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# Textual Trails

## Transmissions of Oral and Written Texts

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### ABSTRACTS





A Palimpsestuous Reading of Thomas More: *Utopia*, Book II

Several features in *Utopia* indicate it to be interpreted as a literary work created from other and older texts. Much of *Utopia*'s scholarly history has been concerned with identifying such elements.

The main objective of this paper is to trace some possible sources for the cartographic information provided in book two of *Utopia*. Secondly it will be made an attempt to comment upon the work's inclusion of an alphabet. Finally there will be made an attempt to cast light on the persons and the situation in Flanders which the work relates to. The subject is approached by combining theoretical contributions from Gérard Genette and J.H. Hexter.

Through Genette's terminology, *Utopia* can be considered a palimpsest where various information, genre imitations and transpositions of rhetorical devices are included. According to his concept of a palimpsest (1982) a text is structured in relation to a previous work. The relation between a text B (hypertext) and the previous text A (hypotext) is that a previous text is divided or written through, and by that erased (replaced) by a new text – the hypertext. This implies that the new text gets in some kind of dialogue with the old one and it maintains that something new (new meaning) occurs from the old text. Furthermore it's relevant for Genette's theorizing that the old text – figuratively speaking – is also proven to be an underlying text. The new text links to the previous one either by transformation or through imitation.

The second approach comes from an addition J.H. Hexter, one of the editors to the Yale edition of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (1965), wrote to the fourth volume. Hexter saw *Utopia* as two different parts that in an ingenious way were welded into one work. He called the larger part of the first book, a well formulated and precisely organized conversation, "Dialogue of Counsel". Book two, the description of *Utopia*, was considered a personal, yet more blurred text type. This text was categorized as a "Discourse". By comparing information, Hexter proved that knowledge from book two necessarily had to be known for the participants in book one. He concluded the probability that book two was written first. He anticipated, or at least expressed more indirectly than with explicit statements, that the first and the second part were also

grounded differently. He characterized the differences by referring to variations in tune and intensity, and that the content of the dialogue was based on information provided in the discourse.

To combine Genette's theoretical approach with Hexter's arguments for the work's composition and order, it is necessary to clarify whether the differences between the parts are to be interpreted as the author's rewriting of his own text (a revision), or whether it is more adequate to consider them as emendations of something that was delivered and passed on (stories, information). Here, the last option is chosen.



ELITZUR A. BAR-ASHER SIEGAL

### On Reconstructing the Original Language

The common assumption among linguists who focus on the language of the rabbinic literature is that their goal should be to reconstruct the original language. Given this task, the philologist must consider all forms and constructions that appear in the textual evidence of the relevant dialects in order to determine what reflects the original language and what results from textual corruptions during the transmission of the texts. This methodology became the scholarly consensus for the academic study of rabbinic literature. This paper begins by piecing together the methodological assumptions behind the quest to identify the original language. Then, it will make the case that one should distinguish between the following two questions:

- A. What did the original language look like, in terms of grammar and lexicon?
- B. What appeared in the original texts (assuming for the moment, perhaps naïvely, that such texts did exist)?

Consequently it will demonstrate that if one considers seriously the sociolinguistic model of diglossia as something that may affect the linguistic

aspects of the corpus from its inception, and the various types of developments that could take place in the transmission of the texts it becomes clear that the standard criteria, common in the literature, for reconstructing such texts are not decisive, and that the same phenomena can be explained in various ways. Consequently it proposes that: 1) we may have to be satisfied with the fact that it is not always possible to determine which phenomenon is original. Often it is only possible to discuss the various possibilities regarding each form; 2) It is not advisable to determine generally which one of the manuscripts provides the most reliable textual evidence for all the linguistic phenomena (the so-called “best manuscript”), as this often differs from case to case. Hence, it is suggested, instead, that it is more productive to discuss phenomena rather than sources, and to focus on internal relations between forms and structures.



AURÉLIEN BERRA

### The Riddle as a Structuring Device in Athenaeus' *Learned Banqueters*

Athenaeus' banquet-centred *Deipnosophists* (c. 200 ce) is a two-million character miscellany of Greek literature. This is a daunting size even for the interested readers and scholars, who mostly performed various forms of text-mining on it. Such a compilation pushes to a limit the genre of the dialogue. In fact, the interaction of the characters could be regarded essentially as a way of framing the text, motivating the quotations for the sake of literary verisimilitude and organising the material in headings and sequences running parallel to the ongoing conversations of the guests. However, the author clearly aims at creating a dynamic in order to make the text readable, that is not only enjoyable, but also historically contextualised. He may also want his work to reflect the problematising dimension inhering in the social game of interpretations, by displaying how knowledge emerges from precarious documentation, authority conflicts and scholarly validation procedures. The narration develops on

multiple levels: the speeches of the fictional guests are introduced in a meta-dialogue led by the figure of the author, while most of the text is replete with embedded voices, those of the quoted authors (themselves scholars, poets, professionals or laypeople) and of their characters – a naturally recursive structure, with crude or subtle effects of *mise en abyme*. Indeed, structure appears to be the central question here.

Riddles can be approached as texts – oral or written, traditional or derived – or as performances, with forms and functions depending on each context. These interrelated aspects may be crucial for the understanding of Athenaeus' project. In Book 10, he deals with Greek riddles, both traditional and literary, quoting from playwrights and historians, as well as from secondary literature. Since it is framed by a puzzling question, this section explicitly introduces a metadiscursive play between the characters and with the reader. Recent scholarship on Athenaeus has suggested that this function can be extended: the riddle may be a structuring device for the whole work. Athenaeus being intensely aware of the analogy between riddling and *zetesis*, the erudite research, he may have built his oeuvre on this cognitive and communicative mechanism, which triggers and reflects upon scholarly inquiry, literary composition and the hermeneutics of ordinary reading.

How can we evaluate such a hypothesis? This is the question I want to address in my presentation. It has a cultural-historical dimension: is it legitimate to assert that an Imperial scribbler should employ this device? Most interestingly, it entails practical and methodological problems. What text format and analytical tools can (digital) philology put to use? How should complete study and sampling alternate in such a case? How to deal with the relationships between the original text and the quoted fragments, since the work has a perspective of its own but hinges on text reuse and creatively taps into diverse textual traditions? How can we study both the marks of reflexivity in Athenaeus or in its sources and their derived riddling practice?



Looking for Lost Texts: Microquotations and Text Reuses of  
Fragmentary Authors

This paper presents the work currently underway at the Humboldt Chair of Digital Humanities at the University of Leipzig to start a new *Leipzig Open Fragmentary Texts Series* (LOFTS), whose goal is to establish open editions of ancient works that survive only through quotations and text reuses in later texts (i.e., those pieces of information that humanists call “fragments”).

In the field of textual evidence, fragments are not portions of an original larger whole, but the result of a work of interpretation conducted by scholars who extract and collect information pertaining to lost works embedded in other surviving texts. These fragments include a great variety of formats that range from verbatim quotations to vague allusions and translations, which are only a more or less shadowy image of the original according to how literal the citation is.

Print editions of fragmentary works include excerpts extracted from their contexts and from the textual data about those contexts. The result is that they produce annotated indices in the sources that they cite. Moreover, editions of fragmentary works are fundamentally hypertexts and the goal of this project is to produce a dynamic infrastructure for a full representation of relationships between sources, citations, and annotations about them. In a true digital edition, fragments are not only linked directly to the source text from which they are drawn, but can also be precisely aligned to multiple editions. Accordingly, digital fragments are contextualized annotations about reused authors and works. As new versions of (or scholarship on) the source text emerge in a standard, machineactionable form, these new findings are automatically linked to the digital fragments.

LOFTS has two goals: 1) digitize paper editions of fragmentary works and link them to source texts; 2) produce borndigital editions of fragmentary works. In order to achieve such goals, LOFTS editions primarily consist of TEI XML versions of paper editions of fragmentary works, multiple alignments with multiple editions, standard textual annotations, translation alignments, alignments with stillexisting sources, and metadata on each word that is, or is judged to be, either a direct

quotation from, or close paraphrase of, another work.

LOFTS uses both XML and RDF, and can be fully represented as either XML or RDF. LOFTS uses the EpiDoc subset of the Text Encoding Initiative as its XML tagset and the CTS/CITE Architecture, developed by researchers at Harvard's Center for Hellenic Studies, to extend the Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records (FRBR) Data Model down to the word level. LOFTS also uses different data models, such the ProvO ontology, to represent the provenance of each distinct statement and the Systematic Assertion Model (SAM) to identify the contingent aspect of the underlying resources as things which are subject to interpretation and which were in existence prior to their use as data in our analysis. LOFTS uses the Open Annotation (OA) data model to share concrete serializations of the analysis in the form of annotations. All data in LOFTS is available under a Creative Commons AttributionShareAlike license.



TATIANA BOGRDANOVA

### Textual Ramifications of Folklore Translation Strategies

Within the broad framework of textual scholarship as described by David Greetham (1994) and RMN newsletter (2013), there opens a new perspective for translation criticism, especially as far as folklore translations are concerned, which the present paper attempts to illustrate.

There have been two factors of importance for textual representations of folklore since its inception, which tend to be largely overlooked. Firstly, the fact that translation issues have been present in these representations at least since the brothers Grimm, when the German texts were immediately translated into foreign languages. In fact, the impetus given to the folklore movement in the 19th c. was of international dimension. Secondly, there has always been a general interest of wider circles of population in folklore, met by numerous popular folklore publications, including translations, which often appeal to younger readers, who were increasingly seen as their main consumers. However, folklore populariza-

tion, especially when folklorists themselves were involved, was often seen as inappropriate by their fellow scholars as the case of Andrew Lang with his series of fairy tales for children illustrates (1889-1910) (Sundmark 2004:1-2).

His colleague through the membership in The Folklore Society, William Ralston (1828-1889), a recognized Slavic scholar and translator of Russian Folk Tales (1873), was a proponent of an academic approach to the publication of folklore, which he realized as a photographic reproduction of the original texts, the full translations of 51 stories (mostly from A.N. Afanasyev's *Narodniye russkiye skazki*) serving as illustrations of general folklore issues discussed in his book, which appears to be a scholarly work addressing specialists. As a highly informative and accurate source it was widely quoted by specialists in the field up to the mid-20th c.

Ralston's translation was a major influence on Arthur Ransome (1884-1967), now a recognized children's literature classic. However, in his translation strategy the latter was guided by his literary tastes and followed Lang's tradition of popular editions for children. Ransome's *Old Peter's Russian Tales* (1916) is a collection of tales with a frame story, which introduces the world of old Russia to the young English reader in an easy and natural way. Ransome does not specify his sources, and though they are mostly identifiable as those from Afanasyev's collection, he may freely combine different variants of the same tale or borrow details from some other. The fluent style, illustrations by D. Mitrokhin, the emotional, dramatic and vivid language have contributed to the long standing success of the stories with the young English reader.

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Textual Trails of the Euclides Latinus in the Verona Manuscript, Biblioteca Capitolare XL (38)

Six palimpsest folios of the famous Verona manuscript, Biblioteca Capitolare XL (38) (c. A.D. 500), contain fragments of a Latin translation of Euclid's *Elements*: foll. 326, 331, 336, 338, 341, 343. Unfortunately the folios are severely damaged by chemicals which were applied by 19th-century scholars in order to retrieve more of the underlying text. The great palimpsest scholar Wilhelm Studemund (1843–1889) had planned to publish an edition of the fragments, but his intention was never realized. In 1964, finally, Mario Geymonat's edition appeared: *Euclidis latine facti fragmenta Veronensia*, Milan (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità: 9).

The fragments are unique; they are the only remnants of ancient Latin translation of the latter books (XI–XIII) of Euclid's *Elements*. Although the highly fragmentary status of the text entails much frustration, I should like to explore some discernible features in the preserved text, such as corrections, adherence to vis-à-vis deviation from the source text, additions, and other forms of modifications, which evoke questions concerning both the genesis of the translation and its transmission.



BARBARA BORDALEJO

Possible Editions of Texts in Multiple Versions

For some years, textual scholars have successfully used phylogenetic software (originally developed by evolutionary biologists to reconstruct genealogical relationships between species) to understand textual traditions and to uncover how texts preserved in many witnesses relate to each other.

Despite the remarkable success of the application of phylogenetic methods and the many electronic editions that have used them as a means of understanding how texts were transmitted and why they might have changed, no editor has made use of this type of analysis to try to establish

the text of a scholarly edition.

This failure might be related to a crisis of the scholarly edition brought on by the advent of electronic resources, the rising cost of print, the changes in the role of the editor and new models of scholarly collaboration. It is also possible that scholarly editions are not taking full advantage of this because we have to find a more explicit ways to implement the knowledge acquired by the application of these methods.

After years of research we are ready to produce a reader's edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, but the production of its text has also lead to the development of a text for a critical edition. These texts are being produced with the aid of computer tools that allow for the comparison of different versions.

As part of this paper I will present the CantApp, the new reader's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* and contrast its text with the one of the future critical edition of the *Tales*.



AMY BOWLES

“written by...”: the Scribal Circulation of Sir Henry Mainwaring’s ‘A Brief Abstract’

In the early 1620s the naval officer and reformed pirate Sir Henry Mainwaring composed what is now thought to be the earliest extant dictionary of nautical terms. The ‘Brief Abstract Exposition and Demonstration of all Parts and Things belonging to a Ship’ contains around 500 entries, and was originally circulated in manuscript amongst the seafaring noblemen of the 1620s and 30s. This paper examines the twenty-one surviving copies of the ‘Brief Abstract’, eight of which were written by a single scribe, Ralph Crane. By focusing upon the differing scribal styles and habits of the dictionary’s early copyists, it is possible to reconstruct the text’s original transmission, a transmission which also involved the work’s progressive mutation. Crane’s early “official” copies of the dictionary were soon outnumbered by a proliferation of less authorised versions, which contained new entries, circulated under new titles, and no longer bore

Mainwaring's name. I consider the manuscript transmission of the Brief Abstract in light of that of other naval works such as William Monson's tracts on seamanship, and John Montgomery's sixteenth-century 'A treatise concerninge the navie', both of which also involved repeated copying by single scribes.

