "a monument", which is "made" by the poet from "mere parting", alludes to the famous, classical sentence by Horace: "Exegi monumentum . . .". Słowacki outbids (or tries to) the ancient metaphor, saying: not only a great poet will have a monument in poetry, but also the same time of parting between the great poet and the world and life will be caught and immortalized in the language. In other words: something which is "momentary" will turn into something which is "monumental". Indeed, the promise given by the text really seems to be kept. After the 150 years which have passed since Słowacki's death, his poetry is intensively read and commented; the same poem, "For it is the poet's brightest glory", was, is (and probably will be) repeated by so many different pages (or, in the digital era, by tablet and computer screens).

Here, at this point, the interpretation could be brought to a halt. But it will not be. What I will do in this essay is to show that after all above remarks, inside the text there remains some bothering potential of sense, some ambiguity which was not noticed and upon which it is worth reflecting. To achieve this new feeling of the text, we need to focus our attention on the third line of the first stanza, which did not find itself in the title of my article by chance.

Ta kartka wieki tu będzie płakała

This page will cry here for a century [centuries],

There are two general questions here that are of concern. The first is: what does “ta kartka”, “this page” mean? And the second: what does “będzie płakała”, “will cry” mean? These two questions correspond to the two major parts of my article.

Part One. “This page”: Text as an anamnesis of avant-text

We can ask about “this” — “which” in fact? — but one can say, of course, that the expression “this page” does not refer to any concrete, material object made of paper. A crying, inexhaustible “page” is just a “symbolic page” and should be interpreted as a conventional sign of a poet’s work — eternal and immortal, strictly in opposition to the short human life. This answer is formulated in the canonic interpretations. As the prominent scholar of Polish Romanticism Marian Maciejewski explains, Słowacki’s poem proclaims the glory of poetry, not of one page. And it is poetry, obviously, and not the one page, that is understood here as a spiritual power able to immortalize and save mortal reality (MACIEJEWSKI 1980, 90).

There is no doubts that this is true. Perhaps not all of it, though? The interesting case of a completely different lyric, written in another time and language, can help us to find a new key to the words of the Polish Romantic poet. The text which I would like to consider now is a poem by William Butler Yeats, consisting of three stanzas and twelve lines:

When you are old and grey and full of sleep
And nodding by the fire, take down this book
And slowly reading, dream of the soft look
Your eyes had once, and of their shadows deep:

Dream how men loved your moments of glad grace,
And loved your beauty, with loves false or true,
But one man loved the pilgrim soul in you
And loved the sorrow in your changing face.

Bending your brows beside the glowing bars
You then will say perhaps “Pride dwells with Love
He paced along the mountains high above
And hid his face amid a crowd of stars”. (YEATS 1974, 40–41)

It is not difficult to guess that the textual moment which attracts my attention occurs here just at the close of the second line. “Take down this book”—we read. “This”, so “which”, to be precise?

That question is examined in depth by George Bornstein in his inspiring essay “Yeats and Textual Reincarnation: ‘When You Are Old’ and ‘September 1913’” (BORNSTEIN 2001, 46–64). The scholar reveals here that the first “incarnation” of *When You Are Old* took the form of a hand-written inscription in a manuscript notebook, entitled *The Flame of the Spirit*.⁷ This was prepared in 1891 especially for its only reader, Maud Gonne, and presented to her as a token of love. It is not difficult to notice that in this prime “incarnation” the expression “this book” achieved a clear sense—the referent of indication could have been simply identified as the *Flame of the Spirit* manuscript. Bornstein’s analysis also demonstrates what happens when a text such as *When You Are Old* is included by the author and, after the author’s death, by generations of the editors in subsequently printed volumes. Generally, it leads to an ambiguous situation. On the one hand, readers of a printed book containing *When You Are Old* may feel that the expression “this book” refers directly to “this book” in their hands—in this case the first original referent disappears and is replaced (or covered) by new ones (BORNSTEIN 2001, 48). But there is also another possibility: a reader who knows the history of *When You Are Old* can interpret the expression “this book” as a trace of existence of the first manuscript or—perhaps even better—as a memory of the poem’s first material incarnation. In this case, “this book”, repeated in every printed or digital edition, still refers to an original, which is absent (BORNSTEIN 2001, 54). This absence has a double meaning here.

Firstly, the original (the *Flame of the Spirit* manuscript) can only be recalled, imagined by the user of the print or digital edition, but not touched or physically reached (even the facsimile edition provides just the

7. The religious metaphor of “incarnation” and “reincarnation” used by Bornstein to describe the different states, shapes and repetitions of still wondering text, is not only spectacular, but also has two more important advantages. Firstly—it is well justified on the grounds of Yeats’s criticism, because it suits the poet’s predilection to different esoteric traditions, also including, among other motives, belief in serial reincarnation. Secondly—it is an operative metaphor. Repeated (re-scribed and re-printed) text can be compared to a “spiritual subject”, involved in a chain of reincarnation and, paradoxically, keeping and at the same time changing its identity.

image, not the original itself). Secondly, the material object prepared by Yeats in 1891 and given to Maud Gonne nowadays appears to be inaccessible. *The Flame of the Spirit*—the book indicated by the words “this book” contained in every single materialization of the poem, in every printed or digital edition—was sold in 1987 to a private, anonymous collector; the present whereabouts of the volume is unknown.

And this is the turning point. Just from this interpretation of Yeats’s poem, we can go back to Słowacki’s poem. What does the expression “this page” in the first stanza refer to? The answer can be given as a paraphrase of Bornstein’s remarks: “this page” indicates the concrete material sheet of paper, once covered with Juliusz Słowacki’s hand inscription. In other words: “this page” refers to the page on which Słowacki inscribed the poem, containing the expression “this page”. So what is there to say and to be thought about this page which Słowacki covered with the inscription “this page”?

First of all, this page is also lost—or even “more lost” than Yeats’s manuscript. The holograph surely existed in 1879, when it was used as a source for the first printed edition. But now, in 2016, it probably does not exist. We cannot find it in any literary archive or private collection, and it was probably destroyed during the twentieth century. We do not even have a facsimile reproduction. If we agree that the expression “this book” from Yeats’s poem refers to an absent original, we will need a stronger statement in the case of Słowacki’s poem. We should admit—for the sake of balance—that “this page” points to a “very absent” original, towards an empty place, and acts as a sign that refers to a radically disappeared source.

At the same time, though, we can say that this preliminary “incarnation” of Słowacki’s poem, this original manuscript, is not completely lost without a trace. The first editor of *For it is the poet’s brightest glory* in 1879 had obviously seen and consulted the manuscript. The published text was a representation of handwritten text (of course, only in the range of linguistic code). This editor also left us a description of the document. According to this witness, Słowacki inscribed his poetic trifle on a sheet of paper, which was also used by the poet as a rough draft of private letter dated 12 January 1846 and addressed to another Polish Romantic poet, Zygmunt Krasiński.⁸ What’s more, the text of the draft version of the letter was

8. Zygmunt Krasiński was born in 1812 and died in 1859. His position in the history of Polish literature is marked mainly by his work *Nie-Boska komedia* (*The Un-Divine Comedy*)—the title refers of course to the Dante’s masterpiece. This is a political and historiosophical drama because it provides a vision of future

printed and published in 1883 in a special volume presenting Słowacki's epistolary writings.

The situation, then, is ambiguous. On the one hand, we do not have, because of the loss of "this page", a sensual, physical approach to the document, which was in fact a double draft—of the letter and of the lyric. On the other hand, we know (thanks to the editor's mediation) the purport and wording of two texts, letter and lyric, created in double draft. Knowing this, we may deliberate about that special space of draft, space of writing, space of "this page", a space which no longer exists in a material sense, but existed formerly and still can be, at least partially, reconstructed.

Let us then imagine this object, seen in the late nineteenth century by the editor: the sheet of paper covered with the text of the letter to Zygmunt Krasiński and the sketch of the poem *For it is the poet's brightest glory*. This is a paper space of co-presence and neighborhood for two actions, from which the first leads to the creation of an epistolary utterance, and the second to the creation of a lyrical one. No doubt, these are two separate actions. They conclude in isolated results: the letter finally sent to Krasiński does not contain the poem, and the poem is not part of the letter. Two texts were born on the same sheet of paper—this is a material fact, but one that does not allow us to efface the distinction and border between them. It would be a mistake to join the clearly definite "you" of the projected letter—Zygmunt Krasiński—and the indefinite "you" of the projected poem.

But still possible in this case are studies focused on the semantic relation between two separate texts. We can consider a series of micro-similarities between two compared texts caught *in statu nascendi*. Equally or even more important are the differences situated inside the similarities. This is the path which I shall follow. I will analyze two common meanings, which

revolution, totally destroying the old social order, as well as a metaphysical and religious play (the final scene, which shows the bloody triumph of revolution, contains an image that can be interpreted as the Parousia, the second coming of Jesus Christ to Earth). Krasiński, who personally descended from an aristocratic family, tried to understand the ideas of both fighting sides—the revolutionists on the one hand and the supporters of the old social order on the other. However, there is no doubt that *The Un-Divine Comedy* is caused by his anxiety of the great and radical social movements and expresses sympathy to the conservative forces (to learn more about Krasiński's drama see WICKSTROM 1972, 269–282). The disagreement in the case of revolution was the reason for a serious ideological dispute between Krasinski and Słowacki, who thought that even a bloody and cruel revolt, which radically changes the old shape of the world, may be essential as a stage in the historical process.

circulate “on this page” and cross the border between the zone of the letter and the poem. The first of them is the motif of the glory of the poet; the second is that of human tears and human weeping.

In the lyric, the affirmation of poetical power is expressed mainly by the first two lines:

Bo to jest wieszczka najjaśniejsza chwała,
Że w posąg mieni nawet pożegnanie

For it is the poet's brightest glory,
That of mere parting he makes a monument. (SŁOWACKI 1999, 39)

The idea is quite clear: the power of the poet relies on his ability to immortalize every aspect of reality, even that which is particularly fluid and unsolid. The poetry keeps alive something which is sentenced to death.

In the letter, however, the praise of poetical power is expressed in completely different terms:

spostrzegłem się na dwóch rozstajnych drogach: ducha i ciała. Z jednej strony mówiły duchy: “Poemat z nas jest — nam potrzebny, jest formą, z której będą się rozchodzić dzbanki różne, a my je będziemy Duchem świętym nalewały”. (SŁOWACKI 1952, 353)

I saw myself at two crossroads: the way of the spirit and the way of the flesh. On the one side the ghosts said: “A poem comes from us — poem is needed for us, is a form from which different jugs will flow. We will pour the Holy Spirit into these jugs”. (my translation)

The great poet is a poet-prophet, anointed by God, called for the sacred mission of revealing a very deep truth. Great poetry is filled with the sacred message descending directly from the Holy Spirit.

To summarize: the draft of the lyric, and thus the published lyric, defines poetic power in “earthly terms” wherein the poet immortalizes mortal reality in his words, while the draft letter (and thus the sent letter) defines the poetic power in “metaphysical terms” as the poet reveals in his prophetic words the real dimension of the temporal world, which can be noticed *sub specie aeternitatis*.

Let us look at the motif of human tears and weeping, which also circulates between the poem and letter, two separate texts arising on the same paper sheet. In the lyric, this motif appears at the close of the text:

Ja kończę moje na ziemi wygnanie,
Ale samotny — ale łzami płyne,
I to pisanie . . .

I finish on this earth my banishment,
Yet I am lonely — yet I dissolve in tears —
This writing too I end. (SŁOWACKI 1999, 39)

Why is Słowacki crying? I do not know, and no one can, because the text is quite discreet in this case. We may say of course: he (Słowacki) is crying, because he is sad, and he is sad, because he is ending his life. But how can we exclude another interpretation? Let's think: he is crying because he is happy; he is happy because he is ending his life. This is not a very strange idea, as "life" was described just one line above as "banishment on the earth". So what do these tears express: happiness or sadness? I cannot find any indication in the text that emphasizes one and efface another possibility (or vice versa).⁹ Whatever the case, we can reach the general conclusion: the tears clearly appear here in relation to the end of life. The subject talking in the poem is nearing death and shedding tears (whatever they mean, they are caused by the fact of death). Reaching the end of the earthly path and weeping — these two actions are strictly connected.

