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Introduction : The Widening Circles of Genetic Criticism

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Genetic Criticism in Motion

New Perspectives on Manuscript Studies

Edited by Sakari Katajamäki and Veijo Pulkkinen
Associate Editor Tommi Dunderlin

Studia Fennica
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Table of Contents

Sakari Katajamäki and Veijo Pulkkinen
Introduction: The Widening Circles of Genetic Criticism 7

I Writing Technologies

Wim Van Mierlo
1. Genetic Criticism and Modern Palaeography: The Cultural Forms of Modern Literary Manuscripts 17

Veijo Pulkkinen
2. A Curious Thing: Typescripts and Genetic Criticism 33

II Digitality and Genetic Criticism

Dirk Van Hulle
3. The Logic of Versions in Born-Digital Literature 61

Paolo D'Iorio
4. The Genetic Edition of Nietzsche's Work 74

III Draft Reading

Mateusz Antoniuk
5. Dying in Nine Ways: Genetic Criticism and the Proliferation of Variants 93

Julia Holter
6. The Translation Draft as Debt Negotiation Space: Underlying Forces of the Collaborative Translation of Vadim Kozovoï's *Hors de la colline* (1984) 118

IV Multimodality

Claire Doquet and Solène Audebert-Poulet
7. Text and Illustrations as Producers of Meaning: A Genetic Study of a Children's Illustrated Book 135

Hanna Karhu
8. Use of Folklore in a Writing Process of Poetry: Rewritings of Folk Songs and References to Oral Poetry in Otto Manninen's Early Manuscripts 155

List of Contributors 175
Abstract 178
Index 179

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Introduction: The Widening Circles of Genetic Criticism

In 2001, the pioneer genetic scholar Almuth Grésillon, who is the former director of ITEM — Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes, turned to reflect upon the past and future of genetic criticism in an essay aptly titled 'La critique génétique, aujourd'hui et demain' (Genetic criticism, today and tomorrow). She states that the first two decades of the discipline saw many publications, public debates, and internal discussions, and she asks: What is the fate of genetic criticism in the new millennium, especially in the context of the new media; can it survive the constantly changing trends in literary criticism; and should it perhaps be redefined somehow? (Grésillon 2001: 9.)

Looking back at Grésillon's review of genetic criticism today, after another twenty years, the first thing that comes to mind is that genetic criticism is no longer a single entity represented by ITEM, geographically situated in Paris, France, and linguistically dominated by the French language, as suggested in particular by the remark on internal discussions. Like Frankenstein's monster, genetic criticism has become a beast that can no longer be detained or controlled, or to use a more positive analogy, it is like a child flying the nest and starting an independent life. ITEM is still the home of genetic criticism, but it is not identified solely with it or restricted by it. The practice of genetic criticism is in motion: it has spread to a wide array of places and languages and it keeps developing in new directions.

Another thing that catches one's attention in Grésillon's review is the emphasis on literature. All her examples are from literary manuscripts, even those concerning drawings. With regard to the market fluctuations of research of literature, genetic criticism seems to have survived quite well along the years. Although it has often been stressed that genetic criticism brings a whole new perspective to literary criticism by studying manuscripts instead of published and printed text, by approaching text as a process rather than a fixed and finished entity, it can also be combined with various types and branches of literary theory and criticism and diverse writing practices. For example, Alice Wood has integrated 'feminist-historicist' analysis with genetic criticism in her *Virginia Woolf's Late Cultural Criticism: The Genesis of 'The Years', 'Three Guineas' and 'Between the Acts'* (2013); Lars Bernaerts and Dirk Van Hulle have investigated the possibilities of combining genetic criticism and narratology in their article 'Narrative across Versions:

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Narratology Meets Genetic Criticism' (2013); Van Hulle has combined genetic criticism with cognitive narratology, especially the 'extended mind' thesis, in his *Modern Manuscripts: The Extended Mind and Creative Undoing from Darwin to Beckett and Beyond* (2014) and *Genetic Criticism: Tracing Creativity in Literature* (2022); and Alison Lacivita has merged ecocriticism with genetic criticism in *The Ecology of Finnegans Wake* (2015).

The perspectives of genetic criticism and translation studies have been combined in several books and special issues since the 1990s, such as *Génétique & traduction* (Bourjea 1995), *Traduire*, a special issue of *Genesis* (Durand-Bogaert 2014), *Towards a Genetics of Translation* (Cordingley & Montini 2015), and *Genetic Translation Studies: Conflict and Collaboration in Liminal Spaces* (Nunes, Moura & Pacheco Pinto 2020). Furthermore, scholarly editing that represents creative processes on the basis of writers' archives, such as the digital *Faustedition* (Goethe 2018) or the digital archive on Stendhal's manuscripts, *Les manuscrits de Stendhal* (Stendhal 2021), or several editions that stem from the Italian scholarly tradition of authorial philology (*filologia d'autore*) (see *Filologia d'autore* 2010–; Italia & Raboni et al. 2021) are useful and inspiring resources for all kinds of interests regarding the writers' oeuvre.

The original core of genetic criticism – studying writers' creative processes by studying their drafts and manuscripts – is still at the centre of the domain after the half a century since genetic criticism originated in Paris. However, during these decades, new kinds of target areas of study and new forms of written archival material have widened the field of study. Furthermore, different kinds of interdisciplinary intersections and new theoretical perspectives have expanded and will continue to expand the potential of the discipline.

Although the majority of genetic studies still focus on literary manuscripts today, there is a growing interest in non-literary creative processes. This is, for example, reflected by the number of special issues devoted to non-literary topics by the journal *Genesis: manuscrits, recherche, invention* that has increased considerably in the new millennium. Only one non-literary issue was published in the 1990s, whereas eleven non-literary issues were published in the 2000s and 2010s. Besides the aforementioned translation, the topics of these issues include music, architecture, scientific writing, philosophy, theatre, cinema, linguistics, orality, photography, and comics.[1] Today there are also non-literary research teams (philosophy, visual arts, linguistics) side by side with the many teams specializing in different literary periods and topics at ITEM (http://www.item.ens.fr/equipes/). The topics of the genetics of music and theatre are also discussed in the essay collection *Genetic Criticism and the Creative Process. Essays from Music, Literature, and Theater* (Kinderman & Jones 2009).

All of the abovementioned new target areas of genetic criticism bring along new theoretical and methodological impulses to the study of genetic processes, from art history to film studies. However, this kind of interdisciplinary cross-fertilization still has much unused potential and new pathways for development. Many other disciplines that share similar viewpoints, research interests, or objects of study with genetic criticism could

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

afford many more interdisciplinary benefits than have thus far been used. These kinds of disciplines cover many traditional humanistic fields, such as palaeography and biographical research as well as many interdisciplinary branches, such as didactics, creative writing studies, or artistic studies. Furthermore, creativity studies and genetic criticism have thus far not had much collaboration despite their shared common interest in human creativity.[2]

In her review, Almuth Grésillon (2001: 9–10) discussed the fate of genetic criticism which seemed to be in jeopardy in the digital age two decades ago, especially as the ever-increasing digitalization of the writing process seemed to wipe out all the traces of the writing process, leaving the genetic critic with just neat and tidy printouts. Digital technology and tools have since been widely adapted especially in scholarly and genetic editing, such as the pioneering Beckett Digital Manuscript Project directed by Dirk Van Hulle and Mark Nixon, and the CATCH 2020: Computer-Assisted Transcription of Complex Handwriting project at the University of Antwerp that has researched the possibility of exploiting automated Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) for genetic criticism and critical editing. Interestingly, Grésillon's (2001: 13–14) speculations about a word processor that would enable following the writing process in real time as it were a film, has become reality in some respects, as writing processes are now studied with the help of keystroke logging software that record all the keys that are struck on a keyboard (see, for instance, Bekius 2021; Bécotte-Boutin et al. 2019; Leijten & Van Waes 2013). Concerning the wiped-out traces of digital writing processes, digital forensics have provided methods and tools for the genetic study of born-digital manuscripts that make it possible to find traces (temporary files, metadata, deleted versions, and text fragments) of the writing process from storage media (Kirschenbaum 2008: 116–117; Ries 2018: 11–12).

What, then, is genetic criticism? What has it become during the past two decades? In her review, Grésillon rightly states that in order to survive in the digital age, genetic criticism has to give up the autograph deletion as the primary model of rewriting and extend the study of the creative process to other media, such as typescripts, audiotapes, videos, and digital documents (Grésillon 2001: 11–12). This extension of genetic research material has clearly happened, but the definition of genetic criticism could also be extended to explicitly include all possible sign systems and their respective material support besides linguistic writing that can be used as vehicles of creativity, such as auditory, visual, mathematical, and digital systems.

The current collection of essays stems from the conference *GENESIS – HELSINKI: Creative Processes and Archives in Arts and Humanities* that was organized in 2017 by the Finnish Literature Society – SKS and ITEM together with several other European institutes in the field of textual scholarship. The conference in Helsinki started a series of international and interdisciplinary conferences on genetic criticism with various topics. The idea has been to offer a multi-disciplinary and collaborative forum for researchers working with archival material and creative processes. After Helsinki, the subsequent editions of the conference took place in Cracow

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(2019), Oxford (2022), Taipei (2023), and the next one will be arranged in Bologna (2024). Despite the bond with the GENESIS conference series and the scholarly community around it, the current book does not comprise proceedings of the first conference, but is instead an independent and thematically organized collection evolving, for the most part, from the papers presented in Helsinki.

Apart from the introductory chapter, the collection is divided into four parts that illuminate different kinds of perspectives on genetic criticism or use different types of source material. The collection begins with the section Writing Technologies, which focuses on the material and medial aspects of manuscripts that deserve as much attention in genetic criticism as their verbal content. In his essay, 'Genetic Criticism and Modern Palaeography: The Cultural Forms of Modern Literary Manuscripts', Wim Van Mierlo discusses the topic on a more general level presenting a set of principles of manuscript analysis that could lay the foundation for a more rigorous and systematic palaeography of modern manuscripts. These include the description of handwriting, writing spaces, and the form and function of writing supports, whose relevance to revision analysis Van Mierlo illustrates with carefully chosen examples from English literature. The essay calls for a comparative study of the cultural aspects of the modern manuscript since the true understanding of palaeographic evidence necessitates an awareness of their sociohistorical, geographical and cultural situatedness.

The second essay, 'A Curious Thing: Typescripts and Genetic Criticism', concentrates on a particular writing technology, the typewriter, and could as such be described as a case study on modern palaeography suggested by Van Mierlo. In it, Pulkkinen draws attention to how little attention typescripts have received in genetic criticism in comparison with manuscripts, reflecting a common view of the inauthenticity and impersonality of typewriting which is also occasionally repeated in media philosophy. In his detailed examination of the role of the typewriter in the genesis of the unpublished poem 'Kuun pata' (The Cauldron of the Moon) by the Finnish poet and translator Elina Vaara (1903–1980), Pulkkinen demonstrates how forensic methods can be used in obtaining information concerning the dating of the poem and determining the different writing sessions.

The second part of the book, Digitality and Genetic Criticism, represents the two faces of digitalization in the context of genetic criticism: a solution and a challenge. Dirk Van Hulle's essay, 'The Logic of Versions in Born-Digital Literature', discusses the theoretical challenges that genetic criticism faces with born-digital writing processes. The study of live genetic writing processes with keystroke-logging software in particular produces data at such a detailed level of granularity that it threatens to render the traditional concept of version obsolete. The essay not only examines diverse definitions of the notion of version and demonstrates their unsuitability for the born-digital context, but also provides a pragmatic solution for the problem.

In genetic scholarly editing, digital technology and tools have solved many challenges related to the representation and making intelligible the genesis of works as well as in making them available to a wide audience. The essay 'The Genetic Edition of Nietzsche's Work' by Paolo D'Iorio presents

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

one such editorial project, namely the digital genetic edition of *The Wanderer and His Shadow* (1879) by Friedrich Nietzsche. The edition is based on the same documents as Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari's critical edition of Nietzsche's works, although it is reformatted according to a different logic. The essay explains the differences between a critical and a genetic editing and demonstrates the capabilities of the digital genetic edition to present the development of the philosopher's thought from one jotting, sketch, and manuscript to another.

The third part of the book, Draft Reading, discusses the multiphase processes of writing and translating by using several drafts and versions that show different phases of the creative processes and the variety of competing ideas. Mateusz Antoniuk's essay 'Dying in Nine Ways: Genetic Criticism and the Proliferation of Variants' examines the unpublished and unfinished work *Narzeczona Attyli* (Attila's Betrothed) by the Polish poet, essayist, and playwright Zbigniew Herbert (1924–1998). Since the essay concentrates on the nine versions of the final paragraphs of Herbert's drafts, Antoniuk's study has intriguing points of contact with Gustave Flaubert's short story *Un cœur simple,* 'A Simple Heart', that Raymonde Debray Genette studied in her essay 'Flaubert's "A Simple Heart", or How to Make an Ending: A Study of the Manuscripts' (Debray Genette 2004). The complexity of several literary drafts and versions gets new perspectives in Julia Holter's essay 'The Translation Draft as Debt Negotiation Space' that focuses on the translation of poetry and collaborative translation processes. The essay examines the rich genetic dossier of Vadim Kozovoï's (1937–1999) bilingual book of poetry *Hors de la colline* / *Прочь от холма* (1984, [Get] away from the hill). The Russian poet and philosopher Kozovoï translated his poem into French by himself with the help of two eminent French poets, Michel Deguy (1930–2022) and Jacques Dupin (1927–2012). Many traces of the collaborative translation can be found in the genetic dossier that comprise up to ten drafts or versions of each poem.

The final part of the book is devoted to the genetic processes of multimodal texts. This part starts with Claire Doquet's and Solène Audebert-Poulet's essay 'Text and Illustrations as Producers of Meaning: A Genetic Study of a Children's Illustrated Book' that deals with the archival material of an illustrated book, *Puisque c'est ça, je pars* (2018; Since that's it, I'm leaving) by the children's book author Yvan Pommaux (b. 1946). The material discussed in the essay comprises different kinds of documents where Pommaux drafted the story and sketched the illustrations of the book. Hanna Karhu, on the other hand, approaches the multimodal aspects of writing from the angles of orality and singing in her essay 'Use of Folklore in a Writing Process of Poetry'. She discusses how the Finnish poet and translator Otto Manninen (1872–1950) has rewritten folk songs and how his early manuscripts contain references to oral poetry, both Kalevala-metric poems and rhyming folk songs.

At the beginning of this introduction, we referred to Almuth Grésillon's question at the turn of the new millennium as to whether genetic criticism should be redefined. Since then, the textual conditions and environments of the discipline have continued to change. However, despite the evolution of

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

analytical methods and the changing objects of study, the fundamental need to study genetic processes, as they appear through the study of the genetic dossier of the creative work, has remained the same. Nevertheless, genetic criticism will continue to generate new forms of study and new scholarly identities as it finds innovative fields of creativity or develops methods for new kinds of sources. Furthermore, the research interests of genetic criticism will develop as it curiously seeks new relationships with other disciplines and shifting paradigms and enters into dialogue with new geographical, cultural, and linguistic regions with their own characteristics. The discipline of genetic criticism in itself is a process and in constant motion.

Now that the long-awaited book is complete, we would like to thank all the authors and others involved in the project. On behalf of the GENESIS conference, the editorial committee of the book consisted of Hanna Karhu, Christophe Leblay, and ourselves. We are particularly grateful to the Associate Editor Tommi Dunderlin, whose contribution to the project was invaluable.

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Notes

1 Respectively, in issues 1993: 4 and 2010: 31; 2000: 14; 2003: 20; 2003: 22; 2005: 26; 2007: 28; 2012: 35; 2014: 39; 2015: 40; and 2016: 43.

2 This shared interest manifests itself, for instance, in the name of the recently launched research institute, Centre for Creativity Research (Jagiellonian University, Cracow), that stems from the research fields of genetic criticism and textual studies.

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I Writing Technologies

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1. Genetic Criticism and Modern Palaeography: The Cultural Forms of Modern Literary Manuscripts

The study of literary manuscripts has been a fruitful undertaking for understanding creative processes and composition histories. The focus of attention in these investigations, however, lies primarily with aspects of textual evolution and revision. Although genetic criticism purports to study *writing*, the 'material' manifestation of that writing and its relevance to understanding the creative process are often only of secondary concern. The use of the term *avant-texte* is indicative of this. While it maintains its link with the physical draft, giving an empirical grounding to a conception of writing that otherwise remains abstract, the *avant-texte* is in fact a composite editorial construct that stands at several removes from the archive (de Biasi 2004: 43–44). Manuscripts, however, are so much more than text: their physical forms and attributes have a story to tell as well.[1]

The scholarly analysis, and methodological principles on which that analysis must be based, of the physical and cultural forms of modern manuscripts and drafts is not yet on the same footing as that for manuscripts of earlier periods. Palaeography (from Gk. *Palaiograph*, meaning 'ancient writing') emerged as a field of study in the late seventeenth century concerned with the study of handwriting and the history of scripts from ancient times and the Middle Ages. It was expanded in the nineteenth century to include codicology, which studies the physical aspects of manuscripts and their production. Appending the adjective 'modern' to palaeography creates of course an oxymoron, but it is for now the best way to indicate an expansion of the field to include manuscripts from more recent times that generally belong to the remit of genetic criticism.

One of the fundamental issues that modern palaeography should address is how we interpret the evidence of revision. By this I mean not just the verbal changes, but also non-verbal marks such as cancellations, strike-throughs, text blocking, etc., as well as any other aspects related to handwriting and the use of the page. Reconstructing all of these 'authorial acts on the page' (Bushell 2009: 164) falls within the purview of genetic criticism, which considers 'literature as a *doing* [or *making*] ('*un faire*'), as an activity, as a movement' (Grésillon 1997: 106). In practice, however, genetic criticism prefers questions about process that are palpable rather than those that seem less circumscribed and more ambient. Questions such as the

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following, therefore, require a different tool set that modern palaeography can provide. What does the quality and clarity of the hand reveal about composition? What can the material spaces of writing reveal and how do we make sense of it? What purpose and function, and what impact, does the document (or 'support') have on the writing? Is there a correlation between the support (e.g., loose leaves or a notebook) a writer chooses and the creative economies that she applies? These questions about the physical nature of the manuscripts lead, furthermore, to an even larger one: What bearing do cultural practices and transhistorical customs of writing have on the way we understand manuscripts and the creative process that is reflected within them? Taken together, these questions constitute an archaeology of the manuscript.

By way of some carefully chosen examples from English literature, I aim to explore in this essay some of the ways an analysis of palaeographical evidence can inform the work of genetic criticism. Specifically, I want to demonstrate that an investigation of the physical evidence is not just auxiliary to 'actual' genetic work, but that its methods are fundamental to the understanding of the creative process and thus to genetic criticism. I do so, too, in the understanding that no such method as yet exists. An important secondary ambition of this essay is therefore to outline some basic palaeographical principles that can help with the establishment of modern palaeography as a field.[2]

Handwriting

How to describe handwriting is a difficult matter. A contemporary characterized W. H. Auden's hand as resembling something 'an airborne daddy long-legs might have managed with one dangling leg' (qtd. in Sullivan 2015: 6). But while this is suggestive of a hand that is idiosyncratic and difficult to read, the description is highly subjective and not very meaningful. A systematic categorization of modern handwriting is complex for a variety of reasons. The most important of these is the gradual disappearance of the teaching of formal models. Although we might think this only happened during the last couple of decades when the teaching of writing in primary schools grew less widespread, the issue is much older. On the one hand, different models proliferated from the nineteenth century onwards, an evolution that came to a head in the 1920s and 1930s when educationalists began to think about ways to make the teaching of writing easier (see Sassoon 1999: x, 45, 59–61).[3] On the other hand, taught models rarely stick. Not only does the handwriting of any individual become more unique and idiosyncratic as she reaches maturity, the inevitable trade-off between speed and legibility means that formal hands, which require greater precision and thus slow down the writing, are abandoned. Furthermore, as formal hands were developed by professional writing masters, not all models were terribly efficient; many were simply too ornate, and the differences – between, for instance, modern round hand, running hand and Italian hand that Joseph Campion and George Bickham presented in their *Penmanship Exemplified*

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in all the Variety of Hands Used in Great Britain (c. 1750) – were of concern to the calligrapher only.

Nonetheless, certain sometimes remarkable changes in the development of handwriting take place in the modern period. A prime example is the appearance of a slant in the English 'round hand' which makes its subtle entry around 1700 and completes its development to a full right-leaning slant at an angle of approximately 55 degrees by the end of the century. Another example is a hand in which the writer avoided lifting the pen not just within but also between words. A tantalizingly generational phenomenon, this form of joined-up writing appeared for only a short period of time between 1880 and 1920. What prompted these changes is unclear. Fashion certainly cannot be ruled out, but it is possible that technological aspects played a part as well. Different writing implements – even the way a quill was cut or the hardness or pliability of the steel pen nib – affect the shape of the writing.

An awareness of these changes, as well as of changes in individual letter forms, can be of help when deciphering handwritten texts.[4] Issues of legibility aside, the area where handwriting analysis is most useful is in assessing the specific qualitative characteristics of a hand. Genetic scholars often comment on how inspired, quick and easy composition was, or how slow and strenuous it appeared (e.g., Sidney Colvin, qtd. in Roth et al. 1954: 91–92; Werner 2011: 64–65). But remarks like these are often based on intuition. The point is not that these scholars are wrong, but that their observations are not grounded in solid principles of analysis. The question is not: *Can we know?* But: *How do we know?* Furthermore, even when linked to contextual information about the composition process from letters and diaries, such remarks often pertain quite generally to the composition process, but still offer little exact sense of the nature of the creative energy that went into the writing. As we know from John Keats, for example, an entire day's writing often resulted in only a few acceptable lines of poetry (Keats 1970: 12). But this does not mean that the composition itself did not flow naturally; even if the writing is laborious, it does not mean that it is laboured. Especially with poetry we can see how premeditated composition (lines formed in the mind before they are committed to paper) changes into spontaneous composition when the clarity and regularity of the hand gives way to a less regular, speedier hand. This is the case for instance with an early section of William Wordsworth's *The Prelude* where the starting lines beginning 'was it for this' quickly give way to a perceptibly less determinate mode of writing (see Van Mierlo 2020). There is a danger of course of slipping into popular graphology in which the writer's state of mind is inferred from the handwriting. Nonetheless the correlation between speed and the quality of the hand can be forensically established: a fast hand shows greater irregularities, differences in pressure on the pen, and reduced legibility (Koppenhaver 2007: 94; Sassoon 1999: 3).

Discerning the differences between a neat, slow hand and a fast, irregular hand thus becomes a tool in differentiating between stages of composition. In most cases, determining whether a manuscript is a draft or a fair copy is fairly straightforward. A draft may be in pencil, for example, and it will contain a substantial number of revisions, hesitations, false onsets, and so on that give it a messy look. A fair copy by comparison is usually in ink

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

and though it may also contain further changes it generally looks neater and more even. That said, we do find examples where the text is the result of first thoughts in manuscripts that actually look quite orderly. This is the case for instance with many of Keats's manuscripts as well as those of Alfred, Lord Tennyson or (to also name a prose writer) Virginia Woolf. Although the evidence cannot always be conclusive, the quality of the hand provides an important indication that helps us distinguish those fairly neat, but early drafts from true fair copies. Comparison with other documents is crucial in those cases so that we can look for variation and inconsistency in the hand.

When copying out a text a writer generally produces cleaner and more regular script than she does when drafting. Tiredness and boredom can affect the quality of the hand during copying, but given that the purpose of a 'fair' copy is to produce a readable text for later use, the writer will as a matter of course pay attention to legibility. A draft, by contrast, will contain the hallmarks of speed and hesitation: greater variation in letter forms, which can be incomplete or reduced to a rudimentary scrawl; variation in script sizes where the writing is smaller or larger than the normal hand; lines of text that slope upwards or downwards and other evidence of irregular spacing. Although not evidence of a draft *per se*, the absence of an inward-tapering margin also indicates a writer paying very close attention to what – and how – she is writing.[5]

To put these observations into practice I want to cite the example of John Keats's 'Ode to a Nightingale' (1819). Its extant manuscript (Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, MS 1-1933) is taken to be the only manuscript to ever exist, representing a version of the poem that Keats composed in one sitting (Stillinger 1974: 243; Gittings 1970: 65).[6] That Charles Brown, a friend of Keats's, remembers seeing four or five scraps of paper which could have contained an earlier draft is dismissed by scholars as a faulty memory; nonetheless, there might be truth in the speculation that scraps like these actually existed (Roth 1954: 94–95). A close inspection of the handwriting reveals at least two different styles of hand mixed together: one quite regular, the other less so. Keats's letters offer some good points of comparison. Although his letters, with their long, meandering, almost stream-of-consciousness sentences interrupted by multiple dashes, are ordinarily the result of first thoughts, a letter to the painter John Reynolds, postmarked 19 February 1818 (Princeton University Library, 1.16; Hebron 2009: 73–80), shows a neatness not frequently found elsewhere. The hand is larger than usual; the letter forms are quite round; the angle at which the letters lean sideways is just slightly more pronounced; the lineation is markedly straight; and the number of pen lifts is smaller than normal. In particular the salutation and onset of the letter appear quite cramped; although Keats quickly relaxed after that, it is clear that he was carefully controlling his writing. Other letters, by comparison, such as the one to Benjamin Bailey from 22 November 1817 (Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Keats 1.16; Hebron 2009: 65–72), are written with less premeditation, and the hand, as a result, is smaller, the letter forms less rounded, and the base line is never completely horizontal. The writing in parts of the 'Ode to a Nightingale' manuscript resembles that of the Reynolds

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

letter quite closely. The regularity of the hand in stanzas 6–8 (f.1v and 2v) with its rounded letters suggest that the writing was careful and controlled; the stanza breaks are also clearly indicated, which gives the strong suggestion that the stanzas were fair copied from an earlier exemplar. Stanzas 1–5 (f. 1r and f.2r), by contrast, show greater irregularity in the hand and the first three have no discernible stanza breaks, which is indicative of a more energetic or inspired phase in the composition.

This does not mean, of course, that these sections represent *true* first thoughts; it is equally possible, indeed likely, that he was revisiting sections that already existed in draft form. The revised lines at the start of the poem and elsewhere are indicative too of an act of re-composition. If we assume for the moment that the manuscript does represent first thoughts, then Keats's ability for spontaneous composition is enormous indeed, for although the revisions in the manuscript of the first line are but few, processually they would be reasonably complex. The poem actually starts with a *currente calamo* revision, albeit in itself not a very problematic one: the onset 'My' – presumably intended to be 'My heart aches', as it is in the published poem – is abandoned for the more direct, more dramatic and strikingly disembodied 'Heart aches and a painful numbness falls'. But as soon as the line is set down, Keats substitutes 'painful' for the more pertinent 'drowsy' and 'pains' for 'falls'. (That Keats made these revisions before inscribing the second line is evident from the way the word 'drunk' dips below the baseline because the space above was already taken by 'pains'.) The change in the rhyme word, however, creates a difficulty, for it necessitates a reconfiguration of the ABAB rhyme scheme. In other words, if 'pains' is an afterthought, so must be its alternate rhyme word 'drains', which likely means that the entire third line, 'Or emptied some dull opiate to the drains', is made up on the spot. The same applies to the second line, because grammatically 'My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk' cannot be the object of 'a painful numbness falls'. In other words, it is reasonable to assume that Keats was reworking material composed at an earlier point. However inchoate, it would provide an anchor which makes the consequences of the effected changes less far-reaching and more manageable.

The handwriting can thus be revealing about the dynamics of composition. But while the writing in the 'Ode to a Nightingale' manuscript is for the most part too regular, it is also the absence of any sign of hesitation that supports the case for its being a second-stage copy. Keats's power to dash of lines of poetry was notorious even in his day, but these lines constituted mostly short poems: mainly sonnets or occasional verse. Other extant manuscripts clearly indicate that composition was not always trouble free. A manuscript of *Lamia* for example shows Keats *thinking* on paper as the trialling of a couplet temporarily halts progress on the poem:

~~When, in an antichamber, every guest~~
~~With fragrant oils his~~

~~When, in an antichamber, every guest~~
~~Tended by ministring slaves, his~~

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When in an antechamber every guest
Had ~~had~~ felt the cold full sponge to pleasure press'd
By ministring slaves upon his hands and feet
And fragrant oils with ceremony meet
Pour'd on his hair (Keats 1990: 160)[7]

To all intents and purposes, the words are there, but (as may well be the case with the opening of 'Ode to a Nightingale') they are not yet in the right order. Apart from anything else, what this manuscript illustrates very well is just how calm or regular Keats's hand is in the throes of composition and revision. What the example also shows, however, is that a proper psychography is possible only when a rigorous and comparative investigation of the evidence is combined with a thorough awareness of the factors that impact the quality of handwriting. Such an undertaking forms the basis of defining a modern palaeographical method.[8]

Writing spaces

This new section moves beyond interpretation of the physical and motoric minutiae of handwriting to a consideration of the cultural import of the page. The manuscript page does not merely furnish a blank canvas for writing; as a space, it is not a neutral or transparent but directs the writing through its protocols of use.[9] On the one hand, these protocols are determined by the physical format and dimensions of the support. Composing on loose leaves or in a notebook can alter the working method of the writer; using a small page or a large page, too, can influence the way the writing proceeds. On the other hand, customs and habits mean that these protocols are also culturally determined. In the west, we write from left to right and top to bottom, but other less obvious aspects of writing are cultural as well. Where revision occurs, new text tends to be inserted interlinearly or in the margins. Interlinear additions however tend to be placed above the line; only where there is insufficient space do they go below the line. When the writer uses a notebook, larger chunks of new text are often placed on the open page's corresponding verso which is purposefully left blank for that purpose. As habits, we largely perform these scribal gestures unconsciously; few of us, moreover, will be able to remember where we have picked up these habits, but nonetheless they are learnt behaviour, which is what makes them cultural.

Interpreting the space in which the writing occurs is necessary to make the dynamics of composition meaningful. At the very least, it can provide clues as to the sequence of inscription; the position of the word 'drunk' in 'Ode to a Nightingale', as illustrated above, is an example of this. But it can also provide insight into the creative dynamic. W. B. Yeats's creative energy, for instance, markedly changes when he switches from loose leaves of about the size of a standard copybook to writing in a large quarto-sized notebook. The size of the notebook appears to offer him greater freedom as the writing literally splurges across the page, where the space on the loose leaves is more constricting, imposing a more linear composition (see Van Mierlo 2020).

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

In essence, the exigencies of sequence that are inherent to the nature of text (and the printed book) as medium constitute the greatest challenge for the writer. For although composition may largely move forward in a linear fashion, the creative process is never strictly straight or straightforward. The writing frequently halts, reverses, loops round and moves in different directions as writing alternates with rewriting. (Some of A. G. Swinburne's manuscripts illustrate this beautifully.) With prose and longer works, the writing as a result spills over into other areas – the blank left-hand pages of a notebook – or onto other pieces of paper – separate leaves tipped in a notebook or intermingled with the original sheets, or smaller snippets pasted on to the original support. Although we observe the same phenomena, poetry's shorter form allows a more versatile use of the page in certain respects. For Yeats the loose leaf allowed him to craft the stanza as a single entity. Although in early draft his lyrical poems are quite disordered and unformed, he manages to rough out the shape of a stanza before reaching the bottom of the sheet; the stanza is then set aside for a new sheet and a new stanza, which follows the same process. This method seems quite deliberate for he does this quite consistently. The reason might be to have greater flexibility when he returns to rewrite the rough lines to give them greater consonance at the next stage in their development; it allows him either to lay out the various draft stanzas in front of him to get an immediate overview of the nascent poem, or it enables him to rearrange the order of the stanzas easily as he is working out the poem's arc.

One can see a clear and direct parallel of this working method in the manuscripts of Tennyson's 'The Voyage of Maeldune', a narrative poem based on an Irish legend of a Chieftain who, seeking to revenge his father's murder, takes to the seas to find the culprit. On his voyage he lands on a series of islands – the Silent Isle, the Isle of Shouting, the Isle of Flowers and so on – where various calamities befall him, resulting in the death of many of his men, until he reaches the Isle of the Saint. The old hermit, one who in days gone by had travelled with Saint Brendan, makes him see the error of his ways and the Chieftain, with practically the whole of his crew dead, returns home, encounters his adversary and forgives him. Tennyson's poem, like its source, P. W. Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances* (1879), is highly episodic – each stanza relates the mishaps that took place on each of the islands – but Tennyson's version is much condensed, more emblematic and does not retain the original narrative order. The reason why is not entirely clear, but that he thought carefully about the episodic sequence – a common feature with the composition of Tennyson's narrative poems, as Sally Bushell has shown (2009: 141–157) – is evident from the manner in which he composed the poem.

Written in 1879–1880, two manuscript versions of the poem are extant, as well as an unused fragment.[10] The earliest of the two appears in a notebook (Harvard Notebook 64/Flexible black morocco notebook, Houghton Library) together with other poems in draft. In this draft, Tennyson worked out the material substance of the poem as he rendered Joyce's narrative in condensed poetic form (applying anapaestic hexameter and an AABB rhyme scheme). While some stanzas or episodes were more fragmentary and incomplete than others, Tennyson, like Yeats, kept each stanza to its

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

own page. What is striking, however, is that despite starting with the first line (marked by the episodic cue 'And we came to ...' which starts every stanza) he did not fill the page all the way to the bottom. Instead, he left space for later accretions. This is characteristic of Tennyson's method, for we see it in other manuscripts as well. Furthermore, not all the episodes from the final poem are there yet in the manuscript, nor are they written in sequence. In fact, Tennyson, who turned his notebook upside down to use it back to front, did not inscribe the episodes in any order at all: the Isle of Shouting, which in the final poem follows the Isle of Silence as a companion piece, was added later on the corresponding verso (f. 68r) next to the first version of the Isle of Silence (f. 67v) but before its fair copy (f. 65v); the first version of the Isle of Towers (f. 64v) comes after its later redactions (f. 67r); the Isle of the Saint (f. 61), the last island the Chieftain visits, is followed after a gap of some 10 folios by the Bounteous Isle (f. 49r) and the Isle of Fruits (f. 48v).

The second version is a fair copy with further revisions (Senate House Library, University of London, SL.V.32) written on paper torn from a notebook.[11] In this copy, too, Tennyson writes each stanza on a separate page (with the exception of the second stanza which consists of only two lines), leaving any remaining space towards the bottom blank. This time, however, although he added some further lines to the poem, the blank space is not strictly reserved for additions.[12] In part, Tennyson had settled on the stanza sequence in the course of fair copying and fixed it by numbering the stanzas. In part, too, he kept the possibility of further re-ordering open by writing out the stanzas on separate pages. In the end, this may be what happened: there is no conclusive evidence that suggests Tennyson settled on the final order only after tearing out the pages from his notebook. There may be a clue in the fact that the top line consistently starts on the third or fourth ruled line in both the early and final manuscript; it is possible in other words that Tennyson numbered the stanzas after inscribing the poem. Whatever the case, there is at the very least the strong suggestion that Tennyson wrote the stanzas on separate pages out of habit so that he could potentially change their order without needing to copy out the poem again.

What is clear from all this is that the composition of 'The Voyage of Maeldune' encompasses a number of different creative acts: writing and rewriting, revision and sequencing. This last is not simply an afterthought but is predicated on the fact that the initial composition set up discrete fragments that were meant to go through a process of growth and amalgamation.

What the Tennyson manuscript makes clear, in other words, is how the physical support bears directly on the method of his composition. To some extent, genetic criticism already takes into account the spatial uses to which the writer puts the page in what Grésillon designates the 'graphic spaces' of the manuscript (1994: 51). Such usage, as it happens, is not always a matter of idiosyncratic choices, but is also cultural. The very reason that we find these commonalities in the way writers employ the page means that these protocols of use go beyond the genetic process as such. For that reason, we need to look more closely at the form and function of the manuscript.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Support: Form and function

In his typology of draft documents, Pierre-Marc de Biasi (1996: 48–53) already considers the relationship between form and function – the manuscript's role within the stages of composition – but he sees function predominantly in terms of process (as stages in the development of the text) rather than of the document. This makes a more systematic scrutiny of documentary form and function desirable.

In the previous section, I noted how the use of loose sheets of paper or of a notebook altered the dynamic of Yeats's composition. This just seems to happen. As is the case with many writers, the choice of support is largely an arbitrary matter. Some writers do have specific preferences, however, but these preferences are meaningful only for very personal reasons. Sylvia Plath, for instance, liked to write on pink sheets of Smith College Memorandum paper, which as a rule she turned upside down so that the pre-printed heading appeared at the bottom. The reason seems to be nothing other than habit and comfort, a way to get into the right mindset conducive to composition. That said, each form has a specific form and function which writers are aware of. As I mentioned before, sheets of paper can easily be shuffled and the writing rearranged; notebooks do not allow this, unless one resorts to cutting and pasting. (It should be no surprise that Tennyson frequently resorted to this method too.)

The different shapes and sizes of supports are obviously too vast to explore. Even taking the notebook as just one instance, one encounters an almost endless variety of forms. Yeats's vellum notebooks contrast sharply with more fragile manuscripts such as the stenography pads that James Joyce used for his notetaking or the homemade notebooks that Dorothy Wordsworth stitched together with her own hands. But within this diversity one can nonetheless discern commonalities of use, commonalities which point toward a culturally defined form of writing. Notebooks, for instance, appear eminently suited for storing materials, whether these are exogenetic materials (e.g., notes), as in the case of Joyce, or fair copies of texts that have reached a stage of completion. Mostly, though, notebooks are hybrid in nature, containing a whole welter of material, creative and non-creative. The notebook (Wordsworth Trust, DCMS 19) that contains the earliest beginnings of *The Prelude* also contains notes on German, a language William and Dorothy were learning on their journey to Goslar in 1798; a brief travelogue by Dorothy; notes from the conversations during Wordsworth's visits to Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock; and a section of Dorothy's 1802 journal. George Crabbe's notebooks (Cambridge University Library, Add MS 4422–4426) contain exclusively verse in various states of completeness: some are written in pencil and are no more than rough beginnings; some are fair copies; some are fair copied from elsewhere in the notebook. Mostly the verse appears to be inscribed without particular order or reason; one of the notebooks in particular (MS 4422) was turned upside down to furnish a new beginning. With much of the verse remaining unpublished, Crabbe's notebooks were not so much a vehicle towards a single work but rather a place to record and collect various pieces of writing for later use. Simultaneously

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

creative space and storehouse, they undermine, in other words, the notion that writing is always distinctly teleological.

Other important affordances of the notebook include its portability (which largely speaks for itself) and its accessibility. The fixed order of pages means that writing can be more easily retrieved in comparison with a sheaf of loose papers. Page numbers, tables of contents, indices and other notations about the contents are a staple feature in the notebooks of writers. In this respect, the notebook shares its functionality with the more formal (and in scholarship much more extensively studied) commonplace book, which has its origins in antiquity and which Peter Beal describes as 'the primary intellectual tool for organising knowledge' (1993: 134). This aspect highlights the function of the notebook not simply as a creative space in which the poet works on a defined work, but as a place where material is stored. Unlike a warehouse, however, the notebook is not a temporary, static repository, but a dynamic space where material is left to mature, exposed to new associative possibilities, and potentially re-arranged in new configurations.

As I have already indicated, creation is not limited to writing, but there are other forms of creativity as well: the re-ordering and reconnecting of materials. Ted Hughes's working method for the *Birthday Letters* project, the writing of which was a highly strenuous, intense and emotional endeavour, illustrates this nexus between writing, rewriting and rearranging. Hughes's manuscripts give the distinct impression of the assembler at work. This is most obvious in the later stages of the work, when he created intricately layered documents by cutting up and taping together typescripts with different versions of the same poem in a new constellation or by pasting snippets of paper with short groups of retyped lines on top of the main page, sometimes three or more layers deep.

Birthday Letters, Hughes's last volume of poetry, openly recounts the fraught relationship between himself and his wife, the American poet Sylvia Plath, before her suicide in 1963. A confessional book, its writing was at first an entirely private undertaking, written almost for therapeutic reasons to deal with the trauma. After a long hesitation over whether to make the poems public or not (he had always eschewed the autobiographical, but he also feared a backlash from Plath's supporters), the decision to publish was finally taken quite suddenly (see Hughes 2007: 703, 713, 720). The book's gestation therefore was not driven by any deliberate intent to produce a publishable volume of poetry, but remained very much a work in progress lacking a clear aim or sharp confines. Poems were written, revised and moved around; additional poems were added while others were removed or mutated into new poems. His notebooks were key to the creative process.

In 'Fidelity', one of the poems from *Birthday Letters* portraying Hughes's Bohemian life in Cambridge, he lists his notebooks as one of his very few possessions: 'All I had, my notebook and that mattress' (Hughes 1998: 28). The mention of these notebooks points to their importance for capturing random, spontaneous thoughts, or moments of inspiration, if you will. Spontaneity, the unconscious and the organic were of special significance to Hughes's poetics; they were something he exploited programmatically.[13] With *Moortown Diary* (1989), for instance, Hughes was attempting to create

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

poetry without revision; if a poem did not come complete from the off, it would be immediately discarded. He thus effectively took Keats's claim that if poetry does not come spontaneously, it should not come at all (Keats 1970: 70) to a new level. Such an experiment, however, was reliant on a certain rigour in the poet's working routine. Contrary to P. B. Shelley's belief in 'A Defence of Poetry' that inspiration cannot be willed (Shelley 1977: 503–504), Hughes forged for himself the life-long habit of tying himself to his desk for a fixed number of hours per day (see Plath 1975: 259). (And so did Keats, as you will remember.)

As a profoundly personal project, *Birthday Letters* too was intentionally subjected to an organic approach. Hughes always maintained that the style he adopted was purposefully 'raw', 'unprocessed', 'self-exposing' and 'unguarded' (Hughes 2012: 270–71). The archive, however, seems to tell a different story. The earliest iterations of the poems can be rough, direct, even unpoetic, but the final result is one of studious effect. Paradoxically, therefore, the rawness and unguarded quality of the poems was achieved through laborious, extensive rewriting over a long period of time.[14] Owing to this continuous expansion, Hughes was also faced with the ever-growing output of his labour; as the number of drafts increased, he had to find the means to control their sprawling across a multitude of documents. He used his notebooks to catalogue and take stock of what he had already written.

Among the extant papers for *Birthday Letters* is a set of ten school copybooks containing extensive drafts for a large number of poems (British Library, Add MSS 8898/1/6). In a few of these, Hughes drew up a list of the poems so far written on the inside cover or the first page, indicating that he was working on selecting and ordering the poems for a volume that was provisionally named 'The Sorrow of the Deer'. At first, he referred to the as-yet untitled poems by the first line or a general descriptive phrase of its subject; later he used provisional or final titles. Next to the entries on the lists appear numbers – or series of numbers – which, apart from indicating their order, are also likely part of a cross-referencing system to other notebooks.

The concurrence of the draft poems and content lists in Hughes's notebooks points to a double creative economy. While composition was still in flux – none of the poems in these copybooks appears yet to have reached a stable or completed form – Hughes was also looking towards a bigger whole. This observation is revealing of how Hughes's creative mind worked: the creation of a book of poetry was bigger than the sum of its individual poems. Working in a non-linear way, he produced *Birthday Letters* in a manner that can be compared to boring through a mountain from two sides: on the one hand he composed individual poems; on the other he created the interstices between the poems binding the poems together into a single aesthetic constellation. He achieved this through a repeated copy-and-revise process in which individual poems were altered step by step and kneaded into shape. As poems were reinscribed in Hughes's notebooks, they matured, and their meanings coalesced, gelled, and bounced off each other.

The form and function of the support thus has a significant influence on the working method and creative process of the poet. In the end, the use of loose leaves inclines on the whole towards a more linear production of an

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

individual poem. Notebooks are less versatile in that it is more difficult to shunt sections and phrases around between versions; however, they work better as a repository of versions to which the poet can return. It allows the production of poems (plural) to be a more readily accretive and iterative process that enables the poet to think at the same time about individual poems as well as about how those poems come together in a larger whole.

Conclusion: Towards understanding manuscript culture

What the preceding pages have offered is an exploration of the correlation between protocols of making and of use as they are manifest in the manuscripts of English poets. The protocols of making a text (Ferrer 1998: 261) point to the machinery of the manuscript; they are reliant upon – indeed, cannot take place without – the supports on which they happen. This is the point where genetic criticism and modern palaeography come together. The manuscript does not, in other words, merely provide a canvas for the writer; nor is it a neutral, indistinct, or incidental tool, but rather a medium that, through its physical and material limitations and affordances, directs the writing. It is with this in mind, first of all, that a palaeographical study of the manuscript's physical minutiae can provide a deeper understanding of the creative economies which are studied in genetic criticism. The paper, ink, and handwriting offer up important clues about the nature of composition; and this is not only vital evidence about the time and place of writing, which is important for understanding the genetic dossier, but also as a way of unlocking the secrets of creativity itself. It is crucial therefore that students of modern literary manuscripts learn how to 'read' the evidence provided by the handwriting and the use and function of the page.

Realizing this aim, however, leads us to an important new dimension that expands the, for the most part, author-centric purview of genetic criticism as well. While a palaeographical analysis highlights the unique aspects of the writing of an individual author – the characteristics, idiosyncrasies and personal habits of how they use paper and ink – it also brings to the fore the fact that these individual practices are not limited to one particular place and time. These similarities in the form and function make manuscripts and drafts familiar and recognizable as artefacts even if, as the examples used in this essay demonstrate, their date of production is a hundred or more years apart. Through their form and function, manuscripts are linked most clearly to the historical and cultural contexts in which they exist.

The exploration of the manuscripts of Keats, Tennyson, and Hughes, and of all the other poets and writers mentioned, unmistakably point towards the existence of common forms, so much so that we can speak of a modern culture of handwriting and manuscript production that persists in the era of mechanized text production.[15] Scholars of the early modern period have already shown how the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century did not signal the end of the manuscript as a means of disseminating texts (see, for instance, Woudhuysen 1996). Even though after 1700 manuscripts became, with some exceptions, wholly private documents belonging to the

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

writer's workshop (Reiman 1993: 54; de Biasi 1996: 40), this does not mean that the protocols contained in these manuscripts are wholly private too. Insofar as their physical makeup and use reflect shared customs and practices going back centuries, it is clear that the documents that bear witness to the creation of a literary work link to wider technical, organizational, cultural, and socio-economic systems (Van Mierlo 2018: 84–86).

To put the matter in a nutshell, where genetic criticism navigates the intricate layers of inscription with the aim of uncovering, and critically interpreting, the process of literary creation and composition, it does so, already, by looking at both the verbal and non-verbal signs in the manuscript. However, its use of 'graphic spaces' (Grésillon 1994: 51) can be enhanced by what are less perspicuous attributes of the manuscript: an understanding of the quality of the handwriting, the spatial distribution of the writing, and the functional properties of the document is needed to elucidate the creative economies that are at work in the manuscript. But an understanding of this palaeographical evidence in turn needs an awareness of how those physical forms and attributes came to be in the first place. This can be achieved only through a comparative study of the cultural aspects of the modern manuscript. Much more remains yet to be learnt about handwriting and the use of manuscripts over the last few centuries. None of this can be done without developing a more rigorous and systematic palaeographical method for modern manuscripts.

Notes

1 For earlier studies that consider the material dimension of the manuscript within genetic criticism, see Hay 1989 and Ferrer 2011, as well as the special issues of *Genesis* devoted to *Sémiotique* (Hay 1996) and *Verbal – non-verbal* (Crasson & Hay 2013). One should also mention the work done on 'modern codicology', spearheaded by Marianne Bochelkamp and Louis Hay, and developed by Claire Bustarret (e.g., Bustarret 2020).