This paper will therefore work towards a picture of the lasting effects which scribal transmitters have had upon the content of this important seventeenth-century text.



BRUNO BUREAU, CHRISTIAN NICOLAS, ARIANE PINCHE

### Comparing Texts and Building Virtual Witnesses by Using XML TEI: A New Way for Building Stemmas?

While preparing a new edition of Arator's *Historia Apostolica* and Donatus' commentary on Terence, we encountered a special difficulty with complex manuscript traditions. On the one hand the Donatus' commentary is transmitted by only two old witnesses, the other ones being from 15th century, on the other hand many carolingian school-recensions have altered Arator's poem whose tradition is well preserved from the early 9th century to the 16th. Using the TEI P5 guidelines for encoding textual variants in both traditions, we found it necessary to build XSL stylesheets allowing either a reading of each witness in a near-diplomatic form, or making a comparison between two or more witnesses. As a preliminary stage to a stemmatic representation of the tradition, we intend to discuss in this paper the opportunity of building "virtual witnesses", by comparison at a large scale of variant readings coming from several witnesses. Our tool makes a clear distinction between consensual readings, and problematic readings, even in witnesses usually regarded as deriving from the same original. We intend to extend (visually and not only as a part of the intellectual process of the building of a stemma) the textual trails beyond the limits of preserved witnesses to virtual forms of textual tradition that can be compared and

criticized not only as a collection of variants but as a readable and coherent text.

Our paper will present this tool as we use it now in the case of a real tradition, from the beginning of collation process to the visualization of virtual witnesses. We will discuss the TEI and XSL processes we use to build this tool and the possibilities of extracting an apparatus for paper edition from these digital data. Our paper can be related to topics 1, 4 and 7 of your call-for-paper announcement.



JOHN BRYANT

Document and Interpretation: Editing the Texts of Revision in the  
Versions of *Billy Budd*

The principles of critical editing include the fundamental that an edition proposes a text that represents the editor's understanding of a chosen moment in the author's and / or publisher's shifting intentions regarding the work. But the text of the edition exists not only for reading but also as a means of engaging readers in the history of the full text and its evolution through various documentary versions. In this regard, a critical edition is itself a version of the work and a further iteration of what I call the fluid text of the work. In the past, critical editions have been constrained by the limits of print technology so that only that fraction of the full and fluid textual history that can fit in a book can be revealed. Digital technology allows document, text, and apparatus to achieve their fullest representation online, but problems in theory and practice also require us to sharpen our understanding of how a digital critical edition might work to develop reliable editing protocols and useful navigational strategies to insure maximal reader engagement in the fundamental interpretive nature of critical editing itself. As part of the Melville Electronic Library (MEL), I have worked with Nick Laiacona of Performant Software Solutions to create TextLab, a digital transcription and editing tool that will when fully developed permit the user to transcribe and code the texts of documents in manuscript and print, generate a diplomatic transcription, link revision sites to revision se-

quences and revision narratives, emend and annotate the work's base versions, and display a reading text that links readers to all versions of a work.

In demonstrating how TextLab has worked in the editing of Melville's *Billy Budd*, I will displaying most of these features and discuss the problems of manuscript transcription, of the coding of revision sites, and of the generation of revision annotations, in particular the sequencing of revision sites, and the narration of revision sequences.



GILLES CAPOROSI, CHRISTOPHE LEBLAY

### Writing and Rewriting: Keystroke Logging's Colored Numerical Visualization

There are currently several systems for collecting online writing data via keystroke logging. Each of these systems provides reliable and very precise data. Applying a *genetic criticism* approach to the text, together with software for recording the written data, we seek to show how various writers involved in the production of a given text yield various writings and re-writings that are invisible in the completed text.

The goal is to show that the time dimension (*time pattern*) is an essential dimension of writing, as well as the space dimension. This study of temporality is closely related to the methods of representation, specifically of *colored numerical visualization*. A new mode of visualization based upon a transposition of mathematical graph theory is then described with examples. This visualization built from source documents that are the exhaustive recording (logs) of activities from the keyboard and cursor movements clearly show *temporal phases* in the writing and rewriting modes (revision activity). The current application is mainly aimed at representing the data provided by *ScriptLog*, although the concepts can be applied to other contexts such as *Inputlog* or *Translog*.

From a didactical point of view, this research raises the question of the rewriting representation mode and its relation to the level of writer skill.

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Herakles in Stesichoros' *Geryoneis*: a Supplement to P.Oxy.2617 fr. 42b.  
(PMGF S. 9):

One Adjective Restores the Whole Scene

Stesichoros' *Geryoneis* (PMGF S7-S87) was a famous poem in antiquity and immediately influential on generations of artists and poets, however at present it exists in a very fragmentary state. The majority of these fragments, and so the text, come from P.Oxy.2617; Davies printed 70 scraps (S8-S84) of papyri in addition to a quotation in Strabo (3.2.11) and three testimonia by Pausanias and two scholiasts. The position of one such scrap, fr. S.9, in relation to the the entire poem is of course problematic. W. S. Barrett suggested that it may come from the conversation between Hades' herdsman Menoites and Geryon after his own herdsman Eurytion was killed by Herakles. Paul Curtis in his recent edition of the poem remarks that it suggests a combat, perhaps the final scene.

In this paper I propose a supplement to the fragment PMGF S.9.4b: the addition of δεινός in front of ἀνὴρ in the fourth line of the papyrus. The supplement makes a dactylic rhythm, and more importantly it alludes to *Iliad* 11.653 where Patroclus in a conversation with Nestor refers to Achilles as a δεινός ἀνὴρ. The phrase is unique in early Greek epic, and the adjective δεινός generally refers to divine beings and creatures, for example Eris at *Iliad* 11.10 and the Titans in *Theogony* 670. The only other human in the *Iliad* 3.172 called δεινός is Priam by Helen. Should the conjecture be sound, Stesichoros' use of the phrase would recall the Homeric scene and appear in a similar conversation, here Menoites' speech to Geryon concerning the deaths of Orthos and Eurytion emphasizes Herakle's martial prowess. For the restored phrase δεινός] ἀνὴρ would surely come from the herdsman's warning to Geryon regarding the impending combat with the 'terrible man.'



## RONAN CROWLEY

### A dear kind old lady named Kind Lady Gregory: On the Transmission of a Joyce Limerick

The Irish Literary Revival (1891–1922) saw the mass importation of Irish oral culture into the transatlantic print sphere of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Inscription made of folklore and peasant speech, often chided for their excesses and deficits alike, a contained and containable body of national writing. The dominant narrative of the Revival holds that this reframing eroded prior claims of ownership—those of the speaking subject or the community from which she sprang—even as it invested a new entity, the Irish writer, with an alienable intellectual property. In my proposed paper, I argue that the transmission of oral to written text is the site of textual *variance* rather than, as is more typically claimed, its endpoint in the establishment of a stable, fixed text.

The case study animating the paper investigates a limerick attributed to James Joyce and which pinions Lady Augusta Gregory, the dramatist, folklore collector, and Abbey Theatre director. Though not extant in Joyce's hand or indeed ever acknowledged by him as his original composition, the verse has circulated widely and in widely varying forms since at least the late 1920s, billed explicitly as Joyce's youthful pasquinade. Paying particular attention to shifting bibliographic and linguistic codes, the paper will canvas both lifetime and posthumous versions of the limerick and the scenes of oral delivery that frame their publication to articulate the plasticity of speech in its reworking as written text.



WILLIAM L. DAVIS

Narrative Migrations of Native American Treaty Orations, 1693–1830

This essay focuses on the articulation and transmission of narrative patterns across oral and written texts, exploring ways in which narratives are adapted and used in new contexts for new purposes. This study will focus on the migration of a particular narrative of Native American practices that found its first written expression in Cadwallader Colden's *The History of the Five Indian Nations*.

Colden (1688-1776), the 29th colonial governor of the Province of New York, served as a liaison to the Iroquois Nation and published a book on his experiences fully titled *The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New-York in America* (1727). In his text, Colden repeatedly refers to the Native American oratories that describe the practice of burying hatchets in the earth as a sign of peace between warring factions. Half a century later, Hugh Blair, a Scottish minister and teacher at the University of Edinburgh, incorporated Colden's descriptions of these orations into his popular work, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783). Yet, Blair did not copy Colden's material verbatim; rather, Blair pulled from multiple passages throughout Colden's work to piece together a new passage that did not, as a whole, originally exist in Colden's work. Blair's text on rhetoric was popular in the United States, and by the early 19th century it was required reading for students on the Dartmouth College campus, which also included Moor's Indian Charity School. Hyrum Smith, an older brother of Joseph Smith Jr., the founder of the Mormon Church, attended Moor's Charity School for approximately two years, exposing him to Blair's text. Several years later, in 1829, Joseph Smith Jr. produced the *Book of Mormon* by means of an extended oral-formulaic performance: adapting the folk magic practice of crystal-gazing, Smith placed a seer stone in the bottom of an upturned hat, held the hat to his face to block out all light, and then proceeded to dictate the entire *Book of Mormon* to a scribe. In the resulting document, Smith referred to the Native American practice of burying weapons of war as a sign of peace, and the language he used to articulate this narrative demonstrates an awareness of Hugh Blair's *Belles Lettres*.

Thus, the representation of Native American lore followed an unusual passage of transatlantic transmission across literary and oral medi-

ums: from the orations of Native Americans to Colden's translations and text published in America, from Colden's text to Blair's reconfiguration for his rhetorical manual in Scotland, from Blair's manual back to American schools and academies, from Hyrum Smith's copy of Blair's work to Joseph Smith's oral-formulaic adaptation, and finally from this oral performance to the written text of the *Book of Mormon*. As such, the orations of the Iroquois Nation warriors extended, in adapted and recontextualized forms (political, historical, pedagogical and theological), across a century of publications in transatlantic literature.



ISABEL DE LA CRUZ-CABANILLAS

Variance and Invariance in the Transmission of Rolle's *Ego Dormio*: The Case of Westminster School 3 and Sainte Geneviève 3390

There are thirteen extant complete versions of *Ego Dormio*, but several genetically related groups have been established, inasmuch as the texts in London Westminster School 3 and Sainte Geneviève 3390 share some features that point to an undeniable relationship between these two manuscripts beyond the relations established with other manuscripts also associated with these two: namely, Rawlinson A 389 (including two copies, known as Rawlinson 1 and Rawlinson 2), and Simeon and Vernon manuscripts (see Allen 1927, 249; Cumming 1927, 863; Doyle 1974, 334; Hanna 1988, 200). In the present paper, although some other aspects in the transmission process will be dealt with, the focus is on the punctuation system. Thus, the copy housed in Westminster School will be analysed with a twofold purpose: a) to offer a detailed account of the use and function of punctuation marks in this specific manuscript to find out what seems to be patterns of a grammatical and rhetorical nature; b) to show divergences and similarities with the text in manuscript Paris Sainte Geneviève 3390. Previous work on manuscript Sainte Geneviève 3390 (fc.) shows the rationale behind the punctuation system employed by the scribe responsible for this version. By collating the texts in the two manuscripts, Westminster School 3 and Sainte Geneviève 3390, we will show the uses and functions of punctuation

marks in both extant versions of the religious treatise. Special attention must be paid to the rhythmical pattern present in Westminster School 3, which may account for the differences with the punctuation practice in Sainte Geneviève 3390.

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JEANINE DE LANDTSHEER

Textual Trails of Justus Lipsius's *De Vesta et Vestalibus Syntagma*

Justus Lipsius's *De Vesta et Vestalibus Syntagma* (Antwerp: J. Moretus, 1603) was the last of a series of treatises focusing on a specific aspect of ancient Roman civilization. It is the first systematic survey about the cult of Vesta and the virgins to whom it was entrusted. In its final chapter he gathers a number of epigraphic texts about his subject, which he had either collected during a sojourn in Rome in his youth (preserved in Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 22), or retrieved from Martinus Smetius's *Antiquae inscriptiones*, a huge collection of inscriptions published by Lipsius in 1588 (Leiden: F. Raphelengius). The chapter ended with the remark that friends had pointed out that the cult of

Vesta was also a popular theme on Roman coins and that a former student, by then living in Rome, had informed him that a beautiful statue of a *Vesta maxima* had been unearthed in the Eternal city. As often happened, Lipsius wanted to make some corrections or additions shortly after the text had come from the press. The copy in which he jotted down a number of possible changes is still preserved in Leiden University Library as an intermediary between the 1603 edition and the posthumously published second edition (Antwerp: B. and J. II Moretus, 1612). A careful collation between both versions shows how Lipsius inserted his marginal annotations in his text. Moreover, several chapters now end with a brief extra, ‘*Notae*’, in some coins with a Vesta theme are represented. The archive of the Antwerp Plantin-Moretus Museum still preserves the original scraps of paper on which Lipsius scribbled these *Notae*, as well as the original copper plates. Finally, the inscriptions of the ultimate chapter are now completed by the engraving of the *Vesta maxima* statue recently discovered in Rome, together with a few details: the beautiful pectoral she was wearing and the refined arrangement of the pleats in her dress. The source of this final addition is also preserved in the Antwerp Museum: the drawing, now very fragile, Lipsius’s student sent from Rome with a few words of explanation and a remark in Lipsius’s hand.

Thanks to Leiden UB, and Antwerp MPM, the various steps in the text tradition can be illustrated.



EVA DE RIDDER

“*Ex probatissimis quaeque mss. codicibus*”. The Mutual Relation between the Manuscripts and the Printed Editions of the *Anthologium gnomicum*

The *Anthologium gnomicum* is a Byzantine chapter collection on ascetical and monastic topics authored by the enigmatic figure Elias Ecdicus. Up to this day, the work has not been edited critically despite its obvious popularity throughout the centuries: from its creation in the late 11th - early 12th century up to now, it has been copied at least 83 times, be it unabridged or fragmentary, in various manuscripts. From the beginning of the 17th century onwards, the collection met with a broader audience when it appeared five times in print.