In the letter we can observe an exact inversion of this association:

Możesz słyszał, żem mocno był chory; teraz jestem zdrów do czasu, a żyję,
póki chcę — to mi Bóg zostawia; w ręku mi dał nić żywota mego; nie

9. It is worth recalling here the remarks of Roland Barthes, made in another context, but useful as a kind of comment on the interpretational confusion caused by Słowacki's poem: "Perhaps 'weeping' is too crude; perhaps we must not refer all tears to one and the same signification; perhaps within the same lover there are several subjects who engage in neighboring but different modes of 'weeping'. (. . .) If I have so many ways of crying, it may be because, when I cry, I always address myself to someone, and because the recipient of my tears is not always the same" (BARTHES 2001, 181). To paraphrase this passage, we may say: perhaps we do not need to refer these tears, which are mentioned in the second stanza of Słowacki's poem ("I dissolve in tears"), to one and same signification, regardless of whether it is grief because of death or relief because of the end of earthly life. Perhaps in these tears different "modes of weeping" are contained, which must be recognized and identified by the "recipients of tears". In other words — by us, the readers of the poem *For it is the poet's brightest glory*.

bez łez, jak widzisz, puszczam ją, aby szła jeszcze . . . Mocno byłem strudzony . . . (SŁOWACKI 1952, 354)

Maybe you heard that I had been seriously ill; now I am healthy for the time being, and I live as long as I want to live—God leaves it to me; God placed the thread of my life in my hand; I let it unveil, as you can see, not without tears . . . I was worn out. (my translation)

Mentioned here are the tears caused by the continuation of life. Słowacki has the special privilege of pushing away the moment of his own death, and uses this extra law, governed not by the fare but rather by the sense of duty, both exhausting and sacred. The prophetic mission is still in progress, and cannot be stopped, Słowacki must live (although he does not want to). That is a moral obligation—and that is the reason for his tears. In other words, in the lyrical inscription, weeping constitutes a reaction to finishing life on earth, but in the epistolary inscription, weeping is a reaction to the act of non-finishing earthly life.

We can see now that “this page” was, in fact, a space of very specific dialogue or, even, intensive dispute between two developing texts. In which order were they inscribed? What was previously written: the poem or the letter? Textual scholars are divided in their opinions.¹⁰ Whatever the case, we may say, that Słowacki created a hybrid composition. If we analyze this double draft “from the letter to the poem”, we can say: the very serious, solemn discourse of prophetic self-creation is converted into a “lower”, more “modest” style of thinking and expressing. If we want to follow the opposite direction, the poet’s and poetry’s admiration, placed on the margin of the document, in its central zones is hyperbolized and turned into a poet’s and poetry’s apotheosis.

To once again paraphrase George Bornstein, the expression “this page”, repeated in every print publication of Słowacki’s poem, indicates the first manuscript, which is, simultaneously, lost for archivists, who cannot find and keep the document in its proper place and regained by the philologi-

10. Marian Maciejewski believes that Słowacki first had covered the sheet with a rough copy of the letter and then added a poem in a free space (Maciejewski 1980, 90). Another scholar Marek Piechota claims, that it was exactly the opposite. He also argues, that poem and letter were not written at the same time. According to his opinion, there is two years gap between the first (lyrical) and second (epistolary) inscription (PIECHOTA 2012, 155).

cal imagination, which vivifies the remaining mentions and witnesses. The “original” pointed to by the expression “this page” is maybe not only absent, but also present in a phantom way. That lost/regained and absent/present sheet appears as a stage for a dynamic play of meanings. Finally, the arising letter and the arising poem, both situated on the same sheet of paper, seem to be two different ways of thinking about death and life, the end and infinity, the poet and poetry.

In 1948 Rene Wellek and Austin Warren, the authors of the famous handbook *Theory of Literature*, criticised studies which explore the process of textual creation. The main argument of both scholars was that this kind of studies diverts our attention from the proper target of textual criticism: the literary work itself. We should rather focus on a close reading of the finished text. (WELLEK and WARREN 1963, 91).¹¹ But here we saw that the same published text “remembers” the avant-texte, and points—by the indicative words “this page”—towards “this first page”. In other words: the same careful close reading of a finished work directs us toward analysis of the draft manuscript, where the work is still in progress.

Drafts, manuscripts, dynamic of the creative process—this is the traditional domain of genetic criticism. However, genetic criticism studies focus on physically existing manuscripts. As Pierre-Marc de Biasi, the prominent representative of French genetic criticism, concludes:

It is very true that genetic criticism can only work on extant documents, and that this period corresponds to a “golden age” of Western literary manuscripts. It would be difficult to reproach genetic critics for not working on documents that have not been preserved (BIASI 1996, 55).

No doubt, it would be difficult to work on unpreserved documents, but perhaps not completely impossible, as I tried to show above. My remarks on the process of writing of two and different texts on one and the same sheet are a sample of an “odd genetic criticism”, which examines the materiality of an immaterial object. Or in other words, it examines the trace of the trace of the creation process.

11. Wellek and Warren’s objections are easy to understand in their historical context because they were formulated when New Criticism was in its heyday. The rallying cry of the day was to safeguard the identity of literary scholarship in order to prevent its disintegration and merging with other fields of humanities.

Part Two. “Will cry”: text and textual representation

Who will be crying?

For it is the poet's brightest glory,
That of mere parting he makes a monument.
This page will cry here for a century,
Its tears won't be spent.

From the grammatical point of view, there is no ambiguity here: what is referred to is the page's weeping. The ambiguity appears as we carefully read the second stanza:

When you depart towards distant frontiers,
I finish on this earth my banishment,
Yet I am lonely — yet I dissolve in tears —
This writing too I end.

In the first stanza we find a reference to the future and inexhaustible, textual weeping (“This page will cry here for a centuries, / Its tears won't be spent”), while in the second stanza there appears an image of humans weeping, which comes to a close (“I finish on this earth my banishment, / Yet I am lonely — yet I dissolve in tears — / This writing too I end”). These two acts of weeping correspond strongly — but what is the sense of this? How should we understand this parallel? Are the tears of the sheet substantial to the tears of the poet, of men? Or is it the opposite; are these tears completely different phenomena? In other words: is the text present on behalf of the absent author, or rather despite of him?

Marian Maciejewski, the historian of Polish literature cited above, assures: “Until our epoch, an *era of suspiciousness*, started to interpret Horace's motif in an ironic way, Romantics were still using it to proclaim the laudation of a poet” (MACIEJEWSKI, 1980: 90). But is it certain that the Romantic use of Horace's motif of “raising a monument” was so unequivocal and lacking in irony? Besides, what exactly did Horace say?

I have raised a monument more enduring than bronze
More lofty than the kingly site of pyramids,
Which neither gnawing rains nor the impotent north wind
Can erase, nor the years in endless
Number, nor fugitive fragments of time.

I shall not wholly die; in great part I
Shall escape Forgetfulness, on and on still
To grow, fresh in new-given praise. So long as priests
With silent Virgin still ascend the Capitoline,
I shall be spoken, where Aufidus noisily dashes on
And where, poor in water, Daunus once as liege
A peasant people ruled. (HORACE 1963)

As Ralph G. Williams suggests, the Horatian vision of the saved subject is not as obvious as it might at first appear.

What Horace foresees, I would argue, is that he will live, not as an empirical being, surely, and not as a stable written text, either. The movement from the supposed voice of the empirical speaker (“I have raised a monument”) to the poetic *I* (“I shall grow . . . I shall be spoken”) is seamless. “He” will live as performed on the labile and infinitely fluid medium of air, in sound constantly changing, constantly different in timbre and accent as they come from the mouths of generation after generation of speakers. And in fact “he” lives even as sung and spoken of (. . .) by a Canadian to a group of scholars gathered in a conference room at the University of Michigan. (WILLIAMS 1996, 62–63).

Let us paraphrase this comment, so that it fits the case of the Polish Romantic poem: what Słowacki foresees is an eternal weeping, which refers to human passing, to the ephemerality of human existence. This weeping, however, will not belong to Słowacki; it will not be Słowacki’s weeping, but that of the page left by Słowacki and of all pages in the world, which only carry the short poem. The page(s) will be shedding the written, rhetorical, linguistic tears—not the tears of the man who disappeared. “The brightest glory of the poet” lies not in the capacity of extending its own weeping (its own life) via a page, but rather in the capacity of substituting the reality of page for own weeping (own life). This poem cries and lives as long as is read, interpreted and reinterpreted—for example here and now on the pages of an American scholarly journal called *Textual Cultures*.

Did Słowacki wish to express in his poem such a philosophy of representation, or is it rather me who tries to complicate the text’s meaning, according to the spirit of an “era of suspiciousness”? I am not sure how to answer this question, but one fact seems to be clear. Whatever Słowacki wished to say, he left the poem that wonders through many sheets of paper in many volumes or anthologies and, in the digital era, through many computer or

tablet screens. Each page has the power to draw us into the very heart of confusion. Paraphrasing the words of the lyric, one might say: “this” page, “this first”, unpreserved, which carried the slight trace of a creating hand as well as “this every”, covered with the printed poem about “the poet’s brightest glory” and “this symbolic”, which denotes the same poetry itself, will capture our attention and *rack* our *mind*, giving both the promise of presence and the feeling of absence.

If we are able to believe that textual representation in fact acts as a saving embodiment of a weak subject into language, we can also believe that the tears shed by fading man are transmitted into the potentially unlimited future by the mediation of the words (and pages with the words). We may imagine that the sheet is shedding (now, when we are reading the poem) and will be shedding (when our successor will be reading the poem) Juliusz Słowacki’s tears.

If we insist that literary representation in fact acts as a replacement of the weak subject by its linguistic simulacrum (is this idea not inherent in Roland Barthes’s imagination of the author’s death,¹² Paul de Man’s concept of autobiography as De-Facement,¹³ Edward Said’s theory of the oppressive cultural image¹⁴ or Maurice Blanchot’s remarks on the word,

12. Let us recall what Roland Barthes said about the textual creation process, which leads the author not towards textual immortality (text as a “place” where the author is present and alive), but towards textual death (text as a “place” where the author is absent and not alive): “No doubt it has always been that way. As soon as a fact is narrated no longer with a view to acting directly on reality but intransitively, that is to say, finally outside of any function other than that of the very practice of the symbol itself, this disconnection occurs, the voice loses its origin, the author enters into his own death, writing begins”. (Barthes 1977, 142).
13. See Paul de Man’s remark on the nature of linguistic representation: “To the extent that language is figure (or metaphor, or prosopopeia) it is indeed not the thing itself but the representation, the picture of the thing, and, as such, it is silent, mute as pictures are mute. Language, as a trope, is always privative. (P. de Man 1984, 80)
14. What Edward Said says about the textual representation of the so-called “Orient” may also be treated as an individual variant of the general idea of “crisis of representation”: “It hardly needs to be demonstrated again that language itself is a highly organized and encoded system, which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information, represent, and so forth. In any instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a re-presence, or a representation. The value, efficacy, strength, apparent veracity of a written statement about the Orient therefore relies very little, and cannot instrumentally depend, on the Orient as such. On the contrary, the

which denotes the thing and, at the same time, annihilates it ¹⁵?), we will definitely say that there is no transmission between “my weeping” and the “sheet’s weeping”, between “human” and “textual”. It is a naive mistake to confuse tears which belong to completely different realities, divided by an intransitive border.

A very short conclusion: what is the brightest glory of the poet indeed?