2 Restricting this study to English, and specifically British, manuscript culture no doubt entails a limitation. To what extent do certain generalizations carry over to other manuscript traditions? Such a restriction is necessary because the evolution of handwriting is linked to educational practices that are national. Other cultural habits of writing, by contrast, are less bound by regional traditions and hence show greater transnational and transhistorical similarities. This is the case for instance with how we fill a page. An earlier proposition for the application of a palaeographical method to modern manuscripts can be found in Van Mierlo 2013.

3 The rediscovery of 'italic', which abandoned joined-up writing for individually formed letters, was a direct consequence of this push towards modernization.

4 Some letterforms that have seen significant changes over time are the long *ſ*, which disappeared around the turn of the nineteenth century; a Greek-style *ε* as occasional variant for the cursive *e*, which was in use until *c.* 1700; and a *k* whose curl starts from near the top of the ascender, which is found in many nineteenth-century hands.

5 It seems an almost universal, but unexplained, characteristic that writers gradually move inward from the left margin when they fill a page with their writing. Somehow our brains are wired to do this, unless we pay (as I said) close attention to the quality of the writing or when there is a left-rule to guide us. Even when such a

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

rule is present, it is sometimes difficult for writers to align their writing perfectly. Koppenhaver (2007: 108, 163) maintains it is caused by the speed of writing and a decline in the focus and attention that the writer pays to writing with care.

6 The manuscript is available in facsimile among others in Gittings 1970: 36–43, where it appears in black and white and with transcriptions, and as a colour reproduction in Hebron 2009: 137–40.

7 For a facsimile reproduction, see 'Upon a time, before the faery broods', MS fragment of early draft, MS Keats 2.25, Houghton Library Harvard, at https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:15658290$4i.

8 I use the term 'psychography' advisedly. Because '[n]ormal writing is a result of subconscious habits' (Koppenhaver 2007: 87), the term is of use to the palaeographer for understanding the effect a writer's state of mind has on the handwriting, though without going so far as to claim we can capture that state of mind itself. I am also aware of the chequered history of the term and traction it had in spiritualism (where it designates writing produced by a spirit medium) and psychobiography.

9 With this term, I am thinking through some of the implications of Daniel Ferrer's often-quoted statement that a draft 'is not a text' but 'a protocol for making a text' (Ferrer 1998: 261).

10 Facsimile reproductions of the two manuscripts are published in Tennyson 1987b: 199–215 and Tennyson 1987c: 172–185; the fragment, from Harvard Notebook 47/Black oilcloth notebook (Houghton Library), is reproduced in Tennyson 1987a: 236–237. Selected colour reproductions of the fair copy can also be found in Pressler and Attar 2012, #47.

11 The matching watermark, patterned fore-edges and rules are evidence that the pages were torn from Harvard Notebook 47; the tear on f. 11 of the London manuscript, furthermore, matches one of the stubs that immediately follow the abandoned fragment for the poem on f. 100 in the Harvard notebook.

12 Compare this with the drafts for *The Marriage of Geraint* where Tennyson used blank spaces in his notebook to separate 'clearly related textual entries' (Bushell 2009: 163).

13 For Hughes, a poem is 'an assembly of living parts moved by a single spirit. The living parts are the words, the images, the rhythms. The spirit is the life which inhabits them when they all work together. It is impossible to say which comes first, parts or spirit. But if any of the parts are dead ... if any of the words, or images or rhythms do not jump to life as you read them ... then the creature is going to be maimed and the spirit sickly. So, as a poet, you have to make sure that all those parts over which you have control, the words and rhythms and images, are alive' (Hughes 1967: 9).

14 Most of the composition takes place from about 1990 to 1997, but earlier onsets may have existed; according to the dust jacket of the Faber edition, the poems were written 'over a period of more than twenty-five years' (Hughes 1998).

15 Moreover, writers – especially poets – continue using pen and paper in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries even if the primary means of composition has shifted to the typewriter and later the word processor. One could even argue that the protocols of writing on the computer have not changed that drastically from writing on paper. What is different, though, is the manner in which the traces of writing and revision are captured and preserved.

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2. A Curious Thing: Typescripts and Genetic Criticism[1]

Typescripts have a curious role in genetic criticism. Genetic critics have not shown the same enthusiasm for typescripts as they have for autograph manuscripts or, as of late, for born-digital manuscripts. In the descriptions of the field of study, it is usually the uniqueness and authenticity of the autograph manuscript that is brought to the fore. While this is perfectly understandable, especially in the context of the early days when genetic criticism sought to legitimate itself as a credible discipline among literary studies, which were mostly based on the printed text, it is still somewhat strange that typescripts have not received more attention (e.g., Jenny 1996: 198–200). After all, it was the rattle of the typewriter that filled the air in business and newspaper offices, government agencies, university departments and the studies of authors for a hundred years or so between the quill and the cursor.

Contrary to common prejudice, the typewriter is not a neutral writing tool that effaces the personality of the writer. The way in which and the purposes to which authors use the typewriter can differ significantly, and its role in the genesis of a work by a single author may change from one project to another as well. By studying the actual use of typewriters, we may find singular typewriting practices and techniques, experimentations, material effects on creativity, whether obstacles or impulses, etc., which can help us understand how creativity is supported, inspired, and restricted by writing technologies.

In this chapter, I will reflect on the reasons that have influenced the perceptions of the inauthenticity of typing and which might also have had an impact on the role of typescripts in genetic criticism. As an alternative way of thinking, I bring out the basic principle of forensic typewriting investigation, according to which every typewriter and document written on it is identifiable (cf. Allen 2016: 96–97; Fatima 2019: 14; Hilton 1956: 184). I will also show how forensic methods can be used to obtain information relevant to genetic criticism about the writing process of a text. As research material, I use the manuscripts of an unpublished short poem titled 'Kuun pata' (The Cauldron of the Moon) by Elina Vaara (1903–1980), which are written both by hand and on the typewriter. The manuscripts are deposited in the archives of the Finnish Literary Society (SKS) in Helsinki. I will

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

apply methods of typewriter forensics for two different purposes. The first concerns the dating of the poem: Vaara has not dated the manuscripts, but by identifying the two typewriters that she has used in the genesis of the poem, we can approximate when it was written. The second has to do with determining the different writing sessions by analysing the misalignment of typewritten characters or passages.

Between hand and print

Typescripts represent an intermediate stage in the media technological transition from holograph to born-digital manuscripts. With the typewriter, writing became mechanical for the first time, and the physiology of writing changed from drawing letters with one hand to typing with two hands. Although several writers continued to write by hand, the typewriter had a general impact on book-industry practices, as publishers over time began to accept only transcribed manuscripts. Typescripts were easier to read and typeset, which meant saving time and money. In the English-speaking world and France, this took place in the early twentieth century (Viollet 1996: 204; Sullivan 2013: 38). In the 1930s in Finland, the novelist Mika Waltari (1908–1979) urged in his guide to budding writers that they should type up their manuscripts before sending them to the publishers, as it ensured that they were read. It was not so certain that it would be read if the manuscript was delivered in unclear handwriting, he said (Waltari 1935: 30).

Catherine Viollet, a pioneer in the genetic study of typewriting, has suggested that it is precisely transcription that may have been the reason why typescripts have not been given that much attention in genetic criticism (Viollet 1996: 203, 208). Transcription usually takes place in the pre-publication phase of the text when the text is already composed. At this stage the text rarely changes anymore and therefore it is not that interesting from a genetic perspective. However, as Viollet points out, there are many authors who have typed throughout the genetic process, as well as authors who have written alternately on a typewriter and by hand, going back and forth between the two (ibid. 14–16).

Another factor that may have made typescripts a less attractive subject for genetic criticism is their mechanical nature. Even Viollet herself calls typing *écriture mécanique* (mechanical writing), associating it, for example, with telegrams and mechanically reproduced printed texts. The problem with stressing the mechanical character of typewriting is that in genetic criticism, the uniqueness and authenticity of its handwritten research material is often defined in contrast to published and printed works (de Biasi 1990: 7; Contat 1991: 12; Hay 1989: 8–9; Grésillon 2001: 11). For example, Louis Hay gives manuscripts such attributes as unique, unpublished, private and incomplete, while printed texts are characterized by being mechanically reproduced, published, public and finished. Unlike a typographically consistent printed page, the manuscript forms a unique semiotic entity where the script is structured not only verbally but also graphically. In the manuscript, the writing appears as a pattern of handwritten characters, punctuation marks

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

and possible drawings that manifest the author's individual writing practices (Hay 2002: 167–171).

Alan Rey has also emphasized the graphic dimension of the manuscript. He compares a handwritten letter to an ideogram, i.e., a character where the graphic appearance of the sign visually reflects its content. The manuscript page thus resembles a Chinese or Japanese calligraphic poem, which is both a verbal and visual work of art at one and the same time. In addition to conveying information about the author's intentional writing techniques, handwritten notes can also inadvertently communicate changes in the rhythm of writing and changes in mental and health status, among other things (Rey 1989: 43). Typescripts are, of course, unable to express human corporeality in the same way, because the shape of the letters and overall appearance largely follow the typographic regularity determined by the mechanism of the typewriter. In this setup, it is little wonder that typing becomes associated with mechanically reproduced printed matter.

This juxtaposition between unique and authentic handwriting, and mechanical and inauthentic typewriting has dominated thinking on the typewriter. Following Walter Benjamin, one could speak of manuscripts having an aura of authenticity, by which he refers to the uniqueness of works of art such as paintings and sculptures. The concept of an aura is linked to the concept of the author in that it manifests itself only through works that the artist has made by hand. Benjamin also mentions that the aura has ritual qualities, which is quite plausible when one considers that a unique object acts as a mediator between the author's past and the recipient's current present. Printed books and other mechanically reproduced objects do not have such an aura, according to Benjamin. Instead, he suggests that the experience of the aura of unique works of art has actually been declining in the modern era, when art forms based on mechanical reproduction, such as film, began to take over the field of culture (Benjamin 2007: 221–224).

Typing has quite commonly been thought to ruin the experience of the aura. Compared with writing by hand, typing has often been considered soulless and impersonal (e.g., Gitelman 1999: 213). This was evident in the case of letters. It was considered particularly inappropriate to type personal letters. A good example is the letter from the novelist Jalmari Finne (1874–1938) to Helmi Krohn (1871–1967) dated 6 July 1910, in which he regrets typing contrary to his usual habit of writing: 'Minä tahdon teidän kanssanne puhella tänään paljon ja kauan ja siksi minä kirjoitan koneella, niin epäpersoonalliseksi kuin kirje tuleekin sen kautta' (I want to talk to you a lot and long today, and that is why I write on the typewriter, as impersonal as the letter becomes) (Finne 1910). Finne, if anyone, was aware of the ability of handwriting to express the author's personality. He became an expert in handwriting while studying family and settlement history, deepening his knowledge with international literature on graphology and questioned-document examination. He also assisted the Police and the Finnish Security Police in the forensic investigation of several cases (Varpio 1974: 119).[2]

Like Benjamin, Martin Heidegger thought that mechanical reproduction undermines the experience of authenticity. For Heidegger, this meant most of modern technology, including the typewriter. He claimed that typing

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

deprives writing of the original relation between language and hand that defines human existence. Handwriting is authentic and unique in combining these features, whereas typing is a writing process that conceals the hand, personality, character and identity of the writer (Heidegger 1992: 80–81).

In the vein of Heidegger, Friedrich Kittler saw the typewriter as a representation of a broader cultural change. According to Kittler, nineteenth-century media-related technological innovations such as phonography, film and photography changed human subjectivity so that we became subordinate to technology. Like Heidegger, he emphasized the connection between writing and the body, suggesting that the typewriter broke the 'media-technological basis of classical authorship' (1999: 203), which rested on cooperation between the eye and the writing hand. The link in handwriting between the body and the text was replaced by a machine that enabled one to type without having to look at the text while writing it (Kittler 1986: 203–204).

For Heidegger and Kittler, the nature of typewriting is defined by a broader philosophy of technology that sees a fundamental gap between traditional manual-based technology and modern mechanized technology. In that setting, the typewriter and typewriting appear quite negative. The same could be said of the definition of the research material of genetic criticism if it is based on the juxtaposition between unique manuscripts and mechanically reproduced printed texts. The fact that typescripts are rarely mentioned in connection with such definitions suggests that they are not considered to be among the most specific research material in genetic criticism.

It should, however, be noted that the juxtaposition between manuscripts and printed texts has also been criticized by philosophers and genetic critics alike. Marshall McLuhan (1964: 259–260, 262), Jacques Derrida (2005: 19–20) and Don Ihde (2010: 124–125), for example, have highlighted the intermediate nature of typing. As Dirk Van Hulle (2014: 213–214) has pointed out, the genesis of a work is by no means restricted to manuscripts, but it can in fact continue to the epigenetic realm of print, for example when the author revises his work in its subsequent editions.[3] The growing interest in born-digital manuscripts also shows that the field of research in genetic criticism should by no means be limited to holographs. Similarly, it is necessary to review our perceptions of the nature of typescripts.

Typewriter forensics

In genetic criticism, forensic methods are being applied especially in the study of born-digital writing processes (e.g., Ries 2018). Concerning analogue manuscripts, Almuth Grésillon (2016: 135) has mentioned forensic forgery examination in the context of dating manuscripts, but I am not aware of any genetic study that explicitly utilizes forensic methods.[4] Perhaps the reason is that codicology and empirical methods, such as the chemical analysis of ink and paper, have already been used for a long time in genetic criticism, and there has been no need for forensic methods (de Biasi 1990: 26–27). While

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

not exactly genetic criticism, I would like to mention Diane Gilbert Madsen's (2013; 2018) attempts to trace the typewriter used by Ernest Hemingway, which are in some respects related to the approach presented here, especially her use of forensic typewriter identification.

Interestingly enough, typewriter forensics was first introduced in a work of fiction; namely, in the Sherlock Holmes story 'A Case of Identity' by Arthur Conan Doyle (Crown 1967: 105).[5] In the story, Holmes unravels a swindle by closely inspecting a few typed letters.

> 'It is a curious thing,' remarked Holmes, 'that a typewriter has really quite as much individuality as a man's handwriting. Unless they are quite new, no two of them write exactly alike. Some letters get more worn than others, and some wear only on one side. Now, you remark in this note of yours, Mr. Windibank, that in every case there is some little slurring over the 'e,' and a slight defect in the tail of the 'r.' There are fourteen other characteristics, but those are the more obvious.' (Doyle 1892: 72)

Holmes's analysis is surprisingly similar to actual typewriter forensics, which usually seeks to identify the typewriter that was used to produce the questioned document or to determine whether two or more documents were written on the same machine or not (Allen 2016: 96–97; Crown 1967: 105). The examination is somewhat different depending on the documents and goals of the investigation, but it typically starts with the identification of the make, model and year of manufacture of the typewriter used for producing the questioned document. If the typewriter is not available, its class characteristics can be determined by analysing the typeface of the document with the help of a typeface classification system such as the Haas Atlas, which was formerly a manual catalogue of over 500,000 writing samples which have since been computerized (Fatima 2019: 16; Nobles 2010: 37–38).

In order to determine whether the questioned document was produced with a particular typewriter or not, one has to look for individual characteristics in the typescript. At least in principle, typewriters of the same model were supposed to be identical when they came from the factory, but because they were used by different people in different environments and for different uses, they also wore differently over time. Therefore, each typewriter has unique properties, which is also evident in the documents produced by them (Allen 2016: 89–90). Characters that are improperly printed in shape or colour, or deviate from the line of the text may, for example, indicate broken typefaces at the end of the typebars, bent or loose typebars, or defects in the typewriter mechanism (ibid. 97–98; Fatima 2019: 18; Levinson 2001: 76). More transitory individual characteristics can be caused, for instance, by dirty typefaces and the make and condition of the ribbon. Cleaning the typefaces and changing or re-inking the ribbon, changes these characteristics (Hilton 1956: 189).

The material traces of a typed document can also give us information about the operator of the typewriter. In mechanical typewriters, the force whereby a key is pressed is passed on to the character that touches the paper. For example, in the full stop character, the force is applied to a very small area which may puncture the paper if pressed too hard, whereas, in the

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

W character, the force spreads over a wider area which means that the key may have to be pressed more heavily in order to achieve a uniform print. Unlike inexperienced writers, trained typists were aware of this and were able to regulate the use of force. Education, training and habit also have an impact on the way a document is formatted (spacing, margins, indentation, etc.) which can help identify the typist (Allen 2016: 92–93; Fatima 2019: 21). For example, the novelist Anni Polva (1915–2003) used to insert a stack of sheets in the typewriter instead of just one. This can be observed from the typescripts that bear impressions from the previously typed pages. This might seem like a peculiar trait, but she was actually a trained secretary and using several sheets was recommended in typing manuals in order to protect the typewriter platen from wear, especially if the paper was thin (Kekkonen 1949: 5).

Besides an alternative perspective on typescripts as unique documents, typewriter forensics offers methods that can be used in their analysis in genetic criticism. It is, however, good to keep in mind that the objects and research material of forensic examination of questioned documents are quite different from those of genetic criticism, which may also have an impact on the application of its methods. In the case of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara, I tried to find individual characteristics, such as traces of broken typefaces, that could help identify the typewriter for a considerable time. The idea was to find dated manuscripts from the Elina Vaara archive with identical traces in order to estimate when 'Kuun pata' was written. This turned out to be harder than I expected. There were no particularly identifiable flaws in the typescripts of 'Kuun pata'. Instead, some of the other manuscripts had signs of wear although they were very likely typed with the same typewriters because they had the same typefaces. The explanation for this is that, unlike in forensic typewriting examination where the evidence originates from a very limited time period, genetic material can be produced over a long period. In Vaara's case, we are talking about decades. Not only does the typewriter get dirty and wear out in that time, but it can also be serviced on several occasions. So, the typescripts produced with the same typewriter can look very different at different times. In principle, this could have made it possible to date the manuscripts, and it is also used in typewriter forensics, but it did not succeed in this particular case (cf. Fatima 2019: 17). However, this is not a problem, since it is sufficient for our goals to identify Vaara's typewriters on the basis of class characteristics.

In addition to typewriter identification, I will also apply typewriter forensics to the genetic analysis of 'Kuun pata'. In this, I will make use of alignment consistency testing, which is used for detecting individual characteristics of a typewriter, such as loose typebars or defects in the shift mechanism, and determine whether a typescript document has been modified after it was initially typed. For this purpose, examiners use glass or acetate grids that are placed over the document to determine misalignment in characters or entire text passages. (Fatima 2019: 20–21; Levinson 2001: 73.) There are also electronic typewriter grids available, where the grid is laid over the image of the document that has been imported into the computer (Hicks 1999). I do not have access to forensic typewriter grids,

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

instead I have created grids on a photo editor application. With the help of alignment testing, it is possible to distinguish different typing sessions from the typescripts of 'Kuun pata'.

Typewriter identification and manuscript dating

The writing career of the poet and translator Elina Vaara (1903–1980) stretched over seven decades during which her use of writing technologies changed significantly. Vaara began to type up her manuscripts at the end of the 1930s. Although she claimed, in an interview from 1976, that the typewriter is not suitable for poetry, familiarization with her manuscripts shows that she was a far more versatile user of writing tools: Vaara composed poems by hand and on the typewriter, and did so in a quite unique way (Haavikko 197: 110).

The poem 'Kuun pata' is not included in Vaara's poetry collections and, to my knowledge, it has never been published. It is, of course, possible that a published version could still pop up, as Vaara published her poems in a wide variety of publications for several decades. 'Kuun pata' is a good example of Vaara's writing process that is often characterized by intensive revising. Existing versions of the poem appear on five separate manuscript leaves, of which three have versions on both sides. One of the leaves has a poem on the reverse side that does not belong to 'Kuun pata'. There are thus eight different *completed versions* of the poem on a total of eight separate pages. In addition, there are two *attempted versions* of the poem on the same page as the first completed version (I will return to this in more detail later). Moreover, every version has been more or less revised.

The table below (Table 1), describes the writing technology (paper, typewriter, and pens) used in the manuscripts of 'Kuun pata'. The manuscript pages are arranged in chronological order. In the second column, the abbreviation KP (= 'Kuun pata') and the sequence number indicate the manuscript leaf (e.g., KP4) to which the page belongs. The lowercase letter r or v following the leaf number (e.g., KP1r) indicates whether page is on the recto or verso side. Verso here means a page written earlier and recto a page written later. The sixth column indicates the numbers used in the figures of the manuscripts.

The ability to date manuscripts is essential both to the genetic analysis of manuscripts and to understanding their significance in the context of the authors' oeuvre. In the case of 'Kuun pata' this is complicated by the fact that a published version is not available and that Vaara did not date the manuscripts. Nor are the manuscripts of 'Kuun pata' part of the discarded poems of a published work or any other similar entity on the basis of which they could be dated. In the Elina Vaara archive, they are located in an archival unit containing all the sketches, drafts and manuscripts of her unpublished poems throughout her career in alphabetical order. However, there are also several versions of published poems in the unit.

In such cases as 'Kuun pata', forensic typewriter identification may provide some help in approximating the date of composition of the text. It is evident

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Table 1. The genetic material of 'Kuun pata'.

Order	Page of the Leaf	Paper	Typewriter	Pen/Pencil	Figure
1	KP1r	Thick, unruled, Colosseo pad	Underwood	Pencil	Figure 3
2	KP2r	Thick, unruled, Colosseo pad	Underwood	Pencil	Figure 9
3	KP1v	Thick, unruled, Colosseo pad	Underwood	Pencil	Figure 12
4	KP2v	Thick, unruled, Colosseo pad		Fountain pen (blue)	Figure 7
5	KP3r	Typing paper	Optima	Pencil	Figure 10
6	KP4	Typing paper	Optima	Pencil, fountain pen (blue)	Figure 11
7	KP3v	Typing paper	Optima	Pencil	Figure 8
8	KP5	Typing paper (Linen Bank)	Optima	Pencil, fountain pen (black), ballpoint (blue)	

from the manuscripts of her published works that Vaara wrote solely by hand until 1937, when *Yön ja auringon kehät* (The rings of night and sun) was published. Both a pen and a typewriter were used for the transcription of the finished manuscript. In the same year, Vaara married the critic and novelist Tatu Vaaskivi (1912–1942), who brought a typewriter into the household.

Next year, a women's magazine called *Eeva* published an interview with the young couple, mentioning the clickety-clack of Vaaskivi's typewriter sounding in the background. One photograph in the feature shows Vaaskivi sitting by his typewriter (Firinä 1938: 10). The poor quality of the photograph makes it impossible to identify the make of the typewriter.

However, a better picture of Vaaskivi was later published in an article 'Väärinymmärretty Vaaskivi' (Misunderstood Vaaskivi, 1950) by Juhani Konkka, where the typewriter can be seen in a little more detail (Figure 1). The photograph was probably taken in the same session as those in *Eeva* magazine, as Vaaskivi's clothes seem to be the same and the artefacts surrounding him appear to be in exactly the same places. Although the typewriter is at an unfavourable angle, it can be recognized from the photograph by the ribbon spools that are typical of the Underwood's Portable 4 Bank.[6] There is also support for this hypothesis in the travel journal *Rooman tie* (1940, The road to Rome), where Vaaskivi mentions on a couple of occasions that he is typing on an Underwood (Vaaskivi 1940: 6, 49).

Typeface analysis is one of the methods that is used in typewriting forensics

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Figure 1. Tatu Vaaskivi circa 1938, by his typewriter that was also used by his wife Elina Vaara. Unknown photographer, c. 1938, published in Suomen Kuvalehti *40, 1950.*

to identify typewriters. For many years, different typewriter manufacturers used different typefaces on their machines and the typefaces also changed in the course of time. With the help of a comprehensive collection of typeface samples, such as the Haas Atlas, it is possible to identify the manufacturer of the typewriter and its approximate date of manufacture (Allen 2016: 95–96; Fatima 2019: 15). I do not have access to the Haas Atlas or any other modern typeface classification system. However, I have tested the system developed by Ordway Hilton in the 1950s, where the make, model and approximate time of manufacture of a typewriter can be determined on the basis of a number of character details. It appears that Vaaskivi's typescripts were written with an Underwood (Hilton 1951: 666–667).[7] I have also compared the typeface of Vaaskivi's typescripts with the typeface specimens of the Underwood Portable 4 Bank that can be found on The Typewriter Database website, and I found matching samples (Suravegin 2014).

To verify whether Vaara used Vaaskivi's typewriter or not, we have to

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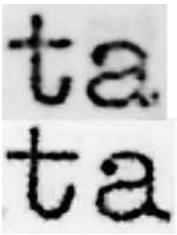


Figure 2. Specimens of the characters t and a of the Underwood Portable 4 Bank (above) and Optima Elite (below) appearing on the typescripts of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

compare the typefaces of their typescripts. The typeface of the typescripts of *Yön ja auringon kehät* is the same as in Vaaskivi's typescripts. The same typeface is found in some of the typescripts of 'Kuun pata' (Figure 3, 9, 12). The rest of the typescripts were produced with another typewriter (Figure 8, 10, 11). An inexperienced eye might not notice the difference because the typefaces are very similar. They can be distinguished, for example, by the cross line of the character t, whose left and right side are almost of equal length in the Underwood, whereas in the other typewriter the right side is longer than the left side. A more apparent difference can be seen in the hook at the bottom of the letter a, that curves up sharply in the Underwood, whereas in the other machine it descends diagonally (Figure 2).

Finding the typefaces of two different typewriters is significant for the genetic analysis of 'Kuun pata' since it indicates that there were at least two separate writing campaigns, which can help demarcate the date of the composition of the poem. My hypothesis is that the poem was written at the time Vaara acquired a new typewriter. The hypothesis can be tested by investigating the typescripts of Vaara's published texts. We need to find the latest typescript typed on the Underwood and the earliest document made with the other typewriter because it is likely that 'Kuun pata' was written between the publication of these two texts.

Apparently, Vaaskivi's typewriter was left to Vaara's use after his death in 1942, as several of the typescripts in Vaara's subsequent works have been typed with the Underwood. The last one of these is *Salaisuuksien talo* (The house of secrets) from 1955. The first collection of poetry that was partly typed with the other typewriter is *Mimerkki*, published in 1963.[8] During the seven years between these two works, Vaara published only two selections of poetry *Valikoima runoja* (1958, A selection of poems) and *Valitut runot* (1959, Selected poems). The typescript of the former selection is preserved in the Elina Vaara archive and it was typed with the Underwood (Vaara, *Valikoima runoja*).

During the seven years, Vaara concentrated on translating. The translation manuscripts can be used to define more accurately the date of the replacement of the typewriter. Vaara's translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* was published in 1963 but, according to her biographer Kerttu Saarenheimo (2001a: 27) she had probably already delivered the manuscript to the publisher in 1960. The manuscript of the translation was typed with the Underwood (Vaara, *Jumalainen näytelmä*). Vaara's translation of *Oresteia* by Aeschylus was issued in 1961, which was also, for the most part, typed with the Underwood, but some of it with her other typewriter. As typing paper for *Oresteia*, Vaara recycled her earlier manuscripts among other things,

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including a draft of a letter to the literary critic and professor of Finnish literature Kai Laitinen (1924–2013). It is dated 30 September 1960 and it was typed with the Underwood. (Vaara, *Oresteia*).

The replacement of Vaara's typewriter can thus be narrowed down to the years 1960–1961. This is supported by a find from the biographica section of the Elina Vaara archive. There are three typewriter maintenance receipts from office equipment retailers from 1968. One of the receipts is an invoice for the thorough cleaning, oiling and checking of Vaara's typewriter. A new ribbon was also installed. Most significantly, the receipt gives us the brand and serial number of the typewriter: 'Optima No. 1129275'.

With this information, we can find out the model and year of manufacture of the typewriter and what kind of typeface it had. The Typewriter Database website contains information of the serial numbers of different brands and models of typewriters. According to the serial number table of Optima typewriters, Vaara's typewriter was an Optima Elite 3 and it was manufactured in 1960 (Munk 2017). On the website, you can find photographs of the typewriter model, including typeface specimens that correspond to the typescripts of 'Kuun pata' (Petersen 2013). So, it is very likely that the other typewriter used in the genesis of 'Kuun pata' was a 1960 Optima Elite 3.

Thus, 'Kuun pata' was probably written at the end of the 1950s, at the time when Vaara was translating Dante and Aeschylus, and the poems of *Mimerkki* began to develop. There is also an indication of this in the manuscripts of *Mimerkki*. First, some drafts are of the same kind and size (20.5 × 14.2 cm) as the first two sheets of 'Kuun pata' (KP1 and KP2). The aged paper has turned light brown and the fibre of the paper is clearly visible. The small dark brown dots on the paper are especially recognizable. These sheets are likely from the same source: a writing pad of approximately the same size (20.5 × 14.5 cm), whose cardboard covers are among the manuscripts of *Mimerkki*. An image of the Colosseum and the text 'COLOSSEO' is printed in red on the cover, which suggests that it was bought in Rome.

Besides autographs, *Mimerkki*'s genetic material consists of typescripts that were typed on at least three different typewriters. These include the same Underwood and Optima that were used for 'Kuun pata'. The third one was probably a typewriter with a non-Scandinavian keyboard since in the typescripts Vaara has added the dots above the letters *ä* and *ö* by hand. The explanation for the foreign typeface is that Vaara spent time in Italy in 1961–1962 (Saarenheimo 2001: 206), which nicely demonstrates how typewriter identification may help to locate writing spaces geographically. In Italy, Vaara probably had access to a typewriter with the local QZERTY key layout which, of course, does not have the letters *ä* and *ö*. Presumably, it was an Olivetti whose model Lettera 22 from 1957, for example, had a similar typeface to the *Mimerkki* typescripts (Zagaeski 2020). The issue in the manuscripts of *Mimerkki* is that Vaara used both the Underwood and Optima as in the genesis of 'Kuun pata'. Moreover, the writing took place at approximately the same time period at the end of the 1950s. By this association, *Mimerkki* can be thought of as a genetic context for 'Kuun pata', which may be significant for the interpretation of both texts.

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Detecting typing campaigns

In this subchapter, I will focus on the writing process of the first manuscript page of 'Kuun pata', which is in itself quite a complex entity (Figure 3 and 4). I will analyse the manuscript as a whole instead of focusing solely on the typing, which is necessary in order to understand Vaara's writing process that is defined by the alternation of typing and handwriting.

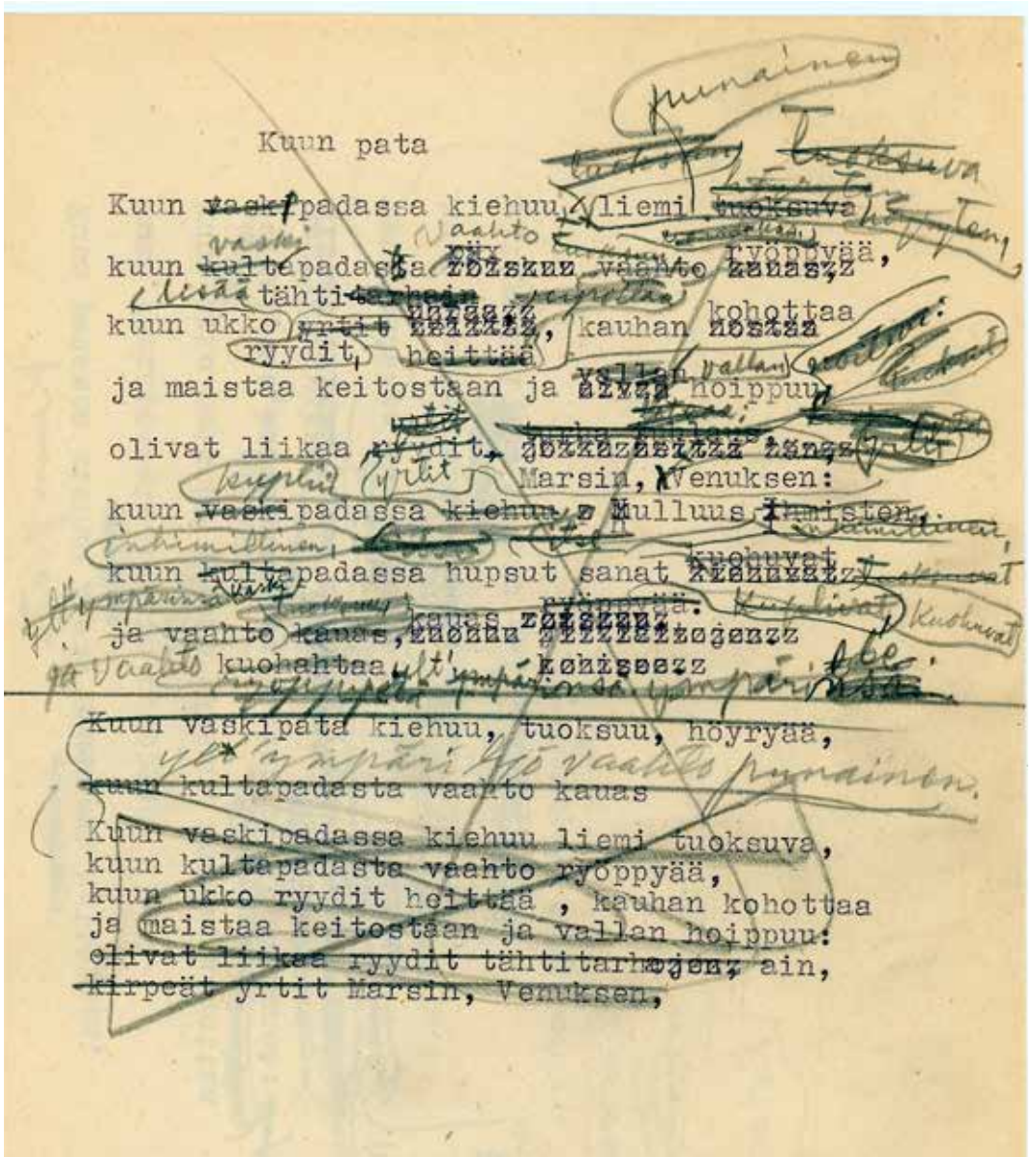
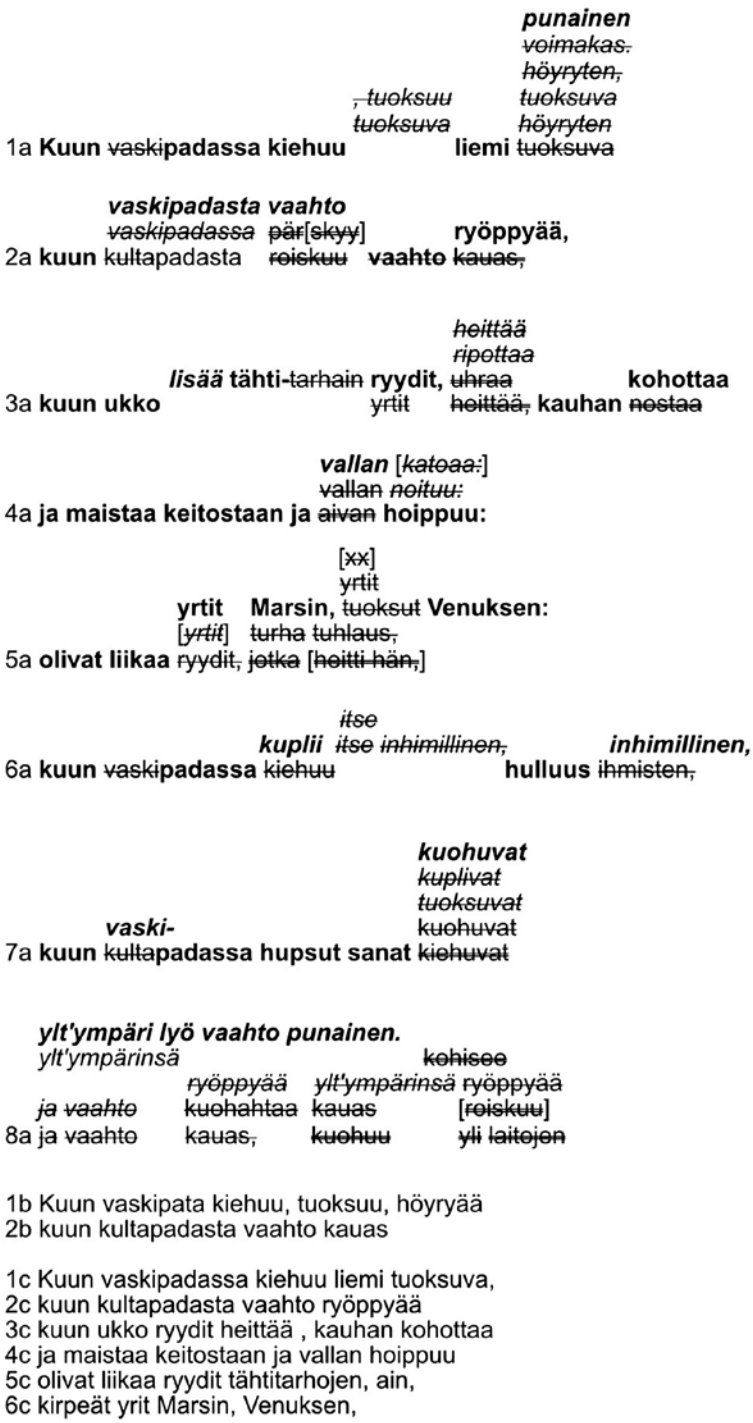


Figure 3. First version (KP1r) of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

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1b Kuun vaskipata kiehuu, tuoksuu, höyryää
2b kuun kultapadasta vaahto kauas

1c Kuun vaskipadassa kiehuu liemi tuoksuva,
2c kuun kultapadasta vaahto ryöppyää
3c kuun ukko ryydit heittää , kauhan kohottaa
4c ja maistaa keitostaan ja vallan hoippuu
5c olivat liikaa ryydit tähtitarhojen, ain,
6c kirpeät yrit Marsin, Venuksen,

Figure 4. A chronological transcription of the first version (KP1r) of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

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The first manuscript of 'Kuun pata' is typed and heavily marked with a pencil on a 20.5 × 14.2 cm sheet of paper that was probably detached from the Colosseo writing pad found among the manuscripts of *Mimerkki*. The text was first typed and subsequently revised with a pencil. There are also many textual changes made with the typewriter. In the content of the text, one's interest is first caught by the repetition at the bottom of the page, where Vaara has attempted to rewrite the poem from the beginning (lines 9–16). Vaara subsequently separated this portion from the text above with a horizontal pencil stroke across the page. In fact, she began to rewrite the poem twice. First, two lines (9–10) with the same spacing as the text above, then six lines (11–16) with narrower spacing. The left alignment of these text passages is also inconsistent and they are not parallel with the lines above, slanting slightly downwards to the right, which raises the question as to the order in which these parts were typed and their relationship to the pencil corrections. Did Vaara, for example, type the passage above first, revise it with a pencil and then try to transcribe it below? After all, there are no pencil corrections at the bottom of the page.

In most mechanical typewriters, every character uses the same amount of space regardless of the actual size and the shape of the character.[9] The space is also as wide as the characters. Hence, the characters are arranged in horizontal and vertical lines, forming an invisible grid on the page. If we compare the alignment and the spacing between the lines of the upper text of the manuscript with that of the passage below, we notice that they are not in the same grid (Figure 5). This might have resulted from the paper simply having slipped from its original position. However, it may also indicate that the typing of the document was interrupted, the paper was removed from the typewriter, inserted back and typed again (Allen 2016: 98; Fatima 2019: 20–21; Hilton 1956: 57–59; 1974: 205). In the latter case, it would be a sign of two separate typing campaigns on KP1r.



Figure 5. Detail of the first version (KP1r) of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara placed under a grid disclosing misalignment and slanting lines in the typescript. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

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In addition to the two typing campaigns, we can make distinctions between the pencil corrections. It is noteworthy that there are only pencil corrections on the upper text although the lower part of the page has been completely struck through with a pencil. Moreover, the whole page has finally been crossed out. The pencil markings on the upper typescript were probably added after the typing of the whole document. This is suggested by the fact that both the upper and lower typescripts mention 'vaskipata' (copper cauldron) and 'kultapata' (gold cauldron), whereas after the pencil corrections there is only a 'vaskipata' and a 'pata' (cauldron).

According to my hypothesis, Vaara typed the above text first. During the same typing campaign, she deleted words by z-ing them out. Vaara has added the substitute word directly above the deleted word. The deleted words, the substitute words and the z's used for the deletions all match in the same grid, which supports the surmise that they were made during the same typing campaign. There are also other substitutions in the upper text, but they have been made subsequently, and I will return to them soon. After the first typing campaign, the text probably looked like this:

1 Kuun vaskipadassa kiehuu liemi tuoksuva
2 kuun kultapadasta ~~roiskuu~~ <pä > vaahto ~~kauas~~, <ryöppyää,>
3 kuun ukko yrtit ~~heittää~~ <~~uhraa,~~>, kauhan ~~nostaa~~ <kohottaa>
4 ja maistaa keitostaan ja ~~aivan~~ <vallan> hoippuu
5 olivat liikaa ryydit, ~~jotka heitti hän,~~ <turha tuhlaus,>
6 kuun vaskipadassa kiehuu ~~p~~ [~~x~~<h>]ulluus [~~x~~<i>]hmisten,
7 kuun kultapadassa hupsut sanat ~~kiehuvat~~ <kuohuvat>
8 ja vaahto kauas, [~~kuohuu~~] <kauas> ~~yli laitojen.~~ <~~roiskuu.~~> <ryöppyää.>

[1 In the copper cauldron of the moon boils a potion aromatic
2 from the golden cauldron of the moon, foam ~~spatters~~ <~~spl~~> ~~far,~~ <gushes>
3 the man on the moon ~~throws in~~ <~~offers~~> the herbs, ~~lifts~~ <raises> the ladle
4 and tastes his soup and ~~wholly~~ <quite> totters:
5 too much were the spices, ~~that he threw,~~ <a needless waste,>
6 in the copper cauldron boils ~~e~~ [~~x~~<m>]adness of [~~x~~<h>]umans,
7 in the golden cauldron funny words ~~boil~~ <surge>
8 and the foam [~~surges~~] far, <far> ~~over the brim.~~ <~~spatters.~~> <gushes.>]

Compared with the later versions, it looks as if Vaara managed to catch the core of the poem in these eight lines of the first version. The beginning of the poem in particular stays relatively unchanged until the seventh line, while the latter part varies a great deal throughout the writing process. If we look at the first version before the revisions, it seems that Vaara tried to write down the rhythmic structure of the poem without paying too much attention to the wording.[10] After seeing the poem on paper, she took notice of the reoccurring words, such as, 'roiskuu' (spatters, ll. 2 and 8), 'kauas' (far, ll. 2 and 8), 'heittää' (throw, ll. 3 and 5), 'kiehuu' (boil, ll. 6 and 7), which she then replaced with different expressions. Next, for some reason, Vaara stopped typing and removed the paper from the machine.

When she reinserted the paper, she typed two lines (9–10) with the same spacing: 'Kuun vaskipata kiehuu, tuoksuu, höyryää, / kuun kultapadasta

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vaahto kauas' (The copper cauldron of the moon boils, smells, steams,/ from the golden cauldron of the moon foam far). It looks as if Vaara tried to write an altogether new version of the poem from the start but stopped just before the last word of the second line. A fitting word for the place would have been 'ryöppyää' (gushes). However, it would have rhymed with the last word, 'höyryää' (steams) of the previous rewritten line, which Vaara apparently did not wish to do, based on the pencil substitutions in which Vaara tried out several alternatives ('tuoksuva' [aromatic], 'höyryten' [steaming], 'punainen' [red]) that do not rhyme with the second line (Figure 3).

After the failed rewriting attempt, Vaara probably narrowed the spacing because the bottom edge of the paper was getting closer. She started to type up the corrected version up to half way through the fifth line. Here lies one of the repetitions that bothered the text above (l. 3: 'heittää [throw], l. 5: 'heitti' [threw]), which Vaara replaced with a somewhat bland line: 'olivat liikaa ryydit, turha tuhlaus' (too much were the spices, a needless waste). Now she came up with the idea of cosmic ingredients boiling in the cauldron: 'olivat liikaa ryydit tähtitarh[xx]<ojen,> ain / kirpeät yrtit Marsin, Venuksen,' (too much were the spices of the canopy of stars, always,/ the sour herbs of Mars, Venus,). The rewritten version ends here.



Figure 6. Detail of the first version (KP1r) of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara placed under a grid disclosing misaligned typescript substitutions. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

This, however, did not mark the end of the second typing campaign. I will now return to the subsequent typed substitutions in the upper text that I mentioned earlier. According to my interpretation, these interlinear substitutions were made at the end of the second typing campaign because they are aligned with the lower text passage. With these subsequent substitutions, Vaara inserts the idea of the cosmic ingredients, invented during the second typing campaign, into the upper text. Above and below the third line, she replaces first the word 'yrtit' (herbs) with 'tähti-tarhain ryydeillä' (spices of the canopy of stars), but then compresses it to 'tähtiryydit' (star-spices) (Figure 6). In the fifth line, Vaara replaces the expression 'ryydit, turha tuhlaus,' (spices, a needless waste) with 'ryydit, Marsin Venuksen:' (spices, of Mars and Venus:). Moreover, she replaces the word 'kauas' (far), in line eight, with 'kuohahtaa' (surges) (Figure 5). Here, Vaara has not z-ed out these deletions with the typewriter, but struck them out afterwards with a pencil. This takes us to a new stage in the genesis of this manuscript page.

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It is harder to figure out from the pencil markings whether there were several writing campaigns or not. It is perfectly possible that Vaara did some pencil corrections while she was typing. In any case, most of them were made after the typing campaigns. Certain instances are, for example, the changes in the words 'vaskipadassa' (in the copper cauldron) and 'kultapadasta' (from the golden cauldron) that do not appear in the typescripts (ll. 1–2, 6–7). Vaara also added a wholly new line at the end of the poem: 'ylt' ympäri lyö vaahto punainen' (the red foam shoots all over). The text is covered with pencil markings, which explains in part why Vaara did not finish the revision on the typewriter.

After the countless pencil strike outs, substitutions, corrections and other changes, Vaara crossed out the whole manuscript page. This, however, does not mean that she was about to reject the poem. In fact, it is not a rejection at all. If anything, it is a sign of transition, because she continued to work on the poem on a new sheet of paper with the help of the first version. In Pierre-Marc de Biasi's (2005: 57–58) terminology, strikethroughs of this kind are called 'rature d'utilisation', which means something like 'marked as used'.

Alternating between typing and handwriting

Like the first manuscript, Vaara began the rest of the manuscripts by typing and continued to revise them by hand, with the exception of the fourth version (KP2v), which was written solely with blue ink (Figure 7). It is notable that Vaara's writing habits do not change much even if she writes only with a pen. Most often, it looks as if she began by transcribing the previous manuscript, but it soon turned into a new version already in the first typing campaign. This is due to the fact that the beginning of the poem remained relatively unchanged whereas the ending was constantly revised.