The focus of this paper will centre on these printed editions in relation to the manuscripts of the *Anthologium*, as well as on the relation between the editions separately.

The *Anthologium* was first published in 1604, in a partial Latin translation by Jacob Pontanus as a supplement to the translated works of Symeon the New Theologian. Seventy-one years later, the collection received its first bilingual Greek-Latin edition by François Combefis as a work by Maximus Confessor. Next, it was selected by Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain and Macarius of Corinth for their 1782 edition of the *Philocalia*. Finally, the *Anthologium* was included in J.-P. Migne's famous *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*. It appeared not once, but twice in the *Patrologia*: volume 90, which is the first tome of Maximus Confessor's *Opera omnia*, is a reprint of Combefis' edition, whereas volume 127 (displaying texts between the years 1081-1120) is an edition of which the Greek text was adopted from the *Philocalia* of 1782, and the Latin translation from Pontanus, supplemented by Migne.

The more than 80 textual witnesses already render the construction of the stemmatologic tree far from uncomplicated, but the transition which the *Anthologium* has experienced from manuscript tradition to printed edition has even added extra layers to its textual history. In this presentation, I will retrieve the manuscripts that served as the basis for each edition: sometimes we are fortunate enough to be clearly informed as to which manuscript the editor used as a model for his Greek text (e.g. Combefis), but in other cases we are left with vague descriptions of the consulted manuscripts (e.g. Pontanus), or even no reference at all (e.g. *Philocalia*). I will also discuss the contribution of each editor and how his edition was used by other editors. A description of the printed editions does not only allow to gain more insight into the reception of the *Anthologium* with modern philologists, but also into its manuscript tradition: as the text of the *Philocalia* has been copied by hand in a manuscript from mid-19th century, it is clear that the relation between the manuscripts and printed editions of the *Anthologium* was not a one-way communication.



## ALEXANDRE DIAS PINTO

### From the Source Text to the Writing Process: Textual Transmission in Robert Southey's *History of Portugal*

In the first part of this paper, I will take the concept of transmission in a broad sense and discuss how it may be used in textual studies to account for the transference of information and textual evidence from a source to a new work as well as between different writing stages of a given work. I shall mainly focus on cases in which the target text departs from its source.

In the second part, I propose to examine the creative process of Robert Southey's *History of Portugal* and interpret how Portuguese medieval texts were rewritten by the English historian. I shall analyse textual evidence which demonstrates that transmission from medieval sources into Southey's work has ideological and cultural implications. One example emerges when Southey rewrote the episode of the murder of Count Andeiro introducing data that was not in the medieval sources in order to associate this sacrificial killing to the death of Julius Caesar. I will argue that this approach intended to make the episode more familiar to British readers, to depict the murderer – the future King John I, John of Gaunt's son-in-law – in sympathetic traits and to legitimize his action.



## WOUT DILLEN

### Clean Versus Functional Code in Scholarly Digital Editing. The Case of the Samuel Beckett Digital Manuscript Project

The introduction of descriptive markup into the field of Textual Criticism represents one of the greatest technological advances the Digital Turn has brought to the field. Not only does this type of markup allow us to separate a source text's transcription from its presentation (thereby allowing that transcription to be presented in a variety of ways, potentially based on a variety of editorial principles); it also forces the editor of the scholarly digital edition to make her interpretation of that source text more explicit by

adding a new layer of textual signs to the text.

On the one hand, the more information is included into the source text's transcription the better, because the textual trail of descriptive markup the editor of a scholarly digital edition leaves behind effectively increases her accountability for the editorial decisions she makes. In addition, if the transcription's portability is ensured (e.g. by encoding it in TEI-conformant XML), third parties can use the added information for their own purposes, such as computer-aided text analysis. On the other hand, however, extensive tagging may cause the transcription to reach a point where it becomes too difficult to see the wood for the trees. The more information an encoded document contains, the more pre-processing that document may require: for specific tasks, most of the information in the encoded document will often be redundant, and may therefore hinder or at least slow down the process of (human or computer-aided) text analysis. Furthermore while all the signs in an XML document are (as a rule) human readable, that does not mean that all of the code in TEI-conformant XML documents is designed to be read by human eyes. If a transcription is part of a scholarly digital edition with its own tools and functionalities, it will often need additional code to make those tools work – such as a series of coordinates that facilitate image/text-linking for example. Such 'functional' code is often only marginally related to the transcribed text itself, and incomprehensible for the human reader who is interested in that text.

In this paper, I will demonstrate how the editor of Scholarly Digital Editions leaves a textual trail behind in the texts she transcribes and investigate the tension this trail creates between 'clean' and 'functional' markup, using the Beckett Digital Manuscript Project ([www.beckettarchive.org](http://www.beckettarchive.org)) as a case study.



JOÃO DIONÍSIO

Poetry as Performance. Reading Álvaro de Campos' *Tabacaria*

The Portuguese writer and philosopher M. S. Lourenço (1936-2009) viewed the concept of 'musical writing' according to four principles: 1. Language is a musical fact; 2. Language transformations are musical decisions; 3. The

rules behind these transformations are musical rules; 4. The literary work of art is the result of the application of these rules. Lourenço also argues that the knowledge of musical forms is needed in order to understand major literary works: e.g. Wagnerian Leitmotiv should be taken into account to grasp Thomas Mann's novel *Buddenbrooks*; the theme and variation form is called for to interpret James Joyce's *Ulysses*; the Fugue form is the structural basis of Paul Celan's *Todesfuge*; similarly the Sonata form underlies one of the most influential poems of Portuguese modernism, *Tabacaria* ('The Tobacconist's'), written by Fernando Pessoa under the name of one of his heteronyms, Álvaro de Campos. Therefore, by acknowledging the musical form lying behind the literary work, the reader becomes aware of the structure of the text. Besides, the knowledge of the structure can be materialized in actual reading performances, each text functioning as a score. Lourenço contributed to shed light on this other facet of 'musical writing' through reflecting upon the continuum between speaking and singing, as well as through reading performances broadcast on radio. One such performance is a reading of *Tabacaria* broadcast in 1975 on one of the most influential Portuguese radio programmes (*Em Órbita*, 'In orbit'). The aim of this paper is (i) to analyse Lourenço's performance against two other more canonic readings of the same poem (João Villaret's, in 1951, and Mário Viegas', in 1991) and (ii) to see whether it reflects Lourenço's view of the poem, especially the sonata form he assigned to it.



MARIA ELIFEROVA

### On the Possible Benefits of Using Corpus Linguistics in the Field of Textual Criticism

Corpus linguistics is a relatively young discipline that has been boosted by the modern digital technologies and the growing number of digitalized texts. Electronic corpora of various languages are being created. A corpus of a language is technically a dictionary which specifies where and when exactly each word was attested; unlike a traditional dictionary, it covers all known cases of

word usage.

Therefore, corpora can be used for clarifying some details of relations between texts. The fact that rare words or specific usages may serve as markers of such relations has long been known. However, corpus linguistics makes the task easier and presents a chance of covering the material more completely.

For instance, the compound *gastbona* in *Beowulf* (177) reveals an uncommon meaning of *gast* ('human soul'). This anomaly had been noticed as early as by J.R.R. Tolkien in 1936, who saw it as a piece of evidence for the long-held idea that the corresponding passage was a later interpolation. Indeed, a corpus analysis of OE poetry reveals that the generally accepted terms for 'soul' were either *sawol* (in Christian contexts) or *feorh* (in heroic contexts), and *gast*, while attested in modern dictionaries for 'soul', was in fact used relatively infrequently in this meaning. Moreover, in *Beowulf* this case of using *gast* for 'soul' is isolated. There are a total of 21 instances in *Beowulf*, and, if one dismisses the three cases of homophonic 'guest', 17 of the rest 18 relate to monsters – which is consistent with its Indo-European etymon \**gheis-* 'to tear into pieces.' This seems to confirm the hypothesis of the interpolation.

Another case which may be clarified through corpus analysis is that of two infamous Norse words, *ulfheðnar* and *vargstakka*, which prompted piles of research literature on the alleged totemic cults and shape-shifting in the Viking culture. However, until now nobody tried to trace their usage in actual texts. The fact is that *ulfheðnar* only appears twice in poetry and twice in prose, never outside the same story of Harald the Fairhair and his alleged retinue (only a personal name *Ulfheðinn* occurs elsewhere). As for *vargstakka*, it also occurs only four times, and three of the cases are also within the same story of Harald. The earliest case of *vargstakka* is in *Fagrskinna* where it is used as a gloss for *ulfheðnar* in a poetic fragment. The strong links between the words and the particular story may throw some extra light on the origin and provenance of the extant saga texts.

The task of the nearest future is creating more complete and elaborate open-access corpora of various ancient and medieval texts.



Tales of the Tape: the Ontological, Discursive and Legal Lives of Literary  
Audio Artifacts

In *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture*, performance theorist Philip Auslander problematizes ontological claims that define live performance as transitory, evanescent, and as such resistant to the control of the law. He shows how legal channels such as common law copyright and the right to publicity have extended the notion of authorial ownership into the previously uncharted territory of live performance, making even spectatorial memory subject to the incursion of law. For Auslander, these recent developments betray the radical closure of our contemporary cultural economy: in order to escape legal protection, “performance must not only disappear but be excluded from memory” (181).

My paper uses theories of the event, advanced by Alain Badiou and Slavoj Žižek, to resist this systematic closure. According to Žižek, an event has “a circular structure in which [an] effect retroactively determines its causes or reasons” (2); for something to have been an event, a coherent narrative must be extracted from the asubjective and chaotic totality of the live. This narrative is always lacking or partial, as no single instrument of measurement can ever fully capture liveness. Importantly, the act of retroactively affixing this narrative onto the gap of the live is *constitutive*: an event cannot come into being but through this process. Literary audio artifacts—those that document live events—are apt case studies for studying the retroactive structure of knowledge transmission (and, by extension, being itself) because their lacks and gaps are opaque. While a documentary audio recording is an inscriptive medium like any other, it carries with it the ideological distinction of being able to capture an event faithfully and objectively. Moments when a recording fails to live up to this fidelity—when its silences are literally audible—are thus the most productive; they show how all literary historical events are made possible only through acts of subtraction and omission. This insight stages three important interventions into contemporary models of textual transmission: 1) all inscriptive artifacts are events that fix contingent liveness into partial narratives; 2) a retroactive structure is iterative, making and remaking the event with each successive encounter; 3) our current model of statutory copyright insufficiently accounts for this evental structure, given that events always exceed

their partial inscription.

My recent work on the Roy Kiyooka Digital Audio Archive substantiates my claims about the ontological and legal status of literary audio artifacts. The archive comprises 404 audiotapes produced by the Canadian poet between 1963 and 1988. It documents a burgeoning period of literary and cultural production in Canada, registering the candid conversations, public and private readings, and writing workshops of some of Canada's foremost avant-garde literary figures. I will address some of the specific challenges encountered while building a digital scholarly apparatus for this collection, and show how rethinking literary artifacts as events may better serve the spirit of the community in which they were produced.

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MATS FRIDLUND, RENÉ BRAUER, GUSTAF NELHANS

On the Trail of Textual Themes. Exploring the Use of Topic Modeling  
within Historical Studies, 2004–2013

The paper explores the emergence of a new textual research tool within humanities through the trails its use has left in the humanities research literature. It is visualizing over time how this new research method travelled geographically as well as epistemologically, from and within various disciplines within natural and engineering sciences as well as within social and humanistic sciences. Beyond describing and analyzing its impact on new emerging textual research strategies and methodologies, it attempts to shed some light on the larger topic of how currently traditional textual strategies and methods within humanities are being challenged, contested and extended within the new emerging field/discipline/methodologies of

Digital Humanities (DH).

It has been alleged that DH textual research has the potential of a major epistemological shift within the humanities. However, this possible impact is still contested. On one hand, science studies scholar Bruno Latour in *An Inquiry in to Modes of Existence* (2013) embraces the new possibilities of DH to “supplement” conventional social science and philosophical inquiry, while on the other hand, digital humanist and former manuscript curator Andrew Prescott decries this new style digital humanities as “an old-style humanities, dressed out in bright new clothes for the digital age” and questions the notion of any ‘fundamental break’ or ‘new possibilities.’ This raises the larger epistemological question, whether DH offers any new vibrant possibilities for research or just another sombre addition to humanist’s toolbox in the new digital age.

These issues are analyzed through a study of Topic modeling (TM) which represents one of the new promising textual analysis methods praised in the DH literature. This paper systematically surveys the application of TM – an algorithm that detects textual themes through parameterization of word concurrences – within historical research from 2004 with the first peer-reviewed historical article using TM until 2013 with the publication of a special journal issue on humanities applications of TM. The texts using TM are analyzed in ‘distant’ and ‘close’ reading fashions where the ‘distant’ reading approach utilizes the HistCite citation method to visualize citation trails and clusters in the publications record, while the ‘close’ reading approach analyze the texts thematic contents. The aim is to investigate the meta-dimension of TM research: is there qualitative differences between TM and traditional textual methods, what challenges does TM create, and is there a historical trajectory in the research?

Preliminary results show TM indeed affording qualitatively new possibilities for textual analysis. However, TM is still far from being a standardized textual analysis tool. Many key variables are still not universally consolidated. Regarding the clustering and geographical distribution, TM appears to have been largely confined to US localities. However, through the years the use of TM has travelled more widely geographically, also reflected in the variation of its uses. This historical trajectory of TM bodes well for the digital humanities in offering something qualitatively new to humanities textual analysis. However, it appears that its ambitions have yet to catch up to the real possibilities.

The *Chelidonisma*

The *chelidonisma* or swallow song (PMG 848), quoted in Theognis' work *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Πόδῳ Θυσιῶν* (FGrHist 526 F 1) as reported by Athenaeus, is the best-known popular song of ancient Greece. According to the sources, the *chelidonisma* was a folk song that accompanied a traditional begging custom in Rhodes, called *χελιδονίζειν*, and was presumably performed by children to celebrate the arrival of spring. Its fame is confirmed by modern Greek folk tradition, in which similar or equivalent songs and refrains occur.