This poem written by Juliusz Słowacki in 1846 is an example of a self-referential text: it is a poem about a poem, a piece of literature about literature. I stated this fact in the introduction to my essay and now I can repeat this opinion, but following more profound consideration. Yes, it is a self-referent poem; however, this self-referentiality is not limited to a quite conventional discourse about poetry which immortalizes the mortal reality. Self-referentiality here also means the “memory” of the material draft, of the first holograph, which is “hidden” inside the public text. Self-referentiality also means the consideration of the possibilities and limits of linguistic representation, which works in an unobvious way, both rescuing and effacing the identity of the human subject.

Finally, we can once again read the whole poem, this time in a reversed sequence. Firstly in the English translation:

For it is the poet’s brightest glory,
That of mere parting he makes a monument.
This page will cry here for a century,
Its tears won’t be spent.
When you depart towards distant frontiers,
I finish on this earth my banishment,
Yet I am lonely — yet I dissolve in tears —
This writing too I end.

written statement is a presence to the reader by virtue of its having excluded, displaced made supererogatory any such real thing as “the Orient”. (Said 1980, 29)

15. Maurice Blanchot’s theory of representation is clearly explained and commented upon by Richard Stamelman in his book *Lost Beyond Telling*, devoted to the different rhetorical strategies used to express an experience of “death”, “loss” and “absence” by modern French literature from Baudelaire to Barthes (Stamelman also occasionally refers to non-French authors like Elizabeth Bishop) (Stamelman 1990, 30–46).

and secondly in the Polish original:

Bo to jest wieszczka najjaśniejsza chwała,
 Że w posąg mieni nawet pożegnanie.
 Ta kartka wieki tu będzie płakała,
 I łez jej stanie.

Kiedy w daleką odjeżdżasz krainę,
 Ja kończę moje na ziemi wygnanie,
 Ale samotny — ale łzami pływę,
 I to pisanie . . .

The conclusion may thus be that it is “the brightest glory of the poet” (“wieszczka najjaśniejsza chwała”) that he leaves us a short poem, which seems to be completely clear and easy to interpret, but which at the same time evades the simplification and proves its capability to provoke interesting questions.

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The 1807 edition of *The Book of the Duchess*¹

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ABSTRACT

This article presents a textual analysis of Geoffrey Chaucer's The Book of the Duchess, from the 1807 edition of The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. The anonymous editor has attempted to present an edition of the text that is an improvement on all previous editions, in terms of quality and the selection of texts. The extent to which this has been achieved is difficult to determine, however. The editor is strongly influenced by Thomas Tyrwhitt's edition of The Canterbury Tales, but the care and intellect behind Tyrwhitt's edition is not found to the same degree in the 1807 edition.

Introduction

The following article is a textual analysis of some of the most striking features to have emerged thus far from an analysis of the 1807 edition of *The Book of the Duchess*, as compared with its predecessors (CHAUCER 1807, 115–60). The 1807 edition of *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, in which *The Book of the Duchess* occurs, has only come to light in recent years, and it is yet to be determined the extent to which it differs from other editions of Chaucer's works (MARSHALL 2011, 118–22, MARSHALL 2011a, 183–86). *The Book of the Duchess* has been chosen as a sample text to begin this consideration, primarily because it is of sufficient scope to offer, on the one hand, a substantial enough sample from which to draw conclusions, and, on the other hand, limited enough to be manageable. In addition to these particular reasons, *The Book of the Duchess* is a poem the authority of which has never been questioned (WILCOCKSON 1987, 966),

1. I wish to acknowledge the generous assistance of the University of Otago Research Grant that allowed me the time for the research and writing of this article. I would also like to acknowledge the meticulous work of my research assistant, Dr Carol Wyvil.

and thus it has appeared in every printed edition of the works of Chaucer, providing this study with extensive points for comparison.²

The 124-volume edition of *The Poets of Great Britain*, containing *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, came into being when, in 1807, a group of thirty-three London booksellers began publication of a work that claims, from its title page, to be a reprint of John Bell's 1782 series *The Poets of Great Britain*.³ The more popular poets within the 1782 series had been reprinted from time to time during the twenty or so years after its initial publication, notably the works of John Dryden was reprinted twice, and thus, in 1807, it

2. *The Book of the Duchess* appears in the following publications up until the end of the nineteenth century: William Thynne, ed. 1532. *The Workes of Geoffrey Chaucer newly printed, with dyuers workes whiche were neuer in print before*. London: Thomas Godfray. repr. 1542, and ca. 1550. STC 5068, 5069, 5070, 5071, 5072, 5073, 5074; John Stow, ed. 1561. *The Woorkes of Geffrey Chaucer newlie printed, with diuers additions, which were never in printed before* London: John Kyngston. STC 5075, 5076, 5076.3; Thomas Speght, ed. 1598. *The Works of Our Ancient, Learned, Excellent English Poet, Jeffrey Chaucer: As they have lately been compar'd with the best manuscripts, and several things added, never before in print*. London: George Bishop. repr. 1602 and 1687. STC 5077, 5078, 5079, 5080, 5081, Wing C3736; John Urry, ed. 1721. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Compared with the Former Editions, and Many valuable MSS, out of which, Three Tales are added which were never before printed*. London: Bernard Lintot. STC T106027; John Bell, ed. 1783. *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Edinburgh: Apollo. STC T75497; Robert Anderson, ed. 1792. *A Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain*. London: John and Arthur Arch; Geoffrey Chaucer. 1807. *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. London: Cadell, Davies, et al.; Alexander Chalmers, ed. 1810. *Works of the English Poets, from Chaucer to Cowper*. London: J. Johnson; Geoffrey Chaucer. 1822. *The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer*. 5 Vols. Chiswick: C. Whittingham; Frederick J. Furnivall, ed. 1868–80. *Odd Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems*. Chaucer Society 23. London: Oxford University Press; Frederick J. Furnivall, ed. 1871–79. *A Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems*. Chaucer Society 21. London: Paul, Trench, and Trubner; Walter W. Skeat, ed. *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
3. John Bell, ed. 1783. *The Poets of Great Britain Complete from Chaucer to Churchill*. Edinburgh: Apollo. The full list of booksellers is as follows: Cadell and Davies; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; Nichols and Son; J. Walker; Wilkie and Robinson; W. J. and J. Richardson; F. C. and J. Rivington; Lackington, Allen, and Co.; R. H. Evans; Cuthell and Martin; Scratcherd and Letterman; Otridge and Son; Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe; R. Faulder; T. Payne; J. Nunn; R. Lea; J. Deighton; J. Johnson; W. Clarke and Sons; W. Lowndes; J. Hatchard; Black and Parry; J. Harding; E. Jeffrey; J. Carpenter; W. Miller; Leigh and Sotherby; Payne and Mackinlay; Mathews and Leigh; P. Wynne; J. Booker; and Samuel Bagster.

must have seemed a financially safe venture to reproduce the entire series. Volumes one to fourteen (or one to seven, as it was also bound) comprise *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*.⁴ Eleanor Prescott Hammond notes the edition as a reprint of Bell (HAMMOND 1908, 132), while Caroline Spurgeon indicates she was not able to find a copy of this work. She says: “No copy of this has been found in a public library, nor is it mentioned by Miss Hammond in *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*. The title is taken from a dealer’s list” (SPURGEON 1914–25, 29). According to the work’s title page, Hammond has described the work correctly: it does indeed claim to be a reprint of Bell’s 1782 edition. The reality, however, is somewhat different. The identity of the editor of this edition is unknown, but he has provided an extensive introduction to the edition outlining his procedure. Here it becomes clear that the work is rather more than a reprint of Bell, in fact the works of Chaucer have been markedly revised and re-edited.⁵

While Hammond’s and Spurgeon’s descriptions of the edition indicate why this edition has been overlooked by modern scholars, it is curious to note that the edition does not seem to have attracted any attention at the time of its publication. As we will see, other nineteenth-century editors of Chaucer never refer to it, nor do their editions suggest they had seen it. Furthermore, no mention is made of the edition in the period’s literary magazines.

The editorial assertions of the 1807 edition

The editor of the 1807 edition begins with a General Advertisement, which is divided into two sections, one entitled *The Canterbury Tales* and the other *The Disputed Tales and Miscellaneous Poems*. The division here is important, as it reflects the distinction made by earlier editors, most nota-

4. Geoffrey Chaucer. 1807. *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. London: Cadell, Davies, et al. According to Thomas Bonnell: “To save customers money on binding, they marketed the set in two forms, taking the trouble to print different series title-pages listing different contents, one headed *The Poets of Great Britain, in One Hundred and Twenty-Four Volumes*, the other *The Poets of Great Britain, in Sixty-One Double Volumes*”. See Thomas Bonnell. 2008. *The Most Disreputable Trade*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 293–94.
5. The 1807 series included fifty-four poets in total; three from Bell’s series were removed, while seven new poets were added to the series. I have not attempted to investigate whether the works of other poets within the series were similarly re-edited for the 1807 printing.

bly John Bell and Robert Anderson (BELL 1782–83; ANDERSON 1792). Both Bell's and Anderson's editions had used (without permission) Thomas Tyrwhitt's first edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, while using John Urry's 1721 edition of Chaucer's works for the remainder of the poems.⁶ Thus the 1807 editor's distinction is a clear indication that he, too, is in some way conceiving of his enterprise in relation to the efforts of his predecessors.

It is beneficial, for accuracy's sake, to quote extensively from the Advertisement. Of *The Canterbury Tales*, the editor says:

The *Canterbury Tales* are printed from the second edition of Mr. Tyrwhitt's publication, [2 vols. 4to, 1798]. In conformity with Mr Tyrwhitt's evident intentions, the present Editor has introduced in the places to which they belong, several important revisions, by that learned critic of his own notes and opinions; the following Abstract from the *Advertisement* prefixed by the delegates of Clarendon Press, tends to explain what the revisions are:

"In a copy of the work, which Mr. Tyrwhitt had reserved for his own use, it was found that he had inserted several emendations and additions; in parts of the work having written some things otherwise than as he first gave them to the world.

It is according to such corrections, therefore, that the work is now printed . . ."

Still, however, in the edition from the Clarendon press, the principle of incorporation does not seem to have been carried so far as is desirable and as useful attention to method may safely urge it; for the more deliberate opinions of the learned Editor are left in the promiscu-

6. Thomas Tyrwhitt was most aggrieved by Bell's actions in particular: "The Assured manner in which my name is used, may lead people to imagine that I have been at least consenting to this republication of my book; and therefore I beg the favour of you, and all my other friends, to take every opportunity (the more public the better) of declaring for me, that the whole transaction has passed without my consent, approbation, or knowledge". See Thomas Tyrwhitt. 1783. *Gentleman's Magazine* 53.1: 461–62. See also Thomas Tyrwhitt, ed. 1778. *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, to which are added, an essay upon his language and versification; an introductory discourse; and notes*. first edition. London: Thomas Payne. STC T76319, and John Urry, ed. 1721. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Compared with the Former Editions, and Many valuable MSS, out of which, Three Tales are added which were never before printed*. London: Bernard Lintot. STC T106027.

ous places where they happened to be penned. It appeared, therefore, to the present Editor, that he should essentially promote the design of Mr Tyrwhitt . . . The present Editor has, therefore, altered every retracted or connected passage, making it correspond with the opinion subsequently pronounced by Mr Tyrwhitt. (CHAUCER 1807, ix–xi)

The editor, then, has apparently expanded on the work of the editors of the second edition of Tyrwhitt's *The Canterbury Tales*, thus completing the work that Tyrwhitt himself would have done, had he lived long enough to do so.

Following this, the editor then introduces his approach to editing the remaining texts in the edition, under the title of *The Disputed Tales and Miscellaneous Poems*:

The Edition in 1721, by Mr. Urry, has been hitherto the best, of that part of the works ascribed to Chaucer to which the late able Editor of the *Tales* did not extend his labours: but the blemishes imputed to the edition of 1721, are considerable.

Mr. Tyrwhitt, Mr. Todd, and other competent critics, have concurred with Dr. Hickes in the censure (*Sax. Gram.* P. 29.) of Mr. Urry, for changing the old English *hir* into *their*, and *hem* into *them*, without the authority of a single manuscript. The words so unwarrantably supplanted have been restored in this edition.