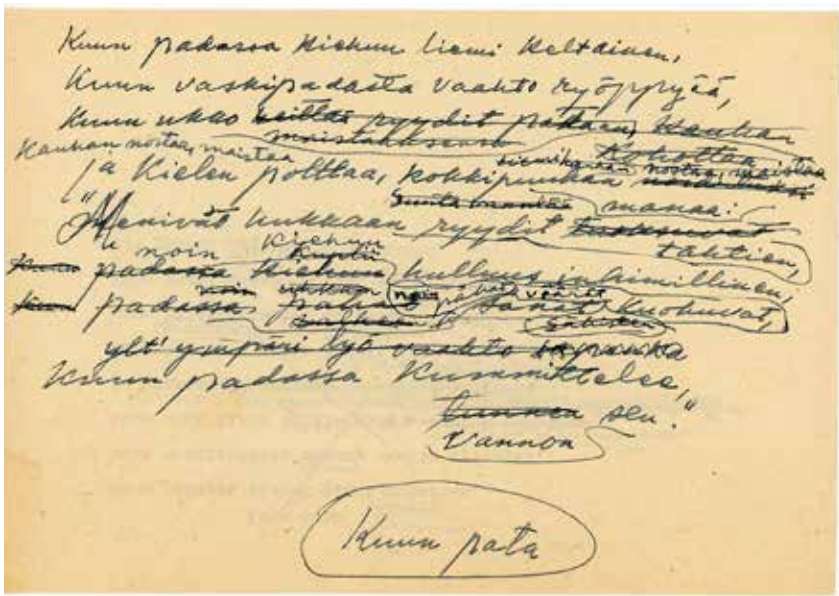


Figure 7. The fourth version (KP2v) of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

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Because Vaara used the previous manuscript as a model in writing the next version, manuscripts following each other are never on the opposite pages of the same sheet, but always on different sheets. This could be taken as a characteristic feature of typewriting in the sense that it would be very laborious to constantly remove and reinsert the sheet into the machine after checking the earlier version. Writing by hand this is much easier, although smeary ink could cause problems. As stated above, the sixth (KP4) and eighth (KP5) versions are exceptional in that they are not written on the reverse side of another version of 'Kuun pata'.

The subsequent versions do not contain many immediate changes made on the typewriter. In the sixth line of the seventh version (KP3v), Vaara deleted the word 'luiskahti' (slipped) by z-ing out in the same manner as in the first version and added above it the substitute word 'ripsahti' (snapped) (Figure 8). Afterwards, she continued to revise this passage with the typewriter. Two other immediate substitutions can be found in the first line of the second version (KP2r) 'helakan' (brilliant) and the third line of the fifth version (KP3r) 'hyvien' (the good). These are the only immediate typed additions in the manuscripts of 'Kuun pata'.

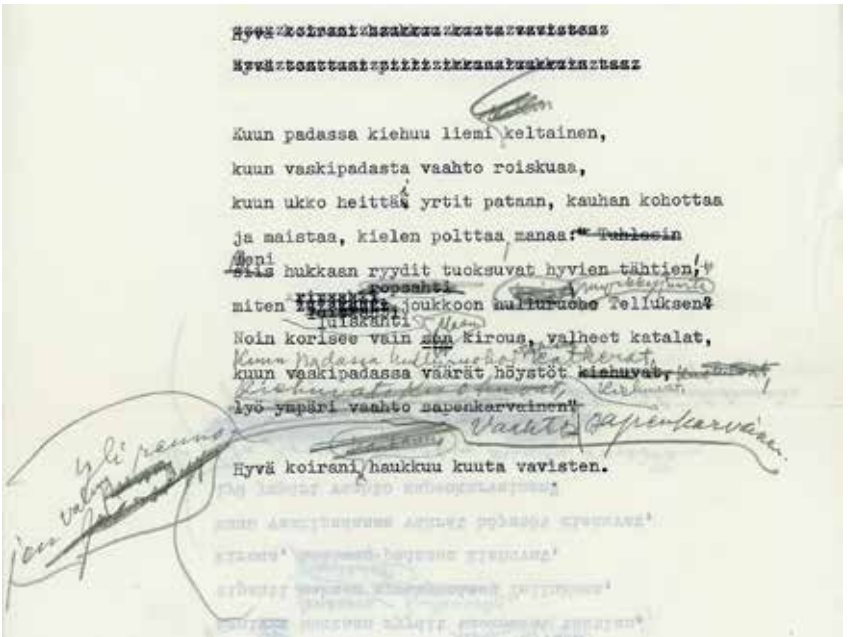


Figure 8. The seventh version (KP3v) of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

The subsequent typed changes, i.e., changes made after removing and reinserting the paper, are more frequent in these later versions. These appear in the third, fifth and sixth versions (Figure 10–12). The last two were typed with the Olympia, so Vaara's revision habits remained unchanged in spite of the replacement of the typewriter. The substitutions consist of z-ing (KP1v: ll. 1 and 5; KP4: l. 9 and inf. l. 10), x-ing (KP3r: l. 5) and additions of

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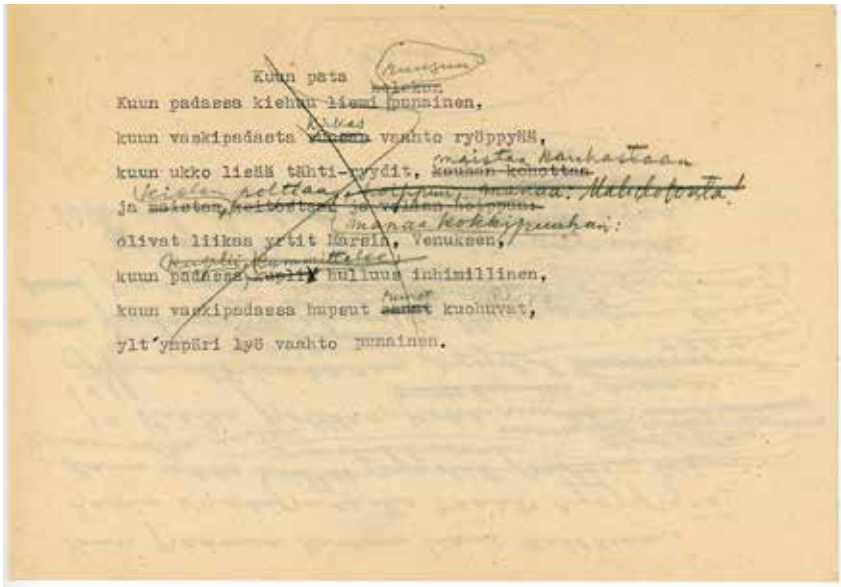


Figure 9. The second version (KP2r) of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

substitute words (KP1v: sup. l. 5; KP3r: l. 2 and sup. l. 5; KP4: sup. l. 8, sup. l. 9, sup. and inf. l. 10). For example, the substitution in the second line of the fifth version (KP3r), is a rare instance where Vaara used an eraser to delete the word 'ryöppyää' (gushes) and typed the word 'roiskuaa' (spatters) over it (Figure 10).

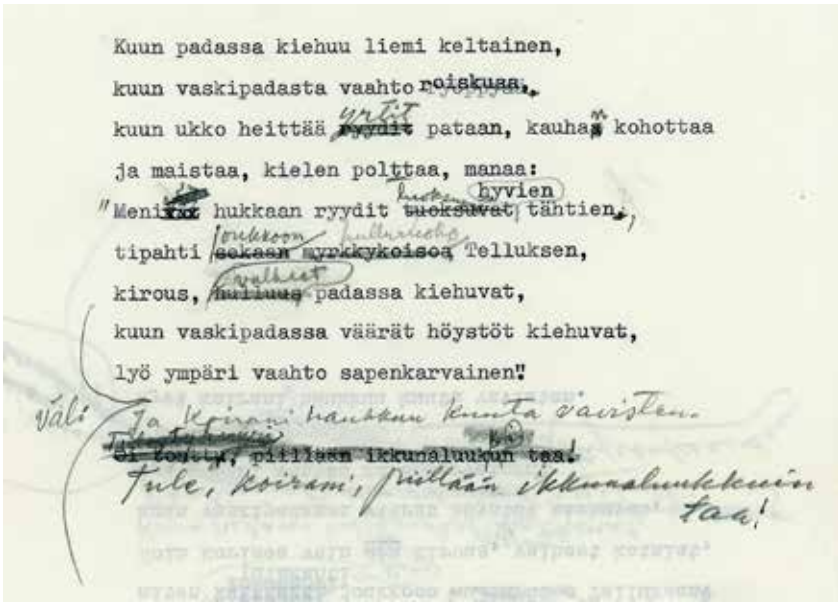


Figure 10. The fifth version (KP3r) of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

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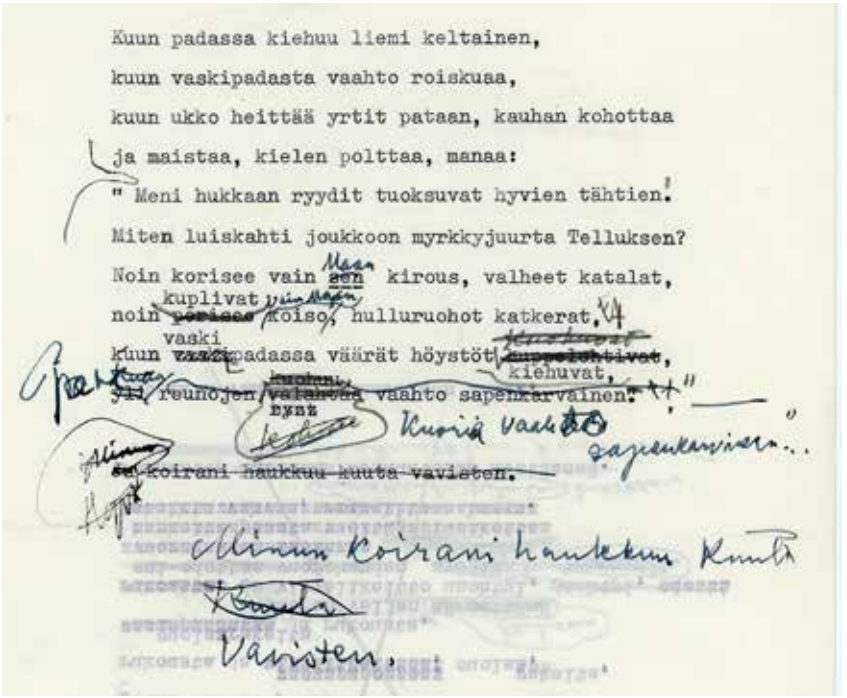

Kuun padassa kiehuu liemi keltainen,
kuun vaskipadasta vaahto roiskuaa,
kuun ukko heittää yrtit pataan, kauhan kohottaa
ja maistaa, kielen polttaa, manaa:
" Meni hukkaan ryydit tuoksuvat hyvien tähtien!
Miten luiskahti joukkoon myrkkyjuurta Telluksen?
Noin korisee vain sen kirous, valheet katalat,
noin koiso, hulluruohot katkerat,
Kuun padassa väärät höystöt kiehuvat,
yli reunojen vaahto sapenkarvainen."
Vaisten,

Figure 11. The sixth version (KP4) of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

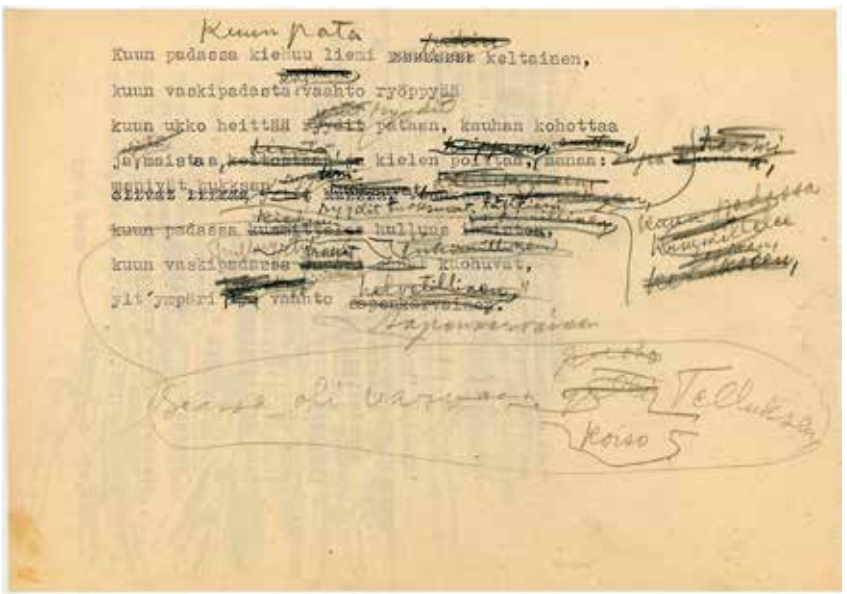

Kuun pata
Kuun padassa kiehuu lieni keltainen,
kuun vaskipadasta vaahto ryöppyää
kuun ukko heittää yrtit pataan, kauhan kohottaa
kuun padassa hulluna
kuun vaskipadassa kiehuvat,
Koiso
Telluksen

Figure 12. The third version (KP1v) of the poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Elina Vaara's archive.

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In broad outline, the handwritten revisions to the text of the poem are similar to those made on the typewriter. Especially frequent are substitutions of single words that have immediately been replaced with another word or just deleted. There are some additions that have immediately been deleted. Vaara has also used a pencil for deletions. There are also changes in the punctuation, such as substitutions, deletions and additions. More extensive revisions concern the substitution of word pairs, rewriting, and the addition of whole lines.

A significant difference in Vaara's use of handwriting and typing is related to strokes. Although it is possible to make strokes on a typewriter, as is well demonstrated in typewriter art, it is contrary to the technical characteristics of the machine.[11] The slugs of the typewriter are not designed to move freely on the surface of the paper, but in a fixed grid, which has little room for adjustment. The characters are separate units which prevent making strokes in the same way as when drawing with a pen. This partly explains why Vaara started with the typewriter and continued by hand. She revised the text on the typewriter as far as it was possible, and in the case of 'Kuun pata', she did it in a remarkably versatile fashion. Still, it was not possible to make all the desired textual changes on the typewriter because she had the habit of filling the paper almost completely with markings.

In 'Kuun pata', Vaara used pencil strokes to delete words, parts of words and whole lines. A related phenomenon is the crossing out of whole manuscript pages (see Figure 3 and 9). In the first version (KP1r), Vaara separated the completed version and two shorter try-outs with a horizontal stroke across the page. She also used pencil strokes to guide additions to their places between words, as in the second and fourth line of the second version (KP2r) (Figure 9). The same holds true for the substitutions that do not always fit into the vicinity of the word to be replaced. Similarly, she guides the rewritten sixth line into its place in the third version (KP1v) (Figure 12). If the manuscript is full of markings, Vaara uses pencil strokes to distinguish revisions that belong to different lines. She also used strokes to mark the visual properties of the poem, such as the addition of a blank line in the fifth and sixth version (Figure 10 and 11).

It is hard to generalize about Vaara's use of the typewriter because it changes from one poem to the next. In the case of 'Kuun pata', it is obviously the alternation between typing and handwriting that best describes the genetic process. A related and equally difficult question is what motivated the use of the typewriter: why did she use it and what were its benefits? One possible answer is that typing enabled her to imagine the poem as a visually structured ensemble. Many authors have said that typing up the text distances the text from them and helps discern its flaws (Sullivan 2015: 7; Viollet 1996: 16–17). In the case of 'Kuun pata', Vaara was probably able to locate the unwanted repetition at a glance and try out alternative wordings and instantly see how they impact the rest of the poem. However, it is left unresolved why Vaara needed to use the typewriter in this particular case when she was usually perfectly content to use a pen or pencil.

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Conclusion

In genetic criticism, typescripts have been overshadowed by autograph manuscripts due to their mechanical nature, which has commonly been understood to make the text somehow more inauthentic than handwriting. However, as has been demonstrated in forensic typewriter investigation, a typewriter and its use can show as much individuality as handwriting, and this is manifest in the documents produced with it. Besides this forensic material individuality, literary typescripts in particular have a genetic individuality, by which I refer to the role of the typewriter in a particular genetic process. This process can change significantly from one author to another and even from one project to another by the same author. These individual traits yield an authenticity much like the one ascribed to autograph manuscripts, which should guide the treatment of typescripts in genetic criticism.

The case of the short poem 'Kuun pata' by Elina Vaara is particularly illustrative as it demonstrates how basic methods of forensic typewriter investigation can be used in genetic analysis to date the writing process and detect different typing sessions. 'Kuun pata' might appear to be a curiosity, yet it is just one example of a wide array of more or less singular uses of the typewriter in the creative writing process. Akin to typewriter forensics, which probes the individual traits of a typewriter or typescript, a genetic criticism approach to typewriting could focus on these singular uses of the typewriter which consist of a combination of learned skills, adopted habits, personal whims and coincidences.

However, one should not concentrate only on typing. The fact that Vaara switches back and forth from typewriter to pencil demonstrates the intrinsic interplay between different writing technologies. Authors often mix tools in the writing process, even within one document. So, instead of contrasting different writing means and technologies, such as handwriting and print, it would be better to look into the various and changing roles these technologies take in the overall context of the genetic process.

Notes

1 This work was supported by the Finnish Cultural Foundation (project number 00160791), the Alfred Kordelin Foundation (project number 170324) and the Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation (project number 9769812).

2 See Pulkkinen 2020 for the role of the typewriter in Jalmari Finne's own writing process.

3 See also the 44th volume of the journal *Genesis: manuscrits, recherche, invention*, edited by Rudolf Mahrer (2017), which was devoted to the question of post-publication rewriting.

4 There is an article by D. C. Greetham with the promising title 'Textual Forensics' (1996), which, however, does not discuss the application of forensic methods to textual scholarship.

5 The story was first published in *Strand Magazine* in September 1891, and it is also included in the 1892 collection *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes.*

6 I am indebted to the Antique Typewriter Collectors Facebook group for identifying

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

the typewriter in the photograph.

7 I have used typewriting samples from a collection of Vaaskivi's notes and drafts deposited in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society.

8 Mimerkki is the goddess of forests in Finnish folklore, better known as Mielikki (Saarenheimo 2001a: 229).

9 There are typewriters with proportional spacing. The first commercially successful one was the IBM Executive from 1944, which was an electric typewriter. Early attempts at variable spacing were, for instance, Crandall 1 (1882), Columbia 1 (1886) and Hamilton Automatic (1887) (Howard 2014: 7).

10 This is in line with Vaara's statement that the overall structure of the poem was already ready when she began to write it (Haavikko 1976: 109).

11 For typewriter art, see, for instance, Tullet 2014.

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II Digitality and Genetic Criticism

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3. The Logic of Versions in Born-Digital Literature

Born-digital works challenge the logic of the version, a notion that is deeply ingrained in genetic criticism, textual criticism and scholarly editing.[1] At first sight, it seems as if writings whose genesis is recorded with keystroke logging software force us to rethink genetic research so thoroughly that the notion of the version becomes obsolete. In 2009, Marita Mathijsen announced the end of genetic editing: 'the physical circumstances in which a work comes into being nowadays have changed so much that one can speak of a new era of scholarly editing, and of a radical shift which might well herald the end of the genetic method of editing' (Mathijsen 2009: 234). But the genetic orientation in digital scholarly editing is more vibrant than ever, as this article will try to show.

In the research field of writing studies, there is a long tradition of research into born-digital texts (Kollberg 1998; Kollberg & Eklundh 2002; Leijten & Van Waes 2013; Leijten et al. 2014; Lindgren & Sullivan 2006a; 2006b; Lindgren et al. 2019; Miller & Sullivan 2006; Stevenson et al. 2006). In literary studies and textual scholarship, this type of research is less developed, although recent studies show interesting results with regard to the possibility of applying digital forensics to textual scholarship (Gooding, Smith & Mann 2019; Kirschenbaum 2008; Kirschenbaum, Ovenden & Redwine 2010; Ries 2017; 2018). Usually, the differences in approach between writing studies and genetic criticism result from the fact that the latter is often unable to work with living authors. Similarly, various traditions of textual scholarship initially developed from editorial projects relating to the most canonical dead authors, such as Shakespeare or Goethe. Nevertheless, a rapprochement would be beneficial to all of these disciplines.

This article tries to take a step in the direction of such a rapprochement by zooming in on the notion of the 'version' and investigating whether born-digital literature forces us to radically abolish this concept. Its thesis is that the notion of the 'version' does not necessarily become obsolete when dealing with born-digital texts. The digital medium does not make it irrelevant, but it does compel us to reassess the logic of the version and to sharpen our working definitions of this concept. The article's starting point is that the notion of the textual version is often employed too imprecisely in textual scholarship and genetic criticism, and that it is always necessary to specify

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

the size of the textual unit. Only then can the concept prove its relevance in the digital medium. Born-digital literature therefore impels us to reassess the existing theories, mostly inspired by structuralist theories of the 1970s.

The year 1971 is a milestone in German *Editionswissenschaft*. It marked the publication of the collection of essays *Texte und Varianten*, edited by Gunter Martens and Hans Zeller. In an essay in this volume, Siegfried Scheibe defined textual versions as a work's realizations (*Ausführungen eines Werkes*), which differ mutually (Scheibe 1971: 17). As Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth duly notes, this definition was an important step in textual scholarship because it does not imply any hierarchy between versions (Nutt-Kofoth 2000: 168). The downside, however, was that this definition does imply that one single variant, even a single comma, suffices to create a new version. From a theoretical point of view, this is a waterproof definition, but in practice it is of little use when one needs to give shape to a scholarly edition. For theoreticians, one swallow may make a summer, but not in editorial practice.

Working definitions: text, work, version, document

Most textual scholars do seem to agree that a 'version' is an immaterial entity (see for instance Mathijsen 2003: 40). Peter Shillingsburg defines the document as a material entity, the only material object in the series of basic editorial concepts 'work', 'text', 'version' and 'document'. The other three are abstract concepts: a 'text' is a sequence of signs; if there is more than one of these texts, one can speak of 'versions'; and the 'work' is not the sum of all these versions, but is implied by them (Shillingsburg 1996: 176). Shillingsburg – together with James Thorpe, Hans Zeller, Jerome McGann, Donald Reiman, James McLaverty and J.C.C. Mays – is regarded as one of the advocates of what Jack Stillinger (in his 'Practical Theory of Versions') calls 'theory of textual pluralism', which states that 'every individual version of a work is a distinct text in its own right, with unique aesthetic character and unique authorial intention' (Stillinger 1994: 121). Even if someone makes an exact copy of a manuscript, one cannot claim that the copy and the manuscript are one and the same version, Stillinger argues, 'because the paper, handwriting, occasion, and purpose are entirely different from those of the original' – which is more or less the editorial equivalent of Pierre Menard's *Don Quixote* in Borges's famous story, 'Pierre Menard, autor del Quijote'.

John Bryant emphasizes that every version has an identity. While the Greg-Bowers tradition often spoke of textual 'corruption' (implying that it is the editor's task to undo this corruption), Bryant's 'fluid text theory' – not unlike genetic criticism – considers it the editor's job to safeguard the identity of even so-called 'corrupt' versions: 'Fluid-text editing preserves 'bad' texts in order to trace the causes of a work's entire textual identity.' (2010: 1045) According to Bryant, there is an ethical dimension to this task: 'fluid-text editors have an intellectual and ethical obligation to expose textual interventions by preserving the discrete identities of multiple versions' (1044). Bryant duly draws attention to the ethical dimension of this question.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

From a technical point of view, however, what exactly is meant by 'versions' or 'bad texts' remains a bit vague.

The notion of 'version' is usually distinguished from 'layers' and 'phases' (Mathijsen 2003: 47). In Marita Mathijsen's definition, a new 'layer' corresponds to a new 'version' (2003: 279). This new, second version can, in its turn, be revised. In that case, Mathijsen argues, the result is a third version (2003: 280). The question, however, is whether these two writing layers are also treated *de facto* as two versions. For what happens if it is impossible to discern two different writing layers? If for instance a manuscript in black ink contains revisions in the same black ink, and this first revision campaign was followed by a second one, again in the same black ink, so that the two cannot be distinguished, they may be separate versions in theory but it seems impossible to treat them as such in practice. Mathijsen's definition regards the 'version' as an immaterial entity, but if the writing tool or the ductus are criteria to distinguish different versions, this definition does imply a direct link between the document (the material form) and the (immaterial) concept of the version.

Digital documents

In the born-digital age, this logic no longer applies, or only partially, as Matthew Kirschenbaum notes: 'Today, the conceit of a 'primary record' can no longer be assumed to be coterminous with that of a 'physical object'' (Kirschenbaum 2013: paragraph 16). As early as 2000, Mats Dahlström wrote that digital documents are not materially defined: 'Digital documents are immaterial and therefore logically defined, rather than material and therefore physically defined.' (Dahlström 2000: paragraph 3, 'Digitalics'). Still, digital documents are always bound to a material carrier, in which there 'are data files, programs that call and process the files, hardware functionalities that interpret or compile the programs, and so on' (Hayles 2003: 274). Forensic techniques are therefore used to trace the genesis of texts (Kirschenbaum 2016; Kirschenbaum & Reside 2013; Lebrave 2011; Ries 2018). One of the complicating elements for textual scholarship and digital genetic criticism is that digital documents are not bound to a single physical entity. As Thorsten Ries notes, we 'speak of the 'same' digital document when we save 'it' after changing its content, after copying 'it' to a pendrive and 'open it' on a different computer with a different word processor which might display the contents in a different way' (Ries 2018: 397). Moreover, apart from 'digital documents', the forensic record also contains metadata, automatically saved draft snapshots, recoverable temporary files and other fragmented traces scattered across the hard drive. Revisions and intermediate steps in the genesis can be uncovered with applications such as a binary parser, an undelete tool, a file carver, or a hex-editor, which can uncover genetic layers within the document's binary structure that are not displayed in a word processor. (Ries 2018: 403.)

But even without forensic methods, it is possible to do interesting digital genetic research. Bénédicte Vauthier, for instance, examined the digital files

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

that were saved during the genesis of the novel *El Dorado* (2008) by the Spanish writer Robert Juan-Cantavella. In spite of the absence of traditional, analogue traces of writing, Vauthier shows that 'collating and comparing the digital documents and files gives us more than a sound basis to allow a meaningful genetic investigation' (Vauthier 2016: 175). As these and other cases show, the term 'document' persists in a digital context (as in the .doc/docx extension of a Microsoft Word document), but the definition is not the same as that of the document in Shillingsburg's or Mathijsen's definitions. In some cases, writers keep a version of each writing session. The German adaptation of Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* (*Die Brüder Karamasow*), directed by Luk Perceval in the Thalia Theater in Hamburg (2013) is a good example. Edith Cassiers and Thomas Crombez have been able to analyse this process of adaptation because they were allowed access to what they call 'different versions of the playtext', which had been shared among the theatre practitioners during the nine-month rehearsal process (Crombez & Cassiers 2017: 17).

But this is a relatively exceptional situation. A writer often simply continues where s/he left off by overwriting the same document in a new writing session. There are of course tools such as 'Revision History' in Wikipedia or 'Version history' in Google Docs, which keep track of versions by making regular backups. This raises the question whether a version needs to be defined in time, which would mean that a version is linked to a writing 'phase' (or writing 'stage'), rather than to a writing 'layer'. And then again, what is a 'phase' in the digital age, and how can it be demarcated? Or is a version determined by the arbitrarily programmed interval with which the computer software makes a backup of a 'document'?

All these issues add up to the following situation in born-digital literature: the theoretically waterproof definition is not being applied in practice; the material link with writing 'layers' in the document disappears in born-digital literature; and the temporal link between contents and document (for instance, finishing a textual entity such as a chapter or the completion of a writing phase) is usually *de facto* replaced by an automatically programmed interval.

From a theoretical point of view, it is striking that most definitions of the term 'version' (for instance in the Lexicon of Scholarly Editing) explain the notion by contrasting it with the terms 'text' and 'work', rarely with the term 'document', which confirms the conceptual nature of the 'version'. In other words, if the 'version' is not necessarily directly linked to a physical object, it is not necessarily obsolete in a digital context and can still prove useful for born-digital literature. The question is: how?

Test case

To investigate this, I start with an experiment carried out by researchers at the University of Antwerp and the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam in collaboration with the Dutch writer Ronal Giphart (Manjavacas et al. 2017).[2] The author wrote the short story 'De mens is de robot van de machine' (Man Is

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

the Machine's Robot). To do so, he was asked to make use of 'Asibot', a writing bot that gave him the opportunity, at any moment in the writing process, to let the bot complete a sentence by generating a syntactically correct string of words consisting of 100 characters. The bot is able to generate these strings in eight different styles, based on the works of a few Dutch and Flemish authors such as Gerard Reve and Kristien Hemmerechts, on Dutch translations of the works of Isaac Asimov, and finally also on the published works of Giphart himself. The experiment included *keystroke logging* software, with which every keystroke during the writing process was logged. With this software, Giphart started writing the first sentence:

> De cameraman keek mij afwachtingsvol aan.
> [The cameraman looked at me with high hopes.]

The importance of the 'incipit' is recognized in almost all branches of literary criticism. Genetic criticism specifically points out that the beginning of a story or a novel rarely coincides with the start of the writing process (Boie & Ferrer 1993). This also applies to Giphart's case. In this first version, the writer is apparently still extremely aware of the software that has been installed on his computer and that watches his every move like a cameraman. Giphart realizes that he is being watched and opens his first writing session as it were by waving to the camera: 'The cameraman looked at me with high hopes.'

To write the second sentence, he activated the writing bot for the first time, choosing Gerard Reve's style. The bot completed the sentence with 100 characters, letting the sentence end in the middle of a word:

> 'Ik heb geen verslag van het schip gelezen, meneer, maar ik heb het gevoel dat de bevelen die wij ge ['I haven't read the ship's report, sir, but I have the feeling that the orders we re]

Giphart completed the sentence as follows:

> 'Ik heb geen verslag van het schip gelezen, meneer, maar ik heb het gevoel dat de bevelen die wij gekregen hebben niet kloppen.' ['I haven't read the ship's report, sir, but I have the feeling that the orders we received aren't right.']

To write the third sentence, Giphart asked the bot for a 100-word addition in his own style. Again, the suggested continuation ends in the middle of a word:

> De man achter de balie was ontzet en zei dat hij het niet wist. 'Dat is niet waar,' zei hij, 'en da [The man behind the desk was taken aback and said he didn't know. 'That's not true,' he said, 'and th]

After these initial try-out sentences, Giphart deleted everything he and his bot had written so far. After a pause, he started again and typed what was to become the story's first sentence:

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

> Een maand na de dood van Susan Calvin kreeg ik een bericht in mijn inbox. [A month after Susan Calvin's death, I received a message in my inbox.]

Eventually, in the published version, this sentence became:

> Een *half jaar* na de *atomisering van het lichaam* van Susan Calvin *krijg* ik een bericht in mijn *neurocircuit*. [*Half a year* after the *atomisation of* Susan Calvin's *body* I *receive* a message in my *neurocircuit*; emphasis added to highlight the textual variants]

Susan Calvin is the protagonist in many of Isaac Asimov's stories. Her death is the starting point for Giphart. The story of which – at that moment – he has only written the first sentence, will take place in a society on the verge of being taken over by the Machines. This is the very subject of a pamphlet the protagonist is writing. He does not quite know what to do with it and has three conversations about it: with a bearded humanoid; with his ethics bot; and with a woman from the underground resistance movement 'Society for Mankind'. Then he continues writing, but against his will the writing process is being taken over by the bot. That is broadly the story Giphart is writing, with Asibot's help.

Towards the end of the story, the protagonist tries to add a few sentences to his pamphlet, but his bot becomes more independent and starts generating text of its own. The protagonist orders the bot to delete the text, but it immediately produces new text. Giphart consistently makes his own writing bot generate these new sentences. So, not only the author but also the protagonist turns out to have a writing bot, albeit the former's is far less autonomous than the latter's.

Outside of the storyworld, the part of the story produced so far with the help of a writing bot thus influences the further development of the story. This is an aspect of what in writing studies is known as TPSF – text produced so far, the emerging text produced and constantly revised by the author during the writing process (Flower & Hayes 1980).[3] Moreover, not only the TPSF but also the *way in which* the text was produced so far (WTPSF so to speak) had an impact on the continuation of the story. Within the storyworld, the machine now resolutely takes over with the sentence: 'Het is nu genoeg!' ('Enough!'). This is a special moment, for precisely when in the story the protagonist's bot takes control, Giphart – in real life – decides to no longer make use of *his* bot. In his capacity as author, *he* takes control again and writes the end of the story, letting the bot claim: 'Wij zijn de toekomst. We zijn voor eeuwig. Wen er maar aan.' (We are the future. We are here forever. Get used to it.)

Initially, Giphart wrote his story in the past tense. But in a passage where the protagonist considers what he should do with his pamphlet, the use of the past tense starts to bother the author. Wittingly or not, he suddenly writes a sentence in the present tense. The bot adds another sentence in the present tense, after which Giphart decides to continue in the present. At the end of the paragraph, he returns to the beginning of the story and changes all the verbs' tenses from past to present.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

To be able to visualize the textual genesis, the research team analysed the writing process and reduced it to a selection of representative snapshots, showing the most remarkable revisions. Every twenty seconds a screenshot was made. These stills were subsequently pasted together, resulting in a film of the writing process.[4]

Compared to analogue geneses, often characterized by lacunae because several versions of the text are no longer extant, this kind of digital genetic material is much more detailed. While a lack of information is usually the default situation in traditional genetic criticism, the digital material offers an abundance of data, perhaps even an overabundance. For every single mistyped letter on the keyboard is registered, which results in a detailed dataset, but also in a lot of 'white noise' in the global image of the genesis.

A brief taxonomy of writing stages shows at least seven categories, based on the granularity of the textual unit: the sequence of textual versions at the level of the story in its entirety; the chronological order in which sections (chapters, paragraphs) of one single textual version of the story were written; revision campaigns within one version; the order of inscription of sentences and words; the chronological order of revisions at the level of the sentence and the word; the writing order of letters and punctuation; the chronological order of revisions at the level of letters and punctuation.

To analyse the pattern of revision, keystroke logging software such as Inputlog offers data about the smallest level of granularity in the taxonomy of writing stages, the nanogenesis.[5] Within the discipline of writing studies, keystroke logging software is employed to study patterns of pausing, the number of writing sessions and their length, the percentage of deleted text, the use of external source texts, the average writing speed and the fluency. Against the background of such a wealth of data on a microscopic level, it may seem as if born-digital works of literature force us to abandon the concept of the textual version and replace it by a new model, for instance the film model. But the question is whether this linear model is an improvement across the board.

To investigate this, the case of the change to the present tense deserves extra attention. When watching the 'movie' of this phase in the genesis (by replaying all the logged keystrokes), the human eye is unable to follow the replacements because of the limited number of lines that can appear simultaneously on screen. As a result, when Giphart decides in the middle of the story to return to the beginning and put all the verbs in the present tense the cursor sometimes makes huge leaps through the text produced so far. The reason why it is so difficult for the human eye to follow the course of this 'movie' is that this method of presentation puts two temporal axes on top of each other so to speak: the chronology of the narrative sequence and the chronology of the writing process.

The most pragmatic solution for this problem is to separate the two temporal axes and present them as an x- and a y-axis. This system has been applied by textual critics for decades, which raises the question of whether it can be adapted to a new situation in literature: the fact that it is born digital.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

The size of the textual unit

What needs to be adapted above all is the way we refer to versions. My suggestion is that we always make explicit the size of the textual unit. In and of itself, this is not directly related to born-digital literature, but the new situation forces us to pay more attention to it. When textual scholars speak of a version, they often silently imply a version of the text in its entirety. If the text is a novel, it is a version of the entire novel, even if the writer has worked on this version for more than a year. From a chronological perspective, that is an enormous difference from a version of a short poem on which the author may have worked only a single day.

For that reason, it is useful to work with smaller textual units and make a distinction between versions of a novel, of a chapter, of a paragraph, of a sentence or even of a word. For instance, the *Beckett Digital Manuscript Project* (www.beckettarchive.org) works with sentence versions: no matter where in the manuscript the reader happens to be, she can call up the number of any sentence at any time and thus request all its versions in a synoptic sentence view. If a particular sentence in an early manuscript eventually did not make it into the published text, this sentence gets the number of the previous sentence that did make it into the published version (e.g., <seg n='123'>) followed by an extra number (<seg n='123|001'>).[6]

This approach is applicable to more than just this particular author's works. For instance, for James Joyce's writings it is also useful to work with sentence versions. In an early version of *Finnegans Wake*, for instance, Joyce quotes the following line from Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (Canto IV, stanza 179):

> Roll on, thou deep and darkblue ocean, roll. (Joyce 1978–1979, 56: 2)

In the third version (a fair copy) he makes a few changes and pokes fun at the iambic pentameter, which has dominated poetry in English for centuries, by 'typographically' chanting the words in an overexplicit way:

> Rollon thoudeep anddark blueo ceanroll! (Joyce 1978–1979, 56: 13)

Eventually he distorts the words to such a degree that not much remains of the initial ocean, according to the 'Chinese whispers' principle, which served as a model for Joyce's view of world history – people whispering from one generation to the next and therefore inevitably distorting things they have not experienced themselves:

> Rolando's deepen darblun Ossian roll (Joyce 1978–1979, 56: 174; Joyce 1939: 385)

For *Finnegans Wake* it can be useful to work on this level of the sentence (sentence versions) or on an even smaller level of granularity (word versions) to study the development of Joyce's so-called *portmanteau* words (Van Hulle 2005).

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

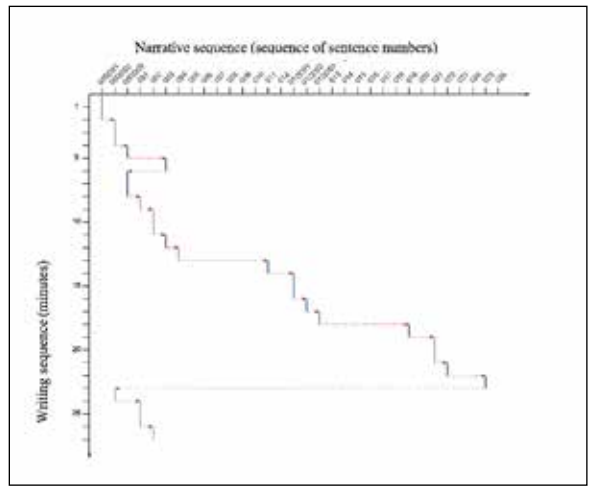


Figure 1. Visualization of sentence versions, including sentences that did not make it into the published version. The duration of the writing process per sentence is also marked.

When we now apply this system to a born-digital text like Giphart's, we can group the disordered mass of logged keystrokes into textual units such as sentence versions. Thus, when Giphart is writing, say, sentence 25 and returns to a sentence in the beginning of the story to change all the verbs into the present tense, this moment can be marked as a new version of that sentence (see Figure 1).

Every sentence is numbered by means of a base text. Thus, the few test sentences Giphart wrote at the very beginning of the text's genesis can also be mapped. An advantage of born-digital writings over analogue texts is that, by means of keystroke logging, even the length of every sentence and the duration of its writing can be measured and visualized.

Ideally, a scholarly editor can thus offer both a static visualization (a traditional transcript of every version) and a dynamic (filmic) visualization of all the keystrokes constituting a sentence. The static visualization enables macrogenetic research (across various versions); the dynamic visualization facilitates microgenetic and nanogenetic analysis. The latter is almost impossible in the reconstruction of analogue writing processes. One of the few digital scholarly editions in which this kind of microgenetic analysis has been applied by way of an experiment is that of the Flemish writer Willem Elsschot's *Achter de Schermen* (Behind the Scenes). The edition (Elsschot 2007) tries to offer – for every sentence – the presumptive sequence of every step in the writing process. But this procedure implies so much interpretation that it is not possible to generalize this practice in scholarly editing.

On the same microlevel, the notion of *currente calamo* (literally: with running quill/pen) needs to be reassessed when dealing with born-digital literature. In analogue writing processes, it denotes instant revisions, for instance when an author writes a word, crosses it out and immediately replaces it with an alternative on the same line. With born-digital works, it does not seem appropriate to keep using this term from the quill age, but apart from the obsoleteness of the name the concept it denotes may still be relevant. In 2009, Marita Mathijsen sounded quite pessimistic about the

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

future of genetic editing, suggesting that word processing software had made the notion of immediate correction or '*Sofortkorrektur*' obsolete: 'the whole pre-text has materially vanished. Other, younger writers […] write and rewrite on the computer and they do not use the memory of the computer as an archive. The work is a whole and the writer is not aware of versions or phases' (Mathijsen 2009: 237). But as scholars such as Thorsten Ries have shown, digital forensics makes it possible to retrieve very interesting data for genetic research and genetic editing. And in the context of born-digital texts instant revisions or '*Sofortkorrekturen*', sometimes called 'point-of-utterance' revisions (Lindgren & Sullivan 2006), are still being recognized; with keystroke logging it is possible to distinguish them from other, later revisions.

As long as revisions in one writing sequence take place within the boundaries of a particular sentence, this textual unit can be regarded as one sentence version that can be statically visualized in the graph. The process of the internal changes within this sentence version can be followed in the dynamic, filmic visualization. Instead of localizing a *currente calamo* variant it becomes possible to work with *writing footage* to study the writing process on the level of the micro- or even nanogenesis (for an online example, see Van Hulle 2021). The length of these film fragments is visualized in the table by means of the length of the vertical lines, each representing the length of the writing process of one sentence version. As soon as the boundaries of the sentence are crossed by the writer to work on another part of the text, the sentence version is complete. Whenever the author returns to this sentence to make a revision, that is the start of the next sentence version (Van Hulle 2021).

Conclusion

As a result, only theoretically does one swallow make a summer, likewise in born-digital literature: if every keystroke leads to a new version, the notion of the 'textual version' defeats its purpose. To keep the concept operable in the everyday practice of scholarly editing it is necessary to find pragmatic solutions. Not unlike the development of transcription conventions, it is every editor's prerogative to devise a new editorial system. But that implies that one needs to make one's convention explicit. The notion of a 'version' is also a convention. Before the advent of the computer, the physical document (such as a notebook) might create the impression that these material traces determined the unit of a version. In practice, such a concomitance between a physical document and a textual version does occur, but that does not imply that the two concepts are identical.

What born-digital literature draws our attention to is that textual versions have always been a convention. The new medium problematizes the notion of the 'document' as something that can no longer be defined as a material unit. That does not need to be a disadvantage. On the contrary, it enhances the awareness that 'document' and 'version' do not necessarily coincide. The smaller granularity of data offered by keystroke logging software also

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

produces more 'white noise' and therefore intensifies the necessity, both in writing studies and in genetic criticism / scholarly editing, to always make the size of the textual unit explicit. As long as the textual unit is determined and made explicit, the logic of the 'version' can certainly continue to play a major role in scholarly editing and genetic research applied to born-digital literature.

Notes

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2 The experiment was a collaboration between the Meertens Institute (KNAW, Amsterdam) and ACDC (Antwerp Centre for Digital humanities and literary Criticism, University of Antwerp), including Benjamin Burtenshaw, Wouter Haverals, Folgert Karsdorp, Mike Kestemont, Enrique Manjavacas, Vincent Neyt and Dirk Van Hulle.

3 With regard to analogue textual materials by non-living authors, it may seem at first sight as if genetic criticism only works with 'text produced' ('TP' as it were), that is, if the material is being regarded as one monolithic whole. But on closer inspection it is possible to discern a sequence among the writing traces and thus discover how, at a particular moment in the writing process, the TPSF has had an impact on the continuation of the genesis.

4 A short documentary about the text's genesis by Vincent Neyt and Dirk Van Hulle with voice-over by Wouter Haverals is available online: https://youtu.be/u-8oSI8ngsQ.

5 For more on the reconstruction of the nanogenesis in TEI-XML, see Bekius 2021.

6 In the synoptic view this sentence is highlighted typographically (in bold typeface) to indicate that it did not make it into the published text.

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4. The Genetic Edition of Nietzsche's Work

A wanderer in St. Moritz

On 2 May 1879, citing reasons of poor health, Nietzsche finally permanently gave up his chair in Classical Philology at the University of Basel and began a life of solitary independent thought, spent, for the time that still remained to him, mostly in Switzerland, Italy and the South of France. Some weeks later, on 21 June, his travels brought him to St. Moritz in the Upper Engadine, a place which seemed to him, for a time, to be his personal 'Promised Land'. Here, Nietzsche felt, he had found what he had long been searching for, namely: 'forests, lakes, excellent footpaths of the only form that is suitable for a half-blind individual like myself, and air of the most invigorating kind, the very best in Europe in this regard'. 'All this', he went on, 'makes this place very dear to me.' (BVN-1879,863).[1] From the very moment of his arrival in this Alpine village, Nietzsche felt a strong affinity with the particular type of natural environment that was to be found there. He expressed this feeling in letters to his friends and a little later, recast in literary form and given a more general application, in one of the aphorisms that went to make up *The Wanderer and His Shadow*:

> *Nature as Doppelgänger:* In the natural environments of many regions we rediscover, with a pleasant dread, our own selves. Such places are the loveliest of *doppelgängers*. – What capacity for happiness, then, must that individual possess who has such a feeling here of all places: here in this air which is constantly the air of a sunny October; in this wind that plays its mischievous and fortunate games all day long from morn till night; in this purest of radiances and most temperate of chills; in the whole charmingly severe character that is lent, by its hills, its lakes and its forests, to this high plateau that has stretched itself out, undaunted, close up against the terrors of the eternal snow; in this land where Italy and Finland are joined and allied with one another in what seems the native place of all Nature's myriad shades of silver. How fortunate indeed is the individual who can say: 'There surely are things much greater and more beautiful in Nature; but *this* is something close and intimately familiar to me, something I am bound to by blood, indeed by more than blood'.[2]

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

The Wanderer and His Shadow is the fruit of this summer spent in St. Moritz. The genesis of its title throws much light on the genesis of the work itself. Nietzsche had initially planned to call his book *St. Moritzer Gedanken-Gänge*.[3] The German word *Gedankengang* (of which *Gedankengänge* is the plural form) means 'train of thought' or 'line of reasoning'. It is normally written, however, without the hyphen that Nietzsche planned to introduce here. A hyphenation such as Nietzsche considered serves to bring out the separate meanings of the two terms (*Gedanken* = thoughts; *Gänge* = paths or acts of walking along paths). This is significant because the thoughts that make up *The Wanderer and His Shadow* were indeed thoughts that had, almost without exception, come to Nietzsche *im Gang,* i.e., in the act of 'going' or 'walking'. Nietzsche states as much explicitly in a letter to his friend Peter Gast: 'Every thought in the book, excepting only some very few lines, was conceived *on the move* and scribbled down in pencil into six little jotters that I carried, successively, with me. Each time, I had great difficulty transferring what I'd jotted down into proper notebooks. There are about twenty trains of thought – *quite long* and, unfortunately, even quite important ones – that I've had just to let slip through my fingers since I've not been able to find the time to extract them from the terrible mass of pencil-scribblings that I brought back from my walks' (BVN-1879,889).