With regard to the constitution of the text, the question arises as to whether we should aim at restoring the *chelidonisma* sung by children of Rhodes around the end of the seventh century BC (Indeed, according to Theognis, the swallow begging was first introduced in Lindos by the tyrant Cleobulus, «when there was need in that city of a collection of money» (between the seventh and the sixth century BC), or more realistically the *chelidonisma* such as it was known by Theognis. In other words, we should wonder how much accuracy can be achieved in the text constitution of the swallow song. Furthermore, we should try to understand if it is still possible to distinguish its oral and its written tradition.

For the purpose of solving these issues, my paper will focus on the nature of the sources, on the stylistic, metric and linguistic features of the *chelidonisma*. In addition, I will include in my presentation interdisciplinary comparisons between the *chelidonisma* and modern folk tradition. For example, many begging songs, which are still performed in some parts of Greece nowadays, during the Easter holidays or generally to celebrate the arrival of spring, stem – more or less directly – from the famous swallow song. It would be interesting to study these songs more closely, which are also transmitted by blogs and videos on the Internet, not only in order to draw possible genealogies and clarify the lineal descent from the ancient Greek text, but also in order to detect similarities in the modes of transmission between the *chelidonisma* and modern folk tradition, as well as differences between them because of the greater availability of the latter.

To this aim, I will also provide a revised text, a critical apparatus and a translation of the poem.

To Hell and Back. From Literary Fiction to Pulp Fiction

Bisexual Dutch writer Marie-Louise Doudart de la Grée (1907-1981) gained some fame with a novel on child abuse in a catholic convent (*Zondaressen* [Sinners]) in 1938, followed by two books in 1946: A lesbian novel called *Vae solis* and *Vagevuur* (Purgatory), a novel situated in a German concentration camp. Unlike *Vae solis*, *Vagevuur* was not written on the basis of a personal experience, but after talks with victims. The novel had little success, even her lover at the time, writer Anna Blaman, considered the book to be badly written.

Towards the end of her not very successful career as a writer, in the mid-sixties, *Vagevuur* was reprinted, but in a different setting. The nineteen-sixties and seventies were, in the Netherlands and Flanders, the heyday of 'realistic' or more or less pornographic novels; part of these novels were situated in violent settings: organized crime, army, prostitution etc., and, also, concentration camps. *Vagevuur* appeared in a series of paperbacks on the moderate side of this genre.

In my paper I will sketch a short history of the genre of concentration camp novels, and I want to investigate, with the help of the preserved papers of Doudart de la Grée, how this peculiar 'textual trail' came about. Did the author approve the reprint? Were there, with or without her consent, alterations to the text? Was the reading public aware of the history of the text? There has up till now hardly been done any scholarly research on this genre and none at all on this particular case.



What Is In a Model? Reflections On the *Stemma Codicum* and Other  
Trees

The *stemma codicum* was introduced in the 1820s, but in spite of its high age and simplicity this model of manuscript filiation continue to confront textual critics with problems. In recent years, manuscript recensions made by numerical methods have been displayed in models referred to by various names such as cladogrammes, phylogrammes or simply trees. These trees share many but not all traits with the traditional stemma, and it would be helpful to make a clearer distinction between the stemma and other trees.

In this talk, three traits of the stemma will be discussed:

1. **Parsimony.** The stemma will not add more constructs (i.e. lost manuscripts) than necessary, cf. the elimination of intermediary manuscripts (*eliminatio codicum intermediorum* in the terminology of the presenter) and also the elimination of copies of known exemplars (*eliminatio codicum descriptorum* in standard terminology).

2. **Reduction.** The stemma does not try to model the textual variation between manuscripts, so the length of the branches does not indicate the degree of textual deviation between an exemplar and a copy.

3. **Chronology.** The stemma usually (but with exceptions) does not claim to display the absolute chronology of a manuscript tradition, only the relative chronology. An exemplar will always be placed above a copy, but neither need to be dated.

A particular problem in any manuscript tradition is that of contamination, i.e. that one copy may reflect more than one exemplar. In these cases, referred to as open (or horizontal) recensions, the stemma can express contamination by way of merging branches. On the whole, numerical models do not seem to be able to display contamination.

In conclusion, this talk will add some reflections on the delimitation of (a) the *stemma codicum* and other types of trees, and (b) the models as such and the methods lying behind them.

References:

There is a long-standing literature on these issues. A few references may be given, such as the classical outline of traditional stemmatology by Maas

(1st ed. 1927, 4th ed. 1960), the attack on the stemmatic method by Bédier (1928), and the discussion of numerical methods by, among many others, Macé (2006), Roos and Heikkilä (2009) and Howe and Windram (2011).

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INEKE HUYSMAN

### The Huygens Correspondence: from an Old Edition into a New One

In the early 20th century the Dutch scholar J.A. Worp published six large volumes containing the entire correspondence of the poet and diplomat Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687). Unfortunately, the selection-criteria that were leading at that time differ considerably from our current standards. That means that a substantial amount of material we find interesting nowadays, has been left out, or has only briefly been summarized. Worp stated that he could easily publish a reduced edition as Constantijn wrote hundreds of letters of no importance whatsoever. But especially amongst the letters addressed to Constantijn there were many more of no significance.

Obviously, Worp's operation mode is considerably outdated. Many modern editors of historical sources have despaired of the omission of such quantities of possibly important content. Conclusively, Worp's edition of the Huygens correspondence fails to meet the current standards because of subjective selection criteria, prejudiced and sometimes misleading summarizations and lack of completeness. 15% of the letters available at the time has been excluded and 75% has been summarized or shortened

In spite of the criticism, Worp's work still is extremely valuable, as he did a major job in inventorying the Huygens-correspondence and identifying thousands of persons mentioned in the letters. By taking Worp's edition as a starting point, the Huygens Institute of Dutch History has created a new digital edition, while new material is frequently added. The old edition has been digitized and linked to a database, in which basic-data of the 10.000 letters of Constantijn Huygens have been added, like date, location, name of correspondent, language, etcetera. Every letter has been or will be supplied with one or more facsimiles of the original documents and with the help of specialist Huygens scholars and volunteers the letters will be transcribed, annotated and sometimes even translated (see: <https://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Huygens>). Consequently, the researcher no longer has to put up with the limitations of the Worp-edition, due to the on-line availability of the original documents.



NIINA HÄMÄLÄINEN

### Textual and Historical Twists. The *Kanteletar* and its Unpublished Versions

Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) collected diverse and large-scale folk-poetry material over eleven journeys around Finland and Russian Karelia between 1828 and 1844. The recorded material is preserved mainly in the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS, FLS). Using the collected folk poetry, Lönnrot published different folk poetry publications, selected poems and verses that were considered at his time to represent the Finnish

oral tradition authentically and completely.

Besides his master work, the *Kalevala* (the longest version in 1849) and its five versions, Lönnrot published other folk-poetry presentations, the *Kantele leaflets* (1829–1831) and an anthology of lyric folk poetry, the *Kanteletar* (1840). The *Kanteletar* as a feminine publication of folk poetry has been seen to represent as such the diversity and beauty of oral lyric poetry.

Lönnrot's textualization history of oral folk poetry material is widely studied. However, regarding unpublished manuscripts (Lönnrotiana collection in the Literary Archives of FLS), Lönnrot increasingly worked on the recorded lyric material aiming at publishing a new version (or versions) of the *Kanteletar*, but due to his passing, the manuscript materials remained unpublished. Besides, unpublished versions of the lyric poetry have remained unstudied as well as largely forgotten. Väinö Kaukonen who has traced all the referential lines Lönnrot used for the *Kanteletar* did not refer to this manuscript material (Kaukonen 1984).

Using variants of one lyric poem example by Lönnrot, I will reflect some textual, historical and ideological possibilities in the edition of the *Kanteletar* by asking two questions: What was Lönnrot's aim of improving the lyric anthology, and why his edition work on lyric poetry has not been considered being published, nor studied?

Reference:

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Evading Orality

Bygone oral traditions may be analysed only on the base of literate sources. Here, the intertextual or genetic chains of texts sometimes pose similar questions as when studying literate traditions. Typically, the literate and oral traditions are interconnected in various ways: the boundaries between the two are blurred. In recent folkloristics, it is precisely the interaction of oral and literate that is regarded interesting.

My example consists of three different poems from the 16th and 17th centuries, which situate in different ways on the axes of oral-literate, folk-elite and rhymed-alliterative poetry.

The first poem "Dear lord Lord Christ" is originally a Catholic medieval hymn, which has been creatively translated to Finnish language by an unknown poet and found in a manuscript dated between 1575 and 1586. It represents the need in the Reformed Sweden to translate hymns into vernaculars, and is the first example of applying features of the old oral Finnish idiom, the so-called *kalevala*-metric verse, in liturgical poetry. *Kalevala*-meter was an alliterative, trochaic meter with specific rules on both the stress and length of the syllables. It was not very compatible with the new rhymed, stanzaic, iambic patterns of song, which formed the basis of Lutheran hymns and are still the core of western popular music.

The second poem "Dear lord duke Carl" is an oral-like *kalevala*-metric poem on the historical events that occurred in 1599. Nevertheless, the two anonymous manuscripts of the poem date from the beginning of the 18th century. These two manuscripts share the same plot and some verses, but are different enough to be considered to derive from animate oral tradition. Yet, the context of the manuscripts and the poem itself point towards the learned elites. Besides the similar beginning formula, the version of the first manuscript borrows a couple of verses from our first example.

The third poem "Dear lord King Carl" is a literate, learned poem published to celebrate the marriage of the king Carl X Gustaf and Hedvig Eleonora von Holstein-Gottorp in 1654 by Ericus Justander, the forthcoming professor of poetics in Turku. It is entitled "an imitation of the ancient Finnish poem." Indeed, the poem builds on the old oral idiom, while changing it into more trochaic, regular, and rhymed form. It shares some

similar verses and themes with the second poem.

Thus, we have three poems that share some verses or themes, represent the old oral meter in different ways and belong to different poetic genres. They illustrate the difficulty to trace the exact relationships between different texts. In addition, they pose the important question of possible folk and elite oral traditions on the background of our literate sources.



VAPPU KANNAS

Journals as Versions: Editing of *The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery*

The published journals of the Canadian author L.M. (Lucy Maud) Montgomery (1874-1942) are usually approached as the final products of her diary text, and they are indeed the most accessible and widely-read versions of the diaries. Hardly any textual scholarship, however, exists on the editing processes behind the published versions and the diverse journal variants.

This paper examines the editing copies of *The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery* 1-5, the primary published versions of Montgomery's journals until the publication of *The Complete Journals of L.M. Montgomery* in 2012 and 2013. Edited by Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston and published by the Oxford University Press between 1985 and 2004, *The Selected Journals* are abridged and thoroughly edited versions of the original journal manuscripts, which comprise of ten handwritten volumes (1889-1942). By the publisher's order, the original journal text had to be shortened by almost half, and the editorial decisions made by Rubio and Waterston thus affected the version that was formed not only of the journal text, but also of the image of Montgomery, a world-famous best-selling author, best known for her novel *Anne of Green Gables* (1908).

Based on archival work and close-reading of the original editing copies, stored in the Archival and Special Collections at the University of Guelph, Canada, I argue that Montgomery's journals should be studied as versions rather than one unified and complete journal. The editing done

by Rubio and Waterston, as documented in the editing copies alongside with comments by Montgomery's son Stuart Macdonald and the publisher's representative William Toye, is one version of the journals that then materialised in the *Selected Journals*, another version, among several others. By looking at the editing process I am able to scrutinise the differences between various versions, such as *The Selected Journals* and the original manuscripts, but also observe the role of the editors and their preferences in shaping Montgomery's journal narrative. The editing copies reveal personal biases and historically-specific editing practises, as well as manifest historical material that is not found among other Montgomery documents.



HANNA KARHU

#### A Folksong Notebook and Otto Manninen's Poems

In my paper I will examine a notebook that contains Finnish folksongs from the late 1900th century and its role to the Finnish poet and translator Otto Manninen's (1872–1951) poetry. Manninen got the notebook from a friend of his, Antti Rytönen, made alterations to the folksongs and drafted a couple of his own poems in the notebook. It has a significant role in the birth of Manninen's famous poem "Pellavan kitkijä" ("The harvest of flax") (1897/1905) which resembles a folksong, but it echoes also in other poems of Manninen.

The case affiliates with many interesting aspects of the question of transmission. Firstly Manninen's friend had written down folksongs sung to him: the oral transformed into writing. Then Manninen made his alterations to the songs and the new developments became in turn something that can be called the *avant-texte* of Manninen's poems.



Questions of Order. Analyzing Versions with No Dates or Notes

Finnish national author Aleksis Kivi's (1834–1872) poem “Tornin kello” (‘Tower Bell’) was published in 1866 in Finnish literary magazine *Kirjalinen Kuukauslehti* (‘Monthly Literary Magazine’) with a couple of other Kivi’s poem. In the Archive of Aleksis Kivi in the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) there are six surviving manuscript versions of “Tornin kello”. They are placed in four compilations called

“Runoelmia” (‘Poems’), which is the name Kivi himself used when speaking his poems in his letters, but Kivi has not named these compilations.

Three of these versions are nameless, but they can be identified as versions of “Tornin kello” by comparing their verses. Three other versions have been named “Impi iltana” (‘Maiden in the evening’), but again verse comparison shows that they are versions of “Tornin kello”.

There is no straight evidence of what is the order of these versions. There are no notes, no dates or anything that can clarify the original order. More interesting, in fact, is that we do not even know are the versions written before or after publishing “Tornin kello”. It is possible, that at some point Kivi has had an idea of making a revised collection of his poems that were earlier published in magazines.

As a part of making critical editions of Aleksis Kivi’s works (in Edith, SKS) we must analyze the traits of Kivi’s working process. One part of this is trying to clarify what kind of changes and corrections Kivi made to his manuscripts. Analyzing the order of the versions of “Tornin kello” is one way to figure out how Kivi did corrections and revisions, and hopefully it will also help in analyzing the markings that are not necessarily made by Kivi but some early editor.

