

Texts, Transmissions, Receptions

Radboud Studies in Humanities

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Texts, Transmissions, Receptions

Modern Approaches to Narratives

Edited by

André Lardinois
Sophie Levie
Hans Hoeken
Christoph Lüthy



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Introduction

André Lardinois, Sophie Levie, Hans Hoeken and Christoph Lüthy

In 2009 the central administration of Radboud University Nijmegen awarded the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Philosophy, Theology, and Religious Studies a large grant to fund two projects that would stimulate the research and collaboration of the two faculties. It was decided that one of these projects would be devoted to exploring common ways to study the function and meaning of texts, since texts are at the core of the subjects studied in both Humanities faculties. The word “text” here is used in the broadest sense of the term: it does not only denote literary or scholarly sources, but also oral tales, speeches, newspaper articles and comics. One of the purposes behind the project was to discover what these different texts have in common, where they differ and whether they can be studied in similar ways. The same questions underlie this volume.

In February 2009 Glenn Most (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa / University of Chicago), the author of innumerable studies in the field of Classics, Philosophy, and the Humanities at large, was appointed visiting professor at both faculties. Together with André Lardinois, he organised an interdisciplinary research group entitled “Text, Transmission and Reception,” which consisted of researchers from the two Humanities faculties of Radboud University. Within this research group, different projects were pursued, based on the interests of the individual researchers. This resulted in four subgroups, which are also represented as sections in this volume: New Philology, Narrativity, Image and Text, and Reception and Literary Infrastructure.

After researchers of the two faculties of Radboud University had worked for over a year in these four subgroups, it was decided to organise a large conference in the fall of 2010, entitled “Texts, Transmissions, Receptions,” where they could share results with one another and also with other scholars from outside the university. A selection of the papers presented at this conference lies before you. The conference was set up in such a way that all participants could attend all the papers. This was done deliberately, so that participants could learn from each other’s, often very different, approaches. More than 70 scholars took part in the conference, which brought together researchers from such diverse disciplines as Classical Studies, Medieval Dutch Literature, English Literature, Philosophy, Religious Studies, Cultural Studies, Art History, Linguistics, and Communication and Information Studies, all united in a common interest in “texts.”

We hope that something of this unity of purpose is also apparent in this volume. Humanities studies are going through hard times, while their contribution to society is being questioned. Humanities researchers are themselves, however, often each other's worst critics. Instead of recognising their common purpose, they denounce approaches that differ from their own as if they constitute some kind of heresy. In this volume different approaches are juxtaposed which the individual contributors had previously not considered together. The hope is that the reader, like the participants at the original conference, learns from these different approaches and learns to appreciate each of them in its own right. Together they provide a broad picture of the function and meaning of texts, which still lie at the core of human communication in religion, law, politics, advertisement, journalism, philosophy and literature. If such texts are not worth studying, one wonders what is.

New Philology

The first section of this book takes as its starting point an approach to textual criticism that calls itself New Philology. It demands attention for the dynamic changes in the physical appearances and contexts of literary, philosophical and religious texts over time. This section seeks to evaluate the merits of this approach in four papers that combine theoretical reflections with either a modern or historical literary or religious text. In the first paper, Mark de Kreij examines the record of the textual transmission of Sappho's poetry in antiquity. Sappho, who lived and worked on the island of Lesbos around 600 BC, was recognized as one of the canonical lyric poets of ancient Greece. Because of this exalted status, we find quotations of her poems in many later classical authors. Together with papyrus finds, these quotations make up for our lack of a surviving manuscript tradition of her work. Usually they are studied only with an eye to the reconstruction of the lost original of Sappho's songs. As a result, they have received little attention in their own right. In the tradition of New Philology, de Kreij closely examines two fragments of Sappho that have been transmitted in more than one source, fragments 2 and 154, contrasting the different forms they take in the different sources. He argues that each of these forms is the product of its time and author, and as such constitutes a rich source of information about the reception and transmission of Sappho's poetry in antiquity. He therefore pleads for a new edition of Sappho's fragments that shows the variations in the transmission of her songs in antiquity.

New Philological text editions, which try to reproduce the different versions in which texts appear over time, are almost impossible to produce on paper,

when many variants of a text survive. Bernard Cerquiglini, one of the founders of New Philology in Medieval Studies, therefore predicted the use of computers in constituting text editions from the perspective of New Philology already in 1989. Karina van Dalen-Oskam in her article looks back at Cerquiglini's prediction concerning the role of the computer in such text editions and compares his expectations with the current state of the art in digital textual scholarship. She shows where the current situation proves Cerquiglini right, but also where technical developments have overtaken and improved upon the possibilities Cerquiglini foresaw more than twenty years ago. The new opportunities that have come about are illustrated through the example of statistical research on fifteen copies of the same episode in a Middle Dutch Bible in rhyme, the so-called *Rijmbijbel*, written by Jacob van Maerlant in 1271 BC. It demonstrates how multivariate approaches such as cluster observation and principal components analysis can help to visualize the relative position of each of the copies when compared to each other. It also shows how such methods can be used as exploratory tools, pointing the researcher to those episodes or manuscripts that deserve closer attention.

Rob van de Schoor in his contribution to the volume explores the significance of the insights generated by New Philology for the textual transmission and reception history of a printed text, *De officio pii viri* ("On the Duty of the Pious Man"), written by Georgius Cassander and first published in 1561. Van de Schoor lists 15 editions or reprints between 1561 and 1687, often with significant additions or changes to the text. These changes are often based on the religious convictions of subsequent editors. He compliments New Philology for drawing attention to such variations of a text, but he is critical of the new movement as well. First of all, as he points out, traditional philology registered these differences as well, but it evaluated them differently. Secondly, it is hard to maintain that these different versions are of equal significance, especially in the case of printed editions. Van de Schoor values New Philology more for the paradigmatic shift it represents than for the practical effect it will have on textual studies.

New Philology has close affinity with genetic editing, except that genetic editing records and evaluates variations of a text *before* its first publication (author's notes, typescripts, etc.), whereas New Philology focuses on variations of a text *after* its first appearance. We have therefore included an article by Benjamin Alexander which looks at the possibilities of the Salman Rushdie Archive, kept at Emory University in Atlanta, for the reconstruction of the creative process that led to his novels. This archive includes four Apple computers, whose hard drives allow for an almost minute by minute reconstruction of Rushdie's writing process. Alexander draws parallels with other digital archives of mod-

ern authors or the way we know other modern novels have been written. Alexander uses the findings of New Philology, as well as the concept of the *palimpsest* (a manuscript that has been written over with a new text), to argue for the significance of these earlier, creative versions of a text. Together these four contributions in the New Philology section celebrate the diversity in which a text can appear rather than trying to pin it down to one, authorial (and authoritative) version.

Narrativity

The four contributions to the *Narrativity* section broaden the scope of research on the reception of texts to the way stories are read and understood. Two of the papers focus on the characteristics and impact of literary texts, whereas newspaper stories are the topic of interest in the other two. In two papers, the analysis of these narratives (one literary, the other journalistic) is embedded within a linguistic framework, whereas the other two studies adopt a communication science model. Finally, apart from a more theoretical paper, corpus analyses are reported on in two papers, and an experiment on participants' responses to a literary text, in the other. Despite this variety in chosen texts, theoretical frameworks and approaches, the studies in this section form a surprisingly coherent set.

The chapter by Helen de Hoop and Sander Lestrade is an excellent example of how linguistic theory and analysis can be applied fruitfully to literary texts. They focus in their study on the use of a single word in Nabokov's *Lolita*: the epistemic modality auxiliary *might*. In natural language, speakers employ epistemic modality markers such as *may* and *might* to express their hypotheses about the state of affairs in the actual world. By stating that "Peter might pass the exam," the speaker communicates that he or she believes that it is possible – but not certain – that Peter will pass. Whereas people in the real world can be uncertain about such facts, omniscient narrators in fiction are not expected to suffer from such uncertainties, as they make up this world themselves.

Nabokov's *Lolita* is an interesting work of fiction in this respect, given that it is a frame story. Humbert Humbert, the main character in the story, is also a character at a higher level where he serves as the narrator when writing his confession in prison after the events have unfolded. As a result, when *might* is used, it may refer to uncertainty felt by Humbert as the character in the story or by Humbert the narrator of the events. De Hoop and Lestrade analyze all 136 occurrences of *might* in Nabokov's *Lolita* to assess whether the person in doubt is "Humbert the character" or "Humbert the narrator." The results show that

when *might* is used to express the doubt of a character, it is almost always clearly and explicitly marked by syntactic embedding. In contrast, subtle contextual cues reveal when the use of *might* has to be interpreted from the narrator's perspective. The approach taken by De Hoop and Lestrade yields interesting results for both literary studies and linguistics. For literary studies, it shows how a careful linguistic analysis can help to address the question of who is thinking, perceiving, and wondering in a story. For linguistics, the study shows how language in the hands of a genius can be used to achieve goals and effects ordinary language users would not think of, but still can understand. As such, it broadens our view of what language can achieve.

Whereas De Hoop and Lestrade study the way in which an unreliable narrator represents his own as well as other people's thoughts and words, Kirsten Vis, José Sanders and Wilbert Spooren focus on the way in which journalists represent the wording of their sources in their news reports. They show that quotations in news stories have special characteristics and serve other functions than they do in works of fiction. For instance, direct quotes do not only serve to enliven the news report, they also suggest that the journalists were present when these words were uttered, thus attesting to the veracity of these words. Vis et al. claim that journalists quote a news source directly to present themselves as reliable witnesses to the situation.

Vis et al. do not only study the use of (complete) direct quotes, but also of partial direct quotes, and of indirect representations of people's spoken or written words in news stories. These indirect representations in which people's words are paraphrased by the journalist, appear to be used to summarize a source's position on an issue. Such paraphrases are often alternated with (semi-)direct quotations of the source. Partial direct quotes, such as: *The minister found the accusation "really disgusting"* appear to serve several functions: not only do they enliven the article, they also put distance between the quoted speaker's opinion and that of the journalist.

Whereas quotations can create distance between the opinion of the news source and that of the journalist, free indirect presentations of, for instance, thoughts in news sources achieve exactly the opposite: they lead to the intertwining of the source's and the journalist's voices. Free indirect thought is a quite common technique employed in literary texts. Vis et al. show that free indirect thought, however, is absent in both recent and older Dutch news narratives. Given that journalists do not have direct access to what their sources were thinking, this may explain why they refrain from using this technique.

Vis et al. did not find any occurrences of free indirect thought in their corpus. However, there have recently been a number of articles in which journalists employ (literary) storytelling techniques, such as the use of free indirect

thought, to reconstruct the events and backgrounds of shocking news events. José Sanders and Hans Hoeken focus in their contribution on the function such reconstructions may serve and on the kind of impact that these story telling techniques may have. It has been claimed that the most important function of language is the exchange of social information. Nowadays, journalists play an important role in the exchange of such information. They function as gatekeepers who identify events that are newsworthy for the community they cater to.

One way in which an event can meet the criterion of newsworthiness is by (strongly) deviating from the expectations and norms of the community, such as a mother killing her own babies or a man killing innocent bystanders in a mall. Hard news reports on such events are typically followed by longer background articles. These articles are often cast in a narrative format which describes either the events as they have been experienced by people involved, or the psychological makeup of the perpetrator. Sanders and Hoeken point out that this distinction in focus runs parallel to the distinction made between the two landscapes a story is said to construct: the landscape of action and the landscape of consciousness. The landscape of action enables readers to assess the consequences of actions, whereas the landscape of consciousness provides readers with a potential explanation for why the perpetrator acted the way he or she did.

In the final contribution in this section, the focus shifts from news narratives back to literary stories. An important aspect that sets stories apart from genres such as text books or letters to the editor is their ability to lure their readers away from the here and now and lead them into the world evoked by the story. This experience of being lost in a book has been dubbed “transportation” and has attracted a lot of research attention. Anneke de Graaf and Letticia Hustinx in their contribution focus on the role of the character in transporting readers to the narrative world.

De Graaf and Hustinx follow up on the suggestion that it is easier to empathise with a likeable character than with an unlikeable character. In their study, they use a short, literary story about a man who travels in the Basque country in Spain and ends up being murdered by a terrorist group that is active in that area. In an experiment, De Graaf and Hustinx created three versions of this story that only differ minimally from one another. In one version information is provided that makes the character more likeable; in another version information is given that makes him rather unsympathetic. A third version, which served as a control, is relatively neutral about the character’s likeability. Subsequently, the three versions were randomly distributed among partici-

pants who indicated the extent to which they empathised with the character and felt transported to the world described in the story.

De Graaf and Hustinx found that readers of the version with the likeable character displayed a more positive disposition towards the protagonist and empathized more with him than readers of the neutral version, who in turn displayed a more positive disposition and felt more empathy for the protagonist than readers of the version with the unlikeable character. Also, the story featuring the likeable protagonist resulted in more transportation of the reader than the stories with either the neutral or the unlikeable protagonists. These results show that the portrayal of a protagonist as a more sympathetic person through descriptions of “good” actions and thoughts is indeed an antecedent of transportation.

Together, the contributions in this section reveal the relevance of seemingly unrelated theoretical frameworks and methods to the study of narrativity and narrative reception. They show how linguistic theory can inform the analysis of perspective in both literary texts and journalists’ narratives. Finally, they show how the conceptualisation of the impact of stories, originally developed to explain how literary texts affect their readers, can be extended to explain the design and function of newspaper narratives.

Image and Text

At least etymologically, images and written words appear to have common origins. These are found in the act of scratching meaningful lines on a surface in order to leave signs that last longer than spoken words. After all, the Greek word *graphein* means any gesture that literally *en-graves* something on a tablet, irrespective of whether the result is a word (the spelling of which ought to follow the rules of *ortho-graphy*), a *dia-gram* or another type of *graphic* design. In other words, when the *graphis* (a slate pencil) has carved its lines, the result may be a drawing or a letter, but in each case it will be a *graphē* or *gramma* – for these two all-embracing words mean all of these types of engravings. In the particular case of hieroglyphics, the “drawing” and the “letter” may even fall together, and only the context will tell whether the drawings should be read as text or as image.

Writing and imaging can in many cases therefore be viewed as alternative, but equivalent options. In the collection of essays that are contained in this section, however, words and images are not presented as alternative strategies for similar ends, but as parts of integrated wholes. This is due to the fact that we routinely use words and images jointly so as to reinforce the meaning of

what we wish to communicate. In everyday life, the way in which texts and images collaborate poses few problems. We have learned, and therefore intuitively understand, how words and texts interact in such cases as traffic signs, user's manuals, encyclopedia entries or advertisements. However, when we turn to historical examples, we see that our intuition abandons us quickly. Baroque emblem books, for example, in which a title, an often deliberately cryptic image and an explanation in allegorizing verses are combined to form a message, are no longer understandable to us, in the sense that we don't grasp without engaging in much historical research what we ought to do with emblems and in which cognitive, spiritual or moral ways we are expected to react to them.

But even in cases where we intuit the meaning in word-image constellations past and present, we usually cannot quite explain how exactly they work. What is the contribution of the text, what of the images? In which precise way do images reinforce the textual message? Or conversely, in which way does the text either add to, or instead merely explicate, the meaning of the images? What is the argumentative force that we attribute to a photograph with or without a caption, to a diagram with or without an explanation, to a painting with or without a title, to a map with or without inscriptions?

This precise set of questions animated the above-mentioned study group "Image and Text," in which historians of art, philosophy, literature and science collaborated with experts in media and communication science for an extended period. The four articles reproduced here are a small and yet representative expression of this work. Examining the interaction of texts and images in past and contemporary cases, they manage to provide an exquisitely complex introduction to the richness and complexity of the issues at stake. The first of them studies the triangular relation between canonical and legendary texts, the genre of sacred drama, and painting in the construction of a specific iconographical theme. The second discusses the religious and ideological considerations behind the inclusion or exclusion of illustrations in Bibles produced in the Dutch Republic between 1560 and 1680. The third contains an analysis of the use of various graphic means of representation employed in an anthropological study of North American Indians. The final essay deals with the inevitable but uneasy combination of text and image in the genre of comics. Each example confronts us with a very distinct relation between looking and reading; in each case, what words are expected to add to images or images to words follows a very different logic; finally, the four cases also differ with respect to the esthetical, pedagogical or edifying objectives that are involved.

In the first contribution to this section, Bram de Klerck examines Mary Magdalene's conversion in Renaissance painting and mediaeval sacred drama.

In this particular case study, we encounter texts and images at one remove from each other, although – so de Klerck argues – we will not understand the emergence of this new subject of Renaissance iconography, namely the conversion of Mary Magdalene, without understanding the genre of sacred drama in which this conversion was first represented. In other words, between the biblical and non-canonical texts that spoke of Mary Magdalene's life, and the Renaissance paintings of her conversion, there existed, as it were as a bridge, the genre of drama that mixed (spoken) text with visual action. The theme of Mary Magdalene's conversion is thus, as de Klerck argues, “an example par excellence of the sometimes complex relationship between texts and images” in Renaissance art, where “depictions” of a theme must be seen as “translations into visual form” of a plethora of textual and dramatic sources.

Els Stronks in her contribution compares the editions of Bible texts in the Dutch Republic with those in neighbouring countries and explores why practices of illustration in the Dutch Republic differed from those in other countries. Recent research has shown that between 1560 and 1680, religious literature produced in the Dutch Republic contained far fewer illustrations than similar literature in the surrounding countries. Stronks argues that these differences were motivated by theological and ideological views rather than by commerce. In pre-Reformation religious texts imagery served to illustrate the doctrine and to help memorize the text. Theological debates on the hierarchy between word and image, which in the sixteenth century led to iconoclastic outbursts in large parts of Western Europe, put an end to a peaceful coexistence of word and image. In the Dutch Republic, known for its religious tolerance, people from different denominations participated in a common culture, which could even lead to a mixture of Protestant and Catholic features in imagery: the paintings of Rembrandt are an example of this. However, in translations of the Bible or in spiritual song books produced in the Republic, this intermingling of word and image proved problematic. This is demonstrated in particular by the controversy surrounding the publication of the States Bible in 1637, in which the printer Paulus Aertsz. van Ravesteyn embellished initials with illustrations. It met with severe criticism and illustrated Bibles remained forbidden in the Northern Netherlands. This article shares affinity with van de Schoor's essay in the New Philology section, which registers the influence of the religious and theological viewpoints of subsequent editors on the constitution of the text of Cassander's *De officio pii viri* in the same time period.

Camille Joseph's essay, entitled “Illustrating the Anthropological Text,” analyzes the use made by the American anthropologist Franz Boas of drawings and photographs in his *Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* of 1897. Joseph shows that for Boas photographs and drawings

constituted “data,” just like his musical recordings, the collected specimens or the evidence gathered in situ and described in words, but that he “never fully explained his use of the different kinds of ethnographic data.” The respective status of photographs and drawings changed in the course of Boas’ activity, with photographs taking prominence only towards the close of the century. Joseph carefully explains the “overwhelmingly abundant” presence of means of communication and representation in Boas’ work and documents the way they reinforce one another. We learn why this American anthropologist found photographs without explanatory captions useless; why he sometimes had drawings made that corrected the photographs upon which they were based; and why photographic portraits of Kwakiutl Indians were at times artificially arranged so as to display the elements that Boas wanted to emphasize in his text.

In the final contribution to this section, Tom Lambeens and Kris Pint draw attention to the uneasy, but necessary cohabitation of words and images in comics – a genre that has evolved since the nineteenth century as a way of story-telling by means of sequential, text-supported images. The authors speak of a “duality” of image and text that contains a tension that can be felt by the reader, whose glance has to jump to and fro between two media, as well as by the artists, who have to cope with the fact that the “anti-sensual realm of the text” in some sense disturbs the aesthetic logic of their images. The co-authors, one of whom is a comics artist himself, speak of the various strategies by which what they variously describe as a “chasm,” “tension” or “conflict” between the two means of expression can be overcome, or at least mitigated.

“Image and Text”: by responding with such different case studies to a clearly formulated set of questions, the four essays presented here make a valid contribution to a debate that sometimes suffers from totalitarian claims. Aristotle’s statement that we cannot think without mental images has led to claims that everything is an image, even what is written out in words. This view has been contested by the opposite, but equally absolutist claim that “all is text.” Whether we, as members of the human species, *ultimately* make sense of the world in primarily visual or primarily conceptual terms is no doubt a fascinating question. But irrespective of what the answer to this question might be, and irrespective of the common roots of drawing and writing in the scratching action of the primordial slate pencil, it must be evident that today, we engage very different media indeed when describing, interpreting or re-inventing the world, whereby textual and graphic means constitute two large types. The ways in which these two types interact is rich, complex and mysterious enough to deserve our intellectual attention.

Reception and Literary Infrastructure

The three contributions in the final section of this book look at different aspects of the reception of texts that influence their understanding. Sabrina Corbellini and Margriet Hoogvliet discuss the dynamics of the process of translation, transmission and reception of the Latin Bible into the vernaculars during the late Middle Ages. Next to the clergy which traditionally used Latin as its language, a *respublica laicorum* for which the vernacular was the language of communication, developed in this period. This cultural transformation, which started in France and Italy, has been much discussed in recent research, especially with regard to didactic and moralizing literature. Corbellini and Hoogvliet instead concentrate on the emancipation of the laity through active readership of religious literature in the vernacular. The authors apply the concept of “cultural transfer” to discuss the processes of translation and dissemination of the Bible into the vernaculars. They stress the reciprocity of the exchange: laymen as well as the clergy played an important role in the transmission of the texts. Very often manuscripts would contain a selection of Bible books instead of a complete translation. Corbellini and Hoogvliet argue that these fragmented Bibles should not be interpreted as part of a strategy of the Church to keep the “real” Bible away from the lay, but instead as a strategy of the clergy to propagate the text of the Bible. As for the participation of the new reading communities: the compilations and copies made for personal use were passed on from one generation to another and thus helped individuals, families and (semi-)professional networks of laymen to construct their religious identities. In this process they were supported by the activities of members of the clergy who actively supported the religious ambition of lay believers, both men and women. There are close parallels between this paper and the papers in the *New Philology* section: translations can be seen as an extreme example of the variation of a text, which opens it up to a whole new readership and to new ways of transmission and reception. It also shares affinity with Els Stronks’ paper in the Image and Text section on the appearance of Bible texts in the Dutch Republic.

In his essay on the interpretation by Petrus Ramus and Johannes Kepler of Proclus’ *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid’s Elements*, Guy Claessens approaches the notion of reception from a philosophical perspective. Claessens’ goal is to show that both Ramus’ and Kepler’s reading are based on their own ideas and preconceptions about mathematics, while they at the same time feel the need to ground these ideas in text of a fifth-century, classical Neoplatonist. Ramus’ evaluation of Proclus’ commentary of Euclid is mostly positive. According to Proclus, the history of mathematics is an evolutionary process,

and Ramus agrees. But the reading of the French logician differs from that of Proclus on two important points. Ramus transfers the notion of mathematics as a process of reminiscence from the level of the individual to that of a collective evolutionary process. Secondly, mathematical learning, according to Ramus, does not involve the remembering of innate concepts but of mathematical practices instead. (Later Ramus changed his ideas about the history of mathematics and accepted Proclus' idea of *recordatio* as an individual recollection of innate concepts.) Ramus blames Plato for the corruption of the history of mathematics. According to him the return of a natural geometry is only possible when the words *usus* ["practice"] and *finis* ["purpose"] become synonyms again, and geometry returns to being the *ars bene metiendi* ["the art of correct measuring"] instead of a philosophical doctrine. Ramus' appreciation of the work of Euclid thus closely follows the development of his own ideas.

The reading of the German astronomer Kepler of Proclus' *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements* differs greatly from Ramus' utilitarian approach. According to him the philosophical relevance of geometry is reflected in the archetypical construction of the cosmos, Claessens explains. For Kepler, Proclus' text is fundamental for a correct understanding of geometry's philosophical foundation. He therefore criticizes Ramus in his *Harmonices mundi* (Linz 1619), using Proclus' treatise. In his meticulous analysis Claessens demonstrates how both Ramus and Kepler go back to the text of Proclus to restore the fundamentals of geometrical thinking, but in diametrically opposed ways.

While Claessens explains the different interpretations of Proclus from the different, philosophical ideas of two of his later readers, Ramus and Kepler, Laurens Ham in his contribution to this volume attributes the lack of consensus among modern critics about the meaning of *Max Havelaar*, the famous novel of the nineteenth-century Dutch writer Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker), to the ambivalent and complicated relationship the author adopts towards his readers. Multatuli's works provoke discussion in every new generation of readers. Did the author of *Max Havelaar* really suggest a societal change? Was he a modernist writer or an anti-modernist? Or was he, after all, a conservative who wanted to keep the Dutch colonies and only tried to change individual opinion? In his essay Ham shows how the way in which Multatuli communicates with the reader-in-the-text contributes to the ongoing controversial status of his work. Multatuli provokes his readers, but also tries to win them for the good cause, i.e., a better life for the Javanese people.

In his contribution Ham focuses on a pamphlet Multatuli wrote in 1861, commissioned by the Rotterdam publisher Nijgh. This text, *Show me the place where I sowed!*, was published to raise money for the victims of a flood in the Dutch East Indies. It belongs to the so-called benevolence books, a now-forgot-

ten genre, which functioned as an instrument for charity: all profits went to the poor or to people affected by a natural disaster. Traditionally author and readers/buyers belonged to the same social class and shared the same religious beliefs; they usually adopted a conservative political agenda. Multatuli, however, explicitly violates the rules of the genre. On the one hand, he provokes and even scolds his readers, while on the other hand, he tries to attract them by giving them what they expect: a sentimental story about a Javanese family of victims. Moreover, the text starts with a long metafictional comment in which Multatuli states that he is not a conventional author, like the other benevolence writers. Ham shows how the peculiar way in which this author connects with his readers in this pamphlet, but also in *Max Havelaar*, contributes to the ambivalent reception of his works.

All three papers in this section taken together demonstrate how the reception of a text depends upon the form it takes, including the languages in which it is translated (Corbellini and Hoogvliet), the ideas and preconceptions of its readers (Claessens), as well as the narrative strategies adopted by the author himself (Ham). They demonstrate, as do the other papers in this volume, how the interpretation of narratives consists of a complex interplay between author, text and reader. The author can influence this interpretation by the narrative strategies he adopts or the style she chooses. The same text can appear over time in many different forms, with or without illustrations, in translation or in revised editions, which inevitably influence its meaning. Finally, every reader comes to the text with his or her own preconceived ideas and expectations. No approach by itself can cover all these different aspects of the process of understanding a text. This volume therefore collects a wide variety of different approaches which together illuminate the complex meanings of texts.



We would like to end this introduction by thanking several people and institutions. In the first place we would like to thank the central administration of Radboud University for their financial support both of the Text, Transmission and Reception research project and of the conference, as well as the Faculties of Arts and of Philosophy, Theology and Religious Studies for their logistical support and for hosting the conference. We would further like to thank the original panel organizers, Johan Oosterman (New Philology), José Sanders (Narrativity, with Hans Hoeken), Christoph Lüthy (Image and Text), Jos Joosten and Maarten Steenmeijer (Reception and Literary Infrastructure) and the respondents to the four panels: Glenn Most (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa / University of Chicago) in the New Philology panel; Dolf Zillmann (University

of Alabama) in the Narrativity panel; Steffen Siegel (University of Jena) in the Image and Text panel; and Isabelle Kalinowski (École Normale Supérieure, Paris) in the Reception and Literary Infrastructure panel. Their comments greatly helped the contributors to improve their papers, as did the comments of the anonymous reviewers. They remain unnamed but no less thanked. We would also like to thank Claire Stocks, assistant professor in the Classics Department of Radboud University, who did a very thorough job in copyediting the various contributions, and the two student assistants, Judith Campman who made sure they all followed the author's guidelines, and Marieke Graumans, who produced the index. Finally, we would like to thank Brill Publishers for including this volume in their new series Radboud Studies in Humanities.

PART 1

New Philology



Transmission and Textual Variants: Divergent Fragments of Sappho's Songs Examined

Mark de Kreij

“New Philology” focuses on texts in their material and unique forms. The name comes from a movement initiated by American philologists working on mediaeval texts, who in the 1990 issue of *Speculum* argued for a more systematic analysis of the many different versions of mediaeval texts that have been transmitted.¹ This focus on the divergence of texts, as opposed to the emphasis on reconstruction of an original *Urtext*, had already been advocated by Zumthor and Cerquiglini in the preceding decades, but was only now applied to a range of actual corpora.² After an endorsement by the German mediaevalist Stackmann, “New Philology” became known to a wider audience, who realized its applicability to corpora other than mediaeval epic songs.³ The panel at the *Text, Transmission, Reception* conference in Nijmegen showed how New Philology may illuminate issues in textual corpora ranging from early antiquity to the twentieth century. After all, instability of texts is of all times, whether it manifests in different versions on a papyrus and in a manuscript, in multiple editions and translations of an eighteenth century novel, or in contemporary paper and digital editions.

Though the approach and main tenets may be similar for each period and genre, the salient issues differ significantly. In classical studies, the strength of New Philology lies in its ability to reveal the effects of different stages of textual transmission.⁴ This approach places the texts – that is the multiple actualizations of a text in all possible forms – first, in a more radical way than the majority of researchers in classics tend to do. From ancient papyri and inscriptions to late mediaeval manuscripts and fragments quoted within other works,

1 See the introduction by Nichols on pages 1–10 for a statement of intent.

2 Zumthor (1972) and (1983), Cerquiglini (1989).

3 Stackmann (1994).

4 In the field of classics, Gentili (1984) anticipated some of the tenets of New Philology. More recently, Lardinois (2006) discusses divergent versions of Solon's poetry transmitted in different sources. Likewise, Lardinois [forthcoming] is explicitly new-philological in its approach to texts of early Greek song.

the field of classical studies has a wealth of material at its disposal for this kind of research.

Historically, the tendency in classical philology has been to approach its rich corpus with the intention of reconstructing original texts. Each instantiation of a certain text is thus appreciated only insofar as it is helpful to that enterprise. However, it is almost impossible to reconstruct the original version of any text, and in the case of archaic and classical Greek texts there is no hope at all of establishing the original form; a situation that arises due to the non-existence of literature (as we know it today) before the fifth century BC. If texts were written down, they were not intended for publication and reading, but rather for conservation and re-performance. The texts that we regard as the “classics” of classical literature in this period were primarily works to be performed; be it the Homeric epics, the dramas by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, or the lyric songs composed by Pindar, Alcaeus, or indeed Sappho, who composed songs on Lesbos in the sixth century BC.⁵

Modern editions of Sappho’s songs have been pieced together from quotations in the works of other, later, authors and – more recently – from scraps of papyrus. The sources at our disposal, then, were written down no earlier than three hundred years after the supposed composition, while the majority dates from the Middle Ages. Moreover, they are no more than the textual component of a larger whole that once included music, a specific venue, and probably dance. Generally, the only residue of the songs’ original nature is their metrical pattern, and sometimes not even that.⁶ The texts in our possession are very fragmentary, represent only one facet of the original performance of Sappho’s songs, and are separated from the date of composition by a physical gap of at least three centuries, which raises the question: How may such inevitably compromised sources for Sappho’s songs serve classical philologists? A tentative answer requires first a survey of the traditional philological research on the fragments of Sappho. Adducing two quotes of Sappho in second-century AD

5 See especially Andrew Ford’s “From Letters to Literature. Reading the ‘Song Culture’ of Classical Greece” in Yunis (2003) 15–37.

6 Greek metre is based on the division of heavy and light syllables (or “long” and “short”). This fact may help our understanding of Sappho in two ways. Firstly, knowledge of the metres she used may help identify a specific metrical pattern even if we only have a fragmentary text. Secondly, some of Sappho’s music was stanzaic, built out of repeated metrical – and probably melodic – patterns. If we have a large enough part of the song, it is possible to establish if the metrical pattern recurs consistently – even if we have never encountered that specific metre before. With these two tools, it becomes possible in some instances to establish the original metre, and note where the text departs from the pattern; these places then invite discussion.

sources, I will probe the possibilities offered by, and challenges posed to, New Philology in the field of classics. In Sappho's case, while the later sources may point only minimally toward her original sixth century BC compositions, they provide tantalizing glimpses of the form of her songs in the early centuries of our era.

The problems with the textual tradition for Sappho arise from the fact that unlike for Homer, for example, no manuscript edition of Sappho's songs has survived from the Middle Ages.⁷ As a result we are reliant upon quotations in other texts, either transmitted on papyri or, mainly, in mediaeval manuscripts, upon fragments of papyri, which date from the third century BC to the fourth century AD, a piece of parchment (sixth century AD), and the Sappho *ostrakon* (or potsherd) that contains the fragment 2 V.⁸ The fragmentary nature of the extant texts is, however, not the only problem we face when reconstructing Sappho's songs. Working on sixth-century BC Lesbos, Sappho probably composed her songs in a dialect that was far removed from the Greek of classical Athens, let alone that of later antiquity or the Middle Ages. This is reflected in the fact that the forms we find in the mediaeval indirect sources differ considerably from those found in early Lesbian inscriptions and in treatises by ancient grammarians.⁹

Editing Sappho's texts, then, has been a process of reconstruction for scholars from the outset.¹⁰ If the goal is to approach the original compositions as closely as possible, this method is indeed the only one available to us, but New Philology argues that reconstruction is not the only goal in classical philology. The reconstructive method is reliant upon later authors' competence in copying correct citations into their own texts, as well as on the accuracy of our knowledge regarding Sappho's metres and the Lesbian dialect. These presuppositions have had the effect that the divergent forms of Sappho's songs, as found in the great majority of sources, have been picked apart and reconstruct-

7 The same thing holds for the other Greek poets of the lyric canon, with the sole exception of Pindar. See Hadjimichael (2011) for a rich exposition on the early transmission of the early Greek lyric composers, as well as an analysis of its reception in the peripatetic scholars.

8 The edition referred to throughout is Voigt (1971). The original edition of the *ostrakon* is *Papiri della Società Italiana* XIII, 1300.

9 The two most recent works on the dialect of the Lesbian poets, by Hooker and A.M. Bowie, provide a framework that is based on inscriptional evidence and ancient descriptions of the dialect. This produces a set of rules that appears to have been followed quite closely by the ancient editors, at least as far as that is reflected in the papyrus evidence.

10 Until the late nineteenth century Sappho's corpus was restricted to fragments transmitted in indirect sources.

ed to fit the expected form of both dialect and metre. Those “divergent” fragments of Sappho have thus rarely been studied *in situ*.¹¹

The bulk of the fragments of Sappho’s songs are found as quotations in the works of later authors such as Plutarch (first-second century AD), Stobaeus (fifth century AD), and Athenaeus (second-third century AD), which bring with them a very particular problem for the textual critic. The relation between the host text and the quoted fragment is similar to a *mise-en-abîme*, and it urges us to consider the interplay between the two very closely. After all, it is one thing to attempt to reconstruct an original song by Sappho with all the knowledge of metre and dialect we have now, and quite another to assume that, firstly, the author quoting her song in the second century AD had the same knowledge and, secondly, had the intention or even the opportunity to faithfully render the original. In practice, however, this effort is rarely made, and the two discourses are reconstructed as if they were completely separate texts.¹²

In the following, I adduce two fragments from the early centuries of our era that were both transmitted by more than one source and in divergent forms. Fragment 2 V, transmitted on a potsherd and as a quote within Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*, serves to put the basic challenges and opportunities of a new-philological approach in relief. Subsequently, another fragment transmitted in two different but roughly contemporary sources illustrates how a re-examination of variants may challenge a latent presupposition in the reconstructive philological approach, namely that (generally older) papyrus evidence trumps manuscript evidence.

In the *Deipnosophistae*, a work of wide-ranging scholarship,¹³ Athenaeus sets the scene of a banquet, introduces the learned men who attend, and imagines the conversations that would take place between them. He uses fictitious dialogues and speeches as a vessel for the exposition of his own knowledge. Topics range from food, to music, and to poetry, and thus a great deal of information is accumulated in the many pages of the *Deipnosophistae*. Arguably, most valuable to philologists are the numerous quotes from ancient authors, often transmitted only through this work.

The scene presented by Athenaeus brings to mind the practice of the *symposion* best known from classical Athens. Even though it went through

¹¹ A lone exception is Nicosia (1976).

¹² See page 31 with note 41 below.

¹³ Olson’s 2006 Loeb edition presents an accessible edition along with a full English translation; see, however, page 31 below for a comment on his text. It must be noted that even the most complete manuscript (A) is incomplete. It misses the first two books, part of the third, and a few pages here and there. These gaps are usually filled by using an epitome that was preserved intact.

significant changes, the gathering after dinner to share poetry and song lived on in different forms until the end of antiquity. Aulus Gellius (second century AD) in his *Attic Nights* testifies, among others, to the probability that the singing of “Sapphic” songs was still an after-dinner activity even in the second century AD.¹⁴

Sappho’s songs, with love and longing as their subjects in many cases, formed a fitting corpus for the symposiast in any period.¹⁵ It is thus no surprise to find parts of her work in this fictional *symposion* imagined by Athenaeus. Within his dinner scene, he quotes the following fragment, which itself invokes a symposiastic scene – a divine symposion, describing the mixing and pouring of nectar.

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 11.463e¹⁶

(...) ἔλθέ, Κύπρι,
 χρυσεΐαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβροϊς
 συνμεμιγμένον θαλίασι. νέκταρ
 οἴνοχοοῦσα τούτοισι τοῖς ἐταίροις
 ἔμοις γε καὶ σοῖ.

Come, Kypris,
 in golden cups [] mixed with
 gentle festivities,¹⁷ pouring nectar
 for these friends
 of mine and for yourself.

The quote in Athenaeus forms the end of a longer song, Sappho 2 in the Voigt edition, the largest part of which is preserved on the *ostrakon*. The text on the *ostrakon* was written in the third or second century BC while Athenaeus worked around 200 AD. The pottery shard gives a text that is written in an unclear hand,

14 Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 19.9.3–7. For the singing of Sappho’s songs in this time see also: Aelian fr. 190, in Stobaeus 3.29.58; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 61c and 722d.

15 Yatromanolakis gathers the relevant evidence for Sappho in Chapter 3 of his 2007 work. See Reitzenstein (1893), Collins (2004), and especially Vetta (1995) for an overview of our evidence for poetic practices at symposia.

16 The text as given here is the one found in Manuscript A (Venetianus Marcianus 447). Compare Olson 2009:V.224.

17 The punctuation after νέκταρ creates a problem in either syntax or sense. At the same time it shows that the scribe of this manuscript believed the following line to be syntactically connected to the quote of Sappho.

and what can be read is decidedly problematic with regard to both morphology and syntax. Athenaeus' version is problematic for different reasons, yet clearly related to the text on the *ostrakon*.

Sappho *Ostrakon*¹⁸

(...) ενθα δη συ[
 στεμ[
 ελοισα Κυπρι χρυσεαις εν κυλικεσσιν
 αβρωσ εμμειχμενον θαλιαιεσσιν νεκταρ
 οινοχοεισα

There you [were], holding [],
 Kypris, skilfully pouring in golden cups
 nectar mixed with
 festivities

Without going into differences of dialect and orthography, the version on the *ostrakon* differs mainly from the version in Athenaeus in that it is part of a larger whole. This in itself leads to a different interpretation of the passage, but the difference between the two versions is also reflected in the language: where Athenaeus has the imperative “ἐλθέ” [“come”], the *ostrakon* has the participle “ἔλοισα” [“having taken up”], which one would expect to be preceded by a main verb. Most striking of all, Athenaeus' text contains an extra line after the point where the *ostrakon* ends. As stated above the *ostrakon* is a potsherd, but it must be noted that the song was only written on this piece of pottery when it was already a sherd. The text is thus fairly complete, as far as we can establish, and the break-off point comes naturally after the end of a stanza, while there is still more room left to write on the potsherd had the writer wished it. The extra line in Athenaeus may either represent the start of a new stanza of the song (omitted from the *ostrakon* because only part of it would have fitted) or an addition, either composed by Athenaeus or already known to him in that form. The final text below is the fragment as given in Voigt's edition; a reconstruction which

18 PSI XIII, 1300. The reading of the *ostrakon* is extremely problematic. Different readers (Norsa, Theiler, Lanata, Lobel and Page) have all come up with different readings. As I have not been in a position to gain access to anything other than a (decent) photograph, I have decided to follow Norsa's reading. What is beyond doubt is that the *ostrakon* and Athenaeus do not give the same reading. For metrical reconstructions, see Norsa (1953) 47 and Lanata (1960) 89-90 and all modern editions of Sappho.

makes use of both of these sources and is based on our knowledge of metre and dialect.

Voigt (1971)

ἔνθα δὴ σὺ στέμ<ματ'> ἔλοισα Κύπρι
 χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρωσ
 <ὀ>μ<με>μείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ
 οἶνοχόεισα

And there you [were], having taken up the wands, Cypris,
 skillfully pouring in golden cups,
 nectar mixed with
 festivities

The fact that the *ostrakon* is the earlier source is used by Voigt as a license to take its text as the basis for her reconstruction. Her edition, however, masks some significant differences between the two sources, both at the beginning and at the end of the fragment. As for the first four lines, we cannot know if the *ostrakon* version is the original rather than Athenaeus', as both fit the metre roughly and both could have made sense in the original. For the last line however, given in Athenaeus but not on the *ostrakon*, we are helped by the metre: it does not fit the reconstructed metrical schema in any way. It is thus highly unlikely to have been part of the song as Athenaeus knew it, and no surprise that Voigt omits it in her edition of Sappho.

For the provenance of this unmetrical line we might consider the following two possibilities. As noted above, Sappho's songs were most likely sung at symposia. These gatherings, like Athenaeus' literary reflection of it, formed opportunities to demonstrate one's erudition, literary prowess, poetic creativity, and wit. Apart from wine and song, poetic games formed an inherent part of these events, and part of the skill in these games was to remember, select, and adapt songs or poems by famous composers. The last line of the quote in Athenaeus suggests that it might be the result of such a creative adaptation. Symposia were predominantly male affairs, at least in the early stages in Attica. Sappho, however, seems to have written mainly for and about an audience consisting of a group of women.¹⁹ The last line of the quote by Athenaeus, then, is suspect

19 The nature of this group is open to much discussion, but does not concern us now. Cf. Parker (1993) *Sappho Schoolmistress* for a debunking of earlier theories, and Lardinois (1994) for a reaction to this article.

not only because of the metrical problems, but also because of the gender of the “friends” mentioned. Symptotic uses of poetry and song were mostly in the form of quotations or passages rather than performances of whole works. I have no trouble imagining this stanza of a Sapphic song being adapted (the participle ἔλοισα “having taken up,” which was part of a larger, preceding construction, changed to the imperative ἔλθε “come”) and extended with an extra line to provide a fitting introductory quasi-prayer for a symposium of male aristocrats. Such an adaptation may then have ended up in a collection or an anthology of passages, quotes, and adaptations, such as we find in the papyrus containing the new Sappho poem.²⁰

If this is too fanciful a proposition, the other possibility is that Athenaeus introduced the addition in his work both to show the workings of the symposium and to integrate the quote into his narrative. This latter is more attractive to a textually-oriented modern reader because a participant at a symposium might have been expected to make a metrically-fitting addition, whereas Athenaeus as an author of prose had no such restriction to deal with. It is unclear at which point Sappho’s lyric began to be read as poetry, but I believe that by the first century AD the texts were still transmitted as songs, while also circulating as poetry for reading. However, the audience of the latter was not necessarily aware of the form that this “poetry” had in earlier times, or, if they were aware, either did not have the ability or the interest to reconstruct it.

Despite the noted textual problems, most of the fragment as quoted by Athenaeus still fits the metre reconstructed with the help of the longer fragment on the *ostrakon*. This should urge us to consider that divergences in form found in other fragments quoted by Athenaeus might have causes other than scribal error, such as earlier improvisation in performance, or literary adaptation by Athenaeus himself. Moreover, even though some evidence points to Sappho’s songs still being in some way performed in the second century AD,²¹ the final added line suggests that there is no reason to assume that all of her work was still known in the form of songs at this time, or that the form remained consistent throughout subsequent centuries.

My analysis of the Sappho fragment above is open to one major point of criticism. Just like Sappho’s songs, Athenaeus’ work went through a process of transmission. Just like the texts of her songs, therefore, the tenth-century AD text that we have of his books is merely a reflection of his second-century composition. How can we be sure that this material is a reliable source for the form of Sappho’s songs in Athenaeus’ time? After all, if we can use the later

20 P. Köln inv. 21351 and 21376; see Clayman’s chapter in Greene (2009) 131–46.

21 See note 8 above.

manuscripts to establish or approach the original text by Athenaeus, why can we not do the same with the late sources for Sappho? We cannot, because the mode of transmission differs significantly for the fragments of Sappho's songs on the one hand and the manuscript of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* on the other. Whereas Athenaeus' work was created as one whole and consistently copied as such, most of our sources for Sappho quote her fragments within texts of a different nature.

When discussing fragments, Glenn Most writes the following: "*However splendidly the fragment gleams, what fascinates us even more is the darkness surrounding it.*"²² The word *fragment* itself implies a (violent) separation of one piece from a larger whole. At the same time, the fragment is irrevocably and continually connected to the lost whole. In his 2003 work *The Powers of Philology*, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht describes the relation between a researcher and his fragments in psychological terms.²³ After establishing that a text is, in fact, a fragment of a larger – but lost – whole, a series of events occurs in our minds. Unconsciously, but inevitably, the reader will construct a whole in his imagination. From that moment onward, this imaginary whole remains – often unconsciously – a point of reference in the reading of the fragment.²⁴ Gumbrecht bases this argument on Sartre's *L'imaginaire*,²⁵ which states that every imagined picture or text is by default whole.

Only by scrupulously applying new evidence to this image will it be possible to add details and change it.²⁶ For Sappho, the two factors that most allow for new input are dialect and metre. These are often adduced as an objective means to reach a better reading of the fragments. Most agrees with Gumbrecht that imagination plays as large a role as erudition in our study of textual fragments.²⁷ When confronted with a fragment, we construct a lost whole, subsequently – and unconsciously – leaving the fragment to one side in further study. The reason this constructed whole interests us, Most argues, is that it is the least fleeting. As far as we can establish, the original text has perished; and

22 Most (2009) 18.

23 Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "Identifying Fragments," in: idem, *The Powers of Philology. Dynamics of Textual Scholarship* (Chicago, 2003), pp. 9–23. Gumbrecht published an earlier version of the chapter "Identifying fragments": "Eat your fragment!," in: Glenn W. Most (ed.), *Aporemata I: Collecting Fragments – Fragmente Sammeln* (Göttingen, 1997) 315–27.

24 Gumbrecht (2003) 16.

25 Sartre (1940).

26 Gumbrecht (2003) 16–18.

27 Most (2009) 18.

even the fragment that weathered the ages is more ephemeral than the image we constitute in our heads.²⁸

Taking into account Most's ideas about the place of the whole in our study of fragments and Gumbrecht's comments about the role of our imagination, it is clear that there is a distinct tendency towards the speculative in the study of fragments. Gumbrecht and Most show us convincingly that every analysis is directed by preconceptions about the whole that is hidden behind the fragment. When studying fragments, we study nothing more – and nothing less – than the image we have conjured up in our heads. If their intuition is right, it explains why the focus of classical philology has for so long been the attempt to (re)construct these imagined wholes.

Textual fragments, then, form tricky primary sources, but for Sappho the textual fragments are fragmentary in another sense. Besides giving only part of the supposed original, fragments of Sappho's songs give only text, and often no hint of the other dimensions of the song: music, dance, and occasion. There is no evidence that the archaic lyric composers like Sappho wrote down their work. Even if they did, however, their work probably circulated largely in performance, rather than on paper, at least until the late fifth century BC.²⁹ Each song was sung and heard in a different place and time. From then on it may well have been re-performed several times before someone saw reason to write down the lyrics. It is impossible to establish exactly what happened to individual songs during this stage in the transmission, but the status of the songs (evidenced by the simple fact that they survived as long as they did) will probably have guaranteed a rather close adherence to the original in re-performance. Still, a number of factors may have intruded at any point to change the text of a song in several ways, be it consciously through adaptation or unconsciously through mistakes.

The last two points form the crucial difference between the transmission of Sappho's songs and Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*. Firstly, Sappho's songs were re-performed in venues different from those originally intended and by new interpreters, mostly in a sympotic atmosphere, as described above. As a result, (parts of) her songs will have been performed out of context and with different

28 However, since the whole we construct is connected both to the mind that "conjured it up," (Gumbrecht (2003) 18) and to the fragment that provided the stimulus for the construction, every single reading of a fragment is unique, making the imagined whole it produces in fact extremely ephemeral.

29 See for the case of Sappho Lardinois (2008), and more generally Thomas (1992), Robb (1994) 40n23 for notes on corpora of oral poetry and *passim* for the slow advent of widespread written transmission for poetry in Greece, and Ford (2003).

goals than originally intended: every single reperformance was unique and could have had an effect on later textual renderings. Secondly, if we believe, as I do, that written versions of compositions of archaic lyric poets did not circulate early on, then there is a distinct possibility that written versions would have been made after aural reception, probably from memory. Despite the fact that the Greeks would have been more used to this practice than we are, this process would have led to mistakes, and hence to variations.³⁰

Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, conversely, was preserved in a manuscript, transmitted as a whole, at least for the parts where Sappho is quoted. The main problem of fragments – the fact that they are fragmentary – is thus not an issue at all; none of the researchers' efforts need go into the reconstruction of a lost context. Since it was not quoted partially, but transmitted with the intention of reproducing it as a whole, there is no reason to assume that the scribe had specific reasons to present a deceptive image of the text. Finally, there can be no doubt that by the second century AD, Athenaeus composed his prose with writing in mind, either recording it himself or dictating to a scribe. The only serious obstacle separating the modern reader from the original work, then, is the fact that the manuscript went through several centuries of copying before reaching the tenth century, when our earliest extant manuscript was produced. There can be no doubt, however, that this problem is of a different nature to those created by the transmission of Sappho's songs in antiquity.

So the main problems that one encounters when researching the fragments of Sappho's songs do not apply (or at least do so to a lesser extent) to Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*. This is applicable for the whole of the text, irrespective of whether it is a quotation or part of the main narrative. The most important advantage is that the greater quantity of material provides an opportunity to use internal evidence in the analysis. For example, if the form of one stanza by Sappho quoted in Athenaeus is corroborated by external evidence, while another quote diverges significantly from the passage as found elsewhere, or from the metre as reconstructed, it is not economical to posit that in the second case scribal error must be the cause. Rather, it urges us to consider the possibility that either Athenaeus or his source changed the passage, again either intentionally or by accident.

30 Rubin (1995) 188 shows that even if someone attempts to faithfully reperform a song, in this case five songs by *The Beatles*, mistakes of a limited kind will be made. See also Lardinois (2006) who adduces English nursery rhymes to show how variation may make its way from oral into written versions.

Papyrus finds demonstrate that in Athenaeus' time full editions of Sappho's songs were available in Egypt, where he himself worked.³¹ Athenaeus thus had the practical means to quote from these editions any song by Sappho, and he is shown to do so for the largest part of his quote of fragment 2 V. Whenever the form of the fragment gives us reason to believe he diverged from this norm, then, we are challenged to establish what reasons he might have had. Errors in transmission are always possible, but they cannot easily account for large divergences.

After an exposition of the method, the following question might still be asked: New Philology – what's new?³² In the end, nothing in the methodology or theoretical framework is fundamentally new, since all “new philologists” are essentially repeating the work of other philologists. What I can say in their – or should I say our – defence is that we do more of this work. Philologists have paid attention to fragments and divergent versions of texts – in fact they are the ones who found them in the first place. Their attention has, however, been focused upon comparison with a view to reconstruction in the majority of cases. New Philology proposes to make the research into those fragments that are normally consigned to the darkness more visible. Readings that have been for some reason regarded as divergent, defective, or “absurd and unmetrical” are picked up again and re-appraised.³³ By making them not marginal but central evidence, they are brought back to the light and asked to yield whatever information they might give us. Instead of asking: what is the relation of the fragment to the original? We might ask: what is the relation between its form and its owner? Or: what can the language tell us about its transmission? What does the co-existence of different variants in roughly the same time and place (in this case second-century Roman Egypt) mean for the attribution of the fragment or perhaps for the consciousness about authorship in general?

Although Sappho composed in the sixth century BC, the Alexandrian edition(s),³⁴ created some time in the third and second centuries BC, are the

31 This is suggested by the care with which they were created, the general uniformity of dialect and the presence of book numbers and author's name. Most notably papyri P. Oxy 1787 and 1231 show a great deal of editorial influence in, for example, the order of the songs and normalization of forms. Athenaeus worked in Naucratis.

32 I gratefully borrow this turn of phrase from D'Angour (2006). Note also Schnell (1997): “*Was ist neu an der 'New Philology'?*”

33 As claimed by Maehler of some variants in a discussion of new fragments of Pindar's *Epinicians* in the 2010 Oxyrhynchus edition, pages 63 (“corrupt and excessive reading”), 64 (“unmetrical nonsense”), and 67 (“absurd and unmetrical”).

34 For Alcaeus, a source mentions two separate editions, so the same possibility cannot be excluded for Sappho.

best point of reference for the form of her songs. This canonical compilation formed the basis for a strong textual tradition that appears to have remained largely intact at least until the third century AD. It is very probable that we have parts of copies of this edition in some of the Sappho papyri found in and around Oxyrhynchus.³⁵ These fragments present a predominantly consistent text as regards metre and dialect, and were available to the people at large and to scholars in particular. A significant divergence from the standard version in this period must therefore be regarded as marked in some way. Rather than cull the divergent elements of these “wild” fragments, they may be used more productively to establish the form of Sappho’s songs in the time that the sources themselves were written.³⁶

Let us consider one more case that illustrates the vicissitudes of the transmission of Sappho’s songs, and how they were quoted. The Greek metrician Hephaestion wrote a book on metre in about the same period as Athenaeus worked. As mentioned before, Sappho’s songs were marked not only by metrical form, but also by the peculiar Lesbian dialect she probably composed in. This dialect was something alien to the second-century speaker of Greek, and probably for them only accessible through the Alexandrian editions of the Lesbian composers.³⁷ It is assumed that later authors had a tendency to change the language of Sappho’s songs when they quoted her in their works. Instead of retaining the curious dialect from Lesbos – which they possibly did not fully understand themselves – they changed it to Attic, the dialect of Athens and later established as the standard throughout the greater Greek empire.³⁸ The attitude of different authors towards the dialect may help us understand the form that was current in the second century, or at least what the proficiency of the authors was at that time.

35 See note 25 above.

36 I borrow the term from Homeric scholarship, where there is a group of early (Ptolemaic) papyri containing divergent, often otherwise unknown readings of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. For that reason they have become known as “eccentric” or “wild” papyri. See S. West (1967) for a survey of a group of such fragments.

37 The nature of the actual sixth century BC Lesbian dialect, however, is not completely known (see Hooker (1977) and Bowie (1981) for discussions). Moreover, her songs were also influenced by epic, which may well explain many of the non-Lesbian forms we find in her lyric. Late inscriptions show that the dialect as used on Lesbos itself had changed significantly by the fourth century BC already.

38 That there was a standard language does not mean this was always attained, cf. Versteegh (1987). See for the atticization of Sappho the note in Yatromanolakis (2007) 346.

Hephaestion, *Encheiridion* XI, 3

P. Oxy, 220, col. IX, 12–13

πλήρης μὲν ἐφαίνεται ἅ σελάνα·
 αἱ δ' ὡς περὶ βωμῶν ἐστάθησαν·

μεν εφαινεθ α σελανα

The moon shone full,
 and they stood as if around an altar

The moon shone,

This fragment of a song attributed by Hephaestion to Sappho is known in two different forms. The divergence relevant to this analysis is the unaspirated τ (*tau*) in the Hephaestion manuscript, as opposed to the aspirated form θ (*thêta*) in the papyrus. Lesbian was described as a psiloted, “hairless,” dialect, meaning it did not know initial aspiration.³⁹ In Attic and most other dialects, the article (*ἅ, ha*) is aspirated, which here has an effect on the last letter of the preceding word in elision. The aspiration extends to the preceding *tau*, producing a *theta*, as we find it in the papyrus fragment.

The rest of the fragment, in both sources, does show remainders of the Lesbian dialect, but not consistently.⁴⁰ The key fact about this pair of variants is that it shows a late manuscript preserving the older, probably correct reading, whereas a much earlier papyrus source contains a form adapted to the then current language. The Hephaestion text shows us that at least in some manuscripts Lesbian forms have survived the centuries of transmission. The chance that this form was changed back to Lesbian at a later time in the transmission is much smaller than that it was preserved – for whatever reason – while other forms were “simplified” into the Attic form. This line of reasoning raises the possibility that Hephaestion, writing on metre, was consistent in quoting Sappho in the Lesbian form. If that was the case, it shows that some authors at least had no problem with the peculiar dialect.

At the same time, we have a papyrus from the second century that cites a line that seems to have been adapted to the Attic form. Since we can assume that the correct forms were both available and actually still in use, then the form on the papyrus may argue for the atticization that is so often posited, but it is one of only a very few atticized forms found on ancient papyri. The papyrus contains an anonymous treatise on metre, just like Hephaestion’s booklet. If one were to look for a reason to explain the unusual Attic form found in so

39 Cf. Hooker (1977) 18, and Bowie (1981) 51–52.

40 The *alpha* instead of the *êta* in both the article and the noun *selênê* are un-Attic, but in all probability (the evidence is not conclusive) the Lesbian form would have been *selanna*, with a double *nu*.

early a source, one might consider that the line had become a rote verse to explain a certain kind of metre. This would then probably have been transmitted orally, as an often-used example, until finally it was written down out of context, having lost – as far as the author of the papyrus is concerned – most of its connection to its author and her Lesbian dialect.

Whereas Gumbrecht and Most were concerned with the nature of fragments in theory, the practice is even more problematic because our imagination is not only let loose on the dark surrounding the fragment, but also on the contents of the fragments itself. In the case of Sappho's fragments some of its metaphysical surroundings are not quite so dark; that is to say, we have an idea about the context. This regards form (metre and dialect), generic context, and in some cases even co-text. This darkness embodied threatens to overshadow the small point of light that is the fragment in many cases. Just as a fragment may give a skewed view of its context, so context might intrude upon the fragment to such an extent that its immanent characteristics are lost.

For Sappho, as for many of the other composers known only through fragments, there is a tendency to thrust the general upon the particular. The scarce knowledge extrapolated from the collective of fragments and testimonia over time becomes the reference point for the assessment and reconstruction of every individual fragment. I do not question the validity of this method, but I do have a problem with where this method has left the fragments themselves. Their original form has become completely subordinate to their place in the reconstructed corpus. This happens to such an extent that editions of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* will give a quote from Sappho in its emended form so as to "faithfully" represent the reconstructed original.⁴¹ This creates a very undesirable situation, as the reader is presented with a text of Athenaeus that the ancient (and intended) reader most probably never heard of or laid eyes on.

Even if Athenaeus did not know Sappho's songs in their original form, he would have had recourse to the standard editions that we know were available in his time. He should therefore have been able to reproduce the songs at least in a consistent way. As for the transmission of Athenaeus and the quotations of Sappho contained within it, the transmission would probably have been a bumpy ride for the lines in the curious Lesbian dialect; scribes writing *scriptio continua* would have made identifications of quotations very hard, and understanding for later copyists would not have been aided thereby. The mistakes we

41 See Olson (2009) (volume 5) 224; Gulick in his 1933 Loeb edition, volume 5 page 20, does the same, but at least he notes most emendations in his apparatus. Meinecke's 1858 edition, volume II page 340, stays closer to the A manuscript, but he completely changes the last line of Sappho 2 V. in an attempt to match the metre.

expect, and find, are mostly of an orthographic nature,⁴² and are possibly some well-intended corrections by scribes. More substantial differences can still be the result of the copying process, but often they may be explained otherwise, especially if the text they yield has not become nonsense.

When we quote someone, especially in conversation, our attitude towards reality is often loose. This is in many cases not done with an eye on twisting what was actually said, but rather because the point we wish to make is unconnected to the exact form it comes in, while we do wish to claim a connection with an authority. Or, conversely, when quoting a song we may remember the melody very well, but have a more liberal attitude towards the lyrics. It is this kind of quoting that we might expect to have led to many of the divergences in form that we find in later quotes of Sappho's songs.

I would conclude that with regard to Sappho's songs, even the first eight centuries of transmission inevitably left their mark. Even after the standardization of the text at some point in the third century BC, the modes of transmission would have remained diffuse. There is no reason to assume that each fragment of Sappho's songs we find in other authors or even on papyri should have had the form that is found in the standard edition. If we accept this not wholly counterintuitive premise, we may find peace with some of the apparently defective fragments of Sappho that we find, accepting them as the result of different kinds of transmission. These different kinds of transmission were fuelled by different kinds of motivation and created in divergent environments. Some songs, or parts of them, may have roughly retained their intended forms through continuous oral transmission. For others the form would have been lost in time, even if the accompanying lyrics were preserved in writing. Once this dissociation had taken place, it was but a small step to changes in the wording and in some cases a complete loss of the metrical form.

The diversity of the fragments we find in sources from the early centuries of our era reflects both the different means through which Sappho's songs were transmitted and the attitude of individual authors towards them. If we reconsider the divergent forms of her songs, we may not come closer to hearing her sixth-century BC compositions, but we may find first-hand accounts of people who still had access to most of her songs, in whatever form, and establish what they found in her songs that made them worth recording.

42 An interesting case is Sappho fragment 55 V., which is quoted twice in Plutarch's *Quaestiones*, in different forms, and in a third form in Stobaeus' *Anthologia*.

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In Praise of the Variant Analysis Tool: A Computational Approach to Medieval Literature

Karina van Dalen-Oskam

Introduction

When I first read Bernard Cerquiglini's *Éloge de la variante* (1989), one of the first and most influential publications related to the New Philological “movement,” I was working as a lexicographer on the *Dictionary of Early Middle Dutch (1200–1300)*. The year was 1993. Our dictionary project was one of the first to be fully computer-assisted. We had created a digital corpus of literary and non-literary texts enriched with lemmas and part-of-speech tags. By means of an intricate system that enabled us to query the corpus and to sort, classify and mark the exact texts to use as quotations in our dictionary entry, we could input our lexicographical descriptions into a digital form from which the actual dictionary could be generated in unlimited kinds of visualizations. Our project had been running for four years, and for several years we had put our year's work of entries before a committee of wise scholars for comment. Our lexicographical and linguistics peers in The Netherlands and Flanders gave us much support and useful criticism. We had a difficult time, however, in explaining two of our most fundamental methodological choices to our literary colleagues: our corpus consisted only of those Middle Dutch manuscripts of which it was certain that they were written in the Thirteenth Century, and we only used the texts of these manuscripts in a diplomatic edition. Literary scholars did not understand why the most famous of our Middle Dutch literary texts, of which it was certain that they were originally written in the Thirteenth Century, were excluded from our corpus only because their manuscripts were from the Fourteenth Century – much of the lexicon must still have been Thirteenth Century. We explained that if you want to find out how much of the lexicon is indeed from the Thirteenth Century, you have to be able to *compare* it to a reference corpus that was as rigidly selected as ours was. If such a Fourteenth Century copy was *included* in the Thirteenth Century corpus, the corpus would be polluted and would exclude the possibility of a comparison. And as to our fanatical adherence to diplomatic texts: we explained that if you want to know which spellings and variants Thirteenth Century scribes used in which

geographical area or in which decade (for example), you again needed editions reproducing the exact spellings and variants as represented in the manuscripts. Therefore, diplomatic editions are the most suitable, as they mark resolved abbreviations with italics and do not adapt spelling, punctuation and case use. We also preferred editions in which emendations were not applied to the main text, but were suggested by the editors in (e.g.) footnotes, in order to maintain a purely Thirteenth Century text which would give the scribes due credit for having presented a linguistically correct text. We found it difficult to explain to our literary peers that these choices were necessary to guarantee a good, verifiable dictionary, which in its turn could be used by scholars editing a text in the correct manner, editions which in their turn would be trustworthy sources for even better dictionaries in the future.¹

As a matter of fact Cerquiglini, in his *Éloge de la variante* (only translated into English in 1999, under the title *In praise of the variant*), eloquently described the philological side of what we were doing in our lexicographical project. He proposed to abandon the old approach to medieval text and text editions, and instead to apply a New Philological perspective to medieval texts. Instead of looking at variation as the result of alterations which polluted and degraded “the original,” each copy of a text (with all its partly unique, partly shared variants) should be seen as a new and unique text, functioning in its own, unique way, in its own, unique context. Each copy should be researched based upon this approach.

I was elated. One of my lexicographical colleagues, Katrien Depuydt, and I wrote a paper describing our methodological approach, with reference to Cerquiglini’s book. It was presented at the first International Medieval Congress at the University of Leeds in 1994, published in a volume of proceedings and ignored by our literary peers.²

The Role of the Computer: Cerquiglini’s Predictions

In his 1989 book, Cerquiglini admitted that the methodological changes he proposed would not be easy to apply in practice. He expected that the computer would play a very important role in leading us back to medieval textual variance. It is now 2012, and what I propose to do in this paper is look back at

1 A point well understood, however, by Masters (1991) 284. Masters’ article – a publication I found thanks to an explicit reference in Busby (1993) – takes a comparable stand to Cerquiglini in his *Éloge de la variante*.