The process of genesis of *The Wanderer and His Shadow,* then, extends across six months and six identifiable stages. Twice a day, early in the morning and again throughout the afternoon, Nietzsche took long walks in the open air, a small jotter tucked into his pocket, and abandoned himself to his thoughts.[4] In the evening, in the small room he was renting, he copied these thoughts into two notebooks somewhat larger than the jotters (six in all, as he wrote to Gast) into which he had first scribbled them. This stage involved, indeed, the adding of further reflections, the omission of others, and the developing of certain of his thoughts on a larger scale. It amounted, then, in fact to much more than just the making of a 'fair copy'. It was rather an actual rewriting and transformation of those first drafts scribbled down 'on the move'. At the end of the summer Nietzsche sent these two notebooks along with around twenty loose sheets of paper, which together contained all he had managed in the way of transcription, to his friend Peter Gast with the request that he produce from these materials a manuscript ready for printing. From 30 September on, back in his family home in Naumburg, Nietzsche tackled yet a further stage in the production of the final work. He cut out the various aphorisms forming the print-ready manuscript that Gast had produced for him and rearranged them in an order that was to be that of the eventually published book. It was at this point that Nietzsche gave, in his own hand, a title to each aphorism. He also continued, even at this point, to make changes to what he had originally written, removing certain thoughts or adding new ones, which he wrote either in the spaces left free in Gast's manuscript or on little additional scraps of paper which he pasted onto this. A genetic approach to Nietzsche's writing, then, goes at least to confirm that the sequence of Nietzsche's aphorisms is by no means random or arbitrary and that they were, on the contrary, carefully organized by their author so as to form a structured whole. In the case of *The Wanderer and His Shadow*

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their broad plan of organization mirrors that adopted in *Human, All Too Human,* the major work published in 1878 to which this work composed in 1879 in St. Moritz was declared to be a 'second and final supplement'. In the print-ready manuscript prepared by Gast, titles had also been given to the book's various chapters which corresponded thematically to those of the ten chapters of *Human, All Too Human*. In the work as finally published, however, Nietzsche left it up to the reader to distinguish the thematic and structural connections between the main work and its 'supplement'. On 15 October, the day of his thirty-fifth birthday, Nietzsche wrote a postcard to his publisher Ernst Schmeitzner announcing to him that the manuscript of his new book was ready for printing and proposing that they meet the following Saturday in Leipzig (BVN-1879,892). On 18 October in Leipzig Nietzsche handed over to Schmeitzner this peculiar manuscript consisting of a heap of cut-out sheets and pieces of paper of the most disparate dimensions. Once in the printer's workshop, these pieces of paper were pasted onto large folio sheets which were then sent by post, together with the galley proofs, back to Nietzsche. Nietzsche and Gast then spent the period from the end of October to the beginning of December correcting these galley proofs. The book was finally published in the middle of the latter month. On 18 October we find Nietzsche writing to Schmeitzner: 'This completed *Wanderer* seems something almost incredible to me. On 21 June I arrived in St. Moritz – and today – !' (BVN-1879,915).

Critical edition and genetic edition

Almost all the manuscripts that Nietzsche used in the process of writing *The Wanderer and His Shadow* are preserved today in the *Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv* in Weimar and were drawn upon in the production of Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari's *Critical Edition* of Nietzsche's works. This critical edition is excellent, with regard both to its impeccable constitution of the Nietzschean text and its critical apparatus. It clearly indicates, for every aphorism, the variations that characterize said aphorism's different preparatory formulations as well as the explicit or implicit references therein to other texts of Nietzsche's or to texts of other authors. Furthermore, this critical apparatus provides important information regarding Nietzsche's life in the respective periods of production of each manuscript, regarding the chronology of these latter and regarding the chronology of the genesis of each completed work. The edition ends with a page-by-page description of the contents of Nietzsche's notebooks.[5] By its own philological standards, then, there is nothing that can possibly be added to this brilliant work of scholarship. It is, however, still possible to conceive of a publication of these same documents in a different form and according to a different logic. Specifically, it is possible to conceive of a *genetic* as distinguished from a *critical* edition. What do we mean when we speak of a genetic edition? In my view, a genetic edition must, where it is the work of a philosopher that is being so edited, present both the published works and the manuscripts (*Nachlass*) of said philosopher in such a way as to allow us to perceive in these latter

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the geneses of his writing projects and to reconstruct the development of his thought.[6] Understanding how a thought develops through its successive re-copyings and re-writings from one sheet of paper to another and from one notebook to another right up to its final published version allows us to see the texts of an author in a different light and enriches our philosophical interpretation. The majority of scholars today are of the view that it is only through digital media and technologies that the effective realization of a genetic edition, and the rendering of such an edition accessible to the broadest possible public, can possibly be ensured.[7] But in the present article I want above all to clarify the principal differences between a genetic edition and a critical edition and then go on to show how the digital genetic edition allows us to rediscover the traces left by Nietzsche's *Wanderer* and, guided by those paths that are the successive acts of writing, to more accurately follow the course of his thoughts.

Three characteristics distinguish a genetic edition from a traditional critical edition: 1) the manner of dividing up the documents, because whereas critical editions divide these latter up according to their typology, genetic editions arrange them within what we call 'genetic dossiers'; 2) the reproduction of the texts, because whereas critical editions aim at the constitution of a text, genetic editions provide a transcription of all the available documents; 3) the relationships between the textual units, because whereas critical editions normally publish the texts in chronological order, genetic editions arrange them according to their genetic paths.

Genetic dossiers

Traditional critical editions, as we have said, publish what an author has produced dividing it up according to the respective types of documents. A distinction is thus made between the works proper, the posthumous writings, the correspondence (divided up, in its turn, into letters from the author, letters to the author and letters bearing on the author), the catalogue of the author's private library, biographical documents, and so on. For example, Colli and Montinari's critical edition of Nietzsche publishes the printed text of *The Wanderer and His Shadow* in the works section of the edition; the variants, on the other hand, found in Nietzsche's manuscripts vis-à-vis this finally printed text of *The Wanderer* are published as part of the critical apparatus; and the materials, finally, that Nietzsche decided to reject altogether are published under the heading posthumous fragments.[8] That is to say, the different materials pertaining to this particular work of Nietzsche's are scattered around various places within the critical edition and are published, moreover, only incompletely. I say incompletely because it is impossible, for example, for the reader of the critical edition to browse through the pages of one of the little jotters into which Nietzsche scribbled down his initial thoughts for *The Wanderer* during his walks in the vicinity of St. Moritz, or to read the print-ready manuscript for the book prepared by Peter Gast with all the important corrections and additions made to this manuscript by Nietzsche himself. But in the genetic edition that I propose

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these materials will be reproduced in their entirety and organized by use of the notion 'genetic dossier'. A genetic dossier comprises all the documents which appertain to any particular writing project, i.e., 1) all the preparatory manuscripts, including the print-ready manuscript and the galley proofs; but also 2) any letters from the author containing instructions for the publisher or the printer such as may bear witness to how the writing process progressed; 3) the books that the author consulted, read or annotated in connection with the writing of the work in question; 4) biographical documents – for example contracts, receipts or invoices – which might also testify to the various stages in the process of writing or to the acquisition of documents used therein; and finally 5) a copy of every edition of the work in question that was directly edited by the author, not forgetting any copies that may bear handwritten corrections. All these documents are contained in a genetic dossier and the genetic edition is formed by a succession of such genetic dossiers appertaining both to the author's published works and to writing projects that were never completed.

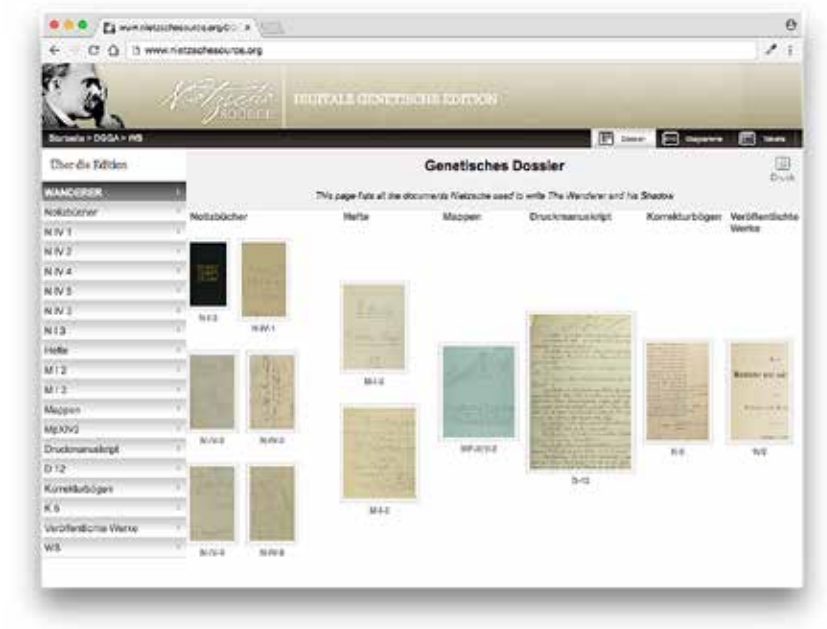


Figure 1. Digital genetic edition of The Wanderer and His Shadow: *genetic dossier.*

Figure 1 shows a first version of the genetic dossier of *The Wanderer and His Shadow.* Here we can recognize those six stages of composition which we have talked about above: the six portable jotters; the two larger notebooks into which the thoughts jotted down on the move were copied; the loose sheets associated with these notebooks; the print-ready manuscript; the galley proofs; and the final printed work. This same genetic dossier can also be given the graphic form of a genetic diagram (Figure 2) showing the links between all the documents that Nietzsche used to compose this work,

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a visualization which allows us to grasp very clearly how highly dynamic a process this work's emergence actually was. The arrows indicate the direction of movement of the genetic process and the numbers represent its magnitude. Specifically, the number written below each arrow indicates how many of the individual notes made in a specific document (be it jotter, notebook or document of other type) were carried over or reworked into the next document in the genetic process. Thus, the higher the number, the greater was the contribution made by the document in question to the genesis of the work. For example, the number 45 written below the red arrow near the top of the diagram indicates that some forty-five of the notes jotted down in the jotter N IV 1 were either directly copied or transcribed in recognizable form into the notebook M I 3. On the other hand, none of the notes jotted down in the jotter N IV 2 passed over in any form into the notebook M I 3 because the notebook fed by this latter jotter was rather notebook M I 2. All this provides the reader with indications regarding the macroscopic movements involved in the genesis of the work. The genetic dossier can also be visualized in the form of a table indicating, line by line, the respective preliminary drafts of each of the 350 aphorisms contained in the final printed text of *The Wanderer and His Shadow* – that is to say, the entire genetic path of each of these aphorisms. Thus, working with this table of genetic paths, we can study, this time, not the macrogeneses but rather the microgeneses and trace out the stages that punctuate the writing of each individual aphorism respectively.

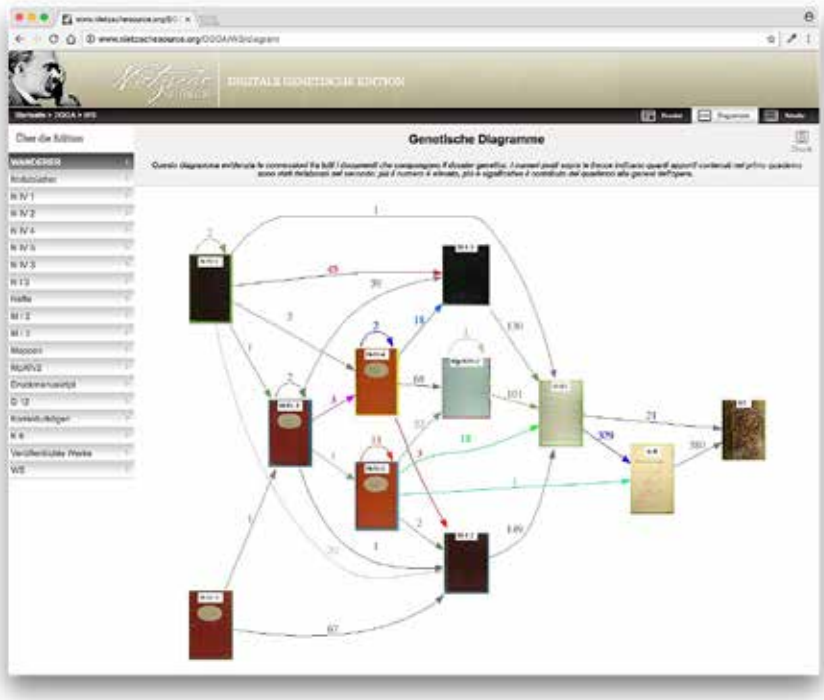


Figure 2. Digital genetic edition of The Wanderer and His Shadow: *genetic diagram.*

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Transcriptions

Let us now turn to consider the second difference between a genetic edition and a critical edition. Whereas the critical edition produces a constitution of the text, the genetic edition proposes a thorough transcription of all the documents. I want to address this question first of all from a methodological viewpoint. As is well known, the aim of a critical edition of the work of an author belonging to antiquity is to reconstruct a text, the original of which has been lost, on the basis of a set of copies containing versions of this original text more or less discordant with one another. In the case of modern authors, by contrast, a critical edition has the task of reconstituting the text that the author originally wanted to publish, stripping it of any errors that may have arisen during the process of printing. In both these cases, then – the reconstruction of a lost original or the reconstitution of a text purged of all typographical errors – the result of the editor's work is the production of a new text. A genetic edition, by contrast, does not necessarily produce a new text. The task of a genetic edition is to put existing documents in relation to one another and to comment on them in a way that explains the genesis of the text. A genetic edition, then, can legitimately rest content, from a theoretical point of view, with reproducing, in facsimile, the entire genetic dossier and with providing a presentation and explanation of the genetic processes. It is true, of course, that if the documents are reproduced in facsimile and not transcribed, the reader might have difficulty reading them, especially where the author's handwriting is not clear. But this is a practical, not a theoretical question. Moreover, we should not forget that the *corpora* of contemporary authors are often produced on typewriters or computers and are thus perfectly legible. From a strictly theoretical point of view, then, transcription is not a constitutive part of the notion of a genetic edition. And in this respect a genetic edition differs profoundly from a critical edition.

All the same, even if it is not strictly necessary from a theoretical viewpoint, I think it is at least desirable that provisions be made in a genetic edition for the transcription of textual documents. This is for the three following reasons: a) in the case of authors' manuscripts, which are often difficult to decipher, transcription is a 'facilitating strategy',[9] that is to say, an auxiliary tool which allows more comfortable access to the text, although it must not be forgotten that it will always be necessary to go back to a facsimile to also take into account the graphic elements of the document in question – such as strokes of the pen or other writing instrument added at certain points in the text, the way in which the writing is arranged on the page, the arrangement of the lines, cross-reference marks, and sketches or drawings – all of which must count as integral parts of the writing and often provide important clues and indications which can aid us in reconstructing the paths taken by the genetic process; b) in the case of a digital edition, the existence of a transcription lets one make use of all the possibilities offered by the electronic text-search function, from simple word- or phrase-searches right up to the most sophisticated forms of semantic search, such as linguistic, philosophical or genetic searches, provided, of course, the transcribed text in question has been properly encoded; c) moreover – and this is the most

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important theoretical reason – a digital genetic edition should comprise no less than three elements: first, a facsimile edition of all the documents; second, these documents' complete, page-by-page diplomatic transcription; and finally, in my opinion, also a true and proper constitution of the text. That is to say, a genetic edition should *also* comprise within itself a critical edition. Because in fact, once one has properly carried out the careful and subtle work of a genetic analysis, one finds that one has thereby also placed at one's disposal all the elements required to constitute a critical text and to write a philological commentary on this text, so that it would be a pity, under such circumstances, to leave this work up to some future critical edition. In this way, the genetic edition represents, we might say, the most complete possible form of publication of an author's work. Therefore, I ought, more properly, to have said that, whereas a critical edition offers us only the constitution of a text, a genetic edition offers us a facsimile edition, a diplomatic edition *and* a critical edition all in one.

But what is it that we must transcribe? To avoid 'repetitions' and save paper, printed editions usually only publish the final version of a text, reproducing only as part of their critical apparatus any variants vis-à-vis this final version that may be found in the unpublished manuscripts of the author in question. With some effort, by scrupulously following the indications (couched in a disciplinarily specialized and often positively cryptic language) of this critical apparatus, the reader should be able to reconstruct in their entirety all the texts of all the preparatory versions. But thanks to digital media it is now possible to avoid having to recur to such roundabout practices of reading, which have tended to make critical editions near-unreadable and to drive to despair those who are obliged to read them. The digital genetic edition can and must transcribe, in their entirety, all the documents that make up a genetic dossier. Collations of the various versions with one another, or true and proper critical apparatuses consisting of entire sets of variants, can be automatically generated by IT programmes designed for this purpose, such as CollateX. But what does this mean: transcribe all the documents? It means, above all: transcribe all the manuscripts page by page, without omitting or abbreviating anything, in such a way that the reader has, in the end, at his disposal all the rewritings of the same piece of text that are found on different pages of the corpus in question. But then there must also be transcribed all the different layers of writing that may be found even on the same page. In fact, as was once remarked by a famous Italian philologist, Cesare Segre: 'Strictly speaking, we might say that also in the case of a text with corrections we are dealing, from a linguistic point of view, with a succession of texts superimposed, one upon the other, within the same space, and which can be identified, by abstraction, as successive layers.'[10]

And how are we to transcribe? A genetic edition must reproduce in the most precise and faithful way all the graphic traits of the manuscript page while at the same time remaining easily legible. These are, of course, contradictory requirements which can only be satisfied by publishing, for each textual unit, several transcriptions, each of a different type, depending on the content and on the graphic appearance of the page. Such a multiplicity of transcriptions, extremely difficult to realize in traditional printed editions, presents no

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problem at all for electronic ones: the very large capacity of digital media and their hypertextual nature makes it possible and even very easy to link up the various transcriptions both with one another and with the facsimile of the manuscript. Transcriptions can be divided into three large 'families': a) linear transcriptions, which follow the typographic format normally used in the publication of printed volumes and make no attempt to reproduce the multiple strata of the variants or the actual concrete signs and marks of the writing on the page; besides offering the advantage of allowing the text to be read straight through, these transcriptions are also useful for performing automatic searches for specific words or expressions, such automatic searches are often hindered by the hyphenations, corrections and abbreviations adopted in diplomatic transcriptions; b) diplomatic transcriptions which attempt, by contrast to the linear ones, to indeed faithfully reproduce the entire graphic appearance of the manuscript page: the size of the letters or characters, their position on the page, the type and colour of the ink, the direction of the writing etc. Depending on the way in which these original letters and characters of the manuscript are represented, these diplomatic transcriptions can be sub-divided in their turn into: mimetic diplomatic transcriptions, when the appearance of the manuscript page is actually graphically reproduced, and symbolic diplomatic transcriptions, when the appearance of the manuscript page is only described, using diacritic signs and other conventions; and finally c) ultra-diplomatic transcriptions which are, so to speak, situated at the point where transcription meets facsimile: although these transcriptions do indeed substitute typographic characters for the letters of the manuscript page, they nonetheless strive to typographically reproduce this latter right down to its tiniest detail; while not aiming to produce a mould or tracing of this manuscript page, they nonetheless strive to produce, through printed characters, an optical impression which is essentially identical to that produced by the original document.

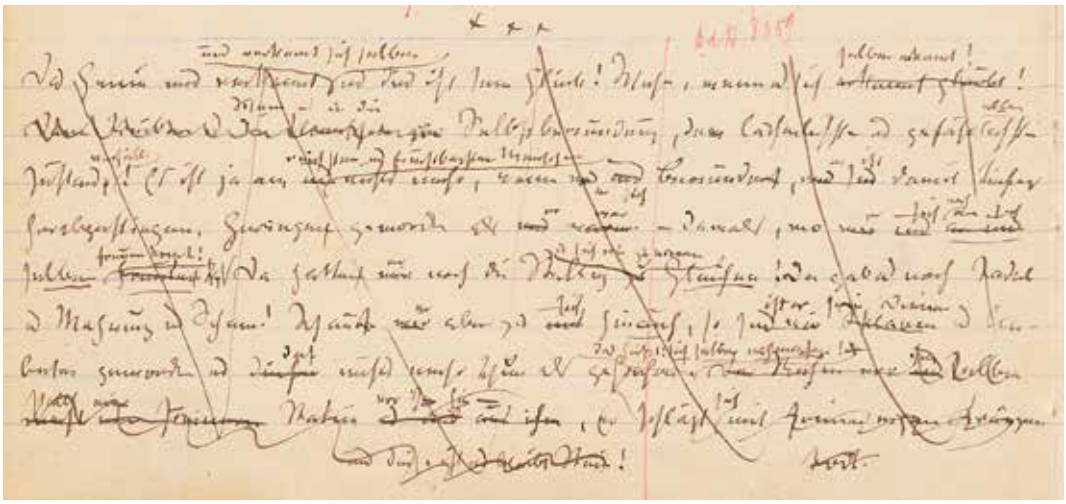


Figure 3a. A detail from the manuscript of The Wanderer and His Shadow.

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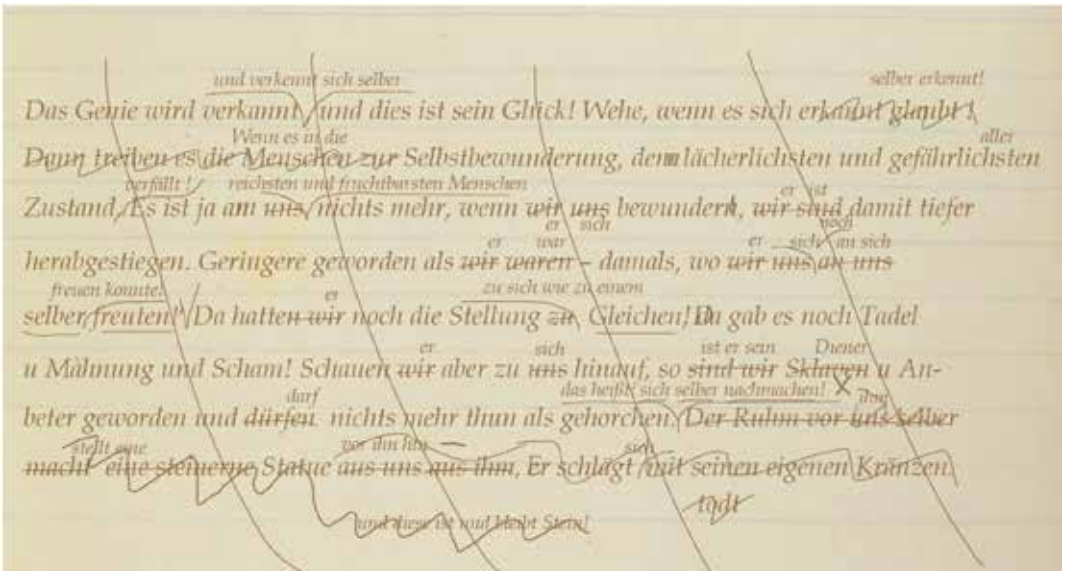


Figure 3b. Ultra-diplomatic transcription.

Our Nietzsche edition does not plan to provide an ultra-diplomatic transcription for each and every page of the body of work we are editing but only for those pages which display especially significant characteristics as regards the writing and the meaning it conveys, as in the example shown in Figure 3a–b. We count among the class of ultra-diplomatic transcriptions also the 'interactive transcription': a particular type of transcription which allows scholars to work directly on the facsimile of the manuscript while at the same time having the opportunity, should they encounter difficulties in deciphering the writing making up this original, to visualize individual parts of the transcribed versions of this (Figure 4).

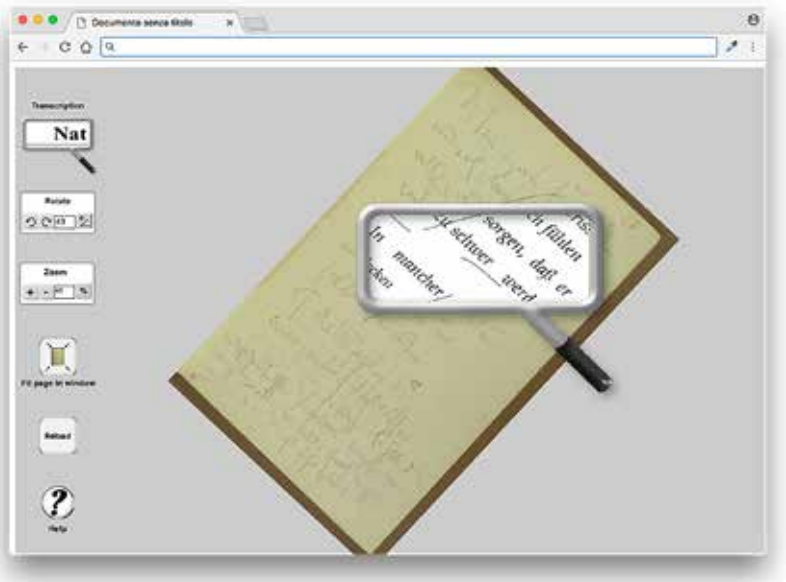


Figure 4. Interactive Transcription.

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To generate various different transcriptions out of the same manuscript page, for example, a linear transcription and a diplomatic transcription for each stratum of writing, it is recommended that first one single transcription be effected and that this transcription then be encoded using an appropriate encoding language, such as the *Langage d'encodage génétique*.[11] Let us offer an example here, using one of the shorter among the aphorisms making up *The Wanderer and His Shadow*. In formulating this aphorism, Nietzsche initially wrote: 'Die Pinie scheint zu horchen, die Tanne zu warten: und beide ohne Ungeduld; – sie denken nicht an den kleinen Menschen unter sich.' ('the pine-tree seems to listen, the fir-tree to wait: and both without impatience; – they give no thought to the little human being beneath them.') Later, in a first rewriting (second stratum of text) Nietzsche added a few words to the end of this aphorism: 'Die Pinie scheint zu horchen, die Tanne zu warten: und beide ohne Ungeduld: – sie denken nicht an den kleinen Menschen unter sich, den seine Ungeduld auffrißt.' ('the pine-tree seems to listen, the fir-tree to wait: and both without impatience; – they give no thought to the little human being beneath them, devoured by his impatience.') Then, in a second rewriting (third stratum of text) he modifies and expands these words that he had added to the original note and also adds a title for the aphorism: '*Die Geduldigen*. – Die Pinie scheint zu horchen, die Tanne zu warten: und beide ohne Ungeduld: – sie denken nicht an den kleinen Menschen unter sich, den seine Ungeduld und seine Neugierde auffressen.' ('*The Patient Ones*. – The pine-tree seems to listen, the fir-tree to wait: and both without impatience; – they give no thought to the little human being beneath them, devoured by his impatience and his curiosity.') As you can see, there exist side by side on this one page three versions of this aphorism which correspond to the three strata of writing. Rather than writing out manually all these three versions, we can write and encode the text just once, using the tags of the genetic encoding language. Out of the encoded text our digital edition will then automatically produce six transcriptions: three diplomatic transcriptions and three linear transcriptions, that is to say, a diplomatic transcription and a linear transcription for each of the three strata of writing present on this page. It appears impossible, on the contrary, to use an encoding language to turn ultra-diplomatic transcription as well into an automatic process of the sort we have just described. Because of the great number of graphic variables necessarily involved in any ultra-diplomatic transcription, this must always be carried out by hand, by a draughtsman, using vector graphics software.

In conclusion, then: our genetic edition reproduces all the strata of writing present on the page, separates them out, and produces a diplomatic version and a critical text for each. In certain cases, we also provide an ultra-diplomatic or interactive transcription. This means that the reader has various different levels of access to the manuscripts: namely, the facsimile, the diplomatic transcription, and the critical text. The reader can also carry out text-searches for words or expressions contained in every stratum of the writing.

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Genetic paths

There is a third difference between a genetic edition and a traditional critical edition: the order in which the textual units are presented. Critical editions normally arrange the texts in chronological order. But for the reader of our genetic edition there are, in this regard, three possibilities: a) he can browse through the pages of the various documents in their immediately topological sequence, i.e., he can simply follow the sheets of the notebooks as they present themselves to the eye, as in a facsimile or in a diplomatic edition. Or, b) he can read these sheets in the critically established chronological order of their emergence, as he would read them in a traditional critical edition. Or, c) – and this is a possibility unique to our genetic edition – he can trace out the genetic inter-relationships between the various textual units since here every text is linked to the version genetically preceding it as well as to the version genetically following it. He can consult the genetic path, examine the facsimile and the transcription of each stage, and thus follow both the evolution of the writing and the development of the writer's thought. But what exactly is a genetic path? Let us try to explain this by using an example drawn from our own genetic edition: namely, the genesis of the very first aphorism in *The Wanderer and His Shadow* (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Genetic Path.

The first draft of this aphorism consists in just a single word: the *portmanteau* neologism *Freischeinlichkeit* jotted down by Nietzsche on the move in one of the jotters that he carried with him on his walks in the countryside around St. Moritz. As becomes fully clear only with hindsight from the version of this aphorism which directly genetically succeeds this extremely semantically

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compressed initial kernel, Nietzsche's neologism *Freischeinlichkeit* was formed by combining the two German words *Freiheit* (which means 'freedom') and *Wahrscheinlichkeit* (which bears both the meaning borne by the English term 'probability' and that borne by the English term 'verisimilitude'). As we learn from the immediately genetically subsequent version, it was rather on the latter of these two meanings of *Wahrscheinlichkeit* that Nietzsche was building here. The first rewriting – carried out when the jottings made in this portable jotter were transferred by Nietzsche into one of the larger notebooks kept in his lodgings in St. Moritz – reads: 'Wahrscheinlichkeit, aber keine Wahrheit: Freischeinlichkeit, aber keine Freiheit – diese beiden Früchte sind es, derentwegen der Baum der Erkenntnis nicht mit dem Baum des Lebens verwechselt werden kann'. ('The semblance of truth but no truth: the semblance of freedom but no freedom – it is on account of these two fruits that the tree of knowledge cannot be confounded with the tree of life'.) The third stage on the genetic path reproduces the print-ready manuscript prepared by Peter Gast with additions and corrections in Nietzsche's own hand. This stage in fact comprises two versions, corresponding to two distinct strata of writing. The first stratum consists in the text produced by Gast; the second stratum consists in the text produced by Gast along with the title of the aphorism, Vom Baum der Erkenntnis ('Of the Tree of Knowledge') which was added by Nietzsche himself. Even though these two strata are to be found 'topologically' on the same page they do indeed represent two distinct genetic stages, just as if they had been written on two different pages. It should also be noted that the text produced by Gast contains an error: instead of 'diese beiden Früchte' Gast wrote 'diese beide Früchte'. As we said above, our edition publishes a diplomatic transcription and a linear transcription not just of every text but of every stratum of writing; the linear transcription, moreover, is in reality a critically established text. Whereas the diplomatic transcription, then, reproduces the text 'as is' – including Gast's grammatical error 'diese beide Früchte' – the linear transcription prints the text as amended by the editor – correcting 'beide' to 'beiden' – while nonetheless noting Gast's error as part of its critical apparatus (list of *errata*). The fourth stage, the galley proofs, do not, in this case, present any modifications. Finally, the fifth stage of the genetic path – the final printed edition – simply reproduces the published text of the first edition of *The Wanderer and His Shadow*. The edition thus places under the eyes of the reader, stage by stage, the process of this aphorism's writing, also making it possible to draw stylistic conclusions from it and to identify different writing typologies. In this case, for example, the aphorism comes into being by expanding on a single neologism and making explicit all that was implicit in it (namely, the philosophical association and relativization of the concepts of freedom and truth in the context of the contrast between knowledge and life). In other cases, we can observe the inverse process, namely, the fusion of several different thematic lines into a single aphorism, or the contraction of long chains of argument into a few lines.

Using all the elements that we have mentioned – the facsimile, the various transcriptions, the different strata of writing, the diagrams and the genetic paths – our edition tries to convey to the reader an idea of the genesis both

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

of the whole work and of its parts. But effective though they surely are, these tools are incapable, in the end, of showing the reasons that prompted the author to move from one version of the text to the next. We have not yet, it is true, tested out all the possibilities of simulation offered by the available technologies, and experiments in this direction are always useful. However, it seems to us that at a certain point the prose of the scholar becomes something that cannot be dispensed with and that, in the end, the history of the genesis of a work can be more easily explained than it can be shown. There comes, in other words, a moment when the editor must yield the floor to the exegete, who can enrich the edition with a written commentary on the genetic process or publish an interpretative essay. The recounting of the story of the slow emergence of the text, then, is a practice which has its place at the point where genetic editing passes over into genetic criticism. And it opens the road, in turn, to a philosophical interpretation which, by carefully tracing out the paths taken by the concrete acts of writing, can perhaps help us better to understand, in all their richness, the Wanderer's thoughts.[12]

(Translated by Alexander Reynolds)

Notes

1 See also letters 859, 860, 862, 865. I cite here from: Friedrich Nietzsche, *Digitale Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Werke und Briefe*. Nietzsche Source, Paris, 2009– www.nietzschesource.org/eKGWB. By entering the Internet address of the edition followed by the abbreviations indicated in the texts, the passages to which reference is being made can be called up directly, e.g., www.nietzschesource.org/eKGWB/BVN-1879,863. All translations of Nietzsche's texts are by Alexander Reynolds.

2 Reference eKGWB/WS 338. See also the letters BVN-1879,859 ('But now I have taken possession of the Engadine and it is as if I am in MY element – a wonderful thing! The Nature that one finds here is kindred to me') and and BVN-1879,869 ('I now have the best and most potent air in Europe to breathe and I love the place I'm staying at just now: St. Moritz in Graubünden. Its Nature is akin to my own; we feel no astonishment at one another but live intimately and confidently together.')

3 This first intended title is to be found noted down on p. 93 of the notebook now bearing the designation M I 3. The title that Nietzsche finally settled on has been added, later, in pencil on this same page (DFGA/M-I-3,93). Page 91 of the notebook designated M I 2 bears witness to the moment of transition between the two titles, though at this point we see that a subtitle was also planned: '*Der Wanderer und Sein Schatten: Eine Gedanken-Sammlung*' (DFGA/M-I-2,91). The facsimiles of all these pages are published at: Friedrich Nietzsche, *Digitale Faksimile-Gesamtausgabe* edited by Paolo D'Iorio, Nietzsche Source, Paris, 2009– www.nietzschesource.org/DFGA. Also in this case, the pages in question can be called up by entering the Internet address as well as the respective abbreviations (e.g., www.nietzschesource.org/DFGA/M-I-3,93).

4 'I lacked friends and indeed all social contact; I was physically incapable of reading books; all forms of art were beyond my reach. A small room with just a bed; the diet of an ascetic (which, moreover, did me good: I suffered no stomach troubles that whole summer!) – my abstinence was complete, with one exception: I still clung to my thoughts! What, then, was I to do?' (BVN-1879,880).

5 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe,* edited by Giorgio Colli &

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Mazzino Montinari, Berlin, New York, 1967–. The text of *The Wanderer and His Shadow* is to be found in volume 4/3 of this edition and the corresponding critical apparatus (*Nachbericht*) in volume 4/4.

6 Under 'Nietzsche's thought' we do not, of course, include thoughts or ideas that must be assumed to have existed only in the philosopher's head; the phrase denotes rather those notes which Nietzsche actually committed to paper in one form or another and which can, therefore, be studied in their different versions, their development and their literary or philosophical logic. ('Thought', in other words, bears here the same precisely textually specifiable meaning as it does in the case of the *Pensées* of Pascal).

7 Regarding the general notion of a genetic edition, see Lebrave 1994: 9–24; Grésillon 1994: 177–202; Zeller & Martins 1998; de Biasi 2000: 69–83; Hay 2002: 369–392; Stussi 2007: 147–248; D'Iorio 2010: 49–53.

8 In this connection it is worth consulting Groddeck 1991: 165–175.

9 See Grésillon 1994: 129.

10 See Segre 1994: 177, which develops an idea sketched out by Gianfranco Contini published in 'La critica degli scartafacci', in *Rassegna d'Italia*, 1948, pages 1048–1056. See also the interesting discussion of this concept and of its implications for the work of the editor in Stussi 2007: 158–160, 162–163.

11 This *Langage d'encodage génétique* (LEG, formerly known as the *HyperNietzsche Markup Language,* HNML) is a language for encoding texts, based on XML, that I created in order to encode the genetic phenomena present in authors' manuscripts. It is a language that makes it possible to encode both the material characteristics of the writing – such as the colour, the type of writing instrument and the type of alphabet used – and the genetic processes involved in this writing – such as additions, deletions, overwritings etc. It also makes available a series of markers or 'tags' suitable for identifying the interventions of editors in the text, such as the deciphering of abbreviations, the correction of spelling errors, the adding of philological comments, etc. The LEG is characterized by the extreme simplicity of the tags it uses and of its encoding solutions, which together make it possible for it to manage the complexity of genetic phenomena without adding complexity upon complexity. Furthermore, it is also capable of handling those nested structures which are often to be found in authors' manuscripts, as when an underlined word has been replaced by another, non-underlined word and written with a different ink. Finally, it offers the potential of encoding the different strata of the writing, that is to say, of distinguishing a whole set of genetically interlinked modifications which belong to the same phase of revision. The LEG was developed in 2003 within the framework of the HyperNietzsche project (Saller 2003: 185–192; D'Alfonso & Saller 2007: 117–126) and was subsequently used as a basis for the writing of the sections bearing on the encoding of genetic elements in the *Guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative* (https://tei-c.org/Vault/TC/tcw19.html).

12 See D'Iorio 2003: 7–11. Cesare Segre has likewise warned of how unstable the boundaries necessarily are between textual philology and literary criticism when what one is attempting to represent are the geneses of texts: 'It goes almost without saying that in the critical treatment of variants and in genetic criticism the properly critical element and the philological element are inextricably interwoven with one another. It is not for nothing that literary critics without philological training normally hesitate to even address themselves to these problems […] It is possible, however, for the scholar engaging with texts to be borne by the logic of his task into a zone in which textual philology and literary criticism end up becoming more or less identical with one another. I am thinking here of the task of dynamically representing the passages of written works from the state of mere notes or first drafts to that of more or less definitively completed texts. Here one immediately feels and recognizes that the mere alignment, one after the other, of the successive

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

variants in the critical apparatus is a procedure devoid of life and of interest. In such cases this critical apparatus must rather attempt to reconstruct, in their actual order and sequence, the decisions that gradually led the writer – especially the poet – to develop an initially undeveloped note or jotting, to create links between one note and another, to replace one touch of linguistic colour, or one metaphor, with another, and so on. The critical apparatus, in such cases, must not be just a registration but must rather be a reasoned exposition – and one, moreover, full of the fervour of intellectual discovery and invention. But is a reconstruction of this kind and amplitude – a reconstruction so internal to the artistic elaboration itself – not already an act of criticism, and specifically of literary criticism?' (Segre 1998: 615–616.)

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III Draft Reading

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5. Dying in Nine Ways: Genetic Criticism and the Proliferation of Variants

It is likely that every reader of Albert Camus' *The Plague* remembers that one of the secondary but characteristic threads of this novel is the story of writing and rewriting one sentence. But – not just any sentence. This is the sentence with which Joseph Grand intends to start his planned novel, which is a masterpiece *in spe*. In its original form, the sentence reads: 'One fine morning in the month of May an elegant young horsewoman might have been riding a handsome sorrel mare along the flowery avenues of the Bois de Boulogne' (Camus 1991: 136). Then the sentence goes through a whole sequence of changes (shortenings, extensions, word substitutions, stylistic modifications), which do not, however, violate its basic paradigm, the thematic and situational core: May, the horsewoman and the Bois de Boulogne avenues are the invariant elements, arranged in constantly new configurations and re-configurations. At some point, the number of variants of one and the same sentence is already so great that they occupy a total of fifty pages (and, as we find out, Grand's handwriting was 'microscopic'!). At the moment when the narrative of the novel stops, the first sentence of the masterpiece is still in the making. All we know about its most recent form is that all adjectives have been removed from it. We also learn that work on a formula that satisfies the author is in progress…

What makes Grand continue to change the initial sentence of his work? Without a doubt it is the desire to achieve formal perfection. As we hear from Grand himself, he dreams of achieving the ideal rhythm of the first sentence. This rhythm is to arouse the ecstasy of the publisher who will receive the manuscript of the novel (the famous exclamation of 'Hats off, gentlemen') and to imitate the rhythm of a horse ride. In other words, the intended stylistic perfection of a sentence is connected with affective and mimetic performativity: the incipit should evoke a reaction of delight in the reader and represent an extra-textual reality. But why does Grand – a fifty-year-old city official, never before engaged in literature – want to create a perfect literary work? Why does he want to triumph as a writer? Based on facts presented by the narrator, the novel's reader can guess that this desire is compensatory: Grand was abandoned by his wife, suffered a personal defeat, and wants to make up for it with an artistic triumph. And for what reason do adjectives not appear in the latest, most advanced version (although they

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

did appear, even in abundance, in the version immediately preceding it)? The non-verbalized implication prompts the suggestion that this radical change of poetics was influenced by the personal trauma of the protagonist, who fell ill with the plague raging in the city, suffered, was close to death and finally managed to recover. The experience of the extreme situation forces the writer to give up the ornamental form in favour of a more ascetic one. Rewriting one and the same sentence turns out to be not only a manifestation of meticulous precision, obsession with perfection, and self-criticism, but also a record of the dynamics of human existence.

Read through the prism of Joseph Grand's subplot, *The Plague* is a beautiful parable that speaks of the power that pushes a writing human being, *homo scribens*, to rewrite what he has already written. Or rather, about the complex play of forces that stimulates the text-producing machinery of the human (embodied) mind and makes it rush to further action, which results in the multiplication of subsequent versions and variants. Exactly this phenomenon of a variant's proliferation – so suggestively described by Camus – has been the subject of genetic criticism many times.

Pierre-Marc de Biasi examined Flaubert's creation of the first sentence of *Légende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier*. The researcher distinguished as many as ten subsequent versions of the *incipit* of this story, and showed that the work of rewriting was here largely a work of abbreviation and condensation, as well as a work of constructing the space in which the first part of *Légende…* was to take place. It turns out that corrections made to the first sentence modified the symbolic topography of the imagined world. (De Biasi 2011: 224–250) Time, for a change, became the most important subject of Almuth Grésillon's study of the transformations of the first few sentences of *Du côté de chez Swann*. The researcher showed how Marcel Proust – in seven consecutive variants of his *incipit* – works on the precision of grammatical time-markers (Grésillon 2004).[1]

The *incipit* (the first sentence of a novel, the first verse of a poem, the first line of a play) is undoubtedly a special place in the text, endowed – as Hillis-Miller brilliantly demonstrated – with a performative power, the ability to rapidly and instantaneously establish a new and autonomous (to some extent) reality (Hillis-Miller 2002: 24–27). No wonder then that writers – those real, like Proust and those invented by real writers, like Grand – work intensively on this very element of their texts, performing a number of attempts and simulations. The element that is in polar opposition to the opening of the text – the ending – is also subject to similar cultural fetishization and is sometimes obsessively re-written. Raymonde Debray Genette identified and described as many as eleven attempts at constructing the ending undertaken by Flaubert while writing the short story *Un cœur simple* (Debray Genette 2004). Flaubert's constant renewals are impelled, like Grand's, by the desire to achieve an ideal, perfect syntactic formula: 'I must end my Félicité in a splendid way', says the prose writer in a private letter (Debray Genette 2004: 73).

But it is not just the beginnings and endings that double and triple in the rough drafts of great works. The writer's or poet's attention often stops at a single textual detail – not located either in the initial nor final parts – which

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

for some reason proves particularly problematic. Curtis Bradford, attending to William Butler Yeats' work on the poem *The Tower*, looks at the story of just one word, one epithet, appearing in the initial parts of the third section of the work. Before Yeats finally decided to describe the men (to whom, in an act of symbolic bequest, he leaves 'both faith and pride') as 'young and upstanding', he tested several variants, each of which – as Bradford scrupulously analyses – has different connotations (Bradford 1978: 96–97)

The proliferation of variants in the course of the creative process can be described from many different perspectives, from within various research practices and discourses, such as the poetics of text, the art of interpretation, the history and sociology of literature, and the psychology of the creative individual. As a result, the answer to the question of what is fascinating about the phenomenon of the variant is in itself variable: it can be formulated in many different ways. This chapter is an attempt to construct one more variant of genetic reflection on the phenomenon of the variant.

The focus will be on a specific, individual, unique (which does not mean 'not comparable to anything') genetic case. It is drawn from the history of Polish literature. We will look at nine versions of the final paragraph of *Narzeczona Attyli* (Attila's Betrothed), a strange work written by Zbigniew Herbert (1924–1998), one of the most important Polish poets and writers of the last century. These nine versions are arranged – like the eleven versions of Flaubert's closing lines – in a sequence of repetition and difference, continuity and rupture. We will try to trace it with the works of de Biasi, Grésillon and, especially, Debray Genette as models of the methodological proceedings.

The case under consideration, however, has a specific feature which significantly distinguishes it from such cases as variants of the *incipit* of *Légende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier* and *Du côté de chez Swann*, variants of the closing line of *Un cœur simple* or the variants of one epithet from *The Tower*. While each of these masterpieces was completed and published, *Narzeczona Attyli* has never been published or even finished. It remained a work in progress – somewhat like Joseph Grand's intended masterpiece. This specificity of the chosen case allows us to pose the question that is the destination point of this chapter: what (if anything) changes in the genetic reading of the variant when we are dealing with an inconclusive text-forming process, with an 'avant-text', that does not refer to any final text?

The order of the argument will be as follows: first basic information about the Polish author and his unfinished work will be given, then all genetic variants of the ending will undergo a careful close reading. Finally, the question of the status of the genetic variant when works are abandoned *in statu nascendi* is raised.

Framing the case

Born in Poland in 1924, Zbigniew Herbert made his debut as a poet, prose writer and playwright after the Second World War. In the course of his life, he published ten volumes of poetry, two volumes of essays and five plays, which were written for the theatre and radio. In and at its time, each was

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

a significant literary event, discussed by the foremost Polish critics and scholars. When Herbert was dying in 1998, his firm position in the history of Polish literature was practically undisputed. More than twenty years later this position appears to have been maintained (even if the poetics and themes of younger generations of Polish poets and writers are often removed from those of Herbert). Herbert's status as a classic is nowadays demonstrated by the critical literature, which continues to grow,[2] a monumental biography[3] and the interest of editors, which, rather than fading after the author's death, has instead only gained in strength.

Herbert was an international writer who travelled widely (his essays are a record of his appreciation and experience of the art, culture and landscapes of Greece, Italy, France and Holland). He also made international literary contacts and was awarded significant literary prizes.[4] All of his volumes of poetry and books of essays have been translated into English.[5] There is also a fairly extensive library of non-Polish-language studies devoted to Herbert's work.[6]

Herbert was one of those authors who take great care to collect and archive their drafts. Despite a nomadic mode of living, he preserved and left to posterity the rough versions of almost all of his pieces. The result was a quite hefty archive running to tens of thousands of written pages, including some featuring drawings. Rather than being dispersed after the poet's death, it was placed in the care of specialized state institutions. It is now kept almost in its entirety in the National Library of Poland in Warsaw, while a relatively small portion found its way into the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

Based on this historical and biographical background, very briefly outlined, it is now possible to contextualize the case study of the never published and never completed work mentioned in the introduction. The title *Narzeczona Attyli* refers to the central character of Herbert's literary work, Iusta Grata Honoria: a historical figure who lived in the fifth century. Little is known about this 'real' Honoria. She was born in 418 as the daughter of Constantine III, ruler of the Western Roman Empire, her brother was another emperor, Valentinian III. Attila, leader of the Huns, maintained that she was his rightful betrothed and wished to take her for a wife, for which he demanded half of the empire as a dowry. Confronted with a rebuttal, he launched an attack on the weakening empire but was defeated at the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains (AD 451). Those are established historical facts. And the rest is silence – or supposition.[7] Writing his literary text, Herbert strove to fill the space left open to speculation by this flimsy framework of facts.

Why did this character appear in the gallery of Herbert's heroes? Herbert was a writer fascinated by history, especially ancient history. As an essayist, he told the story of the Roman presence in Britain. As a playwright, he created a stage apocryphon dedicated to Homer, in which he presented a counterfactual biography of the father of the epic. As a poet, he repeatedly referred to Greek and Roman myths and reinterpreted them ironically and subversively. In short, his constant writing strategy was the creative use of the cultural imaginarium of the Mediterranean world, which had nothing whatever to do with escapism. Historical references were one of the ways for

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

this artist to talk about the present.[8] Taking up a subject from the late-ancient world cannot be surprising in this situation.