Mr. Urry has been further blamed (Tyrwhitt's Essay, n. 68,) for spelling nouns plural as *dremis*, *rockis*; whenever he wished to denote that, to complete the metre, the word must be pronounced with a factitious syllable; he followed a similar practice in the termination of the preterite of verbs, transforming *lived*, *limped*, to *livid*, *limpid*. This mechanical mode of indicating an extra syllable disguises the meaning of the word, and misrepresents the state of English orthography, when Chaucer wrote; it is therefore, in the present impression, discarded as an unjustifiable innovation.

Another approximation to the manuscripts has been made, by rescinding the sign (') of the genitive case, and by restoring the spelling where *es* has been without authority converted into *is*.

In many words diversely spelt, the Editor has followed the orthography of Tyrwhitt, to prevent the multiplication of articles in the *Glossary*.

The punctuation has been throughout revised. Chaucer was aware that the power of punctuation, as differently exercised, may often occasion or supersede a commentary. (CHAUCER 1807, xii–xiii)

It would seem, therefore, that the 1807 editor has used John Urry's 1721 edition as a base text for the remainder of the texts in his edition. The editor, noting the criticism of others, has also acknowledged the apparent errors within Urry's edition, which will apparently be corrected in his own edition. It is perhaps pertinent to consider briefly the particular features of Urry's edition, in order to reconcile the 1807 editor's apparent need to avoid Urry's errors.

The 1721 edition of John Urry has been much maligned over the centuries, and for many different reasons, but as William Alderson points out, it is an edition that has much to recommend it, and, even acknowledging its failings, one must accept that it is an edition that continued to have a great deal of influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (ALDERSON 1984, 114). Problems arose with the edition during the process of its creation with the sudden death of John Urry in 1715, long before the work was near completion. The friends and associates who then took up the work and brought it to completion seem to have done so grudgingly, and clearly there was a great deal of frustration at the state in which Urry had left his work.⁷ The biggest difficulty was that Urry had not left any documentation indicating his editorial methods, and so those continuing the work were left to guess at his intentions. From the information Urry did leave, it is clear that he had intended to consult as many manuscripts as possible to use for comparison for his edition, and he even left a list of those he did consult. It is not clear, however, how he intended to use the manuscripts, and the resulting texts do not show many instances of influence from manuscript readings.

Perhaps one of the biggest failings of Urry's edition, however, was his method of emending the text. There was, without doubt, a logic behind his process, but he left no explanations for this. It seems that Urry supposed that Chaucer's metre must surely have been regular, and thus any irregularities must have been the result of poor work from scribes and/or previous editors. As such, Urry undertook to 'correct' the metrical errors by a series of different means. It is this act primarily that led to numerous negative charges against the edition. Thomas Tyrwhitt infamously described Urry's edition as "by far the worst that was ever published" (TYRWITT 1798, lxiii).

7. Anthony Wood. 1691–92. *Athenae Oxonienses: The History of the Writers of the University of Oxford, from the Year of our Lord 1500 to the end of 1640*. London: Thomas Bennet.

There are four particular features to Urry's method of editing. The first is Urry's habit of including a grave accent "to distinguish those medial or final -e's which should be pronounced in a Chaucerian line" (ALDERSON 1984, 110). Urry was convinced the Chaucer, as a great poet, must have used a regular metre in his verse, and thus whenever he encountered lines that did not agree with this pattern, Urry would insert whatever was required to 'correct' the metre. Frequently this amounted to a grave accent on an e, although he employed other methods as well. The second feature of Urry's method is to alter the spelling of words ending with -en, -ed, -es, -est, and -eth, to -in, -id, -is, -ist, and -ith whenever he considered such words require a more strongly pronounced syllable. Third, Urry at times has added entire prefixes and suffixes in order to complete the metre. As Alderson says, Urry seems to have regarded these "as free counters in his metrical game" (1984, 110). Finally, Urry at times has added or omitted whole words, again in order ensure the metre complies.

It is interesting to note, then, that many of the 1807 editor's proposed emendations do accurately pinpoint the errors in Urry's text. However it is not clear how the editor will judge when supposed errors are to be corrected, or to what extent he is using earlier editions or manuscripts to help guide him. There are, too, instances where the editor is clearly intending to make corrections under the guise of correcting Urry's errors where it is not certain there are errors existing. For instance, he states that he will regularise the spelling and introduce punctuation. He not does state categorically that these are among Urry's errors, but there is an implicit assumption that this is the case. Most notable, it seems to me, is that the editor rather elides the extent to which he intends to refer to manuscript sources.

Contents of the 1807 edition

The results of this investigation thus far have proven to be rather more idiomatic than expected. One significant feature of *The Book of the Duchess* as it appears in the 1807 edition is found in a footnote at the beginning of the text:

This Poem, which in the editions is called the *Dreme of Chaucer*—a title calculated to confound it with *Chaucers Dreme*, is in the *Leg. Of G. W.* 418. denominated by our Poet, the *Deth of Blaunche the Duchess*. In the MSS. Fairf. 16, and Bod. 638, it is called 'the Booke of the Duchesse.' (CHAUCER 1807, 115)

Here we learn that the editor did indeed refer to at least these two manuscripts when preparing the text of *The Book of the Duchess*, and thus, despite his rather vague attitude towards the manuscripts as stated in the introduction, it appears he did indeed have some access to them.

It is certain, at the very least, that despite being aware of at least two of the three fifteenth-century manuscripts in which the poem occurs, he made no obvious use of them, aside from the use of the title to the poem.⁸ This in itself is worthy of some comment. Steve Ellis, in his article, remarks that the first published use of *The Book of the Duchess* as the poem's title, is in the Chiswick 1822 edition of the poem (CHAUCER 1822). Prior to this, according to Ellis, it was known as *Chaucer's Dream* or *The Dream of Chaucer* (ELLIS 1995, 249–58). This title caused considerable confusion among early editors as another poem, today entitled *The Isle of Ladies* and not thought to be authored by Chaucer at all, was also known by this title, and certainly editors did confuse them on occasion (FARBER 2008, 207–25). Here, then, we have a clear example of the work being published under the title of *The Book of the Duchess* as early as 1807.

As already noted, from the footnote at the start of the text, we learn that, at the very least the editor was aware of and had seen the Fairfax and Bodley manuscripts in which the poem occurs. While conjecture, it seems quite probable that he was unaware of the Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 346 manuscript, despite all three being housed at the Bodleian Library at Oxford, as one would have thought it likely he would have mentioned it here, even to note that its title, differing from the others, is written as *Chaucer's Dream*.

A line-by-line comparison with each of the three manuscript editions of the poem, as well as with the printed editions of William Thynne (1532, 1542, and c.1550), John Stow (1561), Thomas Speght (1598, 1602, and 1687), John Urry (1721), John Bell (1782), Robert Anderson (1798), and Alexander Chalmers (1810), indicates that the 1807 editor has indeed used Urry's text as a base text for his edition, and then made copious editorial changes to versification and orthography throughout.⁹

8. *The Book of the Duchess* appears in Oxford. Bodleian Library. MS Fairfax 16, Oxford. Bodleian Library. MS Bodley 638, and Oxford. Bodleian Library. Tanner 346.

9. For a consideration of each of these editions of the works of Chaucer, see BLODGETT 1979; BLODGETT 1984; COSTOMIRIS 2003; DONAGHEY 1997; FLETCHER 1978; GADD and GILLESPIE 2004; HETHERINGTON 1964; PEARSALL 2004; and BONNELL 1987.

Perhaps the most notable change that the 1807 editor has made throughout his text is to remove the -in, -id, -is, -ist, and -ith endings that Urry had first inserted (and which Bell retained) into the text. Just as he had claimed in his introduction, he has changed these word endings to -en, -ed, -es, -est, and -eth throughout. It might be assumed, therefore, that the editor is attempting to remove Urry's errors and to revert back to the features of the manuscript editions of the poem, or at the very least to Thynne's 1532 edition, but this is not the case at all. There are a total of 513 instances where the 1807 editor alters a word from Urry's text ending with -in, -id, -is, -ist, or -ith to ending with -en, -ed, -es, -est, or -eth, the most substantial change to the entire text, but this rarely agrees with any one of the three manuscripts or with Thynne's edition. What is noticeable here is that the instances that do agree are examples such as the words 'other' (changed from 'othir'), 'ever' (changed from 'evir'), and 'wonder' (changed from 'wondir'). The instances where the 1807 text does not agree with the manuscript or with Thynne's edition are words such as 'withouten' (changed from 'withoutin'), which occurs in the manuscripts and in Thynne as 'withoute', 'slepen' (changed from 'slepin'), which occurs as 'slepe', and 'asken' (changed from 'askin'), which occurs as 'aske'. Thus we can see the trend is that Urry has added '-in' to words that originally had an '-e' ending, and so it is clear the 1807 editor has not consulted the manuscripts or Thynne, but, on all 513 instances, has simply altered his text to agree with the general criticism as noted by Tyrwhitt and other critics.

Altering the text to agree with Tyrwhitt's logic appears to be a feature of the 1807 editor. It seems to me that even if he was aware of and had access to the manuscripts (as he appears to have done for two of those containing *The Book of the Duchess*), he has not used the manuscripts' orthography, preferring instead to rely on other critics' views of the text (HICKES 1705). And, if one considers how the editor explains his concerns about Urry's use of the -in, -id, -is, -ist, and -ith endings, in fact his argument is sound:

This mechanical mode of indicating an extra syllable disguises the meaning of the word, and misrepresents the state of English orthography, when Chaucer wrote; it is therefore, in the present impression, discarded as an unjustifiable innovation. (CHAUCER 1807, xii)

As the editor explains, Urry's intention behind altering the text to use these endings is to outline clearly to the reader (especially one not familiar with Middle English, as was often the case by the eighteenth century) that some syllables were to be pronounced, in order for the line of verse to agree with the poem's metre (LERER 1993; MATTHEWS 1999; MORSE

2003; PRENDERGAST 2003). The editor admits this as an ‘innovation’ to the text, and in itself does not disapprove. His concern is that the reader may inadvertently introduce other incorrect assumptions about the text so written, such as to assume that this spelling is an accurate indication of orthography as used by Chaucer, and that the reader further misunderstand the meaning of these altered words. The editor’s concern seems understandable, and his method of correction has been thorough. The difficulty for a modern editor, however, is that editor’s changes have no provenance in the manuscripts.

The 1807 editor also criticizes Urry’s edition for its odd use of personal pronouns. All three of the fifteenth-century manuscripts tend to use ‘hir’ as the third-person feminine objective pronoun. In the 1532 Thynne edition the pronoun is spelt ‘her’, and in the Urry edition the pronoun is also spelt ‘her’, on a total of 112 occasions. The 1807 editor has consistently emended this pronoun to ‘hire’, despite this spelling appearing in no other earlier edition or manuscript. In addition, Urry has consistently used the third person possessive pronoun spelt ‘ther’, when it appears in all of the manuscripts and in Thynne spelt ‘her’. In the 1807 edition, the word is spelt ‘hir’ throughout. It seems difficult to understand the 1807 editor’s reasoning for his emendations of these pronouns, as they clearly show no resemblance to earlier editions or manuscripts (BURROW AND TURVILLE-PETER 2005; MITCHELL AND ROBINSON 2005). I would suggest that this is an instance of the editor following the orthography outlined by Tyrwhitt in the glossary to his edition of *The Canterbury Tales*. In his glossary, Tyrwhitt has the following entries:

HIR, pron. Poss. SAX. Their.