In my paper, I will show some basic problems of analyzing version order of “Tornin kello” manuscripts through linguistic, textual and graphic hints.



On Reconstructing Petronius: Textual Transmission, Digital  
Stemmatology, and Project ArXe.type and a Digital Petronius

This paper will give an overview about the textual transmission of Petronius' *Satyrica* and present a new approach in reconstructing the text. The *Digital Petronius* became a part of the *Leipzig Open Fragmentary Texts Series* (LOFTS) in 2014 and complements the approach used by LOFTS in putting emphasis not only on the transmission and intertextual references of a text, but also using intratextual references to reconstruct the plot of a fragmentary text. However, due to the highly contaminated nature of the transmission of the *Satyrica* of Petronius, it is necessary to reassess the value of the more than fifty different manuscripts that contain Petronian material as a first step in building a new textcritical digital edition. *Project arXe.type* attempts to complete this reassessment of the manuscripts and encourages international collaboration and collaborative student editing.

In his highly influential work about textcriticism, Paul Mass criticized the format of the modern book and emphasized the advantages of the ancient scroll. While he agreed that the book format was a necessity of the publishing method of his time, he desired a better solution. Upon advancing to the digital age, Classics has advanced in its publishing formats and one can find various classical texts online. Most existing digital editions, however, are either slow and difficult to access, insular solutions, or fall behind expectations in displaying the text and its information or the amount of additional information that is given. They remain in a booklike format. Using the book as a template for digital texts limits the advantages of the electronic format and the published texts remain underutilized. Instead, new collaborative editing and digital publication methods have to be employed.

*Project arXe.type* consists of three phases: in the first phase, *Digitization & Transcription*, the project team manages the digitization of the medieval manuscripts and early modern editions. Once digitized, the manuscripts are transcribed using collaborative methods involving undergraduate palaeography courses, school classes, or interested individuals to transcribe pieces of the manuscripts. Each manuscript sheet will be transcribed multiple times and the different version will be compared electronically. This will result in more reliable transcripts. In the second

phase, *Transmission & Text*, the team will run computersupported analyses of the transcriptions. After comparing the transcriptions to a control text, for instance Bücheler's *editio maior*, the project team trains the computer using informative attributes and only a selection of the manuscripts in a machinelearning environment. After evaluating the classifier, the team can then use datamining to classify the asyet unclassified manuscripts. This will clarify the transmission of the text and build a stemma or substemmata.

In the third phase, *Commentary & Access and Display*, the project team establishes an easily and openly accessible portal that encourages scholars and experts to comment on the text and students and interested members of the public to translate the text and provide morphosyntactic information. A complete edition is generated: the *Digital Petronius* is born.



KENNETH LAI

“II(I) Bybliothecas habeo, unam Graecam, alteram Latinam”: The Role of  
Humor in Editing Petronius' *Satyricon*

Editing is no laughing business—but perhaps it sometimes should be. In the pursuit of critical texts, a sense of humor is especially requisite to a fragmentary and satirical text such as Petronius' *Satyricon*. In my paper, I discuss how hyper-corrective editing has obfuscated and continues to obfuscate much of the humor in Petronius' satire. In my title (“II(I) Bybliothecas habeo”), for instance, Trimalchio, the comically luxuriant freedman of Petronius' satire, claims to have three libraries—one Greek, the other Latin. Editors of Petronius have traditionally followed F.B. Berolini's 1862 emendation of “three” libraries to “two” libraries, completely missing the joke. In part, Berolini's emendation is a result of the joke that satire is always on its editor—logical disjuncture is simultaneously the source of humor in the text and the target of emendation. That is, the logical messiness that the editor seeks to sort out is often messy as an intended outcome of a joke.

In all, I examine three categories of emendations that eliminate the “punch line”: (1) logical disjuncture, (2) moral depravity, and (3) stylistic unity. By “moral depravity,” I mean that Petronius' editors have produced

more ethically upright texts in their emendation; by “stylistic unity,” that Petronius’ editors sought out an authorial style that misses the dialectical web of “high” and “low” threads of speech, in which satire partakes.

One major obstacle to my method is the lack of a shared sense of humor between writer and editor, an irrecoverable distance especially for the editor of classical texts. In order to begin to cover this gap, however, I argue that the editor of satire must tap into the sociology of humor to produce ever more critical texts. I test out four theories of humor that sociologists have posited: relief, incongruity, ambivalence, and superiority.



TEREZA LANSING

### Knights and Vikings in Scribal Variance

Every Icelandic scribe made personal changes to a text when copying it, and this variance reflects the way in which saga literature was interpreted and presented to audiences of different social and educational background. The study of scribal variants from a text-historical perspective, with a codicological outreach, is only a very young phenomenon in Old Norse-Icelandic textual scholarship, which has for centuries been dominated by the stemmatic search for common errors and the oldest forms. The study of the transmission of a legendary saga, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, in manuscripts written in western Iceland shows a far more nuanced image of this work than the one known from its two critical editions.

*Hrólfs saga kraka* is an anonymous medieval saga about pre-historic Scandinavian kings and it is extant in post-medieval manuscripts only. The text was either studied as a historical source or read as literature, or both, and these are the most basic approaches reflected in all the manuscripts of the saga. A closer look at the tradition of a specific geographic area revealed that in the texts copied for the local gentry, its chivalric and didactic aspects were fortified, in the sense that knighthood as an aristocratic code presented a desirable point of identification for the leading class. A contemporary scribe with a learned historical approach, on the

other hand, removed the romantic ballast from his copy of *Hrólfs saga kra-ka* with surgical precision and admitted only real Nordic masculine heroes, whose spirits were not blurred by chivalry. This operation was accompanied by artificial archaic spelling. The literary chivalric versus historic Viking interpretation is further underpinned by the surrounding texts and paratextual features.

The study of scribal variation in manuscript transmission reveals the way in which texts were received, understood and transformed. The reception of a work in manuscripts is not interesting only as a narrative of the past or a relic; it poses a challenge to the modern literary critic, whose task is to give the medieval saga a meaning and assign it a genre. The study of scribal variance not only challenges the traditional notions of a given work but also of the generic system of an era in the history of literature.



ANTHONY JOHN LAPPIN

### The Alchoran Latinus and its Binding Chains of Marginalia

The *Alchoran latinus* of 1143 (the translation of the Qur'an carried out for Peter the Venerable) has an unusual record of transmission, in part due to its contentious yet iconic status, in part due to the constantly evolving nature of the annotations that gloss it, and the varied hands at work on the same. The earliest manuscript that we possess (Paris: Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, ms. 1162) the annotations are copied en masse, in the same hand as the corrections (undoubtedly from a manuscript other than ms. 1162's model). Rather than depending upon a single annotator, however, the annotations give signs of having been combined from different sources, and reflect different responses to reading the Islamic text. Other early manuscripts (Oxford: Corpus Christi College, ms. 184; Troyes: Médiathèque, ms. 1235; Oxford: Bodleian Library, ms. Selden supr. 31) between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries transmit both text and annotations, but in seemingly idiosyncratic ways which render the process of establishing an archetype particularly frustrating. The surge in copying of the text in

the fifteenth–early-sixteenth centuries shows a diverse range of creative scribal solutions to the integration of the marginalia within the copy they were producing. One set of annotations – which are eventually published independently as an *Epitome* of the Qur’an – raise significant questions of the nature of annotations, both as a record and encouragement to reading, and produce significant difficulties as to role of highlighted, or underlined, main text and its status vis-à-vis marginalia. The sixteenth-century editions, moreover, draw another level of annotation (part philosophical, part biblical, part motivated by the concerns of the Reform) to the text.

The evolution of the marginalia is crucial in understanding the evolving approach to other religions found through the middle ages. The fundamental question which I shall puzzle over, then, will be how can this textual *mouvance* be meaningfully represented within a critical edition: how to signal origin, significant continuity, and innovation against the white noise of multiple individual entries and wide textual variation. It is thus a question of how an edition might provide a representation or highlighted interpretation of the trajectory of readings over time, rather than the straightforward recording of data.



DYLAN M. LEBLANC

“To account our selves knitt together”: John Winthrop, Performative Text, and Communal Self-Fashioning in the Massachusetts Bay Company, 1629–1630

This paper studies pre-migration texts written and circulated in England concerning the Massachusetts Bay Company by its governor John Winthrop from 1629-30. It strives to understand the roles of these texts as media for the construction of individual and community identities around the issue of migration to New England. While the historiography of the puritan “Great Migration” is vast, it has largely overlooked the actual means by which migrants became integrated into emigrant communities, i.e. the means by which individuals began to “become migrants” *before* migration. These means were textual, and the case of Winthrop is a prime opportunity

to consider the ways in which the production and transmission of texts, as social acts, accomplished the fashioning of identities at a dynamic moment in English Atlantic history. In other words, identity was expressed not only in the content of texts, but in their performative functions: acts of writing, reading, and circulation.

The texts under consideration consist broadly of Winthrop's correspondence and in particular his promotional manuscript, "General Observations for the Plantation of New England" (1629), which began as an oral performance in Winthrop's capacity as a minor magistrate at a meeting of the Suffolk county peace commission and was soon transcribed and circulated amongst prospective migrants. Containing two separate lists of justifications for emigration, one for the general reader and another explaining Winthrop's own reasons for migrating, the "General Observations" reflects both Winthrop's process of discernment and his desire to serve as a model for other decisions to migrate, which would facilitate the creation of an emigrant community. Eight separate manuscript versions of the text remain, sent by Winthrop to different individuals in his puritan network across England. Moreover, these documents were intended to be further circulated by their recipients, and while it is impossible to completely trace the range of Winthrop's oral and textual argument, the evidence available indicates Winthrop's confidence in texts to extend the power of his oral rhetoric, to express his new identity, and to fashion the identities of others.

These discrete textual activities have been undervalued by scholars studying the Bay Company and the Great Migration, especially for their role in constructing emigrant identities. The act of writing that enabled Winthrop to fashion an emigrant identity in turn facilitated the construction of other emigrant identities through individual readings of circulated manuscripts. In this way, while, as David Cressy has said, migrants "rarely had a chance to take stock of their traveling companions before they assembled on board [their ship]," efforts such as those apparent in the Winthrop Papers provided textual models whereby individuals could in some sense become migrants, become integrated into a community, before reaching their ship. While these efforts were by no means ubiquitous or totally effective, by providing a microhistory of emigrant identity in the Bay Company, this paper argues that recognizing their existence is key to understanding the inner workings of early English colonization of North America.

Many Hands Make Light Work: Learn and Micropublish While Editing  
Classical Texts

As part of the *Open Philology Project* at the University of Leipzig, the *Historical Languages eLearning Project* is building a web application to support users who want to learn a historical language through reading a primary source text written in that language. The system will give them appropriate vocabulary, grammar, and exercises for a text of their choice, by leveraging openaccess morphosyntactic data. We will supplement this with our own data, in order to reach users in more languages and to tailor the content to an internetbased audience. However, the true innovation is that users will also be able to make the leap from passively learning the language to making original annotations to primary sources themselves, such as morphosyntactic analyses, as well as composing and aligning translations. In this way, users will be making scholarly contributions to openaccess data throughout their learning experience and will be helping to improve morphosyntactic research. Existing traditional digital editions, in fact, do not include morphosyntactic analyses and rarely include translations. The *Historical Languages eLearning* environment not only endeavors to provide an environment where innovative teaching methods can be tested, but also a space for the public to go beyond the traditional edition by exploring the text with new tools at hand.

Our trial course will prepare students to read the *Pentecontaetia* section of Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War* in Ancient Greek. Assuming that identifying the syntax and the morphology of the text and knowing how to translate it word for word indicate an understanding of the text itself, we will use exercises like treebanking and alignment to evaluate users' grasp of the source material. One added benefit of such exercises is that they can be automatically assessed for accuracy, which allows us to provide individualized feedback to users.

As users progress through grammar topics, they also learn how to represent each grammatical construction or morphological aspect in the format of a parse tree. Once a user has demonstrated proficiency in building parse trees, they can go on to building parse trees for new sentences, which have never been morphosyntactically annotated before. Micropublications such as these will be displayed on a user's ePortfolio, which keeps

track of the ways a user has contributed to completing a digital edition.

Since the possibilities for research and learning depend on available repositories of richly annotated text, we will scale our resources to enable users to contribute to this data during their learning process. In this way, users will ultimately be able to generate data that advances other fields, such as Natural Language Processing, which often rely on the accuracy provided by manually curated data (e.g. disambiguating geographical place names). Students will be able to collaboratively translate, align the translation, annotate, and publish morphosyntactic analyses for additional primary sources, beginning with the data being generated by the *Open Greek and Latin Project*, which is also part of the *Open Philology Project* based at the University of Leipzig.



YIN LIU

### Tracking the *Signe-de-Renvoi*

When a student and I undertook to write an article on the history of the *signe-de-renvoi*, the ubiquitous linking signs found throughout medieval manuscripts, I expected the task to be a simple matter of collecting and summarising existing scholarship. To my surprise, following the trail of the *signe-de-renvoi* proved to be more difficult than I expected; although everyone mentions *signes-de-renvoi*, not much work has been done to trace their history. This paper suggests some reasons why we should care about the histories of such devices and describes the challenges raised by their study.

*Signes-de-renvoi* began as omission signs to indicate where material present in one version of a text was missing in another. They then became more general marks to link marginal corrections, such as insertions, to the relevant points in a text. It was then an easy step to generalising their use further to link text and gloss, and then to link any type of marginal annotation to a specific place in the main text. Medieval *signes-de-renvoi* were versatile, easy to use, and could be customised or standardised to relate to the type of annotation or to any kind of ordering system. Their successors in modern print, symbols such as the asterisk and dagger as well as letters or numbers

used as anchors for notes, are both more efficient and less versatile than the medieval signs could be. Thus the history of the *signe-de-renvoi* follows, in a particularly close and focussed manner, the history of the ways in which texts were encoded, studied, and read in the medieval West and beyond.