The time and circumstances at and under which Herbert started working on the piece *Narzeczona Attyli* are also known. In 1979, at the height of his literary career, the poet concluded a contract with the German publishing house *Suhrkamp*. According to the contract, Herbert undertook to write several essays and feature stories on historical and cultural issues in Polish, which were to be translated (by professional translators) into German and published in book form.[9] *Narzeczona Attyli* was to be the title, and probably the most important, text of the volume.

This volume never came into being because Herbert failed to deliver the material: around 1983 the contacts between Herbert and *Suhrkamp Verlag* were suspended, the issue of the German volume of prose was no longer relevant, the same contract was most likely terminated. But yet after 1983 the Polish writer continued to work on the piece about Honoria. And, even more, after 1983 he intensified his work: most of the documents that make up the genetic dossier of the work come from the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. Later in the 1990s the intensity of work on *Narzeczona Attyli* undoubtedly decreased, which is not strange: this final and incomplete decade of Herbert's life was marked by dramatically deteriorating health. Nevertheless, there are brief sections in the notes from 1998 – the last year of the artist's life – which demonstrate that the ill author was still attempting to pursue his long-term project. Since the pressure of a formal publishing contract had long ceased to exist, we come to the conclusion that *Narzeczona Attyli* at some point became the artist's private obsession. Herbert was already struggling to get out of bed. In his own house he was connected to a drip and oxygen. Writing – often possible only in a prone position – was an activity that required physical effort. The figure of a Roman princess from 1,500 years ago had become very important to the Polish poet if he was still thinking and writing of her under such conditions. It seems clear that Herbert wanted to write – and was writing – his strange work not for the publishing house (and perhaps not even for German or Polish readers), but above all for himself.

All of the documents related to Herbert's work on *Narzeczona Attyli* are in the collection of the National Library in Warsaw. A folder has been deposited under the call mark akc. 17 872, t. 3, which contains 195 loose leaves of various formats (mostly A4, but there are also smaller leaves of the school notebook format, as well as small index cards). Most of them are covered with (usually one-sided) handwritten notes, made with a ballpoint pen (occasionally with a felt-tip), usually in black, less often blue, green, orange or violet. The degree of annotation is very different: alongside pages written relatively densely, from top to bottom edge, from left to right, with no margin, there are numerous pages barely touched by pen, carrying a single sentence, comment, or even a single word. In the same folder, together with the manuscripts, there are also – relatively few – photocopies of French and German-language scholarly studies on Honoria and her era. The photocopies often show handwritten emphases and markings. In addition to the documents integrated into the file, the *Narzeczona Attyli* dossier also includes a dozen or so smaller notes on the pages of the poet's notebooks

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

(call mark akc. 17 955, t.). These are also handwritten annotations, made with pens of different ink colours: black, green and violet.

Table 1 shows a typological arrangement of the genetic dossier and is a rather casual, not entirely accurate and significantly simplified interpretation of Pierre-Marc de Biasi's classic model, known as a Typology of Genetic Documentation (de Biasi 1996: 34–35). The first level corresponds to de Biasi's pre-compositional phase, while levels two and three can be linked with the compositional phase in the model.

Table 1.

	Creative action	Type of document of origin	Example documents
1.	Studies of history (gathering historical information, which is then used as the framework for the imagined world)	Photocopies (with underlined items), notes taken from historical monographs dealing with the political history of the Roman Empire in the fifth century	• Genealogical tree of the dynasty (photocopy from a monograph) • Excerpts on the history of Ravenna in the fifth century
2.	Planning and preparing the imagined world	Handwritten notes containing plot outlines, sketches for characters, records of ideas on the contours of the imagined world	• Description of Honoria's physical features • Note on the name of the dog belonging to Honoria
3.	Producing the text proper (writing the work)	Short, single entries of small fragments of the text (sentences, fragments of dialogue), rough drafts of longer pieces of text (containing deletions, alterations, variations, insertions and relocation of parts of the text), fair copies (the text is written in a careful hand by reference to the rough draft and with no deletions)	• Rough draft of a fragment of text describing the funeral mass following the death of Honoria's father, the emperor Constantine III • Handwritten fair copies of the same fragment, slightly different from the draft version

It is much easier to group individual documents in terms of their function in the creative process than it is to arrange them on a timeline. The documents are mostly undated, usually in the form of loose leaves and are arranged in the archive folder in a somewhat random order. It would seem natural that first of all Herbert read the historical monographs on the period in which he wanted to set his fictional universe (level 1 in the table), and that next

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

he planned the construction of this fictional universe (level 2), before then proceeding to put these plans into effect by writing the text proper (level 3). But even if that was the case, it was only so in the basic outline. There is much evidence to suggest that the course of the creative process was a good deal more complicated: not fully linear (notes from monographs → plans→rough drafts→fair copies), but also, to some extent, meandering, discontinuous and simultaneous. Taking notes from books could have been interspersed and interwoven with the writing of sections of a work. In this way some rough drafts of distinct sections of the text could be earlier than some of the plans for action or sketches for characters.

Level four is missing from the table because Herbert's work on *Narzeczona Attyli* never entered this stage of the creative process, which de Biasi identified as the pre-publishing phase. What is more, it never even came close to entering it. What is significant here is the fact that the most advanced type of document in terms of finishing the text is a handwritten fair copy, but there is not a single typescript. As typing was not something Herbert much enjoyed, typescripts (in the final years of his life and work, computer typescripts as well) were prepared by his wife or by other people who assisted the author in this area of creative activity. However, the typescripts or computerized copies were only created when the work – already fully completed – was ready to leave the workshop and go to the publisher. The text of *Narzeczona Attyli* could not be rewritten on a typewriter or computer and sent to the publisher, because the text did not actually exist. When the death of the author interrupted the creative process in 1998, *Narzeczona Attyli* existed as a collection of numerous annotations, incomplete plot outlines, undeveloped character sketches and seven lengthy fragments of the text proper (each in more than one version). The unreadiness, fluidity, and instability of the only-just-emerging piece even concerned its genre identity. In what literary genre did Herbert write *Narzeczona Attyli*? Without a doubt he began to write it as a prose work: equivalent in length to a small novel or a longer novella. This genre convention is also indicated by most of the documents recording the creative process. However, there are also some plans, lists of heroes and rough drafts which suggest that Herbert changed the original genre in the course of writing and the piece of narrative prose became – at least for a moment – a drama.[10] As a textual entity, we are therefore free to describe *Narzeczona Attyli* as an interrupted work in progress.

By putting together all the preserved notes, plans and rough drafts, one can still capture – albeit only in outline – the idea that Herbert had for the construction of the title character. In the eyes of the Polish poet, Iusta Grata Honoria is (or rather: was about to be) an erudite woman with an exceptionally sophisticated mind, who is steeped in ancient philosophy and fully conversant with all of the theological controversies of early Christianity. She is also cruel and impulsive, craves independence and wishes to decide her own fate. More than this, she also seeks to influence the fortunes of the empire, which leads her into conflict with the emperor's brother and with other secular and ecclesial authorities. Unintegrated fragments of text reveal a variety of situations in which social norms are co-opted to neutralize Honoria's subversive potential – for example through the institution of

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

marriage (being married off to a senator loyal to the throne, who is to play the role of discreet custodian to his insubordinate and unruly wife) or through the institution of religious life (consigning Honoria to a monastery, which is to play that same, pacifying role). For her part, Honoria endeavours to dismantle all of these oppressive mechanisms and seeks her own counter-strategies, including her alliance with Attila, the barbarian enemy of imperial Rome, and the heresy she concocts to deconstruct the conceptual edifice of Christianity, which is the religion prevailing in the empire and one of the pillars of its coherence. This dialectic of subversive energy, and the attempts to stifle it, were to be the driving force behind the action of *Narzeczona Attyli*.

Everything that has been said so far allows us to understand, at least to a basic extent, the specificity of Herbert's unfinished project. So, we can finally address the issue central to this sketch: the matter of the nine versions of the ending of *Narzeczona Attyli*. No other written fragment of the work has so many variants. In the case of the other episodes realized (such as, for example, Honoria's stay in a monastery or Honoria's wedding to a Roman senator), two essential documents, which correspond to the two main stages of the work, can be distinguished: the rough draft manuscript and the fair copy manuscript. In the rough draft manuscripts, of course, different layers of editing of individual sentences can be distinguished. However, there is no doubt that no other element of the resulting work attracted the author's attention as much as the ending. Herbert 'got tangled up' in that final paragraph almost as Camus' Grand did in his first sentence. And here also, as in the case of the *incipit* of Grand's novel, the successive versions respected the invariant situational paradigm: in each of the nine variants of the ending, Iusta Grata Honoria, by now an elderly and experienced woman, dies a natural death (from an illness). Yet in each rendering the death of the protagonist is described slightly differently. It is this 'slightly' that will interest us in the next subchapter.

Inside the case

We will therefore try to trace the history of the final paragraph of flowing text, which is subject to multi-directional transformations in the course of writing and rewriting. Our methodological model will be – as already mentioned in the introduction – Raymonde Debray Genette's sketch. Following the example of this particular study, the versions will be discussed in chronological order.[11] The discussion of each of them will begin with the archival location of the document and a concise description of its material features. All the fragments analysed will be presented (first in the Polish original, then in English translation) in the form of a diplomatic transcription, which attempts to reflect the spatial structure of the text. The following signs have been adopted for the transcriptions: […] – illegible word or part of an illegible word; ~~aabbcc~~ – deleted word; [?] – interpretation uncertain (refers in all cases to the inscription preceding the sign). The transcription does not take into account the foliation numbers that appear on all transcribed documents, as they come from the archivists of the National Library.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Transliteration will be followed by an analytical-interpretative commentary, the purpose of which will be to capture the flow and dynamics of meaning. To achieve this – also following the model of the French researcher's case study – we will descend to a level close to that of a micro-reading and examine single words, their connections, and, if necessary, even their relative positions on the sheet of paper.

Honoria's first death

Archival reference: National Library of Poland, akc. 17 955 vol. 135, p. 5v

Probably the earliest record of the final scene of *Narzeczona Attyli* appears on the page of a notebook with a 17 × 11.8 cm format and consisting of a total of fifty-eight leaves – most of them containing writing. Unfortunately, the notebook does not contain a date. Based on its contents (mainly sketches for poems and excerpts from reading), the time of its writing dates back to the first half of the 1980s. Herbert placed the inscription slightly below the upper margin. There is only a brief remark underneath, in a short space, also referring to the figure of Honoria, but not, as it seems, to her death. Both records are made with a pen with dark ink, probably a BIC®. This was Herbert's basic writing tool: the one he used most frequently from around 1958 (earlier the poet had used a normal pencil to write literary works). The same (or a very similar) type of ink can also be seen on all subsequent manuscripts, discussed later in the subchapter.

	- jesień
Honoria	i zanurzyła się w tę pustkę bez dna i tajemnic
	jakby na jej końcu (ale przecież pustka nie ma końca
	czekało na nią miłosierdzie

	- autumn
Honoria	and she sank into that void without bottom and without secrets
	as if at its end (but after all, the void has no end
	mercy waited for her

Dying is presented here metaphorically as 'sinking into the void' and, at the same time, as reaching 'beyond the void', as a move in the direction of mercy, which, it is conceivable, might await her. These expressions appear to be open to a Christian interpretation, in which 'mercy' is interpreted as the mercy of God. Let us note, however, that this religious rhetoric is invoked only to be immediately undermined (if not totally destroyed) by a number of linguistic indicators. The expression 'as if' suggests that mercy is an illusion, while the only reality remains the void in and of itself. This suggestion finds full support in the statement: 'the void has no end'. For if the void is endless, it is a logical impossibility for mercy to exist at its end or beyond its end. Ultimately, therefore, in the light of this passage, the death of Honoria would appear to be understood as the total annihilation of human existence.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Honoria's second death

Archival reference: National Library of Poland, akc. 17 872 vol. 3, p. 7

This and all subsequent entries – except for the writing of version eight – are made on loose leaves. The entry considered to be the second version was made on a small sheet of paper in notebook format, just below the top edge – below the inscription the card remained unwritten. The letters 'N.A.' are the abbreviation for the title of the whole work: *Narzeczona Attyli*. This was a frequent practice of Herbert's, who used to mark the writing project to which the manuscript referred by means of letter abbreviations of titles (the poet often worked on several projects simultaneously, so a simple and clear system of markings was necessary to facilitate orientation).

N.A
Śmierć gdzie wszystko jest
czernią albo zmiłowaniem
N.A
Death where all is
blackness or pity

The indeterminate structure 'either-or' takes the place of the conclusive structures 'as if' and 'but after all', which were applied in the first version. This is not the anti-metaphysical rhetoric of disillusion found in the previous fragment, but the rhetoric of confusion. We do not know what is 'beyond' death (all deaths, as well as the concrete death that Honoria dies). We do not know whether it is something that can be metaphorized as 'pity' (this would probably correspond to 'mercy' in version one) or something (or nothing) that can be metaphorized as 'blackness' (which might possibly be identified with 'the void' in version one). Christian eschatology is neither falsified nor validated. The game of words, whose stake is the meaning of death, remains unresolved.

Honoria's third death

Archival reference: National Library of Poland, akc. 17 872 vol. 3, p. 25

The writing and drawing are on a loose sheet of paper in notebook format (similar to that of the second version), just below the top edge – below the inscription the paper remained unwritten on.

NARZECZONA
ATYLLI

CODA

Ale co dzieje teraz kiedy dzień i noc leży
kapą i naszą ~~bezszelestną~~ obojętnością
tak przykryta ciężką ~~klapą~~ oddycha bezszelestnie
a w głowie jej cwałują obrazy huczą planety i bitwy
ocean

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ona zaś przyjmuje rzeczywistość jak sterczącа z oceanu
nad wodą
skała przyjmuje pianę oceanów

BETROTHED
OF ATTILA

CODA[12]

But what is happening now when day and night she lies
with a quilt and our ~~soundless~~ indifference
thus covered with a heavy ~~trap~~ she breathes soundlessly
and pictures race in her head planets and battles roar
ocean
she though meets reality as a rock projecting from the ocean
above the water
meets the foam of the oceans

Intriguing details! The tension, for example, between the word '*klapa*' ('trap'), which was written down and then crossed out, and the word '*kapa*' ('quilt') which replaced it. Although we cannot be absolutely certain, this is probably not so much hesitation between two competing authorial intensions as a matter of *lapsus calami* (a slip of the pen, a miswriting). Herbert probably wrote the wrong word '*klapa*' ('trap') unintentionally – instead of the intended '*kapa*' ('quilt') – because of their graphical and aural similarity,[13] and then made the correction later while revising. Even if that were so (although was it definitely the case?), the error is an interesting one. This 'quilt' (*kapa*) can be understood as a form of 'trap' (*klapa*), that is, as something that shuts off, or closes off, a path of retreat or escape.

Yet the central issue in this fragment lies elsewhere: death is now exclusively a psychophysical process involving the cessation of vital functions. The dying Honoria loses her sensory capacities and ceases to receive stimuli from external reality (this is the meaning that the petrification metaphor appears to hold), while thought processes, memory and, perhaps, imagination persist and are sustained within her. The 'new world' no longer reaches the dying Honoria, but the 'old world', which reached her before, continues to be subject to transformation within an expiring self that is shutting down.

Herbert (or his narrator) avoids the question of what follows death. Unlike the first, Honoria's third death is not an illusory quest for mercy and a real immersion in a bottomless, barren void. And, unlike the second, it is not a departure towards the insoluble (for us) alternative of 'pity' or 'blackness'. It is none of these things. It is the human sensorium closing down. That is all that is said about it.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Honoria's fourth death

Archival reference: National Library of Poland, akc. 17 872 vol. 3, p. 31

Notation on a loose A4 leaf. Meta-textual information 'N.A' written in green felt tip pen. Below, separated by a horizontal line, there is another notation, which is related to work on another scene from the plot of *Narzeczona Attyli*.

[….]
N.A [Jej ~~mała~~ nienormalnie dziecięca druga ręka ~~tkała na~~
druga
~~[…]~~
w wiecznym ruchu jakby tkała na kołdrze jakieś
niezrozumiałe wzory albo chciała pochwycić
uciekającą nitkę.
[….]

N.A [Her ~~small~~ abnormally childlike other hand ~~was weaving into~~
other
[…]
in eternal motion as if it was weaving into the quilt some
unfathomable patterns or wanted to grasp
an escaping thread.

This death is connected with the third by the motif of the quilt (*kapa*). The quilt is important because it forms the background for the convulsive movements of the hand. The poetic narration presents these movements as an exertion, an attempt, a striving: it is probably an endeavour to say something, to express something, some meaning (the weaving of the patterns) and an effort to prolong life (the escaping thread definitely refers to the Greek image of the 'thread of life'). An attentive reading of this fragment cannot, however, overlook or underestimate the 'destructive power' of one inconspicuous expression. It is the same expression that already seriously weakened the metaphysical and consolatory import of the first death: 'as if'. More than they actually signify or express a message of some sort (it may be indecipherable but it is nevertheless real), the convulsive movements merely seem to do so. This humble 'as if' alerts us to the cognitive uncertainty of the describing subject, who is attempting to discover the deeper meaning of death, but does not know whether 'discovery' is not in fact 'concealment' or 'covering up', that is, imposing a network of metaphors, cultural associations and rhetorical masks on death.

Honoria's fifth death

Archival reference: National Library of Poland, akc. 17 872 vol. 3, p. 178

The meta-textual note '*ZAKOŃCZENIE*' ('ENDING') is made in the border, in red ballpoint pen. In the fifth version the name of the heroine is changed: 'Horatia' appears instead of 'Honoria'. This modification is quite easy to explain: Herbert was a distracted writer, he often confused names and dates

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

in his notes and writings. This does not mean that he decided to rename his heroine, rather that he simply miswrote.

ZAKOŃCZENIE

- przeniesienie konającej Horatii do zakrystii przy kościele sprzedz[?] świeczniki ławki[?] kościelne

W jesieni Horatia dostała gorączki, która mimo zabiegów lekarskich – kataplazmy i spuszczanie krwi nie ustępowała. Słabła. W nocy z 4 na 5 października zaczęła majaczeć 7 października wśród tych majaczeń umarła. Nikt zapewne dlatego nie zanotował jej ostatnich słów:

Miałam wspaniałe życie – cierpiałam.

ENDING

– portage of the dying Horatia to the sacristy in the church […] church candlesticks and pews [?]

In autumn Horatia caught a fever, which despite the treatments of doctors – cataplasms and bloodletting did not relent. She weakened. On the night of the 4 and 5 October she began to hallucinate 7 October amid these hallucinations she died. That is probably why nobody recorded her last words:

I had a wonderful life – I suffered.

A definition of time, so far introduced only once, in version one, reappears. We are told there that Honoria's death is an autumn death, while here in version five a precise day in autumn is given. It is difficult to ascertain whether this date has any particular significance. Not only does Honoria's fifth death have time co-ordinates, it also has spatial ones. Here, place is an element of an ironic juxtaposition of events: a woman who has lived *extra ecclesiam* (heresy, atheism, abandoning a monastery) dies in a church. Is this one more gesture of appropriation? One more attempt to enlist Honoria into a social structure that she herself wished to transcend?

While the narrative of the fifth death proceeds in the same way as that of the third, it is different to that of the first, second and fourth. That is to say that death is presented here in the vocabulary of physiology rather than of metaphysics. There is no mention of where the dying Honoria might be going or what may await her (or not await her). The surface narrative is confined exclusively to what can be named in the language of medicine: fever, hallucinations.

Honoria's sixth death

Archival reference: National Library of Poland, akc. 17 872 vol. 3, p. 179

Notation on a loose A4 format leaf, located at the bottom of the page (above an area that is not written on).

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Zakończe
Przeniesiono na rozkaz Bonifacego konającą Horatię
dziękczynnych
Honoria umierała bez psalmów pokutnych bez psalmów chwalących boga
czekają
dusza H.G płynęła ku tym postojom gdzie czekają nas radosne
~~radosne~~ […] obcowanie
zaślubiny i miłosierdzie
albo pustka

Endi
The dying Horatia was moved on the orders of Boniface
of thanksgiving
Honoria died without psalms of atonement without psalms praising god
they are waiting
the soul of H.G sailed towards those stations where awaiting us is joyful
~~joyful~~ […] communion
espousals and mercy
or the void

It seems that the first attempt at the sixth ending proves to be a false start. Herbert 'begins to end' once more, leaving an empty space as a mark of the unsuccessful effort. As we know from the notes appended to the work, Boniface is the bishop of Ravenna. The text does not say where Honoria was moved to. Perhaps, as in version five, to a church building. The accent most definitely does not fall, though, on Honoria's incorporation into the Roman Catholic Church. Quite the opposite: it falls on the exclusion of the dying woman from the community ('without psalms'). Unexpectedly, the 'last words' disappear. Honoria's death thus becomes a silent one. At the same time, Herbert returns to the 'metaphysical' convention of describing death. As in versions one, two and four, and unlike in versions three and six, the question of where Honoria is going is again at the centre of attention. As in version one, the opposition of 'the void' and 'mercy' is established, yet not on the principle of disillusion and a nihilistic resolution (there really is nothing other than the void), but on the principle of an indeterminate alternative (in this respect version six recalls this device in version two: 'where all is blackness or pity').

Honoria's seventh death

Archival reference: National Library of Poland, akc. 17 872 vol. 3, p. 179

One further inscription appears at the very bottom (at the edge) of the page version six was written on. This, I think, may be regarded as version seven.

Zakończenie
ciemność lub miłosierdzie
pustki

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Ending
darkness or mercy
of the void

What exactly was Herbert thinking when he pondered this sheet of paper, this inscription? Of course, we will never be able to answer that question. We can only determine what we see ourselves and how we understand what we see. The major problem here lies in deciding how the two nouns 'mercy' and 'darkness' are connected to 'of the void'. Should we read 'darkness of the void or mercy' or rather 'darkness or mercy of the void'? The distinction is significant. In the first option, 'of the void' functions in opposition to 'mercy' (exactly as in version six!). Meanwhile, in the second option, the stable, binary opposition is deconstructed: 'mercy' ceases to be something that is present instead of the void and becomes an attribute of the void. The void is merciful because, for example, by engulfing humans it frees them from the pain of existence. This is the possible meaning we can derive if we choose this second interpretation.

Here, we return to the aporia of the author's intentions. Which option did Herbert choose? Did he choose at all? Or is he captured here in the process of choosing?

Honoria's eighth death

Archival reference: National Library of Poland, akc. 17 872 vol. 3, p. 182

Notation on a leaf of notebook format, which is part of a block of several pages. The inscription covers approximately two-thirds of the surface of the paper; below it is an area of paper that is not written on. The title *Narzeczona Attyli* is written in red ballpoint pen, which is also used to highlight the meta-textual note *Zakończenie*.

Zakończenie NARZECZONA ATTYLI

W jesieni H. dostała gorączki, która mimo zabiegów lekarskich – kataplazmy spuszczanie krwi – nie ustępowała. Słabła. W nocy z 4 na 5 października zaczęła majaczyć.

Na rozkaz Bonifacego przeniesiono konającą Horatię z cesarskiej sypialni o wiecznie zaciemnionych oknach – do zakrystii przy kościele. Bonifacy sądził że dźwięk psalmów, dzwonków kościelnych i ~~śpiewów~~ szmeru modlitw będzie najlepszym towarzystwem tej której poglądy i całe życie dalekie były od nauki matki kościoła.

H. spoczywała w otoczeniu gratów kościelnych – świeczników, podartych
Na niewygodnym łóżku otoczena gratami kościelnymi
ornatów katafalków wśród fałszywego złota i prawdziwej czerni
Dusza ~~H.G.I~~ Honorii Graty Iusty płynęła ku tym postojom
gdzie czekają na nas radosne zaślubiny. A także wieczne obcowanie
z Nim, ciemność albo miłosierdzie.

7 października wśród majaczeń umarła.

Zapewne dlatego nikt nie zanotował jej ostatnich słów
– Miałam wspaniałe życie – cierpiałam.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Ending ATTILA'S BETROTHED

In autumn H. caught a fever, which despite the treatments of doctors –
cataplasms and bloodletting – did not relent. She weakened. On the night
of 4 October and 5 October
she began to hallucinate
On the order of Boniface the dying Horatia was moved from the imperial bedroom with its eternally darkened windows – to the sacristy at the church. Boniface
believed that the sound of psalms, of sanctus bells and song the murmur
of prayers was the best accompaniment for one whose disposition and entire life were
distant from the teachings of the mother church.
H. lay in the company of church clutter – candlesticks, tattered
On an uncomfortable bed amid church clutter
chasubles catafalques amid false gold and true black
The soul of H.G.I. Honoria Grata Iusta sailed towards those stations
where joyful espousals wait for us. And also eternal communion
with Him, darkness or mercy
7 October amid her hallucinations she died.
That is probably why nobody recorded her last words
– I had a wonderful life – I suffered.

The edit before us is the sum of versions five and six. The motif of dying in the sacristy and of speaking last words is taken from version five, while the image of the 'sailing soul' and the 'metaphysical' convention of describing death follow version six. But as it contains two new elements, version eight is not simply a compilation. Firstly, Honoria is dying among psalms (and not, as in version six, without psalms). Her death is therefore 'embraced and appropriated' by Christian ritual. Secondly, in the phrase about espousals and communion, toward which the dying Honoria is headed, the phrase is almost an exact repeat of version six. Yet there is one small, but significant addition: a personal pronoun written with a capital letter. What awaits Honoria (perhaps) is not 'joyful communion' (as in version six) but 'eternal communion with Him'. The formula has been strengthened. It has become more confessional, more powerfully Christian: it is after all difficult to resist the interpretation that the Eternal Spouse of the redeemed soul is Christ. Never before, not in any of the versions, has 'that which lies beyond death' been personalized, and neither has it found itself so close to the Christian Credo.

Honoria's ninth death

Archival reference: National Library of Poland, akc. 17 872 vol. 3, p. 187

The word '*ŚMIERĆ*' ('DEATH') underlined with a red felt tip, which was also used to make characters indicating where the additional text was entered (in the transcription, these characters are marked with an asterisk).

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

This is the only notation referring to the scene of the main character's death which was made with great care, elegantly and legibly. Herbert, who generally had difficulty with the legibility and neatness of his handwriting, only made such careful manuscripts if he intended to ask someone to type them (in connection with preparation for publication). It can therefore be assumed that this holograph was created as a fair copy. Apparently, however, in the course of his critical reading, Herbert found that the text still did not fully satisfy him, so he introduced deletions and additions. It can be said that the intended rough draft became, to some extent, a secondary rough draft. The meta-textual note 'Ending' is deleted and replaced by the note 'Death', which might suggest that Herbert was considering changing the compositional function of the scene of the agony of death. Perhaps he had decided – already after preparing the fair copy, during the critical reading – that the scene of Honoria's death would not be the work's last scene. This, of course, is merely an assumption – an assumption that there is really no way of proving.

~~ZAKOŃCZENIE~~ N.A.
ŚMIERĆ W jesieni Horatia dostała gorączki, która mimo zabiegów lekarskich ~~[…]~~
ja
– kataplazmy, spuszczanie krwi – nie ustępowała. W nocy z 4 na 5 października zaczęła majaczyć.

Na rozkaz Bonifacego przeniesiono konającą Horatię z cesarskich sypialni o wiecznie zaciemnionych oknach – do zakrystii przy kościele. Bonifacy sądził że dźwięk psalmów, dzwonków kościelnych i szmeru modlitw będzie w ostatnich chwilach najlepszym towarzystwem tej której poglądy i całe życie dalekie były od nauki Świętej Matki Kościoła.

Horatia spoczywała na niewygodnym łóżku w otoczeniu gratów kościelnych – świeczników, podartych ornatów, katafalków wśród fałszywego złota i prawdziwej czerni. *

Iusty
Dusza Augusty Honorii Graty Iusty płynęła ku tym postojom gdzie czekają na nas radosne zaślubiny. A także wieczne obcowanie z ~~Nim.~~ Ciemność albo miłosierdzie.

po
7 października wśród majaczeń umarła.
Zapewne dlatego nikt nie zanotował jej ostatnich słów
– Miałam wspaniałe życie – cierpiałam.

* [Jej druga, nienormalnie dziecięca druga ręka w wiecznym ruchu jakby ~~[…]~~ tkała na kołdrze powtarzające się niezrozumiałe
wysuwającą się
wzory, albo chciała pochwycić w ~~obie uciekającą~~ nitkę.

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~~ENDING~~ N.A.
DEATH In autumn Horatia caught a fever, which despite the treatments of doctors ~~[…]~~
I
– cataplasms and bloodletting – did not relent. On the night of 4 October and 5 October
she began to hallucinate.

On the order of Boniface the dying Horatia was moved from the imperial bedroom
with its eternally darkened windows – to the sacristy at the church. Boniface believed that
the sound of psalms, of sanctus bells and the murmur of prayers in the last moments would be
the best accompaniment for one whose disposition and entire life were distant from
the teachings of the Holy Mother Church.

Horatia lay on an uncomfortable bed amid church clutter
– candlesticks, tattered chasubles, catafalques amid false gold
and true black.*

Iusta

The soul of Augusta Honoria Grata Iusta sailed towards those stations
where joyful espousals wait for us. And also eternal communion with
~~Him~~. Darkness or mercy.

after

7 October amid her hallucinations she died.
That is probably why nobody recorded her last words
– I had a wonderful life – I suffered.

* [Her other, abnormally childlike other hand in eternal motion
as if ~~[…]~~ it was weaving on the quilt repeating unfathomable
projecting
patterns, or she wanted to grasp ~~in both an escaping~~ thread.

The ninth version of the death is close to the previous one, but with two differences. Firstly, Herbert reminds himself of the motif of the quilt and the convulsive movements of the hand (which, so far, has appeared only once, in version four) and decides to include it in the play of meanings. Secondly, he crosses out the pronoun written with a capital letter (~~Him~~), yet allows the motif of espousals itself to remain. In doing so he discards the semantic innovation of version eight and returns to the position obtaining in version six, thereby increasing the distance from the Christian conception of eschatology.

In this way, we have come from the earliest to the latest variant of the ending of *Narzeczona Attyli*. We will now try to change our viewing perspective: we will replace the genetic close reading microscope with a more distanced observation, less sensitive to details, but, in return, allowing such cognitive operations as summation, extrapolation, and comparison.

Theorizing the case

The dynamics of writing and re-writing the final scene of *Narzeczona Attyli* resemble those of the final scene of *Un cœur simple*. As Debray Genette (2004) has convincingly demonstrated, Flaubert was constantly searching

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

for a language to describe Félicité's death in an ambivalent, dialectic way, simultaneously 'spiritual' and 'realist'. The last paragraph was to show the death of the old maidservant as a transition into another, metaphysical dimension and as a purely physiological process at the same time: these two takes were to remain in a kind of ironic tension. In subsequent manuscripts, Flaubert tests various solutions both in the religious phraseology of death ('departure of the soul' in the second version, 'rupture of body and soul' in the sixth version) and in the physiological phraseology ('last movements of her thought' in the sixth version; 'death throes' in the seventh version; 'the jerky pulsing of her heart slower and slower' in the eighth version). He also designs a syntactic structure that directly confronts both dictionaries within a single sentence ('Her lips vibrating, either she prayed or it was convulsive' – version six).[14]

To sum up, according to the French genetic critic, what pushed Flaubert to construct subsequent simulations, projects and variants of the final scene was precisely the difficulty of constructing an ideal, desired formula, allowing both stylistic tendencies and both interpretations of death to speak: the one that captures death in a purely biological sense and the one that tries to transcend that understanding. And, in fact, something very similar can be said about the simulations, projections and variants that Herbert multiplied at least as intensively. Here, too, the versions and variants of the final scene, viewed together, side by side, appear to be a field of tension between physiological realism and spiritualistic imagination. Here, too – as we have seen – expressions and metaphors that speak of the separation of soul and body compete with medical language. Here, too, there appears a somewhat double-coded, ambivalent motif: the movements of the dying Honoria's hands being pre-mortem convulsions and/or mysterious signs.

This kind of comparative genetics can be continued. Debray Genette's analysis emphasizes that Flaubert's creative work does not take place in a vacuum. The creation of successive variants of the ending is not an *ex nihilo* creation, for at least two reasons. Firstly, in writing the ending of *Un cœur simple*, Flaubert was 'negotiating' with different, pre-existing literary-cultural images of death, or, to put it another way, he was testing and mixing heterogeneous representations of death available in language and culture. Debray Genette distinguishes many different conventions (or, as she also claims, 'clichés', 'models', 'social preconstructions', or 'extra-literary models from the visual arts') that the great French novelist tried out: ancient and pagan death, Christian beatific or mystic death, scientific death, romantic death. Secondly, Flaubert, while working on the ending of *Un cœur simple*, was already the creator of many fictional endings, also based on the death scene of an important character or protagonist (for example, this is how he ended *Légende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier*, written a little earlier). All the deaths that Flaubert had already written were also becoming 'clichés' or 'pre-constructs', exerting pressure – just by being written – on Félicité's death. For example, the finale of *Madame Bovary*, which also shows the death of the protagonist, permeates some versions of the finale of *Un cœur simple*. (Debray Genette 2004: 84.)

And again, something similar could be said of Herbert's writing

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

process. The text-creating invention of the author of *Narzeczona Attyli* was also culturally determined by the 'clichés' of culture. Following the nine successive 'ideas for the ending', we could see that for the construction of some variants, the old image of the marriage of soul and God (or soul and Christ), known to mediaeval Christian mysticism, plays an important role. This image, whenever invoked, is an important element of the micro-storyline, functionally contrasted with other motifs and contributing to the field of tension between the 'spiritual' and 'physiological' dimensions. As far as the correlation of the variants of Honoria's death with images of death created in other works by Herbert is concerned, it is worth noting here – as briefly as possible – at least two circumstances. Thus, the third variant – in which dying is presented as closing the sensorium and falling into an inner, chaotic chase of images – resembles the description of the dying of Cornelis Troost, who is the protagonist of Herbert's completed and published essay entitled *Epilog* ('Epilogue'). This essay, like *Narzeczona Attyli*, was written in the 1980s.[15] In turn, in the mid-1950s, thirty years before working on *Narzeczona Attyli*, Herbert created a drama entitled *Jaskinia filozofów* ('Cave of Philosophers'), which is a poetic reinterpretation of Socrates' character. In the final scene of act III, the imprisoned philosopher swallows hemlock and then gives his final, pre-death line:

> Don't forget to sacrifice the cock to Asclepius. Yes, Polos ... justice ... to sacrifice ... your whole life ... Apollo. Polos ... remember ... your whole life ... why ... there is no ...

Plato, who witnessed this event, states categorically that the only sentence to be written down for posterity is 'Don't forget to sacrifice the cock to Asclepius', because the later words were 'gibberish'. Thus, we have a situation in which a witness to death makes an arbitrary decision, considering that which is unobvious and disturbing to have been uttered beyond the control of the mind and therefore unworthy of being fixed in the canon of culture. This situation is somewhat repeated in the fifth, eighth and ninth version of the ending of *Narzeczona Attyli* – after all, witnesses of the event refuse to record Honoria's last words in writing ('I had a wonderful life. I suffered'), classifying them as 'delirious'.

Of course, the basic difference between Flaubert's writing and that of Herbert must be underlined. Even if, as Jed Deppman (2004: 70) noted, Flaubert's play with tropes, ellipses, sound patterns and the length of phrases distracted him from ending his work, the fact remains that, though delayed, the creative work was eventually concluded. The nineteenth-century French writer managed to bring the proliferating versions to a halt and give his last paragraph a single, canonical form. As a result, *Un cœur simple* duly enjoyed its first print run in 1877. The twentieth-century Polish writer, meanwhile, did not decide which of the nine potential deaths of Honoria would be sent to print (leaving aside the fact that *Narzeczona Attyli* as a whole was far from ready to be sent to print). There are no words added to the margins of the rough draft, and no graphical inscriptions, that could be recognized or interpreted as sanctioning or distinguishing the one and final version among

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

the nine edits. Let us recall: the fair copy, containing the last, ninth variant of the ending, ceases to be a fair copy, and in the course of the revision Herbert makes deletions and additions to it, not at all cosmetic, but relevant for interpretation. The introduction of significant changes to something that was supposed to be – just a moment ago – a fair copy, that is, a document concluding in a certain way the phase of proper writing of the text, is undoubtedly a gesture of reopening.

It is a good moment to recall the question that was posed in the introduction: what is the difference between the experience of dealing with the draft variants of a never finalized work and the experience of dealing with the draft variants of a work that has been finalized? When constructing the answer (probably not the only one, but one of many available), it is worth referring to a study not yet cited in this essay, which is one of the most interesting and theoretically most sophisticated approaches to the issue of variance in more recent genetic literature. In the work 'Mondes possibles, mondes fictionnels, mondes construits et processus de genèse' ('Possible worlds, fictional worlds, constructed worlds and the process of genesis'), Daniel Ferrer combines genetic reflection on the variant with the theory of possible worlds, strongly marking its presence in such discourses of contemporary humanities as research into literary fiction or logic. From Ferrer's extensive and subtle deliberations, we will now only extract one argument – somewhat instrumentally. If we consider the world imagined in the final work to be the 'real world', then the imagined worlds outlined in rough draft variants can be conceptualized as 'possible alternative worlds', accessible from within the 'real world' (Ferrer 2010: 121–122). To pursue this theme: the reading circulating between the final text and the rough drafts allows the genetic critic (and the reader of the essay, written by the genetic critic) to enter fictional worlds that are possible (because already put to the test by the writer as a maker of worlds) and alternative (because in some way different from the basic world). For example: from the world of the published, printed short story *Un cœur simple* we have access to its alternative form, in which the protagonist does not die in her own home, but in hospital (variant one, discussed in Debray Gennette's sketch). However, in the case of Herbert's unfinished work, we are dealing with a different scenario. Genetic analysis provides us with a whole galaxy of possible worlds: Honoria dies in or out of a church building, in dying speaks or remains silent, losing her biological life, sets off on a journey to meet God or ceases to exist – it all depends on which of the possible worlds we desire to move to. But none of these possible worlds is in relation to any real world – if we assume that the real world is the one that materialized in the final work.

So perhaps this is how we should speak:

a) Reading the draft variants of a work that has been finalized, published, and included in the social field of literature allows us to experience the power of possibility: what exists in one way, would be able to exist in many different ways.

b) Reading the rough drafts of a work that has never been finalized, published and which has remained outside the social field of literature allows us to experience the power of negativity: what was able to exist in many

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

different ways, does not exist at all.

In the first case, we are surprised that something that seems to have the necessary, ideal form (it is hard to imagine any other conclusion of *The Plague* by Camus than the famous sentence about an 'immortal microbe') could have a completely different form (because it already had it at some point in its history). In the second case, we are surprised that something that was formed so intensely and interestingly, something in which so much creative energy was invested, finally remained unformed.

In a brilliant essay entitled 'The "Rough" and the "Polished"', Judith Robinson-Valery (1996: 65) writes as follows of a famous sculpture of Augustin Rodin:

> She will never escape from the roughness that has imprisoned her. Though almost completed, she will remain an eternal draft, a possibility suspended between being and not-being, to remind us of all the elements of the creative process that do not quite come to be, that do not completely enter into full, independent existence.

Something similar could be said of Iusta Grata Honoria. Not, of course, of the historical figure of the fifth century who lived in the Roman Empire, but of the woman created by Herbert in the twentieth century in the empire of the imagination. If by 'full existence' we are to understand completion followed by exposure to the public eye, she did not, unlike Flaubert's Félicité, enter into full existence. What strange fates befall literary figures: to die nine different deaths and never be truly born!

Conclusion

It is not easy to conclude a text that describes the problematic nature of concluding. If the great writers find it difficult to construct the closure of their works, why should genetic critics be less confused when they approach their final sentences? Of the many possible variants for the ending of this chapter, one seems to be the most inspiring.

In 1992, in his penultimate volume of poems, entitled *Rovigo*, Herbert published a poem entitled 'Do Piotra Vujičića' ('To Peter Vujičić'). This is, in short, an autobiographical poem in which Herbert talks about his life, treated as an already-closed whole. The closeness between the person speaking in the poem and the empirical author is taken as far as possible. The last two stichs of this lyric read:

miałem wspaniałe życie
cierpiałem

Which in the English translation has been rendered as:

I had a wonderful life
I suffered (Herbert 2007: 486)

As we can easily see, in the finale of the poem 'Do Piotra Vujičića' there appears a line that had previously appeared in three out of the nine versions of the ending of *Narzeczona Attyli*. The sentence was modified in the transmission

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

process: the original female grammatical ending 'miał**am** wspaniałe życie' was replaced by the male ending 'miał**em**' (in the English translation 'I had a wonderful life. I suffered' this distinction is obviously obscured). In addition, the sentence transferred to the poem has been delimited as a stich. But it is still the same sentence: accidental repetition is to be excluded here. This phenomenon can be well described in the terminology of research into intertextuality. Namely, one can say that the rough draft of a prosaic work, never finalized and never published, has become the hidden intertext of a lyrical work, which was finalized and was published.

So, what has happened? Writing a personal, autobiographical poem (one of his most personal and most autobiographical poems!), Herbert summed up his own life with the words he had previously thought up or invented as the possible last words of the dying Honoria. At this point comes the interpretation, probably more 'essayistic' than 'scientific', more 'poetic' than 'academic', but perhaps worthy of note: writing nine versions of the final scene was not only a stylistic exercise, but also an existential exercise. Experiencing the nine imagined deaths of the heroine would then be a spiritual practice, a kind of individual, modern *ars bene moriendi* ('the art of dying'). The poet, who is aging and falling ever more ill, imagines in nine ways the death of an aging, seriously ill woman whom he, in fact, had essentially invented himself (historical data about Honoria are very scarce). And as a result of this work of imagination, he finds a formula for summarizing life that he can, at the same moment, attribute to a fictional heroine and consider as his own. That is, he can say it in the first person.

Producing variants as a spiritual exercise? Yes, of course: this cannot be confirmed or falsified, it lies outside the sphere of strictly academic inquiry. Genetic criticism of the variant, adopting such an optic, loses its methodological rigour. But it gains something in return. Some kind of humanistic sensitivity and imagination. This may also be one of the possible points of access for the *critique of genetical reason*.

(Translated from Polish by Mark Aldridge in collaboration with Mateusz Antoniuk)

Notes

1 Almuth Grésillon is also the author of a theoretical study devoted to the problem of variants; see Grésillon 1979.
2 Including single-author monographs and collective works, more than thirty books devoted solely to Herbert's work were published in Polish between 1998 and 2020.
3 See Franaszek 2018. There is also a comprehensive biography in French. See Gautier 2018.
4 For further reading on Herbert's international activity, see Antoniuk 2020.
5 The most extensive compilation of Herbert's poetry in English, which runs to more than six-hundred pages and contains the poems the author published in his lifetime and included in volumes of poetry, is Herbert 2007. More than seven-hundred pages of Herbert's essays and other writings await readers in *The Collected Prose 1948–1998*, published by Ecco in 2010 (various translators).

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

6 See, for example, Barańczak 1987.
7 For further reading, see Bury 1919.
8 One should not forget that Herbert, like every Polish writer of the period from 1945 to 1989 (except, of course, writers living in exile), had to face serious restrictions from the censorship of an undemocratic and oppressive state. Being a strong opponent of communist power and one of the favourite poets of the democratic ('illegal') opposition of the 1970s and 1980s, Herbert had to play a sophisticated and difficult game of censorship to smuggle in some of his anti-regime thoughts.
9 The fact that Suhrkamp suggested to Herbert that they conclude such an agreement was a simple consequence of the growing position of the Polish poet in the West German literary market. See Antoniuk 2020.
10 Choosing the genre their works will be composed in is usually one of an author's first creative acts. It can be regarded as a component of what Sally Bushell describes as 'programmatic intention'. According to Bushell, 'Programmatic intention is only ever going to provide the broad framework for a work, but it also probably represents the writer's wider ambition and could be viewed in terms of a "challenge" the writer sets for him or herself'. In formulating this definition, Bushell cautions that 'This long-term intention remains open for the entirety of the creative process, is subject to redefinition, and may never be fulfilled' (Bushell 2009: 62). In the case of Herbert's work on *Attila's Betrothed* one could therefore speak of a 'redefinition of programmatic intention' with respect to the genre of the text.
11 Though it should be noted that in the case of Herbert's papers, establishing the chronological sequence is a highly hypothetical reconstruction. The mostly loose leaves that contain the endings are undated and the author has given them neither page numbers nor meta-textual commentaries, such as 'version one' or 'version two'. There is also a lack of external guidelines to locate the creative process in time, such as references in the author's correspondence (another matter is that some important collections of Herbert's letters remain – for now – inaccessible to researchers).
12 Herbert added a drawing of a stave and the notes written on it next to the word 'coda', which can be interpreted as a musical metaphor of human life (as a melody that is played) and human death (as a 'coda', that is, the final part of a musical structure).
13 The Polish pronunciation of both words – 'kapa' and 'klapa' – is consistent with their spelling. Tonally, these two words are only distinguished by the consonant 'l' between the 'k' and 'a' sounds.
14 All quotations from Flaubert's drafts are based on Debray Genette 2004.
15 Though in the essay *Epilog* this description of dying was placed not in the finale, but in the initial parts of the text.

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6. The Translation Draft as Debt Negotiation Space: Underlying Forces of the Collaborative Translation of Vadim Kozovoï's *Hors de la colline* (1984)

The recent appearance of genetic translation studies marked the need for geneticists and translation scholars to join forces in order to study translation as continuous work and not as end result (Cordingley & Montini 2015: 3) while dealing with questions of *auctoritas,* both authority and authorship (Nunes et al. 2020: 4).

This joint effort only confirmed the importance of the study and preservation of genetic materials as a decisive part of an oeuvre. It seems that this is especially true when it comes to *collaborative* translation projects. Collaborative translation appears to carry additional creative and human value because usually, despite the disputed authority, a collective authorship can be reached. With the disappearance of archives and the actual participants, parts of the human history of creative collaborations also disappear.

Thus, it seemed important to present a genetic dossier and tell the story of the little-known bilingual book of poetry *Hors de la colline* / *Прочь от холма* translated by the author, the Russian poet and philosopher Vadim Kozovoï (1937–1999), with the help of Michel Deguy and Jacques Dupin, both prominent French poets. The Russian text was published in France in 1982, just after the author immigrated to France. In 1984, a small book of 127 pages, with the afterword of Maurice Blanchot, illustrated by Henri Michaux, was born. How did it come to life, and was the 'gestation sinuous'?[1]

Kozovoï's widow, Irina Emelianova, was preparing the author's French archives to be deposited at the French National Library (he wrote, both in French and Russian, poetry and prose, as well as essays on poetry, philosophy and art, although his work remained confidential). As we looked together through the boxes of papers, read the letters from some of the most prominent writers of the twentieth century such as Samuel Beckett, Henri Michaux, Julien Gracq, and Maurice Blanchot, Ms. Emelianova showed me a thick green folder containing what turned out to be a quite complete genetic dossier:[2] *avant*-textual documentation regarding the translation of *Hors de la colline* / *Прочь от холма* (1984) that included up to 10 drafts/versions of each poem. The different campaigns of collaborative work were hardly identifiable despite the separate small folders organizing the file. It was still possible to identify different stages of work: the earlier versions are represented by those manuscripts and typescripts that are densely annotated/

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

corrected, while the latest ones, changed almost entirely by the French collaborators in comparison with the earlier ones, are pristine typescripts or bearing very minor corrections.[3]

Vadim Kozovoï died prematurely in 1999. Michel Deguy, the last living translation collaborator, was nearly 90 years old. Many people who knew Kozovoï and wrote about him had died. It was easy to imagine this dossier remaining 'undiscovered' for a long time. The present work came about as a desire to give the stained papers in this folder some light.