2 Van Dalen-Oskam and Depuydt (1997).

Cerquiglini's specific predictions and to show where his words concur with current practice, and where his vision and our current expectations differ. In the latter case, I will show how current, as well as anticipated, technical developments may influence editorial practices in the near future. In this, I will pay special attention to the discipline of Stemmatology: the building of family trees of manuscripts. This discipline has an intriguing status when we consider it from Cerquiglini's point of view. In the "old" days, a stemma was one of the first things an editor would establish. Building a stemma helped to find out which of the existing manuscripts of a text seemed to be the closest representative of the original text by the original author. This would usually become the manuscript to be edited, while the variants in other manuscripts could be either ignored by the editor as unimportant, or mentioned in the apparatus, or chosen as a better reading than the one in the manuscript being edited and promoted/elevated into the edition of the text. From the New Philological point of view, however, the building of the stemma is not necessary at the beginning of the edition project – we merely want to have a transcription of all manuscripts. So why has Stemmatology gone through such a big technical development on the one hand, while on the other hand most text editors have ignored this new potential? I will end my paper with a short reflection on this issue.

To show exactly how Cerquiglini thought about the role of the computer in 1989, I will quote rather extensively from the last pages of his book. Here, he states that the computer:

allows the reader to see and consult not only the totality of the manuscripts of a particular medieval work but also the editions (empirical, Lachmannian, Bédierist, etc.) which took these manuscripts as their objects. Moreover, it can provide a great many minor bits of information, which should remain virtual so they will not get in the way of reading but which one needs to be able to locate: makers of concordances, frequency lists, tables of rhymes, every sort of calculation, codicological and paleographic data, and so on – everything that a printed edition usually abandons or from which it makes a painful choice, everything that the hyper-scholarly edition hypostatizes to the point of unreadability.³

Cerquiglini further states that:

3 Cerquiglini (1999) 79–80.

the computer is able to help us detect the dynamics of the text by making visible the connections prepared and suggested by the editor. It is less a question, therefore, of providing data than of making the reader grasp this interaction of redundancy and recurrence, repetition and change, which medieval writing consists of – and to do so according to the two axes that we have brought to light. Vertically, along the thread that leads through the work, it can bring back all the things that each noteworthy utterance constantly echoes but which modern memory no longer hears; the screen unrolls the infinity of memorable context. Horizontally, it can compare the utterances within a persistent and chosen range of variants that are paraphrases of one another from one manuscript to the next, even indicating by some symbol or note what the characteristics of this relationship are.⁴

Cerquiglini knew very well what all this would mean:

That truly would be publishing on a grand scale, editing on a scale never before realized, yet indispensable, and only the information technology of today can provide us with the means, probably even the idea, of doing so. Because the computer, through its dialogic and multidimensional screen, simulates the endless and joyful mobility of medieval writing as it restores to its reader the astounding faculty of memory – the memory that defines its aesthetic reception and is basic to the pleasure taken by a reader.⁵

The Role of the Computer: Realized Potential

Only now, more than 20 years after *Éloge de la variante*, is the type of digital text editions Cerquiglini had in mind slowly starting to emerge. Peter Robinson has initiated several important digital editions, such as in the Canterbury Tales project I will go into more deeply in the last section of this contribution and the very impressive Codex Sinaiticus website.⁶ So too Huygens ING and the Van Gogh Museum have published the widely acclaimed website *Vincent van Gogh: The Letters*,⁷ and Barbara Bordalejo has published the Online Variorum

4 Cerquiglini (1999) 80.

5 Cerquiglini (1999) 80–81.

6 Cf. <http://codexsinaiticus.org/en/>

7 Cf. <http://www.vangoghletters.org/vg/>

of Darwin's *Origin of Species*.⁸ These are only a few of a new generation of (digital) editions. Much work has been done on a more theoretical level as well, by scholars such as Peter Shillingsburg and Peter Robinson who both contributed to an interesting volume of articles entitled *Text and genre in reconstruction* on the subject of, respectively: "Digital editions for everyone" (Robinson), sketching a new way of involving many more people in editing than scholars alone, and: "How literary works exist: implied, represented, and interpreted" (Shillingsburg), which, amongst other things, deals with several key theoretical and technical aspects of digital editing.⁹ Elena Pierazzo gives a solid description of the state of the art of digital editing in her article "A rationale of digital documentary editions."¹⁰ For an overview of the history of digital editions before 2010, Edward Vanhoutte's article "Defining electronic editions: a historical and functional perspective" is extremely useful.¹¹ Joris van Zundert and Peter Boot look ahead at the possible task distribution between scholarly editors and digital libraries in their paper "The Digital Edition 2.0 and the Digital Library: Services, not Resources." And these are only a few of the important publications of the last couple of years. This is not the place to give an elaborate overview of the current state of the art. My aim here is, before I go into the reasons for the mentioned time lapse between Cerquiglini's ideas and the emergence of the digital edition more deeply, to present some digital editions with which I am familiar in more detail, to sketch the ways in which current digital editions fulfil some of Cerquiglini's predictions, and diverge from others. The first two examples are online digital editions published by Huygens ING. In dealing with these two editions I would advise the reader to open a browser on a computer, go to the sites described, and to follow my instructions. This will bring about a much clearer grasp of new potentialities than pages and pages of words could achieve. The third example is from a digital edition on CD-ROM made by Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen.

Example 1: Cerquiglini imagined the parallel presentation of different witnesses on screen. An example of this is the online text edition of an essay by Lodewijk van Deysse, *Menschen en bergen*.¹² Go to the navigation bar on the left and choose "*Bekijk de editie*" [view the edition]. Under the button "*Versies en varianten*" the user can choose from an edition of all different versions of the essay. Under "*Versies vergelijken*" [compare versions], the user can select a

8 Cf. <http://darwin-online.org.uk/Variorum/index.html>

9 Robinson (2010), Shillingsburg (2010).

10 Pierazzo (2011).

11 Vanhoutte (2010).

12 Cf. <http://menschenbergen.huygens.knaw.nl/path>

The screenshot shows a web interface for the online edition of 'Menschen en Bergen'. On the left is a navigation menu with options like 'Home', 'Bekijk de editie', 'Leestekst', 'Versies en varianten', 'Versies verglijken', 'Doel 1', 'Doel 2', 'Doel 3', 'Doel 4', 'Achtergronden van 'Menschen en Bergen'', 'Informatie over deze editie', 'Hoe gebruiken ik deze editie', and 'Colofon'. The main content area is split into two columns: 'Manuscript' on the left and 'De nieuwe gids (1859-1861)' on the right. Both columns show the same text, but the manuscript version has green underlines and purple marks indicating differences. The printed edition version has green underlines and purple marks indicating differences. The text in both columns is: 'Wier merken lichaam, moerdelende bewoogijkes van het klein leven, laag, zwart-geestig van binnen, zwarte rituelinjes in de verhoeslijkt-koole lijfs-doodheid; maar die zoo vresend in zich zelf, niet eigen, los van het zich zelf-weet-gevoel, want zoo gezuiverd, koel zuiver blank ledigebrand het binnen-lichaam, en vermoed een ge-stalte van blanke blijheid, maar alleen voelend staan het hoofd, en waar-uit de ziel gepoort was, het hoofd zalig, met witte lid-teekens, de in gedrukte vlag-striemen van den verrukkingsoed, die zich nu ver en strak had uit-gestrakt van den eenen heuvel naar den anderen, houdend het tintelend ledige hoofd in haar spanning gevangen. En een lauw vochtig zwellen van heerlijk-voeding en dank boven den koelen binnen-brand. O, het was er: het groot-heerlijk leven in den lichtliede-dag. En, over-stalpt, drukte zich de hoofd-bol naar, kin-in-keel, als een meisje in haar witte feestzaal, om dat het zoo veel was, verkrappend op dat het toch niet weg zou en gaan. De dag lichte zacht op een guld-blanke gevoelwang, ruinselend gebelderschaduw stooide goud-lach-velken op het gevolgd, een vogelen-schaduw stipte een verbejoende gairtande tegen een blank-licht-vlak. Klingelend deur-ehuid en het schielijk brand-ruiselen in de weër dicht-edeane deuren-'. The printed edition version has the same text but with some differences in punctuation and capitalization, such as 'Wier merken ^{en} van lichaam, moerdelende bewoogijkes van het klein leven, laag, zwart-geestig van binnen, zwarte rituelinjes in de verhoeslijkt-koole lijfs-doodheid; maar die zoo vresend in zich zelf, niet eigen, los van het zich zelf-weet-gevoel, want zoo gezuiverd, koel zuiver blank ledigebrand het binnen-lichaam, een ge-stalte van blanke blijheid, maar alleen voelend staan het hoofd, en waar-uit de ziel gepoort was, het hoofd zalig, met witte lid-teekens, de in gedrukte vlag-striemen van den verrukkingsoed, die zich nu ver en strak had uit-gestrakt van den eenen heuvel naar den anderen, houdend het tintelend ledige hoofd in haar spanning gevangen. En een lauw vochtig zwellen van heerlijk-voeding en dank boven den koelen binnen-brand. O, het was er: het groot-heerlijk leven in den lichtliede-dag. En, over-stalpt, drukte zich de hoofd-bol naar, kin-in-keel, als een meisje in haar witte feestzaal, om dat het zoo veel was, verkrappend op dat het toch niet weg zou en gaan. De dag lichte zacht op een guld-blanke gevoelwang, ruinselend gebelderschaduw stooide goud-lach-velken op het gevolgd, een vogelen-schaduw stipte een verbejoende gairtande tegen een blank-licht-vlak. Klingelend deur-ehuid en het schielijk brand-ruiselen in de weër dicht-edeane deuren-'. The interface also includes a search bar at the top, a 'Huygens Instituut eLaborate' logo, and a 'Navigation' menu with options like 'Search', 'Add panel', 'Options', and 'Print'.

FIGURE 2.1 Text version comparison in the *Menschen en bergen* online edition

part of the text, and decide which of the versions of that part he or she wishes to compare.

Here (Figure 2.1), we compare the text in the manuscript (left text column) with the first printed edition (right text column). Additions are marked with a green mark and are underlined; replacements with a purple mark.

Example 2: How many types of annotations can be shown without having them interfere with the reading of the text? Cerquiglini saw here the possibility of an infinite amount of information. For this, we go to the online edition of a Middle Dutch Arthurian romance, *Walewein ende Keye* [Gawain and Kay].¹³ We open “II. De editie” in the navigation column on the left, then choose “Overzicht per kolom, met afbeeldingen” and go to 178r and 178ra. When we click on this, several columns are opened: a scan of the manuscript column, the transcription, and the annotations. There are three types of annotations in this edition, each marked with a different colour in the transcription. But the user can choose which ones to see and which ones to ignore by using the Options button at the top of the screen to the right (Figure 2.2). Unchecking all the boxes will result in a very simple and clear visualization of the text. It is also possible to show or not to show the italics in the text that denote abbreviations, the line numbers or a reference to the line numbers in an earlier edition

13 <http://www.waleweinenendekeye.huygens.knaw.nl/path>

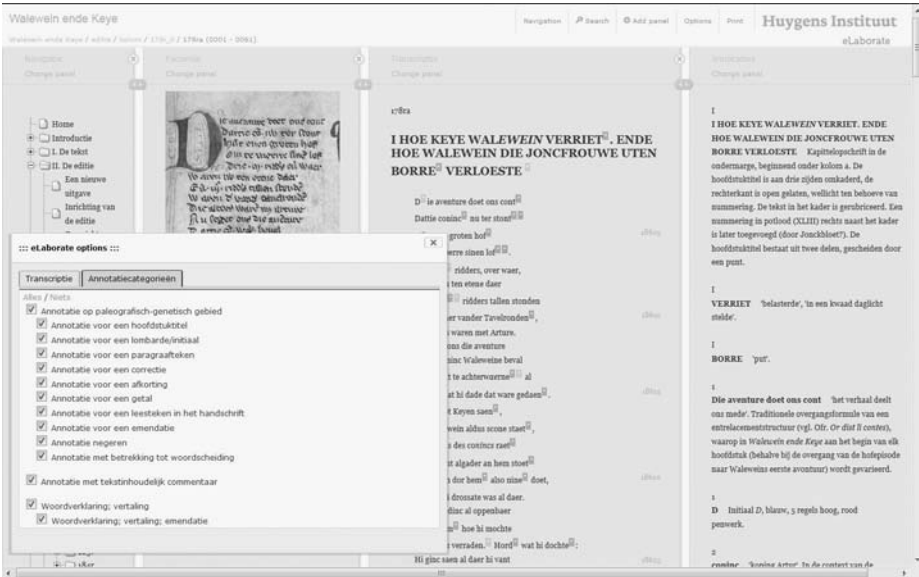


FIGURE 2.2 *The Options screen for annotation categories in the Walewein ende Keye online edition*

of this text. Note that the user can also click away any of the columns he or she does not need, e.g. to give the scan of the manuscript and the transcription more space on the screen.

Example 3: Cerquiglini also mentioned the desirability of having concordances, indexes and linguistic information at hand in the digital edition. The two online editions presented above have simple search options that yield concordances of the hits. At the moment, this is about the extent of what we can do, but we want to do more to realize Cerquiglini's idea. I will give an example from a recent edition of the Old-Icelandic *Alexanders saga* on CD-ROM by Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen, to show one of the things that I would like to achieve in the future.¹⁴ In this edition, when the user moves the mouse over a word, a small box shows the most linguistically relevant information: the form of the word in the facsimile edition, the normalized word form, the lemma (dictionary entry), the linguistic form and function (e.g. present tense, third person singular for a verb form), and the page and line of the manuscript where the word occurs. This is exactly the information, by the way, with which we had enriched the corpus of Thirteenth Century Dutch on which the *Dictionary of Early Middle Dutch* was based.

14 De Leeuw van Weenen (2009).

An electronic edition of AM 519a 4to Alexanders saga

Home Facsimile version **Diplomatic version** Normalized version Latin version Images

Book 1	1v	2r	2v	3r	3v	4r	4v	5r		
Book 2	5r	5v	6r	6v	7r	7v	8r	8v	9r	9v
Book 3	9v	10r	10v	11r	11v	12r	12v	13r	13v	14r
Book 4	14v	14r	15v	15r	16v	17r	17v	18r	18v	
Book 5	18v	19r	19v							
Book 6	19v	20r	20v	21r	21v	22r	22v	23r	23v	24r
Book 7	24r	24v	25r	25v	26r	26v	27r	27v		
Book 8	27v	28r	28v	29r	29v	30r	30v	31r		
Book 9	31r	31v	32r	32v	33r	33v	34r	34v		
Book 10	34v	35r	35v	36r	36v	37r				

Diplomatic version page 1v Show manuscript pages 1v-2r

ǫ Ariu/hefer konung heitid er reð fyrer ferklende. hann var agetr konungr iþefflum luta heimfini er afa heiter. þa hefer engi konungr verit rikari iþanþu tima. Sæti fitt hafði hann lenglum iþabilon er þa var haufuð borg allz rikilæni. en hon er nu eydd af mognum fyrer lacer orma oc anuasa eitryckvenda. Dariu/ konungr hefer haft under fœc marga fœctkonunga. einu af hors fœctkonungom er nefndr pullippu/ hann reð fyr griklendi. drottning kona hann/ het olimpiaf. Son atto þun þann er alexander het. Sa maþr var með harð konungfœni er neptanabu/hefer heitid. enu meðli galldra maþr var hann. af fœnom gauldrom ok gœrningom fek hann fva gort af hann nabi at fofa með drottningonui falþri. af því trubu marger Alexandrum hors fon vera en eigi konungfœni pullippi. En athofn hauf hefer þat þo fíðan fœnþiga birt. at hann var konungf fon en eigi horþarþn. ok fon neptanabi. fem ovinar hauf brigzloðo honom epter því fon fíðna mon fagt verða. Þelli fveina Alexander var rícola fettr fem fíðvenia er til rikra manna vtanlandz at lata gera við bornu fíu Meitlari var honom fœngiun fa er arifotilef het. hann fœc: verða enu meðli iþekingr at viti. ok er hann var xii vetra gamall at alldri naliga arofinoz at viti. en forþygaþr um from alla fina iafna sœnu: verða taka lemana: verða ana: verb inf. mern: ref. 1v-11 hvaðan þeir væri. eða at því þeir fœri. Oc er honom var oc fagt. þa mæler hann fyr mrvne fer.

Mikit mein er þat fagðe hann at maðrinn ícal fva feint taka fitt afl. eða hvart neckot fínu man þar komat at ec mona fýrk til hafat at hrinda því ánauðar ok æf. er a er lagt ríki fauðor minf. en æ mon ec þora nu at fva vapn aloþti. þoat ec mega litit vinna með þeim at fva buno. Eða hvart man þat fatt vera at herculef fon iovif hafí kreitf ífvndr orma tva með fínu hende hvann. þær Juno flíupmoðir hors hafði til fent at drepa hann. Reivabarnu var hann þa. er hann gerði þetta florvirke. Oc ef ec hræddomz eigi nafn arifotilf meitlara minf. þa munda ec freitla at líkia nakkvat epter flíkum florvirkiom. Eða man þat iafnan ícolo ætlað vera. at ec fía fon enf veritla manz neptanabi. Syna vilda ec þat þo inockoro at ec væra konungf fon at faunvo. oc þo engi atlere.

FIGURE 2.3 *The hover-over box with linguistic information in the Alexanders saga edition on CD-ROM, De Leeuw van Weenen (2009)*

Why Did It Take So Long to Publish this Kind of Edition?

The grand scale of Cerquiglini's ideas was recognized by other medievalists to require an enormous amount of work. Keith Busby expressed this most clearly in a reaction to Cerquiglini's book:

Consider what would be involved in Cerquiglini's ideal edition: not just transcription of the texts, but the coding of abbreviations, different types of letters (for example, long and round s), majuscules and minuscules, varieties of capitals and other forms of decoration, word-division, line-division, enclisis, proclisis, scribal punctuation, etc. And because of considerable orthographical variation both between and within manuscripts, transcriptions would have to be uniformized in order to permit many kinds of linguistic analysis. For anything other than a short text extant in a small number of copies, the difficulties involved and the amount of time that would be required are enormous.¹⁵

15 Busby (1993) 42.

Busby was quite right: each particular type of information and every category that can be made visible or clicked away in the examples I have presented above is encoded with special tags and this took the editors a great deal of time. In 1994, the TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) encoding scheme for textual scholarship started to be used in various projects. Editors needed to learn this markup language to make the kind of digital editions Cerquiglini had in mind. Encoding a text in TEI takes an enormous amount of work, and in practice is not done very often, or with only a very limited Tag Set. The example I have given of the essay *Menschen en bergen* is based on material that was encoded in this way. Most scholars deemed the learning curve for TEI to be too steep, or they did not see any immediate benefits, and decided not to spend time on learning and using it. They continued to make their editions in the traditional way, using the computer merely as a word processor, and using commercial software such as Word or WordPerfect. This resulted in traditional printed editions. The Word or WordPerfect files used for these editions are extremely hard to convert into files that can be used for a digital edition, because one needs not only to change the format of the files into an accurately tagged format, but also to think of the edition in a different way and use different types of tags to those required for a printed edition. Even in digital form, these editions will still look and feel like printed ones. As Cerquiglini so clearly perceived: print text editions are held back by the technique of book printing, and traditional choices in text editing are inspired by the technical possibilities and limitations of printing and reading printed text. The computer has a different set of possibilities and limitations, and for most of these limitations the computer also has a solution (e.g. the clicking away of information that is not useful to the user at this moment, but is available if needed later).

In recent years, several tools have been developed which have enabled the creation of a digital edition in an online environment. A good example is the tool for the crowd-sourcing project of the collected works of Jeremy Bentham (Causer et al. 2012). This tool requires the user to apply a simple encoding scheme. Huygens ING has taken another approach in the online work environment it has developed for transcribing and editing texts online, alone or with a “crowd” of volunteers. *eLaborate* gives textual scholars the possibility to create their editions online without the need of learning an encoding schema or a markup language. Scholars can upload scans, transcribe the text, and annotate their transcriptions with exactly the annotation categories they deem relevant for the text they edit. They can work on an edition together with colleagues all over the World: one only needs a computer with access to the Internet and a good browser (i.e. Mozilla Firefox). The text edition, as input in the online work environment, is very easily converted by our programmers to an online

digital edition, which can be updated any time the editor chooses to do so. The *Walewein ende Keye* edition I demonstrated earlier is an example of this way of working. This approach has proved to be much more user-friendly than TEI, and it makes the entire organisation of a large and complex edition project a lot more manageable, as became apparent when a number of users and moderators were interviewed.¹⁶ The *eLaborate* environment also offers the opportunity to add the transcription of (for example) other manuscripts or other editions at a later time, and to subsequently enrich the existing edition with a new set of annotations, e.g. for a very specific research question.

This way of working inspires textual scholars to rethink the traditional print-bound choices for a text edition by working in a digital environment and experiencing what “works” and what does not “work” in terms of creating a successful, usable, edition. Editors working in Word or WordPerfect have a much harder time exploring technical possibilities and demands (and are furthermore “imprisoned” in proprietary software which limits their freedom considerably). They are dependent on existing technology (book printing; perhaps pdf). Even using new technology that is in its infancy generates new ideas and new technological demands – these demands are, of course, always far ahead of what can be done at the present time. This can be frustrating, but it is the way forward: new potential will not be developed if there is no call for it or if nobody dares to look to the future. So using technology itself generates ideas about which technologies we might want to develop. This is the principal reason why it took so long to publish the kind of edition Cerquiglini had in mind. Only now have easily usable tools become available to textual scholars, inspiring them to rethink the traditional print edition without the need to learn a totally new tool (everyone can use a browser nowadays!). On the other hand, technical developments happen very fast. Ideas about how to prepare digital editions are, equally in a state of constant flux. We are slowly working towards the development of international technical standards that will hopefully lead to a surge in the publication of digital editions in the next decade. One of the challenges to be overcome is the need to make tools available for different platforms, for which the “microservices” as developed for the Interedition project seem promising.¹⁷ Also the architecture of the data and the way of storing annotations are non-trivial technical puzzles that still need an adequate solution.¹⁸

16 Beaulieu, Van Dalen-Oskam and Van Zundert (2013).

17 Van Zundert (2012).

18 Van Dalen-Oskam and Van Zundert (2012).

The Next Step: A Computational Way of Looking at Variance

What the user of the digital editions I referred to cannot do as yet is to compare the edited versions of a text when they are not enriched with (underlying, usually not visible) special tagging. So Busby's fear of having to manually add myriads of links etc. is still very valid. But there is light at the end of this tunnel; because tools have been and are being developed that can help the scholar who performs this kind of research and tagging.¹⁹ They will also have to be included for use in the digital editions themselves, which will not be easy, but certainly can be done. To give a better idea of the kind of text analysis that I anticipate to be achievable within editions in the future (not possible as yet) I will present a couple of examples from my own research into the fifteen manuscripts of Jacob van Maerlants *Scolastica* or *Rijmbijbel* ("Rhyming Bible," a Middle Dutch translation/adaptation of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*) written in 1271. A more elaborate description of this research has been published in *LLC: The Journal of Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* (Van Dalen-Oskam, 2012).

The fifteen manuscripts, dating from ca. 1285 until the end of the Fifteenth Century, have all functioned in their own unique context: they differ as to their geographical location, patrons, the cultural environment of the patron as well as of the scribe, and in the time period in which they were copied.²⁰ What I want to know is the extent to which the copies differ, and I especially want to know how widely they differ on a content level and whether we can find out why the content is different. For the moment, I am not very interested in a family tree, a stemma, because I do not expect this to tell me what I want to know.

The first thing I want to do is to find out which of the copies seem to be broadly similar and which of them stand apart, but I do not have the time to personally evaluate all of the words and lines. The hypothesis, therefore, is that: if it is possible to have a computer calculate the vocabulary of, say, one episode in all of the fifteen copies, it should be very easy to observe any deviations. Imagine for example fifteen small bags, one for the same episode in each manuscript, with all the tokens (individual occurrences of words) of this episode in it. A bag representing a copy that has a longer or shorter text will be bigger or smaller, so visibly different. And since we are looking at copies, any visible difference in vocabulary or word frequencies is interesting. I want to make graphs showing the degree of similarity between the copies (so-called

19 Cf. for more information about usability of tools Van Zundert (2012).

20 The oldest manuscript was edited diplomatically by M. Gysseling (1983). A list of the more or less complete manuscripts is given in Postma (1991).

cluster analysis) and, one step deeper into the statistics, show the copies that differ from the others on statistical components (principal components analysis). The results of these graphs will then point me towards those manuscripts that promise to be most interesting for further analysis.²¹

My example here is the apocryphal story about Judith, who killed the general of an alien army, Holofernes, when it beleaguered the city in which she lived. Since Middle Dutch did not yet have a fixed spelling, the copies contain many different spellings, even within the same copy, which can hardly ever be linked to lexical differences between dialects. If I were to do my measurements on the diplomatic edition of the text, the resulting graphs would be expected to show me the amount of similarities and differences on the level of spelling (I will not present the graphs here, but rest assured that they look very different from the ones shown below). In the tradition of corpus linguistics and computational lexicography, I tagged all fifteen episodes concerning Judith with lemmas, representing the word form that would be the dictionary entry if you were to look it up in a dictionary, and a code describing the part of speech. This is standard corpus procedure, but not often practised with respect to text editions. Using a statistical package called Minitab to calculate the similarities between the 250 highest frequency lemmas and their frequencies in the fifteen episodes results in the graph in Figure 2.4.

This cluster observation shows that fourteen of the fifteen manuscripts are calculated to be relatively similar, with only one, “I,” deviating significantly. When we read the Judith episode in this manuscript, it immediately becomes clear that the manuscript presents a much longer text about Judith, with much rephrasing, and even many of the rhyme words do not agree with the other fourteen manuscripts. This episode clearly has to be seen as a new text, with a new author (the scribe (or the scribe of his/her exemplar (or the etc.))).

Another multivariate measurement is principal components analysis. This shows the manuscript in a scatter plot, in which the horizontal axis shows the component on which most of the difference between the placed manuscripts is plotted, and the vertical axis, showing the second most important component (more components can be calculated and shown, but I will keep it to two). The Judith episodes now show up as in Figure 2.5.

In the graph in Figure 2.5 we see manuscript I differing extremely on the first component, but there is also another manuscript outside of the group on the second component, but in a different way: E. Reading the Judith episode in

21 The first results of this analysis were published in Kestemont and Van Dalen-Oskam (2009). The research into scribes was triggered by the results of earlier research published in Van Dalen-Oskam and Van Zundert (2007).

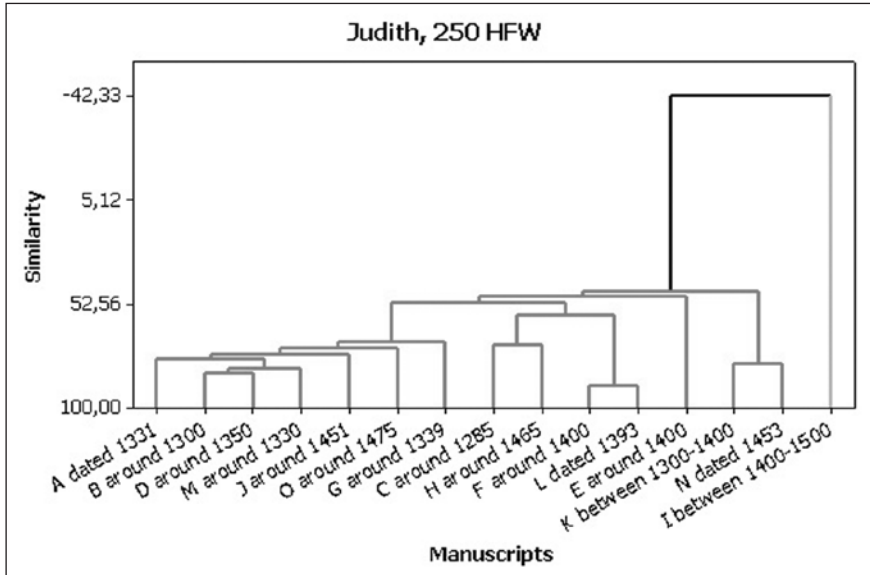


FIGURE 2.4 Cluster analysis made with Minitab 15 of the Judith episode in all fifteen manuscripts of the Rijmbijbel, for the 250 highest frequency lemmas.

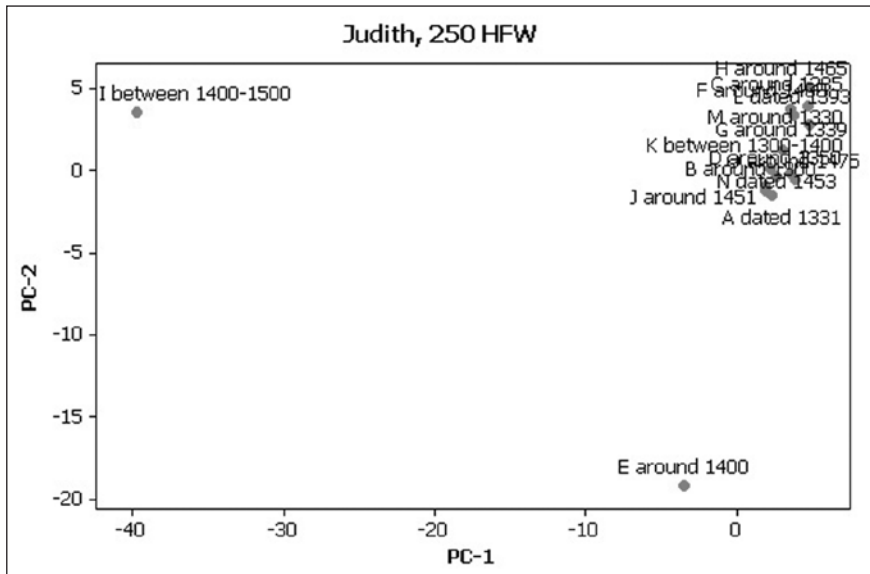


FIGURE 2.5 Principal components analysis made with Minitab 15 of the Judith-episode in all fifteen manuscripts of the Rijmbijbel, for the 250 highest frequency lemmas.

E, we find that this scribe (or the scribe of his/her exemplar (or the etc.)) regularly rewrites phrases in the text which could be seen as difficult. The scribe, however, “corrects” the text in such a way that it loses the original meaning – which would be the meaning as we can find it in the Medieval Latin source text by Peter Comestor *and* the Medieval Latin Bible. These micro-changes are expected to be partly responsible for E’s place outside the group, but since the multivariate, top-down approach shows us an overview picture, further bottom-up research is needed to find out more about the details. This graph, therefore, leads us to also take a closer look at E, which we might not have done when approaching the texts through close reading only. Applying these tools yields more information about the possible next steps to be taken for further research than close reading would do, which is one of the reasons why using them is so fruitful (more about this “secret life of scribes” in Van Dalen-Oskam, 2012). Furthermore, manuscript I differs so much from the fourteen others, that the statistics may be severely distorted. If we remove manuscript I from the selection and conduct the same measurements on the fourteen others, we can gain a better grasp of the relative differences between the other manuscripts for this episode. There are still other manuscripts which draw our attention other than E: namely manuscripts H and C (Figure 2.6).

I have looked at five different episodes from the *Rijmbijbel* and all of them show different clusters and different patterns. This indicates that the study of scribal variation has to be dealt with on an episodic level, taking the content of the story into account as well as the context of the scribe, patron, location and date of copying. My next research into the *Rijmbijbel* manuscripts will focus on manuscript I and will seek to address the following questions: from where it originates, whether or not we can find out who copied it and for whom, and why Judith was a special figure for the scribe or the patron.

Once it is possible to offer statistical tools such as the one used to produce these graphs to users of a digital text edition of parallel texts, this will influence editorial choices in the making of the edition in a number of ways. Instead of investing time in listing variants or linking to variants, time would be better spent on e.g. providing a lemma and part-of-speech tag for all words. Tools to lemmatize historical Dutch will hopefully be available shortly. So we should, I think, provide a combination of complete transcriptions of all copies and smart computer tools that can be applied repeatedly. The scholarly advantage is that the base texts can be kept as “clean” as possible from interpretations by the editors, and can be reused for each new tool that becomes available. The “old” way of selecting variants and promoting them into the edition in fact closes the edition down for certain types of research. For example: a critical edition (the Dutch term for a transcription with adapted spelling, added

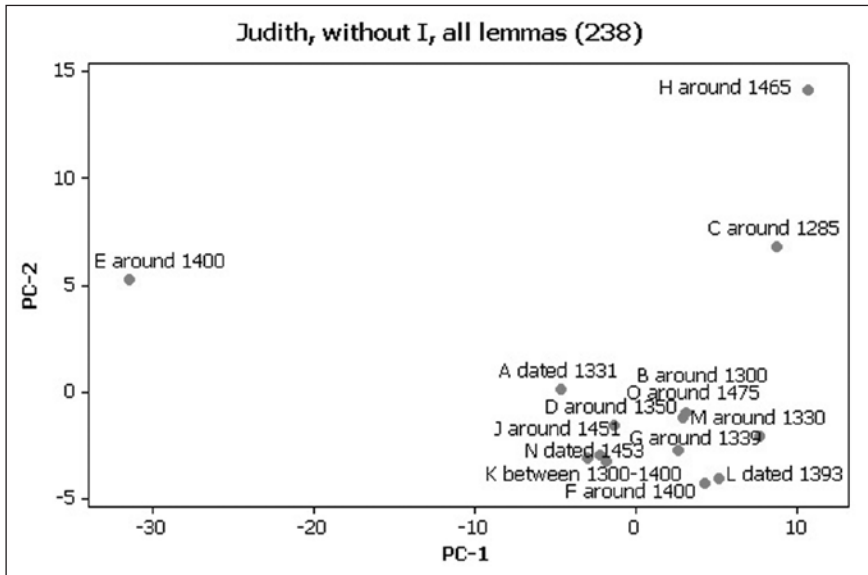


FIGURE 2.6 *Principal components analysis made with Minitab 15 of the Judith-episode in all fifteen manuscripts excluding manuscript I of the Rijmbijbel, for the 250 highest frequency lemmas.*

punctuation, capitalization, and the occasional emendation) is unsuitable for spelling research. But if we always provide the base (diplomatic) edition next to it, the edition as a whole is *reusable* for each new research question. So in this new digital context, the edition can have a much more durable and much wider value for all types of users, making a good investment of the (public) money spent on it. Printed editions are in fact not reusable: if a critical edition should need to be adapted for e.g. spelling research and changed into a diplomatic one, it would have to be completely redone. Digital diplomatic editions can easily be changed into, or supplemented with, a critical edition. Or it would be very easy to generate a version aimed at a wider audience which then could be presented on a separate website if required. But the basic digital diplomatic edition can also be reused by adding other information layers to the edition for a relatively small amount of funding, since one can build on what is already available instead of having to start all over again. Since the amount of work to be done is still extremely large, any way to reuse available information without the investment of extra time is worthwhile from a practical (and financial) point of view. In this way, the knowledge concerning a text can really grow, instead of having to be rebuilt from scratch in each new edition (or never getting off the ground in the first place).

Another major scientific advantage of this approach is also apparent: the combination of a digital working environment including transcription and annotation tools as well as text analysis tools will enable the user to repeat and verify measurements and visualizations. An edition of one text and a list of variants in other versions would not have this option. And if more smart tools are developed, we need not change our text edition: the sound and trustworthy basis will also be there for new approaches, which in turn will be easily verifiable by other scholars. My expectation is that this approach will open up a whole range of new research questions and that research into medieval text transmission will get an enormous boost, bringing results into our reach that we could never have achieved before. Also, a new task division will arise: textual scholars of all kinds will focus on the texts themselves; their transcription and annotation; their interpretation and which other questions to ask: and ICT developers will create new tools to further this interpretation on a scientific basis. Together they will create a new form of Computational Humanities – in which researchers from the “hard” sciences are eager to participate.

Stemmatology: Back to the Future?

At this point, I want to return to Stemmatology, by way of Busby’s 1993 reaction to Cerquiglini’s *Éloge de la variante*. Earlier I quoted Busby’s worries about the impracticalities of Cerquiglini’s ideas. In a footnote, he adds:

I have become less sceptical since having written this article of the possibilities of the Hypertext edition, especially in view of the remarkable tool that is Peter Robinson’s *Collate*. Two problems now present themselves, one purely material (the equipment required is expensive), and the other of attitude (how do we convince our colleagues to use the computer for something other than basic word-processing?).²²

The computer program *Collate* which Busby mentions, was developed by Peter Robinson for the collation, analysis and publication of texts preserved in multiple witnesses. It had to be installed on the scholars’ personal computers, not being available online. It was used, among others, for Robinson’s own Canterbury Tales Project, which aims to transcribe, collate and analyse all the Fifteenth Century witnesses of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. Apart from preparing the digital editions of all witnesses, the project aims to explore the

22 Busby (1993) 42–43, in footnote 41; in square brackets.

relationships between the witnesses. For this, it uses software originally developed for evolutionary biology (PAUP – Phylogenetic Analysis Using Parsimony and SplitTrees).²³ The results of applying this method are stunning: beautiful “trees,” appearing where the different manuscripts could be located in the family tree of manuscripts, even indicating the distance a manuscript seems to have from its “parent” in the tree. It is clear that Robinson’s approach includes a great deal from New Philology: all manuscripts are to be edited, and a tool (*Collate*) is applied to tag variance, which will result in family trees that help to direct scholars to interesting manuscripts or parts of manuscripts and interesting methodological problems such as exemplar change and contamination.²⁴ So in the chain of tasks of the textual scholar, the stemmas are now based on the transcription of all the text witnesses, and thus come *after* the editing is done, at the end, leading to new inroads and insights, instead of at the beginning, leading to the choice of one manuscript to be edited with a limited list of variants, and to a process of closing down texts for research instead of opening them up.

As I stated in my introduction, the impressive technical and methodological developments in Stemmatology have not been embraced with a great deal of enthusiasm by textual scholars. This is closely linked, in my perception, to the fact that textual scholars have not yet committed themselves wholeheartedly to the editing of all witnesses of a text: largely – I think, in accordance with Busby’s remark – because the technology (and the related knowledge about the technology) was not easily available to them. I expect that in the next few years, editors will finally begin to take the new philological direction, assisted by the tools that are available online and are easy to use, and that editors will soon be able to move on to the New Stemmatology of Robinson et al. The stemmatologists were simply far ahead of us in their way of thinking about texts and the need to have all versions digitally available. What we have to do now is to make their tools also available in online work environments, so that textual scholars can, in a sense, go back to the future of computational humanities.

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²³ Cf. <http://www.canterburytalesproject.org/index.html>

²⁴ Cf. Spencer c.s. (2006); Windram c.s. (2008).

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Mutatis Mutandis: The Same Call for Peace, but Differently Framed Each Time

An exploration of the significance of the insights generated by New Philology for the printing and reception history of Georgius Cassander's irenical tract De officio pii viri (1561)

“quia hodie eadem fere semper Scena, saltem mutatis personis ubique locorum agitur”¹

Rob van de Schoor
(Translation: Paul Gretton)

The Reception of *De officio pii viri* at the Colloquy at Poissy

Research into the history of irenicism during the French wars of religion – in particular study of the significance of the Colloquy at Poissy (1561, one of many religious congresses to take place between the Protestants and Roman Catholics during this period) – was given a powerful boost when scholars of ecclesiastical history and the history of dogma began taking account of their own position when interpreting the texts and personalities of the time. Mario Turchetti spoke of the natural sympathy that researchers had for the oppressed French Protestants as a problem for historiography, one that he attempted to solve by examining the changes in meaning and significance that the term “Politiques” had undergone in the course of time as the designation for the irenical party that strove for rapprochement between the denominations.² His study, together with his monumental survey *Concordia o tolleranza? François*

1 “because nowadays almost the same performance is put on in every single place, only with different characters”: from the title of the second edition of *De corruptis moribus* (Cracow, 1615), to which the text of *De officio pii viri* was added.

2 Mario Turchetti, “Une question mal posée : l'origine et l'identité des Politiques au temps des guerres de Religion,” in *De Michel de L'Hospital à l'Édit de Nantes. Politiques et religion face aux Églises*, ed. Thierry Wanegffelen (Collection “Histoires croisées”) [n.p.] (2002), pp. 357–90. As far back as 1970, Alain Dufour castigated historians who, “trop prompts à tout expliquer grâce à leur sens psychologique”, ascribed the shift in attitude of the King of Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon, to the orthodox Calvinists as being due to weakness of character: Alain Dufour, “Le Colloque de Poissy,” in *Mélanges d'histoire du XVII^e siècle offerts à Henri Meylan* (Geneva, 1970), pp. 127–37; pp. 131.

Bauduin (1520–1573) e i « Moyenneurs » (Milan, 1984),³ has made our understanding of the religious wars of the sixteenth century and the underlying theological dispute more fluid, as it were, and ensured that there is scope for discursive study of theological tracts. This innovation in methodology is in line with some of the insights of “New Historicism” and opens up the possibility of investigating whether the principal irenic text of the period, Georgius Cassander’s *De officio pii viri* – and in particular the various reprints of that tract – can be interpreted according to the principles of New Philology. Needless to say, a study of this kind also provides an opportunity to test the validity of these theories.

One of Turchetti’s most important achievements, also referred to by Thierry Wanegffelen in his study *Ni Rome ni Genève. Des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1997), is to have given us a better understanding of Cassander’s vision for the “Catholic church” and a future, reunited, Christendom.⁴ By this, Cassander understood *not* the Roman-Catholic church of the time but the church that was constantly aware of its task and principles, and which was therefore required to constantly reform itself by striving for purity and driving out abuses. Cassander’s third way, offered as an alternative to the staunch positions of the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, was the *via regia*, the “majestic highway” to peace, to which he directed the faithful and which was intended to bring the Catholic church beyond the misleading sideroads of the Reformation and the existing Roman-Catholic church. Turchetti’s interpretation of Cassander’s concept of the Church makes clear why *De officio pii viri* had an entirely different impact on the Colloquy at Poissy than Petrus Canisius’ contribution had on the Colloquy of Worms in 1557. Canisius appears, at first sight, to deal with the same topics as Cassander, but in fact the Jesuit argues that a church that can be a home for all denominations already existed and it is to the Protestants undoing that they choose to scorn it. Cassander’s tract was therefore fiercely denounced not only by Calvin but also criticised on the Catholic side by the Leuven professors Johannes Hessels and Josse de Ravesteyn (Tiletanus).

The actual history of the first edition of *De officio* and its impact is just as short and painful as that of the Colloquy at Poissy. Because his weak state of health prevented him from accepting Antoine de Bourbon’s invitation to

3 The key points of this study are summarised in: Mario Turchetti, “Concorde ou tolérance? Les Moyenneurs à la veille des guerres de religion en France,” in *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 118 (1986), pp. 255–67.

4 Thierry Wanegffelen, *Ni Rome ni Genève. Des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1997), pp. 115–16; Mario Turchetti, *Concordia o tolleranza?*, pp. 276–93.

participate in the Colloquy, Cassander wrote his tract and had it published in Basel, probably by Johannes Oporinus. Whether his friend and supporter François Bauduin undertook to distribute it, or initially attempted to represent himself as its author, cannot be determined.⁵ Bauduin himself later tried to disassociate himself from its authorship, writing that the text was already circulating in France before he was even aware of its existence.⁶ It is clear, however, that Calvin immediately suspected him of being the author and directed an unusually fierce polemic against him. Bauduin defended himself against this attack, and Cassander, still under a pseudonym, published a defence of his innocent little work that had caused so much damage.

The likelihood of the Colloquy at Poissy bringing about a favourable turn of events in the religious wars was not very great from the start, although Cassander had believed that a middle-of-the-road irenicist party had formed itself in France, consisting of Chancellor Michel de L'Hospital, Paul de Foix, Claude d'Espence, and others. The delegates did not trust one another in the slightest: a Protestant participant even wrote home that he was afraid of being poisoned and was more concerned about the soup than about the arguments of the opposing party.⁷ The assertion by Theodore de Bèze, the leader of the Calvinist delegation, that the Body of Christ was as far away from the bread of the Eucharist as heaven was from earth⁸ brought about the rapid disintegration of the Colloquy.

The Contents of *De officio pii viri*

The most important message of *De officio* is the assertion that whoever subscribed to Christian doctrine, recognised Scripture as the basis for the Christian faith, and accepted Christ as his Redeemer was considered to have remained true to the head of the Church. Someone who found himself in another part of the body of the Church than the Roman-Catholic part was

5 See Michael Erbe, *François Bauduin (1520–1573). Biographie eines Humanisten* (Gütersloh, 1978), pp. 134–35; Michael Erbe, “François Bauduin und Georg Cassander: Dokumente einer Humanistenfreundschaft,” in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 3 (1978), pp. 537 sqq.

6 Bauduin, *Responsio altera ad Joan. Calvinum* (1562), pp. 38, cited by Turchetti, *Concordia o toleranza?*, pp. 276.

7 An entertaining account of the Colloquy can be found in Donald Nugent, *Ecumenism in the Age of the Reformation: The Colloquy of Poissy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974) (the soup quotation can be found on p. 92).

8 *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au Royaume de France*. Édition nouvelle [...] par feu G. Baum et par Ed. Cunitz. Tome premier (Paris, 1883), pp. 574.

therefore not a heretic; only someone who damned the body of the Church by calling it the home of the Antichrist had unavoidably to be branded a heretic.

The following topics of discussion can be found in the text, explained below with a brief summary of the content:

1. *An autobiographical account of the author* (1–13), giving his reasons for publishing the work. The experience and insights gained are offered for the consideration of those who have fallen prey to the same kind of religious confusion as the author himself confesses to have suffered from in the past.

2. *Scripture and tradition* are both indispensable to the Christian faith (13–28). Scripture is the sealed tradition, while tradition is the revealed Scripture. Canon doctrinal authority and Catholic tradition are therefore necessary in order to remove the main points of dispute between the denominations, specifically concerning *dogmatics* and *ecclesiastical ceremonies*.

3. *Dogmatics and rituals/ceremonies* (29–69). *Dogma's* that are true and Catholic are: (1) the doctrine laid down in Scripture; (2) the doctrine brought down to us since the time of the Apostles in accordance with the spirit and meaning of Scripture. There are also (3) doctrines accepted by most of the churches and confirmed by arguments taken from Scripture; and (4) doctrines that are not based on evidence in Scripture or on long tradition but that have been accepted later by the (western) Church. If the latter do not manifestly contradict Scripture, they can be tolerated and religious peace must not be disturbed because of them. If they are contestable, however, or have crept into the Church in the form of abuses that result from malice or misunderstanding, then scholars and moderate persons must discuss whether or not (and if so, how) they can be removed without giving offence.

The *rituals or ceremonies* that are referred to as “sacraments” (1) are sacred and inviolable. In addition, the rituals that serve to administer or practice the sacraments (2) and the ceremonies to guarantee discipline within the Church (3) are apostolic traditions and universal usages, and their justification is perfectly evident. There are also rituals, however, that have fallen out of use (4); if it can be done without giving offence, they can be dispensed with. Rites that have become somewhat degenerate but that have a long tradition (5) must be respected until the competent authority either does away with them or restores them to their former glory. Time-honoured rituals that have an apostolic tradition but that have slowly fallen into disuse (6) should be reintroduced. Local rituals (7), which often have a long tradition, can be tolerated but it is perhaps a better idea to remove them from the Church because they can threaten the universality of that Church and can form an unnecessary burden on the liturgy.

4. *Religious doctrine* (70–95). Despite its shortcomings, the current Roman-Catholic Church, in its external manifestation as the guardian of the true faith and apostolic tradition, must be considered as a worthy part of the universal catholic Church. It cannot be denied, however, that there are many within the Roman-Catholic Church who have drawn apart from the Church of Christ and are hostile to Him and His teachings. Furthermore this Church should be embraced to the extent that it corresponds to the Church of Christ; what deviates from the latter can be tolerated as long as it does not harm piety. Contagion from what is corrupt must be avoided. Even so, those cannot be condemned who have begun improving that which required improvement and are doing away with what was wrong, at least as long as they preserve peace. They must be considered to be members of the Church of Christ, even if others condemn them as heretics and schismatics. Those who have turned their back on the Roman-Catholic Church deserve censure, however, because rather than demanding that the Church be healed, they demand that it be ruined and destroyed. Just as blameworthy is the attitude of the Church's administrators, who refuse to hear of any disorders in the health of the Church and who banish from its community those who strive for it to be healed. Nevertheless, the unfortunate fact that the Church pursues its reformers must not be seized upon as a way of depriving it of its designation "Catholic." Those who believe that the Church has therefore become the synagogue of the Devil must be made to see that the Church that they condemn is founded in Christ and that the undeniable fact that Christ's followers have built upon that foundation with timber, hay, and straw rather than with gold, silver, and precious stones does not deprive the Church of its right to exist. But someone who is rejected by the Church, in its blindness, as a heretic is entitled to protest against that rejection.

5. *Who are heretics?* Only those who condemn the body of the Church as the body of the Antichrist are genuine schismatics (96–135). Even Luther and Calvin held off for a long time from such condemnation. Someone who through no fault of his own, as a result of an excess of religious zeal, has taken the wrong turning that those two indicated does not deserve to be condemned as a heretic. Such a person must be willingly received and cared for as an invalid recovering from a lengthy illness. Scoffing at one another as papists and heretics must be abhorred. Setting up a third, neutral party will not help; it is better to bring the two opposing parties closer to one another by loving one's neighbour. Loving one another is the duty of every true believer nowadays, even if one does not agree with one's neighbour in all respects.

6. *Third party.* Between the irreconcilable parties – the Lutherans and Calvinists on the one side and the papists on the other – there is a third party (135–151), that of the mediators, who seek brotherly love and harmony. They

are in the minority and are oppressed, whereas the rich and powerful always belong to the two irreconcilable parties.

7. *Exercising piety in times of strife and uncertainty.* The prevailing discord does not stand in the way of true piety (151–178). After all, piety consists of carrying out the tasks that God has imposed on man: believing in Christ the Redeemer and loving one's neighbour.

8. *The task of church leaders.* Those charged with administering the Church (178–end) must free it of abuses and oppression. They must not deform the faith in order to perpetuate and justify abuses within Church and State from which they profit.

Printing History and Translations of *De officio pii viri*

An overview of all the variants of *De officio* can offer some insight into its printing history. Those variants comprise corrections of printing errors (and the introduction of new ones), changes at the level of words and sentences, and additional content.

Conspectus siglorum

- A Basel, [1561]
- B S.l., 1562
- C Paris, 1562.
- D Cologne, 1562–1564
- E Paris, 1564
- F Cologne, 1594
- G [Paris], 1607
- H Lyon, 1612
- J Frankfurt, 1614 (in Melchior Goldast, *Politica Imperialia*)
- K Cracow, 1615 (in *De corruptis moribus*)
- L [Paris], 1616 (in *Cassandri Opera Omnia*)
- M Mainz, 1619 (in M.-A. de Dominis, *De republica ecclesiastica*, lib. VIII)
- N Lyon & Strasbourg, 1642
- O Königsberg, 1650
- P Lyon, 1687

The most striking of the additional changes are two long interpolations in B, C, D, and the later editions K and L (L is the edition in Cassander's *Opera Omnia*). It has been established that B, C, and D – as well as the abbreviated edition E (1564) which derived from the first generation of reprints – were produced by

François Bauduin. He would therefore also have been responsible, probably in consultation with Cassander, for the addition of the two interpolations. Those two passages had disappeared again by the next generation of *De officio* reprints: F, G, and H, among which F (Cologne 1594) occupies a separate position, also because of other variants that can be found in G and H but not in F. F was designated “*secunda editio*” but on their title page G and H assert that they follow the first edition (“*postrema editio, iuxta priorem*”). The addition of Jean Hotman’s syllabus of irenical works in G and H makes it clear that Hotman saw these editions through the press; later editions that contain the syllabus therefore derive from these editions. The apparatus of variants demonstrates a relationship between H, N, and P: N is a fairly common edition by the heirs of Lazarus Zetzner from Lyons and Strasbourg of 1642; P is likely to be from the same printing establishment (the title page gives only Lyons as the place of publication) but is from 45 years later and is the final print of *De officio* of which we are aware.

Between these two generations of reprints lie a number of “miscellaneous” editions: J (Frankfurt, 1614), K (Cracow, 1615), L (Paris, 1616), M (Mainz, 1619), and O (Königsberg, 1650). L is the edition in Cassander’s *Opera omnia*, for which Cordesius (Jean de Cordes) was responsible. For his edition, Cordesius utilised the first edition of 1561, but as a true humanist he compared the various prints and included the interpolations that are found in B, C, and D as *Ad-denda in libello de officio pii viri, ex editione anni M.D.LXII*. There is no doubt that the edition of *De officio* in the *Opera omnia* became the standard edition in the decades that followed, and it was the basis for the later editions M and O. It is striking that the other editions from the period between the Bauduin and Hotman generations of reprints – J, K, M, and O – are all from Central Europe, namely from Poland and the domains of Germany (to the east of the Lower Rhine).

K is a separate case because the person who saw it through the press revised it thoroughly, removing every use of the first person singular; other variants show that the editor made use of B (1562).

K (Cracow, 1615; right) compared to A (1561)

*Equidem iam inde ab adolescentia
constitutionum et caeremoniarum
Ecclesiasticarum observantissimus fui:
sic tamen, ut natura, vel divino potius
impulsu, omnem superstitionem,
quam tum utcunque deprehendere
videbar, vehementer detestatus sim.*

*Equidem iam inde ab adolescentia
constitutionum et caeremoniarum
Ecclesiasticarum observantissimus sit:
sic tamen, ut natura, vel divino potius
impulsu, omnem superstitionem,
quam tum utcunque deprehendere
videatur, vehementer detestetur.*

Mox itaque cum in lectionem scriptorum huius aetatis, qui reformationem quandam et repurgationem superstiosorum cultuum et absurdarum opinionum promittebant, inciderem, mire illorum institutum placuit: qui tamen ita superstitiones et abusiones quae nonnullis caeremoniis Ecclesiasticis admixtae erant, exosas haberem, ut ipsam Ecclesiasticam politiam quae his caeremoniis fere constat, non sublatam et eversam, sed repurgatam et emendatam esse vellem.

*Mox itaque cum in lectionem scriptorum huius aetatis, qui reformationem quandam et repurgationem superstiosorum cultuum et absurdarum opinionum **promittunt, inciderit, mire** illorum institutum **placent**: qui tamen ita superstitiones et abusiones quae nonnullis caeremoniis Ecclesiasticis admixtae **sunt, exosas **habeat, ut**** ipsam Ecclesiasticam politiam quae his caeremoniis fere constat, non sublatam et eversam, sed repurgatam et emendatam esse **velit.***

This alteration means that the first part of *De officio*, without its autobiographical element, becomes less persuasive: there is no longer any “I,” not even one who hides his name so as not to stand in the way of an unbiased consideration of the course of his personal development (as described in the text) and the argument that he puts forward. The abbreviated Paris edition of 1564, E, is also without the autobiographical account at the beginning. With K (Cracow, 1615), E can be considered as a strong case in favour of the New Philology perspective because both editions demonstrate the variability even of printed texts, with the author and his *auctoritas* having been cut from the text.

E (Paris 1564): “Because this treatise is truly of great importance and should be read, precisely at present, in France in particular, it seemed to me a good idea to reprint it in the interest of the state and – now leaving out the chapters that relate more to persons – to very simply and reliably set out the main component of the most important issue; as in a report drawn up by each of the two parties and in which only the issue itself and its cause are to be found, only those things are included and brought together about which the judgment can ultimately be left to judicious and sensible readers.”

The anonymized edition of *De officio* in *De corruptis moribus* (1615) – even the name of the author is absent in the preliminary matter – was added to what was in fact the second edition of a publication that appeared in 1561 entitled *De corruptis moribus utriusque partis, Pontificorum videlicet, & Evangelicorum: dia-*

*logus lectu jucundus et valde utilis.*⁹ It contains a polemic dialogue between two characters: Felix, a Roman-Catholic Polish nobleman, and Sylvester, a Lutheran from Brandenburg. The editor was S. Czekanowski, a pseudonym of Friedrich Staphylus (1512–1564), a follower of Melanchthon who had converted to the Roman-Catholic Church and been brought to Ingolstadt as professor of theology by Petrus Canisius.¹⁰ References are made in the course of the dialogue to current events in the denominationally divided Poland, in particular the actions of Francesco Stancaro. The Roman-Catholic interlocutor is surprised at these explosive conflicts among the Protestants, while the Lutheran Prussian expresses his indignation at abuses within the Roman-Catholic Church, which had – so to speak – invited the Reformation. The conclusion of this “entertaining dialogue” is that there is a need for tolerance and rapprochement, a conclusion that the editor of the second edition (1615) believed he was supporting by publishing *De officio*.

In the Paris edition of 1564 (E; this edition contains only sentences 13–69), the much abbreviated text of *De officio* is crowded by verbose paratexts, the anti-Calvinist content of which greatly influenced the reading of the irenic tract. The edition opens with two long epistolary replies from Bauduin to Calvin’s accusations of 24 October and 1 November 1563, followed by a long foreword to the reader by Michael Fabricius (probably a pseudonym of Bauduin himself),¹¹ which continues the polemic with Beza. The new edition of *De officio*, from which the autobiographical motivation and the religious doctrine have been cut, and that consequently contains only the discussion of dogmatic and ceremonial disputes, provides the following justification for its publication:

Because this treatise is truly of great importance and should be read, precisely at present, in France in particular, it seemed to me a good idea to reprint it in the interest of the state and – now leaving out the chapters that relate more to persons – to very simply and reliably set out the main component of the most important issue; as in a report drawn up by each of the two parties and in which only the issue itself and its cause are to be

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- 9 Rob van de Schoor, “Petrus Canisius’ reis naar Polen in 1558 en 1559,” in *Wegen van kerstening in Europa, 1300–1900*, eds. Charles Caspers, Frans Korsten en Peter Nissen (Budel 2005), pp. 66–88: p. 77.
- 10 Ute Mennecke-Haustein, “Friedrich Staphylus (1512–1564). Von Wittenberg nach Ingolstadt,” in *Melanchthon in seinen Schülern*. (= Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Band 73.), ed. Heinz Scheible (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 405–26.
- 11 Mario Turchetti, *Concordia o tolleranza?*, pp. 66, note 24: “*allievo, o forse alter ego, di Bauduin.*”

found, only those things are included and brought together about which the judgment can ultimately be left to judicious and sensible readers.¹²

It is understandable that Fabricius/Bauduin scraps the autobiographical motivation for Cassander's search for a third way to peace, a *via regia*, but he obviously also found the discussion of religious doctrine – which does indeed deal with the radicalisation of Luther's views – to be detrimental to an unbiased reading of the tract. According to the editor, only the central portion of *De officio* – no more than 56 sentences – remained intact after the attacks of Calvin and Beza.

The view of New Philology that all variants are significant – or can be – is confirmed by a study of the variants of *De officio*. Printing errors that produce an intelligible and grammatically correct alternative sometimes come to lead a stubborn life of their own, enabling the modern scholar to determine which edition was read by whom. One can conclude with a high degree of certainty, for example, that Georg von Cell's German translation of Cassander's tract was based on B, because of an error in a quotation from Martin Luther, which is translated as *Wie sich ein yeder Gottsfürchtiger und des gemeinen Friedes Liebhaber [...] halten soll*. In the passage “*etiamsi in extremis malis essent, accureres*” etc., B, unlike A, has “*maris*,” with the German translation consequently “*an dem eusserstem des Meres, soltestu zu ihnen lauffen*.”¹³

This discovery will probably be rather disappointing for adherents of New Philology, given that it does not immediately open up the prospect of the desired colourful alternation of user contexts of variants. A careful study according to the principles of traditional philology would also have noted the difference mentioned. Texts surely are as fluid as New Philologists assert, but they tend to solidify at any arbitrary moment in their existence. The situation is different as regards the following example, where a printed variant is related to a passage from a letter by the author of the text.

A noteworthy alteration in the text of *De officio* that appears from 1607 (G) onward is the replacement of “two” by “four” in the sentence “Where there are

12 “*Tandem iis, quae ad personas pertinent, relictis, de re ipsa cepit agere, ut libelli sui sententiam defenderet, & importuni castigatori fumos discuteret. Quia vero haec disputatio de re magna est, & est hoc tempore imprimis necessaria, & vero in Gallia desideratur, visum est, Reipublicae interesse, ut ea recuderetur, ac relictis nunc aliis capitibus, quae ad personas magis referuntur, simplicissime & optima fide exponeretur summum caput principalis quaestionis, & veluti utriusque partis acta, quae ad rem causamque pertinent, sola recitentur, atque committerentur: de quibus deinde iudicium sanis cordatisque lectoribus relinqueretur.*”

13 The fact that Georg von Cell translated B and not A is also shown, of course, by the presence of the two lengthy passages that are included in B but not in A.

now two types of issues regarding faith, the first of which concerns doctrine and the other discipline and ceremonies...”

G (1607, above) compared to A (1561)

Cum autem quaestionum religionis duo sint genera, quarum aliae doctrinam, aliae disciplinam et caeremonias spectant

Cum autem quaestionum religionis quatuor sint genera, quarum aliae disciplinam et caeremonias spectant

In this sentence, the original distribution of the disputed points between dogmatics and ecclesiastical rituals is obscured by the continuation of this alteration: “four issues... some of which concern discipline and ceremonies.” It is of course possible that Hotman – because it was he who produced the first edition in which this variant occurs – made the change from two to four because it corresponded more logically with Cassander’s following subdivision into four types of issues regarding faith (even though the result is that the rest of the argument becomes incomprehensible), but his omitting the designation of one main category of disputed points, concerning dogmatics, would seem to justify a certain suspicion. Maybe Hotman did not want to worry the reader by explicitly pointing out that the differences between the denominations were also of a *dogmatic* nature and therefore he preferred to omit the heading under which Cassander had presented his fourfold division of dogma’s. If that is in fact the case, then Hotman was applying the same rhetorical trick that Cassander himself had used in his draft of *De officio pii viri*, as described in the letter that he wrote to Johannes Molinaeus on 23 November 1559. In that letter, he said that he was pondering a reconciliation proposal for Protestants and Roman-Catholics that would consist not of *five* points, as he had previously announced in print, but of *two*. The first point, which would be made up of three components, would bring about improvements in the public domain and the second in the private lives of believers. The presentation of the disputed points in *De officio* in fact turned out differently: a dichotomy between dogmatic and ceremonial issues, subdivided into four and seven sub-categories respectively. (The distinction between the duties of an individual believer and those of a church leader would run throughout the tract.) Hotman specifies four disputed points, some of which concern ceremonial disputes and in fact removes the seven types of rite from his list all together. By not specifying one of the main categories – the most perilous! – and obscuring the original subdivision, Hotman may have hoped to make Cassander’s inventory of disputed points appear less insurmountable.

This interpretation of the variants in the 1607 edition involves a fundamental problem. Surely letters are permissible as sources for the interpretation of printed texts, but is it permissible, from a New Philology point of view, to link the author's *explicit* intentions as they have come down to us in letters written according to the rules of the humanist letter, i.e. the *ars conscribendis epistolis*, to the author's *implicit* intentions – such as we derive them from printed texts that emphatically comply with other genre conventions? In the letter, we are dealing with the *self-fashioning* of the irenicist Cassander,¹⁴ who divulges his peace-plan-in-preparation to a friend; in *De officio*, an anonymous narrator anticipates the criticism that may be levelled at his overview of disputed points and the associated statements regarding possible agreement from the Protestant or Roman-Catholic side. Cassander's meandering argument – “can be maintained even if... provided that... but even so abolition is perhaps preferable, although it should be considered in that context that...” – exposes the discursive structure of his peace tract: the reader can write his own objections into the text, as it were, and is then offered an immediate reply. The narrative status of the letter differs fundamentally from that of the persuasive tract; statements in letters can therefore only be applied with the greatest caution in the discursive context of a printed tract.

“*Mouvance*” and “*Variance*”

One unmistakable merit of New Philology is that by introducing new concepts such as *mouvance* and *variance* it demands – emphatically – that attention be paid to issues that traditional philology might not always have noticed.¹⁵ We

14 “Self-fashioning” is used here in the sense Stephen Greenblatt assigns to the term: caught between the existing ideology of the Roman-Catholic Church and hostile Protestantism, Cassander seeks a genuine solution (inspired by Antiquity) of the dispute between the contesting parties by rephrasing current issues *in a humanist letter*, intended to be read not just by Molinaeus but by all kindred spirits. Humanist letters more often than not were intended to be printed and published.

15 The concept “*mouvance*” was originally introduced by Paul Zumthor (*Essai de poétique médiévale*. Paris, 1972); Bernard Cerquiglini (*Éloge de la variante. Histoire critique de la philologie*. Paris, 1989) elaborated on Zumthor's theories and noticed “*une mobilité incessante et joyeuse de l'écriture médiévale*” (*Éloge de la variante*, pp. 114), which he described as “*variance*.” Ingrid Bennewitz, “Alte ‘neue’ Philologie? Zur Tradition eines Diskurses,” in *Philologie als Textwissenschaft: alte und neue Horizonte* 116 (= *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*), eds. Helmut Tervooren and Horst Wenzel (1997), pp. 46–61, citation on pp. 51; Thomas Cramer, “*Mouvance*,” in *ibid.*, pp. 150–69; Rüdiger Schnell, “Was ist neu an der

have been focussing so far on the *variance* of *De officio* but it is now important to note that a number of examples of *mouvance* can also be identified in the life of Cassander's tract, when the text was included as part of lengthier dissertations, for example *Politica Imperialia, sive discursus politici, acta publica, et tractatus generales* (J, Frankfurt, 1614), *De corruptis moribus, qui religionis sanctissimum negotium impediunt* (K, Cracow, 1615) or when it was provided with an explanation and commentary by the editor, as was the case in the edition by the Königsberg theologian Johannes Latermann (O, Königsberg, 1650). There, the text no longer speaks for itself alone but is placed in a discursive context. Seen in this way, earlier editions of *De officio* can also be suspected of *mouvance*: each edition to which is added the defence of *De officio* (by Cassander or Bauduin) against the attacks on it by Calvin and Beza – or Hotman's *Syllabus* of irenical works – is evidence of the failure of Cassander's peace initiative due to the opposing voices that can be heard in them or because the tract is declared to be part of an honourable history of failures. In actual fact, one can already speak of a fundamental *mouvance* after the first edition in 1561: *De officio* changes from being a persuasive text with a specific objective into an historical document with arguments and insights that are worthy of consideration but were in fact disregarded.