Obvious challenges arise, however, when any systematic study of these code elements (if I may so call them) is attempted. They need to be examined in manuscripts themselves or in good facsimiles, and their form, position, and function need to be recorded. However, they are not commonly tagged in manuscript images, there is no standard way of handling them in scholarly editions (print or digital), and they are often not indexed in books that mention them. In other words, our usual ways of remediating and studying medieval texts tend to make *signes-de-renvoi* disappear. In this nascent digital age, when so much else is so easily retrievable from masses of data, the tracker of the *signe-de-renvoi* is reduced to such primitive methods (or lack of method) as chasing down rumours, relying heavily on serendipity, and sometimes simply skimming through one manuscript after another in the hope of finding a particularly unusual or significant use of *signes-de-renvoi*. This talk is therefore not only a description of one particular textual trail, but also an appeal for textual scholars to do what they can to make such trails easier to follow.



KATIE LONG

### Mediauras: Textual Trails of the Anglo-Saxon Metrical Charms

The complex relationship between orality and literature has long since been noted in Anglo-Saxon Studies. In particular, Old English poetry as it exists in manuscript form has been described as ‘inscribed not written’, as the last recording of a long history of oral transmission (for example, Pasternack, *The Textuality of Old English Poetry*). This stance towards orality and Old English poetry is particularly relevant for the Anglo-Saxon metrical charms which contain traces of an older pre-literate past in their use of incantation and ritual to cure both diseases of the body and mind, unfertile land, and to protect the traveller.

These charms contain, for example, not only directions for ritual

performances drawing on material objects from the natural world but also incantations in Latin which obviously point to the world of learning and textuality brought to England through Christianity. Indeed, certain charms such as *Wiþ Dweorh* (Against a dwarf) call directly for the writing of the names of the Seven Sleepers on communion wafer. In this manner, these charms testify to not only the influence of orality on script but also the influence of script on oral performance. In other words, due to script, the oral performances are transformed and what is produced is a material object which is a synthesis of both the worlds of orality and script.

This situation, in turn, raises certain epistemic questions concerning both the nature and function of these charms. These charms call upon the occult powers of nature and the natural world but at this time writing itself was perceived to be almost an occult power in itself known only to a few. Thus, to what extent were these charms as material objects recorded in manuscripts occult objects with a power of their own? In my talk, these questions would be developed through selective readings of the Old English Metrical Charms which seek to trace the construction of these charms as powerful material objects created through a blend of oral and literate practices. In epistemological terms, these short texts represent a complex interstice in Anglo-Saxon culture rather than a simple leftover from a pagan, oral past. By drawing on the concept of fabricated/performed realities drawn from the contemporary field of neo-materialism/onto-genetics (Bruno Latour, Isabelle Stengers, for example), I will offer a reading of these texts in terms of both their content and the dynamics of both script and performance.

Given that these Charms are found in five different manuscripts dating from the tenth to the late eleventh century, this talk will also raise questions concerning adequate editorial practice for texts of this nature.



The Interrelationship between *Gesta Francorum* and Related Texts

The proposed paper deals with the transmission of a textual family comprising the main versions of an anonymous eyewitness account of the first crusade (1095–9). The best known of the five surviving versions in question is *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, one of the most studied medieval chronicles today. The interrelationship between these texts is a complicated affair. It remains unsolved which version of the work is the most authentic one and, should none of the survivors represent the authorial text with adequate precision, how we should conjecture the urtext. It appears that the standard approaches of Maasian textual criticism are unlikely to produce valid solutions to our questions. What is more, this may apply also to today's computer-based tools. In a nutshell, the key problem impeding the textual criticism, both Maasian and electronic, of the evidence is this: how to distinguish between authorial voice and editorial touch. For instance, are certain expressions that appear in some versions but are absent from others authentic? In other words, do these expressions derive from the anonymous author or a subsequent editor, that is, a scribe who copied the text? Such uncertainties pervade our textual evidence literally from beginning to end. I argue that the title now most commonly used, *Gesta Francorum*, was an editorial one, whereas a geographical description of holy sites in and around Jerusalem, excluded from most modern editions, was likely to have been included, if not composed, by the anonymous author of the urtext. The paper first defines the problem and then seeks to solve it.

While its focus is a single textual family, the proposed paper discusses a textual condition that is probably more common than has been observed. Comparable problems are to be encountered in particular in the transmission of Latin works whose origin is insufficiently known as regards the author and the date and place of publication.



Godot's Textual Trails: A Digital Genetic Edition of *Waiting for Godot*

Compared to other works by Samuel Beckett, the genesis of *Waiting for Godot* was relatively short and smooth. Beckett finished his manuscripts in only a few months' time. He started writing on the right-hand pages of a copybook until he arrived at the back cover, turned the copybook around and continued on the blank pages in the opposite direction until he reached the end of the play. The translation and early English publication history raises interesting problems for textual scholars and genetic critics. But no matter how fascinating the early genesis of this play is, it was paradoxically not until the work was performed that the genesis became really interesting. This case study raises the question to what extent the transmission and performance of a text can be considered part of its (epi)genesis. Taking the play's annotated prompt copies and Beckett's production notes into account, this paper examines different orientations to text and investigates how the author in his capacity as director of his own play sometimes changed his mind; how this process of creative hesitation and decision making left its traces; and how these textual trails can be visualized in a genetic edition within the electronic environment of the Beckett Digital Manuscript Project ([www.beckettarchive.org](http://www.beckettarchive.org)).



ARIADNE NUNES

*Manuscripts as Performances*

Memory plays an important role in medieval literature, not only in the design of texts but also in their transmission. “*Mouvance*”, as Paul Zumthor coined it, reflects the importance of variance in medieval texts: the text is dynamic, and seen as a process more than as a product.

Manuscripts may be seen as a *medium* bridging written and oral facets of medieval society. They are written materials where the variance which characterises oral transmission is present, not only because they

were often dictated – i.e., orally transmitted –, but also because their variation is a display of the intervention of memory in the process of transmission. In this sense, it is possible to compare manuscript culture to oral *performances*. Both are unique representations of a text, impossible to repeat: as well as there are not two identical *performances* of a play, there are not two equal manuscripts. Both are subject to the influence of external conditions, light, weather or other interfering factors; and both depend on and reflect the interference of the audience: oral *performances* that demand or are subject to the reactions of the public; in manuscripts, glosses or marginalia that readers include, while or after reading. Sometimes the dialogue between the public or the audience is completely disconnected from the *performance* they are seeing or from the manuscript being read.

I will try to argue this proximity between manuscripts and oral *performances*, looking at one of the fifteenth century manuscripts of *Livro da Virtuosa Benfeytoria*, a Portuguese moral treatise written by Prince Pedro (1392-1449) and his confessor João Verba. This analysis shall also be related with the type of audience foreseen by this text.



UMA SHANKER PANDEY

French Intellectual Engagements in the 18th Century North India: A study of Textual Transmission and its Impact

The French adventurers who travelled to north India in the latter half of the 18th century had multifaceted presence. One of the lesser known aspects about their presence is their intellectual engagements and procurement of indigenous manuscripts, texts, etc in India. These Frenchmen engaged themselves in India's intellectual tradition and acted as 'tangible mediums' of texts' movement across continents. They procured manuscripts dealing with diverse subjects and transported them to Europe. At a time when the British 'Indologists' were yet to delve into intellectual understanding of India, these 'transported texts' had already begun acquainting the Occident with the Orient. The works of Anquetil Duperron, Gentil, Polier are particularly important whose collections acquired the reputation of most

authentic Indian 'literary import'. This transference of texts was not a single episodic event, in fact, Europe continued to receive texts, and in an ever increasing number, till the turn of the century. Encapsulating the oriental learning, these texts emerged as the bridge between the Western and Eastern cultures. Ideas, knowledge systems, beliefs, religions, philosophies, etc. prevailing in India reached Europe through these manuscripts. These 'moved texts' disseminated knowledge about India at a time when there was largely one-way movement of people, i.e. from the West to the East. These texts in a way were response to that unilateral movement, for these 'literary imports' represented the East. Anquetil Duperron came to India in 1755 and collected no less than 185 manuscripts called as '*Apportés de l'Inde*'. His Zend Avesta became a major text on India in Europe in the 18th century. *Recherches Historiques et Geographique sur l'Inde*, and *Inde en Rapport avec l'Europe* were Duperron's other works on India. The latter is particularly worth mentioning for Duperron's encomium on the greatness of Indian civilization and attempts to bridge the cleavage between distinct cultures. Similarly, Polier, the first European to have a complete copy of the Vedas, acquainted Europe with Indian religion and philosophy. Polier's Indian knowledge was even acknowledged by the famous British 'Indologist' William Jones who himself had depended on Polier for many Indian manuscripts. Polier's collections later became the source of Indian learning across Europe. Gentil another French renaissance man collected no less than 183 manuscripts. They dealt with diverse themes ranging from Indian cuisine to famous historical accounts. Gentil himself wrote *Memoires sur l'Indoustan* in French which he dedicated to his employer Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Awadh. The description of these textual materials here in nutshell is only the tip of the iceberg. These renaissance men's collections of a vast body of literature which reached Europe without variance proved to be the most authentic source on the Orient at that time. A study of the French intellectual engagements in India underlines that the texts not only act as a source for history but they can also create history, as they did in this context by bringing the Orient and the Occident closer through them.



The Tradition of Ancient Commentaries to Divine Comedy: the Case of  
“Amico dell’Ottimo”

The anonymous commentary to Divine Comedy known as “Amico dell’Ottimo” is a prime example of Dante’s fortune in 14th century. Written in the second half of the thirties in Florence area, the commentary uses as hermeneutic sources a branch of Ottimo Commento’s tradition and the system of glosses of Iacomo della Lana. This ancient text is transmitted by four manuscripts: ms. M676 of Morgan Library & Museum in New York (NY) – illuminated by 129 miniatures and written by the Florentine notary Andrea Lancia in the early forties, with anonymous interlinear glosses of 15th century in Neapolitan language –, ms. Barberiniano Latino 4103 (BA) – last quarter of 14th century, on which two copyists of southern Italy then wrote some remarkable glosses in the beginning of 15th century –, ms. Vaticano Latino 3201 (VA), codex descriptus of BA, both of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and ms. Fonds Italien 70 of BNF, written in Naples, another copy of BA, only partial codex, because the commentary is interrupted on Inf., x 48.

In this paper (and with the help of images from the codices) i would demonstrate, with practical examples of stemmatology (recurring mistakes in primis), the genealogical interconnections of manuscripts and i would illustrate also the editorial perspective of one of the oldest commentaries to *Divine Comedy*, in which we will inevitably have to deal with problems of paleography, linguistic stratigraphy and history of the miniature.



## Text and Con-Text: Critical Documentary Editing

Traditionally the label of “noncritical” editing has been used to define what many of us today prefer to call documentary editing. The former label has the main purpose of defining the practice in opposition to critical editing, by which we normally intend a way to reconstruct a lost (or never achieved) authoritative version (intended either as the original or as the ideal text) of a text by the means of conjectures and/or combining different versions of it. These versions are either authorial versions, characterised by successive elaborations, or scribal copies, characterized by innovations and errors. Since documentary editing has been (and often still is) defined as noncritical, it is worth then asking what “critical” actually means in this case, and what it is about so-called “critical” editing that gives it its name and that is (one must presume) absent from “noncritical” documentary editing.

According to the OED the word “critical” can be associated with (negative) “judging” and “fault-finding”; it may refer to an action “involving or exercising careful judgement or observation; nice, exact, accurate, precise, punctual” or being “occupied with or skilful in criticism”. Critical editing therefore seems to mean an activity that relates to finding and judging possible faults (errors?) of the text, and, further, carrying out this operation accurately and skilfully. To be fair, this rough definition does not do full justice to the shared, historical meaning of the expression “critical editing” in textual scholarship, however it is argued here that it underlies common understanding of the label “noncritical”, so much so that Kline and Perdue (2009) felt compelled to explain that noncritical does not actually mean uncritical, not really, it does not. However, it is in fact difficult to maintain that no critical judgment is involved in documentary editing, or that this form of editing does not require skill or accuracy. In different countries – Italy, for instance – “critical” is used more or less as a synonym of “scholarly” and is applied to editions based on multiple as well as single witnesses.

In previous contributions I have argued for documentary editing being a fundamentally interpretative (and critical) operation (ESTS 2013), the value of which resides in its capability to put the text back into context (Pierazzo and Stokes 2011), and where the document represent a sort of

etymological context, something that goes “with the text” as well as casting some light on its production and transmission. The digital environment has offered a much more flexible and versatile home for documentary editing than print did, a fact that has allowed this form of editing to start to express some of the potential that it can have as an instrument for knowledge and scholarship, a way to highlight unseen features of texts, contexts and con-texts. This situation is now forcing us to reconsider the role of documentary editing within scholarly discourse, trying to define it not by negative statements but by its own characteristics and potentials as a scholarly, critical activity that serves scholarly and critical purposes.



ELENA PIERAZZO

#### Textual Transmission as a Communication Act: a Model

Textual scholarship (and digital textual scholarship) engages with texts transmitted across time by the means of mainly physical supports. These supports can be made of different material (paper, papyrus, parchment, stones, fabric, wood, etc.) and can be handcrafted (manuscripts, epigraphy), or mechanically produced (printed books). Each combination of the above presents its own issues, problems, and requires specialized expertise and experience to be understood in full. Among these issues is the question whether a text can be separated from the physical object on which it is inscribed without loss of information. The whole idea of transmission, edition and distribution of texts from the invention of writing requires us to answer ‘yes’ to this question. For centuries, if not millennia, human civilisation has relied on the fact that text can be transmitted independently from the physical document in which it was originally inscribed by its ‘author’. Furthermore, the capability of texts to be so transmitted across time and media is the object of study of textual scholarship: editing itself is nothing if not a form a textual transmission, and although editors have methodological rigour and scholarship, they are otherwise in a sense not so different from ancient scribes that were collecting readings from more

than one source, correcting what they thought was wrong in their ante-graph. On the other hand, it has also been clear for millennia that ‘without loss’ is a utopian statement. Texts (intended as the verbal-symbolic content of documents) can be separated from the medium that originally hosted them because they ‘are not *only* physical objects’ (Eggert 2009), they are also immaterial, abstractions, and can be realized in many different ways, using different media, through different channels. However, this capability comes at a price which includes variation and the progressive deterioration of the original verbal content. Textual scholars and philologists have studied the phenomenology of textual variation since antiquity, and why variants (and errors) happen is well understood. However the phenomenon of textual transmission as a process and variation that goes with it has received very little formal modelling. Such an activity may help cast a new light on the phenomenon and, at the same time, it may enable the use of computational methodologies in the study of textual transmission.