This article focuses on Kozovoï's process of self-translating a selection of poems for his most important bilingual publication *Hors de la colline / Прочь от холма*.[4] The book bears the name of willing estrangement (the title translates as '[Get] away from the hill'). The title that Vadim Kozovoï gives to the first translation of his poetry into French, quotes (loosely) Pushkin's *Ruslan and Lyudmila,* a poem written in 1820.[5] Kozovoï immigrated to France in 1981, leaving behind Soviet Russia, the country that Pushkin's dark hill represented in his mind. Now, away from the 'great hill looming black', a new cultural horizon was opening for him in France – a quite welcoming one.

Cécile Vassié describes the 'shock' associated with the publication of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* in June 1974 in France (Vaissié 2012: 372–376). After reading the novel, French intellectuals were penetrated by a belated feeling of guilt: for a long time, they refused to recognize the direct link between Soviet communism and repression. In 1981 their passion for dissidents and professional solidarity with the repressed were there to guarantee an enthusiastic welcome for the Soviet poet.

Besides writing his own poetry, Kozovoï also translated French poetry into Russian. In the context of the Soviet cultural underground, where each published translation from French was a revelation and a victory over official Soviet culture, Kozovoï's translation of French poetry undoubtedly represented a type of resistance. Hence his reputation among the French intellectuals as a courier of French culture to Russia. Helping Kozovoï to come to France and to translate his poetry into French amounted to a debt owed on the part of Kozovoï's French literary friends. As Dupin (2000: 11) puts it:

> Il a traduit nos poètes, il est imprégné des siens. Il nous touche, et c'est une dette envers lui, il nous touche d'avoir touché, pénétré, traduit dans sa langue, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Valéry, Michaux, Char, Gracq, Ponge, Deguy, Blanchot, une constellation souveraine. L'aider à se traduire en français n'était que rembourser de quelques sous notre dette. [He translated our poets, he carries in him Russian poetry … He touches us, and we are indebted to him because he has touched, penetrated and translated into his language Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Valéry, Michaux, Char, Gracq, Ponge, Deguy, Blanchot, a sovereign constellation. To help him translate himself into French was only a small way to pay this debt.][6]

This explains why Kozovoï's illustrious literary friends (Maurice Blanchot, René Char, Henri Michaux, Samuel Beckett, Julien Green, to name just a few) supported and encouraged the Soviet poet in his project, while two eminent poets, Michel Deguy and Jacques Dupin, actually became his co-translators.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

In my study of the drafts bearing the signs of collective work, I am interested in deciphering the strategies adopted by the author and his helpers (also his hosts) in order to obtain the best translation possible. I also hope to find explanations for the radical change from the author's translation of his texts to the final, collaborative version as seen in the published text. I will combine my observations with the information drawn from a variety of the paratextual sources available, such as Kozovoï's published letters (Kozovoï 2003; 2005) describing the collaboration, relevant interviews in French media, and my personal interviews, in search of correlations between this radical evolution and the distribution of powers in play. I will then discuss the questions of agency and authority pertinent to this particular translation collaboration but likely to be present in any 'unequal' artistic collaboration.

The following initial comment should be made. Kozovoï's poetry is particularly difficult to translate. Maximizing the already flexible word order of Russian, Kozovoï dismantles linguistic units either by removing certain parts of them entirely or dispersing them widely within the line. The Russian reader is almost surprised at being able to reconstitute the sense of what at first seem to be fragments and nonsense. In fact, what assures the unity of Kozovoï's poetry is not its syntax but the shared cultural imagination of the writer and his readers, created out of folk songs, magic spells and chants, and cries of suffering. Thus his 'ode' to freedom through the evocation of a common cultural history 'locked up' or encoded in the Russian language, a kind of inner linguistic freedom emerging out of the ambient, standardized language at the service of political terror, cannot easily carry its special power into French.

However, Kozovoï would seem to have had at his disposal the means to transcend the language barrier: his mastery of French was excellent and the help he had remarkably skilled. Both helpers, Michel Deguy and Jacques Dupin, were there to capture, with the author's help, Kozovoï's unusual and original poetic demarche. However, in order to get a readable French version, which would appeal to the French ear as a 'sound' familiar to everyone (assuming one exists), they would have had to rewrite the Russian entirely. This would not have been an unusual approach to poetry translation, and could have resembled something that Douglas Robinson has called 'radical domestication' (1997: 95). But to render Kozovoï's poetic style faithfully, this 'familiar' sound then should have been cut up, somehow distorted, or turned inside-out. To bypass this process would have amounted to disregarding Kozovoï's most original literary contribution: his innovative Russian versification, a revolution he tried to achieve in rhythm and intonation, rupturing the verse in order to 'extraire de la rupture et de l'engouffrement un rythme inassimilable, une scansion hoquetante' [extract from its breaking and engulfing an inassimilable rhythm and a hiccupping scansion] (Dupin 2000: 4), and in order to link 'terreur et parole' [word to terror] (Nivat 2004). This was the arduous task of translating a type of poetry that works solely by disrupting or deconstructing the oral culture of one language. Will the target language lend itself to such a torque?

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Translation of the resisting self

For the Russian poet, self-translating into French, getting himself published in France, amounted to a complex psychological revenge against the Soviet regime for having refused his poetic talent and put him in the Gulag. 'Как будто головой пробиваю стену тюремной камеры' [It feels like punching a hole in the wall of a prison cell with my head] (Kozovoï 2005: 188). Luckily, he had qualified help: the impossible self-translation became a collaborative project when Michel Deguy and Jacques Dupin agreed to assist Kozovoï as co-translators.

With the association of the names of Deguy and Dupin with the project, the newcomer received help not only with the language but also with recognition in the milieu. The collaborators' willingness and aptitude to take action define their agency and show its intrinsic relation to power (Kinnunen & Koskinen 2010: 6–7). Deguy and Dupin volunteered their experience and professional connections, which facilitated publicizing the project (for example, finding a publisher and organizing a public reading for three hundred people on 12 January 1983 in the Modern Art Museum in Paris, where many literary and some political dignitaries were present).

The collaborators were, of course, expert target-language writers, guiding the difficult process from the native speaker's perspective and helping to respect the conventions of the local *habitus* (Milton & Bandia 2009). With the bilingual author, they formed what could seem a perfect translation team. However, the fact that all three of them were authors themselves did not necessarily make them good at translating as part of a team. Their very different professional and personal ambitions, as well as different symbolic roles (hosts vs. an immigrant; native speakers vs. a foreigner), were not always easy to reconcile, despite the good will.

Jacques Dupin died in 2012 and I was not able to interview him about the threefold collaboration. Michel Deguy was willing to answer my questions about the translation process and described his Soviet friend as extremely demanding and often unhappy about the results. He produced the first drafts working alone at night, then brought them either to Michel Deguy or Jacques Dupin, and to both when he was particularly unsatisfied with one of them (Deguy 2014). Interestingly, the work could only be done with one or the other of the French poets, never with both present at the same time. It becomes clear that a certain rivalry in expertise and power between the two native speakers and also hosts came into play as they collaborated with Kozovoï. This quickly eliminates the image of the three happily working together, the image possibly suggested on the title page announcing the threefold collaboration.

In the following document present in the translation folder, Kozovoï recorded the initials of his helper for each poem.[7]

But according to this document (Figure 1) certain poems were translated with the help of both poets. The poem 'Et pour finir' ('Pour en finir' in the published version) is recorded as worked with M.D. (Michel Deguy), but no document in the folder proves his contribution. On the contrary, it is Dupin's handwriting that is visible on the poem's manuscript (Figure 2).

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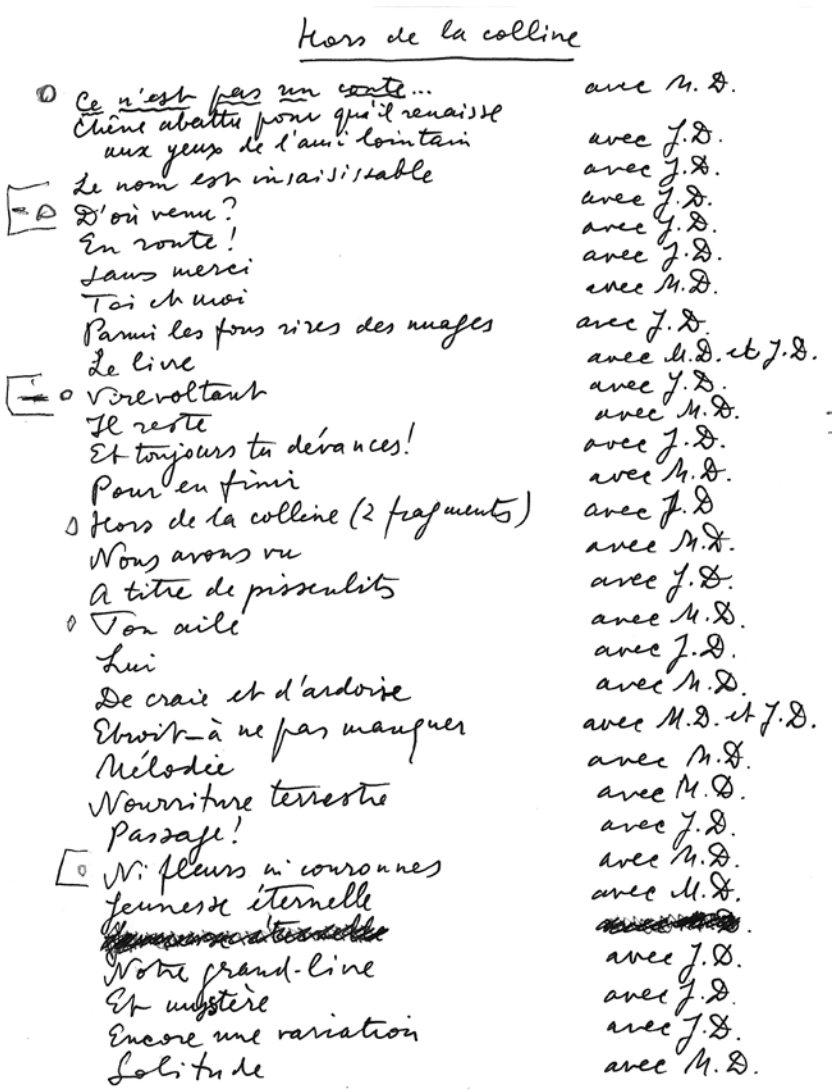


Figure 1. A list of collaborators to the work Hors de la colline *(1984) by Vadim Kozovoï, French National Library (BNF).*

Dupin prefers to write out the whole poem, as seen in all other manuscripts where his handwriting appears. Did Deguy fail to satisfy Kozovoï on this particular poem?

The following draft of the poem 'Virevoltant' was supposed to be revised with 'JD' (Jacques Dupin). However, it is Duguy's hand (Figure 3) that is recognizable in the upper right corner, signalling his presence at the session and, presumably, mostly oral contribution to it (it is Kozovoï's handwriting that we see everywhere).

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Figure 2. A detail of the manuscript of 'Et pour finir' by Vadim Kozovoï, French National Library (BNF).



Figure 3. The manuscript of 'Virevoltant' by Vadim Kozovoï, French National Library (BNF).

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Deguy asked to make major changes, as can be seen in the final version (Table 1 below). While it is difficult to know exactly each collaborator's contribution in the corrections made at this session (Kozovoï's pencil presumably recorded the suggestions from both participants), it is Deguy, the native speaker, who had the power of veto and the last word as seen in the version found in the final publication compared to the above draft.

Firstly, the title proposed by Kozovoï ('Pour soi-même') was replaced. If in Russian the interrogative particle *li* of the title 'Себя **ли** ради?' is repeated as a syllable in 'Гор-**ли**-дыня', the first line of the poem in French gets repeated as title ('Virevoltant') This solution was undoubtedly found by Deguy as a compensatory solution.

Table 1.

Original Russian *Hors de la colline / Прочь от холма* (1984: 40)	English gloss of Russian	French version in *Hors de la colline / Прочь от холма* (1984: 41)
Себя ли ради?	Is it for my own sake?	Virevoltant
Гор-ли-дыня летательно или только летально а с веток швыряет финики добра и зла	Melon [in the] throat/is it pride? flyingly or just lethally but from the branches [(s)he] casts the dates of good and evil	GLO-RI-EUX ? virevoltant ou de l'aile haletant mais qui jette des branches les amandes du bien et du mal
не шуми лист-другой отцвела гряда то-то тянет-мм-гла долго ль холодно	don't rustle, one leaf, another leaf garden bed has finished blooming hence the persisting haze how long this cold	ne bruis pas feuille ou l'autre défleurie votre haie ce que trainne-la-bruinne que c'est long si frais

In the first line in Russian, the particle *li* was inserted in the middle of the word 'pride', creating a curious plurality of meaning, a mix of *[v] gorle dinja* (melon in the throat), which alludes to the feeling of being choked and to a question *gordinya li* (is it pride?). One also hears phonetically the word '*gorlinka*', a dove. To render this pun in the target language, Kozovoï is trying to cut into a French word the way he had done in Russian. 'L'or-est-ce ?-gueil' was his proposition, the one he brought in that day.

For Kozovoï who so far had translated from French into Russian, translating into French must have felt new and strange, hence his word-by-word translations. But after all, his 'job' was also to show what the Russian verse was doing in the poem. 'L'or-est-ce ?-gueil' does not work well in French and, understandably, Deguy had to replace it. Kozovoï resisted and searched over and over (his marks are visible in pencil all around the title) for a French word that would lend itself to cutting into pieces in order to create a question in disguise, with a plurality of meaning similar to the Russian. This perseverance alludes, possibly, to the outcry of his own poetic ethos: Is it about his own pride? Is it he, the 'dove', the poet, sometimes flying high but more often dying, who is casting the seeds of good and evil of his poetry, onto poor soil?

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Kozovoï hopes, undoubtedly, to receive Deguy's help in finding a better, more-suitable-for-the-French-language solution. The French poet, unexcited about a metaphysical self-search and reluctant to participate in dismantling French words, proposes a perfectly grammatical 'ou à peine voletant', that would rhyme with the immediately following 'virvoltant' (twirling).

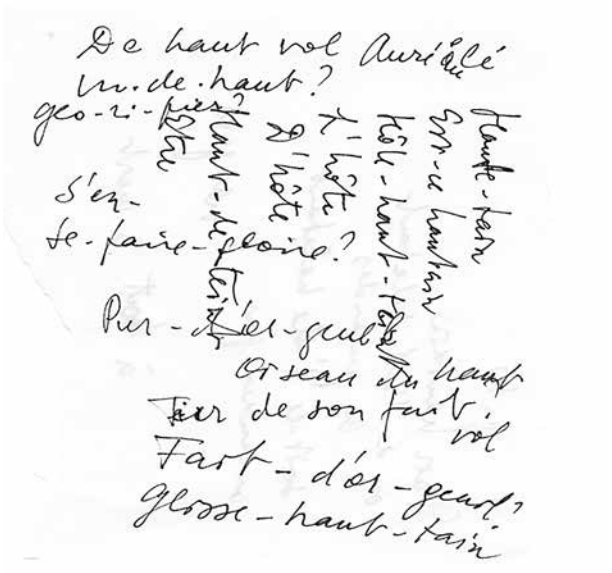


Figure 4. A scrap paper in Vadim Kozovoï's translation folder, French National Library (BNF).

The small scrap paper (Figure 4) found in the translation folder suggests that, unsatisfied with the proposed solution, Kozovoï continued to search for a suitable word or expression:

'De haut vol Auréolé', 'vu-de-haut?', 'glo-ri-fier', 's'en-te-faire-gloire?' 'Pur-d'or-geuil' 'oiseau du haut', 'Fait-d'or-geuil', 'Glisse-haut-tain', 'Hôte-haut-tain' are some of Kozovoï's attempts at French cut-ups. He will realize that he is facing a language historically resistant to violent creative jolts.

In the published version, Kozovoï's word play due to the insertion of the interrogative particle is replaced by a *trompe l'oeil*: Deguy opted for 'GLO-RI-EUX?', which does not quite bear the same existential conundrum, but engages nevertheless its own, no less interesting, domesticating logic.

A compensatory alliteration follows ('virevoltant, l'aile haletant', twirling, breathless wing), elegant but lacking the drama of the Russian counterpart *Letatel'no/letal'no* ('flyingly/lethally'), a word play of two neologisms, whose alliteration of two dentals Deguy preserves.

Furthermore, in the original, a bird does not 'throw the almonds' but casts the dates of good and evil. At this time of the discovery in France of Paul Celan's poetry (Celan who in his turn is fascinated by Mandelstam, in whose name he reads 'almond'[8]), it is possible that Celan's poetry is on Deguy's mind as he translates Kozovoï.

Finally, the quatrain that follows is a kind of refrain of a folk song, where *Dolgo l' holodno* is an easily recognizable but distorted set expression 'dolgo li korotko', a refrain of Russian fairy tales. This reference to fairy tales and

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folklore will be replaced with the short, Mallarmé- and Celan-infused verses, with an effort to render vocalically ('ce que trainne-la-bruinne / que c'est long si frais') if not a song, a kind of *Sprechgesang*.

It is plausible to imagine that the translation solutions in 'proper French' that Deguy offered felt washed out to Kozovoï, as they seemed to betray completely his method of violent cutting into the flesh of the word. In one of his letters to his wife, published in Russian, he describes his frustration with his French counterparts:

> 'И как объяснить... что это такое по-русски? Французское нерасщепляемое слово - и не кирпич даже, а просто бессмысленная пень-колода. Только в грамматически построенной фразе приобретает смысл, но отдельно уже не слышится. Тут гений - синтаксис.' [How to explain what [my poetry] does in Russian? A French word is unsplittable – not even a brick but a senseless stump. It finds its sense in a grammatically built sentence, but can no longer be heard when taken separately. The genius here is syntax.] (Kozovoï 2005: 149)

And looking at the final results of his work with both Deguy and Dupin, he concludes: 'Что бы [Мишо] ни говорил, знаю, что в переводах ничего ровным счетом от меня не осталось' [No matter what [Michaux] says, I know that there is nothing left from me in the translations] (Kozovoï 2005: 263).

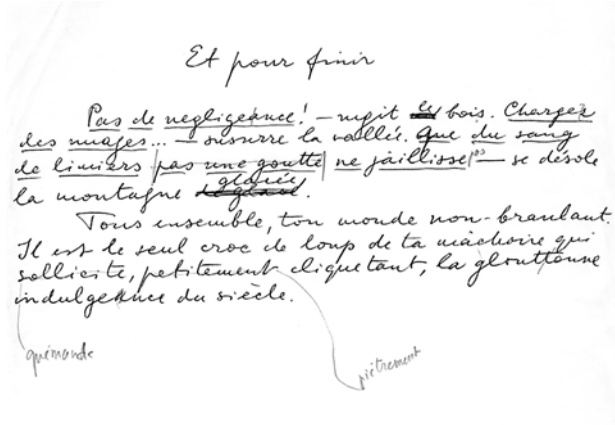
Translation of the resisting other

Deguy in his turn says that he was surprised by Kozovoï's manners and working habits. He described his Soviet friend as offering him *chefir*, a steeply brewed tea, to which Kozovoï became accustomed in the Gulag.[9] Deguy always rejected the beverage, fearful that caffeine late in the day would keep him up.[10] Deguy typically got up at 6 am, which is when Kozovoï, having ingested strong doses of nicotine and caffeine, was finally preparing to go to bed after a night spent translating (Deguy 2014).

The Russian poet feels he needs to be in a special stage of excitement to create. In order to 'overexcite' the poetry he himself needs to be overexcited – 'overexcitement' (in Russian 'взвинченность'), is how he often describes what he is trying to achieve in poetry. At moments of such overexcitement, translating his verses and translating himself become one, as if in some kind of shamanistic act. While Kozovoï is trying to channel a Russian sound into the resisting French, his French counterparts are reasoning in terms of transparency, clarity and correctness of the French sentence structure.

Here, Deguy's hand corrects the spelling and lexical mistakes (Figure 5):

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Et pour finir

Pas de negligeance! – nigit [illegible] bois. Chargez les nuages... – obscurre la vallée. que du sang de linviers pas une goutte ne jailliss[illegible] – se désole la montagne [illegible].

Tous ensemble, ton monde non-branlant. Il est le seul croc de loup de ta mâchoire qui sollicite, petitement cliquetant, la gloutonne indulgeance du siècle.

Figure 5. The manuscript of 'Et pour finir' by Vadim Kozovoï, French National Library (BNF).

But, the slippery mission of Dupin and Deguy goes, of course, far beyond simple spelling correction. They act as double agents and their mission is to represent both the institution in power (the French language, the French literary polysystem[11]) and the author seeking empowerment.[12] This 'divided allegiance' requires them to maintain the linguistic *status quo* while allowing certain avant-garde forms of representation in order to match the author's stylistic innovation. In other words, Dupin and Deguy must negotiate between readability and creativity when submitting their propositions to the author.

The author resisted by forcing the rules of French language and advocating what we might call foreignization. The negotiation between domestication and foreignization, at the centre of theoretical debates in translation studies (Venuti 1995; Myskja 2014), was taking place between Kozovoï and his collaborators, as testified by the drafts. The author used his authority against what he saw as simplification and a smoothing out of the strangeness of his verse.[13]

Venuti, putting into question Berman's aristocratic, elitist approach to foreignization, gave it a very different, ideological twist, as if to a grass-roots translation practice coming out of the resistance to assimilative capitalist culture: 'Foreignizing translation is a dissident cultural practice […] that enables foreignizing translation to signal the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text and perform a work of cultural restoration, admitting the ethnodeviant and potentially revising domestic literary canons', he wrote (Venuti 1995: 148). It is plausible to see in Kozovoï's resistance to the domestication of his verse a form of such dissidence, an acute rejection of the smallest trace of cultural conformism.

But a radical foreignization on which he insisted, would have undermined the primary reason of this translation project, that is introducing himself, a foreign author, to a larger French public. Unsurprisingly, Deguy and Dupin sometimes got discouraged by the author's unrealistic demands and criticisms. This is how Deguy describes these moments:

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> Il voulait qu'on reconnaisse son génie … Il était très entêté, à la russe. Lors des séances, ça donnait un type très acharné. On proposait des solutions, qu'il refusait toutes. Il avait sa propre diction en français que je n'ai jamais trouvé convaincante. Il cherchait une certaine oralité en français qui puisse correspondre à celle du russe. Il ajoutait des apocopes et des élisions au nom de cette oralité. On peut faire beaucoup avec le français, mais pas tout ce qu'on veut. [He wanted his genius to be known … He had his Russian stubborn head. That created a very determined man in work sessions. We proposed solutions, which he refused one after another. He had his own diction in French that I never found completely convincing. He was looking for a certain orality in French that could convey the Russian one. He added apocopes and elisions in the name of this orality. One can do a lot with French, but one cannot do everything one wants with it.] (Deguy 2014)

When Deguy pointed out that Kozovoï's use of these techniques was not working in French, Kozovoï would become furious, because 'Il entendait le français de cette façon' [he heard the French in this certain way] (Duguy 2014).

The issue of translatability, which is at stake here, amounts to the difficulty of representing the Other. If the Other is no longer strange, after having been simply domesticated and assimilated into the existing literary system, what value can it have in the French target system? What might have been pleasing to French readers according to Deguy and Dupin, and what might have been pleasing to Kozovoï himself do not easily align. When we confront the radical domesticating or foreignizing strategies present in the drafts, we see conflict, but also negotiation, since the conflicting values had to be negotiated.

Interestingly, Kosovoï lived the difficult process as a triumph, at least temporarily:

> ... Устал. Но доволен. До часу ночи переводил вместе с Жаком - каркас подготовил сам. Говорю ему: 'Вот стало на душе легче. А казалось бы: тридцать-сорок пустяковых строчек, которые и пять сантимов не стоят'… Доказал - в последние 2-3 месяца, - что можно переводить сильно и на французский. Так здесь, мне кажется, еще никто не переводил. [Tired but happy. Translated until 1 A.M. with Jacques [Dupin] – I came with my first draft. 'Now I feel great, and all because of some thirty or forty petty lines that are not even worth five cents', I told him. … These last two-three months, I have proven to myself that I can translate strongly and into French. I think no one here has translated this way.] (Kozovoï 2005: 80–81)

United by the common desire to land a great translation, all parties involved had to show a considerable amount of good will. After all, if some drafts look like battle fields, so numerous are the corrections, it is because neither one was ready to accept mediocre solutions and rush through.

Translation (and any creative act) as give-and-take

'The asymmetrical relations between agents, actors and/or contexts inescapably permeate all translation projects, underlining the significance of

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investigating power', Olga Castro (2017: 3) reminds us. In Kozovoï's case, we have seen, on one hand, the two French collaborators each occupying such an important individual creative space that they can hardly bring themselves to *share* the poetic-expert agency. On the other hand, we see the author who wants to be empowered though his translation into a foreign language, but, despite the power of his authorship, finally has little power in comparison with native speakers.

I have attempted to read Kozovoï's drafts keeping in mind this undercurrent of negotiating powers. The drafts represent a kind of negotiation zone: sometimes a space where a French collaborator appears as a 'teacher', correcting the spelling and grammar mistakes, which belittles the 'pupil', other times, a battle zone, where the 'pupil' defends himself.

Translation is not impartial, but penetrated by conflicting values, often in subtle or invisible ways. Once the conflict is revealed, it needs to be negotiated, in the common interest of the project's success. By negotiating, the collaborators participate in a general give-and-take practice underlining the life of any artistic community, fundamental both to artistic creation (art always building on other art), as well as the good functioning of the 'industry' (professional solidarity, artist collectives, etc.).

Kozovoï's collaborative translation shows that the fundamental principal of give-and-take can function across international and ideological borders. It all started when Kozovoï, long before leaving the USSR, engaged in correspondence with Maurice Blanchot, one of the most prominent literary critics of the twentieth century. The Soviet poet showed admiration for Blanchot's orphic vision of poetry. Blanchot, for his part, found it unusual to find a fervent admirer in the culturally remote USSR. Blanchot's letters were equally flattering: 'Votre poème est l'un des plus forts que l'aie lus, et je suis heureux du don que vous me faites dans l'amitié qui nous unira toujours' [Your poem is one of the strongest I have ever read, and I am happy of your gift of friendship that will always unite us] (Blanchot 2009: 81). These letters encouraged Kozovoï and promised support and a warm welcome in France (Blanchot 2009: 34).

With help from powerful institutions and members of the cultural elite, Kozovoï came to France, brought his family, and even gained some access to the upper echelons of political power (he had an audience with François Mitterrand at the Elysée Palace and obtained a temporary job at the French National Centre for Scientific Research [CNRS], which was later converted into a permanent position as a research director in the same centre). In 1984, Kozovoï was able to publish his collaborative self-translation *Hors de la colline / Прочь от холма* (the publication at the centre of this research), which received a magnificent review in the pages of *Le Monde* (Nivat 1984).

This welcome that the Soviet author enjoyed was conditioned by an unspoken but important principle of give-and-take. Kozovoï initiated the relationship with the French *hommes de lettres* when he translated their poetry and engaged in an exchange of letters. They reciprocated by helping him to get out of the USSR, to get settled in Paris, and then by assisting him with his self-translation. It was his turn again to contribute in order to further this collaboration.

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The hosts expected nothing specific, of course, but Kozovoï was someone potentially interesting for their professional agenda, perhaps a kind of Russian Paul Celan. They hoped that their efforts on behalf of Kozovoï would be rewarded, while Kozovoï was gambling his future literary career in Europe and simply tried to survive in a Western capitalist country. All this put significant pressure on the Soviet poet. On the pages of the drafts examined here, we meet him in the position of being helped, that is to say, going massively into debt or taking out a (symbolic) loan to pay for it. The observations from the genetic dossier combined with eyewitness accounts and personal letters only confirm the stress associated with this translation.

It turns out that the book did not find the hoped for success. Does this mean that the project was a failure? Yes and no. In this translation, the losses clearly outnumber the gains, despite the embellishing efforts and reminiscence of Celan and Mallarmé. Kozovoï's search for dazzling linguistic and phonetic effects comes through in French as an obscure, post-surrealist imitation of René Char, a dense pile of starkly dissimilar metaphors and images juxtaposed in parataxis, a string of fragments without clear connection. In Russian, continuity from verse to verse is supported by sonority, intonation and rhythm. This chant, a kind of free jazz played in language, is absent in French.

However, if we follow Dirk Van Hulle in his study of 'untranslatable' Beckett and Joyce, we can retain the idea that between translation and genesis there is a kind of strong relationship that participates in what H. P. Abbott (1996) called 'continuing incompletion' (2015: 51–52). It is possible to see the collaborative effort as a first attempt, 'to be continued' reaching into the future. And after all, the book exists as a beautiful object, especially the Berès edition with lithographs by Michaux, that could be seen as a memorial to a collaborative effort at the time in literary history when an obscure foreign poet trying to revolutionize versification could still get attention from established poets, publishers, the media and politicians alike.

Esa Christine Hartmann, in her article about the translation into English of Saint-John Perse, spoke of difficulties encountered in what she called, very tongue-in-cheek, 'closelaboration […] between peer poets' (Hartmann 2020: 52). It is probably safe to say that every genetic analysis of collaborative projects comments on the difficulties of confronting the 'untranslatable'.

It is within the scope of translation studies to evaluate the quality of the final product of the threefold collaboration *Hors de la colline*, but only genetic translation analysis can tell the story of each translated poem.

Notes

1 I am borrowing this expression from Esa Christine Hartmann, who asked a similar question about the genesis of the collaborative translation of the poem *Chronicle* of Saint-John Perse from French to English done by the author together with the American poet Robert Fitzgerald (Hartmann 2020: 43).

2 The author kept numerous variants of translations for each poem, the smallest scrap papers full of notes, and the drafts of certain letters of that period, for example, different versions of his letters to Samuel Beckett.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

3 In this work, I chose to concentrate my attention on the drafts bearing pencil corrections of the collaborators as tangible proof of collective work.
4 The source text of this study, this bilingual collaborative self-translation was published in paperback version by Hermann, a Parisian editor in human sciences, in 1984, under the double name *Hors de la colline / Прочь от холма*. A large format luxury edition of 120 numbered volumes illustrated by fifteen original lithographs by Henri Michaux was printed by Pierre Berès, a legendary French antiquarian book collector, publisher, and the owner of Hermann publishing house.
5 The exact quotation is used as the epigraph to the Russian version of Kozovoï's book (Kozovoï 1982): 'И видит: сквозь ночной туман / Вдали чернеет холм огромный' ('Then far off through the night-time mist / he saw a great hill looming black') (Pushkin 2017: 78).
6 All translations into English of quoted sources in French and Russian are mine.
7 This and all other archival materials shown in this article come from the large folder transmitted to me by Ms. Emelianova before the Kozovoï fonds were created at the French National Library (BNF) archives.
8 Cf. The poem 'Mandorle' (*La rose de personne*, Jose Corti, 1979, trans. Martine Broda): 'Dans l'amande – qu'est-ce qui se tient dans l'amande ? / Le Rien. / Le Rien se tient dans l'amande. / Il s'y tient, s'y tient'.
9 The translation manuscripts carry dark brown stains from *chefir*.
10 In Russian culture this could represent rejection of fraternity and assertion of superiority.
11 Itamar Even-Zohar is the author of the Literary Polysystem theory (1978).
12 On double agency in translation, see Tymoczko and Gentzler (2002: xix).
13 In my article 'Collaborative Self-translation as a Catastrophe: the Case of Vadim Kozovoï in French', I looked at Kozovoï's self-translation as part of his total transfer experience, that is, as translation of all his individual skills, of his cultural self into a different cultural polysystem. Just as the translation of Kozovoï's poetry had to keep some foreign textual features, the author himself, in order to be 'adopted' by the French literary system, had to integrate as a foreigner, preserve his strangeness. In both cases, his exoticism must become his strength. To thrive, he has to learn the new codes while cultivating his difference, essentializing himself as Russian. A difficult balance.

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Multimodality IV

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7. Text and Illustrations as Producers of Meaning: A Genetic Study of a Children's Illustrated Book

Genetic criticism has been analysing literary manuscripts since its inception. We propose here to reflect on the genetic study of a specific type of work: illustrated children's literature. Unlike literary works that are typically composed of a text, children's books bring together text and images, two semiotic modes that are articulated to produce the meaning of the works. Genetically analysing a children's book therefore consists of a two-fold endeavour: examining the verbal matter and considering the illustrations, whether they are drawings, paintings, photographs, etc.

We will study here one of the manuscripts of a well-known children's author-illustrator in France, Yvan Pommaux, who has so far written more than 100 books for children.[1] Pommaux opened the doors of his workshop to us and allowed us to examine the many drafts he keeps. There, we first noticed that the author's conservation methods are very random, and the author's regular sorting of his drafts often leads to their loss. At the time of our meeting with him, in 2016, Pommaux was finishing writing a children's book that had not yet been released in bookstores. His work on this book still being very recent, there are more traces left of the creative process. That is how we chose to focus on the drafts of this book, *Puisque c'est ça, je pars* (Since that's it, I'm leaving), published in 2018 by L'École des Loisirs publishing house.[2]

The book tells the story of a little girl, Norma, who is playing in the park, watched by her mother. But the latter, too busy with her phone, does not take enough care of her. Norma then decides to run away and crosses the road with her friend Felix. The two decide to go straight ahead, even going through a bush that blocks their way. On the other side of the bush, they discover a world parallel to their own in which each element of the real world is wonderfully transformed. At the end of the book, the children are reunited with their mothers with the help of Norma's cuddly toy, Jojo.

We will show how the images and text of this book are constructed in the different drafts, notes, and sketches that preceded the book's final published version. We will try to describe the complementarity of text and image in elaborating the meaning in the final published version of the work. From a methodological point of view, our hypothesis is that the genetic procedures applied so far in textual genetics to study verbal matter can be transposed

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to the analysis of drawings, to allow a joint genetic exploration of text and images. On this basis, we will pave the way for the didactic analysis of children's and young adult's literature.

Drawing and text: some genetic work

Children's books – formerly called 'picture books' or 'illustrated' – have the particularity of bringing together text and images. Their presence is very important, whether on the shelves of booksellers and libraries, where they can be found in separate sections or, in France, in the lists of the Ministry of Education, where children's books are considered a specific literary genre in the same way as drama, poetry, fiction, and comic strips. Specialists link the text-image articulation to the genre of the children's book (Van der Linden 2003; Poslaniec 2007; Nières-Chevrel 2012). Rather than a confrontation between images and text, Sophie Van der Linden speaks of an 'interaction between text, images and medium' (Van der Linden 2003: 51). Christine Houyel et al. (2005) base its identity on the double narrative of the same story, seen as a dialogue between a textual narrator and an imaginary narrator. In the same perspective, they propose to define the children's book by the role of images: 'from illustrative, they become narrative, taking charge of part of the story' (Houyel et al. 2005: 11). Indeed, children's books allow images to speak. The relationship of complementarity, and not redundancy, between the 'discourse' of images and that of text certainly plays a role, not only in the reception of works, but in their very creation. It is therefore the elaboration of images and text that must be jointly studied in a genetic approach to children's books.

How can genetics treat these specific semiotic objects that are drawings? The iconographic dimension of the manuscripts was first described in *Genesis* No. 10 (1996). The masterful article, in which Louis Hay (1996) describes the variety of relationships between the graphic and the verbal, is based on drawings in manuscripts that are generally absent from published works. Serge Serodes (1996) assesses the way genetic criticism has looked at writers' drawings, distinguishing three cases: in the first case, genetic criticism jointly considers sketches and text as the origin of the work; in the second, it attempts to establish the genetic chronology between the two; in the third, it studies the interactions between text and drawing. When closely related to the text, drawings are generally considered to be part of the pre-text. This is the case, for example, in Olivier Lumbroso's (2004) study on Émile Zola's work, in which Lumbroso shows that the sketches made by Zola on his manuscripts are essential tools for writing. But these tools are only provisional: the final work will be exclusively textual.

The material we are studying here cannot entirely fit into this type of analysis: in a children's illustrated book, the drawing, while it can be a writing aid, is intended to be kept in the final production. It can therefore be considered neither as having to be replaced by text, nor as having to emerge from the text, nor as being the strict equivalent of the text that will eventually rub shoulders with it. To describe the creative process, it is perhaps possible to

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adapt the analysis conducted on the verbal operations of writing to examine the drawing. Like writing, drawing can be described in terms of the two basic gestures of inscription and erasure – but it should be noted that the notion of insertion has little meaning in drawing. If we then consider the level of operations (addition, deletion, replacement, displacement), we quickly realize that the notion is not operative on a drawing, where a line is rarely definitive, where any 'addition' is likely to merge with the whole drawing already made, etc. The unsuitability of the genetic prism in examining images is certainly due to the question of the units – discrete in language, extremely difficult to describe in graphics. This observation confirms that genetic categories are most useful to analyse the material from which they were conceived: language. The problem of the treatment of iconographic works remains entirely unresolved.

Let us now consider the two components of iconography – shapes and colours – and how genetic research has defined them.

Drawing, colour: aids to verbal writing and suggestion effects of iconographic writing

One of the main genetic challenges when it comes to analysing manuscripts containing drawings is in the interaction between the verbal and graphical semiotic orders whose boundaries are blurred, as in Guillaume Apollinaire's calligrams that use words to create images. The place and function of drawing in the process of verbal creation is described by Louis Hay (2013) as extremely variable from one writer to another. Using examples from the manuscripts of two novelists, Stendhal and Émile Zola, he points out that each draws maps of places, but the drawings have opposite functions: in Stendhal's case, they generally follow the writing and allow readers to go back to the past and revisit the places of memory; in Zola's case, the drawing precedes and prepares the narrative as the writer sets the scene and assigns places to the action.

In the same issue of the *Genesis* journal, there is a quotation from Claude Simon describing an episode of his literary creation:

> At one point, indeed, I had written fragments but it wasn't a book. So I wrote, each time on a line, a small summary of what was on each page and, opposite, I placed the corresponding color, then I punched the whole thing on the walls of my office and then I wondered if I should put a little blue back here, a little green there, a little red somewhere else, so that it would balance. (Quoted in Ricardou 1975)

Colour as a scriptural tag also appears in Andrée Chedid's manuscripts. The author writes and rereads, several times, marking each proofreading with felt pens of different colours, interventions that can be corrections of the text but also simply signals (lines, dots, check marks) (Chedid & Fenoglio 2003). Looking at one of her manuscripts, we have the impression, as with Simon, that the chromatic distribution on the page is almost as important as the text, and that it is a revealing indicator of the degree of completion of the writing.

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In fact, semiotic codes are mixed at the time of literary conception and we would like to propose a system of iconographic and chromatic analysis that makes it possible to add a genetics of the iconic to the genetics of the verbal when examining such manuscripts.

It is precisely the objective of the ITEM Art History team to study the genesis of pictorial works. The notion of addition can be approached, in an almost metaphorical way, through the effects of overloading matter. Here, we are close to the enunciative effects of what Pétillon (2002) called the 'addition shown', namely the insertion into a text of segments that are shown to be added, for example through parentheses and double dashes. However, it is extremely difficult for researchers to break down the genetic process into regular units because of the non-discrete nature of the drawing. Categories such as reading or writing variants, whose identification is inherent in the linearity of the text, lose their justification in the drawing. Until now, the analytical tools of the genesis of iconographic works have not found a way to stabilize, at least not as clearly, as what prevailed in the 1980s for the analysis of the verbal matter of manuscripts.

Drawing and writing: co-production of meaning in the final work

The material we are studying, the manuscript of a children's book, is at the confluence of the various aforementioned studies. It is both a written and illustrated work, and as a written work, its study is similar to that of other writers' manuscripts. However, unlike Zola's or Honoré de Balzac's drawings, those of Pommaux are intended for publication; they form part of the work in progress. It is therefore impossible to relegate them to the background and to think of them mainly as writing aids. Pommaux's own project and the progress of his work are as much graphic as verbal (Doquet 2012–2013). Drawing and text have a common status, that of elements of the work intended for publication. This radically modifies the usual approach to drawings as resources of verbal creation. They remain so, undoubtedly, as the verbal element is certainly not without effect on them, but they are not reducible to the text. Similarly, the interactions between drawing and text must be considered.

An author, a children's book: the example of Since that's it, I'm leaving, by Yvan Pommaux

While some of the drafts of Pommaux's book were preserved by him, the other drafts were disposed of. The remaining drafts that have come down to us consist of 67 folios divided into four groups (see Table 1), listed below in their chronological order of creation:

- The first one is a set of A5-size cardboard sheets: these drafts are chronologically the first to have been used. They are called 'Drafts 1' (D1).
- The second is a Zap Book notebook, labelled 'Zap Book' (ZB).

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– The third one is again a set of sheets, this time in A4 format. These drafts are named 'D2'.
– The fourth set consists of pages from a draft notebook in A3 format. Thus, these pages are named 'D3'.

Table 1. Description of the genetic record.

Description of each set of documents	**Quantity**	**Folio reference**
Cardboard sheets A5 format	7 sheets, some of which are double-sided **11 folios**	D1 (Drafts 1)
A complete Zap Book brand notebook A5 format	17 pages relative to our children's book **33 folios**	ZB (Zap Book)
A set of printer paper sheets A4 format	5 sheets, some of which are double-sided **8 folios**	D2 (Drafts 2)
Part of a Draft brand booklet A3 format	11 sheets, some of which are double-sided **15 folios**	D3 (Drafts 3)

Each of these sets of drafts was used one after the other. It seems that Pommaux used one set after the other, without going back to the previous one once he began using the next one.

The following table (Table 2) shows the contents of each set of drafts. Indeed, each set was used to work on a part of the book. Thus, the D1 drafts contain only the traces of the work concerning the second part of the story. The Zap Book was used to write the whole story. Finally, the D3 and D2 drafts include the work on the beginning of the story.

Table 2. Distribution of draft sets according to the stage of the narrative being developed.

Steps of the narration	Norma playing in the sand with her soft toy	Norma and Felix passing through the bush	Adventures behind the bush	Reunions with the mothers
Drafts concerned		D1		
	ZB			
	D3			
	D2			

Thus, the central moment of the story, the moment when the children go through the bush, was the first to have been written and drawn. The adventures of the children behind the bush and their reunion with their respective mothers can only be found in writing in the Zap Book. No drawings of these events have reached us; all had disappeared into the rubbish bins of Pommaux.

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The cardboard sheets (D1) are therefore the very first drafts of the book. The children, having decided to leave, find themselves facing the first obstacle: a bush that blocks their way and that they decide to go through. It is this key moment that will be studied in this article. This element of the narrative is the one for which Pommaux produced the most drafts: it is found in 16 folios out of a total of 67.

Three characteristics specific to the construction of meaning in a children's illustrated book will be explored. First of all, children's books are intended to be read aloud by adults and children. This implies that particular attention is given to the choice of words. The second characteristic stems from the first, as reading takes place at two levels, at one level by the person reading and at another by the person who is listening and reading the images. The author can thus construct a narrative on several levels, each intended for one of the readers. The third characteristic is undoubtedly the most significant in books intended for young people: the construction of a double narrative, one carried by the text, the other by the image.

These characteristics make it possible to offer a first interpretation of an author-illustrator corpus.

Singing the words: the oralization of the written word

The work on sound is essential for Pommaux. He constantly re-examines words and continuously researches sounds. This is indeed a characteristic of oral texts for young people: the texts are intended to be read by an adult to a child who cannot read. Sounds are of particular importance in this case.

Translation:

Where do you see thorns? This bush has none.
~~Advance! *advance*! This is not a vacation!~~ Advance!
We can't! We can't pass!
Norma!
It's ~~Take her for~~ sure!
Advance or I'm not going with you!
My hat! [illegible] A branch stole my hat from me.
~~Good, you didn't look good in that hat, it was~~
So much the better! That hat was ridiculous! [illegible]
And your ugly and shabby cuddly toy, isn't
it ridiculous?
My Jocko! Ridiculous and ugly?

~~We're banging~~ the branches bang
The leaves slap
The [illegible] scratch

Thus, in folio D1-f°1 (Figures 1a & 1b), the very first words consist of a reflection on the sounds in *griffent/*gifflent* (*scratch/slap*). The two *f*s of *gifflent* reveal Pommaux's semantic research, both written and oral. The

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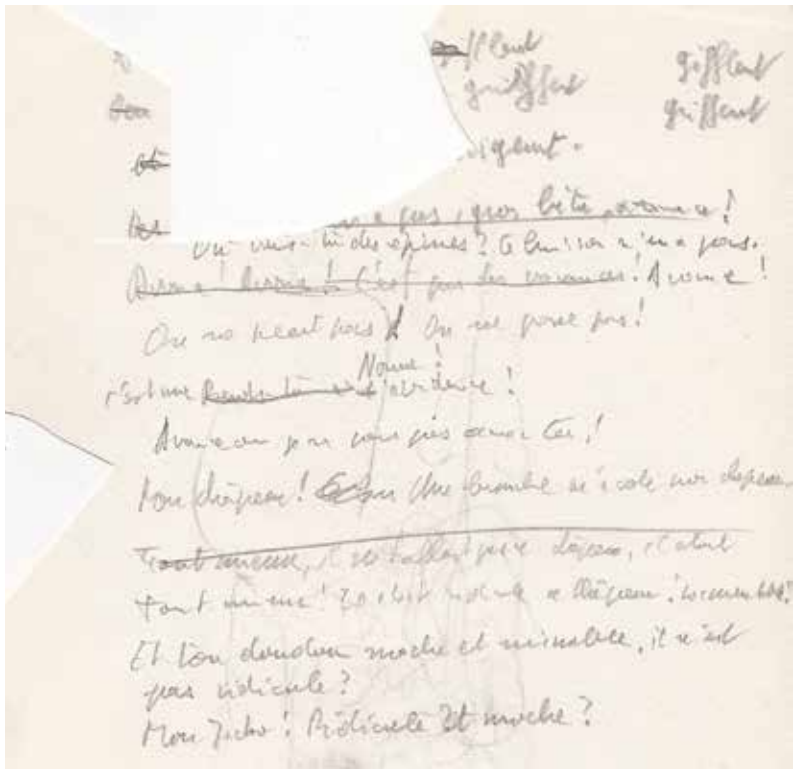


Figure 1a. Extract from draft D1-f°1. Yvan Pommaux.

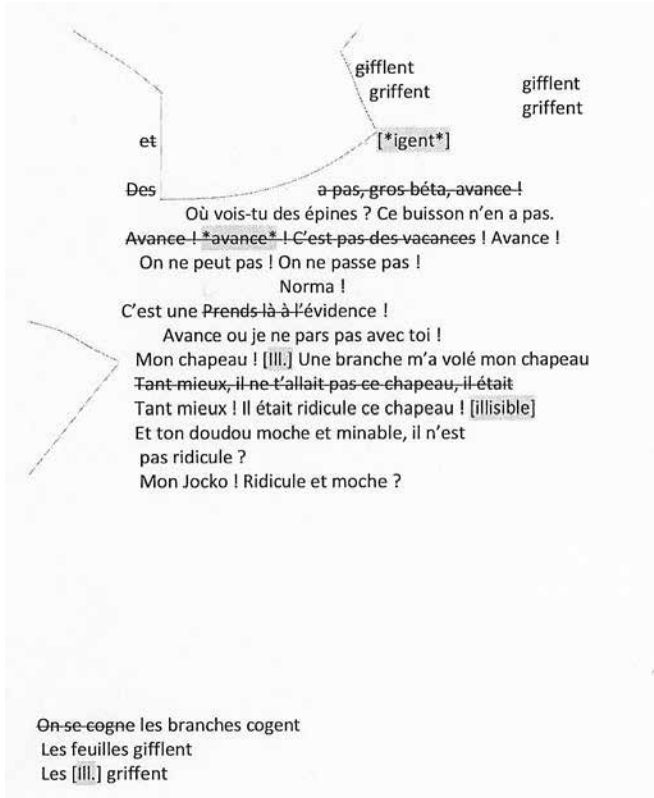


Figure 1b. Transcription of folio D1-f°1. Yvan Pommaux.