HIRE, pron. Poss. SAX. Her. (TYRWITT 1798, 582)

This agrees completely with what the 1807 editor has used in his text, and it seems very likely that Tyrwhitt’s glossary is the origin of this emendation. Interestingly, Tyrwhitt’s glossary in his second edition acknowledges Urry’s glossary as being well crafted, and in fact goes so far to indicate that it was the basis for Tyrwhitt’s own glossary:

It would be injustice to the learned author of the Glossary to Mr. Urry’s edition, not to acknowledge, that I have built upon his foundations, and often with his materials. (TYRWITT 1798, 521)

Despite this, Tyrwhitt concludes by stating that “Mr. Urry’s edition should never be opened by any one for the purpose of reading Chaucer” (TYR-

WHITT 1798, 524). Perhaps with such attitudes, it is not surprising that the 1807 editor chose to follow Tyrwhitt's orthography.

Further in agreement with Tyrwhitt, it seems likely that the 1807 editor has elected to use the spellings of 'hire' for 'her' and 'hir' for 'their' in accordance with Tyrwhitt's explanation of Chaucer's use of these words in *The Canterbury Tales*:

Hir; *Their*. The Possessive Pronoun of the third Person Plural is variously written, *Hir*, *Hire*, *Her*, and *Here*; not only in different Mss. But even in the same page of good Mss. There seems to be no reason for perpetuating varieties of this kind, which can only have taken their rise from the unsettled state of our Orthography before the invention of Printing, and which now contribute more than any real alteration of the language to obscure the sense of our old Authors. In this edition therefore, *Hir* is constantly put to signify *Their*; and *Hire* to signify *Her*, whether it be the Oblique case of the Plural Pronoun *She*, or the Possessive of the same Pronoun. (TYRWHITT 1798, 64–65)

This note is made specifically in regard to Tyrwhitt's grammatical analysis of the first eighteen lines of *The Canterbury Tales*. The 1807 editor had noted with regard to his edition of *The Canterbury Tales* that he would "promote the design of Mr. Tyrwhitt" (CHAUCER 1807, xi), and it would seem that this has followed through into the other texts within his edition. As the note above explains, Tyrwhitt has made a decision about which spelling to use for these particular pronouns, and has used them consistently throughout. The 1807 editor, it would seem, has done the same, regardless of the spelling used in any of the earlier editions of *The Book of the Duchess*.

The use of the apostrophe is a notable feature of Urry's text that had not been used in previous editions and which does not occur in the manuscripts containing Chaucer's works. In his introduction, the 1807 editor complained about Urry's use of this piece of punctuation and indicated his method of correction:

Another approximation to the manuscripts has been made, by rescinding the sign (') of the genitive case, and by restoring the spelling where *es* has been without authority converted into *is*. (CHAUCER 1807 xii)

In *The Book of the Duchess*, there are eleven such instances in Urry's text where the genitive case has been represented by an apostrophe, and on each occasion the 1807 editor has emended these in the manner he has

indicated above. For instance, Urry's text has 'slep'is', 'bedd'is', and 'world'is', and this is emended in the 1807 edition to 'slepes', 'beddes', and 'worldes'. The editor has suggested that this emendation is an 'approximation to the manuscripts', which, broadly speaking, is correct. On this particular point, the three manuscripts rarely agree with each other, but frequently they will reflect a spelling that is either the same or similar to that chosen by the 1807 editor. Interestingly, however, on every occasion, the 1807 text agrees with Thynne's 1532 edition. In the case of the examples given above, the manuscripts present the following:

Line	1807 edition	MS Tanner 346	MS Bodley 638	MS Fairfax 16	Thynne 1532	Urry 1721
168	slepes	slep	slepes	slepes	slepes	slep'is
199	beddes	beddis	beddys	beddys	beddes	bedd'is
209	worldes	worldis	worldes	worldes	worldes	world'is

Unfortunately with so few examples in total to judge, it is difficult to know if this indicates that the 1807 editor was using Thynne's text for these emendations, some other model, or that this agreement is entirely coincidental.

The use of apostrophes is, however, an interesting and unusual feature of Urry's text. While there are eleven identifiable instances, as noted above, that correspond to the 1807 editor's emendatory practice, there are in total 119 apostrophes in *The Book of the Duchess*. Aside from the eleven mentioned already, there are 41 instances where the apostrophe is used to indicate a contraction or abbreviation of a word, such as 'so'rowful' and 'hem'. The remaining 67 instances of apostrophes are less easy to explain, but appear to relate to Urry's method of indicating the metre of the verse.

The 1807 editor has described Urry's method of spelling as an "unjustifiable innovation". Perhaps he is being polite, but it seems to me that this statement reflects the fact the Urry's alterations to the text were, indeed, innovations intended to aid the reader otherwise unfamiliar with Middle English verse. William Alderson, too, notes that despite the severe criticisms of Urry's edition, it does indeed make a genuine effort at improving the texts of Chaucer, and its greatest weakness appears to be that Urry died before being able to leave an explanation and justification for his editorial methods (ALDERSON 1984, 114). Just as Urry's spelling is described as an "unjustifiable innovation", so too could one describe Urry's method of correcting and indicating metre.

It seems that Urry's use of apostrophes, when they do not correspond to either the genitive case or to contractions or abbreviations, indicates an unstressed vowel in the line of verse. For instance, "And many' an hart, and

many' an hinde" (line 427), shows that the metre is four stressed syllables per line, and while ordinarily, Urry believes, there will be correspondingly four unstressed syllables in the line, here he is indicating that there are two extra unstressed syllables (DAVIS 1987, xxix–xlv). As mentioned, this use of the apostrophe occurs on 67 occasions in *The Book of the Duchess*, but it is completely removed by the 1807 editor.

Urry added another feature to his text to aid the reader in the pronunciation of the Middle English. Throughout his text, he has inserted the grave accent above certain syllables in words in order to indicate to the reader that these syllables are indeed to be pronounced. This action is entirely Urry's invention and does not appear in any of the manuscripts or earlier editions, but it appears to be a feature that the 1807 editor has adopted throughout his text. Thus, despite his criticisms of Urry's text, the 1807 editor has been most happy to accept many of his innovations. As an example, in line 20, the 1807 editor has presented, in agreement with Urry, the following line: "Not longè tymè to endure", in which the two grave accents indicate that the terminal e on the words 'longe' and 'tyme' is to be pronounced, in order to agree with the four stressed line metre, and yet the terminal e on the word 'endure' remains silent.

Some Conclusions and the Impact of the 1807 edition

It is difficult to judge the impact of the 1807 edition of *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Unusually, there are no references to the edition during the period in which it was published in any of the literary magazines of the day.¹⁰ Even Samuel Bagster, one of the London booksellers who funded the edition, makes no mention of the edition in his posthumously published autobiography (BAGSTER 1972). It is possible that the edition was not regarded by those with financial interests in the project as a new edition as such, but rather as a reprint of Bell's successful 1782 edition (DANE 1988, 217–36; DANE 1998). It seems likely, too, that the link with Bell's edition ensured that the edition remained largely unknown by later scholars of Chaucer.

Perhaps even more remarkable is the fact that the edition appears to have remained unknown even to other nineteenth-century editors of Chaucer's

10. This includes *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Weekly Dispatch*, *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Monthly Register and Encyclopedian magazine*, *The Annual Review and History of Literature*, *The Eclectic Review*, *The Athenaeum*, *The Director*, *The Monthly*, and *The Critical Review*.

works. Alexander Chalmers' edition in 1810, just three years later, shows no resemblance to the 1807 edition, nor do other, later, nineteenth-century editions. Walter Skeat's important 1894 edition, which presented the most thorough assessment of the works of Chaucer to that point, makes no reference to it whatsoever (SKEAT 1894).

This study is clearly a preliminary work to consider only a very small portion of the 1807 edition of *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Future research will need to be carried out on other texts within the collection, as well as some consideration of the edition's relationship with other editions of Chaucer, and with the publishing history of the early nineteenth century. Particularly important among the questions to be considered in future research is the issue regarding the authenticity of the poems (BRUSENDORFF 1925; BOFFEY 1995, 37–47). Not considered in this article, the large number of poems that we today consider spurious are first removed from the Chaucer canon in the nineteenth century, fundamentally with Skeat's edition (SKEAT 1894; SKEAT 1897; BRADSHAW 1888). The 1807 edition, however, does appear to show some inclination towards this process by relegating the spurious texts to a less prominent location in the collection, categorised under the title of *Miscellaneous works often imputed to Chaucer*.

From this brief examination of the text of *The Book of the Duchess*, however, it appears to me that the 1807 editor at the very least, fully intended to present an edition of the text that was an improvement on all previous texts. The extent to which he has achieved this is less easy to determine, however. Unlike Urry's edition, we are able to determine a clear and logical editorial process throughout, thus making his decisions understandable. The editor's deference to Thomas Tyrwhitt is clear throughout, but it seems unlikely to me that we can regard the 1807 edition as the edition that Tyrwhitt himself would have produced, had he lived long enough to do so. The scrupulous care and powerful intellect behind Tyrwhitt's edition of *The Canterbury Tales* is not found to the same degree in the 1807 edition. What we see is a gesture towards Tyrwhitt's style, rather than an example of rigorous editing.

The 1807 editor appears well versed in the work of Tyrwhitt, and with the 1721 edition of Urry, but, despite the superficial impressions he gives, it does not appear that he has done the research that Tyrwhitt undertook in examining the manuscript editions of the poems. To be fair, this study considers only *The Book of the Duchess*; it is entirely possible that the editor's efforts were inconsistent across the works of Chaucer, or indeed that it is not the work of one individual. We have no sense of the time period over which the editorial work took place, and thus there is no way to estimate if

it was feasible for a single man to conduct the editing process alone (BLAGDEN 1960; BROWN 1982; MAXTED 1977; MYERS and HARRIS 1997). What we can determine from examining a single poem is that it is fair to consider the work a new edition, sufficiently different from all previous editions, and with some commendable effort at advancing the quality of the text.

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La traduction face aux *Romans de Mélusine* de Jean d'Arras et Couldrette

Jean-Jacques Vincensini

ABSTRACT

Une tradition proprement française de la traduction conduirait à ne pas traduire, mais à s'approprier le texte-source, à l'embellir. Ce non-traduire français n'épargne pas le médiéviste national. D'autant qu'il rêve de gommer ainsi l'écart entre la littérature médiévale et la culture contemporaine. La thèse du "même au même" fonde ce point de vue dans le champ de la langue et celui de la traduction. Conséquence ? Pendant longtemps, la traduction des œuvres médiévales a semblé mineure aux yeux des médiévistes. Mais qu'en disent les publications bilingues (et "intralinguales") qui fleurissent depuis plusieurs années ? Quelles stratégies et quels stéréotypes fondent leur pratique ? Pour ce qui concerne les deux romans de *Mélusine*, tenant à faire de l'altérité une vertu, Matthew Morris et moi-même avons souhaité traduire en gardant la "bonne distance", aussi bien vis à vis du respect de la lettre du texte médiéval que du penchant ethno-centriste à en faire une œuvre contemporaine. Nos deux traductions, par ailleurs, se sont appuyées sur l'idée selon laquelle une traduction est une transformation maîtrisée par le souci de servir le sens de l'œuvre. Cet article montre alors comment ces principes généraux ont inspiré, de façon différente, nos traductions particulières, celle de la prose de Jean d'Arras et celle des vers de Couldrette. Ainsi a-t-on espéré faire de nos traductions des aventures de *Mélusine* et de ses fils autre chose qu'un simple exercice technique : une activité linguistique qui engage des choix esthétiques et culturels fondamentaux et évite le regrettable non-traduire français.