Readers: Commentators and Translators

One can gain an impression of the diversity of ideas that *De officio pii viri* aroused among its widely varying readers during its long life by studying what a number of commentators said – and on occasion printed – about it, as well as the two translations that were made. There is a printed German edition of 1562 by Georg von Cell (*Wie sich ein yeder Gottsfürchtiger, und des gemeinen Friedes Liebhaber, in ietzigem werentem zweispalt der Religion halten soll*) and a French translation by Jean Hotman (*Le devoir de l'homme de bien et désireux du repos public en ce différent de religion*), which is preserved in manuscript form.¹⁶ The edition of *De officio* that I am preparing will present the two translations side-by-side with the text of the first edition. The commentary by Johannes Latermann, printed in O, is included as notes to the text. The 1593

'New Philology'? Zum Diskussionsstand in der germanistischen Mediävistik," in *Alte und neue Philologie*, eds. Martin-Dietrich Gleßgen and Franz Lebsanft (Tübingen, 1997), pp. 61–95.

16 Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Paris, *Hotmanniana* I, no. 7, fol. 41r–50v.

memorandum by the Geneva theologian Charles Perrot, previously published by Guillaume Posthumus Meyjes in the *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*,¹⁷ will be included as an appendix.

In his critical notes, Perrot, whose irenic convictions led to his papers being confiscated immediately after his death by the Geneva syndic Jean Lect,¹⁸ primarily attacks Cassander's rhetorical distinctions. He disputes, for example, the allocation of separate duties to ordinary believers (the *pui viri* of the title) and to persons holding public office within the church. Pursuing this line of thinking, he wonders whether as a private individual Cassander would have felt called upon to publish his views on the condition of the church. Perrot is able to endorse neither the clever argument of presenting the relationship between tradition and Scripture as *act* and *potential*¹⁹ nor Cassander's broad interpretation of tradition, which rather than focusing on details and dealing with the highly contentious issue of transubstantiation, allowed Cassander to create a taxonomy of traditions that presented his interpretation as being a matter of course. The same rhetorical strategy of creating subdivisions enables him to present virtually the whole practice of Roman-Catholic ceremonies as bearing an apostolic seal of approval. Perrot seems to have taken offence not so much at the meandering argumentation in *De officio* as at the rhetorical paradigm that Cassander imposed on these very real differences.

Latermann's *Breves & succinctae notae ad tractatum Cassandri De officio pui viri* unfold, for the Lutheran (Prussian) reader, Cassander's implicit concessions to the Protestants, with reference to recent Lutheran theological writings. Where he allows himself to make critical remarks about Luther, Cassander is reprimanded, but his veiled criticism of the Roman-Catholic church is given lengthy support in the notes.

One question, at first sight of only minor importance, that arises when presenting Latermann's notes in an edition of *De officio* is where exactly they should be placed. Should they be added in a separate appendix to the edition of the text of the first version of 1561, so as to emphasize the difference between the original text and later commentary, or should they be added as footnotes to the original text, among Bible citations or references to other explanations of

17 G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes, "Charles Perrot (1541–1608). Een onbekend advies van zijn hand over een werk van Georgius Cassander met, in appendix, iets over zijn *De extremis in ecclesia vitandis*," in *NAKG/DRCH* 72–1 (1992), pp. 72–91. The text concerned is "Advis sur le livre de Cassander intitulé *De officio pui ac publicae tranquillitatis vere amnatis viri*," BSHPF, Paris, *Hotmanniana* II, no. 52, fol. 121r–123v.

18 These papers included the manuscript of *De extremis in ecclesia vitandis*.

19 These terms are used by Posthumus Meyjes in "Charles Perrot (1541–1608). Een onbekend advies van zijn hand," p. 76.

Cassander's tract by traditional philologists? From the point of view of New Philology, this question can be seen as a matter of principle, given that New Philology does not recognise any hierarchy in commentaries, whether created by the author or later editors, though it acknowledges their differences. For the sake of clarity, one could decide that Latermann's notes should be included as an appendix, although it would in fact be more true to the principles of New Philology to annotate each statement by Cassander with everything that anyone had to say about it at any point in its history.

The translations of *De officio* – that into German by Georgius von Celle and that into French by Jean Hotman – can be investigated in a variety of different ways. Besides the way they reinforce or weaken arguments with the antitheses and nuances that they contain, it is above all the use and expansion of imagery that attracts one's attention in Cassander's tract.²⁰ Careful analysis of Cassander's use of metaphors in *De officio*, which can be considered as a "*système métaphorique*,"²¹ shows that they are intended to express the necessity of regulating what has *grown* – the existence of which is consequently the fault of no one. Hotman succeeds in embellishing his translation with metaphors that reflect this: Cassander's surgeon who must cure a disease is assisted by a French gardener who wishes to uproot weeds. Imagery taken from trade, seamanship and travel, restricted as it is to a peculiar time and space, is carefully translated into German by Georgius von Celle, though it is highly unlikely that his German audience understood these metaphors as easily as Cassander's intended readers would have done.

New Philology, Analytical Bibliography, and a Postmodern/ Post-postmodern Approach to Literature

New Philology is embraced by some scholars for the same reasons as the over-50s buy themselves a mobile phone or an iPod. Their belief that one cannot afford not to connect with modern trends, even though secretly doubting their usefulness, is very similar to Dietmar Rieger's thinking when he wonders

20 I have referred elsewhere to the significance of metaphors in Cassander's letters: Rob van de Schoor, "Georgius Cassander: Searching for Religious Peace in his Correspondence (1557–1565)," in *Between Scylla and Charybdis. Learned Letter Writers Navigating the Reefs of Religious and Political Controversy in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Jeanine De Landtsheer and Henk Nellen (Leiden-Boston, 2011), pp. 127–47: pp. 145–47.

21 In the sense assigned to that term by Maarten van Buuren in his dissertation "*Les Rougon-Macquart*" d'Émile Zola. *De la métaphore au mythe*. n.p. 1986.

whether New Philology is “*im Grunde nur viel Lärm um nichts*” and whether it would not be better to devote himself to the philological “order of the day.” His answer comprises a big “yes” and a little “no”: significant shifts in paradigm arise from scholarly (i.e. traditional philological) *praxis*, never from “*Selbstinszenierung und -etikettierung als ‘neu.*” However, anyone who shrugs his shoulders and ignores the New Philology, he warns, runs the risk of missing the initial symptoms of what can develop into a post-postmodern approach to literature, from which a lot of good can be expected.²² Rieger’s warning is a pertinent one: in the literary theory of the printed book, that tendency has already led to the development of a systemic and institutional approach, discourse analysis, and the revival of the author – previously thought to be “dead” in terms of his contribution to the system of values of the text. In New Philology the author’s (or editor’s) irrelevance is still a crucial dogma,²³ secured by the impossibility to identify those who brought about the transformations that a tract like *De officio* has undergone during its printing history. Surely texts transform according to user contexts – but they don’t transform by themselves.

One might argue that the New Philology of the printed book overlaps with New Historicism and discourse analysis. It is in any case noteworthy that no extensive study of the New Philology of the printed book has yet been published. The questions that can be derived from New Philology in the context of medieval studies for the study of early books – from the incunabula until the mid-nineteenth century – have long formed part of the research armoury of analytical bibliography, i.e. the study of printed books. The science of editing concerns itself with the problem of the transformation of the manuscript into a printed text. The innovation that New Philology promises in the study of printed books would therefore seem to lie not primarily in a radical revision of research perspectives, but above all in meeting a need for self-justification and paradigmatic changes.

22 Dietmar Rieger, “New Philology”? Einige kritische Bemerkungen aus der Sicht eines Literaturwissenschaftlers,” in *Alte und neue Philologie*, eds. Martin-Dietrich Gleßgen and Franz Lebsanft (Tübingen, 1997), pp. 97–109: p. 98.

23 One could doubt if this slightly provocative statement is really challenged by the ongoing discussions in Germanic philology. Ingold and Wunderlich e.g. would like to define the medieval author as “Vermittler von bereits Gesagtem”: Felix Philipp Ingold and Werner Wunderlich, “Nach dem Autor fragen,” in: idem, *Fragen nach dem Autor. Positionen und Perspektiven* (Konstanz, 1992), pp. 9–18. Recent literature on the subject: Thomas Bein, “Zum ‘Autor’ im mittelalterlichen Literaturbetrieb und im Diskurs der germanistischen Mediävistik,” in *Rückkehr des Autors. Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs*, eds. Fotis Jannidis, Gerhard Lauer, Matias Martinez and Simone Winko (Tübingen, 1999), pp. 303–20; Thomas Bein, Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth and Bodo Plachta, *Autor – Autorisation – Authentizität* (Tübingen, 2004).

The Salman Rushdie Archive and the Re-Imagining of a Philological E-volution

Benjamin Alexander

“Our writing tools are also working on our thoughts,”

FREDERICK NIETZSCHE, TYPEWRITTEN MANUSCRIPT



The following discussion is shaped by a particular historiographic sensitivity that combines a perspective on the archive as an intellectual body that facilitates complex scholarly practices of remembering, forgetting, and re-remembering, with a parallel concern for evolving processes of intellectual exchange involving the archive and the literary scholar. At the centre of this discussion rests the Salman Rushdie Archive, a collection of personal materials that, from the point of view of both the archive and the literary scholar, is radical in both its form and content.

My particular engagement with the Salman Rushdie Archive introduces (and then offers to reconcile) two distinct observations. First, The Salman Rushdie Archive is among the first collections to provide a scholarly perspective on the increasingly intricate practice of twenty-first century textual inquiry that is, at present, being shaped and reshaped by scholars' access to an archival record that increasingly includes authors' engagements with *both* material evidence *and* complex digital matrices. Second, dating from the 1990s (approximately the years in which Rushdie prepared and transferred his materials to the care of the archive), some literary scholars began to engage in what they called New Philology and to apply its strategies to the interpretation and re-interpretation of texts. Basing themselves on the work of Bernard Cerquiglini (1989), they argued for the study of texts in all its variations from a broad spectrum of literary, historical and critical discourses.¹ When sensitively configured, these lines of discussion coalesce around a broadening critical perspective regarding the subjective nature of the manufacture of texts

1 Esp. Nichols (1990) and Wenzel (1990).

(manuscript, printed and digital); and, which recalls Bernard Cerquiglioni's observation that, "medieval writing does not produce variants; it is variance."²

The Rushdie Archive is among the first archival collections to document the evolution of the intellectual and imaginative practices of a twentieth and twenty-first century author as they progressed from a combined reliance on material inscription and typewriting technologies, to, at present, an almost exclusive dependence on the fluidity of digital composition. Most succinctly, the Salman Rushdie Archive is revolutionary (I use this term with extreme caution); and, it is revolutionary from a combination of intellectual and historical perspectives that reach deep within the archive and across a breadth of academic and historical interests.³

Salman Rushdie and the Archive: Shaping Twenty-first Century Literary Memory

On March 15, 2010 *The New York Times* published an article entitled *Fending Off Digital Decay, Bit by Bit*. "Among the archival material from Salman Rushdie currently on display at Emory University in Atlanta are inked book covers, handwritten journals and four Apple computers (one ruined by a spilled Coke)" the article begins. "The 18 gigabytes of data they contain seemed to promise future biographers and literary scholars a digital wonderland: comprehensive, organized and searchable files, quickly accessible with a few clicks."⁴

With the opening of "Sir Salman Rushdie's archive," visitors to the web portal for Emory's Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, observe, "the celebrated writer's computer files, private journals, notebooks, photographs and manuscripts that provide insight into his creative process, campaigns for human rights and celebrity." "The multimedia exhibit, *A World Mapped by Stories*," the web-page further notes, "also marked a significant step forward in the preservation of personal digital materials."⁵

2 Cerquiglioni (1989), quoted in Nichols (1990) 1.

3 Like many things archival, it is worth noting the historical fortune that explains the preservation of Rushdie's original computing devices. During a recent interview posted to Emory's webpage, Rushdie explained to curator Erika Farr that during the fatwa, he avoided discarding his computers out of concern for his personal safety. Instead of throwing them away he simply kept them in a closet until their eventual transfer to the archive.

4 Cohen, Patricia, "Fending off Digital Decay, Bit by Bit," in *New York Times* 15 March 2010.

5 Elaine Justice, *A World Mapped by Stories: The Salman Rushdie Archives*. Emory University, Robert Wood W. Woodruff Library. *Web.library.emory.edu*.

A brief review of catalogue record (Finding Aid in archival parlance) to the Rushdie Archive immediately points to its groundbreaking contribution both to the archive generally and by Emory's archivists specifically. It follows that the Finding Aid itself identifies ways in which the twenty-first century archivist will play an increasingly visible role in the shaping of literary scholarship. "The papers include journals, appointment books, and notebooks; writings by Rushdie, specifically manuscripts and typescripts of his fiction, nonfiction, scripts and other writings," the finding aid begins. The guide then departs from the familiarities of material matrices and introduces points of access to the gestation of twenty-first century literatures within the expanding fluidity of digital technologies.

Of particulate note in the collection is the digital material from four of Rushdie's computers in addition to a hard drive. The files currently available to researchers are from one of his earlier computers, a Macintosh Performa 5400; they date from 1992–2002, and consist of notes and drafts of Rushdie's writings and selected correspondence. Of particular interest is a small cache of email correspondence, representing Rushdie's first foray into this emerging form of communication in the late 1990s.⁶

What is truly revolutionary about the Salman Rushdie Archive is the convergence of scholarly opportunity to explore both the evolution of Rushdie's creativity within the specific material spaces (hardware), and, the evolving digital matrices (software) that the author preferred across the first decades of the personal computer revolution.

"At the Emory exhibition," observes Erika Farr, Director of Born Digital Archives at Emory, "visitors can log onto a computer and see the screen that Mr. Rushdie saw, search his file folders as he did, and find out what applications he used. They can call up an early draft of Mr. Rushdie's 1999 novel, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, and edit a sentence or post an editorial comment."⁷ "To the Emory team," Farr further observes, "simulating the author's electronic universe is equivalent to making a reproduction of the desk, chair, fountain pen and paper that, say, Charles Dickens used, and then allowing visitors to sit and scribble notes on a copy of an early version of "Bleak House."⁸ Farr's observa-

6 Rushdie, Salman, *Salman Rushdie papers, 1947–2008*. Emory University, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

7 Elaine Justice, *A World Mapped by Stories: The Salman Rushdie Archives*. Emory University, Robert Wood W. Woodruff Library. *Web.library.emory.edu*.

8 Ibid.

tions point directly to the fundamental observation of this essay: namely that the introduction of multifaceted combinations of material and digital evidences into contemporary literary archives is concurrent with the emergence of new developments in textual scholarship which seek to apply New Philology to the interpretation of texts across increasingly broad fields of study.

At present, researchers can interact with Rushdie's digital tools from the relative origin of the commercialization of the personal computer through to the present. One of the great challenges of the digital age remains, of course, the fact that the technologies of composition will continue to shape and re-shape authors' creative processes at a pace that obscures our judgment of the relative primitivism of machines produced only a year or two ago. So too such technologies of composition will remain in advance of the commensurate technologies which are capable of preserving and providing access to outdated hardware and software. The Rushdie Archive retards such distortions and allows scholars to sensitively consider the production of literature according to limited spaces and operating capabilities of the word processing technologies dating from the mid-1980s.

Farr notes specifically scholars' access to both the actual hardware Rushdie engaged with and the ability to: "search his file folders as he did, and find out what applications he used (Mac Stickies were a favorite)."⁹ Such remarkable access illuminates the tremendous broadening of potential capture and preservation of literary "memory" that digital technologies offer first to the archive, and then to the scholar. Such access provides a kind of simulation of experience (that is, opportunities for research within an expanding context of creation) that are unimaginable within the comparatively limited matrices of manuscripts and printed texts. While scholars' engagement with Rushdie's primary materials will always take place within the context of the archive (a privileged cultural space distanced from the author's environment of composition), the archive creates an additional layer of context to the gestation of particular texts that is truly revolutionary, by providing access to both Rushdie's computers and their operating systems.

Further, and of particular importance to the study at hand, Emory's contribution to both the expanding perspectives of the archive and concurrent evolutions of textual and literary scholarship portends additional points of entry into textual analysis. To-date, archivists have provided access to the digital manuscripts and drafts of manuscripts that Rushdie, himself, saved; i.e. to those files that are representative of Rushdie's creative process. These "digital

9 Elaine Justice, *A World Mapped by Stories: The Salman Rushdie Archives*. Emory University, Robert Wood W. Woodruff Library. *Web.library.emory.edu*.

manuscripts” are emphatically distinct from the additional layers (I use this word literally) of evidence that remain imprinted on the author’s hard-drives. This is an essential distinction. While access to the former is unquestionably profound, the opportunity to access the latter will be truly revolutionary. And, I argue, it is a shared awareness among academics of this emerging potential to access latent and discarded evidences that helps to explain the on-going revaluations among textual scholars from the early modern period through to the present.

Emory, however, is not alone its efforts to capture and provide access to our twenty-first century literary heritage. The Harry Ransom Center is working to make available digital records contained within the Norman Mailer Papers.¹⁰ Mailer, a contemporary of Rushdie’s, shared his experience of transitioning from manuscript to digital writing practices. Moreover, the Ransom Center can make the persuasive claim that it contains (perhaps maintains) the archival record that gives context to the first comprehensive evidence of hypertext fiction: Michael Joyce’s *Afternoon: A Story*.

The commitment of institutions like Emory to preserving the evolution of the twenty-first century imagination as it continues to interact with digital technologies is historically unprecedented. If institutions like Emory University and the Ransom Center were more limited in their perceptions of textual scholarship they could easily migrate the digital evidences contained on the hard-drives of authors like Rushdie and Mailer and, much to their financial benefit, disregard the responsibility for maintaining the operation of authors’ computers.

Reimagining the Text

During the precise years that Rushdie was negotiating for the transfer of his archive to Emory, and during which time archivists at Emory were making revolutionary forays into the preservation and access to digital evidences, literary scholars began to ask some fundamentally New Philological questions about the very nature of texts dating from the early modern period through to the relative present. The reasons for this concurrent shift or, perhaps, advancement in archival practices and literary scholarship are, I believe, easily explained. Dating from the early 1990s, textual and literary scholars generally

¹⁰ For additional information about the Norman Mailer Papers, see *Norman Mailer: An Inventory of His Papers at the Harry Ransom Center* available at <http://www.hrc.utexas.edu/>.

began to appreciate the coming challenges that digital technologies introduced. Indeed, dating from this period there was a reorientation in scholarly perspective on the very nature of primary evidences, and their process of production, preservation, and future access, that remains rooted in scholars' various engagements with the complexities of digital technologies – that is, their personal experiences of the “computer revolution.” Hindsight reveals a remarkable parallel energy occurring both within the archive itself, and, across the field of literary scholarship more generally. The opening of the Salman Rushdie Archive simply brings into focus these parallel interests, and illustrates their increasing convergence and process of mutual exchange.

At the very centre of these convergent energies rests a fundamental engagement with New Philology as it was envisioned by scholars dating from the early 1990s. “A rethinking of philology should seek to minimize the isolation between medieval studies and other contemporary movements in cognitive methodologies, such as linguistics, anthropology, modern history, cultural studies, and so on,” Stephen Nichols observes in the introduction to *The New Philology*, “by reminding us that philology was once among the most theoretically avant-garde disciplines.”¹¹ “In its wider sense philology serves the basic urge to understand a work of verbal and usually written communication,” writes Siegfried Wenzel in the same text. “But,” Wenzel continues,

in doing so it goes beyond the strict concentration on language and its aspects, to include whatever contextual information might help to elucidate a text: first of all its sources, but then also political and other aspects of history, biography where the writer is known, socioeconomic conditions (such as patronage or practical demand for books), the conditions and processes of writing or copying a document and of printing, the religion or Weltanschauung of the culture from which the text comes, the intended use of the text (its *Sitz im Leben*, to use the fashionable phrase), and much else.¹²

To align critical observations regarding the evolution of textual scholarship across the past two decades with the introduction of digital evidences into the archive is to observe a kind of fruition of the critical observations offered by New Philologists including Nichols and Wenzel.

In my view scholars like Adrian Johns, David Kastan and Franco Moretti have both incorporated and expanded upon the New Philologists' concern for

¹¹ Nichols (1990) 1.

¹² Wenzel (1990) 12.

contextual study in order to explain the formation of literary conventions dating from the English Renaissance through to the Victorian age. Other scholars, I am thinking of Lawrence Rainey specifically, have pioneered a philological approach to the interpretation of twentieth century texts; indeed, texts which had long assumed to have exhausted the research value of their primary sources. Most recently, Matthew Kirschenbaum in particular has turned his attention to the exploration of the revolutionary advances in writing tools that have reshaped creative practices across the past half-century, exploring, in Kirschenbaum's words, the twenty-first century "forensic imagination."¹³

This is a tremendous breadth of recent scholarship that has coalesced around what are fundamentally new philological discourses and which has been simultaneously facilitated by scholars' engagement with digital technologies.

The question, of course, is why did these seemingly distinct interests emerge from both within the archive and the academy during this concurrent period in time? The answer, I believe, is in the ways that digital technologies have encouraged new ways of viewing our literary and cultural heritage.

The Text Re-Imaged

It is a case best made through example. On October 29th 1998, Christies Auction House auctioned an extraordinary volume. The text, a thirteenth century prayer book composed in Constantinople, was purchased by an anonymous collector who immediately placed the volume in the care of curators and conservators at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland. What makes the volume so extraordinary is that it is, by every definition, a palimpsest.¹⁴ In itself this may not seem remarkable. Once in the care of conservators at the Walters, however, a fascinating combination of intellectual and technological energies converged on this volume. In fact, the particular nexus of these technological and interpretative practices identify the Archimedes Palimpsest as a defining moment in anticipating how cultural heritage materials and manifestations of "memory" in general will be accessed and re-imagined in twenty-first century contexts.

The Archimedes Palimpsest, as this volume has come to be known, is one of only three manuscripts that are known to have contained seminal philosophical and physical observations attributed to Archimedes written in ancient

13 Kirschenbaum (2008).

14 Netz and Noel (2007).

Greek, the language of the philosopher. The text includes two of Archimedes' treatises that can be found nowhere else: *The Method* and *Stomachion*. Two other volumes that are believed to have contained comparable traces of Archimedes' treatises disappeared in ca. 1311 and 1550, respectively. The only other comparable volume that contains evidences of Archimedes' ideas dates from approximately 700 CE (400 years before the production of the present text).

What makes this volume so singularly remarkable, however, is that it remains, in its very nature, a palimpsest. The present volume comprises 174 folio pages inscribed on parchment. Collectively, however, these pages represent a physical and intellectual synthesis of leaves that were excised (literally extracted) from at least five distinct pre-existing texts, including: ten pages of writings attributed to Hyperides; six folio pages of an unidentified Neoplatonic text; four folio pages from an unknown liturgical manuscript; and a further twelve pages from two texts that have not yet been identified.

The monks working in Constantinople during the twelfth century and who intended the composition of a prayer book identified for the materials of their volume leaves from these disparate texts.¹⁵ They then scraped the extant inks from their pages and resized the leaves to fit the uniform dimensions of their intended volume, and then initiated their process of composition. From the point of view of the archive, what the twelfth century monks pursued during their production of a Euchologion was in fact a complex process of removing previous attempts to converge thought (culture in its immaterial form) with its material representation, that is – in the case of the Archimedes Palimpsest – leaves of text, from their existing or pre-intended intellectual and physical contexts (again, leaves of text). They then reconfigured their intellectual and physical properties to fit their own particular set of intellectual and cultural interests. From our post-modern archival perspective the Archimedes Palimpsest reveals a fascinating and literal process of remembering, forgetting, and re-remembering.

Once in the care of conservators at the Walters Art Museum, a fascinating confluence of scholarly and technological energies converged upon this remarkable document. After the volume was dis-bound (a process that took close to 4 years), the individual pages were digitally imaged using a process called multispectral imaging. The process allows for the layers of text to be differentiated and discerned. The entire process is a kind of textual archaeology. Layers of textual history have in fact been lifted from the vellum with the

15 Technically the volume the monks composed is known as a Euchologion; a liturgical text of the Eastern Catholic Church corresponding roughly to a Roman Catholic Missal, Ritual and Pontifical.

result that scholars have had the opportunity to transcribe the Archimedes treatise.

I offer the example of *The Archimedes Palimpsest* as a segue into a more general philological study precisely because its various interpretations rely upon a convergence of critical interests including a technical concern for how this eleventh century text is being re-imagined within complex twenty-first century digital matrices into which the “original” palimpsest has been repeatedly migrated. In fact, this determinative re-exploration of our cultural and intellectual heritage provides an essential context to the understanding of how philological practices are, at present, being most sensitively explored in twenty-first century digital environments. At the same time, it explains why these same discourses have been effectively re-imagined within an increasing breadth of textual environments.

The exploration of palimpsests is, of course, not new to classical and medieval scholarship. What is perhaps most remarkable about the Archimedes Palimpsest is the kind of scholarly frenzy it seems to have produced. There are, as explained above, clear reasons for the emergence of these critical interests. Most succinctly, a hard-drive, by the very definition of its design and operation, is a palimpsest. And, it is a palimpsest that at present (like its Byzantine antecedent) remains in advance of commensurate technologies that allow for its full analysis. While the archivists at Emory have done a tremendous job in making select digital files accessible, namely those files that the author himself “saved,” they have only scratched the surface of an unimaginable wealth of latent evidences that remain encoded on Rushdie’s various hard-drives.

To trace the lineage of this scholarly perspective is to observe that from the early 1990s textual scholars began to absorb the palimpsestual complexities of digital culture and intuitively to grasp the potential for new scholarly explorations. However, in the place of a technologically sophisticated “de”-composition of the intellectual contents of a hard-drive which began in approximately 1990, scholars turned their attention towards exploring contexts of creation and the reimagining of established philological discourses within textual spaces dating from the early modern period through to the present.¹⁶ From my point of view, this is a critical process that traces its roots through the thinking of scholars like Stephen Nichols who, dating from this same period, remained

16 As a point of beginning, I would offer George Bornstein’s 1993 text, entitled, simply, *Palimpsest*. A text that portends, I believe, a subsequent decade’s worth of scholarship, and a text that in both title and subject would have been unimaginable during the decade that preceded its publication.

focused on the “way in which the beliefs of the Middle Ages shaped its institutions and textual artifacts.”¹⁷

The Advance of New Philology

Early forays into the interrogation of twenty-first century texts yields a remarkable synergy of intellectual and technical challenges. Take for example Michael Joyce’s novel, *Afternoon*. Joyce’s text was (and still is) published by Eastgate, which as posted on its web portal, remains according to Robert Coover of *The New York Times Book Review*: “the primary source for serious hypertext.”¹⁸ The text itself poses endless points of critical revaluation about the very nature of the “text” in the digital age: “I am currently running my *Afternoon* on a Windows machine, and the work was originally developed and released for the Apple Macintosh,” writes Matthew Kirschenbaum,

in its own catalogue Eastgate discriminates between so-called Macintosh and Windows “editions,” when what they really mean is that *Afternoon* has been *ported* between the two platforms, probably more than once. Selections from *Afternoon* have also appeared in print, in the *Norton Anthology of Post-Modern Fiction* (1997), and subsequently online at Norton’s Web site, which deploys an elaborate Java-based interface to approximate some of the special features of the original Storyspace software. This on-line version (and port) is identified as the sixth edition of the work by its own colophon, which is otherwise identical to the one I have reproduced above. There are at least two foreign language translations of *Afternoon*, Italian and German. None of this considers the possibility that copies of *Afternoon* have been individually altered by their owners and put into circulation, intentionally or otherwise.¹⁹

All this, Kirschenbaum notes, is external to the additional complexities of interpreting the author’s creative process as it migrated among various computers and operating systems. “The Truth is,” Kirschenbaum notes, “there are many Afternoons, even if the literary textual differences between them may provide slight; and indeed it is Joyce’s own personal habit, when naming folders and

¹⁷ Nichols (1990) 3.

¹⁸ <http://www.eastgate.com/>.

¹⁹ Kirschenbaum (2008) 261.

subfolders to store backup copies of the work on his personal file systems, to use the plural locution, ‘Afternoons.’”²⁰

Amid this seemingly overwhelming fluidity of emendation and re-imagining of any text across any number of digital spaces, scholars might feel as if they faced some Sisyphean challenge in trying to establish a socio-historical context that can provide a basis for the interpretation of twenty-first century texts. In fact, I would argue that there are, at present, projects that rival, or perhaps even surpass in terms of their technological sophistication, the context of creation of works like Joyce’s *Afternoon*. Most emphatically I would point to the commitment of the Library Congress to preserve Twitter. “Library officials explained the agreement as another step in the library’s embrace of digital media” *The New York Times* reported in April of 2010. “Twitter, the Silicon Valley start-up, declared it ‘very exciting that tweets are becoming part of history.’”²¹ I would also offer the Library of Congress’ *Web Capture Project* as well as Brewster Kahle’s monumental project, *The Internet Archive*.²² If successful, the combination of these projects offer the prospect of a socio-historical context unimaginable to scholars of medieval and early modern culture where, in general, the challenge is how to best account for absence rather than face the prospect of overwhelming evidence.

To return to the example of Joyce’s *Afternoon*, with each succeeding observation about the complex lineage of Joyce’s work that Kirschenbaum notes, from the point of view of both the archive and the scholar the interpretive challenges increase exponentially to the point where one finds oneself at a kind of critical full-circle, recalling Bernard Cerquiglini’s observation regarding “variance” and the nature of medieval culture.

The synergies between such philological discourses and the evolution of twenty-first century critical paradigms do not end with Cerquiglini. “By its origins, in [Erich] Auerbach’s view,” Nichols writes, “philology represented a technological scholarship made possible by a print culture. It joined forces with the mechanical press in a movement away from the multiplicity and variance of a manuscript culture, thereby rejecting, at the same time, the representation of the past which went along with medieval manuscript culture: adaptation or *translatio*, the continual rewriting of past works in a variety of versions, a practice which made the copying of medieval works an adventure in supplementation rather than faithful imitation.”²³ Though I doubt he imagined a connection

20 Ibid.

21 Lohr, Steve, “Library of Congress will Save Tweets,” *New York Times* April 14, 2010.

22 See <http://www.loc.gov/webarchiving/> and <http://archive.org/>.

23 Nichols (1990) 3.

while he was writing his critique of Auerbach upon some well antiquated word processing machine, Nichols articulates a set of assumptions regarding the nature of print culture and its naively assumed “enhanced fidelity” (to use Adrian Johns’ phrase²⁴) compared with the established subjectivities of the medieval manuscript.

As these conceptualizations of the complex lineage of texts evolved within certain critical circles they have lent to a more general questioning of cultural “memory.” The term is broad, but articulates an evolving concern for the problematic relationship between scholars’ interrogation of material (historical) artifacts and the inherent subjects of their intellectual composition. “Psychologists know that memory is never a perfect witness to the event remembered,” David Kastan observes in *Shakespeare and the Book*, “it represses, displaces, and falsifies; nonetheless it is informative, though less as an objective representation of the event than as the over determined register of the event’s reception and assimilation. Print remembers similarly; it too falsifies even as it recalls and records, incorporating elements separate from that which it would overtly remember. The Shakespeare remembered in the printing house is inevitably something other than Shakespeare – both more and less than his original presence. His corpus is reconstructed by sets of motivations and practices that leave their marks upon the text, distorting it even as they preserve and set it forth.”²⁵

Across the pages of *Shakespeare and the Book* Kastan peels away layer after layer of assumptions that are, and perhaps were, deeply rooted in a shared cultural confidence about Shakespeare’s very presence in the various printed texts that we had long assumed were faithful to some imagined “true original copies.” Once exposed, Kastan fills the intellectual space left by these assumed confidences with a collection of subjectivities that shake the very foundation of our assumptions about Shakespeare, and, by close extension, the transmission of his genius across time and space.

As I have been arguing throughout this book, he [Shakespeare] has never really been in any of those textual spaces where we pretend he resides. Nonetheless, we endow each of them with his name, discovering in the various forms of their materiality imagined signs of his presence. We are a bit like Hamlet, looking at a ghost that according to everything he has been taught cannot be his father’s spirit. It stands before him in “questionable shape,” yet nonetheless the Prince decides to recognize in the

24 Johns (1998) 8.

25 Kastan (2001) 15.

apparition an authenticity his Wittenberg education, anyhow, should tell him is impossible: "I'll call thee Hamlet, / King, father, royal Dane" (1.4.44–5). Looking at the various questionable shapes in which the plays appear to us, we too are motivated (and like Hamlet, more by desire than by knowledge) to find behind the "solid" or "sallied" texts, displayed in whatever media in which we encounter them, a ghostly presence that we call Shakespeare.²⁶

Such concern for the subjectivities of the early modern print shop remains at the centre of Adrian Johns' seminal text, *The Nature of the Book*. "Early modern printing was not joined by any obvious or necessary bond to enhanced fidelity, reliability, and truth," before adding, emphatically: "That bond had to be forged."²⁷

Johns goes on to observe that, "the publication of any text marks the completion of one set of complex social and technological practices and the beginning of another."²⁸ While the observations of both Johns and Kastan are fundamentally philological in their sensitivities, it is essential to note that, despite the exhaustive critical interest in early modern culture, such insights were not fully articulated until 1998 and 2001 respectively; that is, during the approximate years that Rushdie's archive was transferred to Emory.

The uniting of a critical energy that is now shared among textual scholars, book historians, and literary archives, and, which remains focused on a common interest in the inherent subjectivities of the production and reproduction of ideas, emerged during the mid 1990s with scholars like Johns and Kastan leading the way.

To-date, however, this shared critical space has focused on the interrogation of the text, broadly conceived as a finished product ready to be sold and circulated. Currently, scholars like Kirschenbaum are pushing the boundaries of textual scholarship to include concern for the more general gestation of texts; but with a keen interest in how their specific cultivation is inextricably linked to evolving digital technologies. It is an opening up of a new form of critical discourse made possible by the work of institutions like Emory University and the Harry Ransom Center and which are rooted in, in Kirschenbaum's words, "the forensic imagination." Here too, however, we find more points of critical synergy than distinction.

26 Kastan (2001) 136.

27 Johns (1998) 30.

28 Johns (1998) 8.

Into the Twenty-first Century

“We live in a time of forensic imagination,” Matthew Kirschenbaum writes in *Mechanisms: New Media and the Forensic Imagination*:

as evidenced by the current vogue for forensic science in television drama and genre fiction. Forensics in this popular sense returns us to the scene of the crime; as a legal and scientific enterprise forensic investigation has its origins in the same nineteenth-century era that produced the great inscribing engines of modernity – the gramophone, film, and the type-writer all among them.²⁹

For the scholar of contemporary literature, the “scene of the crime” is the interactive space between author and computer that shapes the formation of texts in a digital age. It follows that curators like Farr are justifiably excited about the opportunity for digital media to both retain and, in some way, recreate the authors’ process of composition within the precise technological space that shaped their artistry.

Medieval scholars, however, have long stressed that the close study of the context of creation initiates points of entry into the interrogation of a manuscript’s intellectual content. This is, of course, common to a field that has a long history of decoding and interpreting palimpsests which, to the eyes of modern scholars present a textual nightmare.

The intrigue of this critical unity does not, however, simply jump from medieval contexts and reappear in post-modern digital criticism. Rather, it increasingly runs through the interrogation of texts across centuries of distinct technological innovations. And, while scholars like Kastan and Johns have lead the charge into the reevaluation of early modern texts, it is the work of scholars like Lawrence Rainey who urged scholars of more contemporary literature to question their assumptions about the very nature of archival materials that had long assumed to have exhausted their research value and were increasingly looked upon as museum objects.

“If we are to restore the specificity of the prepublication materials and assess their bearing on critical understandings of *The Waste Land*,” Lawrence Rainey writes in *Revisiting The Waste Land*, “we must first return to the manuscripts themselves, revisiting the debates which ground to a halt in the mid-1980s.”³⁰ Rainey’s preference to “return to the manuscripts” of the twentieth

²⁹ Kirschenbaum (2008) 250.

³⁰ Rainey (2006) 2.

century poem that has received arguably the most intense critical attention, highlights this resurgence of critical interests among scholars of the twentieth century regarding the primacy or at least critical parity of historiography and concern for the technical manufacture of texts with their intellectual and creative content.

The Waste Land manuscripts have, of course, been the source of focused scholarly attention since their donation to the Berg Collection of British and American Literature in 1968. Harcourt published *The Facsimile Edition* in 1971. Across the past half-century these manuscripts have not changed in their intellectual content or physical composition. This may seem laughably obvious. Amid a set of critical discourses that gave priority to literary theory and close reading, however, these manuscripts and typescripts remained in a state of critical dormancy. Rainey simply asked of these manuscripts fresh questions that were philological in their orientation but specific in their concern for a forensic investigation, and which elicited fresh answers that provided for a “new” and historically determinative appreciation for Eliot’s creative process. In terms of establishing a critical perspective based on a continuum of philological interests, Rainey showed with cunning insight that the eventualities of the poem’s composition, its problematic migration from manuscript to typescript, and its manufacture as a printed object outlines a succession of multifarious matrices replete with their own contingencies and which collectively illustrate the inherent subjectivities of the “text.”

“The specificity of the prepublication materials,” writes Rainey, “– their heft, their material and historical density – has been levelled by a process of abstraction into ‘text,’ or even ‘the 1921 text,’ that definite article urging a monolithic entity that is at odds with the experience of pondering the undated, disordered scraps that jostle one another in the facsimile edition.”³¹ Rainey’s observations, made from the distance of successive centuries, echo the kinds of philological concern for the medieval manuscript articulated by scholars such as Nichols, Wenzel and Auerbach, and, contemporary concerns for the printed book offered by Johns and Kastan.

By “pondering” Rainey portends an incisive study of Eliot’s manuscripts that combines philological discourse with a close study of their materiality which might best be described as “forensic” in its orientation. “We must establish a chronology for the entire corpus of prepublication materials to furnish a coherent account of the poem’s production, assaying its significance for long-standing debates about the plan or program which shaped the poem’s composition.” Rainey continues,

31 Rainey (2006) 2.

. . . we need to integrate those considerations into a history specific to the early twentieth century, a culture of the book that gravitated around the epitome of modern communication flows, the typewriter, and that recognizably modern protagonist, the typist. “Such an exercise needs no apology,” wrote Hugh Kenner at the outset of his own attempt to address the prepublication manuscripts some thirty years ago. “*The Waste Land* is still a determinate of modernist consciousness, post-modernist also if it has come to that, and the profit . . . may be that we shall learn a little more about the history of our own minds.” Or, as Ezra Pound put it in his preface to the facsimile, “The more we know of Eliot, the better.”³²

What Rainey discovers remains, from the point of view of traditional philology, strikingly obvious.

The key to unlocking the precise chronology of *The Waste Land's* composition is revealed during a historically sensitive review of the technology of its production (primarily typewriters) and in the very fabric of the allied technologies (primarily paper) used during the poem's composition. “These typewriters,” observes Rainey, “produced characters generally rather similar in appearance.”

Yet on closer scrutiny they can be distinguished from each other by several features. One is the minuscule forms of the letters *t* and *f*. In the typewriter used for parts I and II the descender of the lower-case *t* ends with a finishing stroke that seems oddly constricted, curving back sharply as it raises toward the cross-stroke above. Similarly, the ascender of the lower-case *f* concludes with an arc that curls back toward the character's body, giving it a crabbed appearance, and it ends at a point high above the level of the cross-stroke.³³

“Eliot was a frugal man,” Rainey further observes, “at least in the years 1914 – 1922.” Amazingly, it is in fact Eliot's parsimonious habits that provide the key evidence used to unravel *The Waste Land's* precise pre-publication history.

“Despite earning a relatively substantial salary at Lloyds Bank from 1917 onward,” Rainey continues, “he was beset by worries over money, prompted chiefly by Vivien's many medical expenses and the need to keep a cottage in the country where she spent much of her time. His frugality extended to his consumption of paper as well: he seems to have purchased relatively small batches

32 Rainey (2006) 2.

33 Rainey (2006) 34.

of paper that would last at most a few months, often only a few weeks, before he would purchase another. As a consequence, his letters can serve as a control base for establishing the dates of the prepublication materials of *The Waste Land*.³⁴ Eliot's preference for particular paper stock proves determinative. "Eliot," notes Rainey, "began to use Hieratic Bond paper in his correspondence in the first letters that he wrote after his return from Margate to London. Quite plainly, the paper was part of a small supply which he had purchased while in Margate, the remainder of which he then proceeded to use up while in London. The Hieratic Bond passages, then, were all composed while Eliot was in Margate."³⁵

Once Rainey discerns from within these distinct paper stocks a latent historical narrative establishing a precise chronology of Eliot's creative process is easily achieved. "Given the preponderance of letters on British Bond which date from the period 9 – 22 May, as well as the London Letter, May 1921, which must have been posted by 1 May or thereabouts, it seems safe to say that the typescripts of Parts I and II were produced during this period, and that they represented a summation of work that had been in progress since March or February, perhaps even the last week of January."³⁶

Rainey's study offers, arguably, the most determinative contribution to contemporary understandings of both Eliot and *The Waste Land* to appear across the past several decades or, arguably, since the poem's publication in 1921. Rainey's insights provide a determinative chronology and perspective on the prepublication history of the poem, that is, a precise critical gesture that helps to recover the various contexts of the poem's creation.

Most succinctly, Rainey subjects a modern poem (perhaps, *the* modern poem) to a set of critical subjectivities that recall philological concerns for the complexities of the "manuscript matrix." His criticism epitomizes the recent awakening of scholars to a particularly, and largely philological, concern for literary matrices across a breadth of technological mediations.

Moreover, Rainey's particular investigation represents, from a technological point of view, a kind of middle ground in his specific concern for the influence of the typewriter on the formation of the literary imagination. The impress on the typewriter on the formation of new literary matrices can trace its roots back to Mark Twain's revolutionary decision to produce a typescript of *Life on the Mississippi* (well-regarded as the first literary typescript produced by an American author) and claims an experimental apex with Jack Kerouac's famous

34 Ibid.

35 Rainey (2006) 11.

36 Rainey (2006) 19.

experiment involving a 120 foot scroll, a typewriter, and his journey across the United States (*On The Road*, of course, the resulting text).³⁷

In 2011, John McMillan published, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America*. McMillan's study, like that of Rainey, advances philological discourses deep into the twentieth century. "We have no shortage of books seeking to explain how so many American youths grew restless and dissatisfied with their country in the early 1960s and why they became so intensely radical in the mid-1960s," Rainey observes. "The New Left's development, however, can't be accounted for by these [Civil Rights, Vietnam, etc.] factors alone; it has also been necessary for scholars to examine the internal dynamics that propelled the movement."³⁸ Such investigation leads, for McMillan, directly into specific interpretation of the contexts of composition and dissemination of radical newspapers. "By showing how underground newspapers educated, politicized, and built communities among disaffected youths in every region of the country this book contributes," McMillan argues, "to a broader revisionist effort."³⁹

While McMillan's interests may be more broadly socio-historical, they bare the unmistakable impress, I would argue, of the work of Rainey (as well as Johns, Kastan, and Moretti) in their indebtedness to New Philology as it was imagined by scholars during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Old Challenges Reimagined

Writing at the beginning of the 1990s Siegfried Wenzel observed with caution that, "there are, however, several pertinent objections that might be raised to the claim that philology continues to have an important heuristic value." Among these concerns, Wenzel notes, is the argument that Philology, "was done, and perhaps done well, in the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries; but – quite apart from the fact that our modern intellectual quest has moved on beyond the typical concerns of philology – the major insights which philology could furnish have been furnished, and nothing new can be added." Or, as Wenzel continues, there is a criticism that "philology is no longer relevant to the main objective of literary studies," and, less tenable still, that

37 Mark Twain was especially fascinated by the prospect of mechanical typesetting. During the 1870s Twain in fact went bankrupt financing James Paige's Paige Compositor: an early competitor of Ottmar Mergenthaler's Lintotype Machine.

38 McMillan (2011) 5.

39 McMillan (2011) 6.

philologists work, “in blissful ignorance of such notions as structuralism, the hermeneutic circle, or indeterminacy.”⁴⁰

The timing of Wenzel’s authorship is important. Working with the critical environment of the late 1980s and early 1990s his observations were in fact keen in the appreciation for the technologies of literary composition. At the time, such concerns were simply dismissed as irrelevant to classicists and medievalists and had little to contribute to the interpretation of texts authored and “published” since Gutenberg. Things, however, were about to change.

By 1990, it is without question that the computer had been made “personal” (really the defining feature of the current digital revolution) but scholarly concern for its impress on the shapes of intellectual and literary history remained, at best, nascent. By the mid-1990s scholars like George Bornstein in works including, *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture* (1998) and *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (2006), were beginning to ask certain fundamental questions about the nature of literary production within twentieth century contexts. “If the Mona Lisa is in Paris, at the Louvre,” Bornstein wonders in his introduction, “where is King Lear?”⁴¹

As I have been describing, scholars of the history of the book in particular picked-up on this point of critical revision. What scholars like Adrian Johns and David Kastan have shown, and shown with remarkable sensitivity, is that the “book,” especially when examined from an artifactual point of view, is simply a piece of highly commodified technology that from the 1450s onward fundamentally reshaped how scholars and intellectuals have developed and communicated ideas.⁴²

Working within this critical perspective, what in fact the digital revolution has impressed upon a growing contingent of scholars is that authorship has always combined subjectivities of technology and historiography. While this may present as a commonplace critical observation, the fact remains that such philological engagement with texts has, to-date, largely remained the almost

40 Wenzel (1990) 13.

41 Bornstein (1993) 5.

42 I feel it is important to note the early contribution of Elizabeth Eisenstein and her publication of *The Printing Press as an Agent of Social Change* (1980). While more contemporary scholars (including Johns) have established their particular analysis of the subjectivities of the printing press in opposition to, what is sometimes referred to as, Eisenstein’s “magisterial” regard for Gutenberg’s workshop, I think it important to appreciate Eisenstein as beginning a critical discourse that was, at the time of her authorship, largely absent from academic circles. Further, I think it fair to consider that Eisenstein was making a very challenging (and laudable) foray into what has long been a kind of “boys club” of the Rare Book world.

exclusive domain of classical and medieval scholars. The opening of the Salman Rushdie archive illustrates that such defined interests are giving way to much broader and more inclusive critical exchanges.

In her recent *New York Times* article entitled, *The Muses of Insert, Delete and Execute*, Schuessler quotes Kirschenbaum as stating that, “The story of writing in the digital age is every bit as messy as the ink-stained rags that would have littered Gutenberg’s print shop or the hot molten lead of the Linotype machine... Pay no attention to the neatly formatted and deceptively typo-free surfaces of the average Microsoft Word file.”⁴³ Kirschenbaum made these comments, as Schuessler points out, at a recent lunchtime lecture at the New York Public Library titled “Stephen King’s Wang,” “a cheeky reference to that best-selling novelist’s first computer, bought in the early 1980s.”⁴⁴ Kirschenbaum’s observations advance upon the critical insights of scholars like Johns and Kastan: “The truth is that all of the technologies of writing betray ‘real presence’; always they offer a simulacrum of a voice that is by definition absent,” Kastan observes. “The preference then of one over another cannot be based on its presumption of its greater authenticity. And even the pencil, it is worth reminding ourselves, is no more a natural writing tool than the computer. It is just a lot easier to understand how it works and its traces are more directly linked back to their author; that is, they are dependent less upon other agencies than print or digital display, but not therefore any less mediations of the authors work.”⁴⁵

Kastan’s point, of course, is that the very technology of the word processor (like that of the pencil and the printing press) were specifically designed to facilitate the production of a single manuscript that conceals through its very process of composition the errors, emendations, and edits associated with material (paper) based technologies. Reflecting on evidences discovered within his own archive, Salman Rushdie himself comments on the writers’ fetish for the “clean” page. “Like many writers I don’t like to show people pages with many x-ings out,” Rushdie explained during an interview with Erika Farr. “I found,” Rushdie continued, “that because of the ease of revision, because of the ease of cleaning up the page . . . [it] left more time available for the actual work. That you actually revised more just because you could . . . The fact that you could endlessly improve made me more willing to do that. It was, in the

43 Kirschenbaum in Schuessler, Jennifer, “The Muses of Insert, Delete and Execute,” in *New York Times* December 26, 2011.

44 Kirschenbaum in Schuessler, Jennifer, “The Muses of Insert, Delete and Execute,” in *New York Times* December 26, 2011.

45 Kastan (2001) 135.

end, actually beneficial to the finished product. I would go over it five or six times more than I would on a typed page.”⁴⁶

While from Rushdie’s point of view the word processor may have simply replaced the role of the pencil, the typewriter, *and*, the printer in creating a literary product that is appreciably clean and therefore trustworthy, from a philological perspective, and, more certainly from that of the archive, such concern for the concealment of process presents a tremendous complexity of challenges. In short, while present scholarship continues to engage with a broadening of assumptions about intellectual and literary history that medievalists have long appreciated (“medieval writing does not produce variants; it is variance”) the current technologies that facilitate literary production are simultaneously concealing its process in ways which make the Archimedes Palimpsest appear almost transparent.

It is therefore worth considering the evolution of what might be imagined to be the contemporary scriptoria or print shop. Here again Philology, and New Philology specifically, offers points of entry into the poignancy of technological and historical context. In turn, however, New Philology also stands to advance its own critical understandings by considering closely the strategies of contemporary archivists and literary scholars to capture a revolutionary breadth of evidences, and which allow for scholars’ close study of authorship (and literature generally) as it entered and now progresses through our age of the digital incunabula.

Digital Incunabula: Contexts of Creation

On April 1, 1976, Steve Jobs, Steve Wozniak and Ronald Wayne established Apple Computer. Eight months later the company was formally incorporated on January 3, 1977. Apple’s first product, the *Apple I Personal Computer Kit* (hand built by Wozniak) was introduced at the Homebrew Computer Club and retailed for \$666.66.

Apple’s origins are humble. Indeed they reflect the combination of entrepreneurship, anti-intellectual experimentation, and insightful comprehension of historical and technical demands that combine to reveal (to a few minds each century) the potential for lucrative re-invention of the process by which we compose and share ideas. Certainly Jobs, Wozniak and Wayne deserve to be

46 Salman Rushdie interview with Erika Farr (Director of Born Digital Archives at Emory). As of September 28, 2012 video available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kmbioQcRmkM>.

considered along with influences of Gutenberg, Fourdrinier, and Mergenthaler.

For the purposes at hand, it is essential to appreciate that Apple's evolution is of interest for the precise reason that at no other moment in history since Gutenberg has an individual or group of individuals brought into alignment a particular focus of genius with the expectations of a culture that was ready to accept and embrace new processes of creating ideas and transmitting them across time and space. The result of Apple's success is nothing less than Gutenberg-esque in terms of its determinative influence on language, its production, its continued self-invention, and in the processes by which individual imaginations pursue creative processes.

To chart a line of evolution from Apple's origins in a garage in Palo Alto, California during the mid-1970s to the announcement by the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division at Emory University that they had made available for scholarly research the Salman Rushdie Archive is to realize a historical period of less than forty years. Considered within the more general expanse of recorded intellectual history this is a shockingly brief period of time. In short: we live in a world of the digital incunabula.

On November 19, 2007, Amazon released the First Generation Kindle. The device retailed for \$399.00. In less than six hours Amazon sold its entire reserve. The Kindle remained out of stock until late April. The Kindle 2 was released on February 23, 2009. To promote the new Kindle, author Stephen King made his (then) new novella's *UR* available exclusively through Amazon.

The genius behind the Kindle's success is easily explained, and has undeniable precedent in Gutenberg's successful commodification of print during the middle of the fifteenth century. Quite simply, from the point of view of product development, Amazon privileged "e-ink technology" over enhanced operability. E-ink uses electronic impulses to display and re-display actual ink across the screen. There is no backlight. The result is a digital depiction of printed text that remains ink based and which represents a kind of seamless continuum of representing ideas by means of an ink-based delineation. The result, from a reader's perspective, is a replication of a familiar textual space. One that in fact presents the reader, who remains, of course, a consumer, with a confidence in the product that is based on its faithful representation of a printed page.

Amazon's development of the Kindle was both prescient, and strikingly consistent with technical decisions that Gutenberg made during the middle of the fifteenth century and which resulted in his careful development of a technology that mimics to an astonishing degree its manuscript antecedents. Several centuries later, the typewriter was designed to replicate the appearance of printed texts. More currently, the entire architecture and

nomenclature of word-processing programs have been carefully designed to represent the “familiar” to a generation of users who have had to be convinced (as consumers) to embrace a new technology. The same holds true for E-Readers. The list goes on and on. Print culture remains, and has always been, beholden to consumer interests that remain decidedly conservative and resistant to radical change. After all, “Early modern printing was not joined by any obvious or necessary bond to enhanced reliability and truth. That bond had to be forged.”

In his introduction to *New Philology* Nichols writes that, “The manuscript folio contains different systems of representation: poetic or narrative text, the highly individual and distinctive scribal hand(s) that inscribe the text, illuminated images, colored rubrications, and not infrequently glosses or commentaries in the margins or interpolated in the text. Each system is a unit independent of others and yet calls attention to them; each tries to convey something about the other while to some extent substituting for it.”⁴⁷

If scholars generally are to take seriously, and they most certainly should, Nichols’ observations, then they must consider that if the garage in Palo Alto (which still stands) where Apple traces its origins is not a scriptoria or print shop in and of itself, it is certainly the most immediate context of creation that explains the work of twentyfirst century scribes and printers. It is within that garage that the “personal” dimension of the computer was realized. This realization brought into the singular control of the author the multifarious functions of the scribe and master printer and has changed forever the process of literary production, and, its process of remembrance and interpretation.

Conclusion

The Salman Rushdie Archive offers the opportunity to reevaluate how established philological interpretations of classical and medieval texts are currently being re-imagined and applied to the investigation of texts dating from the early modern period. In fact these (re)imaginings have been shown to offer important points of scholarly entry into the interpretation of contemporary texts which often combine the contingencies of manuscript production (broadly conceived), with the commensurate vicissitudes of mechanical printing technologies including the printing press, the typewriter, the Linotype etc., and now with an increasing reliance (in philological terms) upon complex digital matrices.

47 Nichols (1990) 7.

Indeed, critical observations made by scholars like Nichols (dating from the early 1990s) are now appreciated as representing a more inclusive discourse.

What is “new” in our enterprise might better be called “renewal,” *renovatio* in the twelfth-century sense. On the one hand, it is a desire to return to the medieval origins of philology, to its roots in a *manuscript* and culture where, as Bernard Cerquiglini remarks, “medieval writing does not produce variants, it is variance.” On the other hand, a rethinking of philology should seek to minimize the isolation between medieval studies and other contemporary movements in cognitive methodologies, such as linguistics, anthropology, modern history, cultural studies, and so on, by reminding us that philology was once among the most theoretically avant-garde disciplines.⁴⁸

After all, as Frederick Nietzsche observes, “our writing tools are also working on our thoughts.”⁴⁹

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⁴⁸ Nichols (1990) 1.

⁴⁹ Nietzsche in Colli and Montinari (1975) 84.

PART 2

Narrativity



Modality in *Lolita*

Helen de Hoop and Sander Lestrade

Introduction

A remarkable property of language is that it allows people to talk about unreal events, and even to create wholly new worlds in narratives.¹ But while the analysis of every-day language utterances of three or four words already constitutes a complex challenge to linguists, the structure and perception of narratives provide us with an even greater puzzle to be solved.² In this chapter, we will examine focalization and epistemic modality in a literary text, which reflect this cognitive feat. The literary work that we use for our study is Nabokov's novel *Lolita* (1955), with a retrospective (unreliable) first-person narrator, entailing double focalization.³

Epistemic modality in ordinary language is seen as relating to the speaker's degree of certainty about what the actual world is like. In literature, facts can be presented through the eyes of the characters, while being reported by the narrator. Moreover, this can be done more or less explicitly. Therefore, a literary text such as *Lolita* is an extremely interesting domain to look for the use and interpretation of epistemic modality. Whose degree of certainty is expressed when an epistemic modality marker is used, is it the narrator's (external focalization), or is it his past self's (internal focalization)?⁴ Maybe even more importantly, how do we know? Linguistic elements steer the understanding of a narrative text. Whereas research into such linguistic factors is undoubtedly relevant for literary studies, vice versa, the investigation of literary texts can give new insight in the mechanisms of language and communication. The language used by the writer or narrator already lifts the veil a little on their motives, underlying thoughts, strategies and their relation to their readers.

1 We thank our colleagues of the research group Grammar and Cognition and the interdisciplinary research group Narrativity, as well as the audience of the Conference on Text, Transmission, and Reception, held in Nijmegen at October 2010, for helpful comments and discussion. A special word of gratitude goes to Olaf Hoenselaar for his indispensable help in the first stage of the research reported here and to Claire Stocks for her editorial help in its final stage.

2 Cf. Dancygier (2012).

3 Cf. Rimmon-Kenan (2002).

4 Cf. Rimmon-Kenan (2002).

One crucial characteristic that distinguishes human language from the language and communication means of other animals, is that it cannot only be used to describe the actual world, but also to go beyond this world. One example from the animal kingdom is the prairie dog. In order to warn each other about different species of predators, prairie dogs appear to have at their disposal different alarm calls which contain information about who these predators are, what they look like, and even what they are doing. Dependent on the exact type and degree of danger, different alarm calls trigger different types of (escape) behaviour among the other prairie dogs.⁵ We can interpret these alarm calls of prairie dogs as stating facts about the actual world, such as “There’s a coyote!” or “There’s a hawk flying around!” Being able to communicate such statements about the world certainly helps prairie dogs to survive in their extremely dangerous environment. At the same time, however, prairie dogs will presumably not be able to say things to each other like “There might be a coyote!” or “There must be a hawk flying around.” These are utterances that do not state mere facts about the world but that can be conceived of as hypothesizing about it, to state what the world might or must be. By contrast, a major function of *human* language is indeed to hypothesize about what the actual world is like.

Modal expressions in language are used precisely for this purpose: to put forward hypotheses about what the world is like. As such, they weaken the factuality of the statement.⁶ Narrog defines modality in terms of factuality: “Modality is a linguistic category referring to the factual status of a state of affairs. The expression of a state of affairs is modalized if it is marked as being undetermined with respect to its factual status, i.e. is neither positively nor negatively factual.”⁷

Thus, if a speaker says “Joran is the murderer,” then as far as they are concerned, that is a fact of the actual world. It is therefore presented as a fact, and will be interpreted as such by the hearer. This is not the case, however, when a speaker says “Joran might be the murderer,” or “Joran must be the murderer.” Although these two statements differ in strength (in the case of *must* she is more convinced that Joran is the murderer than in the case of *might*), in both cases she leaves open the possibility that Joran turns out not to be the murderer after all. Hence, the use of a modal expression indicates that the speaker does not present a certain fact about the world, but rather presents her hypothesis about the world.

⁵ Frederiksen and Slobodchikoff (2007).

⁶ Cf. Narrog (2005), Foolen and de Hoop (2009).

⁷ Narrog (2005) 184.

Now, suppose the writer of a novel uses the sentence “Joran might be the murderer.” Clearly, if the narrator is omniscient, then the epistemic modality of this expression *might* cannot be attributed to the narrator anymore, because an omniscient narrator would simply know whether Joran was the murderer or not in the fictive world. It might be, however, that the narrator is not (or pretends not to be) omniscient after all, and then the utterance is still interpreted as the narrator’s hypothesis about the (fictive) world. Such a narrator’s expression of uncertainty turns out to be very important for the reader’s perception and appreciation of the narrative, as shown in an experiment by Dixon and colleagues.⁸ They conducted an experiment in which readers read a story (*Emma Zunz* by Jorge Luis Borges) twice. One group of readers read a manipulated version of the story, however, from which epistemic modality markers indicating uncertainty of the narrator, such as *perhaps* and *might*, were removed. This had a clear effect on the appreciation of the story by frequent but untrained readers. While the readers’ appreciation of the original story significantly increased after rereading, this was not the case for readers of the manipulated story.

Epistemic modality markers do not necessarily express the uncertainty of the *narrator*, however. Another possibility is that the modal expression is interpreted with respect to the perspective of somebody else, that is, not the narrator, for instance one of the characters in the story. One of the questions we wish to answer in this chapter is whether, and if so how, we can interpret such a shift in perspective in case the character and the narrator refer to the same person in the fictive world. How do we know whether an expression of modality reflects the degree of certainty of the narrator or that of a character, especially when the narrator and the character are the same person?

In order to address this question, we will focus on the use of epistemic modality in the novel *Lolita* (1955) by Vladimir Nabokov. The first person narrator and main character of *Lolita* is Humbert Humbert, a man obsessed with his 12-year old stepdaughter. The story is a confession of an unreliable character and, therefore, is interesting to study in terms of the modality marking used by the narrator to reflect his own uncertainty either in his guise as distanced narrator looking back on events or as the main character narrating those events as they take place. Our aim is to analyze expressions of epistemic modality in the English novel in relation to (shifts in) narrative point of view.⁹ How does the narrator look back at the events? What was his role and how inevitable were some developments? The various levels of narration and the fluctuation in

8 Dixon et al. (1993).

9 Cf. Levie (2009).

time that characterize Nabokov's *Lolita* make it an extremely rich source to look for interactions between modality and narrative point of view. For reasons of time and space, we will focus in this chapter on one specialized marker of epistemic modality, the auxiliary *might*.

Modality in a Literary Text

Notoriously, there are different types of modality found in language, which all involve the notions of possibility and necessity.¹⁰ For example, deontic modality involves external circumstances, which permit or oblige the participant to engage in the state of affairs. Two examples of deontic modality are given in (1) and (2), brought about by the use of the auxiliaries *may* and *must* respectively. Note that all examples in this chapter are taken from *Lolita*, published in the Penguin Books, 1995 (page numbers given after each example; boldface is ours):

- (1) "She **may** meet boys at her own lovely home," I said. (p. 195)
- (2) You **must** allow her to take part in *The Hunted Enchanters*. (p. 196)

Sentence (1) illustrates a case of deontic permission. The first person narrator and main character functions as an authority figure here, namely the father, who says that his daughter may meet boys at home. In sentence (2) we are dealing with a case of deontic necessity: this time the headmistress Pratt is the authority who insists that the father will allow the daughter to take part in a play. Narrog's factuality approach accounts for all types of modality,¹¹ including deontic modality. In the above two sentences, the auxiliaries *may* and *must* make the statements less factual. That is, even though the father allows his daughter to meet boys at home, this does not entail that she actually meets or will meet boys (in fact, it's probably not even true that he would allow her, despite what he says). In (2), even though the headmistress insists that the father would allow his daughter to take part in the play, it is not certain that he will. Hence, both states of affairs in the scope of the modal auxiliaries are undetermined for their factual status.

As pointed out above, in a literary text the use of modality may vary with the person to whom the utterance is ascribed. Thus, modality can be expected to

¹⁰ Cf. Van der Auwera and Plungian (1998).

¹¹ Narrog (2005).

vary with the narrative point of view. Gavins,¹² within the framework of Text World Theory,¹³ examines modalized propositions in literary fiction. Text World Theory is a theory at the interface between linguistic and literature study, and can be considered a linguistic theory dealing with the worlds created in literary fiction. Gavins focuses on those worlds which are created as a result of departing from the text-world initially established by a particular text, the so-called “sub-worlds.” Sub-worlds can be constructed by discourse participants (and are thus “participant-accessible”) or by characters within the text-world (“character-accessible”). Character-accessible sub-worlds are built upon epistemic modals in Text World Theory. Gavins notes that the text-world framework cannot provide a full picture of the important literary effects of modalization, such as pointed out by Simpson,¹⁴ because it has neglected a crucial element of literary narrative, namely focalization. According to Gavins, focalized narratives represent only what one character believes to be the case, and therefore constitute an epistemic modal world which is only character-accessible.

However, Gavins does not discuss in detail how modal expressions are used to switch between worlds. What are the linguistic means that writers have at their disposal to make sure that the uncertainty expressed by the use of a modal auxiliary is attributed by the reader to the right person, be it the narrator or one of the characters?

As said above, *Lolita* is an interesting text to look at for the interaction of perspective and modality because it is a frame story in which the narrator and the main character are one and the same, and moreover are unreliable. This unreliability is particularly interesting for us if it affects the use of epistemic modality markers. It is on epistemic modality that we will focus for the remainder of this chapter, since it provides the most fruitful way of exploring the relationship between modality and narrative point of view or focalization. Epistemic modality is illustrated in the following example:

- (3) There **may** have been times – there **must** have been times, if I know my Humbert – when (...). (p. 69–70)

The two modal auxiliaries in (3) are used to express the different degrees of certainty of the narrator himself. The narrator, looking back, could have uttered that there *were* times when... In that case, he would have presented his

12 Gavins (2005).

13 Werth (1999).

14 Simpson (1993).

proposition as a fact of the actual (albeit fictive) world. Instead, he weakens the factuality of his proposition by stating that there *may* have been times when... (where *may* indicates epistemic possibility), and then, while gaining confidence, he corrects himself and adds that there *must* have been times (where *must* indicates epistemic necessity). From the linguistic context it is clear that we are invited to take the perspective of the narrator and not the main character Humbert here, also because in this example the auto-observant first person narrator Humbert refers to the character Humbert by the use of the third person proper name. Often, however, the character Humbert is referred to by the first person, just like the narrator Humbert, and it is an interesting question as to how the author deals with epistemic modality from the different perspectives: the perspective of the narrator *I (Humbert)* versus that of the character *I (Humbert)*.