Text transmission can in fact be generalized as a form of information transmission, and therefore can be considered a type of communication. If we take this route, it seems then appropriate to try to apply models developed by classic theories of communication. Models developed by Shannon and Weaver (1948), Jakobson (1960), Saussure (1916), Coseriu (1981) and Berruto (1987) will be used in order to produce a formal definition – a model – of textual transmission. This formalization is meant as a step toward production of an algorithmic representation of textual transmission.



KENNETH M. PRICE

“Many long dumb voices”: Social and Documentary Approaches to Walt Whitman in an Era of Shifting Paradigms

The *Walt Whitman Archive* is a thematic research collection that includes a scholarly edition but is not limited to an edition in its scope and aims. In creating this resource, our goal has been to have the most scholarly impact

and usefulness for Whitman studies and literary studies more broadly. With these purposes in mind, the Fredson Bowers-Thomas Tanselle model of critical editing—a model that shaped our immediate print predecessor *The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman*—offered little promise for a valuable intervention. Thus we place high priority on what past print treatments of Whitman ignored or under-valued. We do not attempt to establish a single definitive text but instead to prize multiplicity. There are dangers of letting chaos in the door, of course, but there are greater dangers in oversimplifying the textual record. Our interest in multiplicity is not only in the states of many documents Whitman left (across printed editions, manuscript and notebook drafts, corrected proofs, and periodical printings) but also in the network of creators often involved in any given “Whitman” document. For example, we show and analyze the role of printers via our page images and commentaries, and we present both sides of the correspondence, not just the outgoing correspondence of Whitman himself. We also treat Whitman’s interviews, his journalism where his texts live in conversation with those around them, photographs of the poet (studying both photographer and subject), Whitman’s collaborative (and anonymous) contributions to early biographies of Whitman, and his so-called scribal documents—those more than 3,000 letters he inscribed as a government clerk, all of which raise complex questions of authorship and collaboration. Like John Bryant in his fluid text theory, we are also interested in adaptive reworkings of Whitman, so we present translations of Whitman across numerous languages. And one day we will treat versions of the audio recording of Whitman left on a wax cylinder in his day that was recently remade in a catchy if controversial Levi’s commercial. Whitman’s texts continue to live and evolve over time as they reappear in advertisements, political speeches, television programs, and films. Addressing these types of responses has rarely been seen as part of the editorial enterprise, yet these responses shed light on the afterlife of documents, offering one gauge of their continuing resonance in the contemporary world, and, accordingly, they fit nicely within a digital archive encompassing an edition and much more. Looking to the future, we expect that the *Walt Whitman Archive* will open itself more fully to its users, helping to animate the many of voices of our current audience who could potentially contribute to annotation and commentary, taking advantage of the “writeability” of modern digital interfaces.

Dead End Trails: The Rejected Poems of Aaro Hellaakoski's *Jääpeili*

Aaro Hellaakoski's *Jääpeili* [Ice Mirror] (1928) is considered the most important Finnish language collection of poetry of the 1920s. Mixing avant-garde poetical devices such as free verse, parallel stanzas, colloquial language and experimental typography with more traditional means, the work is held as a forerunner of Finnish modernist poetry.

While the literary historical importance of *Jääpeili* is acknowledged, there is still a significant amount of poems of the work that has remained hidden from the public eye. In the manuscript of *Jääpeili* there is a distinct section titled "Kaseerattua" [Rejected] that contains a couple of versions of the published poems but also twelve unpublished poems.

In my paper, I will examine these unpublished poems and reflect upon the reasons of their rejection from the published work and what new information they might offer us for the interpretation of *Jääpeili* and its literary historical context.



STANISLAV REPINETSKIY

Chernishevskii's Novel "What Is to Be Done?": Variances in Understanding the Text

In April 1863, the leading Russian literary journal, *The Contemporary* (Sovremennik), published a novel entitled *What Is to Be Done?* Its author, Nikolai Chernyshevskii, was a journalist and staunch opponent of the imperial regime. Chernyshevskii wrote his novel in solitary confinement while awaiting trial for seditious activity in St. Petersburg's prison. *What Is to Be Done?* underwent a thorough official read-through before it was allowed to be published, and the censor's verdict was that it was a harmless love story. No one could predict that this less-than-mediocre fiction would become an instant literary sensation — and for many among the Russian radical youth, was nothing less than "a bible" of sorts, according to Lincoln,

Bogoslovskiy and other researchers.

This novel's contemporaries Nikitenko, Figner, Kropotkin and Panaeva clearly showed reflect that the popularity of Chernyshevskii's figure and novel was primary based on his image of the regime's victim captured into prison under false accusations. The text of the novel itself mysteriously traveled from prison and was unfortunately lost, but was luckily found later on. The journal, *Sovremennik*, described these adventures and created an attractive sort of glory for the author and his opus before the novel was even published. This was a good advertisement for the novel.

Several writers and memoirists Aksakov, Tyutchev, Chicherin and Krestovskiy focused on the mid-nineteenth century Russian public's remarkable attention to every oppositional and forbidden paper as a kind of afflatus. Accordingly, the government police and censorship who primary regarded *What Is to Be Done?* as a harmless story, contributed to its popularity as one of the epoch's most oppositional and influential texts.

The radical youth in Russia did not read *What Is to Be Done?* as a love story, but rather as a guide to social and political life. Great Russian writers Griboedov, Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenev and Goncharov had already exposed the vices and hopelessness of Russia's social and political system before Chernyshevskii's novel appeared. However, *What Is to Be Done?* was the first work of fiction that directly answered the question its title posed. The author suggested that the youth should disconnect with tradition and their families, educate themselves and reach economic independence through establishing their own enterprises following socialistic principles. This is exactly what the radical youth of the 1860s attempted to achieve, albeit unsuccessfully.

The next generation of radicals paid attention to Chernyshevskii's key (but not main) hero, Rakhmetov, who exemplified the iron-willed revolutionary ascetic and was immortalized for his absolute commitment to the people; Rakhmetov proved this by sleeping on a bed of nails. The radical youth began to view this character as an example of a true revolutionary and patriot, one who identified with the common working people. Consequently, Chernyshevskii's ideas were reincarnated in "*Catechism of the Revolutionary*" by Sergey Nechaev and "*What Is to Be Done?*" by Vladimir Lenin. In this way, the novel was transformed in readers' mind from a love story to a revolutionary program.

Understanding the Textual Tradition of the *Canterbury Tales*

In recent years, scholarly debate concerning the textual tradition of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (the most read and studied work of literature in English before Shakespeare) has become — after decades of somnolence — contentious and vigorous. One reason for this sudden focus on the *Tales* is the discoveries made in the last years about the identity of the scribes. Now we have names, and even biographies, where before we only had labels (“hand b”; “hand d”), and we have scholars attempting to lever these discoveries into a narrative of continuing revision of the text by Chaucer himself. Much of the debate revolves around questions of methodology, and the weight that should be given to the new stemmatic methods (using phylogenetic methods in particular) pioneered by some researchers associated with the project in the last two decades. Simultaneously, we are seeing new models of edition emerging, offering new possibilities for engagement between scholars and readers together with new modes of presentation of the texts we edit, including mobile phone apps. In this paper I will propose that scholars should adopt an “all of the above” approach, seeking to combine codicological and historical knowledge, the results of computer-assisted stemmatic analysis, and esthetic judgement, in order to present acts of exemplary reading. The paper will also present briefly two significant recent innovations into the editing of Chaucer's text: the “CantApp”, which seeks to bring Chaucer's text to a new generation of readers via mobile phones, and the “Textual Communities” project, which is creating a new online community of people working to transcribe all 30,000 pages of manuscripts containing the *Tales*, as a vital step towards the understanding of the whole tradition.



JONATHAN ROPER

Tracing Burwash Voices

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the rector of the Sussex parish of Burwash, the Reverend John Coker Egerton was much taken fascinated by the utterances of his parishioners said. Generally he was fascinated by them, though sometimes also repelled. In any event, he recorded these utterances in personal journals, ten of which survive today. These he used (suitably anonymised) in compiling a sequence of journal articles, and ultimately a book, about his parish and parishioners published in the early 1880s. From these printed works, the remarks of his parishioners were then extracted and cited by other authors in a long and wide chain of works, representing a diverse set of genres, including the *The Wonderful Weald*, *Oxford English Dictionary*, *English Proverbs* and *Proverbial Phrases and Harvesters and Harvesting 1840-1900*, to name just four. This paper attempts to trace these quotations of over time and space, to remark on their meaning in their changing print contexts, and, with the help of census, newspaper and other local data, also attempts to establish their significance in their original oral context as interaction between rector and parishioner.



MICHAEL RYZHIK

From Manuscripts to the Printed Editions

This paper focuses on the linguistic changes that took place in the process of the early printing of the Mishnah (a Palestine rabbinic composition from the second century C.E), with focus on the earlier printed editions in Italy and their subsequent developments during the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

For this purpose one must begin by determining what medieval manuscript traditions were at the disposal of the relevant printers, and subsequently to identify the possible motivations behind the various changes that can be

traced throughout the first centuries of the printing of this corpus.

After identifying the relevant traditions the paper will focus on various types of developments that took place in this process, among them the educated tendency to unify variations which appear in the earlier manuscripts and at the same time the influence of the oral traditions of the printers on the texts they produced.

The tendency of print technology to level variation and to impose an artificial uniformity on texts is noticeable already in the second vocalized printed edition from Amsterdam (1646), but it became decisive in the printed edition from Venice (1747), the edition that became the source for the “Livorno editions”. One may follow this reoccurring tendency until the latest version of the Livorno editions, printed in 1866.

The other type of changes that can be traced in the process of the printing of the Mishnah has to do with the effects of oral traditions of the scholars who were involved in the process of the printing of these texts on their own work. Among these phenomena it is possible to recognize phonological peculiarities that affected the vocalization of the text, such as the absence or the presence of the double consonants and the shortening or lengthening of vowels in some positions. In addition various internal morphological changes, such as analogies in the verbal systems, are noticeable and they most likely affected the language itself.

Finally, following the changes that took place in the transmission of the Mishnah from manuscripts into print may, in fact, shed light more broadly on the changes that took place in the transmission of the rabbinic corpora. More specifically, it will be discussed whether these phenomena are unique to the print or could have happened earlier with the manuscripts and with other oral traditions as well.



Textual Invariance and Textual Stability in the Manuscript Transmission  
of (Old) Icelandic Ívens Saga, Erex Saga and Parcevals Saga

The paper concentrates on the (Old) Icelandic literary genre “Translated Riddarasögur” with the narratives of Íven, Erex and Parceval. These are adaptations of the chivalric romances of Chrétien de Troyes, namely Yvain, Erec et Enide and Parceval.

The paper, which is based on my doctoral thesis, will focus on the visualization of textual trails like textual variance and invariance within these three sagas and will discuss reasons for its appearance in individual text examples, individual manuscripts and individual phases of transmission. Methodologically my thesis connects aspects of textual scholarship within the German “Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Methode”, New Philology as well as cultural studies with a Text – Context approach and aspects of the mediality discussion (NCCR Mediality project Zurich) with an analysis of the saga texts. The transmission, reception and reproduction of Ívens saga, Erex saga and Parcevals saga span more than six centuries, dating from 14th - 19th century and the sagas are transmitted in 20 Icelandic manuscripts. The manuscripts were produced not only in Iceland, but also in Copenhagen and Oslo. Production locations outside Iceland were generally made possible through the transportation of medieval and early modern manuscripts to Collections in Copenhagen in the 17th and 18th century.

Textual variance, as it is used here, is characterised as a change of the textual message, which occurs mainly through changes in the vocabulary. That means that textual invariance, on the other hand, usually does include morphological, orthographical and syntactical changes which arise from the context of manuscript production (Entstehungskontext) but do not cause a change of the textual message. Textual (in)variance only comes to light by comparison of the individual saga manuscripts. My study reveals that during many centuries of text transmission Ívens saga, Erex saga and Parcevals saga show a remarkable tendency of textual stability and continuity of the literary text. However, there are also examples of textual variance, mainly within two manuscripts: Holm papp 46 fol and AM 395 fol.

The paper will demonstrate that textual variance or invariance within a saga depends on the following aspects: 1) The manuscript itself,

its state of preservation, its production context (time and space), its textual source and its relation to other manuscripts. 2) The state of the manuscript tradition (Gesamttransmission). 3) The text itself and mainly the understanding of it throughout the Icelandic transmission. Ívens saga, Erex saga and Parcevals saga were handled as parts of the European transmission of romances and in that respect as stable, “classical” texts, although the three sagas were transmitted together with highly unstable texts, e.g. so called “Original Riddarasögur”. In my paper I will present my research results on the basis of two text examples.



ALECIA SIMMONDS

### Trading Sentiments: Friendship, Textual Changes and Imperial History

This paper explores the relationship between commerce, cross-cultural friendship and empire in the published Voyages of Pacific salt-pork trader John Turnbull. Turnbull published two versions of his Voyages, the first in 1805 and the second in 1813. Through exposing the variations between the two versions of his Voyages, and the reception of each text in the burgeoning periodical literature at the time, I explore how his commercially-oriented critiques of cross-cultural friendship transformed into unbridled enthusiasm in the second reprint. I explain this shift as both a consequence of a shift in genre, from commercial voyaging to scientific voyaging, and as a reflection of two competing ideas of the relationship between friendship and commerce. The first version reflects a Smithian ideal where friendship is excluded from commerce while the second version shows a natural law conception of friendship as commercial imperialism in its ideal, and morally virtuous, form.