PUBLIÉ EN 2012, LE DERNIER OUVRAGE D'ANTOINE BERMAN, Jacques Amyot, traducteur français, s'interroge sur la "persistante occultation du rôle fondateur de la traduction en France". Le livre de Berman s'ouvre sur la traduction en français d'une citation éclairante de Friedrich Schleiermacher : "La plupart des peuples modernes effrayés par les difficultés de la traduction véritable, se contentent généralement de l'imitation et de la paraphrase. Qui prétendra affirmer qu'on ait jamais traduit en français

quoi que ce soit des langues antiques et des langues germaniques” (BERMAN 2012, 16).¹

Cette rude charge vise à montrer qu’il existerait une tradition proprement française de l’acte de traduire. Une tradition qui, si l’on en croit Schleiermacher et Goethe, reviendrait au fond à ne pas traduire, mais à s’approprier le texte-source, à l’embellir et à balancer alors, depuis Oresme et Amyot, entre “la Charybde de la belle infidèle et la Scylla de littéralité illisible” (CORBELLARI 2009, 147). Ce non-traduire français n’épargne pas le médiéviste national. En effet, comme l’affirme, Stéphane Marcotte dans sa “Typologie des intraduisibles de l’ancien français”: “Les problèmes posés ne diffèrent pas fondamentalement selon que l’on traduit une langue ou un état de langue [c’est-à-dire dans une autre langue] et ceux que je soulèverai maintenant pour l’ancien français et le français moderne [soit la traduction intralinguale]” (MARCOTTE 2009, 161).

Traduction et mémoire culturelle.

Il convient donc de regarder maintenant avec plus de précisions les caractéristiques de la tâche de traducteur propre au médiéviste. Qu’on le veuille ou non, cette tâche s’inscrit tout d’abord dans une vision spécifique de la culture occidentale. En effet, tout jugement sur la traductibilité renvoie nécessairement à une réflexion sur notre mémoire culturelle.² Chez le médiéviste, le plus souvent, ce lien relève de la continuité. Suté dans une vision totalisante, aussi bien culturelle et esthétique, l’écart entre la littérature médiévale, glorieuse antécédence, et la culture contemporaine, disparaît. La thèse du “même au même” illustre ce point de vue dans le champ

1. BERMAN cite sa traduction, *Des différentes méthodes du traduire et autres textes* (datant de 1999) d’une conférence tenue par SCHLEIERMACHER en 1813.
2. Sur ce point Steiner estime que “tout ne peut être traduit *aujourd’hui*. Certains contextes ont disparu, des faisceaux de références qui, dans le passé, permettaient d’interpréter un texte maintenant opaque” (1978, 344). Une telle affirmation ne peut laisser le médiéviste indifférent : concerne-t-elle la traduction des textes médiévaux en français moderne ? Se pourrait-il que le Moyen Âge nous paraisse aujourd’hui *étranger* ? et il faudrait alors questionner cette étrangeté. Il conviendra de revenir sur ce problème, celui de notre rapport au Moyen Âge, à sa culture et à sa langue, et par conséquent à la raison pour laquelle nous souhaitons traduire ces textes.

de la langue. Il se règle sur les réponses que l'on peut apporter aux questions posées par Corbellari (2009, 147): “jusqu'à quel point doit-on considérer l'ancien français [— et le Moyen français ! —] comme une langue différente du français moderne ?” ou Galderisi: “quand est-ce que du *même* on passe à l'*autre* et qui déciderait d'un tel passage ? les gardiens d'une orthodoxie linguistique, que l'altérité linguistique naissante rend de plus en plus minoritaires, ou la multitude des nouveaux illettrés ?” (2015, 10).

Ces interrogations sont lourdes de conséquences dans le domaine de la traduction. Je renvoie à la prise de position de Michel Zink, “Du même au même. Traduire et récrire”. Transposer un texte de l'état ancien de la langue à son état actuel, n'est pas vraiment traduire, car cette transposition ne serait pas “confrontation de deux langues différentes et passage de l'une à l'autre” (2000, 283). Dans ces conditions, le traducteur ne peut parvenir qu'à une traduction “consternante” précisément parce qu'est niée la continuité de la langue.

Bref, la traduction est inutile, ou plus, les œuvres médiévales sont intraduisibles. L'intraduisible devient une valeur. En un mot, en un slogan: Ne pas traduire !

Il est donc clair que la conception continuiste fonde la très française méfiance à l'égard de la traduction-trahison et on comprend l'affirmation de Corinne Füg-Pierreville dans sa publication “Editer, traduire ou adapter les textes médiévaux” qui rappelle, en 2008, ce qu'affirmait Schleiermacher en 1813: “Pendant longtemps, cette pratique a paru mineure aux yeux des spécialistes, y compris des médiévistes, qui portaient du principe que le lecteur éclairé devait être capable de lire l'ancien français dans le texte. (. . .). Il devient donc urgent que cette activité gagne enfin ses lettres de noblesse, car le temps où l'élite pouvait accéder aux œuvres du Moyen Âge sans recourir au prisme déformant de la traduction est, hélas, bien révolu” (2009, 11).

Traduire l'ancien français. Quelles stratégies? Quels stéréotypes?

Avançons un peu. L'effort éditorial de ces dernières décennies, notamment les collections Lettres Gothiques et Champion classique ont bouleversé notre approche des textes médiévaux, “en systématisant l'accès direct aux œuvres originales et en proposant des traductions qui se veulent en phase avec le lecteur d'aujourd'hui” (CORBELLARI 2009, 159). Toujours dans le but de mettre au jour les caractéristiques de la traduction de textes médiévaux, je vais considérer maintenant quelques lignes de force des politiques

de traduction qui inspirent ces traductions contemporaines destinées au grand public. Pour les Journées d'études des 4 et 5 septembre 2014 organisées à Poitiers³ et intitulées "De la traduction médiévale à la seconde main moderne. Théories, pratiques et impasses de la translation contemporaine", j'ai regardé trente sept traductions venues des collections Lettres Gothiques ; Bouquins, chez Robert Laffont ; La Pléiade, chez Gallimard ; GF de Flammarion ; les Traductions des Classiques du Moyen Âge (Champion) et Champion Classiques "série Moyen Âge". Je rappelle ici quelques résultats particulièrement nets de ce précédent travail.

1. Dans ce corpus de 37 textes, 36 traduisent ; 1 seule œuvre ne propose donc pas de traduction. L'argument "il ne faut pas traduire" semble ne pas avoir convaincu les 36 autres. 15 traductions légitiment leurs règles, bien moins que la moitié. Vingt et une traductions, donc, passent sous silence les choix qui les ont dirigées, y compris quand le travail du médiéviste se bornait seulement à traduire en regard d'un texte édité par un collègue antérieur.
2. Trois arguments composent le noyau minimal des justifications explicitées.

Premier de ces arguments, la "fidélité" déférente envers l'original. Cette fidélité peut-on la préciser ? Là, les avis divergent. Certains tiennent à rester fidèles à l'intelligence du texte, d'autres font le choix de la prose moderne plutôt que celui du vers pour garantir une meilleure adéquation avec l'esprit du texte. Dans les remarquables et fouillées 26 pages de sa "Note sur la traduction", André Eskenazi, lui, soutient la nécessité de partir du sens du texte. *Eracle* "ne se propose pas seulement la mission de divertir le public en toute sécurité : il prétend lui transmettre un message". La pratique de traduction devra s'inspirer de "son souci de l'efficacité [qui] le conduit à bannir tous les effets qui risqueraient de distraire l'attention et de la faire se relâcher" (2002, 50–51).

Second argument, la fidélité est comme une planète centrale et constante autour de laquelle tournent des choix syntaxiques et lexicaux (je ne les évoquerai que très hâtivement) sur lesquels tous s'accordent:

- a. Le souci de respecter la fluidité mélodique du texte justifie le mélange des temps, l'alternance du passé et du présent qui permet de varier le ton et le rythme du récit.
 - b. Plus délicat, et plus central pour moi, le débat sur la traduction des récits en vers. En 1992, Charles Mela offrait en regard du *Chevalier de la Charrette* de CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES une traduction
3. Dans le cadre d'une "action de recherche collaborative" commune au CESC de Poitiers et du CESR de Tours.

tion qui correspondait “ligne à ligne au texte du manuscrit” (1992, 33). Les rimes n’y manquaient pas.⁴ Pour *Claris et Laris*, Corinne Füg-Pierreville, déclare au contraire: “Nous avons naturellement choisi de traduire l’octosyllabe, mètre narratif, par la prose”. Parallèlement, les traducteurs de *Partonopeu de Blois* défendent le choix de “la prose pour la version moderne plutôt que celui d’une traduction en vers [choix qui] garantira sans doute à notre adaptation une plus grande adéquation avec l’esprit du texte et une meilleure fluidité pour le lecteur d’aujourd’hui” (O. COLLET et P.-M. JORIS, 58).

3. La fidélité est une arme paradoxale. D’un côté, le traducteur déclare s’effacer pour des raisons morales: “nous nous sommes efforcé de rendre, avec autant de probité que possible, le texte que nous avons établi”; mais, de l’autre, le même ne trouve pas “inconvenant d’adopter tel ou tel équivalent hardi” (GROS 2009, 1582). Ce paradoxe a des conséquences sur la tendance à faire de nombre de traductions actuelles des décalques des œuvres médiévales dans une langue artificielle de traduction (langue inexistante ?) que Berman nomme le “clerquois”.

Traduire les deux romans de *Mélusine*.

Conscients de ses questionnements et de ces enjeux, nous avons défendu, Matthew Morris et moi-même, un principe fondateur: faire de l’altérité une vertu et, en conséquence, traduire en gardant la “bonne distance”, aussi bien vis à vis du respect de la lettre du texte médiéval que du penchant ethno-centriste à en faire une œuvre contemporaine.

Nous avons d’abord fait le choix de traduire. En regard des chacune des deux narrations, celle de Jean d’Arras et celle de Couldrette, est donc présentée sa traduction intégrale. Ce vœu semble peut-être regrettable à ceux qui refusent de faire passer la “niveleuse de la traduction”, selon la jolie expression de May Plouzeau (2001, 243), sur le texte-source et aux défenseurs de la conception du “même au même”. Le lecteur du XXI^e siècle pourrait, disent-ils, au prix d’un peu de bienveillance, aller à la découverte de cette langue du Moyen Âge flamboyant aux allures à première vue si familières. Eclairé par les notes historiques et philologiques, l’original devrait le satisfaire, évitant ainsi le soupçon qui plane sur le résultat d’une traduction,

4. Comme “En peu de temps je suis tombé / par son fait de si haut en bas” qui traduit *An þo d’ore m’a abessié / Voirement de si haut si bas.* (v. 6476–77).

souvent douteux et mutilant. Mais la connaissance, plus ou moins exacte, de l'origine historique ou culturelle d'une œuvre littéraire, de sa tradition manuscrite et des traits propres à son expression, donne-t-elle accès à la signification, niant ainsi l'intérêt de sa traduction ?

Une raison complémentaire plaide en faveur de la traduction des aventures des Lusignan, elle tient à la fameuse altérité du Moyen Âge et à l'incessante fascination qu'elle exerce de nos jours. Ce temps que nous aspirons à connaître paraît proche: des pans entiers de sa langue, de sa culture, de son art, de sa foi semblent accessibles. N'est-ce pas ce sentiment de familiarité qui s'impose en ouvrant une page de *Mélusine* ? En réalité, le Moyen Âge est inexorablement loin de nous. L'altérité de ses œuvres est un fait. Divers traits incontestables, d'ordre culturel, historique et linguistique, creusent l'étrangeté qui nous écarte de l'époque de nos deux romans, d'autant plus quand son accès prend l'allure d'une séduisante proximité. Bref, il fallait traduire.

Je voudrais voir maintenant comment ces principes généraux ont inspiré, de façon différente, nos traductions particulières, celle de la prose de Jean d'Arras et celle des vers de Couldrette.

Conséquence directe du principe que je viens de souligner, nous avons admis, en premier lieu, qu'une traduction est une transformation, maîtrisée par le souci de servir le sens de l'œuvre.⁵ Quel sens ?

Dans le prolongement des observations avancées dans mon introduction de la *Mélusine* de Jean d'Arras (2003), je me suis adossé à l'idée selon laquelle ce roman exprime un véritable mythe qui, comme il se doit, appelle une multiplicité d'écritures génériques. En second lieu, j'ai tenu compte de l'évidence: Jean d'Arras offre à la lecture une masse imposante, aux ramifications narratives complexes témoignant souvent d'un indiscutable attrait pour l'emphase (voir CERQUIGLINI 1981, 13); ce récit use et abuse, par ailleurs, des termes réalistes et techniques. Si tant est qu'il soit compréhensible, ce récit est-il alors lisible, ce qui est loin d'être identique ? Ces constats de départ ont engagé les options suivantes.