In principle, the first person narrator in *Lolita* can use epistemic modality in two situations. First, he can use it at a higher level, as in (3) above, taking a step back from the plot. Another example of this is given in (4):

- (4) Perhaps, my learned readers **may** perk up if I tell them that even had we discovered a piece of sympathetic seaside somewhere, it would have come too late, since my real liberation had occurred much earlier: at the moment, in point of fact, when Annabel Haze, alias Dolores lee, alias Loleeta, had appeared to me, golden and brown, kneeling, looking up, on that shoddy veranda, in a kind of fictitious, dishonest, but eminently satisfactory seaside arrangement (although there was nothing but a second-rate lake in the neighbourhood). (p. 167)

By commenting on the hypothesized learned readers of his story, the narrator becomes a character himself at a higher level of narration (or: part of the world he is hypothesizing about). At this level, he uses the epistemic modal *may* in (4) above. The narrator is not certain of the fact that the readers will perk up, but hypothesizes that this may be the case.

Second, the narrator can use epistemic modality when representing the thoughts of a character, for example in direct speech. In that case, the modality expresses the lack of confidence of the character, not of the narrator himself. The character that the epistemic modality is attributed to can either be the character Humbert (who happens to be the same person as the narrator, but at a different time in the story), or any of the other characters. In (5) an example of the former is given, in (6) two examples of the latter.

- (5) I controlled my breath and said: “Dolores, this **must** stop right away. I am ready to yank you out of Beardsley and lock you up you know where, but this **must** stop. (...)” (p. 205)
- (6) [Context: a letter from Lolita to Humbert] Pardon me for withholding our home address but you **may** still be mad at me, and Dick **must** not know. (p. 266)

In both (5) and (6) it is obvious that the modal expression (auxiliary) should not be taken to express the uncertainty of the narrator. Instead, it has to be attributed to a character. In (6) the modal expressions *may* and *must* are used by Lolita in a letter to Humbert, and therefore, it is clear that it is the character Lolita who weakens the factuality of the propositions she utters by using the modal auxiliaries. She considers the possibility that Humbert is still mad at her, and she insists that Dick, her husband, should not know. In (5) the effect of focalization is a little more complicated because the narrator and the main character Humbert are one and the same person, but because direct speech is used it is clear that it is the character Humbert (at that point in time) who expresses that “it must stop” right now. At that moment, it is not clear of course whether it will indeed stop, and therefore the modal auxiliary weakens the factuality of the statement of the character, who wants it to stop but who cannot be sure that it will actually stop. Thus we view this utterance from the perspective of the character Humbert. For the narrator would have known whether or not the action stopped, and so could have presented it as fact. The character Humbert, however, does not state that it stops, which would have been a fact of the fictive world at the time of utterance, but rather expresses his opinion that it should stop.

Both (5) and (6) thus linguistically encode the fact that the modal expression is not to be interpreted with regard to the narrator, but rather with regard to a character, Lolita in (6), and Humbert as a character in (5). The writer uses linguistic means by which the reader understands the modality in accordance with the perspective of somebody other than the narrator. The question is whether a writer actually needs to mark a shift in perspective linguistically, and if so, whether for each expression of modality in a literary text it has to be encoded to whom the modality is attributed. We will focus on the use of the epistemic modal auxiliary *might* in order to see whether and how the switch in focus between the narrator Humbert and the character Humbert is linguistically encoded.

Epistemic *Might* and Perspective in *Lolita*

The auxiliary *might* in English is rather special as it has the epistemic modal reading as its basic, canonical reading. Usually, modal auxiliaries have other modal readings as their basic reading, such as the deontic modal reading for *must* and the participant-internal modal reading for *can*.¹⁵ By contrast, the auxiliary *might* is specialized for epistemic modality readings, just like epistemic modal adverbs such as *perhaps* and *probably* are, and therefore this auxiliary is particularly useful for a study of the encoding of perspective shifts in the interpretation of epistemic modality. Consider an example on the use of the epistemic modal auxiliary *might* in *Lolita*:

- (7) I tipped the chauffeur and hoped he would immediately drive away so that I **might** double back unnoticed to my hotel and bag; but the man merely crossed to the other side of the street where an old lady was calling to him from her porch. (p. 36)

The modal expression in (7) is syntactically embedded under the verb *hoped* and thereby expresses the hope of the character Humbert instead of that of the narrator Humbert. It may not always be so clear which perspective is taken. One potentially ambiguous case is illustrated in (8).

- (8) No Miss Opposite sat on the vined porch – where to the lone pedestrian's annoyance two pony-tailed young women in identical polka-dotted pinafores stopped doing whatever they were doing to stare at him: she was long dead, no doubt, these **might** be her twin nieces from Philadelphia. (p. 287)

In principle, it could be either the narrator or the character Humbert in (8) who speculates about the women on the porch. Either the narrator Humbert, looking back at the course of the events, supposes that the two girls he saw right then could have been Miss Opposite's twin nieces from Philadelphia, or the character Humbert at that point in time, seeing the two young women thought that they could be. But do readers know, and if so how do they know, to whom to attribute the modal expression in cases like these?

In the following fragment, we observe a shift in perspective (from the first person narrator Humbert to the first person character Humbert) with a con-

¹⁵ Cf. Foolen and de Hoop (2009), van Gerrevink and de Hoop (2011).

comitant shift in the scope of the epistemic modality expression *might*. How does this shift come about?

- (9) One **might** suppose that with all blocks removed and a prospect of delirious and unlimited delights before me, I would have mentally sunk back, heaving a sigh of delicious relief. (...) Instead of basking in the beams of smiling Chance, I was obsessed by all sorts of ethical doubts and fears. For instance: **might** it not surprise people that Lo was so consistently debarred from attending festive and funeral functions in her immediate family? (p. 105)

In the first sentence, the narrator addresses the reader indirectly (“one”) and the first instance of *might* is clearly interpreted from the perspective of the narrator, hence it provides a broad overview of the complete story. In order to attribute the second instance of *might* to the perspective of the first person character Humbert rather than to the first person narrator Humbert, the modal expression is embedded in the thoughts and feelings of the character (as in (in)direct speech). In the fragment above, the narrator states that the first person character is obsessed by all sorts of ethical doubts and fears. Then what follows is an example of these doubts and fears: “For instance:”. Hence, we interpret the modal expression in the scope of these doubts and fears, i.e. from the perspective of the character Humbert.

Below is another example of *might* attributed to the narrator again:

- (10) As the ass I was I had not memorized it. What remained of it in my mind were the initial letter and the closing figure as if the whole amphitheatre of six signs receded concavely behind a tinted glass too opaque to allow the central series to be deciphered, but just translucent enough to make out its extreme edges – a capital P and a 6. I have to go into those details (which in themselves can interest only a professional psychologue) because otherwise the reader (ah, if I could visualize him as a blond-bearded scholar with rosy lips sucking *la pomme de sa canne* as he quaffs my manuscript!) **might** not understand the quality of the shock I experienced upon noticing that the P had acquired the bustle of a B and that the 6 had been deleted altogether. (p. 226)

In this example the shift in tense – from past tense (“the shock I experienced”) to represent the perspective of the character Humbert to present tense (“I have to go into those details”) for the perspective of the narrator Humbert – indicates that *might* is used to express the narrator’s uncertainty about the truth of

the proposition: it might be true that the reader presently does not understand the quality of the shock that the character Humbert experienced in the past. Of course, reference to the reader itself also indicates that the narrator Humbert's perspective is taken, even independently of the grammatical tense, as the character Humbert does not know of any reader.

Methodology

Rather than speculating further about when and how readers know to shift their focus from the narrator to the character Humbert in interpreting expressions of (epistemic) modality, we decided to investigate the question more systematically. To that end, we withdrew all contexts from *Lolita* in which the modal expressions *may*, *might*, or *must* are used. This yielded 271 contexts in total (83 *may*s, 136 *might*s, and 52 *must*s). We annotated this set for type of modality and for perspective taken. In principle, each author took care of half of the instances, but we annotated 57 doubles to check if our annotation was consistent. We agreed on 95% (54 items; mismatches were solved through discussion). With each category occurring more or less equally often (26 vs. 28 in our test set), we do not have to compute the kappa score to correct for expected overlap but can simply assume that the inter-annotator agreement score with this percentage of agreement is very good. That is, we can be confident about our classification of perspective. Within this set, we then focused on the epistemic uses of *might* that could be attributed to either Humbert the character or Humbert the writer. Next, we carefully examined the linguistic encoding of either version.

Results

We found that the interpretation of epistemic modality from the perspective of the character Humbert arises when explicit linguistic embedding is offered. Otherwise, the (default) interpretation of *might* is epistemic modality from the perspective of the narrator. So, in (11) both instantiations of *might* are related to the perspective of the character Humbert, and twice this is linguistically encoded.

- (11) It occurred to me that if I were really losing my mind, I **might** end by murdering somebody. In fact – said high-and-dry Humbert to floundering Humbert – it **might** be quite clever to prepare things – to transfer the

weapon from box to pocket – so as to be ready to take advantage of the spell of insanity when it does come. (p. 229)

Note that (11) is a very clear example of epistemic modality attributed to the character Humbert, and this use is clearly encoded. The first occurrence of *might* is subordinate to the matrix clause “It occurred to me” which guarantees the correct perspective for the interpretation of *might* here, that is the perspective of the character Humbert. The second occurrence of *might* is even more explicitly marked as such, since it is presented as reported speech “said high-and-dry Humbert to floundering Humbert.” Here the character tells himself that it might be a good idea to prepare things. Another example is given in (12):

- (12) A happy thought struck me. If and when master returned from his constitutional in the woods, or emerged from some secret lair, it **might** be wise for an unsteady gunman with a long job before him to prevent his playmate from locking himself up in a room. (p. 294)

Again, in (12) the epistemic modal *might* is clearly presented as part of the thoughts of the character Humbert by the overt explicit reference to his thoughts (“A happy thought struck me”). Three last examples of the explicit linguistic marking of the shift in perspective to the character Humbert, are presented in (13)-(15):

- (13) I wondered idly if some surgeon of genius **might** not alter his own career, and perhaps the whole destiny of mankind, by reviving quilted Quilty, Clare Obscure. (p. 306)
- (14) The road now stretched across open country, and it occurred to me – not by way of protest, not as a symbol, or anything like that, but merely as a novel experience – that since I had disregarded all laws of humanity, I **might** as well disregard the rules of traffic. (p. 306)
- (15) Then, figuratively speaking, I shattered the glass, and boldly imagined (for I was drunk on those visions by then and underrated the gentleness of my nature) how eventually I **might** blackmail – no, that is too strong a word – mauvemil big Haze into letting me consort with little Haze by gently threatening the poor doting Big Dove with desertion if she tried to bar me from playing with my legal stepdaughter. (p. 71)

In (13) *might* is in the scope of the matrix clause “I wondered,” thus expressing the character Humbert’s thoughts. In the above cases the epistemic modality is used by the narrator to indirectly represent the ideas of his characters. Obviously, the narrator must make sufficiently clear to the reader whose thoughts are expressed, his or the ones of his character. Mostly, this is done by explicitly embedding the modal expression under mental verbs, such as “it occurred to me” in (14) and “I imagined” in (15).

When the narrator of *Lolita* uses epistemic modality at a higher level of narration, that is, when becoming a character himself, this can also be marked in various ways of which we already have shown some examples above. *Lolita* is a frame story. The narrator is a character in the story, but he is also a character at a higher level at which he is writing his confession in prison. There are various ways in which the narrator can go to this higher level. For example, he can mention or address his readership, the members of the jury of his (future) trial for murder. In (16), an example with the modal expression *might* is given:

- (16) Then I pulled out my automatic – I mean, this is the kind of fool thing a reader **might** suppose I did. (p. 278)

In addition to addressing his readership, the narrator in (16) is playing with the plot (that is, he did not really put out his gun) and uses punctuation, i.e., the hyphen, to mark the switch to the higher level. Just as a character does not know about readers, so he/she does not know about the writing process. Therefore, if the narrator is commenting on the writing process, we know that we are at the higher plot level again. One important example that illustrates this process effectively is given below. The excerpt does not contain the epistemic modal auxiliary *might*, but some other modal expressions (in boldface) are interpreted with respect to the perspective of the narrator:

- (17) And now take down the following important remark: the artist in me has been given the upper hand over the gentleman. It is with a great effort of will that in this memoir I have **managed** to tune my style to the tone of the journal that I kept when Mrs Haze was to me but an obstacle. That journal of mine is no more; but I have considered it my artistic duty to preserve its intonations no matter how false and brutal they **may** seem to me now. Fortunately, my story has reached a point where I **can** cease insulting poor Charlotte for the sake of retrospective verisimilitude. (p. 71)

The auto-observant first person narrator reveals here that in his report of the course of the events he had tried to be faithful to the perspective of the first person character that he was in those days (when he kept a journal that he later lost). Now, at this point in the story, he no longer feels the need to do so. From that moment on, the narrator allows the reader to feel empathy with Charlotte, and the narrator pretends he feels empathy as well, indicated by the use of the attributive adjective “poor” for Charlotte, but also by the use of the modal expressions: he “managed” to tune his style as if Charlotte was still but an obstacle to him (“managed” implicates that it was not easy to do so), although this tone “may” seem “false and brutal” to him now, and he is relieved (indicated by the evaluative adverb “fortunately”) when he “can” stop insulting “poor Charlotte.”

Another way of leaving the lower plot to get to a higher level perspective is by the use of punctuation, for example brackets or parentheses. A good example is given in (18):

- (18) Bourbon Street (in a town named New Orleans) whose sidewalks, said the tour book, “**may** [I liked the “may”] feature entertainment by pickaninnies who will [I liked the “will” even better] tap-dance for pennies” (what fun), while “its numerous small and intimate night clubs are thronged with visitors” (naughty). (p. 156)

In (18), the modal auxiliary *may* is in a quotation from a tour book, whence the modality is attributed to the author of the tour book, but within the quote the part between brackets is to be interpreted at a higher level, in this case the level of the first person character Humbert (indicated by the past tense).

An example where modal *might* is interpreted at the level of the character Humbert but commented upon by the narrator, is given in (19):

- (19) “For the benefit of Leslie and Louise who **might** (and did) report it to John and Jean I made a tremendously loud and beautifully enacted long-distance call and simulated a conversation with Shirley Holmes.” (p. 100)

By the addition of “and did” in parentheses, we know that what was thought to be possible must have been in the mind of the character; the narrator *knows*, and states, that this was actually true indeed. Note that the interpretation of *might* in (19) as being in the scope of the character Humbert would not have been so clear without the addition of “(and did).” Without the added comment of the narrator on what really happened, *might* might (and would?) have been interpreted as expressing possibility from the perspective of the narrator (in

that case he would not have known whether Leslie and Louise had actually reported the call to John and Jean). By marking the narrator's perspective explicitly, we infer that the preceding modal expression should be attributed to the character.

Consider (20) as an example where *might* expresses the possibility considered by the narrator:

- (20) All at once we were madly, clumsily, shamelessly, agonizingly in love with each other; hopelessly, I should add, because that frenzy of mutual possession **might** have been assuaged only by our actually imbibing and assimilating every particle of each other's soul and flesh; but there we were unable even to mate as slum children would have so easily found an opportunity to do. (p. 12)

The shift in perspective from the character to the narrator is already initiated here by the "hopelessly, I should add," which makes the transition to the narrator's perspective for the interpretation of *might* an easy one. However, even without such evident clues, it seems possible to shift to the narrator's perspective in the interpretation of modal *might*. This is shown in (21), for example:

- (21) This time I hit something hard. I hit the back of a black rocking chair, not unlike Dolly Schiller's – my bullet hit the inside surface of its back whereupon it immediately went into a rocking act, so fast and with such zest that any one coming into the room **might** have been flabbergasted by the double miracle: that chair rocking in a panic all by itself, and the armchair, where my purple target had just been, now void of all live content. (p. 302)

Although (21) represents a clear example of a focalized narrative, accessible for the reader through the eyes of the character Humbert, the modal expression *might* is interpreted with respect to the perspective of the narrator Humbert. Hence, *might* triggers a shift in perspective that is not marked by any linguistic means. We have seen that when *might* is to be interpreted with respect to a character's perspective, it is in the vast majority of cases explicitly encoded as being in the scope of the character's thoughts. In the example in (21) above, this interpretation could have been achieved by adding a matrix mental verb, such as for example: "It occurred to me that any one coming into the room might have been flabbergasted (...)." However, it seems that the lack of such overt marking of an embedded perspective automatically gives rise to the interpretation where the epistemic modality is attributed to the narrator, even in

a focalized narrative context. In other words, if the narrator wants the reader to interpret a modal expression as the expression of his own uncertainty, he does not have to mark this explicitly, as it is the default interpretation of the modal that automatically arises in the absence of explicit marking to the contrary.

One interesting example of focalization where one would not expect it to be necessary to mark explicitly the change to the perspective of the character, is in a diary context that is entirely attributed to the character Humbert. Consider the following entry:

- (22) *Saturday*. (Beginning perhaps amended.) I know it is madness to keep this journal but it gives me a strange thrill to do so; and only a loving wife could decipher my microscopic script. Let me state with a sob that today my L. was sun-bathing on the so-called “piazza,” but her mother and some other woman were around all the time. Of course, I **might** have sat there in the rocker and pretended to read. (p. 42)

Clearly, no extra explicit marking is necessary for the *might* to be attributed to the character Humbert, but this is because in the diary, the character Humbert has become the (lower level) narrator of the story. Generally, the reader of a diary will assume no change of perspective without explicit cues (e.g. “This was the diary, now our story continues”). Yet, note that the higher level narrator of *Lolita* plays with this assumption. In the following example, we have apparently made the switch to the higher level narrator’s perspective somewhere, as we are explicitly told to resume the diary again. It seems that only after this explicit marking, *might* is again attributed to the lower level narrator of the diary, i.e., the character Humbert.

- (23) A poet *à mes heures*, I composed a madrigal to the soot-black lashes of her pale-gray vacant eyes, to the five asymmetrical freckles of her bobbed nose, to the blonde down of her brown limbs; but I tore it up and cannot recall it today. Only in the tritest of terms (diary resumed) can I describe Lo’s features: I **might** say her hair is auburn, and her lips as red as licked red candy, the lower one prettily plump – oh, that I were a lady writer who could have her pose naked in a naked light! (p. 44)

In fact, the diary, which is not the “original” one, but which is reconstructed by the higher level narrator, is full of such perspective switches. For example, the narrator suddenly says in the middle of what seemed to be a diary entry:

- (24) All at once I knew I could kiss her throat or the wick of her mouth with perfect impunity. I knew she would let me do so, and even close her eyes as Hollywood teaches. A double vanilla with hot fudge – hardly more unusual than that. I cannot tell my learned reader (whose eyebrows, I suspect, have by now travelled all the way to the back of his bald head), I cannot tell him how the knowledge came to me; (...). (p. 48)

Obviously, there is no “learned reader” for the writer of the diary. Again, we must have taken the narrator’s perspective instead of that of the character at some point. Importantly, these interventions make the perspective of the whole diary section questionable. Contextual embedding therefore is a less reliable determinant for the perspective than syntactic embedding.

In sum, we have shown that for the interpretation of modal expressions all changes of perspective from the narrator to a character (or to a lower level narrator) are marked by either syntactic or contextual embedding. Epistemic modal expressions that are not explicitly assigned to a character seem to be attributed to the narrator by default.

Conclusion

A narrator who is omniscient is not expected to be unsure about the world he is inventing himself. In this paper, we have studied the use of the epistemic modality auxiliary *might* in Nabokov’s *Lolita* in two situations: (i) when the narrator becomes a character at a higher level of a frame story; (ii) when he represents the perspective of one of his characters. The different levels of the frame story can be made explicit in various ways. The narrator can address his readership, comment on the writing process, or use punctuation to mark a switch of frame. When a modal expression is interpreted with respect to one of the character’s perspectives, this is almost exclusively marked by syntactic embedding. This finding can be accounted for as follows. Epistemic modality in every-day communication expresses a speaker’s hypothesis about the actual world. In a narrative the narrator is the speaker and the world is the fictive world. Hence, epistemic modality is by default attributed to the narrator, being the speaker of the literary text. If an epistemic modal expression is to be interpreted from the perspective of one of the characters, however, this must be explicitly encoded as such.

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Transported into a Story World: The Role of the Protagonist

Anneke de Graaf and Lettica Hustinx

Introduction

Narratives can create an experience that is both intense and impactful. Readers can become deeply engaged with a narrative and its characters, as they focus their complete attention on the events that are described and experience emotions in response to these events.¹ Readers then lose awareness of the real world and become “lost” in the world created by the narrative.² For many readers, this is a familiar experience. In fact, it is probably one of the main reasons why people read stories.³ People enjoy forgetting their daily lives for a while by becoming absorbed in an alternative world.⁴ Given the intense nature of this experience, it is not surprising that such engagement with a narrative can have far-reaching impact. Green and Brock’s research has shown that transportation, or the feeling that one is being carried into a narrative world, can make readers’ beliefs become more consistent with the beliefs implicitly implied by the story.⁵ Also, engagement with specific characters has been shown to lead readers to align their own attitudes with those of that character.⁶ It is thus clear that the intense narrative experience can impact readers’ views of the world.

However, previous research has generally not addressed why certain narratives are more successful in drawing readers into the story, than others. Antecedents of transportation, i.e. the determinants that cause transportation into a narrative world, have scarcely been researched.⁷ In other words, it is still largely unclear which narrative features contribute to engagement with the story and ultimately to the occurrence of persuasive effects. This is why Green

1 Busselle and Bilandzic (2008); De Graaf, Hoeken, Sanders and Beentjes (2009); Green (2006).

2 Gerrig (1993); Nell (1988).

3 Slater (2002); Slater and Rouner (2002).

4 Green, Brock and Kaufman (2004).

5 Green and Brock (2000).

6 De Graaf, Hoeken, Sanders and Beentjes (2012).

7 Green (2004).

(2008) sees uncovering “the active ingredients of effective narratives” as one of the most important challenges in this research area.⁸ This study takes up that challenge by investigating the influence of a central element of narratives: features of the protagonist. Based on Zillmann’s Affective Disposition Theory, the different portrayals of the protagonists’ behaviour and personality (as sympathetic, neutral, or unsympathetic) in eliciting transportation is tested.⁹ In the following theoretical framework, the Transportation-Imagery Model of Green and Brock is discussed first.¹⁰ Then, the Affective Disposition Theory is presented. Finally, the hypotheses of this study are formulated.

Transportation-Imagery Model

The term transportation is used by Gerrig (1993) as a metaphor for the experience that readers of a story can have during reading. He describes readers as travellers who feel that they have journeyed some distance from their world of origin and into another world.¹¹ Following this description, Green and Brock conceptualize transportation as a convergent process, in which all mental systems become focused on events occurring in the narrative. These mental systems are specified as readers’ attention, emotion, and imagery. Thus, when readers are transported, their attention is concentrated on the story, they have emotions in response to the story, and they form mental images of the things that are described in the story. In other words, a transported reader imagines the narrative events in “the mind’s eye” and experiences the story from the inside, as if the narrative world has been entered.¹²

The Transportation-Imagery Model provides a testable theory of the antecedents and consequences of transportation. The model consists of five postulates that make up a unified account of the complete transportation process. The first two postulates concern the consequences of transportation, which are the persuasive effects of narratives. “Narrative persuasion” refers to a change in readers’ beliefs and attitudes after reading a narrative.¹³ The first postulate concerns the *prerequisites* for such persuasive effects to occur, such as the fact that certain beliefs need to be implied by the narrative before it can

8 Green (2008) 48.

9 Zillmann (1994, 2006).

10 Green and Brock (2002).

11 Gerrig (1993) 11.

12 Green and Brock (2000, 2002).

13 Green and Brock (2000, 2002).

have persuasive effects. The second postulate concerns the *mechanism* of narrative persuasion, claiming that belief-change occurs to the extent that readers are transported into the narrative world. As transportation consists of attention, emotion and imagery, this postulate concerns these three aspects. Importantly, the type of emotion that is part of transportation is not specified in the model. All types of emotions, from sadness to happiness can contribute to transportation.¹⁴ In sum, the Transportation-Imagery Model posits that as readers have more attention for, emotional response to, and visual imagery of the story, their beliefs and attitudes will become more consistent with the story.

The persuasive consequences of transportation have been investigated extensively. In their first three experiments, Green and Brock (2000) presented their participants with a story about a young girl who is murdered in a mall by a psychiatric patient on leave. Because an attempted manipulation of transportation was not successful in these experiments,¹⁵ participants were divided into a group that achieved a higher score on the transportation scale and a group that achieved a lower score on this scale. Results showed that high transportation participants held beliefs more consistent with the story than low transportation participants. For instance, the more transported readers considered malls to be more dangerous and thought that psychiatric patients should have fewer rights to go on leave than the less transported readers. However, as transportation was not successfully manipulated, it is not certain whether transportation actually caused these differences. Therefore, a fourth experiment was carried out, which did succeed in manipulating transportation. This experiment used a story about a young boy who was stranded on an island of ice with his dog. Participants who had been instructed to circle words that they judged too difficult for fourth-grade readers were less transported into the story than participants who had been instructed to read the story normally. Moreover, these participants held beliefs that were less consistent with the story (about the value of friendship and loyalty) than the participants who did not have to carry out an extra task during reading. Mediation analysis

¹⁴ Green (2006).

¹⁵ One group of participants was instructed to circle all words that they judged too difficult for fourth-grade readers, whereas another group was instructed to read the story like they normally would. It was expected that the first group would show lower levels of transportation into the narrative world because they had to focus on the form of the words and grammar instead of the events in the story. However, results showed that there were no differences between the groups and thus the manipulation of transportation was unsuccessful.

showed that transportation was indeed responsible for these effects, indicating a causal effect of transportation on persuasion.

Similarly, another series of experiments investigated the effects of engagement with characters.¹⁶ This type of engagement, also called identification, is an experience that is closely linked to transportation.¹⁷ Identification refers to adopting the perspective of a character and having emotional responses that are consistent with those of the character.¹⁸ So, readers of a story who identify with a character also experience the story from within and feel emotions in reaction to the narrative events. De Graaf et al. showed that readers of a story told from the perspective of a specific character, identified more with this character and held attitudes more consistent with this character. Again, mediation analysis revealed that identification was causally responsible for the persuasive effects of the story.¹⁹ In sum, several studies show that the experience of becoming absorbed in a story and being transported into the story-world leads to narrative persuasion, confirming the first part of the Transportation-Imagery Model about the consequences of transportation.

The second part of the Transportation-Imagery Model, comprising the third, fourth, and fifth postulate, concerns the antecedents of transportation. These postulates state that propensity for transportation by exposure to a given narrative account is affected by attributes of the recipient, attributes of the text, and attributes of the context. So, characteristics of the reader, of the narrative and of the reading situation influence whether a reader becomes transported into a narrative. For instance, regarding attributes of the recipient, readers with an aptitude for forming mental images, i.e. people with a strong imagination, will tend to experience more transportation.²⁰ With regard to the attributes of the context, the situation may limit readers' imaginative investment in a narrative. For instance, when there are other people talking loudly in the vicinity of the reader, the reader may be distracted from the story. However, regarding attributes of the text, the theory is not very clear. According to Green and Brock, one of the most important attributes of the text that affects transportation is artistic craftsmanship. If a story is of high quality, it will be more transporting. However, it is unclear what makes a story of high quality. Therefore, this hypothesis is hard to test and the theory does not give concrete indications of story characteristics that will lead to transportation. To

16 De Graaf et al. (2012).

17 See Slater and Rouner (2002) 177.

18 Cohen (2001, 2006).

19 De Graaf et al. (2012).

20 Green and Brock (2002).

expand the Transportation-Imagery Model and to gain insight into what makes stories effective at transporting readers into a narrative world, this study focuses on the role of attributes of the text in transportation.

Some preliminary studies have investigated characteristics of narratives that can promote transportation. De Graaf and Hustinx have looked at the influence of story structure. They used a story about a man who falls ill and tries different cures to get better. In one version of the story, the final outcome of him getting better was already disclosed at the beginning of the story, after which the treatments are described. In the other version of the story, readers only got to know this final outcome at the end after reading about the different treatments. The latter version in which it is unclear to readers what the outcome will be, was expected to elicit more emotion and transportation because readers are in suspense about what will happen, compared to the other version in which readers already know from the beginning that the character will be cured. Results indeed showed that readers of the suspenseful version reported higher transportation on both the emotion and the attention subscales. This shows that readers who did not yet know the outcome were more absorbed in the story. Thus, story structure is a characteristic that can influence transportation.²¹

In a different study, it was assessed whether the perspective of the story affects transportation.²² A version of a story with an omniscient narrator was compared to a version of the same story told by a first-person narrator. The omniscient narrator referred to the protagonist as “he” and presented both his thoughts and the thoughts of other characters. The first-person narrator referred to the protagonist (himself) as “I” and presented only his own thoughts. The latter version was expected to bring readers closer to the protagonist and thus elicit more emotions. Results indeed showed that the story told by the first-person narrator was more transporting; participants who had read this version reported more emotion and more attention for the story than participants who had read the story told by the omniscient narrator.²³ These results were corroborated by the previously mentioned study of De Graaf et al. (2012), who showed that the perspective of a story led to more engagement with characters, which is closely linked to transportation. Thus, story perspective is a story characteristic that can influence transportation.

These studies provide specific story attributes that promote transportation and thus provide insight into antecedents of transportation. They also provide

21 De Graaf and Hustinx (2011).

22 Hustinx and Smits (2006).

23 Hustinx and Smits (2006).

a starting point for a more general narrative element that could play a role in transportation. These studies showed that stories that bring readers closer to the protagonist of a story make readers become more transported into the story world. This suggests that the protagonist may be important for transportation. This has been shown for the perspective from which the protagonist is presented,²⁴ but other features of the protagonist may also increase transportation. If it is shown that different features of a character that bring readers close to the character consistently lead to transportation, we will have found a clear and concrete antecedent of transportation to add to the Transportation-Imagery Model. Therefore, we turn to the Affective Disposition Theory, which provides another feature that promotes closeness to characters.²⁵

Affective Disposition Theory

Affective Disposition Theory was developed to explain the emotions recipients feel in response to stories. The theory posits that the emotions that are evoked by a story are dependent on the dispositions that readers²⁶ have towards the characters. A disposition refers to the extent that a reader cares for the character. If a reader likes a character, the reader has a positive disposition toward the character; if a reader is indifferent toward a character, the reader has a neutral disposition toward the character and if a reader does not like a character, he or she has a negative disposition. Affective Disposition Theory posits that these dispositions predict the extent and the type of emotion a reader will feel for a character.²⁷

Only if a reader has either a positive or a negative disposition toward a character, does the reader care what will happen to the character and feels emotions as a result of that character's experiences. If a reader has a neutral disposition, he/she does not care what happens to the character and feels no emotion in response to the events in the story. Importantly, the *type* of emotion differs between a positive and a negative disposition, whereas the *extent* of emotion differs between a neutral disposition on the one hand and a positive

24 Hustinx and Smits (2006); de Graaf et al. (2012).

25 Zillmann (1994, 2006).

26 In his publications, Zillmann (1994, 2006) talks about "viewers" because he focuses on stories in the theater and on television. However, since the theory is about characters and the events they experience, it should also be applied to written stories. As written stories are the focus of this study, we will use the term readers.

27 Raney (2004); Zillmann (1994, 2006).

and negative disposition on the other hand. Regarding the type of emotion, Affective Disposition Theory predicts that if a reader has a positive disposition toward a character, the reader wants the character to succeed and hopes positive events will happen to the character. Oatley (1994, 1999) argues that this evokes empathy.²⁸ The reader is happy when good things happen to the character and sad when bad things happen. The reader's emotions are then consistent with the emotions of the character.²⁹ Conversely, if a reader has a negative disposition toward a character, the reader wants the character to fail and hopes negative events will happen to the character. This evokes counter-empathy. The reader is happy when bad things happen to a character and sad when good things happen. In this case, the reader's emotions are in opposition to the emotions of the character.³⁰ However, the extent of emotions (although of opposite valence) can be the same for readers who have a positive and a negative disposition. Affective Disposition Theory predicts that readers who have a neutral disposition experience less emotions than readers with either a positive or negative disposition.

According to Affective Disposition Theory the dispositions that readers have toward characters are dependent on the characters' moral conduct. If a character performs morally good actions, the reader will form a positive disposition towards the character; if a character only performs actions that are neither morally good nor bad, the reader will form a neutral disposition toward the character and if a character performs morally bad actions, the reader will form a negative disposition.³¹ In other words, if a character behaves sympathetically, the character will be liked, if a character behaves neutrally, the character will be met with indifference, and if a character behaves unsympathetically, the character will be disliked. In our view, other elements than behaviour can contribute to the sympathy shown toward a character, such as thoughts, utterances, and judgments of other people's behaviour.

In summary, readers form a disposition or attachment to characters in a story from negative through neutral to positive on the basis of the characters' conduct and personality. So, sympathetic behaviour and personality should lead to a positive disposition, which evokes empathy with the character, whereas unsympathetic behaviour and personality should lead to a negative disposition, which evokes counter-empathy. If readers have a neutral disposition toward a character, no emotions should be evoked. To see whether these

28 Oatley (1994, 1999).

29 Cohen (2001); Tan (1994).

30 Zillmann (1994, 2006).

31 Raney (2004); Zillmann (1994, 2006).

predictions are correct, an experiment was conducted that compared a story with a sympathetic, a neutral, and an unsympathetic protagonist.

Hypotheses

The aim of this study is to find a narrative element that affects transportation, so that we can add this element as a concrete antecedent of transportation to the Transportation-Imagery Model. We focus on an element that influences the emotion evoked by a story, which is one of the three aspects of transportation. Affective Disposition Theory provides a character feature that promotes emotions, which is the extent to which a character is described as a sympathetic person. If a reader cares for a character because he acts and thinks sympathetically, the reader will feel empathy; if a reader is indifferent toward a character, the reader will feel no empathy, and if a reader dislikes a character because he is described as an unsympathetic person, the reader will feel counter-empathy. Based on this reasoning, the first three hypotheses of this study are:

- H1 Readers of a story with a sympathetic protagonist have a more positive disposition toward the protagonist than readers of the story with a neutral protagonist, who in turn have a more positive disposition than readers of the story with an unsympathetic protagonist.
- H2 Readers of a story with a sympathetic protagonist feel more empathy for the protagonist than readers of the story with a neutral protagonist, who in turn feel more empathy than readers of the story with an unsympathetic protagonist.
- H3 The effect of the protagonist's portrayal on empathy is mediated by the disposition toward the character.

Empathy is expected to be less for the unsympathetic protagonist because this character likely evokes counter-empathy. However, such counter-empathy is also a type of emotion. Therefore, Affective Disposition Theory predicts that readers of the sympathetic version, as well as readers of the unsympathetic version, feel more emotion than readers of the neutral version. This is important because the Transportation-Imagery Model posits that the extent of emotion evoked by the story contributes to transportation, without specifying the type of emotion. So, when Affective Disposition Theory and the Transportation-Imagery Model are combined, it can be predicted that the versions with the sympathetic protagonist and with the unsympathetic protagonist lead to

more emotion and transportation than the version with the neutral protagonist.

- H4 Readers of a story with a sympathetic protagonist or an unsympathetic protagonist feel more emotion in response to the story than readers of the story with a neutral protagonist.
- H5 Readers of a story with a sympathetic protagonist or an unsympathetic protagonist experience more transportation into the narrative world than readers of the story with the neutral protagonist.
- H6 The effect of the protagonist's portrayal on transportation is mediated by empathy with that character.

Finally, based on the Transportation-Imagery Model, the consequences of transportation are also tested.³² In the study by Hustinx and Smits, manipulation of perspective had no impact on the participants' beliefs.³³ However, since the protagonist has been portrayed more sympathetically than in that original story, persuasive effects may occur in the present study. Therefore, the final hypotheses are:

- H7 Readers of a story with a sympathetic protagonist have beliefs more consistent with the story than readers of the stories with neutral or unsympathetic protagonists.
- H8 The effect of the protagonist's portrayal on beliefs will be mediated by transportation into the story world.

Method

Materials

To test the hypotheses, a literary story by the well-known Dutch author Tim Krabbé, titled "The Matador" (1982), was used as base material. This story was chosen because it has suspenseful content and allows readers to become transported, but it is still possible to read the story in an experimental session. Also, it has a clear protagonist that can be manipulated into a sympathetic, a neutral, and an unsympathetic person, so that it can be tested whether this actu-

32 Green and Brock (2000, 2002).

33 Hustinx and Smits (2006)

ally influences transportation.³⁴ All versions of the story had a length of approximately 4300 words.

The story is about a man, named Schwab, who makes a sentimental journey to the town Lequito in the Basque country in Spain, which he first visited 15 years ago with his former lover Ellie. At the beginning of the story, he walks around and takes pictures of places that have sentimental value to him. Several days later, when he is leaving the Basque country via a car through the mountains, he is overtaken by a van and forced to stop. Masked men overpower Schwab and throw him into the van. He remembers that several days earlier the governor was kidnapped by the ETA. He is questioned roughly on a desolate farm about why he took photographs in Lequito. He recognizes the leader of the group as the matador whom he and Ellie had befriended during his first visit 15 years ago. But the man does not remember him and Schwab is blindfolded and executed.

To manipulate the readers' disposition toward the protagonist, three versions of the story were constructed. In the main this was done by adding information that was either positive, neutral, or negative about the character's actions and thoughts. At some points in the text in which character descriptions were provided, information from the base story was changed in the different versions. In the "sympathetic" version, Schwab is portrayed as a good man who behaves in a kind manner. For instance, when he is walking around in Lequito, he sees a kitten approaching him. His response in this version is: "He bent over to pet the kitten. He had always been an animal lover." In the "neutral" version, the things he does are neither positive nor negative. For example his response to the kitten is: "He sat down on a bench and looked at the kitten." In the "unsympathetic" version, the protagonist is portrayed as an unpleasant person who thinks badly about others and acts accordingly. In this version, he responds to the kitten negatively: "He kicked the ugly animal to the side. He had always hated cats." Similarly, the descriptions of the protagonist's thoughts were manipulated. For instance, asking a sour-looking passer-by to take a picture of him, the sympathetic protagonist thinks: "She looked much friendlier up-close. She would definitely agree to take a picture." In the neutral version, the protagonist thinks: "He could always try. Nothing ventured, nothing gained," whereas the unsympathetic protagonist thinks: "He probably should not even bother to try asking the woman with the grumpy face." The first part consisted of approximately 1900 words in all three versions.

In the part of the story where the protagonist is kidnapped by the ETA (approximately 2400 words), the sympathetic version portrays Schwab as brave,

34 Hustinx and Smits (2006).

which is likely to elicit a positive response from the reader for the protagonist. For instance: "Schwab realized he had to stay calm. If he were to explain everything calmly, they would see their mistake." In the neutral version, the protagonist asks a lot of questions, and is unsure about how to behave. For instance he thinks: "What should he do now? Should he protest? Or say nothing?" In the unsympathetic version, the protagonist acts negatively, displaying cowardice: "Schwab realized he had always been a coward." In sum, the characters were manipulated so that they appeared either as a good person, a person that is neither good nor bad, or a bad person.

However, the basic plot remained the same over the three versions. The protagonist visits the Basque country as a tourist, and is kidnapped by the ETA and executed, thus implying that the Basque country is a dangerous place.

Participants and Procedure

A total of 83 high school students who were in their fifth year of pre-academic studies (5 vwo) participated in this experiment.³⁵ There were 33 men (39.8%) and 50 women (60.2%) and their ages ranged from 16 to 18 with a mean of 16.87 years. These participants were randomly assigned to read one of the three conditions in a between-subjects design; 28 participants read the version with the sympathetic protagonist, 28 participants read the neutral version, and 27 participants read the unsympathetic version. All participants read the story in the familiar context of their own high school. The experiment leader gave all the participants the same instructions about concentrating on the story without talking. Participants were not aware of any different versions. The experiment lasted approximately 30 minutes.

Questionnaire

After reading the story, participants filled in a questionnaire that measured the relevant variables. The questionnaire consisted of items about readers' disposition toward the protagonist, empathy with the protagonist, transportation into the narrative world, beliefs implied by the story and the personal characteristics of gender and age.

Participants' disposition toward the protagonist was measured with two items concerning the extent to which they liked the character. These items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$). An example item is: "I think Schwab is a sympathetic person." Participants' empathy with the protagonist was mea-

35 The authors thank Janneke Sleenhof for preparing the materials and collecting the data in partial fulfillment of the requirements of her Master's thesis.

sured with three items. These items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .71$). An example item is: "During reading, I empathized with Schwab."

Transportation into a narrative world was measured with items based on Green and Brock's (2000) transportation scale. The components emotion, attention and imagery were measured separately. Emotion was measured with four items concerning the feelings participants had in response to the story. These items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$). An example item is: "The story affected me emotionally." Attention was measured with five items about the extent to which they were not distracted. These items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .74$). An example item is: "While I was reading the narrative, activity going on around me was on my mind" (reverse scored). Imagery was measured with six items about the mental images participants formed. These items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$). An example item is: "During reading, I had a vivid image of Schwab." In addition to the separate components of transportation, we computed the complete transportation scale that consists of all items of the three components. This complete scale also had a good reliability (15 items, Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$).

Finally, beliefs were measured with five items about the danger of the Basque country and the ETA. These were consistent with the measures used in the previous study. These items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$). An example item is: "The Basque country is not a safe destination for tourists." All items were answered on a seven point Likert scale ranging from "completely disagree" to "completely agree."

Results

Mean scores and standard deviations of our dependent measures by condition are reported in Table 6.1.

Affective Disposition and Empathy

Regarding hypothesis 1 and 2 about the effects of the protagonist's portrayal on the affective disposition that readers have towards the protagonist and on empathy with the protagonist, univariate analyses were carried out that compared the three versions of the story. The analyses showed that the type of portrayal had a significant effect on readers' dispositions ($F(2,80) = 50.34, p < .001, \eta^2 = .56$). Participants who had read the version with the sympathetic protagonist liked the protagonist more than participants who had read the neutral version, who in turn liked him more than in the unsympathetic version (all p 's $< .001$). Also, the protagonist's portrayal had a significant effect on empathy with the

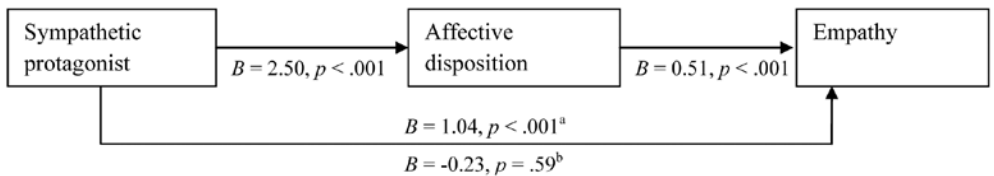
TABLE 6.1 Means and standard deviations (between brackets) of affective disposition, empathy, transportation and beliefs by condition (1 = very low, 7 = very high).

	Sympathetic protagonist	Neutral protagonist	Unsympathetic protagonist
Affective disposition	5.39 (0.81) ^a	4.25 (0.98) ^b	2.89 (0.98) ^c
Empathy	5.13 (0.80) ^a	4.58 (1.11) ^b	4.09 (1.18) ^c
Emotion	4.74 (1.22) ^a	3.96 (1.19) ^b	4.10 (1.37) ^b
Attention	5.32 (0.72) ^a	5.04 (0.91) ^a	4.43 (1.30) ^b
Imagery	4.89 (0.83)	4.60 (0.91)	4.75 (1.05)
Transportation*	4.99 (0.63) ^a	4.58 (0.71) ^b	4.47 (1.06) ^b
Beliefs	5.21(1.08)	5.19 (0.95)	5.30 (1.17)

Note: Means with different superscripts differ significantly. *The scale for Transportation is a combination of the scales for emotion, attention and imagery.

character ($F(2,80) = 6.89, p < .01, \eta^2 = .15$). Participants who had read the version with the sympathetic protagonist empathized more with the protagonist than readers of the neutral version ($p < .05$, one-sided), who in turn empathized more than readers of the unsympathetic version ($p < .05$, one-sided).

Hypothesis 3 about the mediation of readers' disposition was tested for the difference between the positive and the negative version. Descriptive information about the indirect effect is given in Figure 6.1. A test of the indirect effect was carried out using Preacher and Hayes' (2008) bootstrapping method. Results showed that the mediation effect was significant ($B = 1.28, SE = .38, 95\% CI = .5539$ to 2.0783).



^a regression of protagonist on empathy when affective disposition is not entered.

^b regression of protagonist on empathy when affective disposition is entered.

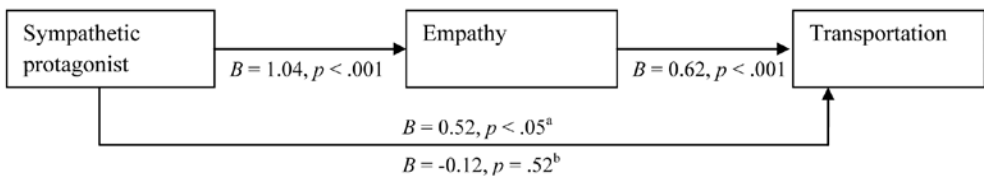
FIGURE 6.1 The indirect effect of the protagonist's portrayal through readers' dispositions on empathy.

Emotion and Transportation

Regarding hypothesis 4 and 5 about the effects of the protagonist's portrayal on emotion and transportation, univariate analyses were carried out for the separate components of transportation, which are emotion, attention, and imagery, and for the complete transportation scale. The analyses showed that the protagonist's portrayal had a marginally significant effect on readers' emotion ($F(2,80) = 3.03, p = .054, \eta^2 = .07$). There was a significant difference between the sympathetic and the neutral version ($p < .05$), such that readers of the sympathetic version felt more emotion. Also, there was a significant difference between the sympathetic and the negative version ($p < .05$, one-sided). Again, readers of the sympathetic version felt more emotion.

The protagonist's portrayal also had a significant effect on attentional focus ($F(2,80) = 5.70, p < .01, \eta^2 = .12$). For attention, readers of the unsympathetic version differed significantly from both the neutral and the sympathetic version (both p 's $< .05$). Readers had less attention when they read the version in which the protagonist performed negative actions. There were no differences between the versions for imagery ($F(2,80) = 0.66, p = .52$). Finally, the protagonist's portrayal had a significant effect on transportation as a whole ($F(2,80) = 3.14, p < .01, \eta^2 = .07$). Readers of the positive version were more transported into the story than readers of the negative version ($p < .05$) and readers of the neutral version ($p < .05$, one-sided).

Hypothesis 6 about the mediation of empathy was tested for the difference between the positive and the negative version. Descriptive information about the indirect effect is given in Figure 6.2. Results of the bootstrapping test showed that the mediation effect was significant ($B = 0.65, SE = .19, 95\% CI = .3062$ to 1.0532).



^a regression of protagonist on transportation when empathy is not entered.

^b regression of protagonist on transportation when empathy is entered.

FIGURE 6.2 *The indirect effect of the protagonist's portrayal through empathy on transportation.*

Beliefs

Regarding hypothesis 7 about the effect of the protagonist's portrayal on beliefs, univariate analysis showed that there was no difference between the versions on beliefs ($F(2,80) = 0.96, p = .91$). Participants held beliefs equally consistent with the story after reading all versions. Therefore, hypothesis 8 about the mediation of transportation could not be tested.

Conclusion and Discussion

This study set out to find an antecedent of transportation to add to the Transportation-Imagery Model.³⁶ Based on Affective Disposition Theory, the portrayal of the protagonist's behaviour and thoughts as sympathetic, neutral or unsympathetic, were tested as a potential antecedent.³⁷ Hypotheses 1 and 2 about the effect of the protagonist's portrayal on readers' affective dispositions and empathy were confirmed. Readers of the version of the story with the sympathetic protagonist had a more positive disposition toward the protagonist and empathized more strongly with him than readers of the story with the neutral protagonist who in turn had more positive dispositions and empathized more strongly than readers of the story with the unsympathetic protagonist. In line with hypothesis 3, we were able to show that the impact on the level of empathy was mediated through affective disposition. These results corroborate Affective Disposition Theory.

Hypothesis 4 about the effect of the protagonist's portrayal on emotion was partly confirmed. Readers of the version of the story with the sympathetic protagonist felt more emotion in response to the story than readers of the version with the neutral protagonist. However, the version with the unsympathetic protagonist did not evoke more emotion than the version with the neutral protagonist. A similar pattern was obtained with regard to the transportation scale as a whole (H5). Readers of the story with the sympathetic protagonist experienced more transportation into the narrative world than readers of the stories with a neutral or unsympathetic protagonist. A possible explanation for these results lies with the ending of the story.

To keep the content of the story consistent, the ending of the story was the same in all three versions: the protagonist was killed. The unsympathetic version described the protagonist as engaging in actions and thoughts that were morally reprehensible, but not so negative as to warrant such an outcome.

36 Green and Brock (2002).

37 Zillmann (1994, 2006).

Therefore, it is unlikely that readers were happy with the outcome, which in turn would have limited transportation evoked by the story. Since this model works on the supposition that no reader would wish a violent death upon someone whose previous actions, whilst repugnant, do not place him beyond redemption.

Future research should incorporate the story outcome as an independent variable to gain more insight into the effects of this important story element. A proportionally more appropriate ending might have met with more emotion and transportation in the readers of the unsympathetic version as well.

Another potential explanation for these results is that readers may have felt more similar to the sympathetic protagonist. As people generally hold a positive self-image and thus think of themselves as sympathetic, they may have perceived themselves as having more in common with the protagonist in the sympathetic version. Since perceived similarity is positively linked to empathy,³⁸ the more sympathetic protagonist may have evoked more emotion and transportation through such a perception. However, since Schwab was a middle-aged man reminiscing about his past, it is also likely that the high school students that participated in this research did not find themselves very similar to the protagonist in any version. To establish whether similarity plays a role in the effects of a sympathetic protagonist, future research should include a measure of perceived similarity between reader and protagonist. Preferably, this measure would be included in a study that also varies the story outcome as outlined above, so that it can be established whether an unsympathetic protagonist leads to less emotion and transportation through a perception of dissimilarity or whether it can also lead to more emotion when a proportionally appropriate ending is included.

The different levels of transportation between the groups, who read different versions of the story, were due to the emotional and attentional component of the transportation scale. The other component of transportation, mental imagery, did not differ between versions. This is consistent with the results of previous studies that also did not find an effect of text characteristics on imagery.³⁹ Perhaps this component of transportation is not influenced by attributes of the text as much as emotion and attention are. This component may rather be dependent on attributes of the recipient, like the strength of their imagination. Nevertheless, there were differences in the participants' transportation, showing that readers of the sympathetic protagonist version were more absorbed in the narrative world and less aware of their surround-

38 Cohen (2001, 2006), De Graaf and Hustinx (2012).

39 Hustinx and Smits (2006); De Graaf and Hustinx (2011).

ings. Moreover, hypothesis 6 concerning the mediation of readers' empathy in the effect of the protagonist's portrayal on transportation was confirmed. The portrayal influenced empathy with the protagonist, which in turn led to transportation.

With these results, we have indeed found a previously undisclosed antecedent of transportation. The protagonist's portrayal as sympathetic, neutral, or unsympathetic influenced the extent to which readers were transported. If the protagonist was found more sympathetic, more transportation occurred. In combination with the results from previous studies, this study provides a strong indication that narrative elements that bring the reader close to a character, either by presenting the story from their perspective or by making a character more sympathetic, actually lead to transportation. Because this has now been shown for multiple character features, showing that it is a replicable and stable effect, the protagonist can be confidently added to the Transportation-Imagery Model as an antecedent of transportation.⁴⁰

Finally, hypothesis 7 about the effect of the protagonist's portrayal on beliefs was not confirmed. Readers of all three versions held beliefs equally consistent with the story. A possible explanation is that perhaps the effect sizes for transportation were too small for the effect to influence beliefs. It could also be that the topic of the story limited the story's persuasive power in the present sample of participants. Of course, the majority of Dutch high school students do not have an affinity with the Basque country and the ETA. The study that previously used this story also did not find any persuasive effects.⁴¹ This indicates that differences in transportation may not always lead to persuasion. Therefore, it is important for future research to investigate when transportation leads to persuasion and when it does not. In other words, researchers should uncover moderating factors of narrative persuasion. Involvement with the topic of a story could be such a factor.

A limitation of this study that is related to this point, is that only one story was used to test the hypotheses. Such a single message design has been used in all research about narrative persuasion so far, but this design makes it hard to draw conclusions about stories other than the one that has been used. Therefore, replication is needed with different stories. If potential moderators of narrative persuasion are manipulated systematically, factors can be identified that limit or facilitate persuasion by narratives.

Another limitation of this study concerns the sample of participants. Although high school students have sufficient reading ability to understand

40 Green and Brock (2002).

41 Hustinx and Smits (2006).

stories, it is also likely that they have less experience and prior knowledge than adults. Therefore, adults' reactions to the story could differ. However, even though the story was about a forty-something male dreaming about an old romance, transportation of these high school students was still moderate (above the neutral midpoint). Apparently, transportation is a pervasive process during reading. This makes it all the more important to identify factors that influence the extent to which a reader is transported. Our results show that the protagonist plays a key role in transportation. Features of the protagonist that made him a sympathetic person, increased the level of readers' transportation. Since antecedents of transportation have scarcely been researched, this is an important contribution to the literature. Future research should continue to identify narrative elements that influence transportation.

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Constructing the Landscape of Consciousness in News Stories¹

José Sanders and Hans Hoeken

Introduction: The Social-cognitive and Persuasive Functions of Narratives

In every known culture, people tell each other narratives.² Toolan (2001) defines a narrative as “a perceived sequence of non-randomly connected events, typically involving sentient beings as the experiencing agonist from whose experience we can learn.”³ The use of “learn” suggests that narratives may serve an adaptive function. It has been argued that this function lies in narratives’ contribution to the smooth collaboration between individuals within a group.⁴ Since collaborating individuals were more successful in gathering food and fighting enemies than individuals fending for themselves, their chances of survival increased.

Successful collaboration requires the capacity to decide who can be trusted to do their share and the capacity to turn the unwilling ones around. These capacities are referred to as *social intelligence*, i.e., the ability to *understand, predict, and manipulate the behaviour* of other people.⁵ The first of these capacities, understanding a person’s behaviour, requires insight into the goals and beliefs of this person, for, as Tomasello et al. (2005) observe, “the same physical movement may be seen as giving an object, sharing it, loaning it, moving it, getting rid of it, returning it, trading it, selling it, and so on – depending on the goals and the intentions of the actor.”⁶ To be able to accurately interpret this action, one has to master “mind reading”: inferring the goal and thoughts guiding these actions. Mind reading is also essential for the ability to predict a person’s behaviour. Knowledge about a person’s goals and his or her

¹ The authors wish to thank an anonymous reviewer of this paper for his valuable comments.

² Brown (1991).

³ Toolan (2001) 8.

⁴ Boyd (2009); Scalisa Sugiyama (1996); Tomasello (2008).

⁵ Humphrey (1976).

⁶ Tomasello et al. (2005) 675.

beliefs about the barriers and opportunities connected to those goals, enable one to predict this person's next move. Finally, to manipulate people's behaviour, one has to point out that the preferred behaviour will have more favourable consequences compared to its alternatives. Social intelligence therefore requires relevant information on how a person's goals and beliefs guide his or her actions as well as information on what the consequences of these actions will be.

Boyd (2009) argues that narratives provide the training material for developing social intelligence. Narratives are the perfect vehicle to learn about the way in which people's goals and beliefs guide their actions and subsequently to document the actions' consequences while attracting and keeping their audience's interest because of the entertainment they provide. He draws an analogy between people's seemingly insatiable thirst for stories and the function of play. For instance, lion cubs mock-fight with each other; this play is entertaining but it also leads to the development of skills that are important for survival in their adult life as they are essential for killing their prey. According to Boyd, stories have similar characteristics: they provide entertainment but also train humans in the crucial art of understanding, predicting, and manipulating other people's behaviour.

Pinker (1997) claims that stories enable the audience to explore the consequences of actions by observing how fictitious characters in hypothetical situations act and what the consequences of these acts are. In his words, fiction "is especially compelling when the obstacles to the protagonist's goals are other people in pursuit of incompatible goals." (...) "The intrigues of people in conflict can multiply out in so many ways that no one could possibly play out the consequences of all courses of action in the mind's eye. Fictional narratives supply us with a mental catalogue of the fatal conundrums we might face someday and the outcomes of strategies we could deploy in them."⁷ People may benefit from attending to narratives by (learning to) understand and predict people's behaviour or to chart the consequences of certain actions. However, they do not read a story in order to be manipulated. Story tellers, on the other hand, may strategically focus on some consequences of an action while keeping silent on others in order to increase the favourability of a behavioural alternative.

We can therefore distinguish between a social cognition function and a persuasive function of narratives. This does not imply that there is sharp distinction between "social cognitive narratives" and "persuasive narratives." Exactly the same story can serve both functions; the autobiography (life story) of a person who runs for office can serve as input for the audience to predict how

7 Pinker (1997) 542-43.

this person will act if elected whereas the politician may employ this story to paint a favourable picture of him or herself in order to manipulate the audience's voting behaviour.

Still, some narratives may be more suitable for gaining an *understanding* of a person's actions whereas others would prove better at illuminating the *consequences* of certain actions. This difference in suitability appears to be related to Bruner's (1986) distinction between the two landscapes that a narrative constructs: the landscape of action and the landscape of consciousness. Although each narrative constructs both landscapes, narratives can differ with respect to their emphasis on either the characters' actions or on the beliefs and goals guiding these actions.⁸ In an action movie, relatively more attention is paid to the main character's ability, for instance, to perform martial arts while we learn little about the character's history, opinions, and values. In a psychological study, it is the other way around; we do learn a lot about the character's background and thoughts, but little else happens.

The landscape of consciousness appears especially important when trying to understand seemingly erratic behaviour. For instance, Mark Haddon's novel *The curious incident of the dog in the night time* is very popular among school teachers, not only for its (literary) entertainment value, but also because it (supposedly) provides a view of the landscape of consciousness of an autistic boy.⁹ This view enables teachers to better understand the behaviour of pupils with autism. Similarly, in Dutch health care education, students are required to read the Dutch novel *Hersenschimmen* ("Chimeras") by the author Bernlef, a novel depicting the thoughts and experiences of a man suffering from Alzheimer's disease.¹⁰ It is expected that this novel provides health care workers with a better understanding of the seemingly erratic actions of such patients. Generally, literary texts are being used in medical settings to increase understanding in both care givers and patients.¹¹ Pinker's (1997) description of the functions narratives may serve appears to be more related to the landscape of action, as he points to the information about the consequences actions may have. By and large, a narrative in which the landscape of action is emphasized appears to feed into the manipulation dimension of social intelligence, whereas a narrative emphasizing the landscape of consciousness serves the understanding and predicting dimensions. In the next section, we will focus on journalistic background stories and the function they may serve.

8 Cupchik and Laszlo (1994).

9 Haddon, M. (2007). *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time*. National Geographic Books.

10 Bernlef, J. (1994). *Hersenschimmen* [Chimeras]. Amsterdam: Querido.

11 Kaptein et al., 2011

Understanding Behaviour and the Landscape of Consciousness

Boyd (2009) makes a case for the adaptive function of fictional narratives. In his line of argument, he refers to the work by Dunbar (1996, 1998) who argues that “the principle function of language was (and still is!) to enable the exchange of social information.”¹² An important topic for this exchange is the extent to which people do or do not breach (cultural) group norms. Dunbar (2004) argues that such information is important to ensure that every member of his group does his or her fair share of work which is essential for the smooth collaboration within the group and further suggests that commenting on the breach of social norms has a strong impact on people’s willingness to “toe the line.”¹³

Nowadays, journalists play an important role in the exchange of social information. Journalists and their news sources both function within an “interpretative community, a cultural site where meanings are constructed, shared, and reconstructed by members of social groups in the course of everyday life.”¹⁴ For an event to attract a journalist’s attention, it has to be newsworthy within the interpretative community. One of the ways in which this criterion can be met is by violating shared expectations. If a person’s action sharply deviates from the expected cultural convention, this action becomes newsworthy. For instance, if someone becomes violent without an apparent reason, if a mother kills her children, or if a politician “goes public” on what are considered confidential negotiations, it will make the front page. When society’s core values are under threat – such as with physical or political violence or terrorist attacks – journalists switch to a cultural narrative that moves the public mind back toward the dominant cultural order. In the case of news that is culturally remote – in the sense that it violates culturally shared norms – narratives must be relied upon more heavily to assist journalists’ sense-making, and the news is more mythically-laden.¹⁵ The reason being that such remote acts automatically evoke the question of why actors acted in the way they did.

This “why” question is related to the observation by Tomasello et al. (2005) cited above: We need to know what the intention of the person was when performing the action, that is, we need such information to understand why soccer hooligans act violently in and outside of the stadium, why suicide bombers would sacrifice their lives to kill others, why a mother would suffocate her newborn babies. Thus, news journalism plays out myths, rituals, and archetypes, in

¹² Dunbar (1998) 98.

¹³ Dunbar (2004) 108.

¹⁴ Berkowitz and TerKeurst (1999) 125.

¹⁵ Nossek and Berkowitz (2006) 691.

order to “get the story,” for “all that audiences [try] to do is find reassurance and meaning in a rather chaotic news situation.”¹⁶ By drawing on these anthropological insights, textual analysis may reveal this narrative role of media.¹⁷ Modern nonfiction narratives may be revelations of important cultural standards and beliefs.¹⁸ These stories are made credible, logically motivated, and morally acceptable by applying techniques that are not so much typically literary, but can be traced back to the structure of Greek mythology and drama, such as altered chronology, discovery, peripety (or complication), and resolution.¹⁹

Our aim is to explore further why and how news narratives of the culturally remote are being told. According to Bruner (1990), acts that deviate from our culturally based expectations require a story whose function is “to find an intentional state that mitigates or at least makes comprehensible a deviation from a canonical cultural pattern.”²⁰ More specifically, such acts require a reconstruction of the landscape of consciousness leading up to the action. Next to “hard news” descriptions of the events, newspapers run background stories in which they aim to provide such a reconstruction. Although relating the same events, these news stories differ strongly from each other with respect to the story telling techniques employed. We will argue that the main difference between hard news items and background stories of the same event resides in the extent to which the journalists try to sketch the goals, beliefs, and intentions of the characters, using such narrative techniques as altered chronology, discovery, complication, and resolution. These narrative techniques allow for journalists to intertwine their own point of view with their source’s points of view. Analyzing two news articles reporting on the same event with tools and models developed in literary stylistics and cognitive linguistics, we aim to show how the strategic use of language by the journalists opens up different perspectives on the event. These choices are not so much the result of the need to please the readers but rather as a necessary means to gain the readers’ understanding for seemingly erratic behaviour. In the following section, we will elaborate this claim, and we will argue that Mental Space Theory helps to describe the news sources’ landscape of consciousness.

16 Fürsich (2009) 245.

17 Ibidem.

18 Marsh (2010) 295.

19 Marsh (2010) 296.

20 Bruner (1990) 50.

Representing the Landscape of Consciousness in a Mental Space Model

In this section, a short “hard” news text and a longer “soft” news article are analyzed and compared.²¹ Both texts were taken from Dutch newspaper *De Volkskrant* and describe the onset of events that lead to a much discussed case: the “Beverwijkse Baby Murders” (December 2005 – Fall 2006). This case prompted articles to be written in various journalistic news genres, among which were *news reports* covering one subject and *reportages* reconstructing news facts or events. When we compare one such short news report with a longer background story, differences in register become evident.

Constructing a landscape of consciousness implies that the reader is able to reconstruct what a particular character thought, believed, felt and wanted; in other words: a reconstruction of this person’s perspective on the situation and events constituting the news facts. Fauconnier’s Mental Space Theory²² offers a framework to describe such a reconstruction. In each communicative situation, a basic space can be assumed as a vantage point in which time, space, reference point and truth are linked to the primary speaker/narrator,²³ in this case the journalist. The basic space is illustrated in the first, short news report.²⁴

1. BEVERWIJK – 1. The police are investigating the death of a newborn infant in Beverwijk. 2. The body was discovered Wednesday in a house in Haarlem. 3. Because the infant may have been born in a house in Beverwijk, the police are investigating a house there as well. 4. The mother and her boyfriend have been taken into custody for questioning. (ANP)

From his basic space here-and-now, the journalist describes the order of the events as they are known to him at the time of writing. That is, he describes the investigation as ongoing and positions the discovery of the body in time

21 Because of the illustrative purposes of our analysis in this paper, we have employed mental space theory in a rather loose, non-technical way. A more technical treatment of parts of these texts can be found in Sanders (2010) in which she shows how embedded spaces are created by the use of verbs referring to cognitive activities (e.g., thinking, believing), changes in verb tense, and referential choices.

22 Fauconnier (1985) [1994]; Sweetser and Fauconnier (1996).

23 Sanders, Sanders and Sweetser (2009, 2012).

24 Dutch national newspaper *De Volkskrant*, December 28, 2005; translated and quotation labels added. http://www.volkskrant.nl/archief_gratis/article1014895.ece/Politie_onderzoek_t_dood_van_pasgeboren_baby. Retrieved on December 3, 2009, 2.30 PM.

("Wednesday"). The presumed news source – the police – must have related the events, but their utterances and perceptions are represented in a distanced way only. They have no voice, nor are their thoughts represented.²⁵ The report represents the journalist's landscape of consciousness, and only his, with respect to this news event. Note that in this hard news event, the *chronology* is iconic; "discovery," "complication," and "resolution" are not elaborated.

Within the basic space, one can open up so-called embedded spaces which can be filled with information that is attributable to another person, information on what that person thought, felt, and believed at a certain point in time.²⁶ These embedded spaces enable the representation of other people's landscapes of consciousness at other points in the narrative chronology. This mechanism can be seen in example 2,²⁷ which presents the first part of a long background news story (1.700 words) published at a later date during the trial. In the lead-in (0), the first space in this background article is the journalist's. In this base space, the dead child is referred to as "a fourth corpse," since it was found first, but born last and reported last from the journalist's starting point. From this base space, a further embedded space (1) is created by the verb *sees*. This verb of cognition functions as a space builder and connects the new embedded space to the first narrative character who performs the act of seeing: Carla. In this second embedded space, the discovery of the baby is retold more elaborately, from her perspective and from an earlier point in time.