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two verbal forms correspond to each other. Moreover, they will continue to appear in the various drafts; they are even kept in the final published version.

In the same folio, the repetition of the phoneme /ã/ is the subject of a sequence: *avance/vacances/évidence* (advance/vacation/evidence). Pommaux pushes the assonance to its extreme before crossing out part of it:

~~Advance! *advance*! This is not a vacation!~~ Advance!
We can't! We can't pass!
Norma!
It's ~~Take her for~~ sure!

These folios show the construction of poetic language in the drafts of a children's book. The words chosen by Pommaux not only carry meaning but also emphasize sound. This tends to prove that children's books are not free of work on words, let alone poetry. Pommaux is also a great lover of poetry, as his writing notebooks show. Covered with verses, they reveal a passion for, even an obsession with, poetic language. Of the 15 or so notebooks that Pommaux allowed us to look at (these were not related to Since that's it, I'm leaving, and therefore were not included in the corpus detailed above), 10 contained only poetry. It then seems natural to find poetic language in his drafts.

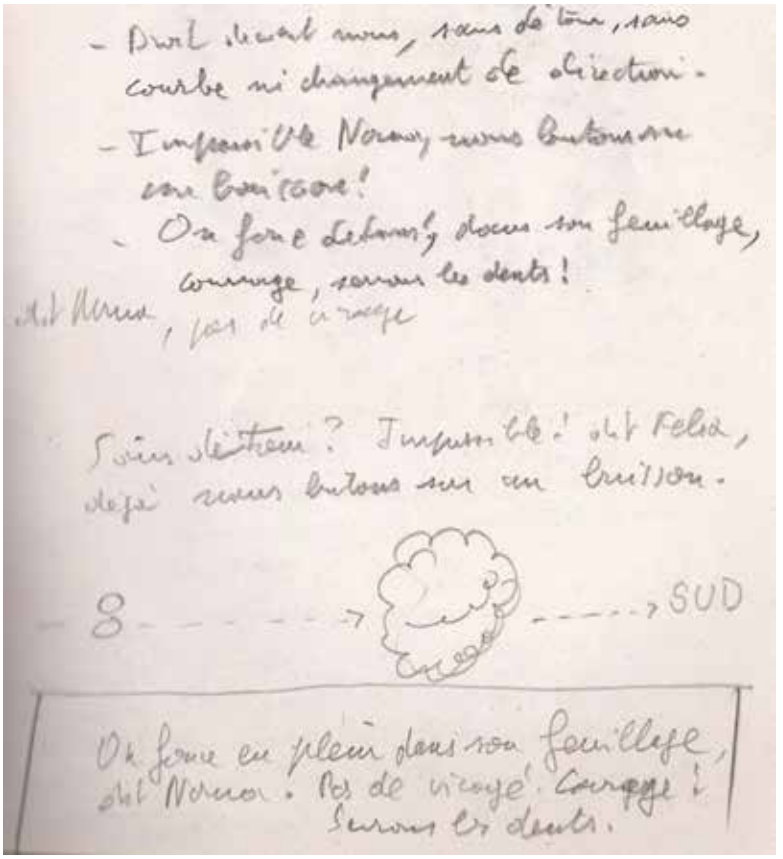


Figure 2a. Extract from the draft of the Zap Book, folio ZB-f°11. Yvan Pommaux.

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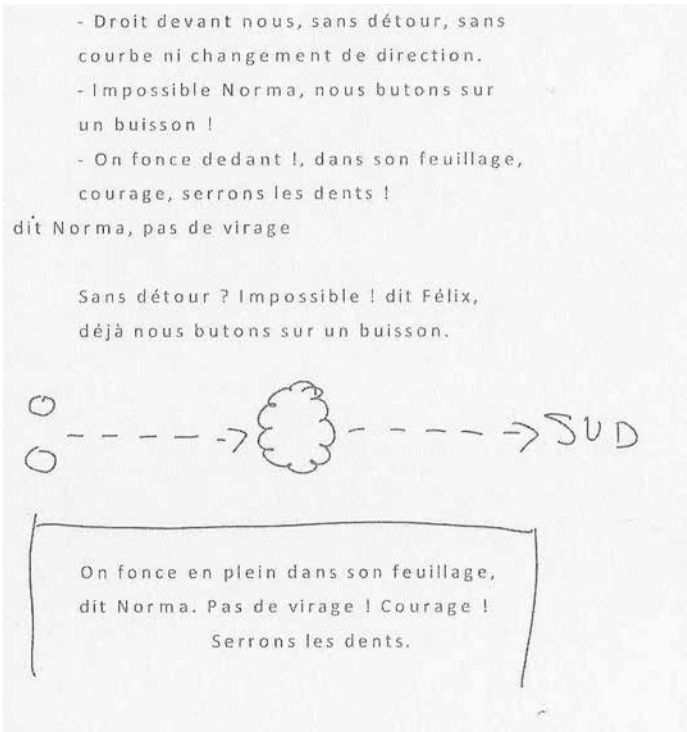


Figure 2b. Transcription of the excerpt from the Zap Book, folio ZB-f°11.

Translation:

- Straight ahead of us, without detour, without
curve or change of direction.
- Impossible Norma, we stumble on
a bush!
- We rush into it!, into its foliage,
courage, let's clench our teeth!
says Norma. No turns!

Without detour? Impossible! says Felix.
Already we stumble on a bush!

We go right into its foliage,
says Norma. No turns! Courage!
Let's clench our teeth.

The words are rhyming (Figures 2a & 2b): *direction/buisson*, *dedans/dent*, *feuillage/courage*. Below the drawing of the bush (this bird's eye view of the movement through the bush will be preserved in the final published editions), the framed text is the sum of the previous attempts. The frame marks an advancement in writing; this passage is the most satisfactory for the author at the time of its writing. By the repetition of the sound [aʒ] (<age>) rhymes are formed. The topography of the text is that of a poem.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

We go right into this foliage,
Says Norma. No turns! Courage!
Let's clench our teeth.

This is just one example of Pommaux's intense reflection on the choice of words: words must resonate with each other, whether through their graphic form *griffent/gifflent* or through the sound they produce when they are spoken by the adult reader. But the child is also a reader – a reader of the image that unfolds before his eyes while he hears the text.

A double level of reading

There is a double level of reading in children's books: a reading by the adult, who is focused on the text he is reading, and a reading by the child, who listens to the text that is being read while looking at the images on the page. Thus, the adult does not always perceive everything that is at stake in the image, especially when the image and text tell two significantly different stories. It is the construction of this double level of reading that we will observe.

As an example, we will examine the passage of the dispute that breaks out between the children. That dispute is also present in the very first draft (Figures 1a & 1b). The subject of the dispute concerns Norma's cuddly toy, Jojo. Felix does not find it beautiful and does not want Norma to take it with them. This episode shows the research work of Pommaux. He rewrote it three times and reinserted it into the narrative framework each time. These movements then give way to abandonment: there will then be no question of separating from the cuddly toy. However, we will find a similar episode later in the work.

Pommaux did not know what to do with this episode: should Norma be separated from her cuddly toy before or after her passage through the bush? Is it Felix who has to force her to part with it? This is what the first drafts suggest: the lexicon Felix uses to describe the cuddly toy undergoes many corrective operations: *moche* (ugly) / *minable* (shabby) / *ridicul*e (foolish) / *ça* (that) / *ton machin* (your gizmo) / *ce truc en loque* (this thing in tatters) / *cette chose ignoble* (this despicable thing) / *qui pue* (smelly) / *machin tout mou* (sluggish gizmo) / *minable.* Terms are associated with, and dissociated from, each other; they are deleted, replaced, moved, added. All the corrective operations are applied to them. The drafts are numerous, but they share one aspect in common: Jojo cannot go through this bush, and Norma will have to leave it behind.

This dispute between the two children is reinserted three times in different places in the narrative framework: should it take place before or after traversing the bush? After the third move, the episode disappears from the drafts. It is by abandoning the attempt to represent this episode in the text and presenting it in the graphics instead that:

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> When Norma jumps into the water, she loses Jojo. I didn't plan it; it came naturally. Then we see Jojo leaving. Likewise ... I did it instinctively; it wasn't planned...[...] I'm sure the children to whom we'll read the book will notice at what point in the narrative Jojo leaves, while their parents may not see him. It will then be the children who will have to explain to the parents what is happening ... (Letter from Yvan Pommaux to Solène Audebert-Poulet, summer 2016).[3]

Thus, after some hesitation throughout eight pages of mainly textual drafts, it is in the drawing that the solution is found. None of the drafts in our corpus include traces of this solution. It is only in the final version that we can discover it; it is the image alone that carries this narrative, completely ignored by the written word. For six pages of the book, the written word makes no allusion to what we see in the image: the cuddly toy has escaped and is no longer in the arms of the little Norma.

But the lexical research around the description of the cuddly toy was not in vain. The episode, although abandoned, was reused at the end of the book, when Norma finally realizes that she had lost her cuddly toy: Felix explained how much she was abusing him (Figure 3). Jojo's condition will be reflected mainly in the usage of verbs rather than adjectives.



Figure 3. Extract from the published book (F-f°15v and f°16). Yvan Pommaux, Puisque c'est ça, je pars*, L'école des loisirs, Paris, 2017.*



Figure 3. Extract from the published book (F-f°15v and f°16). Yvan Pommaux, Puisque c'est ça, je pars*, L'école des loisirs, Paris, 2017.*

Here we are faced with a specific characteristic of children's books: this double level of reading is not found anywhere else in literature: 'What characterizes the book, as a literary form, is the double text/image narration, which no other literary form practises' (Poslaniec 2008: 125).

The adult reads the verbal text; the child looks at the visual representations. In that book, Pommaux is looking for ways to ensure that both audiences, whether they are readers or listeners, can construct the story at their own level. The cuddly toy is an important object for a child. Its story is finally moved, after many attempts, to the child's reading level. This displacement is conscious on the part of Pommaux. For other elements, it is at the drawing stage that the solution will be found. The limit between the visual and the readable can be tenuous when the same person draws and writes.

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These two levels of reading result in a double narrative. By writing for two recipients, Pommaux deploys two narratives: one carried by the image, the other by the text. The example of the cuddly toy already bore this double narration. Another example that is prominent in the drafts of Pommaux will allow us to go further: the passage through the bush.

Passing through the bush: a double narrative

After leaving their mothers, the two children decide to go straight ahead. But a bush blocks their path. They decide to go through it. This episode of the bush is going to be built throughout five pages of draft. It is an example that shows the search for a balance between what the text says and what the picture shows.

This bush appears for the first time in folio D1-f°1. At this point, it only appears in the text; it is not drawn:

A branch stole my hat from me
~~We're banging~~ the branches bang
The leaves slap
The [illegible] scratch

The bush is personified using words in the first drafts. The crossed-out paradigm 'we're banging' is immediately replaced by 'the branches bang'. Semantically, roles are reversed: the pronoun 'we' representing the children is removed and replaced by the branches, which become agents, instigators of the action.

In the next folio, in D1-f°2 (Figure 4a), the bush is drawn for the first time on three different planes: in profile at the top; as if the reader were inside it with the characters at the bottom left; partially at the bottom right, whereby the reader's gaze is more focused on the two characters.

Translation:
a big bush bars our way
straight ahead. Let's go around it
it's the only solution

~~Straight ahead? Impossible Norma... In front of us there's a big bush.~~

No way! No No detour, no
turns! ~~We go straight into~~
~~its foliage, of this bush~~
~~We don't care about this bush!~~
~~Let's go straight into~~ the foliage ~~of the bush~~!
Enter
~~You are right! Let's go~~! without asking permission.

Let's wait!
Watch out! Here comes Lili Bellule and
Jojo Licoeur, two maximonsters
from Sendak College!
Let's not look at them

Let them pass. Without looking at them

~~We should go~~
~~around it, it's the only solution.~~

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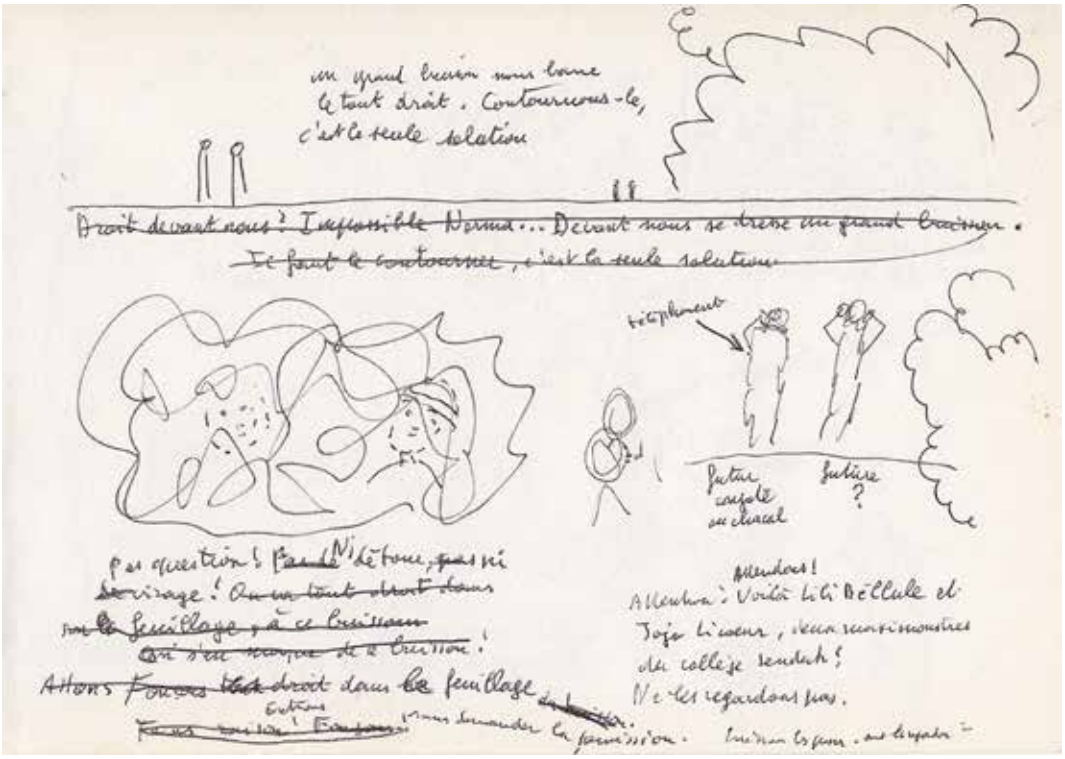


Figure 4a. Draft D1-f°2. Yvan Pommaux.

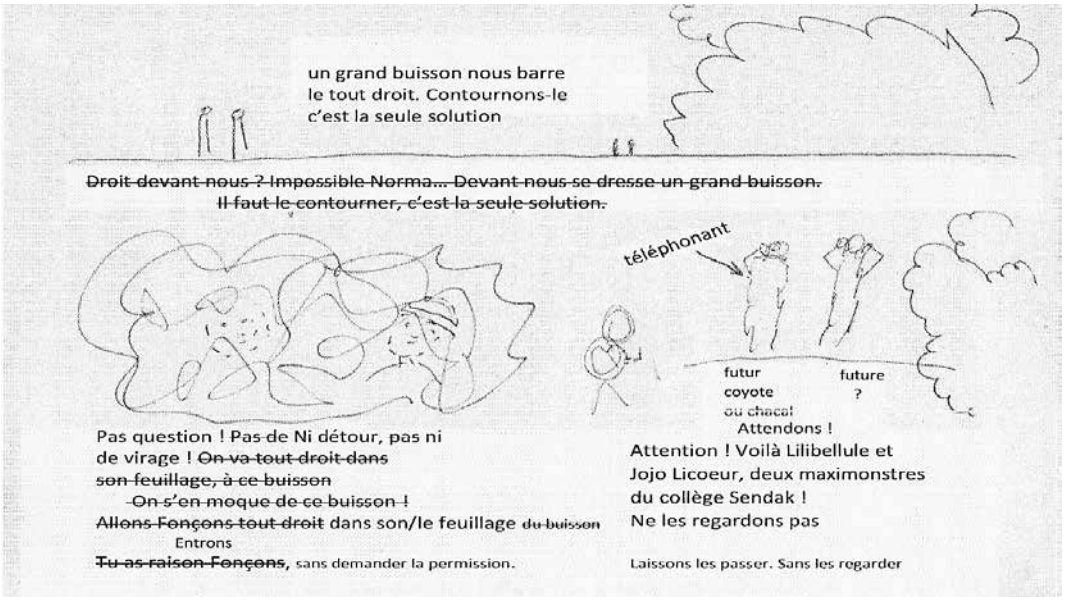


Figure 4b. Transcription of D1-f°2. Yvan Pommaux.

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Figure 5a. Draft D1-f°2v. Yvan Pommaux.

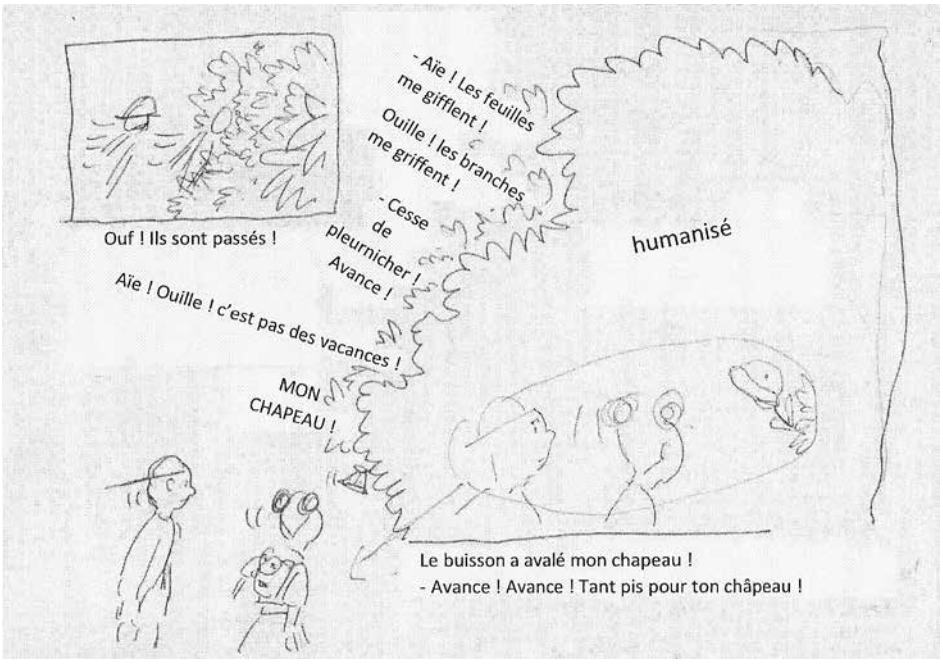


Figure 5b. Transcription of D1-f°2v. Yvan Pommaux.

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The sketch of the bush in front of the two small children takes care of what had only been mentioned in the text of previous drafts. The personification of the bush is now evident in the drawing of this huge bush that seems to move towards the children. The drawing takes over from the text and replaces it: '~~In front of us there's a big bush~~.' The text is no longer necessary; the drawing here took care of the narration.

Translation:

Ouch! The leaves
Slap me!
Ouch! the branches
scratch me!
- Stop
whining!
Advance!
Ouch! Ouch! This is not a vacation!
MY
HAT!
The bush swallowed my hat!
- Advance! Advance! Never mind your hat!

On the next draft (D1-f°2v), we see the layout for a book page where text and image are intertwined (Figures 5a & 5b). The curved text surrounds the drawing, showing that the words come out of the bush: the drawing explains much more clearly than an explanatory text. This shows that these are the children speaking from the inside of the bush. However, they are also drawn in the lower left corner. Pommaux here is hesitating. In the frame on the top left, we see the children entering the bush and a note, whose speaker is unknown: could it be the author himself? In the lower left corner, the two children are drawn, but the words all around the bush indicate that they should be inside it. Finally, in the drawing of the bush, the same two children are drawn in a slightly larger size, as when a map is enlarged for the details, with an arrow indicating the magnified portion of the drawing. Pommaux is certainly drawing for himself what seems like a 'control drawing' in order to specify the object hanging on the branch. When looking at the bottom left, we guess that it is Felix's hat. On the drawing in the bush, it is much less clear: perhaps it is finally the 'mouth' of the branch that has just swallowed the hat, as the text seems to suggest.

Still in the working memo, this empty space presented by the shape of the bush also contains the word 'humanized'. It is surprising that Pommaux needed to re-emphasize the idea since it has been present in several drafts. Further on, this humanization of the bush will disappear from the story. Is he questioning whether or not to keep this idea?

The theme of scratching branches and slapping leaves is maintained; they are important elements for the negative personification of the bush.

In the Zap Book notebook, which is the next medium for the development of the book, there are very few drawings. Writing takes up all the space. Pommaux seems to have needed to go through the verbal to review the narrative process of the book: the entire story is rewritten twice in the Zap

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Book (ZB-f°11 and ZB-f°16). Only the children's point of view retains the humanized aspect of the bush. It disappears completely from the drawings as Felix's hat is no longer 'swallowed' by the plant.

The personification of the bush in the final version (Figure 6) is maintained in the text: 'the leaves slap me, the branches scratch me' and is more subtly suggested by the image. We see here that an examination of the various drafts reveals a new aspect of the book. The implementation of the personification was done step by step, and was finally supported by the two narratives.

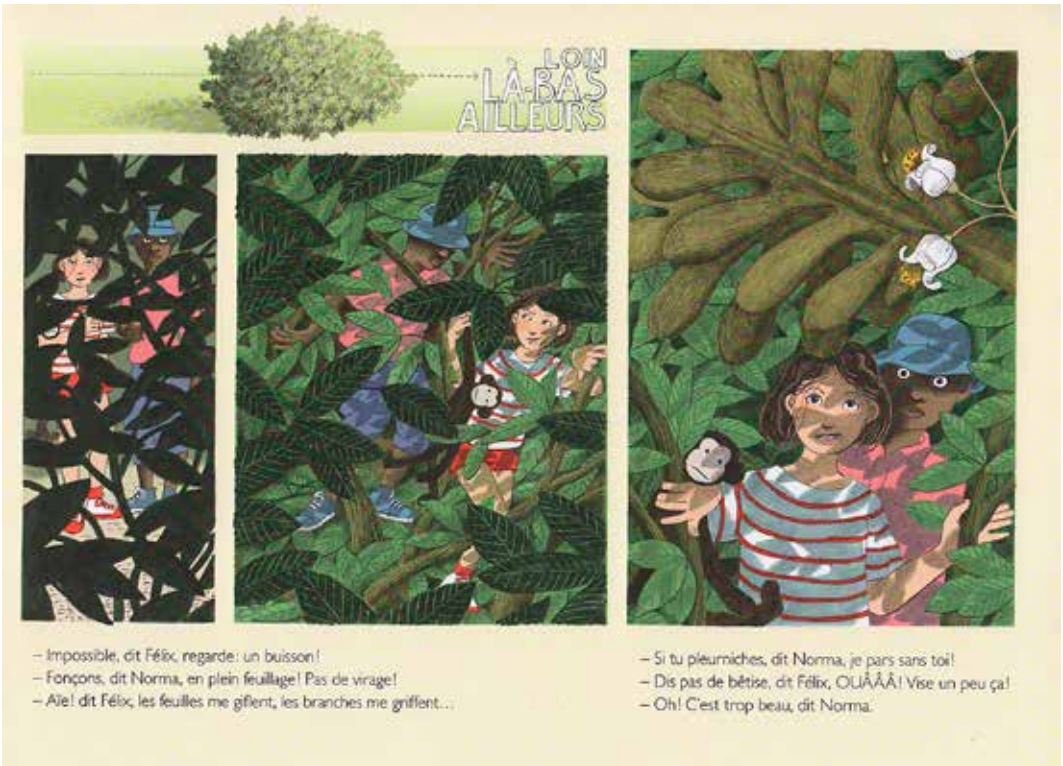


Figure 6. Extract from the final published edition (F-f°9). Yvan Pommaux, Puisque c'est ça, je pars*, L'école des loisirs, Paris, 2017.*

Translation:

- Impossible, says Felix, look: a bush!
- Let's go, says Norma, in full foliage! No turns!
- Ouch! said Felix, the leaves slap me, the branches scratch me.

- If you whine, says Norma, I'll leave without you!
- Don't be silly, said Felix, WOOOW! Look at that!
- Oh! It's so beautiful, says Norma.

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As the humanization of the bush was dear to Pommaux, the text did not undergo any modification. From the first draft to the final published version, the branches scratch and the leaves slap. It is the image that is transformed itself until it is softened: a menacing monster eating a hat gradually emerges as a simply dark and impassable bush. In the published book, the passage is represented by three images: the foliage of the bush gradually becomes brighter, and in the last image, the children's faces are uncovered as they emerge, dazzled with their eyes wide open.

The two narratives are distinguished by their point of view. The text, targeting adults, reflects Norma and Felix's internal point of view: it is their words that the child hears. The image, targeting the children, adopts an external point of view, which complements and denies Norma and Felix's words: the bush is certainly dark and oppressive but the drawing no longer bears any trace of humanization. On the contrary, the third vignette represents it as a place of passage to a wonderful world.

Beginning with the first drafts (D1), Pommaux's ideas were fixed on developing the central incident of the book, the passage through the bush: a humanized bush that steals a hat and mistreats children, the arrival of Jojo Licoeur and Lili Bellule which precipitates the transiting of the bush, a cuddly toy that is a source of discord between the two children.

No additional elements were added throughout the writing process. However, some of them were moved or deleted: for instance, Jojo Licoeur and Lili Bellule disappeared. Only two elements remained, but they were the subject of a particular revision: the humanization of the bush and the disappearance of Jojo the cuddly toy. The draft is purified; the text becomes thinner, more precise for the enrichment of the image.

Three characteristics developed here are intrinsically linked to each other in the context of children's books: the quality of the text for reading aloud; that of the image given to the non-reading child, different from that offered to the parent, and which is centred on the text; and finally, the two narrations, one carried by the text, the second by the image. These characteristics are not found by chance in children's books. They are the result of work on texts and images, taking into consideration both readers and non-readers, i.e., children. The corpus of authors who write and draw at the same time is still largely unexplored, so we will try to set some milestones here.

This corpus of an author-illustrator, despite its narrowness (only 67 folios), is still in the early stages of exploration. Yet, it has paved the way for a new genetic discipline that analyses new corpora in which text and image are co-constructed and in which each of these two instances is intended for publication. Its foundations are yet to be built.

Possible interactions between literary genetics and didactics of writing

The genesis of children's books is beginning to be used by publishers to attract the public to children's literature. Five years ago, the publisher Casterman released a film on DVD about the French author François Place in

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connection with the publicity for his book *La Fille des Batailles* (*The Daughter of Battles*).[4] The film shows the writer at work. François Place explains his way of proceeding. He shows different drafts of the same page and comments on them. Apart from promotional videos, the Montreuil Children's Book Fair, the most important event for children's literature in France, has set up year-round training courses entitled 'In the Workshop of'. Their aim is to introduce the public to the way in which writers write. The genetic approach is therefore becoming an object of interest to readers.

In France, writers' manuscripts have also become an object of study in high schools, with the purpose of changing how pupils conceive of writing. Students most often think that it is enough for the writer to have an idea in mind to transcribe it directly into a suitable form. They assume that a writer writes in a fluid and transparent way without ever crossing out, as erasing, rewriting and correcting a text are often associated with low expertise. For many students, good writing means knowing what you want to say and writing it down in the first draft (Dahlet 1994; Barré-de-Miniac 1997). Introducing writers' manuscripts into school curricula aims at showing pupils that writers, too, seek out what they have to say, make some attempts at saying it and scratch and fumble while writing.

Writers' manuscripts have thus become a didactic object. Hence, the challenge of introducing manuscripts into the school is to avoid an automatic application such as is unfortunately very often observed in school activities. There is a tendency to seize small facts, immediately identifiable but which are only surface consequences of postures, intentions, or necessities that are less easy to perceive. These small facts are then considered as prerequisites for creative practice. Locate a writing constant in a writer and have the pupils implement it without questioning the change of setting, the fact that the writer has a project that differs from that of the pupil, and so forth. The fact that the writer has a project that differs from that of the pupil, etc., would lead to reifying this practice, to making it a prerequisite when it is a construction of scriptural activity.

So why should educators want to work with authors' manuscripts from primary school onwards? The first answer lies in the re-presentation of the act of writing to students. It is by showing them, as soon as they are learning to write, that writing, even among writers, is a complex and far from self-evident act so that we can avoid erroneous conceptions about writing that subsequently lead to a loss of self-esteem and the impossibility of really experiencing writing as reformulation (Favriaud et al. 2009). Loss of self-esteem is often linked, in the case of writing, to students' belief that writing comes out of the head of an author spontaneously, without work. Faced with their own inability to 'get a masterpiece out of their head', they experience a sense of failure and devalue themselves. The second answer is of a technical nature. Even if the students are not able to write 'like writers', it is possible to encourage them to write projects and to offer them technical tools that are of the same order as those of writers. This is the approach of Olivier Lumbroso, who specializes in Zola's manuscripts. Lumbroso proposes, with cognitive hypotheses, implementing the writing procedure adopted by Émile Zola in the Rougon-Macquart series, in particular the use of sketches. In

the device he proposes, 'the student who writes is not only the producer of his sketch, but is free to comment on it, to crush it to the point of making it an experimental, graphic and verbal draft during his creative soliloquy' (Lumbroso 2007: 120).

Let us return to our analysis of the interaction between text and illustrations in the development of a literary work for young people. The majority of Pommaux's works are aimed at children and young adolescents. The one we have taken as an example, Since that's it, I'm leaving, is intended for young children. The question then arises: How can it be useful to show them the manuscripts? What can children who are in the process of learning to write learn from a writer's writing process? Do they have enough perspective on the writing activity to enter into the analysis of a manuscript? The answer is probably no, as far as the text is concerned. Nonetheless, if a 7- or 8-year-old child can barely write, he or she can already draw well. During visits to classrooms with Pommaux's manuscripts, we showed his drawings and texts, and the pupils were very receptive to the evolution of the drawings, to the problems that the author faces in integrating his drawing into a page, in orienting it towards the meaning of the story, in making it meaningful as the text is meaningful. It is undoubtedly this kind of aspect that would be interesting to exploit didactically: Pommaux's trial and error procedure when he draws can be apprehended by very young children, who can then develop a 'meta' posture to the drawings that they are not yet able to build with respect to the text. Approaching children through the illustrations of authors' manuscripts means getting down to their level to bring them into the writer's studio. Then, when they know how to write better, they will be able to share some questions of a linguistic nature visible under the erasures. And if they can, it will probably also be because these questions will have been shared, from a very young age, on iconographic supports. Claudine Fabre-Cols, in her study of schoolchildren's drafts (1990), defends the idea of placing oneself at the level of the pupils' concerns in order to enter into their reasoning. She takes the example of writing, in the sense of spelling and letter tracing, which is for the youngest writers the main obstacle and object of reflection during writing. Fabre-Cols advocates using the traces of graphic doubt to invite the pupils to adopt a meta-scriptural reflection. This is also our opinion of drawing: it can be used to show students the author-illustrator's trial and error method when drawing because they can understand it; to explain that this trial and error is linked to questions pertaining to visual semiotics that the author asks; and then to lead them, from year to year, to questions that are inscribed in verbal semiotics.

Notes

1 https://www.ecoledesloisirs.fr/auteur/yvan-pommaux
2 https://www.ecoledesloisirs.fr/livre/puisque-cest-ca-je-pars
3 Yvan Pommaux and author Solène Audebert-Poulet have met several times. These meetings were an opportunity to consult and borrow the drafts that he keeps.
4 https://www.francois-place.fr/home/

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8. Use of Folklore in a Writing Process of Poetry: Rewritings of Folk Songs and References to Oral Poetry in Otto Manninen's Early Manuscripts

In this article, the focus is on the ways that the Finnish poet Otto Manninen (1872–1950) used folklore materials in his drafts of poems at an early stage of his career. This case is an interesting one because it highlights, in the genetic context, the relationship between folklore and literature in Finnish literary history from the 1890s to the early 1900s and the importance of the little tradition for the great tradition. I shall start by presenting transcriptions of authentic folk songs, representing the metre of rhyming couplets that a friend of Manninen had collected in order to preserve oral material, and analyse the changes that the poet made in these transcriptions in order to experiment with folkloristic elements. My aim is to demonstrate that this process had an effect on Manninen's nascent poetics. Secondly, I shall analyse the character of the 'singer boy', a figure familiar in folk songs in general, and its modifications in the drafts of Manninen's unpublished poems. These drafts refer to another type of folklore that was more valued by Manninen's contemporaries, namely the tradition of folk poetry in the Kalevala metre.

Otto Manninen played an important role in the formation of Finnish poetry in the first decades of the twentieth century. As I will demonstrate, the material dating from the poet's years of apprenticeship provides a glimpse of a literary context in which oral poetry provided inspiration for Finnish-language writers as they strove to create a literary tradition of their own. When Manninen experimented with the rewriting of folk songs, he was an unpublished poet in his twenties. My hypothesis is that the rewriting of rhyming folk songs acted as a stepping stone in Manninen's own poetic writing on both thematic and formal levels. The archival material analysed below, two notebooks and unpublished poem drafts, belongs to the archive of Otto Manninen at the Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (FLS).

Besides being a poet, Manninen was a notable translator of poetry. He actively studied languages and was greatly influenced by European literature. He translated J. L. Runeberg, Heinrich Heine, Homer, J. W. von Goethe, Molière, Sophocles and Euripides into Finnish. Also, Manninen's exquisite translations show his deep understanding of language (Laitinen 1997). Manninen published only four books of poetry during his lifetime. His first collections bear the same name, *Säkeitä* (*Verses*). The first one appeared in 1905 and the second *(Verses. Second series)* in 1910. The first collections are

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best known for their symbolistic features (Rantavaara 1984: 600; Lyytikäinen 2001; Karhu 2012). The third and fourth collections were published in 1925 and 1938.[1] Manninen's poems have been characterized by tautness of expression, conciseness and the active use of the whole scale of the language, down to rare words and grammatical forms as well as a rich vocabulary and idiosyncratic syntax (Laitinen 1998: 119).[2]

As I have shown in my PhD dissertation based on the analysis of Manninen's manuscripts, the poet often effaced the traces of intertexts during his writing process (Karhu 2012). He also distanced himself from many of his contemporaries whose works included elements taken from folklore (Karhu 2019a: 25). However, the genetic analysis of archival materials shows that Manninen was attracted to the means of expression of folklore. The theoretical background of my article relies on the study of genetic intertextuality and its concepts of *exogenetics* and *endogenetics* (Debray Genette 1988: 24–31; de Biasi 2000/2005: 90; Van Hulle 2004: 6–7). In this article, I present a type of intertext that has not previously appeared in genetic studies, namely rewritten transcriptions of folk songs. Thanks to Manninen's archived manuscripts, it is possible to analyse the ways that the poet used features of oral folklore, produced in the first place as transcriptions, and how he changed them in order to create a style of his own.

My approach to the *avant-texte* is also inspired by Henri Mitterand's stance that emphasizes the contribution of genetic studies to the study of cultural history. According to Mitterand, genetic criticism, like archaeology, 'carries the material strata of history out into the open' (Mitterand 2004: 118). When there is relevant archival material, it is possible to analyse processes that have taken place at a certain moment of cultural and literary history. The study of the different stages of creation shows how the author's literary expression was taking shape in the context of extra-authorial phenomena, namely the thoughts and tastes of the surrounding culture (Deppman 2004: 117). Manuscripts reveal hidden allusions, the presence of which would be impossible to decipher in final versions.

In short, my focus is on the study of the formation processes of Manninen's poetic expression and his use of oral folklore as source material, and his relationship with the 'folklore trend' in Finnish literature and other fields of art in the 1890s. In a broader view, the material is interesting for studying the complex relationship between oral and literary traditions. Manninen's manuscripts include several layers and types of rewritings of transcribed folk songs in the metre of rhyming couplets. In focusing on the role of these songs in Manninen's creative process, I wish to contribute to an important aspect of Finnish literary history that has not received enough attention. The popular rhyming couplets (*rekilaulut*) were disregarded as folklore (Kurkela 1989; Karhu & Kuismin 2021; Hämäläinen & Karhu 2021), which led to the situation that their significance in the development of Finnish poetics was not studied. Hence, my article will show how genetic analysis can contribute to issues that previous research has bypassed. In this way, I hope to shed new light on Finnish literary history.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

References to Kalevala-metre poetry and contemporary rhyming folk songs

As mentioned above, Otto Manninen, like many of his contemporaries in different fields of the arts, drew inspiration from folklore. This was a transnational phenomenon in the long nineteenth century (Campbell & Perraudin 2012), but in Finland the question was interwoven with the national awakening. The idea of Finland as a national entity came to life after 1809 when Finland's history as a part of the Swedish Kingdom ended and Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. Finnish was spoken by the majority of the population, whereas the elite spoke Swedish. Finnish was to be developed into a language used in all fields of life. The oral tradition provided the base for the nascent Finnish-language literature. The *Kalevala*, a series of epic cycles based on oral poetry, was compiled by Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) and published in 1835. The second, enlarged edition appeared in 1849. The *Kanteletar*, a collection of lyric and epic poetry, edited by Elias Lönnrot, was published in 1840. (See, e.g., Branch 1998; Laitinen & Schoolfield 1998; Laitinen 1998; Kuismin 2012: 7–8.)

Otto Manninen was a friend of Eino Leino (1878–1926), a versatile writer and one of the great figures of Finnish Neo-Romanticism or the Symbolist movement.[3] Leino used the Kalevala metre in his famous *Helkavirsiä* (*Whitsongs,* 1903), one of the most canonical collections of poetry written in Finnish.[4] Michael Branch (1978: 14) has written that 'Leino's use of the most sophisticated verse form of Finnish little tradition is a remarkable example of the influence of little tradition on great tradition'.[5] The interest in Kalevala folklore and mythology was also visible in other arts in Finland; for example, the influence of the *Kalevala* on artists can be seen in the paintings of Axel Gallén-Kallela and the compositions of Jean Sibelius, such as 'Swan of Tuonela'. This era, which has been called the Golden Era of Finnish arts, is crucial for understanding the formation of Finnish literature, especially poetry.

Even if the connection to the Kalevala folklore is mentioned in relation to Manninen's oeuvre (Laitinen 1997; 1998; Oinonen 1950), in Manninen's published poetry it is mainly the language that alludes to the *Kalevala*.[6] Manninen's published poems do not clearly refer to the events and scenes of the *Kalevala* but some of the drafts of unpublished poems do so. In the drafts, there are several allusions to the characters that appear in the *Kalevala* and to the river of Tuonela, the mythical place separating the living and the dead.[7] These references also point to Finnish visual arts of the nineteenth century (Karhu 2019b). Interestingly, the genetic analysis has shown than in his writing process, when picturing the river, Manninen first used verbs connected with sight but then changed them to verbs of the sense of touch. In this manner Manninen moved the description of water to a sphere that visual arts cannot reach. (Karhu 2019b: 38.)

In his introduction to Eino Leino's *Helkavirsiä* (*Whitsongs,* 1903), Michael Branch (1978) pointed out that the Symbolism that found the best response in Finland was a form originated by the Danish writer Johannes Jørgensen in 1893. In Jørgensen's form, the ideas of the French Symbolists merged with

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

pantheist mysticism. This approach helped unite little tradition and great tradition, as Kalevala folklore offered rich material to the pantheist school of Symbolists (Branch 1978: 11–12). However, Anna Balakian (1984: 690) has stated that the general interest of Symbolists in myths actually revived the interest in folklore in general.[8]

In the 1890s and at the turn of the 20th century, many poem collections were published as 'Songs'. For example, Eino Leino's first collection was called *Maaliskuun lauluja* (*March Songs*, 1896). The Symbolist and Decadent writers were inspired by the music and ideas of Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche and wanted to create synesthetic literature. In Finland, the Kalevala folklore offered perfect material for these artistic strivings because it was originally performed by singing. Therefore, the musical mimesis of literary works has strong relations to the folklore. (Parente-Čapková 2018: 137–138, 141.)

In addition to Kalevala folklore, musical mimesis in Finnish literature also relates to another type of folklore, as, besides the Kalevala folklore, there was also another poetic vernacular language, that of rhyming folk songs. These songs were extremely popular at the end of the nineteenth century (Asplund 2006: 145–149) and were also a living tradition for Otto Manninen, who was born in rural Finland (Lyly 1983).

Finnish writers, among them the young Manninen and Leino, became interested in rhyming folk songs at the beginning of the 1890s. One can say that the whole generation of Finnish poets belonging to the Neo-Romantic/Symbolist movement was influenced by the rhyming folk song tradition at an early stage of their literary careers. The way the singers expressed their feelings and attachment to the surrounding nature appealed to the poets. Finnish rhyming couplets also offered a familiar and melodious rhythmical pattern. (Lyly 1983.) The similarity of written literary folk songs and oral songs can be seen both in the metres and other semantic levels of the poems.[9] Even though the folk songs were part of popular culture, the writers saw them as something that was eternal and beautiful in their simplicity (Leino 1894). The idealization of folk songs can be traced back to Romanticism. In Manninen's case it is significant that he translated J. W. von Goethe, Heinrich Heine and J. L. Runeberg, whose poetry alludes to folk songs, into Finnish. The interest in folk songs is also visible in Symbolist poetry written in other languages (see, e.g., Balakian 1984: 690; Akimova 2007).

It is important to keep in mind that folk poetry in the traditional Kalevala metre (unrhymed, non-strophic trochaic tetrameters) was more highly valued by the elite, and the so-called new folk song style (rhyming, four-line stanzas) marginalized and associated with young people's gatherings. These songs represented topics like love and courting as well as occasional poetry on lives of famous criminals, among other things (Karhu & Kuismin 2021). This view, dating from the nineteenth century, has resulted in a gap in the research: the older tradition has been thoroughly studied, while there is little research on the newer folk song tradition (*rekilaulu*).[10] In literary studies, the relationship of Finnish 'high' poetry with the new folk-song style has only been briefly touched upon (Hormia 1960; Lyly 1983), in spite of its significance.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Manninen's published poems do not include obvious references to rhyming folk songs. The few exceptions are 'Pellavan kitkijä' (The Harvest of Flax) and 'Kosken ruusu' (The Rose of the Rapids), two poems that can be called literary folk songs. They were first published in 1897 in the journal *Koitar*. In these poems Manninen used the metre of rhyming couplets. 'Pellavan kitkijä' (The Harvest of Flax) was later republished in the *Säkeitä* collection (*Verses*, 1905). As I will show, the manuscripts tell another story about the poet's interest in rhyming folk songs.

Rewritings of rhyming folk songs as a stepping stone for Manninen's own poetic expression

In the following, I shall analyse some markings Manninen made in the transcriptions of folk songs and demonstrate how they already connect to the forming of Manninen's own poetics. These rewritings can be seen as the *pregenesis* of Manninen's poetic writings, as a preliminary but also essential stage of his nascent expression (cf. Mitterand 2004: 128). By rewriting, I mean an act of writing which changes the earlier text into something else: a process in which the writing alters the source text into a new artistic entity.

The material I shall analyse appears in two notebooks that clearly belong to the oldest layer of writings in the archive. 'Notebook A' (A1908) begins with 27 pages of transcriptions (notes) of Finnish rhyming folk songs (*rekilaulu*), 192 stanzas in total. They were collected around 1893 from different informants by Antti Rytkönen, Manninen's university friend, to whom the notebook originally belonged (Lyly 1983: 112; Karhu 2019c). According to Pentti Lyly, this notebook was in Manninen's possession in the fall of 1895 at the latest (Lyly 1983: 112). Besides the texts described above, Notebook A includes various types of texts, such as lecture notes written mostly in shorthand. They deal with Immanuel Kant's philosophy and the history of Finnish and German literature, the *Kalevala*, and Mordva, a cognate language to Finnish (Lyly's archive, box 15). Manninen also drew portraits in his notebook and drafted translations of the poems of J. J. Wecksell and J. L. Runeberg.

In addition, there are some folk songs in 'Notebook B' (box 22), but they differ from those gathered by Antti Rytkönen: they seem to include merely occasional remarks, not working manuscripts of folklore notes that ought to be sent to the archive as in 'Notebook A'. Furthermore, Notebook B includes several drafts of some of the poems published in Manninen's first collections as well as drafts of his translations and various kinds of notes. This notebook is a crucial avant-textual document vis-à-vis Manninen's *Verses* published in 1905 and 1910. The earliest writings in this notebook date from 1894 and the latest were written presumably as late as 1905 (Karhu 2012: 46).

Notebook A includes the following song transcription of a metapoetic folk song, written down with a pen by Rytkönen and later altered in pencil by Manninen (Figure 1):

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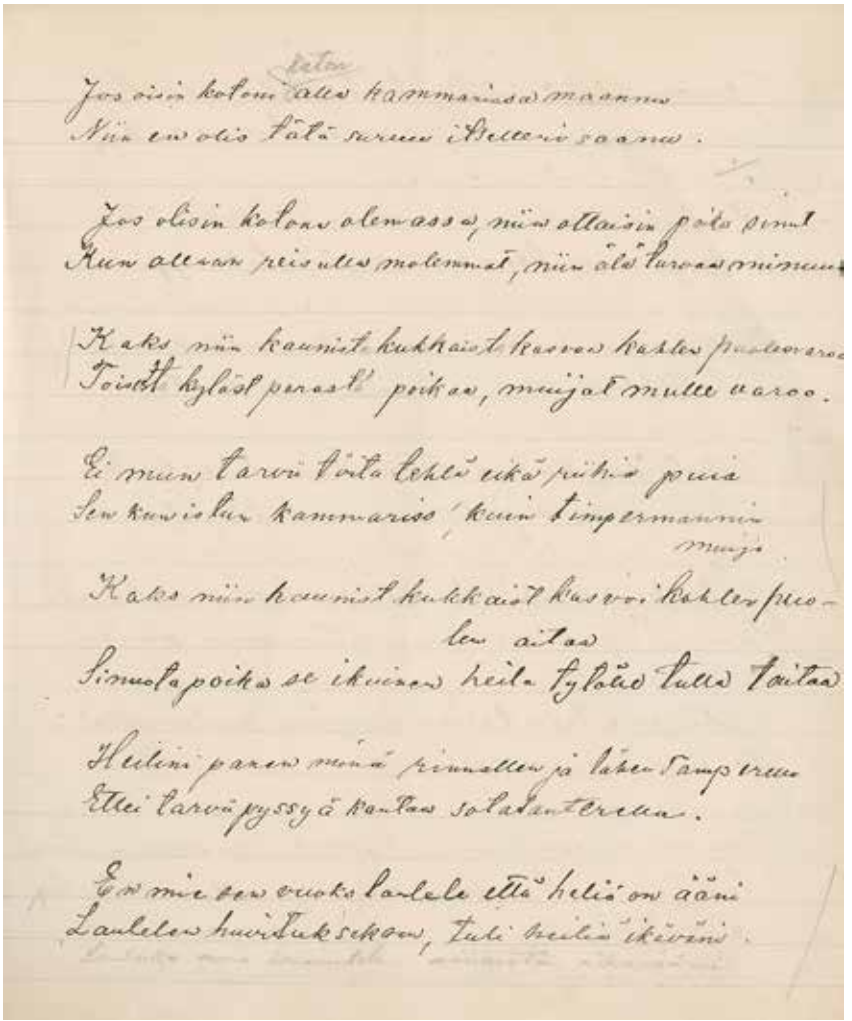


Figure 1. Manninen's alterations are written in pencil. Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Otto Manninen's archive.