Premièrement, ils ont conduit à privilégier le lexique concret et figuratif, quitte à conserver tels quels certains termes. C'est ainsi que, sans excès d'originalité, j'ai traduit l'expression *en la vertu (de ta chamberiere Nature,*

5. La conservation de la division en chapitre et des paragraphes tels que les indiquent les rubriques, les dessins colorés et les lettres capitales peintes de notre manuscrit s'inscrit dans cette même perspective. Ces caractéristiques ne sont pas seulement formelles, ce sont des procédés esthétiques chargés de significations.

8va) par “dans les mains (de la nature, ta servante)” sans ignorer que le substantif *vertu* est généralement porteur d’un sens modal et abstrait (“pouvoir”, “puissance”, “disposition”). C’est le même souci qui a incité à traduire le vocabulaire abstrait (comme *preud’homme*). Pour les phrases sentencieuses et les proverbes, je n’ai pas cherché les équivalences modernes. La terrible menace de Geoffroy: *je (. . .) mettray tout en feu et en flambe* (119vb), n’est pas rendue par le tentant “je mettrai tout à feu et à sang”, mais par: “j’y mettrai le feu, tout flambra”. J’ai conservé les proverbes ayant des énoncés modernes quasi-identiques, renforçant alors l’allure stéréotypée de ces propositions en introduisant parfois “dit-on”, absent de l’original. Par exemple “Ne dit-on pas : À peuple indigent, seigneur mendiant ?” translate *Car se peuple est povre, le seigneur est mendiz* (44vb).

Comme le fait le manuscrit, je me suis efforcé de conserver les mots différents qui expriment une même notion (tenir compte, notamment, du fait qu’une tour peut-être *crenelee*, *guerlandee* ou *couronnee*); par ailleurs, dans la mesure du possible, et sans excès de témérité, il a paru judicieux de retrouver les sonorités originales et de respecter les formes lexicales peu attestées (“décourage” pour *descuerre*, par exemple 96vb) en évitant la paraphrase. Conformément aux résultats de la comparaison des 37 textes évoquée plus haut, j’ai tenté de préserver la syntaxe arborescente de cette écriture, ses prolepses, ses retours incantatoires, un certain rythme (pas toujours le sien), la variation alternative des temps de la narration, les faveurs qu’elle accorde aux répétitions et aux doublets. Enfin, j’ai pris en compte cette “polylogie informe” et irrégulière du roman dont j’ai parlé à l’instant, la variété des tons propres à chaque genre: prologue et épilogue philosophiques, qu’il ne s’agit pas, avant tout, de rendre clairs. Aristote est-il clair ? Il a fallu tenir compte non seulement des caractères des épisodes usant de la prose narrative sans contours nets et sans rythme harmonieux dont a bien parlé Jens Rasmussen (1958, 43), mais des nombreux récits brefs, des divers passages didactiques (relevant du genre “Miroir des Princes”) et des épisodes épiques (aventures outre-mer des fils de Mélusine) ou encore de ceux qui ressemblent à des chroniques historiques.

Je passe à la traduction de Couldrette qui, parce qu’elle est fondée — je le répète — sur les mêmes principes, paradoxalement, suit des pistes tout à fait singulières. Nous avons adopté une présentation versifiée, ce qui la distingue du travail en prose de Laurence Harf-Lancner (1993) traduisant la version établie par Eleanor Roach. C’est que, dans le prolongement des observations littéraires que Matthew et moi-même présentons dans notre introduction, nous avons voulu que la traduction de Couldrette expose la vision — très différente en cela de Jean d’Arras — du romanesque qui ins-

pire sa narration. Le regard nostalgique du récit en vers nous a incités à traduire dans la volonté précise de faire mine, à notre tour, d'obliquer vers le vieillot. D'où les deux effets suivants.

Le premier tient à l'usage du vers, mais d'un vers libre et rythmé par une mesure qui peut être différente de celle du poème de Couldrette. Cette "distance" a conduit à ne pas sauvegarder systématiquement l'octosyllabe, ni à maintenir méthodiquement les rimes de notre modèle, sauf quand le français moderne s'y prêtait. Par exemple, "Je mettrai mon corps, ma pensée et mon cœur / À rehausser votre honneur" (v. 662–63) ou "De son corps, l'âme s'en est allée./ Qu'à Dieu elle soit recommandée !" (v. 2331–32).

Seconde conséquence : le recours volontaire à un vocabulaire évoquant une époque révolue ("Dieu te pardonne toutes les fautes / Que tu as commises à mon encontre", par exemple; v. 4081–82) et à des tours syntaxiques un peu surannés, comme : "À la mêlée, grande est la clameur : / *Lusignan* ! lancent-ils à pleins poumons" (v. 1944–45) ou encore "Arrivent à la tête de nombreux Poitevins / Qui sont nourris de très bons vins" (v. 2417–18 ; "Se nourrir de vins" ne se dit — malheureusement ? — plus . . .).

Il est temps de conclure. Certes, comme l'écrit Daniel O'Sullivan dans la *Préface* de notre édition de Couldrette, notre "monde où la volonté de connaissance et de puissance tend à débusquer les traces de l'imaginaire a besoin d'histoires comme celle de *Mélusine*" (2009, x). Mais comment accéder à cette œuvre écrite au xve siècle, comment goûter ses aventures si la langue qui les raconte reste incomprise ? Pour la plus grande partie du public contemporain, la traduction est le *medium* nécessaire pour lire et aimer cette légende qui permet de "découvrir les vestiges de cultures éloignées que n'effrayaient ni monstres ni merveilles" (2009, x). Traduire les œuvres médiévales, comme *Mélusine*, n'est donc pas seulement un exercice technique, c'est une activité linguistique majeure qui engage des choix esthétiques et culturels fondamentaux.

Au cours du temps, dynamique et heureux, passé à penser, faire et parfaire notre traduction du poème de Couldrette, Matthew m'a donné l'occasion, de ne pas sombrer dans le dangereux non-traduire français et de féconder la vie de la langue française qu'il aimait tant et qu'il parlait si "bellement". Je l'en remercie très sincèrement.

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Book Reviews

Edited by Heather Allen

DAVIS, CAROLINE and DAVID JOHNSON, eds., *The Book in Africa: Critical Debates*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. ISBN 978-1-137-40161-8. Pp: xii + 280. Hardback \$95.

This ambitious volume introduces a range of debates about the book in Africa through an impressive set of case studies. The aim is to address the marginalization of Africa within book history and to challenge Eurocentric histories of the relationship between “Africa” and the “Book”. If this seems rather grand, the detailed case studies ensure that it never becomes abstract. In each of the eleven chapters, a specialist offers an in-depth analysis of a specific literary field, from Alessandro Gori’s discussion of Islamic printing in Ethiopia (chapter three) to Joyce B. Ashuntantang’s account of the digital dissemination of creative writing in Cameroon (chapter eleven). The geographical, historical and cultural range is admirable, and the book offers a rich resource for further research.

The book is in three parts, structured around three broad critical debates. Part One, “From Script to Print”, examines “the complex transitions between oral, manuscript and print cultures, challenging what constitutes a ‘book’ and a ‘reader’” (6) through case studies from the Cape Colony, Morocco, Ethiopia, and Mali. It is not quite fair to say, as the editors do, that the question of what constitutes a “book” and a “reader” has been “neglected” in book history and postcolonial studies (6). Nevertheless, it is true that we must rethink these concepts if we are to seriously attend to the complex history of oral, manuscript, and print cultures in Africa. The essays themselves certainly require us to do this, from Archie L. Dick’s examination of the role of readers in copying and circulating pamphlets, hymnbooks and handmade booklets in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in South Africa, to Fawzi Abdulrazak’s account of printing in Morocco, beginning in 1865 when Morocco’s first book was printed and ending in 1912 when the country lost its independence to France.

Parts Two and Three address neglected territory in book history and postcolonial studies. Part Two examines print cultures and the book in relation to African politics and economics, considering the function of the book in profiteering, constituting political communities, and “mediating relationships between economic and cultural capital” (6). The essays are excellent again, including two contributions from the editors: Caroline Davis’s much-needed account of the Longmans book empire in Africa and its historical legacy; and David Johnson’s lucid account of South African print culture from the decade between the South African War (1899–1902) to the moment of Union (1910). Like Dick, Johnson suggests that his findings pose a challenge to Benedict Anderson’s widely-cited “print-capitalism” thesis, according to which nations are communities imagined principally through the medium of the printed word. Johnson closes with the important and unanswered question: “how are the histories of the millions of Africans without access to published texts to be registered?” (121). This question is of broader significance to scholars of book history across the globe and of different periods. In the specific context of South Africa, Johnson reminds us that in 1910 this “excluded constituency amounted to about eighty per cent of the population” and warns that debates in African book histories run the risk of forgetting such constituencies, along with their histories, cultures, and political agency (121). This also speaks to the urgent questions raised by Davis: who is included or excluded from publishing processes; whose voices are publicized or silenced; what remains in archives and what is discarded or forgotten?

Part Three, “The Making of African Literature”, extends these questions, taking a closer look at twentieth-century literary institutions in order to investigate the relationship between African literature and “its multiple book-historical, print-cultural and online/ebook contexts” (6). Literary institutions are scrutinized again, with a particular focus on the literary prize and the publisher. Familiar institutions like Heinemann and the Caine Prize for African Writing come under fresh scrutiny.

Essay after essay in this book raises the difficult question of the relation between politics and literary production. Jack Hogan and Giacomo Macola write of Lozi history and ethnic politics in Zambia; Gori examines the political role of print culture in strengthening Islamic identity and consciousness in Ethiopia; Nourdin Bejjit discusses the links between the “ideological transitions” in James Ngugi’s fiction in the 1960s and his relationship with Heinemann Educational Books. Ruth Bush and Claire Ducournau analyze the Grand prix littéraire de l’Afrique noire (Grand literary prize of Black Africa), arguing that the awarding organization, the

Association des écrivains de langue française (Association of Writers in French; ADELFI), has sought to move beyond its Parisian base, but the political weight of its financial backing confirms that its “goals and strategies have been bound up with the politics of French cultural hegemony” (217–218). Shamil Jeppie offers a fascinating account of book history in Timbuktu from the early twentieth century to the present, finding that difficult political conditions did not stop the reading, writing, copying and collecting of books, but in some cases actually opened up opportunities to become more engaged in these activities. Elizabeth le Roux takes a critical look at the politics of academic publishing through an examination of South Africa’s oldest university press, Witwatersrand University Press (WUP). Le Roux questions its frequent association with oppositional or anti-apartheid publishing, arguing that WUP’s publications suggest that the press was “far more acquiescent towards apartheid policies” (176), partly because it operated within the constraints of a publicly funded institution of higher education, and partly because it did not resist the government’s censorship regime (192).

There are no simple conclusions to be drawn: the issues are broad and complex, and a book this size can only hope to offer insights. Nevertheless, this is an important volume because it directs our attention to difficult questions, including that of the relationship between socio-historical contexts and literary production. The book will be valuable to the fields of book history and postcolonial studies, not only because it demonstrates the need for new critical approaches to the book in Africa but also for the challenges it poses to the broader discipline of book history.

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REZEK, JOSEPH. *London and the Making of Provincial Literature: Aesthetics and the Transatlantic Book Trade, 1800–1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. ISBN 978-0-8122-4734-3. Pp. vii + 286. Hardcover \$59.95.