2. *O. On December 22, 2005, the criminal investigation department discovered, in a waste bin in the garden of Jeroen and Etta in Beverwijk, three buckets that each contained the small body of an infant. A fourth corpse had been found the day before. Last Monday, the mother appeared in court, today the father. By (name journalist).*

1. Shortly before Christmas 2005 Carla, who has just become a grandmother to little Esra, is rummaging around in the cellar of her Haarlem residence. She sees a green backpack that she does not know. That will be Etta's, she thinks. Etta is her eldest daughter, who recently moved back in with her. (...) When replacing the backpack Carla gets the impression

25 Only the verb *discovered* implicitly demarcates cognitive activity by the non-specified actor, indicating the mere presence of a consciousness (Sanders and Redeker 1993: *implicit viewpoint*).

26 Sanders and Redeker (1996).

27 Weert Schenk, *Volkskrant*, October 6, 2006 "Alles zou goed komen" [Everything was going to be all right]; translated and quotation labels added. http://www.volkskrant.nl/archief_gratis/articles577454.ece/Alles_zou_goed_komen. Retrieved on December 3, 2009, 2.30 PM.

that it contains wet clothes. She takes out a garbage bag, which contains more garbage bags and towels, and moments later she is holding (lit. “stands in her hands with”) a dead infant, wrapped in a red T-shirt (...). An unbearable smell fills the cellar.

2. The family doctor, who at Carla’s request arrives within moments, sees a full-term infant, a girl well over seven pounds. Later it is determined that the child has died weeks before, but that it was not still-born.

3. Carla thinks that Etta is the mother. Whose baby could it be otherwise? (lit. Of who else should the baby be?) She asks a friend and a sister-in-law to come to her house. Only then does she phone her daughter. Etta is riding her bike to school to pick up the children she looks after.

4. “Please come at once,” she hears her mother say, “I have found something.” Etta starts to cry. At her mother’s home, Etta at first does not want to enter. She is very upset. She does not want to talk about anything, she wants to die.

5. Later that day she relates that the baby is hers. It was born in Beverwijk, in the house where she lived with her boyfriend Jeroen who is four years her senior. The exact day of the birth Etta can’t remember. It must have been three or four weeks ago, definitely before the delivery of her sister Daphne. (...)

6. Yet, she would ride her bike from Haarlem to her old home in Beverwijk to be with her babies. She would, just like when she still lived there, take the garbage bags out of the bin and fantasize about how things could have been different. After the separation from Jeroen she had decided to take the last baby with her to Haarlem: then she would not be so lonely. (...)

7. She was afraid that Jeroen would be angry if he heard that she was pregnant. She told nobody that she was pregnant. She did not go to see a doctor about it. Etta does not understand how her boyfriend never noticed that she was pregnant. She had a big belly and her breasts had grown. Prosecution also thinks this is unimaginable. (...)

8. At each birth she hoped that Jeroen would enter the bathroom and save the baby. She never thought that she would actually kill the children. Yet that is what happened. But she could not part from her lifeless children. That is why she put them in the garbage bin.

9. According to Jeroen the children would have been welcome. He blames himself for not truly having known Etta. Etta and Jeroen have decided to have their four babies cremated as soon as possible. The ashes will be in one urn. (*End of news story*).

In the second sentence of fragment 1, several cognitive verbs indicate Carla news source's mental activity. "She *sees* a green backpack that she does not *know*." Here, these signals open an embedded space which is subsequently filled with perceptions and thoughts that are connected to this source and of which the validity is restricted to this source there and then. "That will be Etta's, she *thinks*." The thoughts may even turn out later to be false. "When replacing the backpack Carla *gets the impression* that it contains *wet clothes*." In addition, discoveries and perceptions are represented that are particular for this character at the narrated moment. "She takes out a garbage bag, which contains more garbage bags, towels and moments later she is holding a dead infant, wrapped in a red T-shirt. An *unbearable smell* fills the cellar." In particular, the perception in the last sentence "unbearable smell" colours the narrator's text as represented from the character's perspective: it is she who smells.

The representation from this person's perspective also explains why the child she discovers is referred to as new, "a dead infant." While the reader already knows about the dead children as they have been introduced in the article's introduction, it was new to this person at that period of time. Sanders and Redeker (1993) show how the use of such "late indefinite references" can be explained by the embedded space which represents content valid for the narrative source only.²⁸ The referential choice reinforces the *discovery* which is the dramatic climax of the story as well as the onset to the subsequent *complication*. In the third paragraph again the use of a cognitive verb, *thinks* functions as a space builder; subsequently, Carla's embedded mental space is filled with her thoughts in free indirect representation mode.²⁹ "Carla thinks that Etta is the mother. *Who else could the baby belong to?*" Obviously, journalists cannot read their sources' thoughts; they reconstruct them. Such constructed thought elements give a "fictionalized" flavour to the text. In the present example of a background story, this type of fictionalized source representation is pragmatically possible, but it explains why this form will be an exception in "hard" news reports such as example 1.³⁰

In addition to the *altered chronology*, the change of verb tense helps to build the embedded space. After the short lead in the simple past tense, the article

28 A similar case of late indefinite reference is seen in section 2, where the doctor "sees a full-term infant, a girl well over seven pounds": again, for this person, the referent was new.

29 Fludernik (1993); Semino and Short (2004).

30 Reconstructed free indirect thoughts form an attractive means to increase suspense but, when applied in hard news texts, readers tend to find the text less appropriate as a news report (see effect study by Sanders and Redeker, 1993).

changes to the present tense, which enhances the feeling of immediacy in the narrative text: it advances the subsequent scenes as though in a movie, shot from the point of view of Carla. Notably, the intended effect of representing a horrible discovery as an act of the present, viewed from the perspective of the one making that discovery, is akin to “dramatization”: what happened will be more (?) imaginable and literally perceivable. By representing Carla’s embedded mental space in the present tense, the journalist facilitates identification with this source who is as ignorant and shocked by the events as anyone else, including the reader, would be. In other words, in order to help readers cross the bridge between lack of understanding and the ability to understand the unintelligible, the journalist starts his story from the perspective of a close relative who is, as the readers are, still unaware of what has happened and why.

Gradually, in the fourth paragraph, the perspective shifts towards the main news character, i.e. the dead baby’s mother: Etta. Again, a cognitive verb functions as space builder. “Please come at once,” she *hears* her mother say, “I found something.” Only from Etta’s mental space is it possible to represent Etta as *hearing* what Carla says through the mobile phone. The direct quotes that Etta is hearing are reconstructions too, adding to the fictionalized flavour. Within Carla’s directly quoted request to Etta, it is understandable that the unmentionable character of the discovery is referred to as “something.”

But Etta knows what this “something” is, as does the reader. “Etta starts to cry.” And Etta realizes what the consequences are. “At her mother’s home, at first Etta does not want to enter. She is very upset. She does not want to talk about anything, she wants to die.” The highly emotional reaction that can be distilled from this stream of free indirect quotes presumably indicates sorrow (“starts to cry”), fear (“does not want to enter; does not want to talk about anything”), and depression (“wants to die”). These emotional states characterize the source as having strong negative feelings about the previous events in terms of loss and remorse; in other words, she is not a cold murderess.

After some time, in paragraph 5, she acknowledges the facts: “later that day she relates that the baby is hers.” A free indirect quote from her embedded space provides the details. “It was born in Beverwijk, in the house where she lived with her boyfriend Jeroen, who was four years older than her.” The emotional picture of the mother is elaborated in the subsequent text. In paragraph 6, it is revealed that she was attached to the corpses: “She would, just like when she still lived there, take the garbage bags out of the bin and fantasized about how things could have been different.” She used the corpses to cope with her feelings of loneliness. “After the separation from Jeroen she had *decided* to take the last baby with her to Haarlem: then she would not *feel so lonely*.” The use of cognitive verbs to construct her embedded space; in this embedded space, free

indirect thoughts are represented that reveal Etta's motivation. Note that from Etta's space, the dead child is referred to as the "last baby," as if it were alive – like the babies of her fantasy.

Paragraph 7 and 8 arrive at the central matter of this news narrative: the explanation of the erratic behaviour. In a long stream of free indirect quotes by Etta, filled with cognitive and modal qualifications that firmly establish her embedded mental space, her motivations are revealed one by one. Why did she not tell anyone that she was pregnant? "She *was afraid* Jeroen would be angry if he heard she was pregnant." Why did she kill the children? "She never *thought* she would actually kill the children." Why did she keep the corpses? "She *could* not part from her lifeless children." And in the very centre of this sequence the actual killing of the children is related in an impersonalized construction: "Yet, that is what happened." Note that this sentence, by its position in the context of free indirect thoughts, bears the suggestion of a free indirect quote: we hear Etta's voice, intertwined with the journalist's voice (Sanders, 2010). By relating the killing in this impersonal, non-cognitive, non-active manner, the actor/news source and the journalist join voices in indicating that she had no intention to kill, and that she did not even experience the killing as an act.

In the last paragraph of the news story (9), the feelings of the babies' father are represented, specifically his regrets towards Etta: "He *blames himself* for not truly having known Etta." This suggests that if he had acted and felt differently, things would have been different altogether, and thus he is not free of guilt. Again, information represented in an embedded space enforces the picture of the babies' mother as a pitiful, highly troubled woman. Subsequently, the news text reunites, at least for one moment, the babies' mother and father as a couple: they share a cognitive verb which builds a shared embedded mental space. "Etta and Jeroen *have decided* to have their four babies cremated as soon as this is possible." The closing sentence, represented from the journalist's own narrative content base, finally reunites the dead babies as siblings: "The ashes will be in one urn." Thus the journalist, by way of *resolution*, adds an element of "normality" to the picture, at least with regards to paying one's last respects.

In presenting this last, normal act by the narrative characters, the journalist points out that normal and erratic behaviour can both be present in one person. This position appeals to the journalist's and audience's level of normality, and implicitly poses the question: What, of this story, is understandable? What can be explained by underlying causes? What would I have done, if some of these circumstances applied to me? Such a presentation, following Alexander (2009), is typical for narrative or literary journalism: "any protracted relationship between a journalist and a subject is likely to bring whatever qualities

– real or imagined – they may share, to light; this recognition of the familiar in the unfamiliar is a defining characteristic of the frightening which Freud called ‘the uncanny.’³¹ Thus, paradoxically, the narrative journalistic story creates understanding for the culturally remote Other while at the same time disrupting the comfort of both journalist and audience by the engagement with this Other.³² Precisely this strangeness, and precisely this fusion of the subjective and objective, explain why “literary” journalistic texts like the one analyzed here are not typically exhausted by one reading: they *stay* news.³³

Empirical Research on Perspective Taking

Constructing the landscape of consciousness invites readers to take the point of view of a certain character. As a result, readers may be better able to understand why someone acted in a certain way, which in turn may lead to a more favourable (or less unfavourable) evaluation of this behaviour as implied by the saying “understanding is forgiving.” To our knowledge, no empirical research has addressed the question of whether this effect does occur for newspaper articles such as the ones discussed in this paper. However, there is a line of research on the persuasive impact of stories that appears relevant to this issue.

Green and Brock (2000) showed that reading a story on the murder of a little girl by a psychiatric patient on leave influenced readers’ attitudes towards the rights of psychiatric patients, regardless of whether the story was described as factual, fictional, or as a dream. The persuasive potential of stories has been documented in other studies as well.³⁴ In models of how stories exert their influence, the feeling of being lost in the story is believed to be the key mechanism.³⁵ Green and Brock (2000, Experiment 4) provided evidence for the claim that being enthralled by the narrative was the motor of the narrative’s persuasive effect. The feeling of being lost in the story comprises several dimensions, such as the focusing of attention on the story, the feeling of being present at the events, and the extent to which the audience empathizes with the charac-

31 Alexander (2009) 61.

32 Alexander (2009) 62–63.

33 Alexander (2009) 63, quoting Ezra Pound.

34 See, for instance, Appel and Richter (2007); Slater, Rouner, and Long (2006); Strange and Leung (1999).

35 See, for instance, Green and Donahue (2009); Moyer-Gusé (2008); Slater and Rouner (2002).

ters.³⁶ These dimensions may not be equally important for a story to have a persuasive effect or, alternatively, the route along which the dimensions influence the persuasive outcome may differ.

Various studies have shown that the extent to which the audience empathizes with characters is an important determinant of the impact a story has on the audience's evaluation.³⁷ That is, the more the audience relates to a certain character, the more it is inclined to accept that character's opinions or to evaluate its behaviour favourably. However, these studies are correlational in nature and therefore lend themselves to a rival explanation. Instead of empathizing with a character causing the audience to take on a similar attitude as the character, it could work the other way around: having a similar attitude as the character causes the audience to empathize more strongly with that character. Andsager, Bemker, Choi, and Torwel (2006) provide evidence for such a (reversed) mechanism.

However, De Graaf, Hoeken, Sanders, and Beentjes (2012) were able to manipulate the level of empathy with a character by manipulating the perspective from which the events were related. In two experiments, they studied the persuasive impact of two different stories each of which contained two characters with opposing goals and opinions. For each story, two versions were written which differed with respect to the perspectivising character. That is, the story was either told by the character holding opinion A or by the (opposing) character who held opinion B. If holding a similar opinion drives people to empathise with a character, the audience would identify with a certain character regardless of whether this character was the perspectivising one or not. However, the results showed clearly that participants empathised much more strongly with the perspectivising character, regardless of the opinion held by that character. Furthermore, they were able to demonstrate that this increase in empathy led to a stronger acceptance of the opinions held by the perspectivising character.

The "I"-perspective provides readers with a clear view on the character's landscape of consciousness. The results corroborate the claim that travelling the landscape of consciousness can lead to an understanding and acceptance of the character's opinions and actions. The employment of an "I"-perspective is far more obtrusive than the relatively subtle manipulations of perspective in the newspaper article analysed in the previous section. The techniques

36 See, for instance, Busselle and Bilandzic (2009); De Graaf, Hoeken, Sanders, and Beentjes (2009).

37 See, for instance, De Graaf et al. (2009); Iguarta (2010).

employed by the journalist lead to the construction of the landscape of consciousness for different persons. To show how the journalist creates these landscapes, we have employed mental space theory. We believe that this theory is highly suitable for our purposes. The concept of an embedded mental space representing what a certain person believed, wanted, and intended is highly similar to the landscape of consciousness concept. In addition, the theory describes the ways in which language elements open up embedded mental spaces, thus establishing narrative shifts such as altered chronology, discovery, complication, and resolution.

A clear identification of these space building language elements is important. For if one wanted to assess whether the construction of embedded spaces leads to the perception of the landscape of consciousness, and subsequently to a better understanding of a person's behaviour, this implies a need for a controlled manipulation of building a mental space. For instance, would the second paragraph have less impact if the events leading to the discovery of the dead infant were not in the present tense, but in the simple past? In other words, not described as happening there and then:

Shortly before Christmas 2005 Carla, who had just become a grandmother to little Esra, was rummaging around in the cellar of her Haarlem residence. She saw a green backpack that she did not know. She thought that it belonged to her eldest daughter, Etta, who recently moved back in with her. (...) When replacing the backpack Carla got the impression that it contained wet clothes. She took out a garbage bag, which contained more garbage bags, towels and moments later she was holding a dead infant, wrapped in a red T-shirt.

And would the identification be less strong if cognitive verbs that build embedded spaces are removed:

Shortly before Christmas 2005 Carla, who had just become a grandmother to little Esra, was rummaging around in the cellar of her Haarlem residence. She replaced a green backpack that belonged to her eldest daughter, Etta, who recently moved back in with her. (...) It was unusually heavy. When Carla unpacked the backpack, a garbage bag appeared, which revealed more garbage bags, towels, and finally a dead infant, wrapped in a red T-shirt.

Such manipulations enable a precise and controlled assessment of the extent to which the narrative techniques employed by journalists do indeed lead readers to travel the landscape of consciousness in order to understand what made people act the way they did.

The exploration of the inner landscape can be attractive, but it does raise the question whether it has an impact on news papers' perceived quality. Sanders and Redeker (1993) showed that the presentation of free indirect thoughts in news narratives was appreciated by readers, who found such texts more suspenseful than news texts without such elements. However, they did not consider texts with such elements as appropriate news texts. It is an important question when, and in which newspapers the exploration of inner landscapes was introduced and how this development has influenced the public's appreciation; this could well be different for different newspaper styles. We have argued that journalistic background stories function as cultural narratives that move the public back to the dominant cultural order. It is clear, however, that several subcultures can be distinguished within the dominant culture, and more so now with the broadening press landscape and more ubiquitous new media. It can be hypothesized that journalists from different subcultures use narrative techniques in different contexts, depending on their specific cultural order. For instance, in the Dutch broadsheet newspaper that was analyzed in this article (*De Volkskrant*) as well as in other "quality" press media, the use of sophisticated narrative techniques such as the free indirect style is used to explore seemingly inexplicable behaviour, while tabloid press media might be more inclined to use these techniques to explore the thoughts and emotions of the victims of this erratic behaviour. A larger scaled corpus analysis is needed to compare techniques in these subcultures further.

Concluding Remarks

The textual analysis presented in this paper shows that journalists employ literary techniques to tell the story. More specifically, we have focused in our analysis on the way in which the journalist overlays his interpretation or even subjective evaluation onto the news facts, and lends his own voice to make the news sources' voices heard. Although the employment of these techniques may provide the reader with an enjoyable reading experience, their impact may go further than simply providing entertainment. By representing the landscape of consciousness of the persons involved, the journalist appears to provide a view on the "intentional state that mitigates or at least makes com-

prehensible a deviation from a canonical cultural pattern,"³⁸ which, according to Bruner, is a narrative's goal.

In recent years, crafts as well as morals of narrative journalism have drawn more attention of both professionals (Kramer and Call, 2007) and academics (Sims, 2009) in the journalistic field. Journalistic stories such as this one help to create or maintain a society's understanding of itself and its vulnerabilities, and although journalists do not always think about decisions of technique explicitly as ethical choices in terms of truth or compassion with the subjects,³⁹ it is important to recognize the considerable power journalistic choices may have.

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38 Bruner (1990) 50.

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Quoted Discourse in Dutch News Narratives

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Introduction

News stories narrate newsworthy facts, events, and opinions. Most of the content of these stories comes from sources other than the news narrator. Reporters obtain their news from news sources, representing their utterances in more or less verbatim ways, paraphrasing and summarizing as they think necessary. The representation of source material can be described in terms of discourse presentation.

In this study, we adapt an existing model of discourse presentation to examine in detail, what journalistic narrators (henceforth: reporters) actually do when they represent words uttered previously by news sources, and how linguistic choices express the function such presentations may fulfil. In order to account for empirical phenomena in news corpora, we studied both recent and older news narratives, striving for a broad spectrum of discourse presentation phenomena. In a close reading of both present-day and historical news texts, these categories are investigated systematically in their functional contexts, and elaborated with several subcategories necessary to account for the empirical data.

The first section briefly addresses how quoted discourse is discussed and categorized in literature. In the second section, the material and method of analysis are outlined. The third section systematically investigates what types of quotation occur in a corpus of older and recent Dutch news texts. In the fourth section, the results are summarized and discussed for their implications.

Categories of Quoted Language

In a reported speech/writing/thought situation, there are at least two personae involved: the narrator and the person whose words or thoughts are represented.¹

¹ In journalistic narratives, this quoted person can also be the journalist as news source (Rennen, 2000).

TABLE 8.1 *Speech, thought, and writing presentation scales* (AFTER SEMINO AND SHORT, 2004: 49).

	Indirect	Free indirect	Direct	Free direct
Speech presentation:	IS	FIS	DS	FDS
Thought presentation:	IT	FIT	DT	FDT
Writing presentation:	IW	FIW	DW	FDW

The degree to which the voice of the narrator and the quoted person is heard in a text, can vary. Many descriptions are given of reported speech (and thought). As a starting point we use Semino and Short's (2004) model of discourse presentation, which consists of three scales: for speech, thought, and writing presentation. These scales involve several options, or categories, for presenting other people's utterances or thoughts, as represented in Table 8.1.

In the columns from left to right the categories of discourse presentation are named: Indirect Speech/Writing/Thought (IS/IW/IT); Free Indirect Speech/Writing/Thought (FIS/FIW/FIT); Direct Speech/Writing/Thought (DS/DW/DT); and Free Direct Speech/Writing/Thought (FDS/FDW/FDT). Definitions and examples of all categories can be found in Semino and Short (2004: 10–16 and 42–52).²

Within the different types of speech or writing presentation, there are differences in the degree of (assumed) faithfulness to an original utterance, and hence the responsibility of the other person (Semino and Short, 2004). Canonically, a faithfulness claim is associated with direct speech or writing; it is assumed by readers that the directly quoted string reports exactly the words and structures used by the speaker in the original discourse, as in *She said "Yes, I am right here."* The direct mode is supposed to demonstrate what was said, thus expressing maximal faithfulness in discourse presentation (Clark and Gerrig, 1990). As such, it reaffirms both the presence of the witnessing narrator in the quoted situation and the trustworthiness of the quotation. By contrast, the indirect presentation mode displays a straight connection with *what* was said (the propositional content), but it does not convey *how* it was said (the words

² Semino and Short (2004) also describe Narrator's Representation of Voice/Writing and Internal Narration (NV/NW/NI); Narrator's Representation of Speech/Writing/Thought Act (NRSA/NRWA/NRTA); these categories were not included in our analysis, since we aimed to describe those forms of discourse presentation in which the original news source has at least some involvement in the representation (either the content, or the wording, or both).

and structures used to utter the relevant propositional content), as in *She said that / confirmed she was present / was there*. With respect to free indirect speech and writing, Semino and Short (2004) state that these categories involve a “mix” of the features associated with indirect speech/writing on the one hand and direct speech/writing on the other, as in *Yes, she was right there*. As a consequence, free indirect speech and writing are ambiguous with respect to the faithfulness claim concerning the wording of the utterance. Often it is difficult to decide whether it is the narrator/reporter or a character/news source who is responsible for a particular word; their voices are intertwined (cf. Sanders, 2010). Additionally, we distinguish partial quotations, by Semino and Short (2004: 159) described as subcategory of direct presentation in terms of “embedded quotation phenomena” (not in Table 8.1): relatively short stretches of text surrounded by inverted commas that occur within a non-direct form of speech/writing/thought presentation, and that equal the direct and free direct categories with respect to faithfulness, as they seem to be a verbatim reproduction of a part of the original utterance.

Material and Method

In this paragraph, the material and the method of analysis in this study will be described. As material, a corpus of Dutch newspaper texts was assembled in two sub-corpora. The first sub-corpus consists of old newspaper texts from 1950 (32.579 words; 50 texts), the second of recent newspaper texts from 2002 (51.587 words; 99 texts). Both sub-corpora were taken from five national Dutch newspapers (*Algemeen Dagblad*, *NRC Handelsblad*, *Telegraaf*, *Trouw* and *Volkscrant*) and eight sections (front page, domestic news, foreign news, financial news, culture, opinion, sports, science). The texts from 1950 were copied from microfilm, the 2002 texts were extracted from the international newspaper database Lexis Nexis.

All news texts in the corpus were closely read, marking out each instance of discourse presentation. The marked cases of discourse presentation were then analysed and categorized according to the degree in which a news source was involved in the representation of the content and/or wording, using the categories as presented in Table 8.1. Finally, consideration was given as to whether or not additional categories were needed to describe the empirical data.

In the next section, the results of our analysis are presented. For each category, typical cases are discussed and described both for linguistic characteristics and functional context. Attention is paid to any observed differences between the 1950 and 2002 cases. Finally, cases that did not fit into one of the

pre-described categories are described and categorized linguistically, and characterized functionally.

Results

This section presents the findings for the speech presentation, writing presentation, and thought presentation categories, consecutively.

Speech Presentation

Direct Speech

In the newspaper corpus quotations are most frequently presented as direct speech, as in example (1). In this example a reporter presents an utterance of the deputy harbour master of the harbour of Zierikzee about a case of drug smuggling alleged to have occurred in the harbour. His words are marked by single inverted commas and a verb of communication, “*zegt*” (“says”), and the quoted material consists of three complete sentences. The quoted source is identified explicitly, both by name and by function. The explicit identification of the source marks him as being an authority. In combination with the other markers this is to assure the reader of the accuracy and precision of the quotation, thereby giving an assurance of the reporter’s reliability (Weizman, 1984).

- (1) “Op zich was er niets opvallends aan die mannen,” zegt hulphavenmeester Ph. de Leeuw. “De afgelopen drie weken waren elke dag een paar mannen bezig op dat schip, maar niemand heeft iets gekk gezien. 350 Kilo drugs kun je in 10 Albert-Heijntassen zo naar binnen dragen.” (*Algemeen Dagblad*, May 3 2002, domestic news)
“In itself there was nothing conspicuous about those men,” says deputy harbour master Ph. de Leeuw. “For the last three weeks, every day, some men have been working on that ship, but no one has seen anything odd. You could carry 350 kilos of drugs inside in 10 large shopping bags without anyone noticing.”³

The way of marking direct speech in example (1) is very common. Alternative ways of presenting direct speech often encountered in the corpus include alternative placement of the communicative verb (before the quotation rather than following it, as in example (2)), the use of a colon (also in example (2)),

3 With respect to the translation of Dutch examples, this chapter provides glosses that retain the structure of the original as much as possible.

and the use of a prepositional phrase with “*aldus*” or “*volgens*” (“according to”) instead of a verb, see example (3).

- (2) Na een slechte aanloop naar het Newyorkse evenement (drie overwinningen in drie toernooien) waarschuwde hij vriend en vijand: “Op de US Open moet niemand mij afschrijven.” (*Trouw*, September 7 2002, sports) *After a bad run-up to the event in New York (only three matches won in his last in three tournaments) he warned friend and enemy alike: “At the US Open no one should write me off.”*
- (3) “[...] Ter handhaving van het recht en de wetten der menselijkheid kan hier alleen de zwaarste straf de juiste geacht worden”, aldus mr. Van Voorst tot Voorst. (*NRC Handelsblad*, July 6 1950, domestic news) *“[...] For the enforcement of the law and the laws of humanity only the severest penalty can be considered right”, according to Mr Van Voorst tot Voorst, Master of Laws.*

In addition to the options mentioned so far, some direct quotations in the 2002 subcorpus are introduced only by the name of the quoted source and a colon, leaving out the embedding phrase (communicative verb or phrase with “*aldus*” or “*volgens*”). Most often, such cases are not the first citation of this speaker in the article, and the source has been introduced previously, but infrequently it was not, or just vaguely introduced, as in example (4).

- (4) Justitie spreekt over een “uitzonderlijk” vonnis. Persofficier I. van Hilten: “Nooit eerder is zo’n hoge straf opgelegd. Bij de meeste verkeersongelukken met dodelijke afloop wordt ‘dood door schuld’ ten laste gelegd. Hier bleek het haalbaar om drievoudige doodslag en een poging daartoe ten laste te leggen.” (*NRC Handelsblad*, July 2 2002, domestic news) *The judiciary speaks of an “extraordinary” sentence. Press officer I. van Hilten: “Never before has such a high punishment been imposed. In most fatal traffic accidents cases the suspect is charged with ‘culpable homicide.’ In this case an indictment of triple culpable homicide and an attempted culpable homicide proved feasible.”*

Example (4) originates from an article on a lawsuit in the case of a fatal hit-and-run accident. The first mention of press officer Van Hilten’s name is in the second sentence, in the introduction of the stretch of direct speech. The only reference prior to this introduction that could possibly refer to the press officer is the word “*justitie*” in the previous sentence, referring to the judiciary in

general: “all the judges in a country who, as a group, form part of the system of government” (Longman dictionary). Note that within the stretch of direct speech itself, a small fragment of three words (“*dood door schuld*”) is marked with additional inverted commas. This phenomenon of inverted commas within inverted commas occurs more often and is discussed in the section on partial quotes, cf. example (21).

Free Direct Speech

The analysis shows some cases of free direct speech; a stretch of quotation, marked by inverted commas, but not introduced as such by a name, colon, communicative verb, or embedding phrase, as in example (5).

- (5) Soekarno deelde mee, dat de actie tegen de Zuid-Molukken thans in volle gang is. “Wij zien ons gedwongen tegen de opstandelingen de wet van de vernietiging toe te passen.” (*Trouw*, August 18 1950, foreign news)
Sukarno announced that the action against the South Moluccas is now well under way. “We are forced to enforce the law of destruction against the rebels.”

The free direct quotation in the second sentence in example (5) is attributed to Sukarno, because in the preceding sentence an indirect quotation introduced by the communicative verb “*deelde mee*” (“announced”) is attributed to him, and there is no other source available it could be attributed to. According to Semino and Short (2004), in press discourse, as opposed to e.g. fiction, free direct speech always follows another form of speech presentation which is clearly attributed to a source. However, our corpus contains examples where this is not the case, such as example (6). In the two sentences prior to the quotation, goalkeeper Grim of the soccer club Ajax, is introduced. Without an introduction, in the third sentence begins with a direct quotation. The fact that it starts immediately after the introduction of a person, and the fact that in the second sentence the speaker identifies himself as a goalkeeper, makes it clear that the stretch of quotation presents words uttered by Grim, even though there is no reporting clause for Grim for this stretch of quotation, nor any previous mention of a speech act involving Grim. However, the emotional expression “*beladen*” (“charged”) in the first sentence facilitates the attribution of the direct quote to Grim by the implicit reference to his consciousness.⁴

4 A case of *implicit viewpoint* in terms of Sanders and Redeker (1993).

- (6) Voor Grim is de bekerfinale extra beladen. In de Kuip kept hij zijn laatste wedstrijd in het betaalde voetbal. “Dat realiseer ik me steeds meer. Ik weet al maanden dat mijn tijd als keeper er opzit, maar dat heb ik in de competitie steeds ver weg kunnen stoppen. Afgelopen week lukte dat echter niet meer. [...]” (*Algemeen Dagblad*, May 11 2002, sports)
For Grim the final is especially emotionally charged. The match in the Kuip [stadium] is his last match as a professional goalkeeper. “I realise that more and more. I have known for months that my time as a goalkeeper is finished, but during the competition I have been able to put that out of my mind. Last week that didn’t work anymore. [...]”

The different ways of presenting direct speech discussed above, have one aspect in common: the quotations are always marked by single or double inverted commas. Only two articles were found in the entire corpus in which some fragments of direct speech are presented without inverted commas. In those two cases, direct quotations were recognizable from the use of the present tense within a past tense context, and a first person “I” referring to the quoted source rather than the reporter, as in example (7).

- (7) Wat de interne politiek betreft zeide Soekarno te erkennen, dat er nog rampok is en dat er gewapende benden rondzwerven. **Doch ik ben er zeker van, dat dit slechts tijdelijke verschijnselen zijn.** (*Trouw*, August 18 1950, foreign news)
*About the internal politics Sukarno said to acknowledge that there still are robberies and that armed gangs are roaming around. **However I am sure that these are only temporary phenomena.***

Note that all other verbs used in this text to report on the situation are in past tense, like “zeide” (“said”).⁵

Indirect Speech

In the corpus many cases were found where words of sources were presented as indirect speech. In example (8) both bold stretches are cases of indirect speech.

5 Typical for the direct presentation mode is that the deictic centre for time and place (here, now), for reference to persons and to verb tense is placed in the quoted source (Sanders and Redeker, 1996): I = source, now = present for the source.

- (8) Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, Abdullah, zei dat uit inlichtingenrapporten blijkt dat Osama bin Laden en mullah Omar nog steeds in leven zijn, maar dat dat nog geen excuus is voor het ombrengen van burgers. Hij zei dat de jacht op Al-Qaeda en de Talibaan moet doorgaan, maar dat de procedures voor het lanceren van aanvallen moeten worden “herzien” om onschuldige slachtoffers te vermijden. (*NRC Handelsblad*, July 3 2002, foreign news)
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdullah, said that intelligence reports show that Osama bin Laden and mullah Omar are still alive, but that that is no excuse to kill civilians. He said that the hunt for Al Qaeda and the Taliban should continue, but that the procedures for the launch of an attack should be “revised” to avoid innocent victims.

The indirect quotations in this example are marked by the verbs of communication (“*zei*” (“said”) in both cases), the subordinating conjunction and the fact that they are dependent clauses. In fact, both indirect quotations in this example consist of two dependent clauses, coordinated by coordinating conjunction “*maar*” (“but”). The original speaker of the words, in this case Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdullah, is responsible for the content of the quotation, but not (necessarily) for the wording, which may be paraphrased and summarized by the reporter depending on the article’s style and length. Thus, the reporter can be held responsible for at least the words that are used to present the source material. Interestingly, in the last dependent clause in the example, one word (“*herzien*”, “revised”) is marked by inverted commas as quoted directly. This phenomenon is discussed extensively in the sub-section on partial quotes. Note that this stroke of indirect speech represents a news source who does not use Dutch. It is clear that non-Dutch speaking news sources are frequently represented indirectly, thus paraphrased by the journalist who would have had to translate their utterances anyway. Interestingly, both in the 1950 and 2002 examples, non-Dutch speaking news sources are also represented directly, as can be seen in examples (2), (5), and (7) above (sources: tennis player Pete Sampras and president Sukarno).

Semi-direct Speech

In the news texts in our subcorpus, a type of speech presentation is encountered fairly regularly that is not recognized as an individual type by Semino and Short (2004): semi-direct speech. This seems to be a mixed type in that it can neither be classified as direct nor as indirect speech. This complexity is evident in the other names given to this category: the term “semi-direct speech” introduced by Haeseryn et al. (1997) in their book on Dutch grammar, and

“paratactic indirect speech” employed by Waugh (1995: 150). The stretches of semi-direct speech are similar to direct speech in form: the word order is that of an independent clause as it would be in direct speech, for in a dependent clause the finite verb is placed at the end, and the quotation is not introduced by a subordinating conjunction. In example (9), the bold stretch is attributed to the counsel for the defence by means of the embedding phrase “*aldus*” (“according to”).

- (9) **Deze dagvaarding is betrekkelijk de acte van beschuldiging tegen verdachte, aldus de verdediger; zij is ook de dagvaarding tegen iedere N.S.B.-er.** (*Telegraaf*, March 10 1950, domestic news)

This summons relates to the indictment against the defendant, according to the counsel for the defence; it is also the summons against every N.S.B.-member.

Semi-direct speech differs from direct speech, and resembles indirect speech, in the absence of inverted commas, and certain transformations in the finite verb and deictic elements referring to time, place and person; this is why example (7), with “I” referring to the quoted source, is categorized as direct speech and not as semi-direct speech. With regards to involvement of the original speaker, semi-direct speech is similar to indirect speech: the semi-direct speech mode involves a non-literal presentation of the words of another speaker (Haeseryn et al., 1997). This means that the original speaker is responsible for the content, but only marginally responsible for the wording. This is notable in the case of semi-direct speech in (10).

- (10) De verslaafden houden zich overdag vooral op in de omgeving van de Mathenesserdijk. **De buurt heeft al jaren te kampen met criminaliteit en overlast**, zeggen de bewoners. (...) (*NRC Handelsblad*, July 4 2002, domestic news)

During the day, the addicted mostly linger around Mathenesserdijk. The neighbourhood has had to deal with criminality and nuisance for years, say the residents. [...]

The bold stretch in this example is not likely to be a literal quotation, as it is not very probable that the residents have all uttered this same sentence literally. In cases like these, the summarizing function of indirect (or semi-direct) speech is particularly evident (Semino and Short, 2004: 79).

Free Indirect Speech

In the 1950 subcorpus, a type of discourse presentation occurs that cannot easily be categorized. Stretches of text were found that fail to satisfy formal criteria of direct or indirect forms of speech/writing/thought presentation in Table 8.1. However, there are strong indications, formal and functional, that the stretches do not represent words of the reporter, either. Cases like example (11) were found in seven articles, originating from various newspaper sections. This example was taken from a domestic news article on a court case against an alleged war criminal from World War II.

- (11) Mr. Bottenheim voerde aan, dat verdachte geen kopstuk van de N.S.B. was geweest en desalniettemin al bijna vijf jaar detentie heeft ondergaan. **Anderen, die belangrijker geacht kunnen worden, hebben echter het gevang al verlaten. K. heeft de Arbeiderspers uit de financiële débâcle gered en dat hij weinig kieskeurige middelen heeft toegepast, geeft hij toe. Het staat echter vast, dat hij oprecht berouw heeft.** (*Telegraaf*, March 9 1950, domestic news)

Mr Bottenheim, Master of Laws, brought forward that the defendant had not been a head man of the N.S.B. and had nevertheless undergone five years of detention. Others, who can be considered more important, have however left the prison already. K. has saved the "Arbeiderspers" from a financial disaster and he admits that he has used not very discerning means. However, it is certain that he is sincerely remorseful.

The first sentence presents a stretch of indirect speech. For the subsequent sentences, however, the status is not as clear. The switch to present tense and the content of sentences 2 to 4 seem to indicate that they are direct speech: the main text of the article is in past tense, as is the first sentence of the example, yet in the sentence following the indirect speech there is a switch to present tense ("kunnen," "hebben"). This present tense is maintained up until the end of the fragment ("heeft gered," "geeft toe," "staat vast," "heeft"). With respect to the meaning of the sentences, it is likely that the bold sentences are quoted from Mr Bottenheim, the defendant's counsel, since it is hard to believe that the reporter himself would state that it is certain that the defendant's remorse is sincere. However, the bold sentences are not marked as direct speech by inverted commas. The finite verb "voerde aan" ("brought forward") in the first sentence functions as a signal that an indirect speech presentation will follow. Remarkably, the subsequent sentences should be understood as a continuation of the paraphrase of the words of Mr Bottenheim in the stretch of indirect speech, since reference is made to people and objects in a manner that is

typical to thinking/speaking subject which functions as source – in this case Mr Bottenheim.⁶ Therefore the continued paraphrase is categorized as free indirect speech. Instances of free indirect speech in our corpus are limited to a specific type or articles, reporting on professional and formal meetings: court cases such as in example (11), a shareholders' meeting, an interview with a professor, a Upper Chamber assembly in Parliament, and a meeting with a mayor. It would seem that the high status of the quoted sources lead reporters to integrate the quoted material with their own prose in a practically unmarked manner.

Summarizing the results for speech representation, in our corpus we found cases of free direct, direct, and indirect speech presentation, while free indirect speech was found only infrequently in the 1950 subcorpus; in addition, semi-direct speech was found both in the 1950 and in 2002 subcorpora.

Writing Presentation

In addition to quoting from speaking sources, in the corpus reporters also quote from written sources, often scientific articles or expert reports. Similar to speech presentation, the quotations from writing are presented in direct, indirect and semi-direct mode.

Direct Writing

In the newspapers, reporters may quote directly from various written sources. Three examples of direct writing presentation are presented here, varying in the type of source that is quoted from:

- (12) “Niet aanraken!” staat er in veelvoud geschreven op de wanden in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. (*NRC Handelsblad*, July 5 2002, cultural news)
“Do not touch!” is written multiple times on the walls of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.
- (13) Als een Nederlandse krant schrijft over de dreiging van Rusland en over “vrees” spreekt in verband met de bewapening, dan schrijft ds. Strijd: “Hieraan kunnen en mogen Christenen niet meedoen. [...]” (*Trouw*, August 12 1950, opinion news)

6 For an extensive analysis of this case and similar cases in terms of *embedded speech*, see Lok (2009).

When a Dutch newspaper writes on the threat of Russia and speaks of “fear” with regards to armament, minister Strijd writes: “Christians cannot and should not participate in this. [...]”

- (14) “Ze geeft aan dat zij niets te maken heeft gehad met de dood van Rowena [...],” staat in een rapport van de Raad voor Kinderbescherming waarin De Telegraaf gisteren inzage had. (*Telegraaf*, March 6 2002, domestic news)

“She declares that she has not had anything to do with the death of Rowena [...],” [it] is written in a report for the Child Welfare Council that the journalist from De Telegraaf was given the opportunity to examine yesterday.

These examples share many formal and functional characteristics with the examples of direct speech: the stretches in quotation are marked by inverted commas, colons, and verbs that indicate writing, “*staat geschreven*” (“is written”), “*schrijft*” (“writes”) and “*staat*” (“is written”). The sources of the quotations are usually explicitly described, either as the person who has written the words (13), or the location where the words are written (a report, as in (14)), or the walls in a museum, as in (12). Example (14) demonstrates that different (written and spoken) quotations can be embedded: the report, quoted directly by the reporter, indirectly presents statements made by Mrs Rijkers, Rowena’s mother.

Similar to direct speech presentation, there are formal variations in the way direct quotations from a written source are presented, e.g. in word order through the different placements of the embedding verb (before, in the middle of, or after the quotation, in (13), (12) and (14) respectively), but these variations are more limited. For example, there are no occurrences of quotations from a written source in which only the name of the source and a colon are used (cf. example (4) for speech presentation). At least, there are no occurrences in which this source had been introduced explicitly as a written source in the preceding text. Usually, in cases where only a source name and colon introduce a quotation, the source is introduced more elaborately in one of the preceding lines. However, when such a context is not present, the quotation will by default be considered direct speech. Similarly, no examples of free direct quotation from a written source nor examples of writing presentation similar to the examples for embedded speech presentation (cf. example (11)) were found in the corpus.

Indirect Writing

In the corpus, numerous cases of indirect writing presentation were encountered. Formally, these cases are quite similar to indirect speech presentation: only the embedding verbs are different, with the exception of verbs that can refer to communication both through speaking and through other modes of communication, such as writing. In example (15) two stretches of indirect presentation mode can be found. The second stretch is explicitly marked as writing presentation through the embedding verb “*schrijft*” (“writes”), while the first stretch is embedded through the verb “*waarschuwt*” (“warns”). This refers to communication with a particular purpose, but through no particular mode. The broader context of the example clarifies the source as an article by researcher Gershoff, published in a scientific journal.

- (15) [...] Het is heel goed mogelijk dat agressieve kinderen vaker lichamelijk worden bestraft, juist omdat ze (om andere redenen) zo agressief zijn. Ook waarschuwt de onderzoeker, Elisabeth Thompson Gershoff van de Columbia Universiteit in New York, **dat het hier specifiek om lichamelijke straf gaat en dat deze negatieve verbanden niet hoeven te gelden voor andere vormen van straf, zoals isolement (“op de gang!”) of het intrekken van privileges**. Sterker nog, ze schrijft **dat opvoeding zonder enige bestraffing waarschijnlijk antisociaal gedrag van de kinderen sterk bevordert**. (*NRC Handelsblad*, July 6 2002, science)
 [...] *It is very well possible that aggressive children are more often physically punished, exactly because they are so aggressive (for other reasons). The researcher, Elisabeth Thompson Gershoff of Columbia University in New York, also warns that this specifically concerns physical punishment and that these negative connections do not necessarily hold for other forms of punishment, such as isolation (“on the corridor!”) or the withholding of privileges. What’s more, she writes that parenting without any punishment probably leads to a strong increase of antisocial behaviour by the children.*

Semi-Direct And Free Indirect Writing

As with speech presentation, reporters may present quotation from written sources as semi-direct writing. In example (16) the reporter semi-directly quotes from a comment in a scientific journal. In this fragment, only at the end of the second sentence does it become clear that the first sentence is a free indirect representation from another written source.

- (16) De makaken hadden de aantallen schijnbaar geabstraheerd, maar hoe? Hier sneuvelt de klassieke theorie, schrijft een commentator bij het bericht in *Science*. (*Trouw*, September 6 2002, science)
The macaques had apparently abstracted from the numbers, but how? Here the classical theory fails, writes a commentator as a comment to the article in Science.

Similar to semi-direct speech presentation, semi-direct writing presentation seems to be a mixed type, showing characteristics of both direct and indirect writing presentation.

In short, our newspaper corpus presents cases of direct and indirect writing, as well as semi-direct writing; free direct and embedded writing do not occur, while free indirect writing was rare.

Thought Presentation

In addition to quoting from other people's speech and writing, in the corpus reporters also quote from thoughts of news sources, or at least, present quotations as such: these quotations are embedded by verbs of thinking, instead of verbs of communication, either with or without the marking of inverted commas (direct and indirect thought presentation).

Direct Thought

Example (17) shows two cases of direct thought presentation: the first quotation is attributed to newly appointed CEO of Numico for the USA, Peter van Wel, by the verb of thinking "*realiseert zich*" ("realises"), and the second to an analyst of SNS Securities by the verb "*vindt*" ("thinks"/"is of the opinion").

- (17) "Ik zal voorlopig weinig kunnen genieten van het in Florida volop schijnende zonnetje en van de honderden golfcourses in de omgeving van het nieuwe hoofdkantoor," realiseert hij zich. [...] "Geen sterk verweer," vindt een analist van SNS Securities. "Iedereen denkt nu dat er veel meer aan de hand is." (*Telegraaf*, March 8 2002, financial news)
"For now I will not be able to enjoy the sun that shines abundantly in Florida, and the hundreds of golf courses in the surroundings of the new head office," he realises. [...] "Not a strong defence," an analyst of SNS Securities thinks. "Now everybody thinks that there is much more going on."

The only formal difference between these examples and the examples of direct speech are the embedding verbs; in speech presentation these verbs are, usually, verbs of communication suggesting speaking, whereas in thought

presentation the verbs suggest cognitive action on the part of the source of the quotation. This cognitive action is not directly accessible or observable to the reporter, and so the reporter cannot accurately report what is/was thought in any real sense of the term. The question is whether thought presentation, where real persons are involved rather than fictional characters, is the result of reporters *inferring* thoughts from their utterances or behaviour, or rather of reporter's stylistic variation in *representing* their speech. In example (17) it seems that the use of thought presentation provides the reporter with a way of varying the embedding of what is actually directly observed speech, and is, hence, merely a stylistic variation by the reporter. This is clearly a difference with fictional narratives, in which narrators frequently represent their characters' imagined thoughts. Reporters can use thought presentation to implicitly represent the deliberations in the consciousness of the original speakers that they observed in their speech and behaviour. They do not reconstruct these thoughts, but use linguistic expressions of perception, cognition, or emotion to represent what they have observed (Sanders, 2010: 229).

Free Direct "Thought"

Example (18) from an article on various medical treatments for incontinence further illustrates that some cases of thought presentation are actually stylistic variations of speech presentation by the reporter. This example seems to be such a case, as the stretch of free thought does not seem to involve mental deliberations, opinions or thoughts. The verb "*vindt*" ("thinks") in the first line indicates that this example involves thought presentation, and from that signal, subsequent free direct quote would logically be interpreted as thought presentation as well. From the context it is clear, however, that speech presentation is in order: the source was interviewed by the reporter.

- (18) Operaties kunnen bij milde gevallen echter erg ingrijpend zijn, vindt Berghmans. De patiënt moet onder narcose en kan na de operatie nog lang pijnklachten hebben. Daarom doet hij met collega's een onderzoek naar een nieuwe behandelwijze. **"Het gaat om een kleine ingreep, waarbij met behulp van een injectienaald siliconen op drie plekken in de wand van de plasbuis worden gespoten."** (*Algemeen Dagblad*, May 10 2002, science)

Operations can, however, be very far-reaching in mild cases, thinks Berghmans. The patient has to be put under an anaesthetic, and might be in pain for a long time after the operation. For that reason he and his colleagues are studying a new treatment method. "It involves a minor opera-

tion, in which a hypodermic needle injects silicones in three places in the wall of the urethra.”

Indirect Thought

In addition to direct thought presentation, indirect thought presentation occurs in the corpus as well, as in example (19).

- (19) Veel mensen menen, dat er aan hart- en vaatziekten weinig of niets te doen valt. (*Volkskrant*, January 6 2002, science)

Many people think that nothing can be done about cardiovascular diseases.

As is the case in indirect speech, important functions of indirect thought presentation are to summarize and paraphrase (Semino and Short, 2004), particularly when the opinion of a group of people is reported on. This summarizing function is clear in example (19).

Semi-direct Thought

Similar to semi-direct speech and semi-direct writing, reporters present quotations as well in the form of semi-direct thought. The first sentence of example (18), repeated here as example (20) shows a case of semi-direct thought presentation.

- (20) Operaties kunnen bij milde gevallen echter erg ingrijpend zijn, vindt Berghmans. (*Algemeen Dagblad*, May 10 2002, science)

Operations can, however, be very far-reaching in mild cases, thinks Berghmans.

As was argued for semi-direct speech and semi-direct writing, semi-direct thought presentation is a category that shows characteristics of both direct and indirect thought presentation.

Summarizing, our news corpus presents cases of direct, indirect, and semi-direct thought. As opposed to Sanders (2010), no occurrences of free indirect thought presentation were found.

Partial Quotations

Examples (4) and (8) above have already shown stretches of direct quotation that cannot be straightforwardly categorized as direct speech, because they occur inside other, non-direct quotations. These partial quotations represent less than a complete clause in direct quotation embedded in other types of

discourse presentation. They occur regularly in our news corpus, which can be explained from the context of news reporting, where using partial quotes enables the reporter to present selected parts of the original utterance, without sacrificing the need for brevity. The words used in partial quotations are generally singled out for the reason that they are particularly apt, shocking, controversial, or revealing; thus they can be used to vividly evoke the original speaker's voice, and/or to convey that the reporter may not want to be associated with these words (Semino and Short, 2004: 154). Thus, the reporter creates liveliness and distance at the same time (Sanders, 2010: 236), as exemplified in (21).

Here, the reporter probably aimed to refuse responsibility for the words of the original speaker – Mrs Rijkers, accused of killing her 4-year-old daughter and of abusing her 3-year-old daughter when she accuses her ex-husband of a range of crimes, including “*mogelijk iets met kinderporno*” (“possibly something to do with child pornography”). Additionally, by using partial quotations the reporter succeeds in evoking Mrs Rijkers' voice vividly, while still managing to summarize her words.

- (21) Rijkers vindt dat “belachelijk.” “Ik wil dat Rochelle bij mijn moeder of mijn zus wordt ondergebracht. Anders wil ik dat het kind naar een pleeggezin gaat (...). Iedereen weet wat ik wil.” [...] Om haar eisen kracht bij te zetten, beschuldigt zij haar ex-echtgenoot Martin achtereenvolgens van omgang met een jong meisje, xtc- en cocaïnegebruik, overvallen en exhibitionisme in het bijzijn van minderjarigen en “mogelijk iets met kinderporno.” Verder beticht zij haar ex-echtgenoot ervan Rochelle “alleen te willen hebben, zodat hij rustig thuis kan zitten met een uitkering.” (*Telegraaf*, March 6 2002, domestic news)

Rijkers thinks that is “ridiculous.” “I want Rochelle to be placed with my mother or my sister. If not, I want the child to go to a foster home (...). Everyone knows what I want.” [...] To enforce her claims, she accuses her ex-husband Martin successively of contact with a young girl, xtc and cocaine abuse, robberies, and exhibitionism in front of minors, and “possibly something to do with child pornography.” Additionally, she accuses her ex-husband of “only wanting to have Rochelle so that he can stay at home on benefits.”

Example (21) demonstrates the different forms of partial quotation that occur in the corpus: the partial quotations usually consist of single words (“*belachelijk*”) or phrases (“*mogelijk iets met kinderporno*”) but in some cases even clauses are presented as a partial quotation (“*alleen ... uitkering*”). The difference with direct speech/writing/thought presentation is that in partial quotations

the original speaker's words are embedded, both grammatically and semantically, within the reporter's own discourse, whereas direct speech/writing/thought presentation is typically grammatically independent and semantically separate from the reporter's words (Semino and Short, 2004: 55). The example also shows that partial quotation can be embedded in thought presentation as well as speech presentation, although it is likely that this is a case of thought presentation where the quoted words were originally derived from a spoken interview with the source. As has been argued above, the finite verb "*vindt*" ("thinks"/"is of the opinion") might in this case be actually used as a stylistic alternative to a verb of speaking.

Curiously, in some examples of partial quotation in our corpus, it seems that words are explicitly marked as a verbatim quotation, although it seems unlikely that they have actually been uttered in that way. In example (22), the reporter seems overenthusiastic in marking words as originating from another person, possibly considering it better to avoid possible ambiguity at all cost. The example stems from an article on an alleged fight between a minister and one of his parishioners, and its later court case in which a sergeant who had been called to the scene after the fight gave a testimony of what he had witnessed.

- (22) Aan de jas van de dominee, waarvan in het hete van de strijd "alle knopen in het rond zouden zijn gevlogen," had hij niets bijzonders gezien. (*Volkskrant*, January 11 1950, domestic news)
He had not noticed anything peculiar about the minister's coat, from which in the heat of the fight "all buttons would have come off and flown in the air."

It seems unlikely that the sergeant testifying in court would actually have used the modal verb "*zouden*," glossed here as "would have," as this modal verb is, typically for journalistic prose, used to introduce the stretch of quotation that it itself is in.⁷ Probably the reporter made a mistake and erroneously included "*zouden*" in the direct quotation. This fragment raises the question of whether or not there were clear conventions in the 1950's for using inverted commas to mark quotations in news, or whether the conventions for the use of inverted commas were not very strict.

In short, partial quotes are ubiquitous in news narratives, allowing reporters to portray their news sources in a short and vivid manner, while at the same time apportioning responsibility for the wording away from themselves.

⁷ A case of so-called *quotative conditional* (see Sanders and Redeker, 1993; Lyons, 1982).

Conclusion of the Inventory of Quoted Language

Journalistic narratives seem to put specific demands on the modeling of discourse presentation. Of the pre-described speech/writing/thought presentation modes, direct and indirect speech representation are ubiquitous in news narratives. Direct quotations not only vividly characterize the quoted news sources, they simultaneously function as “grounding” devices: they affirm the presence of the reporter at the news situation and his or her trustworthiness in representing the news source material. Indirect presentation appears to be used for its paraphrasing and summarizing function. In only seven articles free indirect speech presentation was found, restricted to formal news narratives in the 1950’s. When comparing older news texts to those more recent, free indirect speech seems to have disappeared, whereas the use of free direct quotations has become common. In addition, the inventory demonstrates that other types of speech presentation are present in our corpus: semi-direct presentation, which allows for rigorous paraphrasing and re-ordering of sentence structure; and partial quotations, which in various forms play an important role in news stories, both in order to enliven in a brief way, and to reject responsibility for the exact wording. Writing presentation is used only in cases where it is to be clarified that the reporter did not actually talk to a source, but read his or her report in written form.

Particularly in thought presentation, the quotations in news narratives differ from quotations in fictional narratives. From the corpus analysis it may be concluded that direct and indirect thought presentation in news is merely used as a stylistic variation on speech presentation, whereas in fiction, the representation of fictional characters’ thoughts is an important means to elaborate their inner observations and evaluations, thus sketching their (imaginary) “landscape of consciousness” (Bruner, 1986). In this respect it is important to note that the faithfulness of thought presentation is radically different from speech and writing, because for thought there is no original utterance in news (cf. Semino and Short, 2004: 50); thoughts can be either reconstructed (from utterances and behaviour) or constructed (fictionalized). From the latter option it can be explained that in our news text corpus no cases of free indirect thought were found, while Sanders (2010) found remarkable cases in some longer background articles. Possibly, free indirect thought presentation is used only in extensive news narratives that are meant to elaborate on people in the news by fictionalizing their histories. The function of free indirect thought presentation may thus be to enhance identification with news characters, thus raising understanding for seemingly erratic behaviour (Sanders and Hoeken, this volume; De Graaf et al., 2012).

The categorization of presentation modes is highly relevant for further investigation of news narratives. It enables researchers to systematically and even automatically analyze corpora of news text, in order to establish the type and proportion of specific categories. By this means, the relative influence of both reporter and news source on the content and wording of quotations can be measured and compared for news narratives stemming from different newspapers, news genres, and periods. This allows for testing hypotheses of “conversationalisation” (Fairclough, 1992) and concomitant increase of subjectivity in news narratives (Vis, 2011). Continuing this line of research, Vis reports that the proportion of direct quotations has vastly increased over the last half century. Thus, systematic corpus analysis can empirically confirm claims of growing liveliness by larger influence of sources in news narratives. In addition, the analyses presented here are relevant to develop further empirical research on narratives, for instance, with respect to the different ways in which readers can learn about the opinions of the main characters in a (news) narrative. It can be hypothesized that readers are more likely to adapt evaluations and attitudes from characters whose speech and thoughts are represented elaborately and in a lively manner in direct or free indirect representation modes than from characters whose utterances are merely paraphrased in indirect representations; also, that these effects are as likely to be found in news narratives as in fictional narratives. Such empirical questions could be put to the test in experimental research of readers’ reactions to various representations of source materials.

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PART 3

Image and Text



Mary Magdalene's Conversion in Renaissance Painting and Mediaeval Sacred Drama

Bram de Klerck

Introduction

Mary Magdalene's conversion to Christianity must have been a turning-point of paramount importance in her life. According to many a legendary source, the saint had been notorious for ostentatiously enjoying her youth, her physical beauty and her material wealth. At some point, however, she must have felt the urge to change her ways, to follow Jesus Christ and to dedicate herself to his teaching. The first manifestation of this is often considered to have been her humble and revering behaviour towards Christ when he stayed in the house of a Pharisee called Simon, as described in the Gospel according to St. Luke. A woman, in the Western tradition commonly identified with the Magdalene, entered the house, started weeping remorsefully over Christ's feet, and subsequently dried them with her own hair, kissed them and anointed them. If this nameless woman should indeed be identified with Mary Magdalene, this would imply that the latter's actual conversion had already occurred *before* the episode in the Pharisee's house. Surprisingly, this crucial moment in Mary's life has rarely been narrated in textual sources, nor has it very often been depicted in the visual arts

In the present contribution, I will explore the relationship between text and image, in relation to the portrayal of Mary Magdalene in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance in the Western World, and more specifically with regards to portrayals of her conversion. I will briefly introduce the complex legendary persona of the Magdalene as it emerges from biblical texts, as well as later legends. The reception of specific aspects of the Magdalene's legend in both high and low culture becomes clear through the presentation of her conversion in both popular theatre and more elitist manifestations in the visual arts.

Mary Magdalene: Written and Visual Evidence

It is a well-known fact that in the Western tradition Mary Magdalene as a 'literary' character is the result of a fusion of several biblical and legendary figures.¹ The evangelist Luke mentions a 'Mary, called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils', as one of the women in Christ's company, who 'had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities' (Luke 8: 2). Mark says something similar: 'Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils' (Mark 16: 9). Other biblical examples which explicitly mention Mary Magdalene tell of her presence at Christ's crucifixion (Matthew 27: 56, Mark 15: 40, John 19: 25). The Evangelist John describes Mary's presence at Christ's burial, and her attempts to anoint the latter's body on Easter Morning, only to find the tomb empty (20: 1–18). Matthew, Mark and John, furthermore, describe her as the first witness to Christ's resurrection (Matthew 28: 9, Mark 16: 9, John 20: 16–17).

Two other women described in the Bible have been associated with Mary Magdalene. One, mentioned above, is the anonymous penitent in the house of Simon the Pharisee (Luke 7: 36–39). The other is Mary, the sister of Martha who received Jesus in their house in the town of Bethany and prepared a meal for him (Luke 10: 38–42). Their brother was Lazarus, a man who later would be raised from the dead by Christ (John 11: 1–44). Probably referring to the woman in the house of the Pharisee, John says that 'it was that Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair' (11: 1–2). This hypothetical identification would later become commonplace in the Roman Catholic tradition. In a homily on Luke's passage (*Hom.* xxxiii), the Pope and Church Father, Gregory the Great, explicitly presents these three women as being one and the same person, by stating that 'she whom Luke calls the sinful woman, whom John calls Mary [of Bethany], we believe to be the Mary from whom seven devils were ejected according to Mark'.²

After the events of Christ's death, burial and resurrection, Mary Magdalene vanishes from the canonical books. However, apocryphal sources dating from the first two or three centuries CE, such as the so-called 'Gospel of Philip' and the 'Gospel of Mary', stress other biographical aspects such as the reciprocal affection, or indeed physical attraction between Mary and Jesus. Recently, this fascinating information has met with a considerable response, especially in

1 The literature on Mary Magdalene is abundant. See, e.g.: Haskins (1993), Jansen (1999), Ricci, Marin (2006).

2 *Homilia* xxxiii: Gregory the Great (1999), p. 288–298, English quotation after Haskins 1993, p. 96.

literary fiction, such as in Dan Brown's notorious *Da Vinci Code* (first published in 2003). But these apocryphal texts were unknown or at least not taken seriously by ecclesiastical authorities in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance; they were rediscovered only in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and so do not concern us here.³

Hagiographical and theological literature, however, has contributed much to further shaping the Magdalene's legendary persona in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. The most detailed and best known of these sources is undoubtedly the compendium of saints' lives entitled *Legenda aurea* ('Golden Legend'), written by the Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine in around 1260.⁴ It describes Mary as a member of a very affluent family, which owned pieces of land and even entire towns. One of these was Magdala on Lake Tiberias, hence Mary's surname 'of Magdala', or 'Magdalena'. Yet, the thirteenth-century author has surprisingly little to say about Mary's life before she became a follower of Jesus. Rather, he provides a lengthy description of the events of the latter phases of her life after Christ's death and resurrection, especially her stay in Southern France, after she had been expelled from Judea. According to Voragine, Mary converted the pagans living in Marseille, as well as their prefect, to Christianity, and subsequently spent the last years of her life in ascetic solitude in the wilderness of Provence. After she had died there, she was buried in St. Maximin's church in Aix-en-Provence. Possibly as early as 771, her remains were translated to the newly built church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Vézelay in Burgundy, whereas towards the end of the fourteenth century, veneration for the Magdalene received a new impetus in the south of France, in Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Beaume.

On the basis of legends like Voragine's, Mary Magdalene has sometimes been described as a courtesan or even an outright prostitute. These qualifications are a result of the hypothetical identification of the Magdalene with the sinner Luke mentions in the house of the Pharisee. The Church Father Gregory, in the sermon just quoted, after having said that, to him, the Magdalene was identical with the Mary possessed by seven devils, continues: 'And what did these seven devils signify, if not all the vices? [...] It is clear, brothers, that the woman previously used the unguent to perfume her flesh in forbidden acts.'⁵

3 Fragments of the *Gospel of Mary* were discovered in 1896; The *Gospel of Philip*, along with some other important Early Christian writings, in 1945.

4 Jacobus de Voragine (1993), pp. 374–384.

5 *Homilia xxxiii*: Gregory the Great (1999), p. 288–298, English quotation after Haskins (1993), p. 96.

The emphasis the Roman Catholic Church traditionally put on Mary's sinful origins, as well as her penance and virtuous later life contrasting with them, have been reason to present her as exemplary of the salutary effects of repentance. She became a patron saint to converts of all kinds, and especially 'fallen women' and prostitutes, and the centres founded to their relief. It was only in the twentieth century that the Church implicitly dissociated itself from these views. In the 1969 edition of the *Roman Missal* the knot of the figures of the Magdalene, Mary of Bethany and the anonymous sinner respectively, was finally disentangled. In the Orthodox tradition, however, this distinction has always remained doctrinal: the Eastern Church has never considered Mary Magdalene other than as an example of virtue, even before her conversion.⁶ Also in many Protestant Churches as well as in the Church of England, the Magdalene was not in the first place regarded as a sinner, but rather as an exemplary disciple of Jesus, and sometimes even as his apostle. The fact that two prestigious English academic colleges, in Oxford and Cambridge respectively, have been dedicated to the saint, undoubtedly has to do with this English variant of the veneration for the Magdalene.

It can hardly come as a surprise that works of visual art in Western Europe reflect the image of Mary Magdalene as it arises from the written sources.⁷ Time and again, the saint has been portrayed in paintings and sculptures, drawings, and prints: now as the young and elegant, but sinful lady she once was, now as a convert, and now as the haggard ascetic she became towards the end of her life. In general, she can easily be recognized by her long, often reddish hair, which had played such an important part in the episode in the Pharisee's house. Almost always she is holding an ointment jar of some sort, in reference to the anointment of Christ's feet, as well as to her efforts to anoint the latter's body after the crucifixion. Clearly, the confusion over the Magdalene's identity persists in visual form. Indeed, in the arts, yet another case of mistaken identity was added to the others. In depictions of the Magdalene as an anchorite in the wilderness, her appearance often seems to be borrowed from that of an Early Christian hermit saint going by the name of Maria Aegyptiaca. This fourth- or fifth-century 'Mary of Egypt' was known to have followed an insatiable carnal lust for seventeen years before she repented, upon looking at an icon of the Holy Virgin in Jerusalem. After this she decided to give up her vile ways and to withdraw in the desert to live an ascetic life in solitude. The

6 According to this tradition, she would have travelled not to France, but to Ephesus and died there.

7 For general studies on the iconography of Mary Magdalene and her legend, see e.g. Kirschbaum (1968–1976) vol. 7, 516–541, Ingenhoff-Dannhäuser (1984), Rafanelli (2004).

parallels with the Magdalene's conversion and subsequent conduct are evident, as is, in images of the saint, the emphasis on her long hair. Whereas, for instance, the *Golden Legend* has it that Mary of Egypt lived in the desert, 'naked, the body blackened and burned by the fiery sun',⁸ in iconography she is always depicted covering her nudity with her own long hair. Since the thirteenth century and especially in Italy, the image of an emaciated, naked woman covering herself with her long hair has often been used in depictions of the Magdalene as well.

Narrative scenes taken from the Magdalene's legend have, since the early Middle Ages, also been highly popular. Innumerable are the depictions of, among others, Mary Magdalene in the house of the Pharisee. Other examples include the episode of her presence at Christ's crucifixion and the subsequent lamentation over his dead body, as well as the story of her encounter on Easter morning with the risen Christ, commonly known as *Noli me tangere*.