The Vicissitudes of a Topical Work of Art. How *De stille kracht* by Louis Couperus Became Both a Prophetic and a Historical Novel

Since 2012, the research project *Circulation of Dutch Literature* (CODL) is running in more than fifteen countries. This international project, mainly funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), investigates the national and transnational dissemination and reception of Dutchlanguage literature from the Middle Ages until the present day. One of the working groups within the project is concerned with the vicissitudes of *De stille kracht* (1899), several times translated in English as *The Hidden Force*. *De stille kracht* is a ‘colonial’ novel by Louis Couperus (1863-1923), one of the most cosmopolitan and most translated Dutch authors who still has a large readership and who enjoyed a certain international fame in his own days as well.

My paper tries to answer the question what the printing and editing history of *De stille kracht* reveals about the ways in which the book has been read and assessed in the course of time. I will discuss how the novel developed from a modern work of art to a piece of literary heritage requiring background information and other explanations. Furthermore, I will show how *De stille kracht* has evolved in several other ways: from a contemporary novel depicting topical colonial issues to a historical novel and to a prophecy predicting the independence of Indonesia in 1949. A point of consideration is also to what extent the novel’s 1974 adaptation for television played a role in the transmission history of the book.



Textual Trails Gone Cold: The Manuscripts and Typescripts of T. S. Eliot's  
*The Waste Land*

In English, the word *trail* has an obsolete meaning which by a 'genetic' coincidence is illuminating for my topic. According to the OED, it means 'A latticed structure for training climbing plants upon; a trellis' and 'A lattice; a grating; a grill'. In the extant typescripts for T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, the famous line 'I have shored these fragments against my ruins' first read 'I have spelt these fragments against my ruins.' The verb to *spell*, apart from its obvious sense, also means, again according to the OED, 'To fit with bars or cross-pieces' – in other words, to create a trellis.

This early reading is of interest for an assessment of the poem's coherence (or, as critical tradition has it, the lack thereof) as a work of art and the way the poem was composed. Composition, it is now generally accepted by scholars, was not driven by a pre-existing plan. The degree to which the writing was unpremeditated is however under question. One thing is certain: the process was not entirely random or haphazard. Eliot in fact was greatly concerned with how the poem's form would cohere, though not in any traditional sense. Hence, the idea of a 'trellis' – a structure that ties the poem together but that would not have any intrinsic meaning – was an important one.

To understand this point one needs to take a closer look at the manuscripts and typescripts, not only for what is there, but also for what is not there. Though not immediately obvious, certainly not to previous scholars, is that the documents do not contain so much as a textual 'trail' than a particular outcome of that trail. Examination of the documents reveals that what is extant at the Berg Collection in the New York Public Library (and edited in facsimile by Valerie Eliot, the poet's wife) cannot simply be called a 'state' of the text, although it is very close to the published version. To be precise, what we have is a composite document of various manuscripts and typescripts created at different points in time but that were at one stage assembled in the form in which they survived. Accepting this fact highlights the fluid, non-teleological nature of the poem's composition, but it also points to earlier stages which now no longer survive.

With this paper therefore I want to trace some of the textual trails that, as it were, have gone cold but that can be conjecturally reconstituted in order to reveal more of the nature of Eliot's composition process. This process, I will

argue, is one of searching for a form that was not foreseen at the outset; a process of changing intentions and discoveries, and of the poet's confrontation with the deepest aesthetic problem: when is a poem really finished?



SARAH VAN PEE

The Influence of the Republic of Letters on the Transmission of Severian  
of Gabala's *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*

This paper will discuss the humanist network(s) of the "Republic of Letters" around Andreas Darmarios, Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, Johannes Sambucus, Henry Savile and Sebastian Tegnagel in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their influence on the roads travelled by the manuscripts of one distinct manuscript family of Severian's *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*.

Severian of Gabala was a fourth - fifth century bishop who preached in Constantinople. He is chiefly known for his enmity with John Chrysostom. The *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, a series of six homilies on Genesis 1-3, are his main work. Today the text of the *Homiliae in Hexaemeron* is only available to the reader in Savile's *editio princeps* (1612) and de Montfaucon's re-edition (1724), which was mainly based on the *editio princeps* and was reprinted in the *Patrologia Graeca* in 1859. Consequently, there is an urgent need for a critical edition, which I am preparing within the framework of the research project "*From Chaos to Order – the Creation of the World. New Views on the Reception of Platonic Cosmogony in Later Greek Thought, Pagan and Christian*".

The homily *Quomodo animam acceperit Adamus* seems to be the natural sequel to the six other homilies on the hexaemeron, but its authenticity is uncertain. The family within the manuscript tradition which will be discussed in this paper is distinguished by the insertion of the seventh homily between the fifth and the sixth homily.

I will follow the trail of two manuscripts, Ambrosianus Gr. 41 and Vindobonensis Gr. 105, on their odysseys from Padua through Milan,

Trento, Venice, Vienna, and (indirectly) to Oxford. Along the way, the paper will lay bare how these journeys were the result of the virtual intellectual society these humanists built along the itineraries they and their letters undertook. These humanist networks have not only influenced the transmission of the *Homiliae*, but also the establishment of the *editio princeps*, since Henry Savile was a member of this network.



JO WINNING

Text, Trace, Affect: Examining the Relationship between Editing, Textual Reconstruction and the Affective Investments of Scholarship

Dorothy M. Richardson is one of major modernist authors and figures, whose master-work *Pilgrimage* – the series of 13 auto/biographical novels begun in 1913 and ended in 1952 - stands as one of the key works of modernism. The early novels were well known in avant-garde circles in London and Paris in the 1920s; their originality was recognised by Virginia Woolf, Edith Sitwell, John Rodker, William Carlos Williams and Katherine Mansfield. Richardson's name was routinely linked with Joyce and Proust and Lawrence in interwar discussions about modernism. Richardson was, indeed, working at 'stream-of-consciousness' technique some time before its more famous proponent, James Joyce. However, she has been much neglected by literary scholarship by comparison with other writers, and only latterly been recognised as a crucial figure by literary critics and scholars. Her work has been much been occluded by critical neglect and subject to marginalisation and erasure on the grounds of gender, lack of material wealth and status and the complexity, and perhaps awkwardness, of her long modernist experiment. As such, the textual trails of Richardson's *Pilgrimage* – its manuscripts, its paratexts, the materials of correspondence and modernist network connections – are hard to pick up, to trace and to reconstruct.

This proposed paper arises out of the context of the large Richardson Scholarly Editions Project, now underway in the U.K.. This ambitious Project, begun in August 2013, has just received a major 5-year research

award from the Arts & Humanities Research Council (U.K.), on which I am a Co-Investigator [along with colleagues at the Universities of Keele, Oxford and Birmingham) will produce high-quality scholarly editions of Dorothy Richardson's correspondence and fiction: 3 volumes of her letters (1900-1952), 6 volumes of *Pilgrimage* and 1 volume of her shorter fiction [all to be published by Oxford University Press, between 2015-2020]. The new critical editions of *Pilgrimage* will be supported by critical introductions and full scholarly apparatus. The volumes of letters will be reprinted with fully annotations. The editorial Project will be based upon extensive archival research in the U.K. and the U.S.. The textual trails in the Project are multifarious, rich in potential for what they bring to the task of reconstruction of text and network and simultaneously overwhelming and complex in terms of sheer size and fragmentation. This paper, written early in the life of the Project will take a single test-case – the friendship/patronage relationship between Dorothy Richardson and Bryher and Richardson's auto/biographical textual practice - to consider two fundamental questions about editorial work: what does it mean to locate a trace across texts (both printed and draft manuscripts) and paratexts (in this case, correspondence)? And then further, how to we read the affect (here as defined by psychoanalysis) of the trace, both in terms of the affect embedded in the written text of *Pilgrimage* and in terms of the affect that we, as 'readers' of the trace, invest in the process of editorial work? This latter question matters, since it inflects our role in the 'transmission' of recovered texts, in the work of production of new critical editions.



GABRIELE WIX

“Ein Ausdruck hat nur in [sic] Strome des Lebens Bedeutung (An expression has meaning only in the stream of life)” (Norman Malcom. *Wittgenstein. A Memoir*). The Oral Transmission of a Statement through the Medium of a Foreign Language

Pointing out that Kristóf Nyíri made “a strong case for considering the Wittgenstein Nachlass in the light of recent media philosophy”, Herbert Hra-

chovec gives a simple, but nevertheless convincing explanation why Ludwig Wittgenstein did not succeed in finishing the books he wanted to write, leaving thousands notes and slips of papers instead. According to Hrachovec, the reason for this is Wittgenstein's "failure to distinguish between the written and the spoken word". Thus the core of Wittgenstein's philosophy seems to be based on the conversation, that is to say: on the spoken word. This is why the paper focuses on the oral transmission of a central thesis of Wittgenstein's philosophy.

In 1949, the American philosopher Norman Malcolm (1911-1990) invited the Austrian-British philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) as a close friend of his to the U.S., and meticulously recorded all the conversations they held, two years before Wittgenstein died. In 1958, he published these conversations in the English language in *Ludwig Wittgenstein: A Memoir*. Oxford University Press: London. This book was to become one of the most accurate witnesses of Wittgenstein's way of thinking.

This can be proved by the fact that one of Wittgenstein's remarks of that time which Malcolm struck as "especially noteworthy" was explicitly handed down in German, whereas the English translation was provided only in parentheses: "Ein Ausdruck hat nur in [sic] Strome des Lebens Bedeutung (An expression has meaning only in the stream of life)" (Malcolm 1958, 93).

But nobody has paid attention to this extraordinary German formulation of one of the central theses of Wittgenstein's late philosophy. In the German edition of this memoir, the English edition's bilingual presentation of the quote is absent, and the primacy of Malcolm's atypical inclusion of the German with the grammatical error, which provides clear evidence of authenticity, is corrected. In this German formulation, the statement cannot be found anywhere in Wittgenstein's writings, even not in the philosopher's partially typed and handwritten notes cut into slips of paper. Thus this orally transmitted document is unique.

The paper provide inside in this extraordinary example of oral transmission through a foreign language considering questions of its special feature and its preservation in written language not only in philosophy, but also in conceptual art.



## The Yemenite Tradition between a Written and Oral Tradition

Over the last century the consensus among scholars of the rabbinic literature is that the Yemenite tradition is known as the best oral tradition among the reading traditions of the Mishnah (a text composed in Palestine during the second century C.E.). The common assumption is that this prestigious tradition relies solely upon the tradent's memory. In this model, a Yemenite who maintains this tradition remembers the pronunciations of his teachers and thus inherits the tradition from the previous generation, as he obtains a knowledge concerning each and every word. In the current paper I would like to challenge this assumption concerning the formation of such oral traditions.

First, it is possible to demonstrate that although often a reader relies on his memory, his reading is also affected by a grammar resulted from various linguistic generalization. This claim can be demonstrated in various morphological phenomena. For example, the pronunciation of foreign words shows a tendency towards homogenous endings, even when this ending is neither what is found in the written texts nor the original form.

Furthermore, the pronunciation of various lexical items and various grammatical forms are often influenced by the reading traditions of other corpora. This claim can be illustrated by demonstrating the influence of the reading of the Aramaic translation to the Bible (the Targum) on the reading of the Mishnah. This claim is based on the fact the Targum was well known in Yemen, as it was read in public each Saturday. This translation was always read from vocalized texts, and hundreds of manuscripts of the Targum written in Yemen from the 14th century to the 20th century, are all fully vocalized. As a result, when the Mishnah and the Targum share common or similar forms, in the majority of cases the forms will be read in the same way, even when it is very likely that originally they were not the same. Therefore, the reading of this group of words in the Mishnah is highly influenced by the other tradition; this is clearly the result of the linguistic knowledge of the reader and not necessarily a production of his memory of the specific forms.

These observations have the potential of elaborating more on the phenomenon of oral traditions in general when they are accompanied by a written tradition.

Reading a Text as an Image – Special Features of the Typeset Musical Editions in the 20th Century

Contrary to most musical publications, editions of Finnish choral music in the first half of the 20th century were produced by typesetting and not by engraving, which was the normal practice in turn-of-the-century Europe. There is a natural reason for this unusual practice: there were no engravers in Finland at the time – indeed, there have never been any. The manuscript of the music that was to be engraved (i.e. orchestral music, most piano music, etc.) was usually sent to Germany to be engraved. Presumably due to the limited market for choral music with texts in Finnish or Swedish, it was not cost-effective to send manuscripts to Germany – particularly given that most of choral music was published by non-profit organisations, which had no international contacts or experience in the field of music publishing.

Unlike typesetting a literary text, the production of musical notation by means of typesetting was an extremely difficult task, and the typesetter's craftsmanship determined to a great extent the outcome of the final product. In fact, certain kinds of complexities in the notation which could be produced by engraving were impossible to achieve by means of typeset. Thus, the fact that choral music was produced by typesetting also affected the contents of the edition.

Typesetters were highly trained professionals, but they were not musicians; in other words, they were unable to read the notation *as a text* (*Notentext*) – instead, the musical notation was transcribed *as an image* (*Notenbild*). This means that no editorial work in the modern sense occurred at all. Instead, typesetters strove to reproduce the *Notenbild* of the manuscript (or some other source that served as the typesetter's copy) as accurately as possible – even including any obvious mistakes in the source.

During the 1950s the laborious typesetting process was gradually taken over by more sophisticated methods such as photsetting, which made the printing of the *Notenbild* considerably easier. The advancement in the printing technology also showed in the general editorial principles: once the outcome was not dictated so heavily by the means of production, the editor could control the process and exert a greater influence on the end product.

In my presentation, I will first describe features of the typesetting process from the perspective of musical editions. Thereafter I will discuss its effect on published editions and take a closer look at typical printing errors caused by features specific to the typesetting process. Finally, I will describe how the end of the era of typeset editions affected the general editorial practices in Finnish choral music.



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