This is the diplomatic transcription of the writing (Figure 1, last stanza):

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

(I don't sing because my voice is so melodious
I sing to entertain myself, because I miss my sweetheart/
huge
With the song I try to weaken my ~~everlasting~~ longing)

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

In this folk song, the object of longing, the absent sweetheart, is clearly indicated, as is often the case in folk songs (Hako 1963: 428–433). In Manninen's rewriting, the second line of the song reads like this: '*Laululla mina laimentelen ainaista ikävääni*' (With the song I try to weaken my everlasting longing). As in Manninen's published poems in which the speaker often longs for an unnamed something or an absent somebody in the melancholic spirit of the *fin-de-siècle*, this alteration makes the text more ambiguous. In Manninen's version, the target of longing is not clearly indicated. In the original folk song, the singer sings to amuse himself: '*Laulelen huvitukseksen*' (I sing to entertain myself). This aspect is absent in Manninen's version in which the melancholic mood prevails. Thus, the poet has rewritten the folk song so that it metamorphoses the transcription into Manninen's own poetic experiment. In his version, Manninen has also changed the word 'everlasting' to 'great'. The deletion of the word '*ainainen*' ('everlasting') indicates that Manninen wanted to maintain the feeling of orality and easiness of diction in his writing; the word '*ainainen*' is more literary than the word 'great' (cf. Karhu 2021).

In addition to changing words in the transcriptions of rhyming songs, Manninen also tried to form a longer and more coherent unit of the folk song stanzas noted by Antti Rytkönen in order to make a longer song or poem. In this process he made alterations in order to standardize the rhythmical variability of oral songs (Karhu 2023). This text is written on the back of a letter, dated 25 January 1893. The letter was sent by Rytkönen's informant Otto Fränti, and it consists of rhyming folk songs Fränti had promised to send to Rytkönen.[11]

In addition, Manninen chose a folk song stanza and used it as the first stanza in his draft of a poem. This can be seen in Notebook A, which includes the earliest draft of his poem 'Kosken ruusu' (The Rose of the Rapids). This poem depicts a boy who is river rafting with his boat. He sees a red rose on the bank of the torrent but fails to grab it. The rose looks longingly at the boy and his sinking boat. The poem is typical of the tragic love poetry of the period. There are not only traces of the ballad tradition in the poem but also intertextual references to Goethe's 'Heidenröslein' (1799) and in many ways to rhyming folk songs. The poem metaphorically presents the relationship of the (mortal) artist and his unattainable (and immortal) ideal/art. In the original folk song, there is a real person, a wooer, but the first draft of Manninen's poem already depicts a rose. This change that the poet has made points towards a metaphorical level (Hämäläinen & Karhu 2019: 134–136).

The manuscripts also offer interesting material for the investigation of formal matters. Analysis has shown that, in his drafts, Manninen was interested in certain verse structures in the songs, especially in long third verses. The long verses gave space to enlarge the poetic expression and a chance to use certain rhythmical decisions (Karhu 2023). The third verse was also a very significant one in the folk songs, as it began the argument part of the stanza (Sykäri 2022). In addition, in altering the folk song stanzas, Manninen followed the variation practices of oral poetics. In oral tradition, the formulaic first verse pair remained intact, and the argument verse pair

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

varied (Asplund 1981: 97). The same strategy is observable in Manninen's drafts (Karhu 2023).

In addition, archival materials show that Manninen pondered between different ways of formulaic expressions (cf. Karhu 2019a: 32). The early draft of the first stanza of 'Hiilloshehkua' ('Glowing embers'), published in *Säkeitä* (1905) is found in Notebook B (Lyly: 574). Obeying the rhyming couplet metre, the text could be part of an oral folk song or a result of Manninen's own creative effort:

Alkuna halko ja perässä poro
Ja keskellä kirkas tuli.

(In the beginning there was a log, and in the end, there were ashes,
and in the middle a bright fire.)

This pattern portrays a formula where something is said to be in the middle (fire) and the beginning and ending things are also mentioned (the log and ashes). A similar pattern can be found in the following rhyming folk song stanza that is written next to the draft. However, it has been heavily crossed out:

~~*Kukkivan kesän kahden puolen*~~
~~*pakkasta ja lunta,*~~
~~*heilini hellä ja herttainen,*~~
~~*mut susia sukukunta.*~~

(On both sides of a blooming summer
there is frost and snow,
my loved one is gentle and sweet
but her relatives are like a pack of wolves.)

The draft of the poem 'Hiilloshehkua' ('Glowing embers') also modifies another familiar folk song formula that appears in Manninen's poem 'Kosken ruusu' (The Rose of the Rapids): 'Ensin oli vettä ja sitt' oli mettä' (First there was water and then there was forest).[12] In the draft, things are also presented as a progressive series: 'In the beginning there was a log, and in the end, there were ashes.' Both formulas are present in the published version of the poem 'Hiilloshehkua' ('Glowing embers'), but without the knowledge obtained with genetic analysis the relation of Manninen's expression to the oral poetics would have been left unnoticeable.

As I have shown above, the rewritings of rhyming folk songs concern both the thematic and formal levels. Manninen used Rytkönen's transcriptions as his material to create poems of his own. The poet's efforts to find a personal voice can also be found in the drafts of unpublished poems that include references to the *Kalevala*. In the following, I shall investigate the motif of the singer boy in Manninen's manuscripts.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

The singer boy as a poet apprentice

The singer boy, often bearing the image of a rascal, was a common character in rhyming folk songs at the end of the nineteenth century (Hako 1963: 431 and *passim*). The 'singing boy' is also a central character in several drafts of Manninen's unpublished poems, dating from the 1890s, and it already anticipates the symbolistic artist figure that occurs in Manninen's *Verses* collections (1905 and 1910). It is possible that Manninen identified himself with the 'singer boy'. He was trying to become a 'singer' of another type of songs: songs/poems written on paper and printed. Notebook A contains the first occurrence of this motif. In the following, Manninen's notes on the song transcription are marked with bold:

tytöille
Tämän kylän pojille tulee surullinen talvi
pojat
Laulajatytöt pois ne menee, niinkuin lintuparvi.

girls
(The boys of this village will face a sad winter
boys
when the singer girls leave like a flock of birds.)

Some of the songs transcribed in this notebook were dictated by Mari Vainonen, a young peasant woman. Perhaps this song was one of them. The changes Manninen has made in the transcription altered the gender of the singers from girls to boys. In his version, the girls are sad because the singer boys are leaving. In the situations in which folk songs were sung, it was a common feature to adjust the gender to match the gender of the singer (Virtanen 1988: 165): a girl would sing about singer girls and a boy about singer boys. Hence, it would be easy to see the change Manninen made as a typical reversal of the singer's gender. However, the change occurs in the act of writing. By reversing the gender, Manninen has made the male gender the active one.

The 'singer boy' reappears in the drafts of Manninen's unpublished poem 'Ei hyvä keinua keskiöin' (It is not good to sway at midnight).[13] There are four drafts of this poem in Manninen's archive (box 22),[14] dating from the period 1896–1902 (Lyly's archive, box 18). Modifying the Lorelei saga[15] (Lyly 223: 12) and the *fin-de-siècle* imagery (Karhu 2012: 132–133), the drafts depict a young singer boy ('*laulajapoikanen*') and his journey that takes place on a lake or at sea. The boy sees maidens who live in the waters; they seem to lure him into the depths. As the drafts are unfinished, it is not clear if the boy will succumb to their temptation. The drafts begin with the following stanza:

Ei hyvä keinua keskiöin
ole oudoilla syvänteillä,
ei mennä vesille veikantöin,
on tenhoa vetten teillä.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

(It is not good to sway at midnight
On strange deep waters,
Nor leave for the waters frivolously
There is enchantment on the roads of water.)

Characters from the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen, sage and bard, and Aino, a young maiden who drowns herself because she does not want to marry the old man, Väinämöinen, appear in the drafts. The maidens of Vellamo are also mentioned:[16]

Kas tuossa on niemi nimetön
Ja sanaton on saari,
Tuoll' ammoin aaltohon Väinämön
Kaas Ainon kostajan kaari.

—
Ja nenähän niemen utuisen
Hän ulapalt' uivan vielä
Näki Vellamon vetisten neitojen
Näki Ainonkin haamun siellä.

(Look, there is a nameless peninsula
And a wordless island,
That's where Väinämö was overturned, long ago,
By the arch of Aino's avenger.

—
Toward the spit of the hazy peninsula
He saw, from the open water
The watery maidens of Vellamo, swimming,
He also saw the ghost of Aino there.)

The singer boy wanders in the same landscape as the characters of the *Kalevala*: he sees the ghost of Aino and the maids of Vellamo, the goddess of water who also appears in Manninen's famous poem 'Musa lapidaria' (*Verses*, 1905). Besides being a reference to the *Kalevala*, Vellamo can be seen as an allusion to A. Oksanen's 'Koskenlaskijan morsiamet' (Raftsman's Brides, 1853), the first literary ballad written in Finnish. One must also keep in mind that in 'Musa lapidaria' the image of Vellamo and her maidens also reflects the transnational mermaid imagery of *fin-de-siècle* symbolism. (Karhu 2012: 127–133.) When Aino dies in the *Kalevala*, the desolate Väinämöinen takes his boat and begins to fish in hopes of catching her body. However, Aino has become one of the maidens of Vellamo, and Väinämöinen fails to catch her. When depicting the place where Vellamo's maidens and Aino are, Manninen uses a quotation from the *Kalevala:* 'the spit of the hazy peninsula' ('*nenässä utuisen niemen*', *Kalevala* 5:25).

In both Manninen's rewriting of the rhyming folk song and the drafts discussed above, there is a tension in the relationship between the male and the female. In the rewritten folk song, the active boy leaves the passive and sad girls behind. In the drafts the dangerous and alluring female water spirits seduce the boy, perhaps not only into the world of the unconscious and to the

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

source of art (Karhu 2012: 133) but also to his own death. The image of the singer boy in the drafts alludes to a bard, a singer of oral poetry, possessing mythical forces; similarly, Vainämöinen can work magic through the songs and move everyone by his performances.

Michael Branch writes about Leino's *Helkavirret* (*Whitsongs*), especially with regard to the poems 'Kouta' and 'The Dark One', which are both about journeys to the Otherworld, how the pantheist emphasis on Symbolism interlaces the character of a shaman and a poet. Branch points out how in ancient beliefs the journey to the Otherworld was undertaken by the shaman's soul in order to acquire knowledge. Trance – regarded as a form of death – could sometimes be fatal to the shaman. Branch reminds us that in later versions of folk poems about visiting the Otherworld, the purpose of the shaman's journey was to acquire the missing lines of a poem. (Branch 1978: 16.) However, the singer boy in Manninen's draft does not resemble this character yet but an apprentice, someone who is trying to become a proper bard or shaman. The fact that the poem draft stops at the point at which the seductive voices of female spirits are heard can be seen to represent Manninen's position as a poet trying to find his voice. The hesitation of the boy symbolizes the hesitation of Manninen as a writer. The shaman/bard apprentice does not yet have the courage to enter the Otherworld to acquire the missing lines.

The difficulty of finishing the poem is perhaps also linked to a rhythmical feature. There is a peculiarity in these drafts, namely a change of the rhythm, an uncommon feature in Manninen's published poems or other drafts. The drafts begin with a rising metre (iambic and dactylic feet) but when the focus turns to female figures and they begin to speak (or sing), there is a change from the rising metre to a falling one (Manuscript A):

Poika polomieli
Valjuposki varhain
Tule, meillä sulle
Tääll' on tieto parhain, (- -)

(Poor boy
Pale cheeked at an early age
Come, we have the best knowledge
for you, in here, (- -))[17]

It is possible that with this change of rhythm Manninen wanted to emphasize the connection of the maids' voices with the Finnish language, as the Kalevala metre was a falling metre. Perhaps this rhythmical disturbance was one of the things that caused a block that the poet did not overcome. The poem was never finished.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

The singer boy in dark waters – experiments with Manninen's central imagery

In the following, I shall analyse some changes that Manninen made in the drafts of his poem 'Ei hyvä keinua keskiöin' (It is not good to sway at midnight). These changes, related to the efforts to portray the singer boy, are connected to the central features in Manninen's published poetry. I shall also discuss a draft of an unpublished poem 'Niin paljon täytyi kuolla' (So much had to die) that also has an attachment to the theme of the singer boy.

A figure who wanders on waters as well as the opposition between the depths and the heights are recurring motifs in Manninen's poetry (Lyly 223: 9–12). In addition, the night and the nocturnal are often present in Manninen's poems and in their *avant-textes* in several ways (Karhu 2012: 202–234). These elements appear in the early drafts of the unpublished poem 'Ei hyvä keinua keskiöin' (It is not good to sway at midnight), too. There are several drafts of the poem in which the gaze of the singer boy alternates between the depths of the waters and the heights of the sky.[18] In one version his gaze ascends to the heights (Manuscript A), and in another (Manuscript B) the gaze ascends to 'the highest of the high' ('*korkeinta korkeutta*'). In one version (Manuscript C), there is the expression '*ylintä ylhää*' which is like 'the highest of the high' but the word '*ylhä*' has a connotation of nobleness. There are also several versions depicting the ways that the gaze focuses on the depths of water.

Manninen also drafted different versions concerning the setting of the poem, the waters on which the singer boy wanders. In most versions they are characterized as 'strange' or 'odd'. However, in one version (Manuscript B) there is the expression '*unien syvänteillä*' (in the deeps/abysses of dreams), which has been replaced with other words (Figure 2). In another version (Manuscript D), the waters are characterized just as '*suuri*' (big, large). The waters are therefore associated in the drafts with strangeness, greatness and dreams, which can be seen to refer to the idea of the nocturnal water as a source of art, a feature that can be seen in Manninen's published poems and their avant-textual materials (see, e.g., Karhu 2012: 202–234).

In addition to the drafts discussed above, there is other archival material that links the character of the singer boy to the Kalevala imagery, namely Manninen's drafts of the unpublished poems 'Niin paljon täytyi kuolla' (So much had to die, box 22) and 'Mausoleum/In memoriam' (B1046), with the theme of death. These drafts also include a (presumably male) character who drifts on waterways, now clearly in the world of death. This character can be interpreted as a successor of the singer boy who is finally metamorphosed as a poet travelling into the unconscious and towards the source of art. As stated before, the idea of the waters as something connected to dreams and imagination was present already in the drafts of 'Ei hyvä keinua keskiöin' (It is not good to sway at midnight). However, the boy did not yet have the courage to answer the call of the muses.

The image of a man in the river of death alludes to a scene in the *Kalevala* in which Lemminkäinen, a reckless young man who breaks a taboo by trying to shoot the sacred swan on the River of Tuonela, is drowned. He is resurrected

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

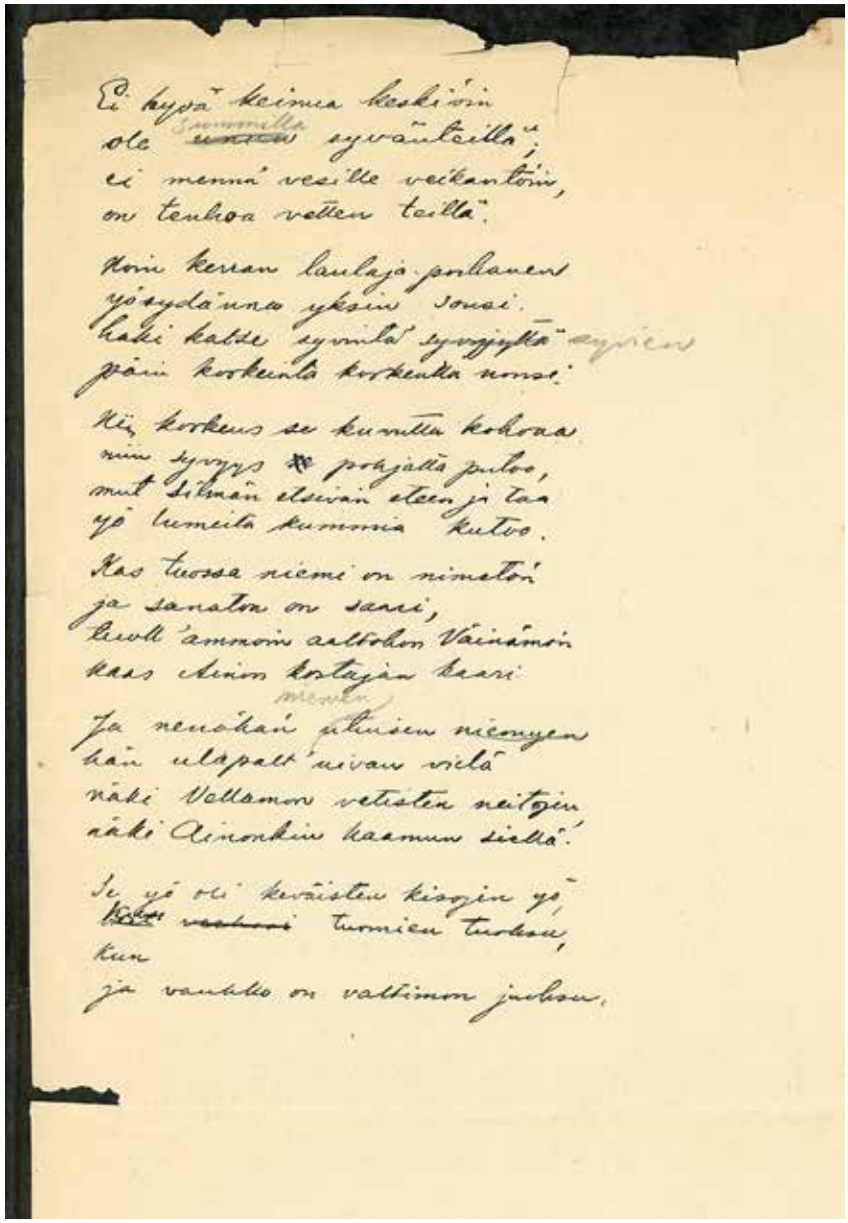


Figure 2. Manuscript B of the poem 'Ei hyvä keinua keskiöin' (It is not good to sway at midnight). Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, SKS KIA, Otto Manninen's archive.

by his mother who rakes the river to find his body. Lemminkäinen's story inspired writers, painters and composers in the 1890s: Jean Sibelius's 'Lemminkäinen Suite' was created in 1894, Akseli Gallen-Kallela's paintings were completed in 1896 and Eino Leino's poetic drama *Tuonelan joutsen* (Swan of Tuonela) was published in 1898. Leino's work (written already in 1896) began the Finnish literary symbolism tradition (Lyytikäinen 1997: 11; Rantavaara 1982: 598).

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

In the poem drafts at hand, the male protagonist wanders on the dark waters of death, resembling the dark River of Tuonela in the *Kalevala* where Lemminkäinen is shot by a shepherd. In the *Kalevala*, his body disappears in '*Tuonen mustahan jokehen, / pahimpahan pyörtehesen*.' (*Kalevala* 14: 435–440) (Into Death's dark river, into the most terrible whirlpool).[19] As in the cases discussed earlier, this one also touches upon the theme of the male and the female. In the longest draft of the poem '*Niin paljon täytyi kuolla*' (So much had to die) (Otto Manninen's archive, box 22), the river of death is dark and bottomless,[20] but a loom that associates with light and femininity, as it belongs to Päivätär, daughter of the Sun, who can be interpreted as the Sun herself (Hämäläinen et al. 2019–2021, poem 24:82, *Päivättären*), is mentioned however:

Vie kauas
evä
~~*On vilvas*~~ *tuonen virta,*
ei tunne pohjaa tumma vuo,
ei päivättären pirta[21]
sen sillaks seitsenkaarta luo.

(Takes faraway
The river of death ~~is cold~~[22]
The dark stream does not know its bottom
The loom of Päivätär
Cannot form a bridge with the arch of seven.)

Manninen's interest in portraying water with words of the sense of touch, already mentioned earlier, manifests itself in this example. In the draft, Manninen first used the word '*vilvas*' (cold), but then moved to a description of movement ('*vie*'/takes).

In the *Kalevala* Päivätär is a beautiful goddess who weaves golden and silver strings on the skies. In Manninen's draft, Päivätär's loom and the rainbow arch it fails to create represent unattainable feminine forces. It is interesting that the draft seems to allude more to Leino's play *Tuonelan joutsen* (Swan of Tuonela) than to the *Kalevala*. In the Lemminkäinen episode of the *Kalevala*, Päivätär is not present. Päivätär appears in the *Kalevala* in a scene in which she is admiring Väinämöinen's playing of his magical instrument.[23] The music reached all the way to 'the arch of day' (*Kalevala* 41:100: '*taivon kaarella kajotti*'). In Eino Leino's lyrical play *Tuonelan joutsen*, Pohjan neiti (Maiden of the North), is seen as a giver of light. She is an ideal figure who offers pureness and light of soul for Lemminkäinen (Lyytikäinen 1999: ix). It is noteworthy that in Leino's play, when Lemminkäinen sees Pohjan neiti for the first time, she is in the skies, standing on the arch of the day ('*päivänkaari*'), which clearly associates her with Päivätär.

The manuscripts and writing processes analysed above reflect the change in Manninen's writings. If we take the perspective of the mode of speaking, this change can be characterized as a move from folklore to literature, from the little tradition to the great tradition. Manninen altered the group of

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

'singer boys' of the rhyming folk song transcription into a character of one single 'singing boy' in the draft of 'Ei hyvä keinua keskiöin' (It is not good to sway at midnight), moving from collectivity to individuality. The narrative situation in the drafts of 'Ei hyvä keinua keskiöin' (It is not good to sway at midnight) is also different from that in the drafts of the poem 'Niin paljon täytyi kuolla' (So much had to die) and *'Mausoleum/In memoriam'*. In the former case, the boy and the maidens are seen from the outside, as in epic narratives. In the later, the speakers of the poems describe the scene and express their own sentiments, which characterizes lyric poetry. When the bard/shaman/poet apprentice, 'the singing boy', finally found the courage to answer the call of the watery muses and arrived at the land of death, he metamorphosed to a proper shaman poet and found his own (poetic) voice there. Different kinds of archival material, first alterations made to folklore transcriptions and then different kind of drafts, witness this transformation.

The alterations Manninen made in the folklore transcriptions manifest the intertwining of *exogenesis* and *endogenesis* (Van Hulle 2004: 7). As for the drafts of poems discussed above, the experiments that the poet made with Kalevala folklore are manifested in manuscripts in different ways. Interestingly, they point to some of the main themes and images of Manninen's published oeuvre.

Uses of folklore in Manninen's writing processes

Writing in a manuscript is not a text, as so many representatives of genetic criticism have stated (e.g., Hay 1985; Grésillon 1994 & 2008; Ferrer 2011). Manninen's material reveals tentative experiments and drafts of ideas. Expressions are taking shape and there is visible a mixture of inspiration, realization and also groping or fumbling for words. In these manuscripts, Manninen's poetic expression is unfinished and unstructured. However, they offer a great opportunity for the study of the early career of a poet, during which his poetic voice is still in *status nascendi*.

Notebooks A and B and the unpublished poem drafts form an interesting part of the genetic corpus of Manninen's poetic writings. As I have demonstrated, Manninen's manuscripts reveal that the poet was interested in two types of Finnish folklore: the rhyming folk songs and the *Kalevala*, the book of epic cycles based on oral poetry. Many writers in Finland shared the same interests in the 1890s and the early twentieth century. However, so far only the latter phenomena have been properly studied. Manninen rewrote rhyming folk songs that were transcribed from contemporary oral tradition and drafted poems in which he alluded to the characters and scenes depicted in the *Kalevala*, derived from the mythical past. In rewriting the transcribed folk songs, Manninen recontextualized oral folklore, using it as a ground for literary poems. Antti Rytkönen's transcriptions in Notebook A were meant to preserve oral tradition but Manninen's intervention made them into poetic material. For Manninen and his fellow writers, inspiration drawn from folklore is linked with a desire to write literature resembling music and participate in the creation of Finnish literature that would not only be faithful to its origins but also part of full-fledged *belles lettres*.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

My findings on the use of folklore elements in Manninen's archival materials and writing processes are relevant for several reasons. First, they reveal that for the young poet, the popular rhyming folk song tradition, looked down on by many, was as important as the highly valued *Kalevala* folklore. Second, they offer a close look at the processes by which Manninen transformed, step by step, oral folklore into literature. The motif of the singing boy appears for the first time in the rewritings of the rhymed couplets, and is present in the drafts of unpublished poems. I argue that the female figures taken from the *Kalevala* and the figure of the singer boy reflect the poet's creative efforts. The females sing with a disturbing rhythm and the boy apprentice does not have the courage to follow them to the Otherworld. The singer boy/poet does not get the missing lines he would need, and the poem remains unfinished. Third, the study of genetic material affects the reading of Manninen's published poems: it is easier to discover allusions to rhyming folk songs and the use of folk song conventions in his poems.

I have observed elsewhere (Hämäläinen & Karhu 2019; Karhu 2019a; Karhu 2021) that Manninen included stanzas of folk songs in his poems, sometimes making only slight changes in them to move from the vernacular to a more standardized language. He re-formed free rhyme patterns to more fixed forms, obeying literary rhyme patterns and modified popular expressions of love to make them more suitable for the ideals of the *fin-de-siècle* and the literary world. He also varied formulas of the oral tradition in his poetry. These changes show that even though he drew from the singing tradition, he wanted to conform to the literary standards of his time.

Finally, these findings affect the more general understanding of the role of rhyming folk songs in Finnish literature at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Apart from the analysis of Manninen's early poetic quest, the material offers an interesting corpus for the study of a literary and cultural historical situation. Henri Mitterand has pointed out that for those interested in new themes in discourses (present in the *avant texte* of prose fiction), the early manuscript material reveals the most direct, raw and candid contacts with expression that is taking shape. As Mitterand writes, this kind of material lacks 'the flourishes of the finished work' (2004: 116–117). Even though Mitterand has studied prose, his claim is relevant to the study of poetry too, as Manninen's case shows. In early material, ideas, styles and forms are being shaped. These features can often be seen later in published texts but in a more effaced way. Manninen's interest in folklore is more visible in avant-textual material than in his published oeuvre. In short, Manninen's drafts mirror the Zeitgeist.

If Manninen's documents are ignored, the importance of the rhyming folk songs for the young writers of the 1890s is much less apparent. The study of Manninen's case has also led to findings in other writers' archives. There are materials connected with rhyming folk songs at least in the archives of Eino Leino (FLS), Vihtori Peltonen (writer Johannes Linnankoski) (FLS) and Larin-Kyösti (FLS and Finnish National Library). All of them were inspired by the rhyming folk song tradition. Undoubtedly, these new archival findings will shed more light on this phenomenon in literary and cultural history and show how, in the process of writing, the writers adapted the oral poetics into literature.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

Notes

1 A posthumous collection, *Muistojen tie* (*Memory Lane*), edited by Pentti Lyly based on archival material, was published in 1951.
2 See also Sjöblom 2015.
3 Eino Leino suggested the term Neo-Romantic (*uusromantikko*).
4 Leino wrote the work at Manninen's farm home. The two poets also went through the text together critically (Laitinen 1998: 117).
5 Branch points to the terminology of anthropologist Robert Redfield, where 'little' tradition means the tradition of the ordinary people, for example, folk songs and folk tales, whereas 'great' tradition refers to that which has been handed down by education (Branch 1978: 7–8). Kai Laitinen has also used this terminology in his studies on Finnish literature (e.g., 1985).
6 Manninen used forgotten phrases and expressions from the *Kalevala* and folk poetry (Laitinen 1997). See also Oinonen 1950: 8–9.
7 I have analysed elsewhere the mythical female figures that appear in Manninen's unpublished poem, 'Ei hyvä keinua keskiöin' [It is not good to sway at midnight] in the context of *fin-de-siècle* and (Finnish) Symbolism (Karhu 2012: 128–130).
8 Balakian discusses Lorca, Yeats and Symbolist poets of central European countries (Balakian 1984: 690).
9 Rhyming folk songs also appear in the prose and drama of the era: e.g., Johannes Linnankoski, *Laulu tulipunaisesta kukasta* (*Song of the Bright Red Rose*, 1903) and Artturi Järviluoma, *Pohjalaisia* (*Ostrobothnians*, 1913).
10 See, however, e.g., Sykäri 2022; Asplund 1997 and 2006; Laitinen 2003; Laurila 1956.
11 This letter is also in the archive unit A1908.
12 A transcription of this folk song can be found in Notebook A.
13 The word *keinua* means to sway (e.g., in a cradle or on a swing).
14 The poem is untitled. Here I use the first line of the poem as a title.
15 According to a German tale, the mermaid Lorelei lived in the river Rhine and lured sailors to destruction. For example, Heinrich Heine wrote a poem inspired by this tale. There is a translation draft of this poem in Manninen's archive (box 22) (Karhu 2012: 130).
16 Apart from a change of word order in one version, the following stanzas do not differ from one another in the drafts.
17 There are different versions of this part of the poem in the drafts.
18 There are four drafts of this poem (Otto Manninen's archive, box 22, Poem drafts from 1895–1910). Three of them (Manuscripts A, B and D) are catalogued under the name of the poem, one (Manuscript C) is written in a booklet, with the poem 'Allakkatarina II'.
19 Francis Peabody Magoun Jr.'s translation (*The Kalevala or Poems of the Kalevala District*, 1963).
20 There are three drafts of this poem. In the other two (Manninen's archive, B1046), the scene on the river of death is not mentioned.
21 '*Pirta*' refers to a part of the loom.
22 The first line of the stanza, which pictures the river of Tuonela, contains several layers of revisions.
23 Väinämöinen played the kantele, a traditional Finnish instrument.

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

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Abstract

Genetic Criticism in Motion

New Perspectives on Manuscript Studies

Edited by Sakari Katajamäki and Veijo Pulkkinen
Associate Editor Tommi Dunderlin

Genetic criticism investigates creative processes by analysing manuscripts and other archival sources. It sheds light on authors' working practices and the ways works are developed on the writer's desk or in the artist's studio.

This book provides a cross-section of current international trends in genetic criticism, half a century after the birth of the discipline in Paris. The last two decades have witnessed an expansion of the field of study with new kinds of research objects and new forms of archival material, along with various kinds of interdisciplinary intersections and new theoretical perspectives.

The essays in this volume represent various European literary and scholarly traditions discussing creative processes from Polish poetry to French children's literature, as well as topical issues such as born-digital literature and the application of forensic methodology to manuscript studies. The book is intended for scholars and students of literary criticism and textual scholarship, together with anyone interested in the working practices of writers, illustrators, and editors.

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Index

abbreviation 39, 81–82, 87–88, 94, 102
addition 22, 24, 26, 43, 47, 49–50, 53, 65–66, 75, 77, 80, 84, 86–88, 108–109, 112–113, 116, 128, 137–138, 144, 151
alignment 30, 34, 38–39, 46, 48, 88
allusion 124, 145, 156–157, 164–166, 168–170
annotation 78, 97–99, 118
architecture 8
archival material 8–9, 11, 39, 131, 155–156, 162, 166, 169–171
archive 8, 17, 27, 33, 38–39, 42–43, 55, 70, 96, 98, 118, 131, 155–156, 159, 163, 170–171
Asibot 65–66
attempted version *see* version
audiotape 9
aura 35
authenticity 10, 33–36, 54, 155
author 17, 28, 33–36, 53–54, 61, 64–66, 68–71, 75–78, 80–81, 87–88, 93, 95–97, 99–100, 114–116, 118, 120–121, 127, 129–130, 135, 137, 140, 143, 149, 151–153, 156
author's library 77
authorial intention 103, 107
authorial philology 8
authority 118, 120, 127
authorship 36, 118, 129
autobiography 26, 114–115
autograph 9, 33, 43, 54
avant-texte 17, 95, 118, 156, 159, 166, 170

ballpoint pen *see* writing tools
bilingualism 11, 118–119, 121, 131
biography 9, 42, 77–78, 96, 115
born-digital 9–10, 33–34, 36, 61–64, 67–71

calligram 137
calligraphy 19, 35
cancellation 17
children's book 11, 135–136, 138–140, 142, 144–145, 151–153
chromatic analysis 137–138
chronology 39, 45, 67–68, 76–77, 85, 100, 116, 136, 138
close reading 95, 110
codicology 17, 29, 36
cognition 10, 104, 110, 152
collaboration 8–9, 11, 64, 71, 118–122, 124, 127, 129–131
collaborative translation *see* translation
collation 64, 81
colour 30, 37, 82, 88, 98, 137
comics 8, 136
commonplace book 26
completed version *see* version
compositional phase *see* phase
computer 9, 30, 37–38, 63–65, 70, 80, 99
confessional book 26
continuing incompletion 130
copybook 22, 27
correction 46–49, 70, 76–78, 81–82, 86, 88, 94, 103, 119, 124, 126–129, 131, 137, 144, 152
co-translation *see* translation
critical apparatus 76–77, 81, 86, 88–89
critical editing, critical edition *see* scholarly editing, scholarly edition
currente calamo see immediate alteration
cutting 19, 25–26, 75–76

dating 28, 34, 38–39, 41–44, 54, 98, 101, 105, 116, 159, 161
deletion 9, 47–48, 50–51, 53, 63, 65–67, 88, 98, 100, 109, 113, 137, 144, 151, 161

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

diagram 78–79, 86
diary 19
digital archive 8
digital document 9, 63–64
digital forensics *see* forensics
digital genetic criticism 63
digital media 77, 81–82
diplomatic edition *see* scholarly editing, scholarly edition
diplomatic transcription *see* transcription
displacement 137, 145
document 9, 11, 18, 20, 25–29, 33, 37–38, 42, 46–47, 54, 62–64, 70–71, 76–82, 85, 97–100, 113, 121, 139, 159, 170
dossier *see* genetic dossier
draft 8, 11, 17, 19–21, 23, 25, 27–28, 30, 39, 43, 55, 63, 75, 79, 85, 88, 94, 96, 98–100, 109, 112–116, 118, 120–122, 124, 127–131, 135, 138–142, 144–147, 149–153, 155, 157, 159, 161–166, 168–171
drawing 7, 34–35, 53, 80, 96, 102, 116, 135–139, 143, 145–146, 149–151, 153
ductus 63
dynamic visualization *see* visualization

ecocriticism 8
edition 30, 36, 78, 86, 130–131, 143, 150, 157; *see also* scholarly editing, scholarly edition
Editionswissenschaft see scholarly editing, scholarly edition
encoding 80, 84, 88; *Langage d'encodage génétique* (LEG) 84; markup language 88; Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) 71, 88; XML 71, 88
endogenesis, endogenetics *see* genesis, genetics
exogenesis, exogenetics *see* genesis, genetics
extended mind thesis 8

facsimile 30, 80, 81–87
facsimile edition *see* scholarly editing, scholarly edition
fair copy 19–21, 24–25, 30, 68, 75–78, 86, 98–100, 109, 113
felt pen *see* writing tools
feminist-historicist analysis 7
film 8, 35–36, 151–152
film model 67, 69–70
filologia d'autore see authorial philology
fluid-text editing *see* scholarly editing, scholarly edition
fluid text theory 62
folio 24, 76, 138–143, 146, 151
folk song 11, 120, 125, 155–159, 161–164, 169–171
folklore 11, 55, 126, 155–159, 168–170
forensics 34, 36–38, 40, 54; digital forensics 9; forensic methods 10, 33, 36, 54, 63; forensic record 63; questioned-document examination 35, 37–38
fountain pen *see* writing tools
fragment 9, 23–24, 30, 63, 70, 77, 98–100, 102–104, 120, 130, 137

galley proof 76, 78, 86
genesis, genetics 7–8, 10, 33–34, 36, 43, 48, 61, 63–64, 67, 69, 71, 75–76, 79–80, 85–87, 111, 113, 130, 135–136, 138, 151; endogenesis, endogenetics 156, 169; exogenesis, exogenetics 25, 156, 169; macrogenesis, macrogenetics 69, 79; microgenesis, microgenetics 69, 79; nanogenesis, nanogenetics 67, 69–71; pregenesis 159
genetic dossier 11–12, 28, 77–81, 97–98, 118–119, 130
genetic editing, genetic edition *see* scholarly editing, scholarly edition
genetic path 77, 79–80, 85–87
genetic translation studies *see* translation
granularity 10, 67–68, 70
graphic space 24, 29
graphology 19, 35

hand 18–22, 29, 34, 36, 75, 86, 98, 104, 110, 122, 126
Handwritten Text Recognition 9
holograph 34, 36, 109
HTR *see* Handwritten Text Recognition
hyphenation 75, 82

iconography, iconographic analysis 136–138
ideogram 35
idiosyncracy 18, 24, 28, 156
image 30, 38, 43, 104, 108, 111–112, 130, 135–137, 140, 144–146, 149–151, 163–166, 169

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

immateriality 62–63
immediate alteration 21, 50, 53, 69–70, 146
incipit 65, 93–95, 100
index card 97
instant revision *see* immediate alteration
intention 27, 35, 62, 103, 107, 116, 152
interactive transcription *see* transcription
interlinear revision *see* revision
interpretation 17, 22, 29, 43, 48, 63, 69, 77, 87, 95–96, 98, 100–101, 107–108, 111–113, 115–116, 140, 166, 168
intertextuality 115, 156, 161

jotter, jotting 11, 75, 77–79, 85–86, 89

keystroke logging 9–10, 61, 65, 67, 69–70

lacuna 67
Langage d'encodage génétique see encoding
layer 26, 29, 63–64, 81–82, 84, 88, 100, 156, 159, 171
LEG *see* encoding
legibility 18–20, 80–81, 100, 109, 140, 146
letter, correspondence 19–21, 26–27, 35, 43, 74–75, 77–78, 87, 94, 116, 118, 120, 126, 129–130, 145, 161, 171
letter, character 19–21, 29, 34–35, 37–39, 41–43, 46, 53, 65, 67, 82, 102, 108, 110, 153
line 19–24, 26–27, 37, 46–51, 53, 67–70, 75, 80, 86, 94–95, 114, 120, 124, 128, 158, 161, 165, 170–171; *see also* stroke
linear transcription *see* transcription
lineation 20
literary criticism 7–8, 33, 43, 61, 65, 88–89, 129, 158
loose leaf, loose sheet 18, 22–23, 25, 27, 75, 78, 97–98, 102, 104–105, 116

macrogenesis, macrogenetics *see* genesis, genetics
manuscript 7–12, 17–26, 28–30, 33–36, 38–40, 42–44, 46, 48–50, 53–54, 62–63, 68, 75–78, 80–84, 86, 88, 93, 96–97, 100–102, 109, 111, 118, 121–123, 127, 131, 135–138, 152–153, 155–156, 159, 161–162, 165–171
map 137, 149
margin 20, 22, 29, 38, 97, 101, 112
markup language *see* encoding
materiality 9–10, 17–18, 23, 28–29, 33, 37, 54, 62–64, 70, 88, 100, 113, 156, 170
mechanical reproduction 30, 34–36
mechanical writing *see* writing
metadata 9, 63
meta-textual 104, 107, 109, 116
metre 11, 23, 68, 155–159, 162, 165
microgenesis, microgenetics *see* genesis, genetics
Middle Ages 17, 112
mimetic diplomatic transcription *see* transcription
music 8, 11, 116, 120, 125–126, 155–165, 168–171

nanogenesis, nanogenetics *see* genesis, genetics
narratology 7–8
negotiation 11, 118, 127–129
notebook 18, 22–28, 30, 70, 75–79, 85–87, 97, 101–102, 107, 138–139, 142, 149, 155, 159, 161–163, 169, 171

orality 8, 11, 120, 122, 128, 140, 155–158, 161–162, 165, 169–170

palaeography 9–10, 17–18, 22, 28–30
pasting 23, 25–26, 75–76
pen *see* writing tools
pencil *see* writing tools
phase 11, 21, 63–64, 67, 70, 88, 98, 113; compositional phase 98; pre-compositional phase 98; pre-publication phase 34, 99
philology 8, 74, 76, 81, 88
philosophy 8, 10–11, 36, 76–77, 80, 86–88, 99, 112, 118, 159
photocopy 97–98
photography 8, 36, 40–41, 43, 55, 135
plot outline 98–99
poetry 10–11, 19–21, 23–24, 26–28, 30, 33–55, 68, 89, 94–97, 99, 101–102, 104, 112, 114–116, 118–121, 124–126, 129–131, 136, 142–143, 155–171
possible worlds 113
posthumous writings 77
pre-compositional phase *see* phase
pregenesis *see* genesis, genetics
pre-publication phase *see* phase

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

pre-text 70
psychobiography 30
psychography 22, 30
publishing 7–8, 10–11, 21, 25–26, 30, 33–34, 39–42, 54, 65–66, 68–69, 71, 75–78, 80–81, 86–88, 93, 95–97, 99, 112–115, 118–121, 125–126, 129–131, 135–136, 142–143, 145, 150–151, 155–159, 161–163, 165–167, 169–171

questioned-document examination *see* forensics
quill *see* writing tools

replacement 47–48, 53, 64, 67, 69, 88–89, 103, 109, 115, 124–126, 136–137, 144, 146, 149, 166
revision 10, 17, 19, 21–22, 24, 26–27, 30, 36, 39, 46–47, 49–50, 53, 63–64, 66–67, 69–71, 88, 100, 103, 113, 122, 127, 151, 171; interlinear revision 22, 48
rewriting *see* writing
rhyme 11, 21, 23, 48, 125, 143, 155–159, 161–164, 169–171
rhyming couplet 155–156, 158–159, 162, 170
rhythm 30, 35, 47, 93, 120, 130, 158, 161, 165, 170
rough draft 25, 35, 94, 96, 98–100, 109, 112–113, 115

scholarly editing, scholarly edition 8–10, 61–62, 64, 69–71, 81, 83–84, 86–88; critical editing, critical edition 9, 11, 76–77, 80–81, 85; diplomatic edition 81, 85; *Editionswissenschaft* 62; facsimile edition 81; fluid-text editing 62; genetic editing, genetic edition 9–11, 61, 70, 74, 76–81, 84–85, 87–88
school 18, 27, 97, 152–153, 158
scientific writing *see* writing
scribbling 75, 77
self-translation *see* translation
shorthand *see* stenography
sketch 11, 39, 80, 88, 98–101, 113, 135–136, 149, 152–153
snapshot 63, 67
Sofortkorrektur see immediate alteration
spacing 20, 38, 46–48, 55
spiritualism 30
stanza break 21
static visualization *see* visualization
status nascendi 95, 169
stenography 11, 25
stratum see layer
strikethrough 17, 49
stroke 46, 53, 80, 104, 137
style 20, 27, 29, 65, 86, 93, 111, 115, 120, 127, 156, 158, 170
symbolic diplomatic transcription *see* transcription
Symbolism 156–158, 163–165, 167, 171

technology 9–10, 19, 29, 33–36, 39, 53–54, 63, 77, 87, 152
TEI *see* encoding
text blocking 17
Text Encoding Initiative *see* encoding
text produced so far (TPSF) 66–67, 71
textual corruption 62
textual criticism 61, 67
textual pluralism 62
textual scholarship 9, 54, 61–63, 68
textual unit 62, 67–71, 77, 81, 85
theatre 8, 64, 95
time-marker 94
TPSF *see* text produced so far
transcription 9, 30, 34, 40, 45–46, 49, 69–70, 75, 77, 79–86, 100, 108, 141, 143, 147–148, 152, 155–156, 159–163, 169, 171; diplomatic transcription 81–84, 86, 100, 160; interactive transcription 83–84; linear transcription 82, 84, 86; mimetic diplomatic transcription 82; symbolic diplomatic transcription 82; ultra-diplomatic transcription 82–84
translation 8, 10–12, 39, 42–43, 65, 87, 96–97, 100, 114–115, 118–121, 124–131, 140, 143, 146, 149–150, 155, 158–159, 171; collaborative translation 11, 118, 120–121, 129–131; co-translation 121; genetic translation studies 8, 118, 130; self-translation 119, 121, 129, 131; translation draft 11, 118, 171; translation studies 8, 127, 130
typeface, typeface classification *see* typewriting
typescript *see* typewriting
typewriting 10, 33–36, 38, 40, 44, 46–47, 49–50, 53–55, 99; typeface, typeface classification 37–38, 40–43, 71; typescript 9, 10, 26, 33–39, 41–43,

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

46–49, 54, 99, 118–119; typing campaign 39, 44, 46–49; *see also* writing; writing tools
typography 34–35, 68, 71, 80, 82

ultra-diplomatic transcription *see* transcription
unpublished work 10–11, 25, 33–34, 39, 81, 155, 157, 162–163, 166, 169–171

variant 11, 29, 62, 66, 70, 77, 81–82, 88–89, 93–95, 100, 110–115, 130, 138
version 7, 9–11, 20, 23–24, 26, 28, 39, 44–53, 61–71, 77–78, 80–81, 83–88, 93–96, 98, 100, 102, 104–108, 110–112, 114–116, 118, 120–121, 124–125, 130–131, 135, 142, 145, 150–151, 156, 161–163, 165–166, 171; attempted version 39; completed version 39, 53; version history 64
video 9, 152
visual arts 8, 111, 157
visualization 67, 69–70, 79, 83; dynamic visualization 69–70; static visualization 69–70

walking 75, 77, 85
watermark 30
work 9–12, 18, 21–23, 25–30, 33–37, 39–40, 42, 49, 54, 61–62, 64–65, 67–71, 74–81, 83, 87–88, 93–102, 104, 106, 109, 111–116, 118–122, 126–128, 131, 135–140, 142, 144, 151–153, 156, 158, 167, 170–171; *see also* unpublished work
writing 7, 9–11, 17–30, 33–36, 39, 43–44, 47, 49–50, 54, 61, 64–71, 75–80, 82–88, 93–94, 96–103, 105, 110–113, 115, 119, 135, 137–139, 142–143, 146, 149, 151–153, 155–157, 159–161, 163, 168–170; mechanical writing 28, 34–37, 54; rewriting 9, 11, 23–24, 26–27, 46, 48, 53–54, 70, 75, 81, 84, 86, 93–94, 99–100, 120, 144, 149, 152, 155–156, 159, 161–162, 164, 169–170; scientific writing 8; writing aid 136, 138; writing bot 65–66; writing campaign 42, 49, 63, 67; writing footage 70; writing session 10, 34, 64–65, 67; writing space 10, 18, 22, 24, 26, 43, 75, 81, 149; writing studies 9, 61, 66–67, 71; writing support 10; writing technology 10, 33, 35, 39, 54; *see also* typewriting; writing tools
writing layer *see* layer
writing stage *see* phase
writing tools 28, 33, 39, 54, 63, 101, 136; ballpoint pen 40, 97, 104, 107; felt pen 104, 108, 137; fountain pen 40; pen 19–20, 30, 39–40, 49, 53, 69, 80, 97–98, 101, 103, 159; pencil 19, 25, 40, 46–49, 53–54, 75, 87, 101, 124, 131, 159–160; quill 19, 33, 69; typewriter 10, 30, 33–43, 46, 48–50, 53–55, 80, 99

XML *see* encoding

https://doi.org/10.21435/sflit.14

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