Yet mirroring most hagiographical literature, the theme of Mary's conversion – however crucially important it is for the understanding of her progress – is rarely narrated in the visual arts. Sometimes it is hinted at in an allegorical way. In these cases, the saint is usually shown in splendid attire, but also shedding tears or close to doing so. She lets down her hair and symbolically disposes of her riches by putting aside her jewellery. Instances of this iconographical formula, which developed in full only during the Counter Reformation climate of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, include famous works by Caravaggio (Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilij, ca. 1596, Figure 9.1), and Charles le Brun (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1655). Those few scenes which do narrate the conversion are found somewhat earlier, both in Northern Europe and Italy and, judging from the few examples that have come down to us, only within the relatively limited time-span of three quarters of a century from approximately 1490 to 1565.

The Magdalene's Conversion in Sacred Drama

Images depicting a narrative scene of Mary Magdalene's conversion seem to have been based primarily on one particular set of sources. For, as we shall see, they almost exclusively show some variant of a story which tells of the sinful Mary listening to Christ delivering a sermon, which in turn induced her to

⁸ Jacobus de Voragine (1993), pp. 227–229.

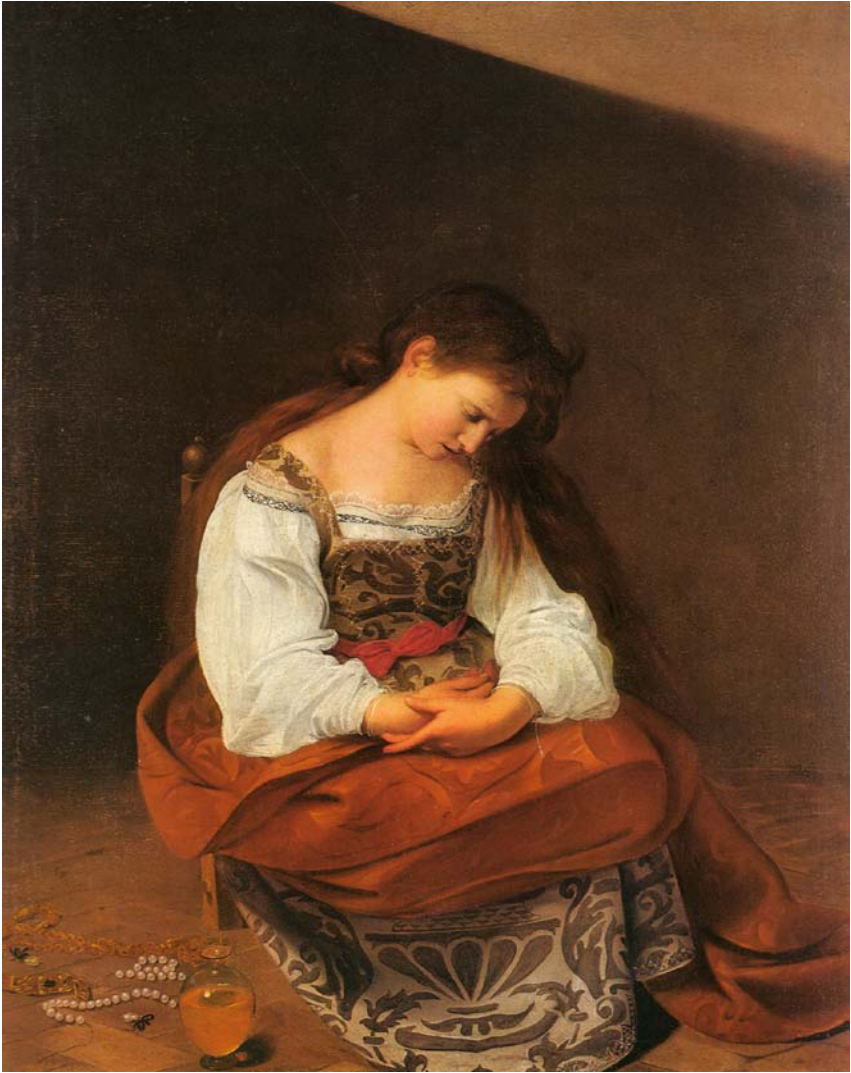


FIGURE 9.1 *Caravaggio, The penitent Mary Magdalene, canvas, c. 1596, Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilij. CENTRUM VOOR KUNSTHISTORISCHE DOCUMENTATIE, RADBOD UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN.*

repent. This story has been repeated many times in accounts from Late Medieval and Early Modern sacred drama.⁹

9 A notable exception is an account of the story in Pietro Aretino's tract *La humanità di Christo*, first published in 1535. This text may have been the source for the depiction of the theme in a painting of ca. 1548 (now in London, National Gallery), by the Venetian painter

Being one of the protagonists in the events surrounding Christ's death and resurrection, the Magdalene plays a major role in Easter plays from as early as the twelfth century onwards.¹⁰ In addition in later versions of these, the story of Mary's conversion is sometimes recounted at length and in detail. Generally the setting is Bethany, and it is assumed that the biblical Mary who is living in that town is identical to the Magdalene. Her sister, Martha, and sometimes also the latter's servant, Marcella, take pains to persuade Mary to go and attend the sermon Christ is about to deliver. Though reluctant at first, the Magdalene in the end gives in, in keeping (it seems) with her supposed predilection for material wealth and physical beauty, since she is attracted to the idea of making the acquaintance of the eloquent and fine-looking newcomer.

Plays recounting the episode of Mary's conversion appear to have come into being in midfourteenth-century Germany, with scores of versions and variants following thereafter all over Europe.¹¹ Without a doubt only part of this number have survived in manuscript or print. Of the texts which have come down to us, a well-known example is the French *Mystère de la passion*, written by Jean Michel in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹² This play tells of the Magdalene who, having just heard that Jesus is the 'most handsome man in the world' and apparently desiring to seduce him, makes her way to the temple to see and hear him preach. Miraculously, she converts on the spot and from that time on she is a follower of Christ. In Italy, quite a number of sacred dramas (*rappresentazioni* in Italian) were published during the sixteenth century. For instance, a text entitled *Rappresentazione di un miracolo di Santa Maria Maddalena* was first published in Florence in 1516 and saw several editions during the latter half of the sixteenth century.¹³ A second Italian play, explicitly entitled *Rappresentazione della conversione di Santa Maria Maddalena* ('Sacred drama of the *conversion* of Saint Mary Magdalene') was first published in Florence in 1554.¹⁴

As an example of the phrasing (in rhyming verse) and tone of such texts, we should consider a few lines from the *Rappresentazione di un miracolo* of 1516. Trying to talk her sister into going to the temple the next morning to hear Christ speak, Martha says:

Paolo Veronese: see Rosand (2011), and seems to have been important for seventeenth-century Italian painting as well: Bull (2011).

10 Malvern (1975) 100.

11 Kirschbaum's *Lexikon* mentions a Frankfurt play of 1350: Kirschbaum (1968–1976) 7, col. 533.

12 Jodogne (1959). See also: Malvern (1975) 100–113; and Haskins (1995) 166–168.

13 See D'Ancona (1872) 1, 391–425.

14 D'Ancona (1872) 255–302, Banfi (1997) 187–268.

Di mio parlar tanto diletta arai,
 quanto drento al tuo cor sentisse mai.
 Io so che ti diletta e dà piacere
 vedere un giovan di gentil aspetto.
 E quanto io posso intendere e sapere
 da molti esser veduta hai gran diletto;
 io ti vo' far, sorella mia, vedere
 un uom che mai vedesti el più perfetto;
 di tal bellezza è tanto decorato
 che proprio pare un angelo incarnato.

(From my talking you will have as much delight
 as you have never felt in your heart.
 I know that you take delight and pleasure
 in seeing a young man with a nice appearance.
 And, as far as I understand and know,
 you take great delight in being seen by many.
 My sister, I will show you
 a man as perfect as you will never have seen;
 gifted with such beauty
 that he really seems an angel incarnate.)

Martha goes on extolling Christ's physical beauty and eloquence, and indeed succeeds in persuading Mary. But leaving her sister alone after the dialogue, as if to make explicit not only the essential impropriety of Mary's initial intention, but also to justify her own argument, Martha mumbles to herself:

Benché suo desiderio non sia buono,
 ma lascivo e carnal secondo il senso,
 per questa volta al tutto certa sono,
 che non farà peccato, se ben penso:
 mutato il cor, riceverà perdono
 per grazia del Signor, che è bene immenso.
 Quel che 'l dolce maestro m'ha promesso,
 senza alcun dubio mi sarà concesso.

(Although her desire is not right
 but lascivious and carnal, directed only by the senses,
 I, this time, am entirely certain
 that it will not do any harm if I think:

once she has changed her heart, she will be forgiven
 by the grace of the Lord, whose mercy is immense.
 That which the sweet master has promised
 will without any doubt be granted to me.)

In fact, on the next day Mary accompanies Martha to the place where Christ will deliver his sermon. He starts speaking about sin and penance, after which the moment of Mary's conversion is described in the following stage direction:

Voltasi CHRISTO verso Maria Maddalena, e segue, e mentre che dice con efficacia, Maddalena comincia a piangere, e inclina il capo in grembo, e cuopresi con uno sciugatorio della ancilla sua.

(Christ turns to Mary Magdalene and follows her, and while he speaks in well-chosen terms, the Magdalene starts to cry and lowers her head to her lap, and covers herself with her servant's towel.)¹⁵

The Magdalene's Conversion Depicted

According to the texts of these popular stage plays, the event of Mary's conversion occurred when she heard Christ delivering a sermon, sometimes specified as a homily on penance. As we have also seen, there were many different versions of the story, probably even much more than the ones that have come down to us, in texts that have gone astray, or perhaps also in plays for which no record exists. A few depictions of the story in paintings show a similar variety.

One interesting instance is a scene that once belonged to an early-sixteenth-century tripartite altarpiece. The anonymous author of the work must have been active in the Flemish city of Antwerp. In art historical literature he has become known as the 'Master of the Magdalene Legend'.¹⁶ The triptych, to be dated in around 1518, has been dismembered and partly cut up into fragments that have wound up in various collections. A reconstruction of it shows a series of scenes focused on the Magdalene's life and legend. The central panel has the

¹⁵ All quotations from D'Ancona (1872) 1, 391–425, the story of Mary's conversion on pp. 395–399.

¹⁶ Tombu (1927), Friedländer (1975) 13–14, 91, pl. 7, Cohen (2001) 37–38, and, for a discussion of a few other instances, in early sixteenth-century Netherlandish painting and manuscript illumination, of Mary on horseback: 132–134. For a recent discussion of the Master and the triptych in question, see: Bücken and Steyaert (2013) 342–345.



FIGURE 9.2 *Master of the Magdalene Legend, The worldly Mary Magdalene, panel, c. 1518, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Lost in Flakbunker Berlin-Friedrichshain, May 1945 (PHOTO: GUSTAV SCHWARZ).*

episode in the house of the Pharisee, as well as the scene of Christ raising Lazarus from the dead. The side panel on the right shows an unusual depiction of Mary Magdalene preaching, probably to converts in the south of France. The panel to the left is known only by way of a photograph, as it has been destroyed in Berlin during the Second World War (Figure 9.2). The best part of this panel depicts Mary Magdalene in her former, aristocratic appearance, riding a horse side-saddle, and apparently engaged in a hunting party. A much smaller scene in the background shows Christ standing on an improvised platform made out of branches, which echoes the one on which the Magdalene herself is standing in the image on the other side panel. Christ is addressing a group of people among whom the Magdalene can be recognized.

In Italian art we know of an even earlier depiction of the theme. Some twenty-five years before the 'Magdalene Master' was to paint his triptych, the great Florentine Renaissance master, Sandro Botticelli, had painted the episode on a small panel (now in Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection, Figure 9.3). It shows Christ standing on some kind of rise in a loggia, while he addresses a group of people standing and kneeling before him. Apparently, the isolated, haloed figure dressed in red to the far left should be identified as the Magdalene. Originally, the small panel was part of a predella (i.e. a low, rectangular and often decorated part at the bottom of an altarpiece), with various narrative scenes from the Magdalene's legend. The altarpiece's main panel (now in London, Courtauld Gallery) has a depiction of the Holy Trinity flanked by two penitent saints *par excellence*, John the Baptist (with his camel-hair shirt) and Mary Magdalene (her nudity, *Maria Aegyptiaca*-style, covered by her own long hair only). Botticelli made the work in the years 1491–1493, for the church of the Florentine confraternity of *Convertite* which, appropriately in this context, was a community made up of former prostitutes.¹⁷

Almost to underline the scarcity of examples of the short-lived tradition of depictions of the theme, only a few more instances can be mentioned, all by sixteenth-century artists. One is a panel painted in around 1562 by the Brussels-born artist Peter de Kempeneer who, having worked for some 25 years in Spain and Italy, became known as Pedro Campaña (the work is now being kept in London, National Gallery, Figure 9.4).¹⁸ In the interior of a temple-like building, Christ sits on a platform under a baldachin. A large number of men surround him, while he is pointing with his right hand in the direction of a second group, made up largely of women, to the right of the composition. Among these, the kneeling figure of Mary Magdalene is not hard to recognize. She is

17 Lightbown (1989) 202–207, pl. 75–79.

18 Penny (2008) 68–77.



FIGURE 9.3 Sandro Botticelli, The conversion of Mary Magdalene, panel, c. 1491–1493, Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. CENTRUM VOOR KUNST-
HISTORISCHE DOCUMENTATIE, RADBOUD UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN.



FIGURE 9.4 *Pedro Campaña, The conversion of Mary Magdalene, panel, c. 1562, London, National Gallery. © THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON.*

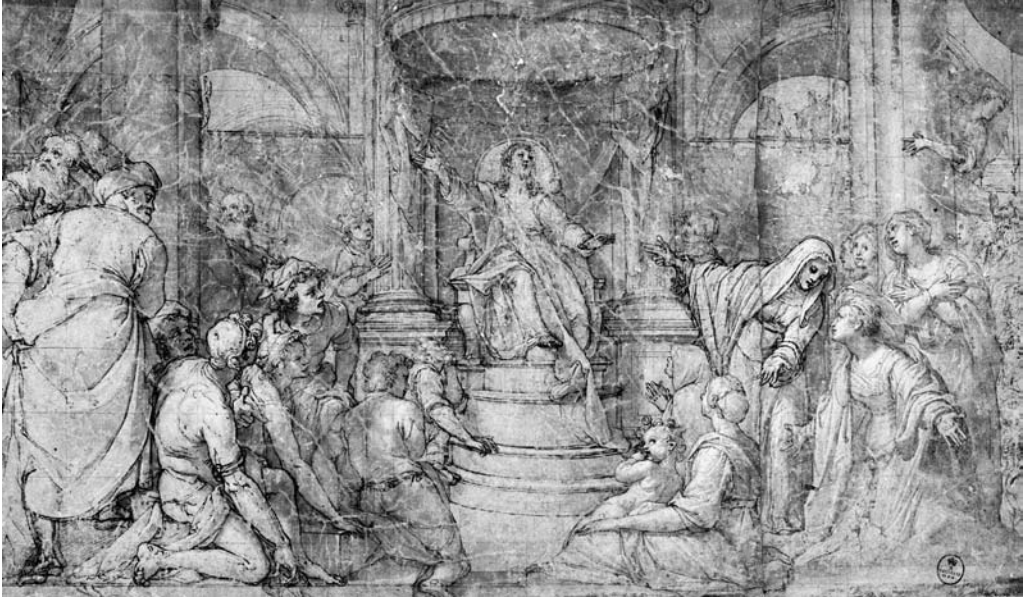


FIGURE 9.5 *Federico Zuccari, The conversion of Mary Magdalene, drawing, c.1560, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. ARCHIVIO FOTOGRAFICO, POLO MUSEALE FIORENTINO.*

being accompanied by a woman – doubtlessly her sister Martha – who is addressing her and at the same time gesturing towards Christ. Pedro Campaña must have based his composition (at least in part) on a fresco the Florentine painter Federico Zuccari had made in the early 1560s in a chapel in the church of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice (Figure 9.5). The mural itself has been destroyed shortly after its completion, but something of its composition can be gathered by way of a preparatory drawing attributed to the artist himself.¹⁹ Especially the part on the right, with the figures of the Magdalene and Martha, resembles Campaña's composition to a great extent.

One last sixteenth-century painting depicting the episode of Mary's conversion is a fresco by the Piedmontese painter Gaudenzio Ferrari. In the years around 1530, he executed an impressive and complex decoration in the choir and two side chapels of the church of San Cristoforo in Vercelli, a town situated about halfway between Milan and Turin.²⁰ In one of these chapels, Gaudenzio painted a fresco of the *Assumption of the Virgin* over the altar, as well as four

19 Zuccaro took over from Battista Franco after the latter had died in 1561. He painted two *laterali* in the chapel, one the *Conversion of the Magdalene*, the other a *Raising of Lazarus*. See Rearick (1959) 129–135.

20 For the decoration in San Cristoforo, see: Bo (2001), Villata (2003) 61–84.



FIGURE 9.6 *Gaudenzio Ferrarri, Scenes from the life of Mary Magdalene, fresco, 1532, Vercelli, San Cristoforo.* CENTRUM VOOR KUNSTHISTORISCHE DOCUMENTATIE, RADBOD UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN.

scenes drawn from the life of Mary Magdalene on the wall to the right (Figure 9.6).²¹ These four frescoes are arranged into two superimposed registers. The first, placed in the upper left corner, depicts the episode of Mary Magdalene's conversion (Figure 9.7). The other three are: Christ in the house of the Phari-

21 For Gaudenzio Ferrarri, see e.g.: Sacchi (1996) 573–581 (with ample references to earlier literature). The results of my more comprehensive research into Gaudenzio Ferrarri and his decorations in San Cristoforo, will be presented elsewhere, with full bibliography.



FIGURE 9.7 *Gaudenzio Ferrari, Scenes from the life of Mary Magdalene (detail: Mary Magdalene's conversion), fresco, 1532, Vercelli, San Cristoforo. CENTRUM VOOR KUNSTHISTORISCHE DOCUMENTATIE, RADBOUD UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN.*

see, the Baptism of the prefect of Marseille, and the Magdalene in the desert elevated by angels, respectively. The conversion fresco was badly damaged in the early eighteenth century, when a considerable portion of the painted surface disappeared. However, it can clearly be made out that Gaudenzio's rendering of the episode shows an interior with Christ standing high up on a pulpit, preaching and counting his arguments on the fingers of his right hand. The room is filled with a public of figures standing, or sitting either on chairs or simply on the floor. The richly dressed lady sitting in a comfortable seat at the far right, apparently listening attentively but as yet not showing any sign of penance or remorse, should be identified as the Magdalene.

Gaudenzio Ferrari's fresco, despite the damage it has suffered, is especially interesting, because in art historical literature it has hitherto neither been studied in the context of the iconography of the Magdalene's conversion, nor

ever been related to any written source. If we were to try and single out a particular version of the play as a direct source for the design and composition of Gaudenzio Ferarri's fresco of Mary's conversion, rather than the text quoted above, the already mentioned *Rappresentazione della conversione* of some forty years later would perhaps present itself as a suitable candidate. At least some details in Gaudenzio's fresco appear to reflect the wording of the event in this particular play. For instance, the relevant stage direction reads: *Iesù entra nel tempio, e salito sul pergamo, e' comincia a predicare* ('Christ enters the temple, and after having climbed the pulpit he begins to deliver his sermon'). The explicit mention of a pulpit that one must climb seems to be a distinguishing element of this particular text, and the same holds true for the stage direction of how Mary's *donzelle parano una sedia dinanzi al pergamo, e lei tutto pomposo vi si posa su* ('Mary's serving girls adorn a chair in front of the pulpit, on which the Magdalene pompously takes her place'). Both elements can be seen overtly in the fresco.

This is not to suggest, however, that the painter or his patrons were aware of this particular text. For whilst the play in question seems to have been performed during the fifteenth century,²² it was not published for the first time until eighteen years after the mural's completion. Moreover, like many other *sacre rappresentazioni*, it probably originated in Florence, or elsewhere in Tuscany, locations at a considerable distance from the Northern Italian town of Vercelli. Finally, there must have been many other comparable texts that in the course of time vanished without a trace. Rather, the quotes from the *Rappresentazione della conversione* show that, in one way or another, these particular narrative elements were known in Piedmont in around 1530: in the depiction by Gaudenzio Ferrarri, and most probably also in pieces of sacred drama.

Conclusion

The handful of images narrating Mary Magdalene's conversion, all dating from the late fifteenth or sixteenth centuries and originating in both the Netherlands and Italy, are characterized by a variety of media and dimensions, as well as interpretations of the scene. Botticelli presented it on a small panel, and in a rather summary way. In a plain setting, Christ stands upon a soapbox while the Magdalene watches him from the corner of the room. The lost side panel of the triptych painted by the Master of the Magdalene Legend shows an equally

²² Although he does not give any information about the date of the play, Luigi Banfi implicitly placed it in the fifteenth century by including it in his *Teatro del Quattrocento* (1997).

small scene, this time taking place outdoors and with Christ on a simple rostrum of branches whilst Mary is seated on the floor amidst other listeners. Federico Zuccari's preparatory drawing for a monumental fresco, and Pedro Campaña's panel inspired by it, offer more elements that allude to the written sources. Christ is sitting on a chair whilst Mary is kneeling before him, and they are surrounded by a host of bystanders in the interior of a temple. Gaudenzio Ferrari's fresco provides something more tangible through the inclusion of the scene in a chronological series of depictions of episodes from Mary's life, and by presenting Christ on a pulpit with the Magdalene on a chair before him – elements which recur in (later) written Italian *rappresentazioni*. Most probably, the other artistic renderings ultimately derive from the descriptions of the scene in sacred drama, but the theme never seems to have been subject to any standard iconography.

The conversion theme is an example *par excellence* of the sometimes complex relationship between texts and images in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Depictions of the theme turn out to be translations into visual form of biblical texts, hagiographies and theological commentaries, and, finally, written accounts of sacred drama.

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The Diffusion of Illustrated Religious Texts and Ideological Restraints

Els Stronks

Introduction

In this article, I depart from the fact that a text needs to be mediated (vocalized, written or printed) in order to be transmitted to, and received by, an audience. The choice of a vocal, visual, or textual medium for the transfer of a text to a readership can be affected by ideological motives that, as I will argue, become visible by studying the form in which texts are published.¹ In the case I discuss here, content dictated form, resulting in the rejection of religious imagery as a means of conveying a religious message.

After the Reformation, reservations with regard to the application of religious imagery in the transfer of religious knowledge were widespread in Western Europe. An abundance of visual media is evident in medieval, pre-Reformation religious literature to convey the biblical text to readers (especially those with a low or no level of literacy). In the early modern era, however, theological debates on the hierarchy between word and image, in which the Reformed position was diametrically opposed to the Catholic view, ended the popularity of this visual practice. While personal devotion in the Pre-Reformation and Catholic Church was enhanced by texts illustrated with images – of Christ, Mary and the saints, for instance – with the purpose of clarifying the religious doctrine as well as facilitating its memorization, internalization and meditative exercises, the use of religious imagery in literature presented a problem to Protestant authors and publishers.² Central to the Reformed and Catholic debate was the interpretation of the second of the Ten Commandments, in Exodus 20: 4–5 (in the King James version): “Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above. (...) Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.” In the

1 I rely here on the definition of “text” given in Ricoeur (1981), in the sense that I use the word “text” to refer to an autonomous work which is given an interpretation once it is being mediated (by a producer of texts) or received (by readers).

2 See on this issue for instance Besançon (2000).

Christian faith, this was traditionally interpreted as the prohibition of incorrect usage of religious imagery.³ The Catholic Church based numerous visual practices and rituals on this interpretation, which were condemned as abuse by Reformers. In the sixteenth century, tensions over the issue culminated in the iconoclastic destruction of images in large parts of Western Europe.⁴ Theology, ideology, politics and the arts became inseparable in these clashes.⁵

The newly established Dutch Republic did not escape from the Protestant breaking of images at the end of the sixteenth century. Soon after 1600, however, the Dutch Republic developed into a society internationally renowned for its religious tolerance. The relative freedom in which different denominations coexisted in the Dutch Republic after 1600, generated a climate in which – according to our current knowledge – cultural encounters between confessions could easily occur and people from different denominations developed and participated in a common culture. Pre-Reformation visual culture was, for instance, retained and transformed by Protestant artists (as Mia Mochizuki argues in her study on the development of visual culture in Protestant churches): art and architectural additions were incorporated in Protestant Netherlandish church interiors in the first century after iconoclasm, on a large scale and with a growing repertoire of objects and themes.⁶ Rembrandt van Rijn's etching *The Death of the Virgin* has often been presented as an exemplary case of this fusion process. The topic of this etching was taken from Jacobus de Voragine's medieval *Legenda Aurea* [Golden Legends], and reworked by Rembrandt into an interconfessional mixture of traditions.⁷ The mixture of Protestant and Catholic features detected in this etching has recently led Mary Christine Barker to conclude that "Rembrandt transcends the religious categories of his own times and those that our time has attempted to impose on him."⁸

The very existence of cultural encounters like these has imposed the idea that religious identities in the Republic should not be perceived as confessional identities: people with a clear sense of their confessional identity were able to cross confessional boundaries to mingle the literary and artistic traditions which constituted these boundaries. In general, this evidence of the Republic's cultural participation has led scholars to appreciate the porosity of early modern confessional boundaries in the confessionalization processes, in contrast

3 In the Jewish faith, this second Commandment is interpreted differently, namely as a complete prohibition on the fabrication of religious images. See van Asselt et al. (2007).

4 See for a case study of the diffusion of iconoclasm Wandel (1995).

5 As Peter Arnade has argued, such a connection between theology, ideology and politics could also be found in the breaking of images during the Dutch Revolt, see Arnade (2008).

6 Mochizuki (2008).

7 See, for instance, Perlove and Silver (2009) 45–48, 73 and 114.

8 Barker (2010) 138.

to what was initially ascertained in the so-called “confessionalization thesis,” which stated that in the search for distinct Catholic and Protestant identities in early modern Northern Europe, confessional boundaries were fixed.⁹ Cultural encounters – often cast in terms of hybrid – appear to have been at the heart of the Dutch Republic’s religious culture.¹⁰ This cultural hybrid has often been referred to as a central premise for the interconfessional dialogue and practices which helped to resolve and prevent religious conflicts in Dutch society.¹¹

Evidence in support of the thesis that confessional boundaries could be ignored in cultural encounters have been found in the visual arts and also in the reading culture of the Republic: as many have argued, religious texts produced in one confessional circle were owned and read by readers from another confessional circle. Catholic religious works were found in libraries and inventories of Dutch Reformed readers, and vice versa.¹² Also, religious literature produced by various denominations was kept in the homes of the faithful and read during their informal gatherings.¹³ The *Stichtelijcke rijmen* [Edifying Rhymes], for instance, by the popular Remonstrant minister Dirck R. Camphuysen were sung by Remonstrants as well as Counter-Remonstrants. The fact that his poetry had total sanctification as its central issue was apparently more important than the dogmatic differences, which were however not marginal. The Remonstrant Camphuysen perceived sanctification as the condition for salvation, while the Counter-Remonstrants were convinced that sanctification was the consequence of salvation. These differences, however, played no part in the interconfessional use of the volume.¹⁴

Yet in one respect, Dutch literary spaces were strikingly demarcated and patrolled: recent research has revealed that between 1560 and 1680, religious literature produced in the Republic contained far fewer illustrations than it did in neighbouring countries. The controversial cross-fertilization of Pre-Reformation and Catholic visual practices, and Protestant literary traditions proved unexpectedly complicated in the Republic’s literature, whereas the intermin-

9 See Schilling and Tóth (2006).

10 See for a critical analysis of the use of the concept “cultural hybridity” – on which my definition is based – del Mar Rosa-Rodríguez (2010).

11 This is ascertained by Burke (2009) 73–74. While not all of the existing studies into the nature of the Dutch Republic’s culture employ the concept of “cultural hybridity,” the case of the Dutch Republic has been presented thus in, for instance, Kaplan (2007) 240 and 8, Nederveen Pieterse (2009) and DeWulf (2008).

12 See for instance Kaplan (2007) 243.

13 See for instance Frijhoff (2006) 62–65, esp. 62.

14 See Schenkeveld (1991) 51.

gling of word and image started in the religious literature of other Northern European countries while iconoclastic acts were still being staged.¹⁵ Full Bible translations made by Dutch Protestants were never illustrated, the development of the Protestant religious emblem was problematic, and the majority of spiritual song books also remained unillustrated.¹⁶ Even Dutch Catholics were reluctant to use religious illustrations in their literary works.¹⁷

The Case of the Dutch State Bible

Focusing on the subordinate role assigned to Bible illustrations in Dutch religious literature, this article explores the difference between practices in the Republic and its neighbouring countries in order to advance the tentative hypothesis that these practices were motivated by theological and ideological considerations rather than by commerce. Dutch authors, publishers, engravers, and buyers rejected visual images that were readily available in many religiously contested areas outside the Republic, and this enabled them to form a new national identity untroubled by all of the disputes surrounding the use of word and image between Protestants and Catholics. In essence, the process of cultural hybridity that scholars have seen as instrumental in leading to greater shared understanding and tolerance was put on hold to avoid potential conflicts.

The restrictive mechanisms in the printing practices of the Dutch Republic were discussed in detail in my monograph *Negotiating Differences: Word, Image and Religion in the Dutch Republic*. This article offers an international perspective on these practices. It concentrates on the illustrations that were added to the most prestigious Bible translation published in the Republic, the Dutch Reformed States Bible of 1637. It was published as an initiative of the Synod of Dordrecht (1618–1619) that requested the States-General of the Netherlands to commission a translation of a Dutch Bible based on the Greek *Textus Receptus* text, as was the English King James Bible (1611). Since the first edition of the States Bible contained Bible illustrations – as was first noted by Peter van der Coelen – it was the one of the very rare exceptions to the rule that Protestant

15 On the early stages of this contrast, see Pettegree (2005) 106. For more on this contrast, see Dietz, Morton, Roggen, Stronks and Van Vaecck (2014).

16 On the absence of illustrated Bibles, see van der Coelen (1998) passim; Rosier (1997) vol. I, 35; Melion (2009a) 42–45. On the unillustrated hymn books, see Veldhorst (2009) 217–86, esp. 259–60.

17 See Porteman and Smits-Veldt (2008) 477.

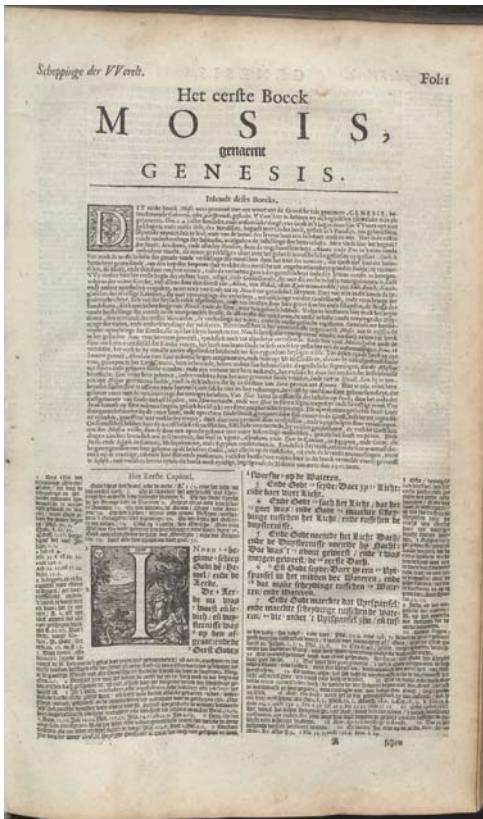


FIGURE 10.1–2 Ornamented initial Genesis 1, Biblia, dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture. Leiden: Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, for the widow of Hillebrant Jacobsz. van Wouw, 1637, fol. 1. COURTESY LIBRARY OF THE UTRECHT UNIVERSITY.

Bibles printed in the Republic in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were unillustrated. The first edition published in 1637, and printed in 1636, was issued with an illustrated title page and twelve ornamented initials that represented biblical stories: the title page as well as the initials would not be ignored. This initial was the first thing that a reader would see at the start of the first folio, at the opening of Genesis 1:1 (Figures 10.1 and 10.2).¹⁸

From the first glance, this initial introduces a significant aspect of the nature of these and other Bible illustrations used in the early modern setting. Because their primary function was to explain biblical stories to inform and

18 See van der Coelen (1997) 6. A copy of this issue is kept in the library of the Utrecht University, shelf number Rariora fol. 26. On folio 166, the year 1636 is given as the year it was printed.

educate the reader, they had no specific confessional connotation. Bible illustrations were used by all confessions, unlike religious emblematic imagery, which started to prosper after 1600 when Catholics adopted the emblematic image as a tool for enhancing the communication between God and believer, and developed a special iconography to this end.¹⁹

The opening initial alludes to a number of passages from Genesis. It depicts Adam and Eve in Paradise before their expulsion and refers to the creation of the world, showing the sun, the moon and the stars, the separation of the waters above from those below, and the existence of plants and animals (Genesis 1:1–37). An inscription of the word “Yahweh” indicates God’s presence. Adam’s eyes are half-open, as if he is about to discover that God has made a woman from one of his ribs (Genesis 2:22). Eve appears to be looking at the animals peacefully gathered around the couple. Both Adam and Eve are naked, a symbol of their state of purity and innocence. The advent of disaster is, perhaps, indicated only by the two peacocks, symbols of human vanity, depicted directly behind Eve.

This single print represented a number of events described in Genesis 1 and 2 merged them into one frame. This was common practice at the time as prints could vary as to which aspects of a story they would choose to depict and in what ways they represented those stories. It is difficult, if not impossible, to identify a confessional position on the basis of these variations, because prints were freely shared (and produced) between Catholics and Protestants throughout Northern Europe.²⁰ The underlying consensus was that these Bible illustrations could be perceived as literal representations of the historical interpretation of biblical scenes. A variety of sources testify to the existence of this consensus in the Republic. The titles of the picture Bibles discussed in this article maintained that the plates were genuine and true depictions of biblical stories and were meant to impart factual knowledge.²¹ In the recurrent discussions among painters, engravers and authors, it was assumed that such literalness could be achieved provided that certain considerations were taken into account.²² Leiden professor of rhetoric and history Gerardus Vossius narrowed down the problems surrounding the issue with these guidelines: “One should reproduce

19 The characteristics of this iconography were recently analyzed and emphasized in Dekoninck (2005); and Melion (2009b).

20 Argued in Melion (2009a) 15–83, esp. 21–5. Protestants, for instance, used plates often based on the Vulgate, as argued in Tümpel (1991) 8–23, esp. 22.

21 Also concluded in van der Coelen (1998) 177 and 195.

22 See, for instance, a treatise by the Dutch Reformed Philips Angel, written in support of the painters in Leiden in 1642, in Miedema (1996) 227–58, esp. 246–47.

whatever God's book says, use sparingly what is not mentioned in His Word, and under no circumstances contradict it."²³

A late representation on the literalness found in the preface to the *Sleutel, dewelke verklaard de bybelse figuren oover de vier evangelisten, Handelingen der Apostelen en Openbaaringe Johannis* ["Key, which explains the Biblical Figures concerning the Four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles and the Book of Revelation"], published in 1682 by the Dutch Reformed minister Johannes Möller. In this illustrated volume, with fold-out biblical prints made by one of the most skilled engravers of the time, Romeyn de Hooghe, Möller offered a mix of biblical texts and explanatory comments. Möller explained in the preface to this volume that illustrations of biblical scenes were "easy to depict" [*ligtelijk kunnen afgebeeld werden*], especially when these scenes were selected from parts of the Bible which focused on stories and parables. Allegorical emblematic images, on the other hand, were meant to represent complex and abstract concepts such as "meekness" or "labour" or "laziness," and their creation and analysis demanded much more effort.²⁴ Möller presented the first category of images, the biblical illustrations, as superior because they showed "no unfamiliar, or far-fetched [*vergesogte*]" images, no hieroglyphs or emblems; no such images as first have to be invented, and then learned, before they can be applied to the subject, and thus also require a great deal of effort, care and diligence."²⁵

In the following section I will outline the developments in various applications of Bible illustrations in the Republic. In order to determine the specifics of the Dutch situation I will focus on what was produced during which period and compare this with the production in neighbouring countries.

23 "t Geen Gods boek zeit noodzakelijk, 't geen het niet zeit spaarzaam, 't geen hiertegen strijdt geenszins te zeggen." Quoted in Smits-Veldt (1991) 59. Vossius delivered these guidelines as an aid to authors who aimed to rework biblical stories into stage plays, but his advice was *mutatis mutandis* – also applicable to engravings and paintings.

24 The "*saake/sinnebeelden*" [matters/emblems] demanded much more work from both the engraver and the viewer because they "*tot de saake, waar toe mense wil gebruiken, gepast [moeten] warden*" [they need to be fitted to the subject for which one wishes to use them]. "*Berigt, Aangaande dit Werk*," in Möller (1682) 22–24.

25 "*geen vreemde nog vergesogte Beelden, geen Hyeroglyphica ofte Sinnebeelden, geen soodanige, de welke, gelijk sy eerst moeten uitgevonden, en daar na geleerd werden, eer sy op de saak kunnen gepast werden, soo ook grooten arbeid, moeiten, en neerstigheid vereissen.*" Möller (1682) 30–31.

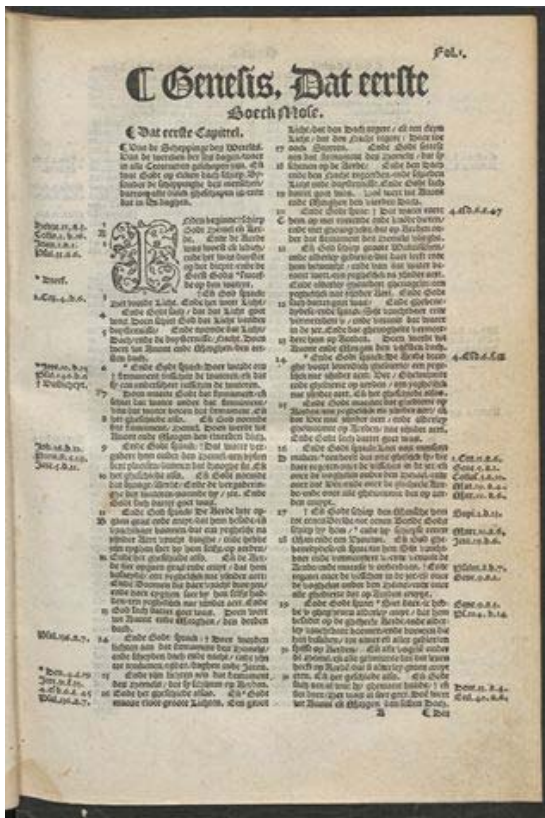


FIGURE 10.3-4 Dat Oude ende dat Nieuwe Testament [*The Old and New Testament*]. Antwerp: Jacob van Liesveldt, 1526, fol. Uiiiv. COURTESY OF THE UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

The Development of Separate Religious Printing Cultures between 1550 and 1590

Separate religious printing cultures developed in the Dutch Republic and its surrounding countries after 1550, when Northern Netherlandish publishers abstained from producing illustrated Bibles. This refusal was a radical departure from existing traditions: the first illustrated Catholic Dutch Bible, Jacob van Maerlant's so-called *Rijmbijbel*, was never reprinted,²⁶ nor were the Dutch Protestant illustrated Bibles produced in Antwerp before 1550, such as Jacob

26 An illustrated manuscript of the *Rijmbijbel* was completed in Utrecht in 1332, and contained ornamental initials and miniatures by the painter Michiel van der Borch, see Chavannes (2008).



FIGURES 10.5–6 Ornamental initial with non-figurative elements in Den Bibel, inhoudende dat Oude en Nieuwe Testament. [Emden]: Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, 1560, fol. 1. COURTESY OF THE UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

Liesveldt's 1526 edition which was based largely on Luther's translation of the New and Old Testaments and included woodcuts that illustrated biblical scenes (Figures 10.3 and 10.4).²⁷

When Protestant printers fled from Antwerp in the middle of the sixteenth century to produce Bibles for the Dutch market in Emden, these illustrations were replaced by ornamental initials with non-figurative elements, as in the case of this Biestkens Bible (Figures 10.5 and 10.6).

When more and more Dutch cities chose the side of Protestantism and Protestant Bibles began to be produced in the Republic itself, the tradition of not illustrating Bibles continued. Only a dozen of the more than one hundred editions of the so-called Deux-Aes Bible printed between 1581 and 1633 contained

27 As Rosier concluded in Rosier (1997) vol. I, 3.

pictorial material. This material did not include the usual illustrations of biblical stories, however, but maps or explanatory illustrations of the Temple.²⁸ They were not inserted at different points throughout the text, but were optional and could be bound together as a separate section in the back of the book at the individual buyer's request.²⁹

At the same time that the Dutch refrained from using Bible illustrations, important innovations in the application of this type of pictorial material were taking place in the Southern Netherlands. In Antwerp after 1550, more and more picture Bibles were produced – collections of biblical prints with versifications or paraphrases of biblical texts.³⁰ Gerard de Jode's *Thesaurus veteris et novi testamenti* (first printed in 1579), with engravings after designs by Maarten van Heemskerck and Maarten Vos, became very popular.³¹ In the 1590s the genre was advanced when the Antwerp publisher Christophe Plantin used emblematic plates in his production of the Jesuit Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines*.³² He also used plates by Pieter van der Borcht in the trilingual *Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum* [Biblical Images and Illustrations] by the Anabaptist Hendrik Jansen Barrefeldt (also known as Hiël) who was an advocate of the spiritual approach to faith.³³ These publications extended the use of Bible illustrations: it was possible to organize spiritual and meditational exercises around these prints.³⁴

Partial Exchange: 1590–1617

These Southern Netherlandish innovations appear to have triggered Dutch publishers' sense of entrepreneurship; they may also have been encouraged by the growing popularity of single-sheet biblical prints in the Republic.³⁵

28 See Rosier (1997) vol. I, 37.

29 On the buyers' habits, see Veldman (2006).

30 Van der Coelen (2006) 192.

31 The actual engraving itself was done by the Wierix brothers, among others, as discussed in Van der Coelen (1998) 120 and 125.

32 These prints (probably printed around 1593) accompanied texts which were published in a separate volume, titled *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* [Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels], originally printed in Antwerp in c. 1595 at Plantin's workshop. For detailed analyses, see Melion (2007) 1–73.

33 See on Christophe Plantin's pioneering role Bowen and Imhof (2008). On Hiël's affiliation, see De la Fontaine Verweij (1976).

34 Melion (2009) 44–45.

35 On the popularity of biblical prints and single sheets with Bible illustrations, see Veldman (1989).

Between 1592 and 1617, nine picture Bibles were produced in the Republic. The illustrated Bible was still taboo, but judging by this increase in production, the concept of the picture Bible was no longer unwelcome. In 1604, Karel van Mander expressed praise for Holbein's *Historiarum Vetris Testamenti Icones* – describing it as a “*Bybel Figuer-boecxken in houte print*” [a little book of biblical figures in woodcut], in his popular and influential *Schilder-boeck* [Book on Painting], a fact which further illustrates more favourable attitudes to the picture Bible.³⁶

When introducing the picture Bible in the Republic, publishers re-used existing copperplates and texts that had been created in neighbouring countries. In doing so, they reconnected to ongoing developments outside the Republic. Franciscus van Raphelingen, Plantin's son-in-law, was the first to get involved. In 1592 and 1593 he published two volumes in Leiden: the *Emblemata Sacra* and the *Bibelsche Figuren*, based on plates made by Pieter van der Borcht. When van der Borcht's plates were re-used again by the Dutch Reformed printer and publisher Cornelis Claesz in Amsterdam between 1594 and 1609, they were published under a title – *Biblicae Historiae* – that had already been used in some German sixteenth-century publications.³⁷ Even when the Anabaptist Crispijn De Passe made new copper engravings for his *Liber Genesis* in 1612, the foreign models continued to dominate: De Passe's engravings had largely been based on existing foreign illustrations.³⁸

In this transfer of foreign models, confessional orientations were ignored: the Remonstrant publisher Michiel Colijn produced four picture Bibles between 1613 and 1617, two of which were based on van der Borcht's plates,³⁹ while another was based on a series of etchings after the frescoes by Raphael in the Vatican Loggia (the so-called Raphael's Bible), first published in 1607 in the volume *Historia del testamento vecchio*, produced by Giovanni Orlandi in Rome.⁴⁰

The possibilities of appropriation, however, were not unlimited. First, the meditational or spiritual use of these illustrations was avoided. Hiël's original preface, with its spiritual message, was either radically abridged or removed by Dutch publishers. Nadal's emblematic prints for meditational use were never reproduced in the Republic. Second, some alterations were made in the prints' iconography. In accordance perhaps with Calvin's injunction that all anthropo-

36 As noted in Van der Coelen (1998) 135.

37 As is also suggested in Hamilton (1981) 284.

38 For an analysis of De Passe's re-use of existing prints, see Veldman (2001) 66.

39 The volumes were titled *Emblemata Sacra* and *Figures de Toutes les Plus Remarquables Histoires et Aultres Evenemens du Vieil et Nouveau Testament*. On Colijn's confessional background, see Hamilton (1981) 286.

40 Engamarre (1994) 575.

morphic representations of God or Jesus should be prohibited, depictions of God were sometimes – but not always – removed from the original plates.⁴¹ Colijn conserved the anthropomorphic depictions of God in the etchings based on Raphael's Bible, but van Raphelingen used a second series of plates made by van der Borcht in which the figure representing God in the old series of plates was almost always replaced by a cloud or by the word "God."⁴²

Withdrawal: 1617–1637

Dutch publishers no longer completely ignored developments taking place outside the Republic between 1592 and 1617, but the advance of the picture Bible faltered after 1617. Between 1617 and 1637, only one smaller publication, the illustrated children's book *De historie van den konincklijcken prophete David* [The History of the Royal Prophet David] appeared on the Dutch market.⁴³ This renewed resistance to the visual appears to have been related to the fierce theological controversies of this period. These controversies surrounded the meaning and role of God's Word in establishing the contours of the new faith and were based on the conviction that God's Word could have only a single meaning.⁴⁴

It was precisely on this point that toleration was hard to find around the time of the Synod of Dordt in 1618. The Protestants not only opposed the Catholics, but were internally divided as a result of the disputes between the Counter-Remonstrants and Remonstrants. The Counter-Remonstrants believed that the correct interpretation of the Word ought to form the foundation of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Republic. Accuracy, credibility and authority were the preoccupations of the Counter-Remonstrants in their struggle to ground the new nation and its politics in what they saw as the correct interpretation the Bible.⁴⁵ This explains the decision taken at the Synod of Dordt to have the Bible translated into Dutch from the original Hebrew and Greek (the

41 Dutch sixteenth-century disputes on iconoclastic issues had been dominated by Calvinist theology, as argued in Veldman (1991) 421. As has been well established, Calvin was not opposed to all visual art. His views were most recently discussed in Joby (2007), and Zachman (2007).

42 On both sets, see Mielke (2005). One of these plates retained an anthropomorphic representation of God, as argued in Hamilton (1991) 282.

43 Printed by Jan van Waesberge from Rotterdam in 1622, and based on a Southern Netherlandish original, as Waesberge's *De historie van Ioseph den vromen ende godtvruchtighen ionghelinc* [Joseph the Pious and Devout Youngster] had been in 1617.

44 Also suggested in Dekoninck (2004) 57.

45 The political implications of these debates are discussed in Prak (2006).



FIGURE 10.7 Zacharias Heyns, *Wercken* by W.S. heere van Bartas. Zwolle: Zacharias Heyns, 1621, facing fol. 1. COURTESY OF LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

States Bible) and to enrich it with notes, paraphrases and cross-references directing the reader to a variety of related biblical texts. It was briefly but explicitly stated that this new Bible was not to include imagery which could give “*erghernisse*” [offence].⁴⁶

This struggle left its mark on Dutch religious literature, as becomes apparent in the printing history of Zacharias Heyns’ Dutch translation of Du Bartas’ *La Sepmaine* (1579), a biblical poem on the creation of the world. When Heyns’ first published his translation in 1616, the engravings depicted anthropomorphic representations of God. These were replaced by figural elements in the second edition of Heyns’ translation published in 1621 (Figure 10.7).⁴⁷

46 *Acta* (1621) 28.

47 First noted in Meeus (1990) 245. See also Stronks (2011b).



FIGURE 10.8 *Annotated proofs of the Biblia, dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture. Leiden: Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, 1635–1637. Archieven van de commissie op nationaal niveau, 1816, nr. 143. COURTESY OF THE NATIONAAL ARCHIEF.*

This adaptation was brought about, it appears, by a decision made between 1616 and 1621 at the Synod of Dordt. Even in its new form, the religious image would no longer be tolerated in the decennia after 1618. Until 1637, no more picture Bibles or illustrated biblical poems like Heyns' translation of Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine* were published in the Republic.

The Limits: Beyond 1637

Under these restrictive circumstances, publishing an illustrated edition of the States Bible in 1637 was a bold enterprise. As testified by proofs of the first



FIGURE 10.9 *Ornamented initial in the preface of Biblia, dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture. Leiden: Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, for the widow of Hillebrant Jacobsz. van Wouw, 1637, fol. *2r. COURTESY OF THE UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.*

edition, the correctors and translators of the States Bibles were perhaps unaware of van Ravensteyn's plans to add the ornamented initials (Figure 10.8). These proofs carried non-figurative initials, much like the initials found in other Dutch Bibles at the time.⁴⁸

As mentioned earlier, the reader of the Dutch States Bible was confronted with an ornamented figurative initial at the opening of the biblical text, in Genesis 1:1. Even before that, however, a figurative initial is used in the preface to the actual biblical text, written by the States General. The letter A is embellished with a scene depicting Christ (with halo) and his disciples. Central to this scene is a candle, located in the upper triangular part of the A, that is shining its light on those present at the scene (Figure 10.9).

It is as if Jesus and his disciples are listening in to the States-General's voice declaring that:

All of those who shall see this or hear this read aloud [...] need to know that we – from the very beginning of the Reformation – have strived with great care and diligence to spread and foster the true, Christian Reformed Religion: part of our efforts was the intention to facilitate the explanation, education and preaching of God's Word.⁴⁹

48 These proofs are kept in the Nationaal Archief, Staten van Holland and West-Friesland, 1572–1795, *toegangnummer* 3.01.04.01. They were printed from April 1635 onward, see Nauta (1937) 27.

49 “Allen den genen die desen sullen sien ofte hooren lessen, [...] *DOEN TE WETEN*: dat wy van den aen-beginne der reformatie af in dese Landen ter herten genomen, ende met alle vlijt ende sorghvuldigheydt ghetracht hebben te besorghen alles wat tot goeden welstant ende voortplantige vande Oprechte, Ware, Christelicke Gereformeerde Religie, en den suyveren Gods-dienst heeft mogen strecken ende noodigh was: ende onder anderen mede dat Godts Heiligh Woort [...] mochte worden uytgeleyt, geleert, ende gepredickt,” *Biblia, dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture*. Leiden: Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, for the widow of Hillebrant Jacobsz, van Wouw, 1637, fol. *2r.

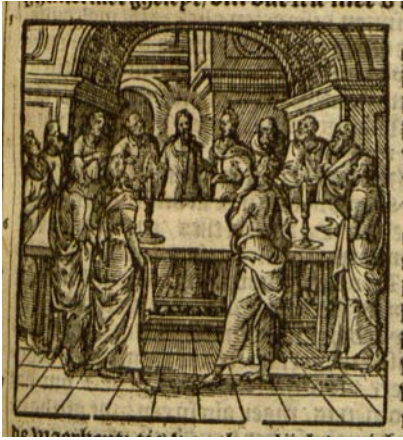


FIGURE 10.10 Het Nieuwe Testament Ons Heeren Jesu Christi. Met ghetalen aen de canten gestelt, waer door de veersen bescheeden worden, tot de aenwijsinge der heyliger Schriftueren dienende. *Christoffel Plantijn, 1577, fol. T3r*, COURTESY OF LIBRARY OF THE VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM.

This is the only time this particular initial is used in the first editions of the States Bible printed by van Ravensteyn, and it seems likely that the depicted scene was meant to give readers a representation of the way in which they should picture themselves while listening to God's Word. A very similar illustration was incorporated into a Dutch Bible printed by Plantijn in 1577 (Figure 10.10): Here, the strategic placement of this image in the opening "A" of the Dutch States Bible gives an added emphasis to the depicted scene.

Only the first folio edition van Ravensteyn produced carried these ornamented initials. The small-sized editions van Ravensteyn also sold shortly after 1637 lack any form of illustration,⁵⁰ and the same holds true for the folio editions that van Ravensteyn's company produced in the 1650's. In the 1657 edition, for instance, the figurative initial at the opening of Genesis 1:1 has been replaced by a non-figurative one (Figures 10.11 and 10.12).

Other printers who started producing editions of the Dutch States Bibles shortly after 1637 also refrained from designing or incorporating ornamented initials.⁵¹

Given the unfriendly attitude towards the use of religious imagery in Dutch Bibles, the decision not to follow van Ravensteyn's example was not a surprise.

50 For instance an edition in 12°, dating from 1638, see Library of the Leiden University, UB: 228 F 58:1. With special thanks to Peter van der Coelen, who noted this in his lecture at the conference *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1550–1800* (to be published in a conference volume by Ashgate in 2013).

51 See for instance the 1639 edition by Jan Marcusz, and Theunis Lootsman, kept in the Royal Library The Hague, shelf mark KB: 345 G 6.



FIGURE 10.11–12 *Non-figurative initial Genesis 1*, Biblia, dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture. Leiden: Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, for the widow of Hillebrant Jacobsz. van Wouw, 1657, fol. 1. COURTESY LIBRARY OF THE LEIDEN UNIVERSITY.

Also not surprising was the fact that van Ravensteyn's illustrated edition stirred up animosity. The Acts of the regional synods of South-Holland record the criticism of the illustrated title page that was expressed by the Dutch Reformed Church. The tetragram depicted on this title page, and more particularly the surrounding triangle – a symbol of God's Trinity – was the main reason for this hostility. In 1649, during a Synod in Leiden, the Synod's secretary recorded seven problems that had arisen after the publication of the Dutch States Bible; the presence of this triangle is listed as the fourth problem.⁵² As a result, the

52 "Of niet van de tytelplaat behoort weghgenomen te werden die beeltenis of dat hieroglyphicum S.S. Trinitatis, dat aldaer met een triangel uutgedrukt staet?" [Should the triangle on the title page, symbol of the Holy Trinity, not be removed from the title page?], Knuttel (1908–1916) 141.



FIGURE 10.13 *Biblia, dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture. Leiden: Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, for the widow of Hillebrant Jacobsz. van Wouw, 1637, fol. 82. COURTESY OF THE UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.*

tetragram as well as the triangle were removed from the title page from 1657 onward.⁵³

Even though no such commotion is registered regarding the initials, they were not warmly welcomed either. The choice of subject for the initials cannot have been the problem. The twelve initials which were made especially for this edition and which were used at the beginning of almost every Bible book depicted non-controversial and frequently represented scenes from the Old and the New Testaments; more particularly, van Ravensteyn appears to have based them on some sixteenth-century Catholic series of images.⁵⁴ Nor could the specifics of their iconography have been the cause of the controversies, since this iconography was based on widespread and accepted conventions. This can be seen in the initial at the beginning of the book of Judges, where David is portrayed partially facing the reader with his gaze turned upwards to God, who is represented by the symbolic rays of light (Figure 10.13).

An almost identical initial was used in an anonymous sermon book produced by Van der Hellen in 1631 (Figure 10.14).

Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, the printer of the first edition of the States Bible, must not have anticipated any problems in the use of these initials since he stayed well within existing conventions. He had employed similar, somewhat smaller initials and printer devices when depicting the same scenes in his earlier publications without any negative repercussions, for instance in the 1620 edition of Coornhert's *Recht ghebruyck ende misbruyck van tydlicke have*

53 See Stronks (2010) for more details.

54 Scenes frequently mentioned in Van der Coelen (1998): Adam and Eve in Paradise (Genesis 1), Abraham offering Isaac (Genesis 22), Noah and the animals entering the ark (Genesis 7), Moses and the burning bush (Exodus 3), Gideon at the waterfront (Judges 7, 4–6), Samson killing the lion (Judges 14), the crowning of David (1 Samuel 16), David playing the harp, Elijah fed by ravens (1 Kings 17), Esther touching the top of Ahasuerus' sceptre (Esther 5:2), the conversion of Saulus during his trip to Damascus (Acts 9), and Jesus' Last Supper with his disciples (Matthew 26, Mark 14 and Luke 22). The argument about the Catholic sources for the initial was made by Van der Coelen in his paper for the conference *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1550–1800*.



FIGURE 10.14 Keeten-slachs-ghedenck-teecken ende baniere. By een dienaer des goddelijcken woordts. *Middelburg: Hans van der Hellen, 1631, 382.* COURTESY OF ZEEUWSE BIBLIOTHEEK.



FIGURE 10.15 *Dirck V. Coornhert, Recht ghebruyck ende misbruyck van tydlicke have. Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Pers, 1620, printed by Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, fol. M4v.* COURTESY OF UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.



FIGURE 10.16 *Biblia dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture. Leiden: Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, for the widow of Hillebrant Jacobsz. van Wouw, 1637, fol. 47.* COURTESY OF THE UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

[The Right Use and Abuse of Temporarily Goods], in which he used the initial which depicts Elijah being fed by ravens (Figures 10.15 and 10.16).⁵⁵

The controversy was caused not by the initials themselves, but by the fact that they had now been integrated into the Bible itself. The biblical text, written by God's Spirit, could, as the only road to genuine faith, simply not include imagery.

It is very likely that the inspiration to introduce these ornamented initials came from German and Southern Netherlandish traditions, of which van

55 Dijkstra (2007) 35.

Ravensteyn was certainly aware.⁵⁶ In 1635, he produced a Dutch translation of a devotional treatise by the German Pietist Jacob Böhme, illustrating it in a manner reminiscent of German visual literary traditions.⁵⁷ Van Ravesteyn appears to have been of the opinion that the controversies surrounding the Synod of Dordt had subsided to such an extent that foreign traditions could again be taken into consideration.

A second wave of success for the picture Bible after 1637 suggests that Ravesteyn's instinct was not far off the mark. In 1637, following an impasse which had lasted twenty years, the Dutch Reformed Claes Jansz. Visscher took steps to produce a picture Bible, probably in an attempt to conquer financial uncertainties. Publishers were undeniably dreading the effect the States Bible would have on their business, especially since the States General planned to grant the privileges of printing the States Bible to only one publisher.⁵⁸ The first proofs of the States Bible were completed in December 1636, and Visscher may have known about the illustrations that had been added to the States Bible in advance.⁵⁹ In 1637, he resorted to publishing an adult version of van Waesberge's *De historie van den koninclijsken prophete David* and also reprinted the picture Bible: *David, hoc est virtutis exercitatissimae probatum deo spectaculum* [David, or the Spectacle of Well-Exercised Virtue Pleasing to God], first produced in Antwerp in 1575 by Plantin with engravings by Philip Galle. Each plate depicted a scene from David's life, with an explanation of its moral implications in four lines of Latin verse by Benedictus Arias Montanus, a Catholic monk.⁶⁰ This first production was soon followed by three more, all thanks to the fact that Visscher was able to buy part of Colijn's commercial assets at auction.⁶¹ In 1638, he launched a reprint of the *Historia del testamento vecchio*, based on the etching used in Colijn's 1607 edition. The original etchings had depicted anthropomorphic representations of God which were excluded in the new ones.⁶² God is personified in the 1607 edition as a bearded man in flowing robes touching the sun and the moon and thereby creating them, but in 1638, he is replaced by a textual element, a tetragram of the word Yahweh. In

56 On the German applications of these ornamented initials in Protestant Bibles, see Dijkstra (2007) 30. On the English production of illustrated Bibles, see Aston (2010) 24–42.

57 Titled *Sleutel-bloem, vergadert (tot een hand-boeckken) uyt de schriften van Jacob Böhme*, see also Geissmar (1993) 168.

58 Despite the States General's intentions, the States Bible was soon produced by more than one publisher.

59 On the printing history of the Dutch States Bible, see de Bruin (1993) 236.

60 See Melion (2005) 74–90.

61 Van der Coelen (1998) 215.

62 Van der Coelen (1998) 226.

Visscher's next production, the *Theatrum Biblicum* of 1639, the representation of God from a copperplate originally made by Maarten van Heemskerck in the sixteenth century was also replaced with an inscription of the word Yahweh.⁶³ Two other publications based on van de Borch's plates, the *Biblia, hoc est vetus et novum testamentum iconibus expressum* and the *Emblemata sacra*, also dating from 1639, also removed the anthropomorphic depictions of God from the plates of the oldest series.⁶⁴

Conventions regarding the representation of God became more restrictive, since residual Catholic elements were now being rigorously removed. But in other ways, practices became even more interconfessional than they had been between 1592 and 1617. The Visscher family produced nine picture Bibles in the following decades, as well as producing a large-format volume called the *Royaal Bijbel*, which contained engravings of Old Testament scenes based on paintings by Rubens.⁶⁵ Even Catholic publishers such as Cornelis Danckertz and Jacob Saverij followed the new trend.⁶⁶ Picture Bibles flooded the Dutch market, targeting the largest possible audience of Protestants and Catholics.⁶⁷ The Bible illustration had now become fully accepted when featured in a picture Bible, in accordance with fixed conventions.

Protestants also began to employ Bible illustrations outside the genre of the picture Bible. A single example will have to suffice here. Several poems on the passion of Christ, first published in 1651 in an anthology entitled *Verscheyde Nederduytsche gedichten* [Various Dutch Poems], remained unillustrated in seventeenth-century reprints, but illustrations were added to eighteenth-century editions.

The illustrated Bible remained forbidden territory for Protestants. It was the Catholic publisher Pieter Jabobsz Paets who produced the first lavishly illustrated Bible in the Republic, the *Biblia sacra dat is De geheelee Heylighe Schrifture* [Biblia Sacra, that is the Entire Holy Scripture] in 1657. In these volumes, biblical texts were accompanied by woodcuts made by the van Sichem family, based on engravings by Boetius à Bolswert, among others. Paets' edition was based on the Moerentorf Bible dating from 1599. Another Dutch reprint of this Bible – without illustrations – had already been published in 1653, by Joachim

63 Veldman (1999) 418–19.

64 Van der Coelen (1998) 166–67.

65 By 1620 Rubens' paintings were known in the Republic, following his work with Dutch engravers to have his paintings reproduced as prints, see also Van der Coelen (2006) 45.

66 For details on this printing history, see Van der Coelen (1998) 169–72.

67 On the use and re-use of these prints by Catholics and Protestants, see Van der Waals (2006) 72–111.

van Metelen in Amsterdam, indicating the growing opportunities for the production of Catholic Bibles in the Republic. Illustrated editions of the Moerentorf Bible were again produced in the 1740s, also by a Catholic publisher.⁶⁸

Conclusions

What does this brief overview of the application of the Bible illustration by the Dutch tell us about the Republic's culture? The difference between the religious literature of the Republic and its neighbouring countries appears to have been the result of a widespread, interconfessional and silent agreement – supported by all Protestant denominations and even by Dutch Catholics – that pre-Reformational traditions and hybrid traditions from countries where Catholic and Protestant traditions naturally mixed, were to be abandoned when it came to the Bible. The unillustrated Bible was used to construe a more or less clean break with the Catholic past as well as with contemporary hybrid developments in neighbouring countries. Images were not to be deployed to continue to spread the Word in the Republic, not even among Catholics, until the 1660s. This agreement was not enforced by law or by official censorship and was not contentious enough to be discussed in pamphlets. Direct mention of it occurred only incidentally in the minutes of Dutch Reformed Synods.⁶⁹

The hybridization of Dutch literary religious practices, which eventually occurred, as picture Bibles began to be produced, turned a clean break with the past into a negotiated and restricted encounter, which did not develop without interference from the surrounding countries. It is telling that the first Dutch publisher to produce picture Bibles, van Raphelingen, was connected to Plantin and the Southern Netherlands through family ties. Innovations in the genre based on foreign developments were kept under close watch and often encountered resistance from the Dutch Reformed Church. The printing history of Möller's *Sleutel*, the 1682 volume referred to in the introduction of this article, demonstrates this mechanism in a nutshell. Möller was German by origin and based his *Sleutel* on the German tradition of the *ars memorativa*, specifically

68 The publisher was the widow of Joannes Stichter in Amsterdam.

69 This was confirmed following consultation of the main collection of early modern Dutch pamphlets, known as the Knuttel-catalogue, which does not contain any pamphlets on the issue. The absence of public commotion and the relative silence surrounding the issue are a remarkable feature of the Dutch situation, in light of studies such as McWilliams (2004), which reveal much more aggression and discussion in similar situations where a nation's cultural memory was negotiated.

on Johannes Buno's *Bilder-Bibel*, first published in 1674, in which visualization techniques and emblematic images were propagated to enhance the study and memorization of the Bible.⁷⁰ In line with Buno's imagery, Möller's *Sleutel* contained Bible illustrations with emblematic representations of the mysteries of faith (such as the Holy Spirit represented as a dove). The regional Synod of South Holland levelled harsh criticism against these "*aenstootelijcke, ergerlijcke en onstightelijcke figuren*" [offensive, detestable and unedifying images]. The allegorical elements Möller introduced were obviously unwanted additions in Bible illustrations deployed in the Dutch context. A copy of the *Sleutel* kept in the library of the University of Amsterdam reveals that those pictorial elements were specifically removed by at least one of the book's owners.⁷¹ Over the course of the seventeenth century, Bible illustrations became accepted as long as they were not incorporated into the biblical texts themselves and only illustrated the texts they accompanied. Allegorical or meditative applications developed abroad could not be incorporated into Dutch Protestant traditions and were not deployed by Catholics until the 1660s.