Joseph Rezek’s *London and the Making of Provincial Literature* identifies London as the shared center of influence for a transatlantic Anglophone book trade during the first decades of the nineteenth century. In particular, he traces the exchange of strategies among certain white fiction writers—Maria Edgeworth, Sydney Owenson, Walter Scott, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper—who collectively exhibit what Rezek calls an

“aesthetics of provinciality”. The term “names the representational modes of Irish, Scottish, and American fiction that devised new theories of literature’s distinctiveness from the tense crucible of subordination” (8). Though the authors wrote about and from their own colonial and post-colonial nationalisms, London’s importance as the book trade’s central marketplace meant that they had to modulate divisive nationalisms in favor of a universalizing literary model that would appeal to a metropolitan set of publishers, booksellers, and readers. They therefore downplayed separatism and conflict in favor of transcendent cultural exchange that used literature as the apolitical realm of communication and communion. Rezek claims that the importance of his book, especially for Americanists, is that it demonstrates how “fundamentally transatlantic provinciality was”, as evidenced in the ways these white authors from Ireland, the U.S., and Scotland were in conversation with and influencing each other (7). Unlike other studies that have addressed these literary histories separately, he contends that attentiveness to transatlantic provinciality reveals the “interdependen[ce]” of “the history of books with the history of aesthetics” (8).

Rezek lays out the argument and scope of his book in the introduction, noting that by mid-century, London’s importance had been offset by the emergence of a U.S. marketplace. In the epilogue, Rezek demonstrates how Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Scarlet Letter* epitomizes that shift, wherein British and American marketplaces are both present, neither dominating. In between the introduction and epilogue, the book follows a tripartite structure. The first two chapters plumb book trade records to demonstrate the ways that provincial booksellers and publishers negotiated copyright laws and geographic distance in order to acquire and sell books. Here, Rezek is interested not in the reprint trade, but in new works. He identifies the 1801 Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland as the piece of legislation that cemented London as the center of the Anglophone book trade for the next several decades. The back-and-forth between metropolitan and provincial nodes emerges as a courtship wherein provincial players must find matchmaking agents in London to cajole early copies and other forms of access. These chapters craft narratives from the scattered minutiae of business records and letters, highlighting London’s importance.

In the next section, chapters three to five, Rezek traces something of an arc that moves from Ireland to the U.S. to Scotland in order to explain the evolution and exchange of the aesthetics of provinciality. In chapter three, he argues that novels by Irish authors Edgeworth and Owenson should not be seen solely as national tales that favor reconciliation between Ireland and England through the use of a romantic plot that ends in marriage

between a *Wild Irish Girl* and a usually Anglicized suitor (64). Rather, their narratives moderate political difference due to the economic demands of a London marketplace that eschews a separatist Irish nationalism. In the next chapter, Rezek turns to Washington Irving's *The Sketch Book*. Though initially he published much of it in the U.S., Irving made revisions in order to secure a British copyright. Comparing the American originals to the British edition—the latter since becoming the preferred version—Rezek demonstrates how Irving engaged in “transatlantic revision” in order to appeal to a London marketplace that might not enjoy reading about American exceptionalism or understand regional American English or references. By altering what London audiences might read as incomprehensible and nationalist language, Irving retained his cultural authority and transformed *The Sketch Book* into a work of fiction that highlights literature as a place of cultural exchange transcending political divisiveness. In the section's last chapter, Rezek turns to Cooper and Scott and demonstrates how both authors treat literature as an opportunity to emphasize provincial-metropolitan intimacy. Throughout, Rezek links these authors together, noting how the London marketplace gave them access to each others' books, so that they might witness and employ the aesthetics of provinciality.

In the final section and last chapter, Rezek takes up a different subject—reader responses. He argues that, unlike provincial publishers, booksellers, and authors, provincial readers recovered the nationalisms that had been revised away for the London marketplace. Thus two provincial spheres emerge—one of producers and sellers, another of buyers and readers. The former sphere exchanges strategies in order to transcend nationalist politics and gain access to London; the latter writes those politics back in through marginalia and other textual responses. When it came to travel accounts, for example, provincial readers and periodical editors denounced incorrect or insulting characterizations of their homes by writing corrections in the margins of their books—“Lying! lying! Lying!!!” (158)—or printing corrective reviews. In the U.S., Americans found nationalist inspiration in Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* and adopted its Scottish war anthem, thus inaugurating a practice that continues today: playing “Hail to the Chief” to salute the U.S. President. In short, provincial readers found models for their own local nationalisms in the revolutions and patriotisms of their provincial counterparts.

Rezek's treatment of the early nineteenth-century American market as provincial and transatlantic rather than incipiently and hemispherically imperial encourages a welcome conversation about the shared strategies of

U.S., Irish, and Scottish book cultures. His book implicitly urges scholars to think about how the book trades as legal and economic ventures were as much a part of the Anglophone colonial system as the more familiar commodities of sugar and cotton, even when the U.S. was no longer colonial. And because novels transmitted ideas in addition to goods, they offered ways of reading that system which were not always in accord with instrumental and local politics and considerations. Rezek repeats at multiple points that the Romantic ideal of transcendent literature was as much a philosophy as a pragmatic strategy for a provincial marketplace that needed to appeal to London. His book highlights that future work should examine how colonialisms are bounded by economic and aesthetic patterns, not simply revolutions and political documents. While at one point he states that responses to colonialism and the “uneven distribution of cultural capitalism” are distinct, his book suggests that they are in fact inextricably linked (64). The American Revolution did not produce a clean separation between colonial and national periods. In being persuasive about the long persistence of American provinciality, Rezek’s book argues against solely nationalist approaches to book history and textual cultures. As a result, his introductory reminder that his project “does not directly address the print culture of the early black Atlantic” (a subject he has begun addressing elsewhere) underscores the need to explore how the economics and legalities of the book trade not only facilitated the exchange of an aesthetics of provinciality, but also an aesthetics of racism and imperialism throughout the century and beyond (20).

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TODOROVIC, JELENA, *Dante and the Dynamics of Textual Exchange: Authorship, Manuscript Culture, and the Making of the Vita Nova*. New York: Fordham, 2016. ISBN 978-0-8232-7023-1. Pp. 248. Hardback \$55.00.

Jelena Todorovic’s *Dante and the Dynamics of Textual Exchange: Authorship, Manuscript Culture and the Making of the Vita Nova* paints a detailed tableau of the young Dante’s received culture of reading and writing, and is a welcome contribution on the subject of Dante’s largely undocumented literary formation.

In chapter one Todorovic argues that Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy* is a significant yet underrecognized philosophical source for the *Vita Nova*.

While the *Consolation* was used as an intermediate grammar text in Florentine schools, she argues that Dante mines it for philosophical substance. His poetic shift to the self-sufficient *stilo de la loda*—aiming to praise Beatrice without recompense—seems rooted in the *Consolation*'s conclusion that secure happiness must be independent of fortune, and can be found in the philosophical pursuit of truth. But Todorovic risks overstatement in claiming that “through Boethius Dante became aware of the insignificance of transitory things” (65); here she might consider the poet's other sources on stoicism or religious praise poetry. This does not, however, mar her reading of the *Vita Nova* as a “consolation of poetry” (60), in which Dante's roles as author, glossator, compiler, and scribe create a “manual” for writing poetry in that it returns over and over again to the inventive process” (57); the grieving poet's “search for [. . .] consolation is parallel to the creation of the account of literary history” (65).

Chapter two examines Dante as scribe and commentator, proposing that the *Vita Nova*'s prose illuminates Dante's pedagogical formation and represents an important first intervention in self-authorization. Todorovic demonstrates that the list of poets appearing in Dante's discussion of literary history (VN par. 16 [XXV]) and later in the *Commedia*'s Limbo are those poetic *auctores* whose texts were used to teach grammar and interpretation in Florentine schools. She argues that Dante distances himself from his contemporaries and aligns himself with this canon worthy of exegetical interpretation. To that end, Dante weaves an *accessus ad auctores*, traditionally used to introduce canonical texts and Scripture in the medieval classroom, into the presentation of his own poems. Todorovic argues that “we should understand the prose and the whole of the *Vita Nova* as a defense of [Dante's] intentions and a clarification of the circumstances that surrounded the composition of the poems” (82); it theorizes “how [poetry] is conceived, how it is produced, how it is part of a wider and longer intellectual context in history” (95).

Dante's scribal and exegetical personas are again addressed in Chapter three, this time taking up his likely influences in Old Occitan poetry. While there exists no certain evidence that Dante had direct contact with Occitan verse, Todorovic's argument for Dante's exposure to influential manuscripts in Florence leaves little room for doubt. First, she accounts for the mingling of the Occitan, Sicilian, and Tuscan traditions during Dante's poetic formation in Florence. She notes that the prose *vidas* (lives) and *razos* (accounts) accompanying Occitan verse in Italy functioned as *accessus ad auctores* and mediated between the cultures of the Occitan diaspora in Italy and of the Italian courts where the poetry was performed. The

vidas and *razos* eventually circulated in manuscripts independently of the poetry, as proto-novellas that narrated literary history, as they recounted the life events that prompted poets to write. Two key Florentine manuscripts in Todorovic's study incorporate a *cobla* from the lyric into each *vida* and *razo*, anticipating Dante's prosimetrum, while also giving him a precedent for the exegesis of vernacular lyric. In Dante's case, it is the author himself who, in language reminiscent of the *vidas* and *razos*, desires to "explain in prose" (*aprire per prosa*) his poems in *ragioni* (accounts, *razos*). Todorovic's most striking and original argument is that the paratextual elements of the Florentine Occitan manuscripts—the emphasis of exegetical prose through rubrication and spatial arrangement, and the de-emphasis of poetry through truncation—indicate that the compilers were highly attuned to the role of the juxtaposition of prose and verse on the page in telling a story. Here Dante has a source for the temporal split between the two modes of writing which, as a literary device, allows "insight into the poetic process: what triggers it and how it develops" (127).

Todorovic's final chapter examines a group of poetic anthologies that reflect the formal, aesthetic, and political tastes of specific poetic communities in Dante's Florence. Dante's innovations as a compiler are both "poetic, reflected in the change of the subject matter [his shift to praising Beatrice]; and material, pertaining to mixing literary genres and introduction of prose" (137). Yet this far into her study, her interrogation of the "wide range of Italian literary and scribal forms and genres" (137) informing Dante's choice of prosimetrum no longer seems to be a fresh question, and the chapter might have been better positioned as the book's introduction. Indeed, here we find the best articulation of Dante's five roles (protagonist, compiler, author, scribe, and commentator) and some nuanced readings demonstrating how Dante combines these roles to thematize the materiality of textual transmission. The technical terms of the study pertaining to genre, form, and the entire process of bookmaking also receive their clearest treatment in these final pages, which make it a good place to begin, especially for a reader unfamiliar with the *Vita Nova*.

As Todorovic acknowledges, in lieu of textual proof of which works and codices Dante encountered, scholars must adopt a hermeneutic approach to teasing out the many threads woven through a text as complex as the *Vita Nova*. She is most successful and convincing in the second and third chapters' analyses of the manuscript cultures of Dante's Florence. Here, she offers a compelling narrative for certain aspects of the *Vita Nova*—the apparent pedantry and repetition of the commentator's interventions, the oddly-placed literary history at the heart of the work, the temporal and

spatial dynamics emerging through the prosimetrum and the multitasking authorial persona — that continue to puzzle modern readers, specialists and novices alike.

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FOUNDED IN 1979, THE SOCIETY FOR TEXTUAL SCHOLARSHIP is devoted to providing a forum, in its biennial conferences and in its journal *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation* (formerly *Text*) for the discussion of the implications of current research in a variety of textual disciplines. The Society has also recently added a blog on its website and the option of smaller workshop conferences to be hosted by various institutes and universities during the years when the biennial conference does not take place. The 2012 conference at the University of Texas–Austin was organized by Matt Cohen and Coleman Hutchison. Steve Jones and Peter Shillingsburg served as organizers of the 2013 conference at Loyola University, Chicago. In 2014 the Society will be hosted by the University of Washington at Seattle. Jeffrey Knight and Geoffrey Turnovsky head up the organizing committee on behalf of the University of Washington and the Society. For future conference information, please see the Society's website

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