The application of Bible illustrations became less controversial as time passed, but it remained an ideological act well into the nineteenth century. When a new controversy split the Dutch Reformed Church into an orthodox and a more liberal faction around 1830, resulting in what is known as the *Afscheiding* [Schism], the picture Bible – which by then seemed fully accepted – again became the target of virulent attacks. At a moment when literacy was increasing and more and more Bibles were being sold to Protestants through the Dutch Bible Society, founded in 1814, and through organizations that sold Bibles door to door, picture Bibles, which had long been accepted by Protestants, became a hotly contested issue.⁷² At the height of the controversy an elder of the orthodox (*gereformeerde*) faction, Frederik Kon, wrote that he had used the picture Bibles of the more liberal (*hervormde*) minister and school head master Reddingius to light his stove, because such works had "a ruinous effect on human souls." Once again the difference between Catholic and Protestant literary traditions – the visual versus the verbal – was used to identify and reinforce ideological differences. The impact of the seventeenth century imageless religious literature should perhaps not be underestimated. While nowadays illustrated Bibles for adults are published in almost every European

70 On Buno's mnemonic and emblematic techniques, see Strasser (2007) 211–12. Möller was born in Frankfurt am Main in 1641, married a Dutch woman named Wilhelmina de Hulter in 1678, worked as a minister in Leiden from 1679 and died there in 1710.

71 Leeflang (2008) 144–45.

72 Molendijk (2003) 107–28.

country (including for instance an illustrated King James Version), such publications are lacking in the Netherlands. Even editions illustrated by Gustave Doré, once a success in the Netherlands and still frequently reprinted in other European countries, are absent; the last Dutch edition was printed in 1996.

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Illustrating the Anthropological Text: Drawings and Photographs in Franz Boas' *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (1897)

Camille Joseph

Franz Boas was an American anthropologist who played a major role in the development of modern anthropology in the twentieth century. Boas was born in Germany and started his scientific career as a physicist before he chose to dedicate himself to the field of ethnography. He left Germany in 1886 to study the Indian tribes of the Northwest Coast of Canada, among which were the Kwakiutl Indians who lived on Vancouver Island. Boas eventually settled in New York and became assistant curator of ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History (1895–1905). In 1897, he published his first monograph on the ceremonials of the Kwakiutl Indians, entitled *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*.¹ This monograph was published as a report for the United States National Museum based in Washington, D.C., which had been created under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, a scientific institution co-founded by the American government in the 1840s to promote knowledge. The volume is an account of Boas' numerous field trips to British Columbia between the years 1886 and 1891 and then again in 1894. It was during this last trip that Boas decided to have photographs taken in order to illustrate the monograph he had already planned to write (Jacknis, 1984: 36).

During the several field trips he made among the Indians of British Columbia, Boas collected a large number of specimens both for the National Museum and for other institutions, as well as images (both drawings and photographs). *The Social Organization* strikes at first glance as a bewildering mix of images representing artefacts, masks, totem poles, architectural plans, ceremonies and ritualistic events, "portraits" and outdoor scenes. The volume and intricacy of the images within it serve to provide a full description of a particular ceremonial – the winter ceremony. This focus sets the publication apart and gives it a unique standing among Boas' other works: never would he come closer to writing a complete ethnographical account, nor would he ever again use so

1 Hereafter *The Social Organization*, to be abbreviated so.

many illustrations (with the exception of *Primitive Art*, published in 1927). The 1897 report also provides a precious insight into Boas' various skills as an ethnographer in the field; he was able to learn native languages, to note down songs and music, to draw sketches, and to work with photographers (or even on occasion to take photographs himself).

The Social Organization is a very heavy volume of texts and images that Boas meticulously collected or had his informants collect. However, Boas never fully explained his use of the different kinds of ethnographic data. We are therefore bound to look into the ways he gathered, published and organized this diverse and complex array of raw data. A close examination of *The Social Organization's* layout, for example, provides one of the few ways in which we can understand Boas' position regarding the relatively new medium of photography and the way in which it could be used by the ethnographer. It appears that Boas successfully and quite uniquely combined a long tradition of scientific illustration with the modern approach of fieldwork ethnography, relying on photography and images to gather data. These images were a precious source of ethnographic information once the ethnographer had left the field. They were also a means of collecting stories and texts from the Indians themselves, illustrating the interaction that existed between text and image. In this article, I would like to analyze the status of these images as "illustrations" and to examine their position within the scientific narrative. First, I will argue that in order to understand the nature of these images, one should acknowledge that it was not uncommon at this time for reports such as Boas' to contain large numbers of images and that this can be seen as a reflection of the scientific standards set by North American institutions such as the Smithsonian in Washington. Second, many drawings can be found in the monograph that are reminiscent of a tradition in archaeological illustrations: drawings and photographs do not have the same status within the text. But more importantly, and this will be my final point, it is necessary to take into account the theoretical importance given to the native text and the fact that language, according to Boas, was the first and foremost expression of a culture.

An Illustrated Report

As noted previously, the illustrations found in *The Social Organization* are numerous and varied. If we consider only the drawings and photographs, and exclude the music sheets, we find a total of 266 illustrations for a 350-page publication, a ratio of more than one image to every two pages. The images are catalogued in the list of illustrations found at the end of the book and fall into two categories, the "plates" (51 in total) and the "text figures" (215 in total). The

“text figures” are line drawings printed with text, and the “plates” are those images which have been printed separately and then inserted into the publication. This distinction reveals one of the chief drawbacks of photographic and photomechanical reproductions: unlike woodcuts, photographs could not at the time be printed on the sheet with type. Because of this technological constraint, photographs (reproduced in half-tone or in paintings) are all found among the plates (40 photographs) and appear on full pages. The iconography of *The Social Organization* is then not only plentiful but also diverse in terms of format, techniques and styles.

As noted above, the diversity and profusion of images was not rare in other North-American publications of the time, whether for scientific or commercial purposes (Marr, 1990). Government reports² such as the ones published under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, which was a strong advocate and purchaser of images, combined different kinds of illustrations: maps, topographical drawings, sketches, engravings from photographs, paintings, etc. The introduction of photography in government surveys emphasized the demands and widened the uses and practices of images for scientific purposes, although photographs and photographically-based illustrations had been an expected component of U.S. government reports since 1875 (Sandweiss, 2002). For instance, the four Great Surveys, sent to the untamed regions of the American West in the late 1860s, were conducted by teams of explorers who collected artefacts, and biological and geological specimens, and who either made images for themselves or commissioned professional painters, draftsmen, and photographers to do so on their behalf. Explorers were in great need of “visual” images; they felt that words were often unable to depict the wonders of the American West. The inventions of emulsion-coated film in the 1880s and of Kodak’s “hand camera” in 1890 multiplied the number of pictures that professional anthropologists and explorers could take on any given trip (Prins, 2004: 510).³ The camera also played an important role in securing visual representation of materials that ethnographers could not bring back with them to their museums. Photographs therefore provided accurate documentation of a world doomed to disappear. Anthropologists relied on pictures not only to collect, preserve and later study Native American cultures, but also to display their findings to the American public: the founders of American anthropology believed in the use of images as the basis for the educational mission of a science of mankind (Hinsley, 1981: 100).

2 For example, Caroline Lehni numbers 260 illustrations for 400 pages in Major John W. Powell’s *Canyons of the Colorado* (1895). See C. Lehni (2006) 80.

3 On the vast amount of photographs (over 3000) taken during the Jesup North Pacific Expedition under the supervision of Boas, see Kendall and Mathé (1997) 7.

As a scientist who trained in cartographic and topographic drawing and in anthropometric measurements while he was studying in Berlin in the 1880s, Franz Boas was able to use these sketches as scientific data and illustrations (Cole, 1983: 14). This is particularly visible in the geological drawings and maps reproduced in the report of his first field trip among the Inuit of Baffin Island (*The Central Eskimo*, 1885). However, to my knowledge, Boas did not use his own drawings in *The Social Organization* but had drawings made from his own sketches by professional artists such as George T. Emmons, Rudolf Weber or Emily Carr. Also, Boas learned how to use a camera in Berlin in 1882 and was not adverse to using photography. He made a wide use of the camera for anthropometric and craniometric measurements and he was also very active in collecting pictures of the native cultures he came in contact with. This appears in his correspondence with his friend and informant, George Hunt (1854–1933), a Kwakiutl Indian who became an assistant for many ethnographers and for Franz Boas in particular: in several letters, Boas asks Hunt to provide photographs of specific scenes or artefacts. But photographs did not completely take the place of drawings. Neither the invention of photography and its relative availability at the end of the nineteenth century, nor the wide-spread use of photography by most anthropologists at the turn of the twentieth century, produced a shift in Boas' methods.⁴ His prime concern remained the careful scientific study of the culture, rather than utilising the latest technological medium at his disposal.

Drawings and Photographs

Although Boas used photography as early as the 1880s, photographs did not become the privileged mode of illustration in his publications or the ones he supervised. Indeed the papers issued from the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, edited by Franz Boas between 1896 and 1926, reveal, as Michael Oppitz notes, “a beautiful balance between drawing and photography.” (Oppitz, 2001: 121). The publications contained photographs by the authors, drawings, and indig-

4 I will only mention in passing the generously illustrated book of Sir Baldwin Spencer and P.J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, published in 1899. There are 119 photographs in the work, which is far more than would have been contained in other ethnographic monographs at the time. The success of the book is due to the distinction between these photographs which were taken outdoors, and other contemporary photographs which were taken in a studio. They are of a remarkable quality, and, as Peterson noted, they formed the first accessible and substantial corpus of ceremonial photographs from Australia (Peterson 2006).

enous sketches. Therefore, once we acknowledge the technical difficulties which limited the direct reproduction of photographs, it is remarkable that Boas continued to make great use of a more conservative, illustrative medium such as drawing long after photography had been adopted by anthropologists. Yet did these images have the same status as photographs in terms of their scientific validity? We could suggest that drawings and photographs, since they offered differing “representations” of their subject matter, were both of use to an anthropologist.

The classification of illustrations found in *The Social Organization* shows that drawings are preferred to photographs when representing an object or artefact because they enable multiple views of the same object or artefact concurrently. One “illustration” can offer two or three different views of the same object. More importantly, it can highlight one detail of a specific artefact by selecting it and zooming in on it, or by omitting a part of the object to emphasize another. Text images represent selective and didactic perspectives: a synthetic and realistic view on the one hand and a complementary view representing only the outline of the object or the design painted on it on the other hand (Figure 11.1). As a consequence, a drawing seems to give a better idea of the volume and design of the objects.

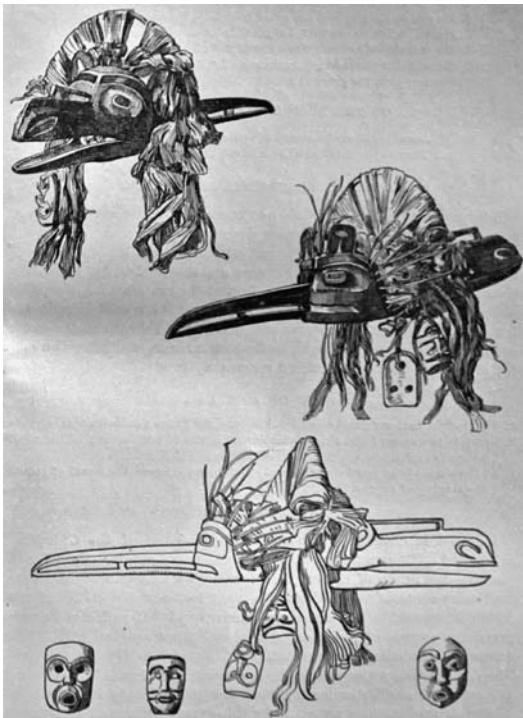


FIGURE 11.1

Figure 127 of The Social Organization represents three different views of the double-head mask of the Na'naqualitl, a dancer of the winter ceremonial. The figure shows two reverse- synthetic and realistic- views and a third, complementary view. The drawings of the mask's outline, while lacking in volume and materiality, is more precise as to the way the two masks are attached to one another. The smaller heads hanging from the mask are isolated at the bottom and therefore appear more clearly.



FIGURE 11.2 *Figure 18 of The Social Organization represents the House front of the clan Gigilqam in the village of Nimkish. It is captioned "From a photograph." The painted motif of the house front appears distinctively. The presence of the two canoes on the beach and the two small human figures on the right hand side of the façade reinforces the large dimensions of the building and of the painting itself.*

Following a tradition of archaeological illustration, Boas was well aware of the ability of drawings to explain and demonstrate: drawings provide a highly detailed view of the object to the reader which his/her own eyes fail to see. One example is particularly striking regarding the appreciation of drawings in a conflicting visual context. At one point in his report, Boas mentions a house located in a Kwakiutl village. The house front, it is said, had been painted and Boas provides the corresponding illustration with text figure n°18: a realistic figuration of a house and, in the centre of the front, the bold black design (Figure 11.2).

In the text preceding and following the illustration, Boas writes:

Fig. 18 shows the house front of the clan Gigilqam of the Nimkish. It represents the thunderbird lifting a whale, which is its food, from out of the water. According to the clan tradition, the Gigilqam are the descendants of the thunderbird. This house front was excellently painted, but has been whitewashed, owing to the misplaced zeal of a missionary. The beak was carved and fastened to the house front. (SO: 375–76)

In this particular case, the drawing of the vanished design enables the reader to see what it looked like before it was whitewashed: the photograph of the house front, which could not capture the almost invisible painting, is turned into a drawing, the remaining traces of the motif are exaggerated and the original design is made fully visible once again. While he acknowledged the damaging effects of historical encounters between Native Americans and missionaries on the Northwest Coast, Boas nonetheless chose not to show a “historical” and somewhat dramatic view of the whitewashed painting. Boas cared very much about the culture of the Kwakiutl Indians before their contact with “the white man”, and his text leaves no doubt as to his own opinion regarding the impact of Western culture on the Kwakiutl culture. Yet documenting the artistic production of the Kwakiutl, among other aspects of their culture, remained his foremost concern, as illustrated by the ubiquitous presence in his work of drawings of the various ornaments used by the Kwakiutl. While the text goes so far as to provide the reader with a textual image of the whitewashed house, the drawing restores the original painting and provides a vivid example of ornamentation. In this specific example as in others, the drawings found in Boas’ report “can be detached from the natural conditions in which their motifs are bound; they can isolate, single out, decontextualize; they can transport their subjects into different surroundings; they can take imaginary viewpoints. This makes drawings capable of conceptual idealization and abstraction; of visually presenting symbolical signification; of depicting reality beyond realism, of transcending.” (Oppitz, 2001: 122)

The scientific “accuracy” of the drawing does not lie in its ability to produce a “likeness”; as in the case of the whitewashed thunderbird and whale, a truthful image would have left the reader with nothing to see other than the faint traces of an undecipherable motif. Boas does not seem to agree with a nostalgic perspective; his drawings are actively selective and interpretative. In this case, the photographic image is turned into a drawing of what is no longer visible to the human eye, which is also the most interesting thing from the ethnographer’s point of view. The two media successfully complement each other: the photograph brings out the general form of the house, whereas the drawing enables the reader to see what the passage of time has made indistinct and provides a clarification of the decorative design that the camera could not achieve. In this case, the drawing can be seen as an interpretation of what the anthropologist sees, but it can only be “readable” if the anthropologist has a clear understanding of what lies before his eyes and if this meaning finds a “translation” in a coherent means of representation. Masks and other artistic paraphernalia or motifs such as the complex design found on the house front

of the Nimkish require a deep attention on the part of the anthropologist, who must recognize and decompose the various elements of this complex art.⁵

Photographs prove to be no less inventive than drawings. But they address different subjects with a different approach. They contextualize rather than put an emphasis on the various elements constituting an artefact; they are holistic in respect to the object that they focus on and cannot be selective like drawings. The fact that photographs contextualize does not mean that an alteration cannot be made to them. Indeed, some critics such as Anne Maxwell have been particularly vocal on this subject.⁶ According to Maxwell the illustrations found in nineteenth-century ethnological publications are not valuable as primary data, because they are “untrue” to the reality of Indian life at the time. Photographs in particular have been accused of concealing the difficulties involved in, and erasing the traces of, forced acculturation and integration of Native Americans into modern life. They are too colonial, too romantic, too idealized, in a word, too ideological to be considered as “good” primary sources. Rather than pursuing this line of argument, however, I would like to focus on how such photographs received a specific treatment that tended to achieve a quality close to that of the drawings. For example, the few plates depicting men and women in the report are not captioned as “portraits” and have little to do with the numerous images of Native Americans available at the same time throughout the western territories.⁷ On the contrary, the photographs of single people found in Boas’ report focus on the activity of the person depicted. For instance, Figure 10.3 shows a member of the Hamatsa secret society dancing. In this case, as in other illustrations (e.g. a “Chief delivering speech at festival”), the title of the illustration is generic: “Dance of the Hamatsa.” Although this illustration focuses on the activity rather than the person, the rest of the legend still mentions the “grandmother” of the man

5 In the case of Kwakiutl art or Northwest Coast art in general, what appears to be an abstract design is in fact very often a stylized representation of naturalistic elements. Bill Holm suggests, following Boas’ own analysis of the art of this region, that “practically no examples of Northwest two-dimensional art are realistic in the ordinary sense. The different degrees of realism in this art seem to result not from a variety of concepts of representation but from the artist’s preference (more or less strictly bound by tradition) in handling the given space.” (Holm 1965: 11)

6 As illustrations for his report, Boas used photographs he commissioned from Northwest Coast photographer O.C. Hastings during the Chicago Columbian Fair of 1893. See Maxwell (2002).

7 The first photographs taken on the Northwest Coast since the late 1860s were commercial, small-size pictures of Indian warriors. These “portraits” or “*cartes-de-visite*,” as they were called at the time, fitted well with the wider vogue for mass-produced celebrity photographs that swept through the American continent. See Thomas (1981).

appearing in the picture. Yet the general impression left on the reader is that of a generalizing image of the dancers from this particular secret society, and of their specific ornaments. It seems that most of the time Boas required that photographs be rendered as drawings – that is, selectively – in order to maintain the distinctness and clearness of the illustration. Very often details such as the background have been erased or blurred, thus making the foreground appear more clearly (Figure 11.3). In contrast to what other anthropologists were doing, who included some of his own students such as Alfred Kroeber, Boas had little interest in giving a general impression, even in the most “natural” pictures found in his report (Jacknis, 2002: 526). He was very much concerned, on the contrary, with the peculiarities and the details of each ceremonial, costume, mask, cedar bark head ring, or with the gesture accompanying certain activities such as fishing, cooking, and of course dancing, etc. This reinforces the abundance of views and images, which can be at times overwhelming for the reader.



FIGURE 11.3

Plate 28 of The Social Organization is captioned “Dance of the Hamatsa. The peculiar head and neck ring of the dance were obtained from the Tlingit, his grandmother being of the Tongass tribe. From a photograph.” The dancer poses on a stretch of grass, which only reinforces the artificial character of the image. In fact, this grass was that of the Chicago World Columbian Fair grounds of 1893, and the dancer was surrounded by other Kwakiutl. The “context” surrounding the dancer has been erased, and the focus is put on the gesture and the paraphernalia.

Because of his interest in the details, gestures, and positions of each person during ceremonials or more daily activities, Boas paid a good deal of attention to the exact order in which the Kwakiutl would arrange themselves or move around. To a certain extent, the plates made from photographs can be described as real “illustrations” of the attitude of the Kwakiutl Indians. Boas regularly wrote to Hunt about his desire to receive such “illustrations” of certain specific activities, which were only available through partial textual description or stories:

I have looked over again the subject-matter of your cooking, and I find that in order to print the material satisfactorily, we ought to have illustrations showing the way the cooking is done. (...) I should like, for instance, to have a photograph of the man and the woman sitting at the hole on which clams are being steamed, and photographs showing the manner of cutting fish. It would also be well to have photographs for showing the fish as it is being cut, because it is very difficult to understand some of the descriptions of the cutting without illustration.⁸

This letter, written long after the publication of the 1897 monograph, reveals how much Boas relied on images and photographs to understand native cultures. More importantly, this letter shows that Boas’ interest in the Kwakiutl Indians became wide and varied, and embraced all aspects of their life. Just as he believed that the best way to obtain a truthful and precise text was to receive it directly from a native speaker – in his case he had spent some time teaching George Hunt how to write and translate his own language –, Boas expected his informants to provide him with images (sketches or photographs) made by themselves in so far as they had mastered the skills necessary for doing so.⁹ Materials secured by the natives themselves were at the foundation of Boas’ anthropology, and the fact that he applied these principles to pictures as well is in keeping with this methodology. The images of the cooking or cutting mentioned above provide much more than a visual equivalent to the text: they provide a key to the understanding of this particular activity.

The use of illustrations in *The Social Organization* therefore debunks the usual function of both media: drawings are often said to be about generalization, whereas photographs are said to be more specific, to do with the unique-

8 F. Boas to G. Hunt, November 22, 1907, American Philosophical Society (Franz Boas Papers, Correspondence). Unpublished archive.

9 Boas not only instructed Hunt in the writing of his own language, he also introduced him to the use of the camera. See Jacknis (1992).

ness of one object, scene, or person. In fact, illustrations made from photographs have much in common with drawings: they must be as precise and detailed as possible, while providing a realistic dimension that drawings cannot achieve. Rather than being competing media of representation, drawings and photographs serve different purposes. While both have to maintain distinctness and clarity, photographs are more concerned with the general impression of an object and (e.g.) the contextualization (not necessarily historical or geographical) of a ceremonial or an activity. Drawings, on the other hand, have certain qualities that make them preferable to photographs in certain circumstances. Boas, for example, preferred drawings because they belonged to a graphic tradition that included geological, archaeological, and cartographic drawing.¹⁰ Yet Boas, as observed above, was not adverse to using modern techniques to record the many activities and traditions of the Indians of the Northwest Coast. Late in his career, in the 1930s, he even took ethnographic footage of dances, games and craft-making. But Boas always turned to modern mechanical devices to serve his higher goal: to observe cultural practices and record them with as much objectivity as possible. He achieved this not only by reflecting on the use of photography vs. drawing, but by using the images he produced to record more information and valuable data on the tribes he was studying. Together with the images, Boas frequently published this data in written texts. Such texts lay at the foundation of his approach to culture, an approach directly linked to the German romantic association between language and culture advocated by the likes of Johann Gottfried Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt. The influence of this philological tradition upon Boas – illustrated in the countless books of myths and legends published by him – requires that we closely examine the relationship between images and text in the Kwakiutl monograph of 1897.

Images and Their Text

A detailed analysis of *The Social Organization* reveals that text images or plates never occur without some form of citation or description in the text. Boas had always paid close attention to the writing and editing of his work and that of others. Ensuring that illustrations matched the order of the text was particularly crucial to him (Jacknis, 2002: 526). In the 1897 monograph, Boas took great

10 At the time, American anthropology embraced subdisciplines such as linguistics, archaeology, physical anthropology, and archaeology. It is therefore not surprising that their methods may overlap.

care with the layout of the images, which were not only articulated by the text through cited references, but were placed within the argumentation. If we look at the masks and totem poles, for example, we can see that they are always linked to a specific text within the general discussion, namely to a legend or tale. The corresponding legend tells the story of the acquisition of the totemic animals featured on the pole or portrayed in the mask, and of the names of the clan whose artefacts are presented, etc. The relationship between the various kinds of data collected by and for the anthropologist – artefacts, objects of art, legends, songs – seems to be a specific feature of the ethnographical methodology developed by Boas.

Many of the illustrations of masks in *The Social Organization* were sourced from the collections of the Ethnographic Museum of Berlin, where Boas had been working under Adolf Bastian in 1886, at a time when he made his shift from physics to ethnology. He was then in charge of cataloguing masks collected in British Columbia by Captain Adrian Jacobsen, who was an explorer and amateur collector. Boas found that there was no scientific grounding to the collection made by Jacobsen, because the masks had not been gathered with the accompanying legends – the only way, according to Boas, of understanding their meaning. Therefore, Boas' first trip to British Columbia was dedicated to recording these legends, which he succeeded in doing by showing watercolours that he himself had made of the Berlin collection to the indigenous population. His own fieldwork, and later that conducted in collaboration with George Hunt, was not only devoted to the collecting and photographing of objects, but also to the collection of native words and stories, and to obtaining the meaning of artistic materials from the native peoples themselves. Boas relied greatly on Hunt to provide him with what even the most dedicated ethnographer would only ever be able to comprehend partially: the native's point of view. In a letter to Hunt, Boas writes:

I sent you some time ago photographs of a number of large carvings which you have sent me, and which I could not identify. You have never answered my letter in regard to them. Please return these photographs to me, and say on their backs what they are. You know that I wish to have, for all the large carvings, a pretty full history.

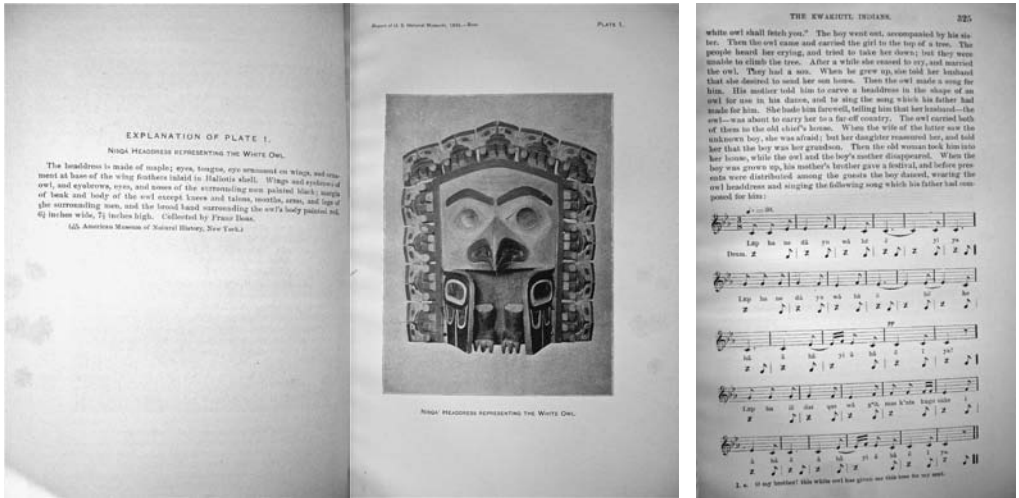
Boas' words illustrate the demands that he often made of Hunt, here accusing him of failing to answer his questions adequately. For Boas, the photographs of carvings and posts referred to in this letter required further commentary. Images alone were not sufficient because the anthropologist needed a story to accompany them – a story which Hunt was to obtain by showing the

photographs to the indigenous population. But Boas' exact requirements are relatively vague: "what they are," and "a pretty full history", he writes. Thus these photographs functioned as a pretext for Boas to obtain, via Hunt, *any* sort of story from the Kwakiutl Indians: the images were to act as a trigger for the words and to encourage the Kwakiutl to speak about their culture in general terms. While Boas was interested in obtaining the meaning of the works of art made by the natives, as his many works on primitive art undeniably suggest, it seems that he was also concerned with recording texts that he would be able to study from a linguistic point of view. The stories told by the natives, once turned into a body of texts, then became available for analysis and gave the ethnographer a unique understanding of a culture from the point of view of its members. The stories that Boas asked Hunt to obtain cannot be considered as only providing information regarding the carvings or other artefacts. They were texts to be scrutinized by the linguist. As Melville Jacob noted, Boas "was not interested in obtaining a large sample, much less the whole of an oral literature. He was concerned with supplying linguistic materials that were sufficiently varied to document the study of the language. Boas' first love was linguistic analysis." (Jacob 1959: 119–20)

This particular combination of image and text that reflected the relationship between the oral tradition and the written text, and which enabled linguistic analysis, can be seen in the first plate of *The Social Organization*. The plate shows a headdress captioned "Nisqa' headdress representing the white owl." On the opposite page is an explanation regarding the different materials used to make the headdress, the colours of the various parts and the size of the object. In the text surrounding the two pages dedicated to the plate, Boas gives the legend and the song associated with the headdress (see Figure 11.4). The passage begins with:

The G'ispawaduwe'da, the bear clan of the Nisqa', use a headdress representing the owl (Plate 1), surrounded by many small human heads called gyad Em Laqs (claw men). This is worn in potlatches, and commemorates the following tradition (...). (SO: 324)

Then Boas provides the legend, music sheet and lyrics of the song. On the next page, he continues his description of the clans without any further comments on this particular tradition or headdress. In this case, the artefact and the legend are only juxtaposed – Boas does not say how the former "explains" the latter. Therefore, the legend becomes a textual element with a specific position within the general narrative of the monograph; it only makes sense in relation to the other elements of the monograph, namely the images representing



a

b

FIGURE 11.4 a) On the left is the explanation of Plate 1 of *The Social Organization*, with the corresponding image of the headdress representing the white owl on the right. These facing pages are inserted between p. 324 and 325 of the report; b) This page (325 of the report) displays a combination of text and music, i.e., the song belonging to the owl's legend.

specific artefacts, music, songs, etc. The combination of these different kinds of “raw data” is a reflection, as it were, of the culture of the Kwakiutl Indians.

The anthropological image thus becomes part of a wider scientific program. In fact, it is not used as a mere illustration but it is intricately embedded within the general narrative. It leads the reader back to the text and functions in accordance with a specific legend. The relationship between the masks or the totem poles, for instance, and their corresponding legends is reflected in the layout of the book, in which images and text have been interspersed with much care (see Figure 11.4 and Figure 11.5). We could argue that the ethnographic data the reader is confronted with in this book reflects the intricacy of language, art, myths and ceremonials in the life of the Kwakiutl Indians. More importantly for us, the images, whether drawings or photographs, participate in the general process of collecting data in the form of legends and myths. As a result, it is clear that Boas intended these images to be an integral part of the content and design of his monograph from the outset.

Yet, though images were an integral part of the monograph, the fundamental idea that language was at the core of cultures ensured that text and language remained the primary focus for Boas. This was somewhat in contradiction with others, such as Edward S. Curtis, who were working in the same region of

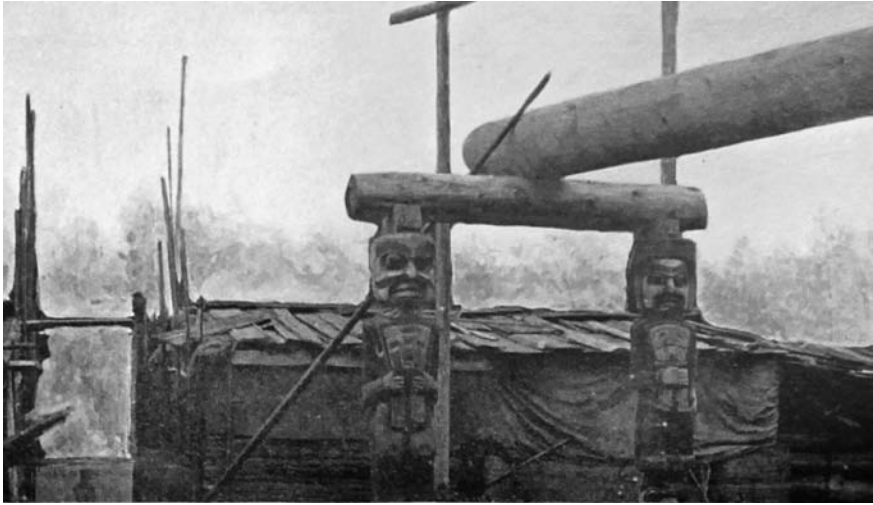


FIGURE 11.6 *Plate 16 of The Social Organization represents houseposts in the shape of animals holding coppers. The background of the village has been blurred, thus focusing the attention of the reader on the posts themselves rather than on their environment or any other irrelevant element that could be seen on the picture.*

over-aestheticization and romanticization of the Kwakiutl culture. Hunt once wrote to Boas concerning a picture of his wife dressed as though for a marriage, which had been taken by Curtis: “He Dont know what all the meaning and the story of it. For on that Picture you cant see the four carved Post under it.”¹¹ Curtis tried to keep a strong conceptual control over his photographs. In addition to a dramatic imagination, this produced an aesthetic rather than scientific approach to Indian cultures. In contrast Boas was more concerned with the scientific validity of the material represented in the illustrations than with creating an extensive visual survey of the “vanishing” cultures of the American West. In this respect, Boas it seems cared about the modern medium of photography only in so far as it could contribute to his scientific work. A comparison of Curtis’ picture of a Kwakiutl house (Figure 11.7) and Plate 16 of *The Social Organization* (Figure 11.6), which both show two house posts and the beams of a native house, reveals striking differences between Curtis and Boas in terms of their visual representation and understanding of the same culture, although these photographs were not taken at the same time.

¹¹ G. Hunt to F. Boas, May 4, 1920, cited in Jacknis (1992) 145. As Jacknis noted, “not only did Curtis not photograph the most important elements according to a Kwakiutl viewpoint, but, unlike Boas, he was interested principally in visual effect (...).” (Ibid.)

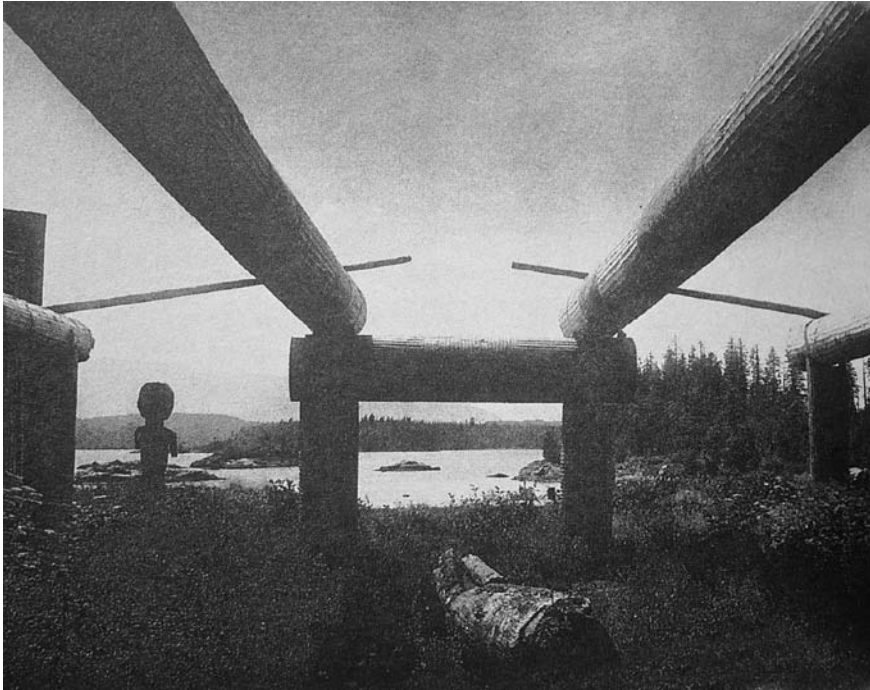


FIGURE 11.7 *Edward S. Curtis' Kwakiutl house-frame was published in vol. V of The North American Indian, 1915. Although the title suggests that the image focuses on the architecture of the typical Kwakiutl house, the "romantic" subjectivity of the photographer is evident in the dramatic framing of the photograph in which the posts of the house have been used to draw the viewer's attention to the background images, rather than to the house-frame in the foreground.*

The neutral black-and-white image in Boas' text stands in clear opposition to the sepia tones of Curtis's picture which immediately suggest a sense of nostalgia based upon the popular ideology of the Vanishing Indian. The image of Indian cultures as "fading" was in itself not a new idea in America at the beginning of the twentieth century. Indian cultures were in disarray and many peoples had almost disappeared. Curtis' mission, as he understood it, was to depict "all features of Indian life and environment, types of the young and the old, with their habitations, industries, ceremonies, games and everyday customs" (Curtis, 1907: xiii). With his gigantic work, consisting of twenty volumes, Curtis wished to collect the traces left by the disappearance of the American Indian and to build an American monument not only to him but also to America's past (Arrivé, 2007). Boas, as an immigrant with no particular emotional or cultural links to American history, was probably less likely to view Native American cultures as Curtis did, although he did manifest his concern for the

preservation of Indian cultures. The picture from Boas' work instead focuses on the details of the construction, the architecture of the house and the carved posts holding the supporting beam. As in many other cases, the background has been blurred, rather roughly, in order to focus the attention of the viewer on the foreground and, perhaps, to eliminate any trace of the most recent transformation in the native way of life. In any case, the focus is put on the architectural detail and function of the two houseposts supporting the large beam above them. Despite its title, *Kwakiutl House-frame*, Curtis's image is less centred on the concrete depiction of the architecture than on the landscape that surrounds it or, to be more precise, that opens-up in front of it. The remaining poles are directed toward the sea and the carved animal, on the left hand-side, turns its back to the viewer, facing an ever-lasting sunset on a deserted village. The position of this statue, with its active gaze in the distance, makes it alive with nostalgia and, perhaps, sadness. Curtis undoubtedly wanted these feelings to be transferred from the statue to the viewer. The frame of the photograph itself encloses the internal frame created by the beams at the centre of the photograph, which draws our perspective towards the horizon, suggesting a sense of loss as well as of "infinite patience and acceptance." (Thomas, 1981: 79). Such a dramatic staging is completely absent in Boas' picture, where the absence of a background decontextualizes the image and prevents any comment on the passage of time. In this case, the viewer is cast in the role of a distant observer, left to examine the totem poles and their carvings from a dispassionate viewpoint. In sum, whilst Boas was far from indifferent to the purpose of "salvage ethnography," he tried not to provide his reader with images that could only reinforce a romantic vision of the Indians or prompt a meditation on disappearing cultures.

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The Interaction of Image and Text In Modern Comics

Tom Lambeens and Kris Pint

Introduction

The combination of image and text is undoubtedly one of the most typical features of the comic strip genre. This combination in itself is, of course, far from new. Sequential images were already combined with textual elements in Egyptian hieroglyphs or medieval manuscripts and paintings.¹ The comic strip as such evolved in the first half of the nineteenth century, with artists like Rodolphe Töpffer (influenced by William Hogarth), Wilhelm Busch and Pehr Nordquist, all of whom created stories that were easy to reproduce and combined words and images, albeit still strictly separated from each other. Inspired by the American newspaper comics of the early twentieth century, like Frederik Burr Opper's *Happy Hooligan* (1900) and *Alphonse and Gaston* (1901), the European comic strip started to integrate speech balloons into the image itself, with Hergé's *Les Aventures de Tintin* as its most prominent and best-known exponent.² Initially conceived for the youth supplement of a Belgian newspaper, *Tintin* proved so successful that his adventures were soon published in book form as well. The emergence of real comic *books* meant an important evolution of comics, a move away from the rather transitory medium of the newspaper. Yet for a long time, comic books were mostly seen as children's entertainment. In the seventies, this view began to change with the emergence of the so-called "graphic novel," which featured more mature content and, at times, a more experimental style of drawing as well. A successful, recent example of this emancipation of the comic book genre is *Logicomix* (2008), by Apostolos Doxiadis, Christos Papadimitriou, and Alecos Papadatos. The book is conceived as a complex account of both the theories and the lives of the founders of modern mathematics and logics, like Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein – a far cry from the light-footed newspaper gags which gave "comics" their name.

1 See Lefèvre (2006) and Dierick and Lefèvre (1998) 13–22.

2 For a comprehensive discussion of the "history" of the speech balloon, see Lefèvre (2006).

The large number of recent films based on comic books, like David Cronenberg's *A History of Violence* (2005), Frank Miller's and Robert Rodriguez' *Sin City* (2005), Zack Snyder's *300* (2006, also based on a graphic novel series by Frank Miller) and more recently, Steven Spielberg's *The Adventures of Tintin* (2011), seems to reveal the close affinity between both media. They can both be categorised as visual narratives and often use similar techniques (montage, point of view, split screen). But as Hans-Christian Christiansen argues in his "Comics and Film: A Narrative Perspective" (2000), this mutual influence should not cause us to forget the important aesthetic differences between both media.³ One of the distinctive features of mainstream comics seems to be precisely that co-presence of written text and image, or as Robert C. Harvey puts it in his "Comedy at the Juncture of Word and Image" (2007): "the essential characteristic of 'comics' – the thing that distinguishes it from other kinds of pictorial narratives – is the incorporation of the verbal content."⁴

Precisely because of this characteristic combination of text and image, the readers of comics are caught between the act of perceiving and the act of reading. Not only the medium itself, but also the relatively new theoretical research on the genre continues to struggle with this duality between text and image.⁵ This often inhibits an exploration of the full potential of the interaction between text and image so crucial to the genre. In this paper, we introduce another duality, one between code and sensation. We argue that exploring the interaction between both axes (the axis of word/image and that of code/sensation) provides interesting perspectives for both the analysis and creation of comics. We will illustrate this by examining the works of two of the founding fathers of European comics, Hergé and Franquin, and those of some contemporary, Western avant-garde artists like Jochen Gerner, Dominique Goblet, Bert Van der Meij, and Chris Ware, and by discussing *Front Back*, an experimental comic book by Tom Lambeens, co-author of this paper.

Word versus Image

We will start with a discussion of the first axis, word-image. In his standard work *The System of Comics* (1999, translated in 2007), Thierry Groensteen distinguishes between the image zone, which creates an illusion of three-dimen-

3 Christiansen (2000) 107–23.

4 Harvey (2007) 75.

5 See especially Groensteen (1997, 2007 and 2008), Lefèvre and Baetens (1993), McCloud (1993) and Peeters (1991).

sionality, and the text zone, which remains faithful to the “bi-dimensional materiality of the writing surface.”⁶

Such an approach, which clearly separates word from image, can be very fruitful for the analysis of the works of someone like Hergé. In *Les Aventures de Tintin* we see how neatly he splits the narration into different panels and how, within each panel, he separates the visual and the verbal elements. The visual elements are predominantly located in the lower half of the panel. The background of the image is often filled with details, while the figures in the foreground lack detailing. The words are restricted to the captions and the speech balloons, which are almost invariably placed at the upper half of the panel. The same neutral typography is used to render the words of friends and foes, young and old, male and female. This indicates that the text is only there to be read, like one would read words in a novel. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that the text, with its typographic “stir” of curves and straight lines, visually corresponds with the busy detailing in the background of the images, while the ample spacing of the words in the captions and speech balloons corresponds with the “airy” figuration of the characters (Figure 12.1). Yet despite this careful, nuanced harmony between text and image, both zones remain strictly separated from each other.

In the works of another important master of the genre, Franquin, the opposition between the zones becomes far less self-evident. In Franquin’s typical “busy” style of drawing we see more verbal elements appearing in the image zone. If we look at comic strips like his *Gaston Lagaffe* series about a lazy yet inventive office clerk, we can see that word clouds are placed in a more dynamic, fanciful way than in Hergé’s works and that grotesque onomatopoeic forms (indicating e.g. shouting, explosions and other noises) play an active part in the overall figurative composition of the panel.⁷

In some contemporary avant-garde comic books, created by artists like e.g. Dominique Goblet and Bert Van der Meij, the merging of the two zones is pushed to its limits, by integrating into the visual composition not only onomatopoeic forms, but “normal” words as well. Figure 12.2 illustrates this radical blending in Goblet’s *Faire Semblant C’est Mentir* (2007) [Faking is Lying too]. We see how Goblet rejects the uniform rendering of words in a single font. The text also escapes the tyranny of the speech balloon and sometimes even pushes the visual representation to the background of the panel. In contrast with the neutral fonts used by artists like Hergé, the typography Goblet and Van der Meij use is frequently adapted to the specific context of the image.

6 Groensteen (2007) 69–70.

7 Franquin (2009) 39.



FIGURE 12.1 Hergé, *De Zonnetempel* (Doornik: Casterman, 1977), p. 17.
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It is here that the analytical framework of Groensteen reveals its limits. It cannot completely grasp the specific interaction between the verbal and visual elements in Franquin, Goblet and Van der Meij, precisely because of its overly exclusive focus on the opposition between word and image. When we want to understand how textual elements start to function visually and an image starts to function as a text, we should take two other notions into consideration: sensation and code.

Sensation Versus Code

The notion “code” has the advantage of transcending the classic duality between word and image. Words are just one (linguistic) form of code. When we read comic strips, we must also decode the images: we use narrative and cultural codes to make sense of the depicted actions and scenes, but also visual codes to recognize the different characters and locations. Just like other codes, a visual code works by conventions and (internal) analogies, an operation that bans the difference and repeats and stresses the general, the similar. The coded image can refer to another set of images. A drawing of Garfield primarily refers to other, similar drawings of this cartoon figure, allowing us to recognize it as the same character in different cartoons, but can also refer to a referent in reality: the drawn cat has some general features in common with a real cat. In his *Understanding Comics. The Invisible Art* (1993), Scott McCloud points out that this “codification” of the image is gradual, going from a photorealistic, detailed rendering to an archetype and, *in extremis*, to an abstract sign.⁸ Yet even that

⁸ McCloud (1993) 52–53.



FIGURE 12.2 Goblet, D., *Faire Semblant C'est Mentir* (Paris: L'Association, 2007), p. 21.
© DOMINQUE GOBLET & L'ASSOCIATION, 2007

sort of view on the relation between text and image as a gradual transition, rather than a strict opposition (as with Groensteen), still ignores what it is in this codification that *resists* the code or even *disrupts* it: visual sensation. It is striking that the medium of comics, which belongs to the plastic arts, is so seldom analysed from a visual perspective. Pascal Lefèvre already pointed out this important omission in the theoretical reflection on the medium in his “Recovering Sensuality in Comic Theory” (1999).⁹ By adding the term “sensation” to the toolbox of comic strip theory, we want to provide an instrument to examine this neglected visual, plastic component of the genre.

Unlike “decoding,” which refers to a mental activity, an act of reading that abstracts from the actual perception of the code or the materiality of the medium, “sensing” is far more physical: a sensation affects the body, making one aware of the physical act of experiencing something. Every sensation is unique, as it is related to a specific body at this specific time-space, and thus differs from any other sensation. This difference obscures the construction of a code

9 Lefèvre (1999) 141.

that represses the dissimilar. In his *Francis Bacon: The Logic of Sensation* (1981, translated in 2003), Deleuze's interpretation of sensation goes further than the "sensual reading" Lefèvre advocates. Rather than merely an aesthetic, bodily experience, sensation arises in a confrontation with forces that undo our normal outlook and present the perceiving body with unknown affects that cannot be reduced to familiar (hence "coded") emotional or aesthetic schemata. Deleuze uses the notion of sensation to analyse modern art as a way of exploring "percepts" and "affects" that no longer mimetically refer to an external reality or an internal psychological state. Even if modern art possesses referentiality – e.g. interpreted along the lines of a mimetic code, the black strokes in *Wheatfield with Crows* (1890), one of Vincent Van Gogh's final paintings, refer to the birds we all know, just as, within the framework of a psychological/biographical code of interpretation, these evocative strokes can be "decoded" as the expression of Van Gogh's mental discomfort – it simultaneously presents the difference too.¹⁰ In modern painting, artists reveal this difference by not hiding brush-strokes or clots of paint, but actually accentuating their materiality. At the representational level, they try to deform what is depicted, to overload it with detail or to supplement it with a specific visual rhythm, so we can only perceive it as a sensation, and not read it as a code. We can see this e.g. in the work of Cézanne, who exaggerates colours and forms, or in the work of Bacon, who depicts the human body almost beyond recognition, and, in so doing, stirs a strong response in his spectators.¹¹

The Deleuzian interpretation of the notion of "sensation" can be linked to the that of "defamiliarisation" or *ostranenie*, discussed by Victor Shklovsky in his "Art as Technique" (1917). Through repeated dealings with the same objects or situations, our sensual perception becomes infected by a hidden coding, causing us to ignore all the different experiences they evoke. For Shklovsky, art tries to disrupt this codification of the experience by searching for formulations that allow us to see familiar things and situations as if they were experienced for the very first time: "And art exists that one may recover the sensation of life; it exists to make one feel things, to make the stone *story*. The purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are perceived and not as they are known."¹² Shklovsky's remark makes clear that it would be incorrect to simply equate the axis of code/sensation with the axis of realism/non-realism. The point Shklovsky makes is precisely that a non-realistic artistic representation of a stone can in fact be a more *real* evocation of a stone than an easily recog-

10 Deleuze (2003) 61–69, 80.

11 Ibid., 25–31, 79.

12 Shklovsky (1965) 12.

nizable photograph or drawing. Likewise, the splashes of paint on a non-figurative painting can be seen as more “real” than any “normal” representation, which implies illusion. And there is also no reason why a seemingly “realistic” painting could not evoke sensation by showing, in the representation of the familiar, the “coded” reality, the non-evident, the unknown, the *unreality* of actual sensual experience. We can easily recognize the mimetic code of the crows and the rural setting in van Gogh’s *Wheatfield*, yet through their actual materiality and position on the canvas emerges a sensation that goes beyond the realistic representation of a typical rural landscape.

Obviously, such sensations that escape from the code are much easier to create in paintings, where the narrative and referential aspects can be reduced to a minimum. In a comic strip, these possibilities quickly come to a dead end, because the sequence of images inevitably installs narrative sequentiality, repetition and hence code. Most comic strips use characters, and we can only recognize a character if it reappears in a fairly recognizable – hence coded – way throughout the different panels. The genre of the comic strip, therefore, cannot do without code. Pure sensation without any code is, indeed, simply impossible.

In contemporary avant-garde comics, we can distinguish two different reactions to this interaction between code and sensation. Some artists try to avoid this duality altogether by extending the anti-sensual realm of the text to the images themselves and striving for an ever more purified code, with as little “sensual” surplus as possible. Due to the semiotic and narratological background of comic strip theory, which emerged from literature and film studies, it is not surprising that near exclusive attention has been given to such artists, like Hergé and more recently Chris Ware, whose “coded” works effectively illustrate the theoretical schemes.

If we are to give a quick overview of the development in what we could call the “school of repetition,” we should, again, take *Les Aventures de Tintin* as a starting point. We have already discussed the absence of detail in Hergé’s foreground figures, which makes them akin to the pictograms of Arntz and Neurath. With their Isotype (International System of Typographic Picture Education), they have tried to develop a universal language of pictograms in which the image completely coincides with a semantic concept, as we can see in Figure 12.3, Arntz’s image of a boat. If we compare this image with Hergé’s rendering of a boat in e.g. *Le Temple du Soleil* (1949) (Figure 12.4), we see the same kind of reductionism that preserves only the volume and the contour lines of the ship.

Inspired by Hergé’s famous *ligne claire*-style and the pictograms of Arntz, Jochen Gerner’s *TNT en Amérique* (2002) brings this “codification” of images to



FIGURE 12.3 Arntz, G., Pictogram of a boat (1930).
Accessible at <http://www.gerdarntz.org/isotype>

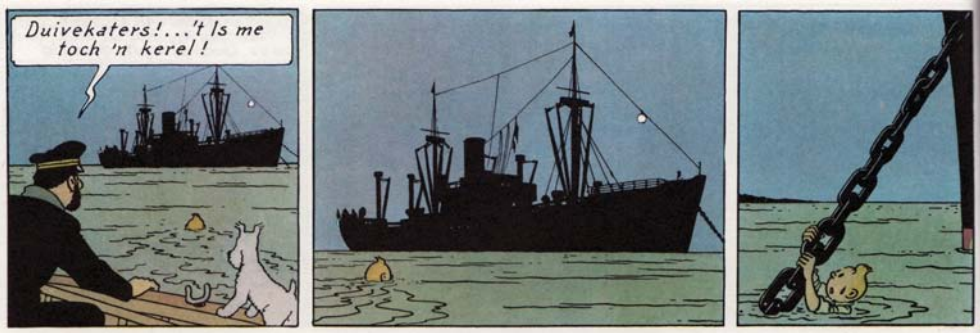


FIGURE 12.4 Hergé, De Zonnetempel (*Doornik: Casterman, 1977*), p. 6.
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a climax that flirts with abstraction. In this work – an adaptation of the famous *Tintin en Amérique* – Gerner covers entire panels with black paint, sparing only the most necessary words and images. The few images that escape the black pigment are reduced to pictograms which create playful variations on Arntz's famous set. This ironic operation breaks up both the code of the classical comic strip and the pictogram, but only to replace it with a third, idiosyncratic code – a strange pictorial universe that is Gerner's own creation (Figure 12.5).

In a more accessible, “mimetic” style than Gerner, Chris Ware, too, searches for the ultimate limits of codification by taking full advantage of the formal possibilities of the medium. A good example of this is Ware's *Jimmy Corrigan: The Smartest Kid on Earth* (2000). Ware tries to construct a clear overall structure for his story by using the same set of colours that are symbolically inter-related, and by copying identical curves and sometimes even whole panels throughout the strip, as we can see in Ware's *Jimmy Corrigan*, p. 117. Just like Hergé, he strives for visual purity, and digitally generated colouring offers him the ideal alternative to the unavoidable imperfections of manual colouring, which would reveal the materiality of the image. Ware aims to render a flower in a manner so conventional and “neutral” that the readers can project their

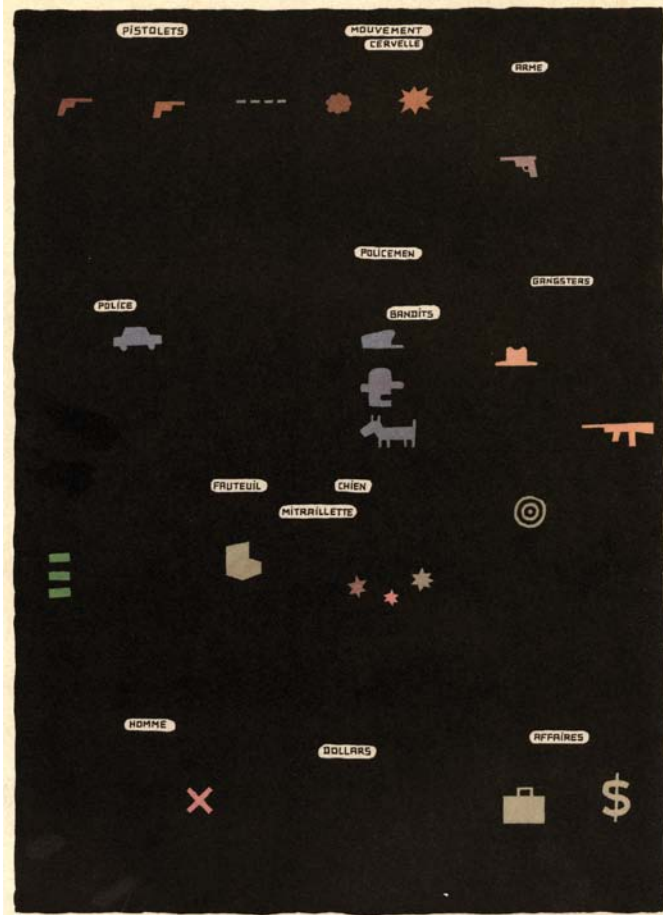


FIGURE 12.5 Gerner, J., TNT en Amérique (*Paris: L'ampoule, 2002*), p. 41.
© L'AMPOULE, 2002

own subjective flower to fill in the image.¹³ Yet those coded images could never have a strong emotional effect, precisely because they lack surprise and thus sensation. The image is supplemented by the personal memory of the reader (to the pictogram-like flower he or she adds the knowledge of how real flowers look and smell), but this memory only activates what is already known, already experienced. The “sensual” power of the image emerges only when the expectation, i.e. the imagination of the reader, is surpassed and unsettled and a totally new experience is provoked. Therefore, we believe that the evocative, “sensational” power of Ware’s *Jimmy Corrigan* is to be found on another level. Precisely by evacuating every visual sensation from the work itself, by using

13 See Peeters and Samson (2010) 133 -35.

the same codified forms over and over again and by using pure, computer-generated areas of colour, the panels of *Jimmy Corrigan* evoke a sensation of despair, sadness and claustrophobia. This sensation cannot be visually located in the panels themselves, but instead resides in the reader's bodily resistance against this codification, against this closed, neurotic universe that does not provide a means of escape.

When we move away from the shadowless and dematerialised, "clean" worlds of Ware and Hergé and instead look for artists who no longer try to tame the sensual force of the image, we are brought back to Franquin as a key figure. His painstakingly detailed figures of the *Gaston Lagaffe* or *Spirou*-series are drawn with a whimsical line that varies in size. This "rhizomatic" style of drawing, so typical for Franquin, is the exact opposite of Hergé's absolute and neat *ligne claire*. Contrary to the static nature of a panel in a comic book, Franquin's dynamic line evokes a certain vitalistic agility and reveals the materiality of the drawing, namely ink on paper, something that is "repressed" in Hergé's perfect line. Obviously, Franquin also needs codification, and Gaston Lagaffe, just like Tintin, is a character that we can immediately recognize because of the coded repetition of certain features (his gigantic nose, green pullover and typical, stooped gait). Yet by cramming his panels full of details, Franquin also disrupts this code. For instance, he will never depict Gaston in profile: his trajectory never runs parallel with that of the image plane. This friction creates a sense of depth and accentuates the liveliness. When Gaston walks, rather unrealistically, you always see the tops and/or soles of his shabby slippers.¹⁴

These details function as visual "barbs" that turn the reader into a viewer who is arrested by the things he or she sees on the panel. Just like Hergé, Franquin's images are mimetic, but unlike Hergé's, they never belong to a universe of almost archetypal, unchanging figures and objects. They are simultaneously utterly unrealistic and perfectly recognizable. Franquin overloads them with details and never tries to mask the imperfections of his drawings, nor the imperfections in the story-world he evokes: his depicted objects are susceptible to decay and full of flaws. This makes his comic strips look less coded, because the code is always overtaken by the chaotic fluidity that marks the universe of Gaston & co. We can easily illustrate this difference when we compare e.g. a boat from Hergé with a more "swinging" example by Franquin. Franquin's boat can initially be drawn "tighter" than Hergé's, but when, in an ensuing panel, it collides with a rock, it appears to be as liquid as the surrounding water itself (Figure 12.6). With Franquin things are never fixed into a single, clearly defined essence: depending on each situation, they acquire other attributes and reveal another transformation which never solidifies into a code.

14 Franquin (2009) 39.

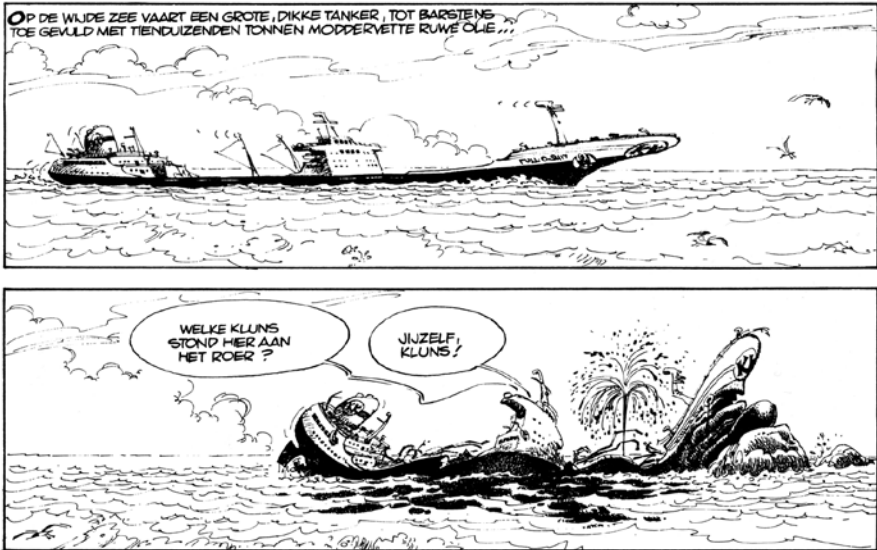


FIGURE 12.6 Franquin, *Zwartkijken* (Doornik: *Glad ijs/Casterman*, 2008), p. 56.

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This constant flow of sensations can be achieved not only by constantly changing the form and the movement of the figures and objects, highlighting the difference between each appearance of these elements, but also by accumulating codes, overloading codes with other codes, hopping from one code to another in a never-ending motion. In line with Franquin, an artist like Blutch has developed other techniques to fight codification. He uses different codes, like Franquin uses different strokes and line sizes, to defy a clear-cut codification of his characters. Blutch does this by combining different styles of drawing in one strip and by switching between visual clichés and cultural conventions. He combines a typical pose from fashion photography with a film still and a *contrapposto* from the classical arts, or joins visual features to create an animal that can, at a time, be a cat, a horse and a dog, and thus can never be reduced to a single referent.¹⁵ In *Le petit Christian* (1999–2008), the main character constantly takes different shapes, ranging from realistically drawn movie heroes like John Wayne, Bruce Lee, and Marlon Brando to other comic strip characters like Lucky Luke and Tintin.¹⁶ By combining a multitude of codes in the same panel, he creates an sense of “overkill” that disrupts a clear reference to reality and that favours the sensation of the images themselves.

15 Blutch (2002) 11.

16 Blutch (1999) 27.

Not just the images, but also the linguistic code of words can be made “sensual.” Again we have to mention Franquin, who used to autograph his Gaston Lagaffe gags. This signature combines text with image in a unique conjunction: letters get lured away from their symbolical referentiality and become active characters in a kind of micro-gag.¹⁷ The same kind of “sensual” typography, in which the visual, active aspect becomes as important or sometimes even more important than the meaning of the words, can be found in the works of Van der Meij and Goblet. As we can see in the opening panel of *De Winnaar*, Van der Meij adapts the typography of his words to the onomatopoeic forms.¹⁸ The large, bold letters evoke the loud roaring of the motor, while the more subtle sound of loose screws is presented in a smaller font. What we get here is a kind of synaesthesia, where auditive impressions can be experienced visually. Of course, this synaesthetic sensation quickly turns into a code: the dominance of the words in the panels indicates “loudness,” the size of the words indicates the increasing volume, and their repetition over different panels throughout the strip inevitably codes the visual impact of the typography.

Another good example can be found in Goblets *Faire Semblant C'est Mentir*. Figure 12.2 is a panel in which main character Dominique has an argument with her alcoholic father, who is irritated by her “academic language,” specifically the way she uses the formal phrase “*cela dit*” [notwithstanding]. When Dominique pronounces the word, the typography is conventional and neutral. But when her father repeats this word five times, it is visually supplemented with curls and fringes, and becomes more erratic with every iteration. This in turn activates an act of decoding: the frills that we see are the visual manifestation of the accusation that his daughter is “putting on frills,” and the size of the fonts reflects the increasing volume of his voice and the violent emotional impact on his daughter. But at the same time the panel creates a predominantly visual sensation, in which the typographic forms evoke a disturbing, oppressive atmosphere, a feeling of humiliation and frustration that is all in all “felt” more than it is “decoded.”

In order to illustrate that the axis of code/sensation is not only a useful supplement for the analysis of comics, but also for their creation, we want to conclude with a short discussion of *Front Back* (2009), an experimental comic by Tom Lambeens that explores this very interaction between code and image. Even a brief glance at this comic book reveals that an analysis using the classic opposition of “word” and “image” is rendered impossible, as the “panels” only consist of squares of fully saturated primary and secondary colours. The

17 Franquin (2009) 39.

18 Van der Meij (2005) 1.

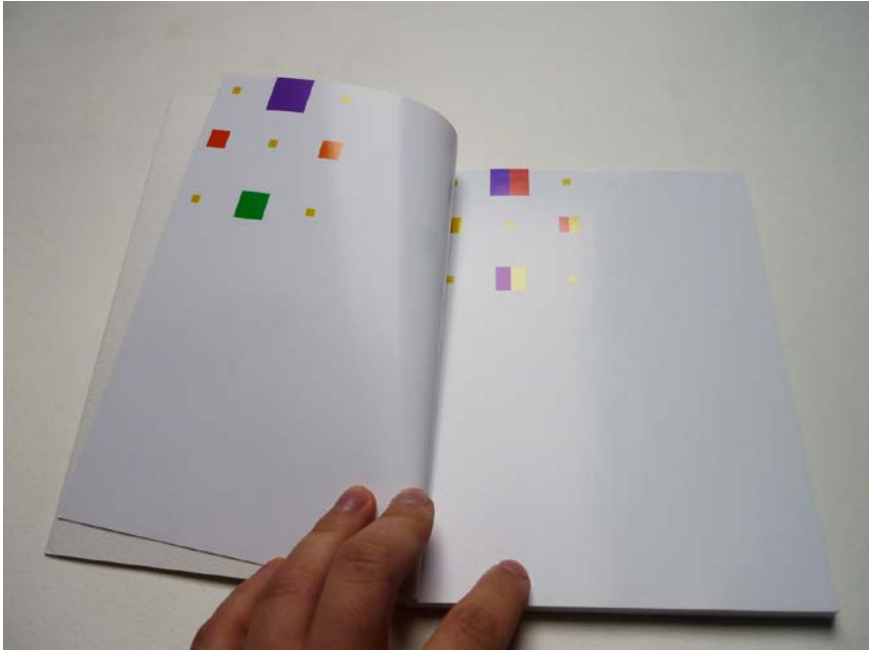


FIGURE 12.7 *Lambeens, Front Back (Hasselt: UHasselt/Het Onrijpheid, 2009), p. 2.*

narrative sequence, divided into three chapters respectively entitled “yellow,” “red” and “blue,” consists of the changing of these squares’ colour, size and position on the spread. The immediate assumption is that the sequence of these squares is no coincidence, so one begins to “read” the squares and their changing position, colour and shape, as a code. At first glance, *Front Back* takes the coding of colour and form that can also be found in *Jimmy Corrigan*, to the extreme. And indeed, different “clues” to its decoding can be found: the size of the squares is influenced by the used colour (small for yellow, larger for blue), the set of squares rotate along a pattern of a cross and a lozenge, a secondary colour is divided into its primary colours in an ensuing page and the spread of the squares follows certain proportions with utmost precision (Figure 12.7). One can even construct a narrative: the sequence of squares can be “decoded” as a radical abstraction of a life story. In the first “yellow” chapter, all squares are situated at the top of the page, and on each page five small, vibrantly yellow squares return. The brightness of yellow and the relative simple rotations of the squares could be said to resemble the optimistic beginnings of life. The final chapter, by contrast, is dominated by the colour blue. The squares have now become bigger and have “sunk” to the bottom of the page, suggesting passivity and death (Figure 12.8). It also seems to be no coincidence, then, that the

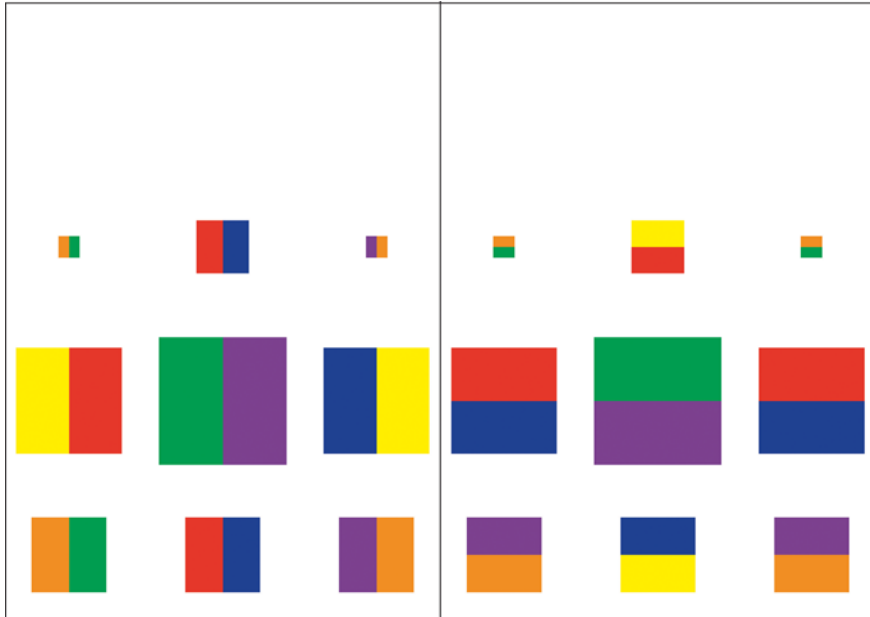


FIGURE 12.8 *Lambeens, Front Back (Hasselt: UHasselt/Het Onrijpheid, 2009), p. 54.*

back of the book is entirely black, while the cover is white: whatever the story might be, the ending is surely not a happy one. All these aspects seem to invite the reader to try and “crack the code” – but at the same time, sensations begin to interact with the codes and interfere with the neat sequence of squares and colours. These sensations are created by taking advantage of the specificity of the medium of comics. *Front Back* tries to make clear that this specificity does not primarily lie in the combination of written text and images, as Harvey argues, but in these medium-specific possibilities to create sensations that interact with the codes.

Some of these sensations are created by the decision to use a different kind of paper for each chapter: coated (“compressed” fibers) and bright white, glossy paper for the first chapter, uncoated (“open” fibers) and rough, mild yellowish paper for the last one, while the neutral paper of the second chapter functions as a transition between these two extremes. Unlike movies or paintings, a book form allows us to hold the work in our hands, allowing a tactile perception. Literature, of course, uses the same form of the book, but only works with words. In the genre of comic books, however, the quality of the paper can influence the visual perception of the images and hence the “content” of the visual narrative. By using the grain and the thickness of the paper as operative ele-

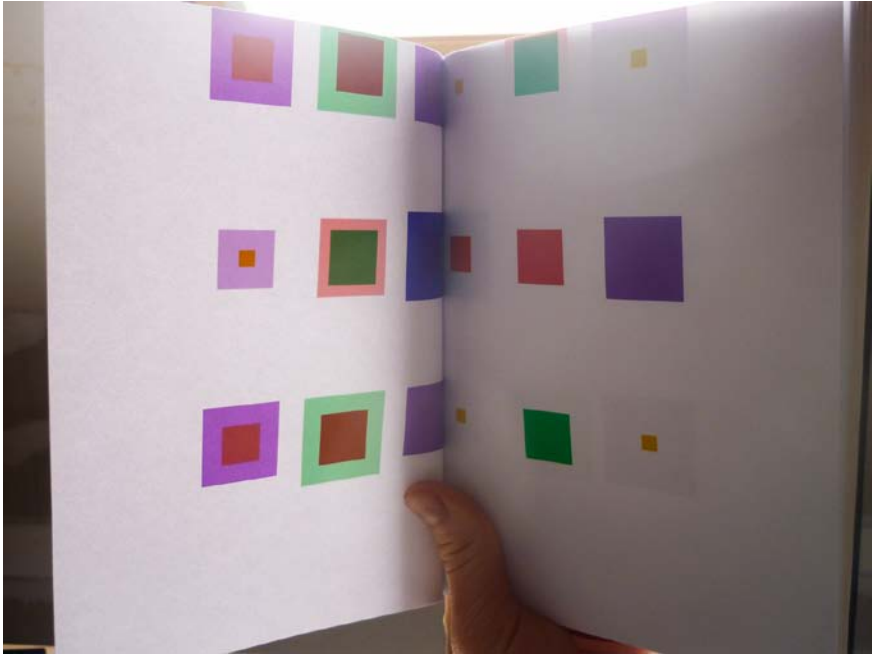


FIGURE 12.9 *Lambeens, Front Back (Hasselt: UHasselt/Het Onrijpheid, 2009), p. 83.*

ments of the work itself, interesting side effects are created. Especially in the second, “red” chapter, where the colours on the verso-side already shine through on the recto-side. Because the sheets were deliberately bound before the ink had dried completely, the ink has also stained the opposite page. This creates a “halo” around some of the squares that becomes part of the overall-composition of the spread (Figure 12.9). Another sensation is the result of the fact that in a comic book more than one image is present on one and the same page. The combination of different sizes and colours creates a strong visual rhythm that transcends the strict codification and appears to resemble Franquin’s whimsical style.

Of course, all of these sensations can be reduced to a “code,” whereby (e.g.) the smooth, shiny paper represents the vitality of youth, the more rough, thick paper the ruggedness of old age, and the ink stains the imperfections of life. But just like in the work of Blutch, it is this very multitude of codes that can be found in the work, that eventually prevents any clear-cut solution to the “puzzle.”

Conclusion

Our analysis of the work of Blutch, Van der Meij, Goblet and Lambeens makes clear that the inherent duality between word and image in comic books should not be seen as an insoluble conflict between reading and perceiving. Many experiments in current avant-garde comics focus on the point where both zones become indiscernible, and the sensation starts to disrupt the code and affect the reader/viewer. Their works demonstrate how an intelligent combination of code and sensation in fact reveals the distinctive possibilities of the comic genre in comparison to other, more established genres like film, literature or painting. We hope to have demonstrated that in order to fully grasp these possibilities, comic strip theory needs to extend its predominantly semi-otic vocabulary by taking into account the pictorial qualities of comic book images. Therefore, a notion like “sensation” should not be restricted to a strictly philosophical, Deleuzian approach of high modernist art, but can also be turned into an interesting conceptual tool to analyse and create modern comics.

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PART 4

Reception and Literary Infrastructure



Holy Writ and Lay Readers in Late Medieval Europe: Translation and Participation¹

Sabrina Corbellini and Margriet Hoogvliet

Cultural Dynamics in Late Medieval Europe

Late medieval and early modern Europe is characterized by a significant cultural transformation. As a result of this change, the dichotomy between the categories “religious” and “lay” and “Latin” and “vernacular” dissolved into a more diffuse situation and resulted in lay emancipation with regard to active participation in religious life. One of the most significant manifestations of this cultural transformation was the creation of new “reading communities” in addition to the traditional *respublica clericorum*,² the learned community of literate intellectuals and religious (secular and regular clergy) who dominated cultural life through their control of Church institutions, schools and universities. Latin, the preferred language by the members of this *respublica clericorum*, was thus the official (and dominant) language of culture, science and religion.³ The new “reading communities” were formed by a non-Latinate, but generally literate, urban laity strongly involved in political, financial and commercial activities. The language of the members of this *respublica laicorum*, who were showing a growing interest in the organization of cultural activities and in the production of literary texts, was the vernacular, the traditional language of the *illiterati* and the laity.⁴ The growing textual production in the vernacular involved a challenge from a linguistic and a cultural point of view. It meant that the vernacular was emancipated enough to be used for the production of literature, for the transmission of knowledge, and for religious matters.⁵

1 This paper is based on the results of the ERC-Starting Grant Research project “Holy Writ and Lay Readers. A Social History of Vernacular Bible Translations in the Late Middle Ages.” The project (2008–2013) is funded by the European Research Council in Brussels.

2 Mohrmann (1955) 43. These ideas have been further developed in Corbellini (2013a).

3 For the changing relations between Latin and the vernacular languages, see: Van Uytfanghe (2003).

4 Burke (2004); Warnar (2008).

5 For late medieval vernaculars and vernacularities, see: Copeland (1991); Blumenfeld-Kosinsky et al. (2002); Somerset-Watson (2003). A European collaborative project (COST

The development of the European vernacular languages towards a position almost equal to that of Latin was already emerging in France and Italy from the fourteenth century onward. Dante Alighieri wrote his treatise in defence of the vernacular, *De vulgari eloquentia*, in the early years of the fourteenth century. The French kings Jean II Le Bon and Charles V initiated projects for the promotion of the French of the Île-de-France as the new language for politics and science (*clergie*).⁶ In spite of the fact that Latin remained the only accepted language for the liturgy, as the arcane language of the divine, the cultural hegemony of Latin, the traditional language of the Church, school and university was no longer indisputable.⁷

This late medieval and early modern cultural transformation has been a much debated topic in European research agenda over the last decades. The focus of this research, however, has been on didactic and moralizing literature, in which themes strictly related to the life and activities of lay readers are discussed: the relations between individuals and groups in the late medieval and early modern urban environment, in particular professional ethics, and family relations. The specific question of the emancipation of the laity, through active readership of religious literature in the vernacular, and in particular the active role of lay people in the transmission and in the production of religious knowledge is still an underestimated subject in medieval research, in spite of the growing interest in the study of religion as cultural manifestation and the significant advances in the study of late medieval religious movements.⁸

Possible reasons for the scarce attention paid to this pivotal aspect of late medieval and early modern cultural life can be identified in the still dominant “protestant paradigm” in the study of religious history, as well as in the leading

Action “New Communities of Interpretation. Contexts, Strategies and Processes of Religious Transformation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe”; 2013-2017), lead by the authors of this contribution, will further develop these themes in a European context (see http://www.cost.eu/domains_actions/isch/Actions/IS1301).

6 Walters (2002); Minnis (2009) 11, 36.

7 This is still a point of discussion: some scholars insist that Latin was the only accepted language for theological discussions (Minnis, 2009), that it was considered by some as an “Adamic language” (Watson (2003) 10), or that the vernacular languages were not accepted as a written language of religion (Hasenohr (2000) 609), but others point at the development of “vernacular theologies” during the 14th and 15th centuries (Gillespie, 2007). As we will see, there is ample evidence for the latter thesis.

8 The study of the *Devotio Moderna* in the Netherlands and of the Wycliffite and Lollard movement in England, to cite but two examples, has been flourishing since the 1980s and has produced a particularly high level of scientific results. See for example, Van Engen (2008a); Ghosh (2009). A seminal volume for the research of religious literature in the medieval Low Countries is Mertens (1993). On this topic see also Corbellini (2013a).

focus in research on the alleged dialectical polarities of high (elite) and low (popular) culture, learned (Latin) and unlearned (vernacular) and ecclesiastical hierarchy (the Church) and the lay believers.⁹ The protestant paradigm implies the explanation of the success of the Reformation in early modern Europe by defining the late medieval Church as “corrupt and moribund” and late medieval religion as a superficial *religion tarifée* characterized by a particularly low level of lay commitment and lay participation.¹⁰ In some studies of medieval Christianity this carelessness of lay believers is linked to the attitude of late medieval Church officials, who focussed on minimum requirements (“the least of the laity”),¹¹ and tolerated laxity and even failure. In short the medieval church was “a system which increasingly exhorted specific expectations but was hesitant to define contumacy or disobedience in many but the most obdurate or scandalous cases.”¹²

Moreover, in studies which have paid attention to this aspect, such as the seminal study by Vauchez,¹³ lay religiosity is seen as heavily dependent on clerical inputs as it is “shaped by the distinctions between clergy and laity and by their sometimes acrimonious debates over the social and religious roles proper to each constituent element of Christian society.” The main feature of lay spirituality in all its manifestations was the fundamental relationship between the medieval laity and the clergy: the only way to realize the *imitatio Christi* was the *imitatio clerici*.¹⁴ This interpretation of the late medieval Church has, however, been challenged in recent studies which present a different picture: they emphasize, on the one hand, the high expectations of laypeople’s religious knowledge and of the religious services available to them and, on the other hand, they stress that laypeople, or at least some of them, were able and willing to meet these expectations.¹⁵

As John van Engen recently pointed out, the late medieval Church was a much more dynamic world than the one sketched in traditional literature. It was a “carnival of religious options, multiple, competing, contested, coexistent, negotiated, overlapping, local, personally appropriated.” It was a world where, as Thomas of Kempen described in his *Imitation of Christ*, both clergy and laity were more preoccupied with acquiring goods and gratifying desires

9 Richmond (1991). Contra this interpretation of lay religious culture: Schreiner (1992); Duffy (1992, 2006); Corbellini (2012b).

10 Gow (2005); Clarke (2008).

11 As in Schmitt (1981).

12 Tanner-Watson (2006) 395.

13 Vauchez (1993).

14 Vauchez (1993) XVIII.

15 Clarke (2008); Rider (2010); Corbellini-Hoogvliet (2013).

pleasing to the flesh than with the care for the spiritual well-being. But at the same time certain laypeople were, as John van Engen describes while referring to Jean Gerson, “so intent in realizing forms of religious intensity which only the professed, in Gerson’s view, could truly dedicate themselves to that they generated only inner anxiety or self-righteousness or despondency.”¹⁶ Both extreme attitudes were possible: the indifferent, the critics and the “reforming zealots,” but most of all late medieval religious life was characterized by the vitality of a growing group of believers who “were cracking open niches across a wide and diverse spectrum, finding ways to appropriate religion for themselves.”¹⁷ This vitality brought to the creation of “voluntary associations,” such as confraternities, and to a remarkable expansion of preaching activities.

One of the most interesting manifestations of this cultural change was the dramatic increase in the production and the distribution of religious texts in the vernacular, in particular vernacular translations of the Holy Writ, which were accessible to the growing number of members of the *respublica laicorum*. This process of translation and of diffusion of the biblical text in the vernacular resulted in a significant transformation, which opened up new possibilities to cultural and religious participation of the laity.

The dynamics of the translation process and of its influence on cultural and religious participation of lay believers will be presented and discussed in this contribution. Drawing from French and Italian¹⁸ sources, this article aims to contribute to the reconstruction of the possibilities for lay readers to access the Scriptures, and of the impact of the presence and the circulation of vernacular bible translations in late medieval religious life. This stress on the situations, responses and outcomes of this process of linguistic and cultural translation implies a significant change of perspective. The relation between clergy and laity, both active in the process of translation, transmission and changing participation, will not be studied in terms of a dominant clergy trying to “bring the laity into line, turning them back into docile sheep,”¹⁹ but in terms of processes of negotiation and creative accommodation of meaning. Traces of this process

16 Van Engen (2008b) 266–67, 284.

17 Van Engen (2008b) 269.

18 The complete corpus of Italian biblical manuscripts consists of 358 items. The figures are based on the inventory of Italian Biblical manuscripts published by Chopin-Dinale-Pelosini (1993). For a general introduction to vernacular Bible translations in medieval Italy Leonardi (1998) and Corbellini (2013b). At present there is no exhaustive inventory of manuscripts and early prints with French Bible translations. For a general introduction, see Bogaert (1991), Sneddon (2012) and Hoogvliet (2013).

19 Vauchez (1993) 268.

can be detected in the textual material written and actively used by both members of the clergy and lay believers.

Translation and Adaptation

In his prologue to an early fourteenth century abridged Bible in French, the anonymous translator underscores that both the translation and the translator should be reliable in order to preserve the pureness and trustfulness of the text:

He who wants to start the enterprise of translating the Sacred scriptures from Latin into Romance must be careful that that he does not incorporate anything but the pure history, because if he discards the truth he would add lies and those who listen to it would have much with which to reproach him. That is why only those who are sure that they understand Scriptures very well should undertake it.²⁰

The argument that the vernacular text is a faithful translation of the Latin original is a recurring element in the prologues to Bibles and other scripture-based texts. As indicated above, during the late Middle Ages, Latin and the vernacular languages had different connotations, but it is striking that the vernacular Bible translations show very little traces of apologetic arguments for the use of a language other than Latin.²¹ This suggests that the conceptualization of vernacular languages was changing and that these were considered as suitable forms of expression for the Biblical text. However, one exception to this observation might be the famous chancellor of the Sorbonne and guardian of orthodoxy, Jean Gerson. He opens his work of devotional instruction *La montaigne de contemplation* (c. 1400–1401) by affirming that “some people might wonder why I want to write in French rather than in Latin about a subject as elated as

20 “*Cil qui vvelt antremetre de traitier diuine escriture et metre de latin an romans se doit mout bien garder que il ni mete riens que ne soit de la vraie istore car se il laissoit la veriteit et il i metoit la mansonge il feroit moult a reprendre de celz qui lantanderoient et pour ceu ne san doit nuls antremetre cil nest bien seurs quil antande bien lescriture.*” Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24728 (late 13th-early 14th c.), fol. 1r. For more French examples, see Nobel (2011).

21 An exception to this general feature should however be noted: in a certain number of prologues the act of translating the bible is “defended” through the reference to Jerome’s translating activities. As the Latin bible is a translation of the original Greek and Hebrew texts, the translators of the bible in the vernacular should be seen as “new Jeromes” translating from Latin to the “new languages.”

the contemplative life.”²² But Gerson continues by stating that his text is intended for a very suitable audience: his younger sisters who do not want to marry and who wish to lead a religious life devoted to God instead. Being women and from the laity, they cannot read theological works in Latin. In fact, as Gerson says he has observed many times, certain laypeople are more talented for a life of devotion than clerics.²³

Thus it becomes clear that Gerson is not really questioning the suitability of the vernacular for religious matters: he uses it in order to promote the aptitude of certain laypeople for a religious life. A similar rhetorical argument can be detected in a fourteenth-century prologue to a French Psalter with elaborate reflections about the translation process from Latin into the vernacular. At first the translator seems to insist on the imperfections of the French (Romance) vernacular:

Because the Romance language is imperfect, and more sufficient than any other complete and perfect language, only good clerics can translate completely from Latin into Romance.²⁴

In the treatise about translation techniques from Latin into French that follows, it becomes clear that the translator is not so anxious about the supposed shortcomings of medieval French; rather he is concerned about the imperfections of flawed translations, and uses this argument to insist that it is absolutely necessary for the translator to be an expert in Latin. Towards the end of the prologue the translator indicates unambiguously that daily prayers and recitations of the Psalms are a pleasure to God, both in the Romance vernacular and in Latin,²⁵ thus indicating that in his opinion the vernacular languages are suitable for religious activities.

The vernacular was primarily the language of the laity, but during the fifteenth century it was not exceptional for religious men and women to possess

22 “Aucuns se pourront donner merveille pourquoy de matiere haulte comme est parler de la vie contemplative, je veuil escrire en francois plus qu'en latin.” Glorieux (1966), 16.

23 “Et nous l'avons veu et veons par tant d'experiences es sains hermites et en aulcunes femmes qui plus ont pourfité en l'amour de Dieu par ceste vie contemplative que ne font ou ont fait plusieurs grans clers.” Glorieux (1966) 18.

24 “Quar pour tant que langue romance est imperfecte et plus asseiz que nulle autre laingue entiere et perfate, il nest nulz tant soit boin clers que lou laitin puissent translateir entiere ment en roumant.” Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9572, fol. 1r. Also quoted in Bonnardot (1884) 1–2.

25 “Sic donc soit en roman soit en laitin tres deuote prieires et orison et que mout plait a Dieu de dire lou psaltieir ou chesques iour ou biens souuent.” Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9572, fol. 3r. Also quoted in Bonnardot (1884) 10.

biblical texts in the vernacular, too, and to use them for personal reading and devotion. The mobility of many manuscripts between lay and religious owners is another indication for the growing interaction and exchange between these two groups that in earlier scholarship are often represented as adversary.²⁶

Traditionally the translation process of the Bible from Latin into the vernaculars during the late Middle Ages is thought of as a one way process from an active and controlling clergy to a passive and subjected laity.²⁷ During the past decade, however, and due to the influence of postmodern theory, this binary transmitter-receiver model and the primacy of Latin have been questioned, and more complex models that include processes of reciprocity and interpenetrability have been proposed instead.²⁸

The vernacular translations of the Bible reached wider audiences than the sole *respublica clericorum*. In this respect, the translation of the Bible during the late Middle Ages involved a process that can be qualified as a “cultural transfer.” This concept has been developed theoretically by Michel Espagne, who introduced it for the transfer of philosophical and literary texts between Germany and France during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁹ While the term cultural transfer has mostly been used for transnational processes, in our view it can also be applied fruitfully for processes of transfer between two different social and linguistic entities; in this case between the mainly Latinate *respublica clericorum* and the *respublica laicorum* that relied primarily on the vernacular languages. Espagne also suggests the use of a more complex model than the straightforward transmitter-receiver model, and urges to pay attention to the active role of the context of reception.³⁰ Later theoretical elaborations of Espagne’s original idea have underscored the reciprocity of cultural transfers, and have proposed to use terminologies as *histoire croisée* and “cultural exchange.”³¹ These complex and reciprocal models describe very well the translation process of the Holy Writ into the vernacular languages during the Late Middle Ages as well as the interaction between both groups. The historical sources indicate that clerics were not the sole agents of the processes of

26 There are too many examples to quote here in detail. One example from France: Paris, Bibl. de l’Arsenal, MS 2038 (dated 1466) contains Passion of Christ, according to the narrative of the Gospels. It was copied for “*seur Rogiere de Seuauile religieuse de Saint Marceu a Paris.*” According to a late 15th c. inscription it was later in the hands of *Iaqueline du Hamel*.

27 As in Eire (2007) 84.

28 Bestul (1996) 11; Kullmann (2009) 8.

29 Espagne (1999); Schmale (2003).

30 Espagne (1999) 23.

31 Werner-Zimmermann (2003); Schilling-Tóth (2006).

translation of biblical texts into the vernaculars and their dissemination, but that laymen were pleading for translations, they copied the texts themselves, or they paid for the copies made by commercial copyists or printers.³²

Moreover, as Peter Burke has convincingly suggested, translating implies a process of negotiation between different agents involved in the translation process.³³ Evidence in the vernacular Bibles suggests, too, that the translation of the biblical text is the result of a process of negotiation between members of the church, in particular Dominicans and Franciscans, and an increasing group of literate lay people, who were explicitly pleading for a direct access to the text of the Scriptures. Traces of this request are still visible in the prologues to the translations. A case in point is the foreword added by the Pisan Dominican Domenico Cavalca to his translation of the Acts of the Apostles:

To satisfy the request of some devout persons (probably the members of one of the confraternities linked to the Dominican monastery) I decided to translate into “common and clear” vernacular the book of the Acts of the Apostles [...].³⁴

The canon Guiart des Moulins indicated firstly in his translation of the historical books of the Bible into the French dialect Picard together with the commentaries of Petrus Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* (before 1297), that he made it at the request of “a special friend” and because of “the great pressure of [his] requests to give laypeople the opportunity to understand the ancient scriptures.”³⁵

However, the transition from Holy Writ to lay readers was only possible if a relationship of mutual trust was built between the translators, the readers and the scribes. The importance of this “preliminary agreement” is clearly expressed by a fourteenth-century anonymous Italian translator of a glossed New Testament. Not only does he refer to the necessity for the translator to be an expert in theology, but he requires from those who are eager to copy the text that “they remain faithful to the written text, without making any changes, because every tiny syllable, articles such as *lo* and *la* [...] and words if added or

32 Corbellini (2012b).

33 Burke (2007, 2004); Eco (2003).

34 “*Volendo, a petizione e per divozione di certe devote persone, recare a volgare comune e chiaro lo divoto libro degli Atti degli Apostoli.*” Quoted in Barbieri (1998) 300.

35 “*A la requeste dun mien especial ami*” and “*a la tres grant instance de voz prieres pour faire laies personnes les hystoires des scriptures anciennes.*” The Hague, Museum Meermanno, MS 10 B 23, fols. 3v, 4v.

left out can influence the meaning of the sentence more than they would expect.” Despite his reservations and warnings this anonymous translator is aware that his translation will most likely be read and copied by less well-trained readers and scribes. His task, therefore, is to educate these new users of the Holy Writ to respect the textual integrity of the translation while copying the text for personal use or while passing it on to others.³⁶

It has often been observed that translating is more than the simple linguistic transposition of a text from one language into the other, but that it also involves important cultural and ideological adaptations in order to make the source text functional in the new context of reception. Michel Espagne characterizes this process as “*métissages*” and observes:

En outre le message transmis doit être traduit du code de références du système d’émission dans celui du système de réception. Cette appropriation sémantique transforme profondément l’objet passé d’un système à l’autre.³⁷

Peter Burke for his part uses the terminology “cultural hybridity,”³⁸ and he observes on reception that:

Ideas, information, artefacts and practices are not simply adopted but on the contrary, they are adapted to their new cultural environment. They are first decontextualized and then recontextualized, domesticated or “localized.” In a word, they are “translated.”³⁹

The addition of paratextual elements, “navigation tools,” to the text, such as lists of chapters, a table of contents, rubrics and running titles is a clear strategy in the process of transmission and adaptation of the vernacular biblical text. A clear-structured text is easily accessible, even to non-professional users of the Writ, and makes a selective and effective reading of the text possible as

36 “*Guardi a conservare el parlare a lettera secondo che trova scripto et non lo vada mutando però che piccola sillaba et piccolo articulo come sono la lo [...] parole et sillabe hanno molto a variare la sententia più che altri non crede ponendolo o levandole*” Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 1086, fol. 3r. Also quoted in Leonardi (1996) 185 and Corbellini (2012c) 33.

37 Espagne (1999) 20.

38 Burke (2009a), passim.

39 Burke (2009b) 70. For the transformation of texts and messages in the process of transmission, see also Debray (2000).

the aforementioned Domenico Cavalca states in the introduction to his translation of the Acts of the Apostles:

In order to make the text accessible to those without any knowledge of Latin, I will change at some points the grammatical structure of the sentence and I will also add some explanatory words. Moreover, to grant a better access to this complex and multifaceted text I have divided the text into chapters, which I have listed in the following pages.⁴⁰

This “cutting up of the Bible into specific, usable parts, bound separately”⁴¹ could lead to another important feature of the translation and the dissemination of biblical material in the vernacular. Complete bibles, i.e. containing biblical books from Genesis to the book of Revelation, are relatively rare in medieval Europe. Complete translations were available, but more often manuscripts would contain a selection of bible books, in some cases even only a selection of pericopes (for example the beginning of the gospel of John), with a strong focus on the New Testament and more specifically on the passages narrating the Passion of Christ, which was the central point of late medieval religious life. This fragmentation, which contrasts with our modern interpretation of the bible as one coherent text, does not however imply a lack of awareness with regard to the unity of the Holy Writ. It should be interpreted as the result of an active process of selection of textual portions, and as a discontinuous and selective reading practice which is strictly connected with the liturgy, the pivotal “meeting point” in spiritual life of lay and religious. It cannot be a fortuitous coincidence that a very high percentage of vernacular bible manuscripts can be used as a lectionary, either by the arrangement of pericopes following the liturgical calendar or by the addition of liturgical tables or rubrics.

Traditionally these fragmented Bibles are interpreted as part of a strategy by the Church to keep the “real” Bible away from the lay by giving them a substitute.⁴² Our research indicates, however, that the historical reality is more complex; firstly, because abbreviated Bibles were cheaper and thus more affordable, consequently they occurred more often in lower social strata. Secondly, they

40 *“Per la multiplce significazione e intenzione delle parole della Santa Scrittura muto in certa pochi luoghi l’ordine delle parole [...] alcuna pongo da me per meglio isporre alcuna parola del detto libro. E perché il detto libro parla di diverse materie e pone molte quistione, acciocché meglio s’intenda e possa ciascuno trovare quello che vuole, holla distinta negl’infrascritti capitoli.”* Quoted in Barbieri (1998) 300.

41 Stallybrass (2002) 47.

42 See Bryan (2008) 31, for a critical discussion of the alleged repressive “here, read this instead” orthodoxy. See also Corbellini (2013b) and Hoogvliet (2013).

were perceived as real Bibles, because in the manuscripts the abbreviated texts often have as a title “*la Bible en francoys*,” and, thirdly (as the introduction to an abbreviated Bible indicates) it was easier for “simple folk who have not had and who do not have the time to study”⁴³ to understand. Consequently, it would be more logical to interpret these fragments and abbreviated versions as a strategy by certain members of the *respublica clericorum* to propagate the text of the Bible, instead of censoring and prohibiting it.

According to Régis Debray one of the important consequences of the transmission of a text is a change in hierarchy and in identity.⁴⁴ By looking at the lay audiences of vernacular Bible translations during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we can note that the identity of the lay audiences had already changed, and that this change of identity was expressed by their pressing demand for vernacular bible texts. The consequence of the transmission of the biblical text in the vernaculars was a further acceleration of the religious emancipation of the laity and their participation in religious life.

Participation

As mentioned in the introduction, laypeople, as members of a *respublica laicorum*, were active members of “reading communities” taking the form of confraternities or informal private or semi-private networks, which permitted and stimulated activities related to the distribution of vernacular texts and manuscripts.⁴⁵ Lay scribes, users and readers of vernacular bible translations became involved both in a receptive and a productive role in the production, transmission and conservation of religious knowledge. Through these activities, lay people could become channels of transmission of the Holy Writ. Lay people and agents in “webs of interlocution”⁴⁶ discussing seminal issues concerning the use and the interpretation of religious knowledge.

The active use of the text enhanced the reader’s and the listener’s participation in the ritual and in the events narrated in the Scriptures. Through a process of meditation, which stimulated an affective reaction to the narration of the life of Christ, a process of conversion was started: the practice of reading

43 “simples gens qui nont eu et nont loppportunité destudier.” *La vie de iesucrist*, [Lyons, c. 1485–1487], Reims, BM, Inc. 2.

44 Debray (2000) 11.

45 On the concept of “cultural participation,” see Rigney (1993) 2. See also Corbellini (2012b) on the role played by confraternities in the plea for vernacular Bible translations.

46 The term was first used by Taylor (1989) 36.

was a prayerful activity that engaged body and soul in a striving to *Christiformitas* or *Imitatio Christi*. By the reading of the gospels, gospel harmonies, or narrations of the passion translated into the vernacular, the reader could better meditate on Christ's life and reach a higher degree of participation in the mystery of the incarnation and of the passion, the death and the resurrection of Christ. This hermeneutic process, which characterizes the "affective theology" of late medieval texts, consists in the psychological identification with the events narrated in the life of Christ. Through this process, the readers were transformed into central characters in the narrated events and were projected into a dimension where the distance in time and space was annihilated: they could stand at the foot of the cross, they could witness the pain and the suffering, they could weep at the moment of death and rejoice at the news of the resurrection. The book they held in their hands was an ever-lasting token of the mystery of the incarnation as announced in the beginning of the Gospel of John (John 1:14: "The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us. We have seen his glory, the glory of the one and only Son, who came from the Father, full of grace and truth").

A clear example of the role of agents in the distribution of vernacular biblical texts played by laity in late medieval Italy is the very high number of amateur scribes (*copisti per passione*)⁴⁷ involved in the copying process: saddlers, soap makers, textile workers, shoe-makers, merchants in spices and second hand goods, barbers and dyers. They copied for personal use, but also for use in family and professional networks. In some cases, as in manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Conventi Soppressi B.7.1146, the texts were copied by three members of the same family. On the flyleaf the scribes take care to explain to users of the manuscript that:

The book [was] owned by Giovanni del Nero di Stefano d'Alessandro Cambi [...] One part was written by [his] father Nero, the second by [his] brother Marco and the third by himself, Giovanni [...] The first part is by Marco, the central part and the Penitential Psalms are written by [their] father and at the end the Confession by St Antonino, archbishop of Florence is in [his, Giovanni's] hand in the year 1475 in Certaldo.⁴⁸

47 The term has been introduced by the Italian historian Branca (1961). On this subject, see Corbellini-Hoogvliet (2013).

48 "Questo libro è di Giovanni del Nero di Stefano d'Alessandro Cambi degli Oportuni di Terma scritto per mano del Nero suo padre una parte e l'altra per mano di Marco suo fratello e l'altra del detto Giovanni et però chi l'acatta renda servizio a chi in esso s'è afaticato a scriverlo. In principio di questo libro è di mano di Marcho del Nero Chambi i nel mezzo e salmi

The manuscripts could thus transform into family books,⁴⁹ which were passed on from generation to generation, as mentioned in a manuscript from Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Gaddi, 121, which was copied on 27 October 1431 by Agnolo Carducci.⁵⁰ After his death, in 1434, a member of the family recorded on the flyleaf that “after Agnolo’s death the manuscript was to be considered the property of all his heirs.” As family books, vernacular bible manuscripts represented a symbol of the unity of the family, transcending chronological lines. The manuscripts, vernacular miscellanies containing texts selected from several exemplars and often compiled in phases and during a long period of time,⁵¹ accompanied the scribe and his offspring in the process of formation of their religious identities, in the same way that memorial texts helped to create a social and political identity in the changing world of late medieval Italian towns. Manuscripts were, as well as memorial books and family archives, “a cultural patrimony to be preserved, expanded, and transferred to future generations” and they became part the paradigm of “patrimoine.”⁵²

The circulation of manuscripts and the subsequent transmission of vernacular bible texts through lay channels can be better understood if it is placed in the context of religious and cultural sociability, i.e. the collaboration between religious and lay believers, which emerges from the study of late medieval religious life in Italian towns. One of the clearest manifestations of this cultural sociability is the correspondence between Mendicant friars (Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians) and lay believers, both men and women. This correspondence could take the form of sermons *in absentia*, i.e. a substitute of the oral transmission of religious knowledge that was connected to spiritual direction and to public preaching activities.⁵³ Spiritual directors stress in their letters that it is of the highest importance that spiritual advice is not limited to personal meetings and discussions, but that guidance and supervision should be prolonged by reading and re-reading of letters. The Augustian friar Girola-

penitenziali di mano di Nero nostro padre i nel fine una confessione del Reverendo maestro S. Antonino arcivescovo fiorentino scritta per Giovanni Chanbi per anno 1475 di Ciertaldo essendovi vichario detto Nero di Chambi suo padre M cccc lxx v; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Conventi Soppressi B.7.1146, flyleaf.

49 The term “family books” (it. *libri di famiglia*) refers to memorial texts or diaries written by individuals or members of the same family with the primary goal to narrate and to transmit to future generations events related to the history of the family. For a discussion on the definition and function of “family books,” see Mordenti (2001) and Ciappelli (2003). For a recent overview of research on Italian *libri di famiglia*, see Ricci (2005).

50 Fol. 183v.

51 On the textual fragmentation of vernacular bible manuscripts, see section “Translation.”

52 Ketelaar (2009).

53 The term sermons *in absentia* is based on Serventi (2003).

mo of Siena (1340–1420) stresses this point in one of his letters: “Make arrangements to have these letters with you, if it is possible, and believe strongly that in these writings you will find the right instructions to retrieve the way to salvation.”⁵⁴ As noted in the previous discussion on the process of translation, the correspondence is characterized by a full participation of the lay receiver, asking questions and clearly waiting for specific answers to his or her moral and religious dilemmas. In fact, answers to such letters of spiritual guidance have been preserved: when Girolamo da Siena wrote to one of his spiritual daughters, Lucia, to correct her behaviour, which he said was dictated by “vanity and pride,” Lucia responded to this *disciplina* by thanking Girolamo for his letter which had given consolation to her afflicted soul. She went on to describe how she would make use of the letter, by reading the words again and again in order to find, through her faith and through divine grace, the right way to refrain from sin.⁵⁵ This exchange is evidence of the growing level of religious acculturation among lay believers, who were clearly stimulated by close interaction with members of religious orders. The collaboration resulted also in the writing of *reportationes*, written accounts of predication activities, which were used as reading material in order to continue *in extenso* the oral act of predication. The *reportationes* of the Lenten sermons of the Augustinian Gregorio of Alessandria, held in 1427 in the Florentine church of Santo Spirito, are the work of the Florentine layman Betto d’Andrea Gherardini. Betto was present at all the sermons by Gregorio, where he took notes which he then reworked into an “official” copy.⁵⁶ This “reworking” involved adding references to books which constituted part of “religious capital,” such as the Italian translation of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* and a vernacular version of the Gospels:

Here begins the narration of the Passion following St John the Evangelist, read this morning at Mass. This morning I had no chance to take notes from the passion, as I had run out of wax tables [used to make quick notes during the predication, sc] but I am copying it now from my own text [...] I will write down the *passio* in Latin and in vernacular. Gregorio

54 “E inçegnateve d’ avere le scripture suo con voi, chi può, e fateve forte concepto di credere che in esse scripture si contenga quello che basti di razione a condurve per la via di venire a salvamento.” Quoted by Gagliardi (2010) 428.

55 Gagliardi (2010) 428–29.

56 The *reportationes* by Betto d’Andrea Gherardini are preserved in manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Riccardina, 1281. On this subject, see Visani-Bistoni (2009). Betto d’ Andrea Gherardini was not alone in writing such notes. For more information about *reportationes* by lay citizens, especially in Florence, see Zafarana (1968), Howard (2008) and Howard (2006).

drew only from the gospel of John and did not say anything about the other gospels.⁵⁷

Betto's attitude is a clear answer to the frequent incitements from the pulpit to read the Holy Writ and to memorize the most important passages, to "ruminate" the words and to use them in the process of meditation and visualization which can lead the believer to nullify the physical and chronological distance between the believer and the events narrated in the Scriptures.⁵⁸ One of the clearest expressions of this religious participation through active use of religion texts is the practice of religious meditation by devout laypeople.

Meditation

At first sight, the daily occupations of the laity seem incompatible with the rhythm and the complete detachment from worldly obligations that were required for a contemplative life. However, it is not entirely correct to state that during the late Middle Ages the Church had never developed a form of spirituality especially adapted to the laity, and that a contemplative life according to the monastic model remained the ideal to be followed.⁵⁹ On the contrary, many vernacular texts based on the Bible seem to suggest to their readers forms of religious reading and meditation that could be performed by laypeople and that permitted them to fulfil their duties in the world, while leading a religious life.

In some vernacular texts the religious value of a life "in the world" is promoted. For instance, in the fourteenth century text *La somme le Roi*, it is clearly stated that the *vita activa* is a necessary condition for arriving at the *vita contemplativa*: "Nobody can come to the contemplative life if he has not been thoroughly tested first in the active life."⁶⁰ Moreover, the text underlines that

57 "E quivi chominia il passio di Giovanni vangalista è chantato istamane alla messa. Il quale passio io scrittore non apresi per manchamento di tavolille ove scrivevo e feci di scriverlo poi sechondo il testo [...] narerò il passio di San Giovanni e per latino e per volgare, chome Idio mi presterà la grazia, ch'ecchomi ho detto frate Ghrigoro narrò solamento il detto passio e degli altri vangalisti non disse nulla o pocho." Quoted by Visani-Bistoni (2009) 134.

58 On this theme of meditation and rumination, see Corbellini (2012a). For an analysis of the preaching activities of Giovanni Dominici and their references to 'rumination' and meditation, see Debby (2001).

59 As in Hasenohr (1987) 68.

60 "La premiere est voie entrée a la seconde, car nus ne puet venir a la vie contemplative se il n'est premierement bien esprovez en la vie active, si comme dit sainz Greguaires," see Brayer-

the importance of the *vita activa* is “to feed God with the flesh of good deeds,”⁶¹ a requirement that people living a withdrawn life of contemplation cannot fulfil.

The laity needed to have good and reliable texts in the vernacular recounting the Passion of Christ “according to the Gospels,” because a detailed knowledge of this central element of medieval religion was imperative for each Christian. An example of this recommendation to readers can be seen in an early fifteenth-century manuscript “Explanation of the Mass”:

A person cannot be a good Christian if he does not think at least one time every day of the good things our Lord has done for him. During Mass one can think about this, because from other thoughts one will not gain any profit from it. The sacrament is done in memory of the blessed suffering and Passion of our Lord, and consequently one should know it well by heart.⁶²

Other texts contain more practical instructions for the laity, suggesting to them ways to integrate devotional reading and meditation into their daily life. Firstly it is important to find every day some free time to think of the Passion and to read about it, as is indicated in the following prologue to a fifteenth-century Life of Christ in the French vernacular:

And during one hour of the day take what time you can to think of the Passion without being preoccupied with mundane things; and later during other moments you can read and understand the lessons of this book. And memorize them with patience, because they are indispensable for any person who wants to arrive at a spiritual life.⁶³

Leurquin-Labie (2008) 330.

61 “*Pestre Dieu de la viande de bones euvres*,” see Brayer-Leurquin-Labie (2008) 329.

62 “*Et nest pas cristian parfait la personne qui ne pense au mains une fois le iour aux biens que nostre seigneur a fais pour luy. A la messe y puet on penser aussi bien come a autre chose que tal ne peut mie prouffiter. Car li sacremens est fais en la remembrance de la benoite souffrance et passion nostre seigneur. Si le doit on bien auoir en memoire.*” Reims, BM, MS 614 (dated 1403), fol. 129r.

63 “*Et une heure du jour prens aucune espace que tu ayes loisir d’y penser sans toy occuper en aucunes choses mondaines ; et apres es autres heures tu pourras lire et entendre les auctoritez et einsegnemens de ce livre Et le retien dilligemment en ta memoire. Car elles sont tres necessaires a celui qui veult venir a vie esperituelle.*” Paris, Arsenal, MS 2036, fol. 388r; quoted in Boulton (2000) 58.

Other prologues recommend the lay reader to think without interruption about the Passion of Christ during their daily activities:

And similarly in all words and all actions, regardless of the place where you are, regardless of what your position is: on the ground, seated, lying down, eating, speaking, alone or with others; always have your eyes and your mind on your God and our saviour Jesus Christ.⁶⁴

As Maureen Boulton has observed, the instructions in the prologues to the Lives and Passions of Christ in French are simple and constructed in a manner that facilitates memorization.⁶⁵ For instance, a great number of these devotional texts are structured according to the seven days of the week, so that each day has its own theme, connected to the life and Passion of Christ. And, as the author of the prologue to another Life of Christ, written in 1464, claims by following these strictures laypersons can surpass clerics in their spiritual life:

Because, by the frequent meditation of the life of Christ the soul is lifted into a familiarity with Him, trust in Him, and love of Him, while it abhors all other things. Moreover, by this meditation [...] several simple people have known much of God's mysteries and secrets, to which several great clerics have not been able to arrive at all.⁶⁶

Conclusion

During the late Middle Ages a large group of men of the church, including Jean Gerson, were aware of the religious ambitions of the laity and many of them had witnessed the spiritual successes of several laymen and -women. Lay individuals and groups combining religious ambitious with a life in the world, were accepted and even held in high esteem by their spiritual advisors. In

64 *"Et semblablement en toutes paroles et fais En quelque estat et lieu et comment que tu soies Enclin et en estant seant et gesant en mengant ou parlant ou seul ou aueuc aultres Ayes a toute heure ton regard et ton entendement en ton dieu nostre redempteur Ihesucrist."* Paris, BnF, MS fr. 181, fol. viij r.

65 Boulton (2000) 54–56.

66 *"Car par la frequente meditacion de la vie diceluy lame si est admenee en vne familiarite confidence et amour diceluy en tant quelle mesprise et contempue toute autre chose. Oultre plus par telle meditacion [...] plusieurs simples gens ont congneu moult des misteres et secres de dieu ausquelz plusieurs grans clers ne sont point parvenus."* Paris, BnF, MS 9587 (dated 1464), fol. ir.

order to fulfil the religious and theological needs of this group, and in order to incite other laypeople to follow their example, clerics translated (parts of) the Bible into the vernacular, and adapted it to the specific needs of new groups of readers. Through translations, predications and letters of spiritual advice, lay readers and listeners were given the instruments to develop a new cultural and religious capital and new sets of religious values, tailor-made and fitting the specific situation of laypeople, combining worldly and earthly preoccupations with prayer and meditation, the care for their families with the care for the souls and civic responsibilities with religious sociability. Late medieval believers were taking advantage of the fifteenth-century “carnival of religious options” and their plea for a higher level of participation to religious life was in most cases not left unheard: they were exploring possibilities and collaborating with the clergy and members of religious orders in a common search for a more intense religious experience firmly grounded in civic society.

Late medieval religious life was not “moribund” but very much alive. It was one of the most important elements of cultural dynamics, at the centre of a process of negotiation of languages, meanings and values. It was an on-going discussion between Latin and vernacular, between religious and lay, between earth and heaven, and between traditional and new power structures in a society that was in a continuous state of transformation. Religious participation of the laity did not start in 1520 with Luther and the Reformation, it is a late medieval phenomenon, a world of “voluntary initiatives” connected to the possibility to “personalize” religion and to adapt it to personal lives.⁶⁷

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Reception and the Textuality of History: Ramus and Kepler on Proclus' History and Philosophy of Geometry¹

Guy Claessens

Petrus Ramus: History as Forgetting

In the *Prooemium mathematicum* of 1567, Petrus Ramus' opinion about Proclus is, for the most part, positive: the Neoplatonist may not have been a great logician (*licet logica leviter instructus*), he was undoubtedly an excellent mathematician (*attamen eximius mathematicus fuit*), whose commentary on Euclid is definitely worth the effort of reading.² Ramus' initial judgment rapidly changes when he broaches the subject of the so-called Platonic polyhedra (cf. *infra*). After all, apart from the educational value of the *Elements* – as an all-embracing starter pack for both teachers and students – Proclus had also mentioned a second, more important goal of geometry:

But Proclus located the other exceptional and admirable goal in the knowledge of the five cosmic figures [...], as if the structure of such figures, their description and mutual comparison are of so great importance that the whole use, i.e. the goal, of mathematics will be achieved when you have mastered those very few things [...]. But that sacred goal of geometry was fiercely criticized and refuted by Aristotle in chapter 8, book 3 of *On the Heavens*, and Proclus himself had philosophized more seriously before, when he explained that the mathematical arts were invented for the sake of common usefulness.³

1 I would like sincerely to thank Demmy Verbeke as well as this volume's anonymous referees for their helpful remarks following their reading of earlier versions of this article.

2 Ramus, *Prooem. math.* 154.

3 Ramus, *Prooem. math.* 189–91: “*Alterum vero mathematicae finem singularem Proclus & admirabilem [...] constituit in quinque mundanarum figurarum cognitione [...] tanquam talium figurarum constitutio, adscriptio inter se & comparatio tanti fuerit, ut mathematicae totius utilitas, id est finis, constiterit, si haec paucula teneas. [...] Verum sacer ille geometriae finis ab Aristotele 8. cap. 3. lib. de caelo vehementer exagitatatus & labefactatus est, longeque gravius Proclus ipse est antea philosophatus, cum mathematicas artes popularis utilitatis causa repertas esse docuit.*” The passage of *On the Heavens* referred to by Ramus is Aristotle, *Cael.* 306b2ff.

For the present discussion, the most important element of this passage is Ramus' identification of the use (*utilitas*) and the goal (*finis*) of geometry. Exactly because of this assimilation the possibility of a sacred (*sacer*) and metaphysical geometry is dismissed. For Ramus, only the prospect of a practical geometry as an *ars bene metiendi*⁴ remains or, as strikingly put by Walter Ong: "one studies geometry 'to measure well,' not to understand mathematics [...]."⁵

The passage of Proclus' *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements* referred to by Ramus at the end of the above quote is situated at the beginning of the famous history of geometry reported in the second prologue (*IE*, 64, 7–68, 23):

But limiting our investigation to the origin of the arts and sciences in the present age, we say, as have most writers of history, that geometry was first discovered among the Egyptians and originated in the remeasuring of their lands. This was necessary for them because the Nile overflows and obliterates the boundary lines between their properties. It is not surprising that the discovery of this and the other sciences had its origin in necessity, since everything in the world of generation proceeds from imperfection to perfection.⁶

According to Proclus, the reason for geometry's birth "out of necessity" (*ἀπό τῆς χρείας*) lies in the fact that in the sensible realm everything follows a pattern of increasing perfection: from sense-perception (*αἴσθησις*) over discursive reasoning (*λογισμός*) to intellectual apprehension (*νοῦς*).⁷ What follows is a survey of the history of geometry as evolving from initial materiality to pure intellectuality,⁸ all brought together around Plato and his followers.⁹ The writ-

4 Ramus, *Geometria*, I, 1 in *Arithmeticae libri duo et geometriae libri septem et viginti* (1569).

5 Ong (1958) 179.

6 Proclus, *In primum Euclidis Elementorum librum commentarii* (*IE*) 64, 16–65, 1: "ἐπεὶ δὲ χρητὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν περίοδον σκοπεῖν, λέγομεν, ὅτι παρ' Αἰγυπτίους μὲν εὗρησθαι πρῶτον ἢ γεωμετρία παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἰστόρηται, ἐκ τῆς τῶν χωρίων ἀναμετρήσεως λαβοῦσα τὴν γένεσιν. ἀναγκαία γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνοις αὕτη διὰ τὴν ἀνοδὸν τοῦ Νεῖλου τοὺς προσήκοντας ὄρους ἐκάστοις ἀφανίζοντος. καὶ θαυμαστόν οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας ἀρξασθαι τὴν εὕρεσιν καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ ἐν γενέσει φερόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀτελοῦς εἰς τὸ τέλειον πρόεισιν." All translations from Proclus' *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements* in this article are taken from Morrow (1992) with some modifications.

7 Proclus, *IE* 64, 23–65, 3.

8 Goulding (2006) 79.

9 Mueller in Morrow (1992) xxix.

ings of Euclid – a Platonist according to Proclus¹⁰ – are the ultimate pinnacle and synthesis of this historical awakening:

Not long after these men came Euclid, who brought together the *Elements*, systematizing many of the theorems of Eudoxus, perfecting many of those of Theaetetus, and putting in irrefutable demonstrable form propositions that had been rather loosely established by his predecessors.¹¹

In the foreword of his Euclid-edition of 1544,¹² Ramus agrees with Proclus to the extent that he believes the history of mathematics to be an evolutionary process. Strangely enough this agreement with Proclus goes hand in hand with a new and original interpretation of the etymology suggested by the Neoplatonist for the word “μαθηματική.” Proclus writes the following:

As for the name itself that is applied to mathematics and mathematical studies, from what source could we say the ancients got it for these sciences, and what relevant meaning could it have? In my opinion, such a designation for the science of dianoetic reasoning did not come about by accident, as most names do. According to the tradition, the Pythagoreans recognized that everything we call learning is remembering, not something placed in the mind from without [...]. This, then, is what learning (μάθησις) is, recollection of the eternal ideas in the soul; and this is why the study that especially brings us the recollection of these ideas is called the science concerned with learning (μαθηματική).¹³

10 Proclus, *IE* 68, 20–23: “καὶ τῆ προαιρέσει δὲ Πλατωνικός ἐστι καὶ τῆ φιλοσοφία ταύτη οἰκείος, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τῆς συμπάσης στοιχειώσεως τέλος προεστήσατο τὴν τῶν καλουμένων Πλατωνικῶν σχημάτων σύστασιν.” / “Euclid belonged to the persuasion of Plato and was at home in this philosophy; and this is why he thought the goal of the *Elements* as a whole to be the construction of the so-called Platonic figures.”

11 Proclus, *IE* 68, 6–68, 21: “οὐ πόλυ δὲ τούτων νεώτερός ἐστιν Εὐκλείδης ὁ τὰ στοιχεῖα συναγαγὼν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν Εὐδόξου συντάξας, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Θεαιτήτου τελεωσάμενος, ἔτι δὲ τὰ μαλακώτερον δεικνύμενα τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰς ἀνελέγκτους ἀποδείξεις ἀναγαγών.”

12 The foreword is included in Ramus' *Collectaneae praefationes* (1599) 119–21.

13 Proclus, *IE* 44, 25–46, 18: “Τὸ δ' αὖ ὄνομα αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ τῆς μαθηματικῆς καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων πόθεν ἂν φαίμεν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ταύταις ἀποδεδόσθαι καὶ τίνα ἂν ἔχοι προσήκοντα λόγον; δοκεῖ δὴ μοι μὴ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων εἶναι, καθάπερ δὴ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἢ τοιαύτη τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῶν διανοητικῶν λόγων προσηγορία, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ λέγεται τῶν Πυθαγορείων κατειδότην μὲν εἶναι πᾶσα ἢ καλουμένη μάθησις ἀνάμνησις ἐστίν οὐκ ἐξωθεν ἐντιθεμένη ταῖς ψυχαῖς

Ramus endorses the viewpoint that *μάθησις* and *ἀνάμνησις* should be connected, but he differs from Proclus in two important ways.¹⁴ Firstly, he transfers the notion of mathematics as a process of reminiscence from the level of the individual to that of a collective history. Secondly, according to Ramus, this mathematical learning does not involve the remembering of innate concepts, but of mathematical practice instead:

Obviously, to construct the building of this mathematical recollection, one has to appeal to many craftsmen and many architects, since not only would neither a single man nor a single generation be sufficient to create the science of such a noble and extraordinary discipline, but hardly many thousands of men and generations.¹⁵

Thirteen years later, in the *Prooemium mathematicum*, Ramus tells a radically different story and seems to get rid of the evolutionary aspect as well. According to Robert Goulding,¹⁶ this change of heart can be explained by the observation that sixteenth-century mathematics was far from the natural and well organized science one would expect it to be at the end of a linear development that started thousands of years ago. Mathematics, instead, “turned out to be difficult.”¹⁷ In order to grasp the significance of the words “natural” and “difficult” in Ramus’ discourse, a brief outline of Ramus’ philosophy of science is required.

The picture roughly looks as follows.¹⁸ Dialectics – and every other science – consists of three aspects: *natura*, *doctrina* and *exercitatio*. All of us are born with a *natural* disposition to reason dialectically. In this state of affairs we are dealing with natural and not scientifically-developed knowledge: people use logic in speaking and writing, even without formal training. This natural art has to be the starting-point for the development of a discipline (*doctrina*) based on the imitation of the appropriate exemplars (for instance, Cicero in

[...]. αὕτη τοῖνον ἐστὶν ἡ μάθησις ἢ τῶν αἰδίων ἐν ψυχῇ λόγων ἀνάμνησις, καὶ μαθηματικὴ διὰ ταύτην ἢ πρὸς τὰς ἀναμνήσεις ἡμῖν τὰς ἐκείνων συντελοῦσα γνώσις διαφερόντως ἐπονομάζεται.”

14 Goulding (2006) 72.

15 Ramus, *Collectaneae praefationes* 121: “videlicet huius mathematicae recordationis opus exaedificandum, tot fabros, tot architectos adhiberi oportuit, quia non modo non homo unus, aut aetas una: sed vix multa & hominum, & aetatum millia ad constituendam tam nobilis, atque praestantis doctrinae scientiam sufficerent.”

16 Goulding (2006) 73–74.

17 Goulding (2006) 74.

18 This brief outline is based on Ong (1958) 175ff., Skalnik (2002) 48ff. and Goulding (2006) 64ff.

rhetoric). This formal organisation is completely focused on training (*exercitatio*), and its ultimate goal is practical use. It goes without saying that this *doctrina* is not a mere copy of natural dialectics, since it is the art of reasoning well (*bene*): “Ramus’ subsequent restoration of the Ciceronian *bene*, to make dialectic mean ‘the art of discoursing *well*’ points up to the difference between the ‘art’ of dialectic and ‘natural’ dialectic. A person endowed with natural dialectic can discourse, but not so ‘well’ as he might.”¹⁹ By means of articulation and training, the natural art has to become a second nature (*habitus*). Against this background Ramus’ reform of logic becomes evident: the logic taught at the universities is in a sharp contrast with natural logic and has to be reorganised to regain its natural purity and practical use.²⁰

Ramus’ views on dialectics apply to mathematics as well. His experience and evaluation of contemporary mathematics as a difficult and unnatural science inevitably alter his ideas concerning the *history* of mathematics. Mathematics has been deprived of its practical origin and, one might say, has been denaturalised. Therefore, the model of a collective recollection should be abandoned. But where did it go wrong? According to Ramus, it is Plato who should be held responsible for this degeneration. In the *Prooemium mathematicum*, Ramus separates the pairing of μάθησις – ἀνάμνησις by introducing a new etymology for “μαθηματικὴ,” based upon the meaning of μάθησις as “learning.” What is more, Ramus gives an ingenious twist to the etymology suggested in his foreword to Euclid of 1544: instead of the original interpretation of the term *recordatio* as a collective remembering of mathematical practice, he now adheres to Proclus’ reading, namely *recordatio* as an individual recollection of innate concepts. Once again – in an almost literal translation – Ramus refers to Proclus’ account, albeit only to refute him:

He [i.e. Proclus] answers that this name is not given in a common manner, like others, but that it was given by the Pythagoreans based on the argument of the recollection, namely that all learning is remembering [...]. Until now, that recollection has not been found in anyone so fertile, that by means of it one art has been discovered without industry and labour. In reality, that name was invented arbitrarily, and not because of an initial excellence, but because of a property: during many ages mathematics was the only discipline.²¹

19 Ong (1958) 179.

20 Goulding (2006) 65.

21 Ramus, *Prooem. math.* 354–55: “Respondet non vulgo id nomen, ut caetera, factum esse, sed a Pythagoreis impostum e recordationis argumento, quod omnis quae dicitur disciplina,

Is it not obvious then, says Ramus, from the examples of the diligence (*industria*) and effort (*labor*) of numerous mathematicians sketched in the first book of the *Prooemium*, that mathematics came into being by means of sensory perception (*a sensu*), induction (*inductio*) and experience (*experientia*)? Therefore, is this art not in origin strange and external (*advena*) instead of in-born (*indigena*)?²²

Yet, if the history of those mathematical acts cannot be read as a story of progress, how is it to be understood? Is a degenerative model a valid alternative? What is certain is that Ramus seems fully aware that his recollection model can only function as a prescriptive, theoretical program which is unable to cope with possible “abnormal” corruptions. From Ramus’ viewpoint the main responsibility for the unnatural corruption that turned the history of mathematics into a false history lies with Plato. When Plato’s students Archytas and Eudoxus vulgarized geometry by moving it from the domain of the soul and stressed its practical usefulness, their master’s reaction sealed the fate of geometry:

But Plato, outraged because the noblest possession of philosophy was revealed and relinquished to the masses, banned both of them from his institute, as if they had betrayed the secret mysteries of philosophy. It goes without saying that I cannot approve of Plato’s act.²³

Put differently, it is Plato’s choice to exclude “the masses” that has derailed the history of geometry. By turning geometry into an exclusive domain of philosophy, Plato withdrew it from everyday practical use. According to Ramus, the return of a natural geometry is only possible when the words *usus* and *finis* become synonyms again, and geometry returns to being the *ars bene metiendi* instead of a way to understand mathematics or philosophy.

recordatio est [...]. Recordatio ista adhuc in nemine tam felix inventa est, ut eius beneficio sine studio & labore ars ulla perciperetur. Nomen vero ipsum pro arbitrio factum est, nec ulla quidem initio excellentia, sed proprietate: solae enim multis seculis artes mathematicae fuerunt.”

22 Ramus, *Prooem. math.* 356–57.

23 Ramus, *Prooem. math.* 73: “*Verum indignatus Plato quod nobilissimam philosophorum possessionem in vulgus indicarent ac publicarent, & velut arcana philosophiae mysteria proderent, utrumque ab instituto deterruit. Quod factum Platonis equidem laudare non possum.*”

Johannes Kepler: History as Awakening

In the prologue of the first book of the *Harmonices mundi*, published in Linz in 1619, Johannes Kepler directly challenges Ramus' interpretation of Proclus' commentary.²⁴ What is at stake is the acknowledgement of the philosophical and theological bearing of geometry. In his critique of Ramus, Kepler shows how the philosophical relevance of geometry is reflected in the archetypical construction of the cosmos. According to Kepler, Ramus failed to understand the role played by the five Platonic solids in God's original design of the universe:

[...] and then, as he knew that Proclus was a member of the Pythagorean sect, he did not believe him when he asserted, which was quite true, that the ultimate aim of Euclid's work [...] was the five regular solids.²⁵

The passage quoted in footnote 10 indeed asserts that, according to Proclus, Euclid belonged to the school of Plato and therefore believed the aim of the *Elements* to be the construction of the five Platonic solids.²⁶ The five Platonic polyhedra (tetrahedron, cube, octahedron, dodecahedron, icosahedron) are the only possible regular polyhedra made up of congruent regular polygons.²⁷ Their construction is described by Timaeus in Plato's eponymous dialogue, where four out of five regular solids are connected with the elements water, fire, air and earth.²⁸ Although the alleged Pythagorean origin of the theory of the Platonic solids – and its association with the elements – is now a much debated topic,²⁹ Kepler considered it to be a genuinely Pythagorean invention.³⁰ Two compatible reasons, I think, can be given. Firstly, Plato sets out the

24 Kepler, *HM* 17: "*Lectus est liber Procli Petro Ramo, sed quoad nucleum attinet philosophiae, pariter cum decimo Euclidis contemptus et abjectus.*" / "The book of Proclus was read by Petrus Ramus, but as far as the core of philosophy is concerned, it was despised and rejected equally with the tenth Book of Euclid." All translations from Kepler's *Harmonices mundi* (*HM*) in this article are taken from Aiton (1997) with some modifications.

25 Kepler, *HM* 17: "[...] *deinde cum sciret Proclum fuisse Pythagoricae sectae, non credidit ei affirmanti, quod erat verissimum, sc. Euclidei operis ultimum finem [...] esse quinque corpora regularia.*"

26 See footnote 10.

27 See Field (1988) 6ff.

28 Plato, *Ti.* 55d6–56c7. Tetrahedron – fire; cube – earth; octahedron – air and icosahedron – water. Timaeus does not explain how the Demiurge used the dodecahedron.

29 See Heath (1960) 158–62.

30 Kepler, *HM* 17: "[...] *pythagoricam philosophiam circa elementorum proprietates ex quinque corporas deductas.*" / "[...] the Pythagorean philosophy on the properties of the elements

theory as recounted by the Pythagorean Timaeus,³¹ a fact explicitly underlined by Kepler.³² Secondly, it is likely that Kepler relied on the following testimony from Proclus' commentary:

Following upon these men, Pythagoras transformed mathematical philosophy into a scheme of liberal education, surveying its principles from the highest downwards and investigating its theorems in an immaterial and intellectual manner. It was he who discovered the doctrine of proportionals and the structure of the cosmic figures.³³

At first sight it may seem strange that Kepler even goes one step further, namely by counting Proclus among the members of the Pythagorean sect (*pythagorica secta*). However, from Kepler's perspective, the evidence is overwhelming: like the Pythagoreans, Proclus states that numbers reflect the properties of the highest beings;³⁴ like the Pythagorean Timaeus, Proclus mentions the world soul governing the stars;³⁵ Proclus' hymn written to the Sun is clearly inspired by the same school.³⁶

as deduced from the five solids." Ibidem 80: "*Haec sunt illa corpora quinque, quae figuras mundanas appellare sunt soliti pythagorei, Plato, et Euclidis commentator Proclus.*" / "These are the five bodies which the Pythagoreans and Plato, and Proclus, the commentator on Euclid, were accustomed to call the world figures."

31 Heath (1960) 158.

32 Kepler, *HM* 265: "[...] *Timaeus Locrensis ex pythagoricis placitis apud Platonem defendit.*" / "[...] defended from the Pythagorean beliefs by Timaeus of Locri in Plato." Cf. ibidem 221: "*In Timaeo, qui est citra omnem dubitationis aleam, commentarius quidam in primum caput Geneseos seu lib. I. Mosis, transformans illum in philosophiam pythagoricam.*" / "In the *Timaeus*, which is beyond all hazard of doubt a kind of commentary on the first chapter of Genesis, or the first book of Moses, *converting it to the Pythagorean philosophy*" (my emphasis).

33 Proclus, *IE* 65, 15–21: "*ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Πυθαγόρας τὴν περὶ αὐτὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς σχῆμα παιδείας ἐλευθέρου μετέστησεν, ἄνωθεν τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπούμενος καὶ ἀλλως καὶ νοερῶς τὰ θεωρήματα διερευνώμενος, ὃς δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀναλόγων πραγματεῖαν καὶ τῶν κοσμικῶν σχημάτων σύστασιν ἀνεῦρεν.*"

34 Kepler, *HM* 99: "*Et Proclus pythagoricus theologiam in numerorum contemplatione collocet.*" / "And Proclus the Pythagorean locates his theology in the contemplation of numbers." See Proclus, *IE* 22, 6–8.

35 Kepler, *HM* 265: "*Esse aliquam totius universi Animam, praefectam motibus astrorum [...]* *Proclus vero [...]* *stabilivit.*" / "The view that there is some soul of the whole universe, directing the motions of the stars [...] is in fact confirmed by Proclus in various places [...]"

36 Kepler, *HM* 365: "*Quo exordio simul indicat, quid Pythagorei sub ignis vocabulo intellexerint (ut mirum sit, discipulum a magistris in centri loco, quod ipsi soli dabant, dissentire.)*" / "By

Contrary to what one would expect, Kepler is not interested in the connection between the polyhedra and the four (or five) elements,³⁷ but in their role in God's original design of the cosmos. Twenty-two years before, in the *Mysterium cosmographicum* (1596), Kepler "discovered" the unique relationship between the polyhedra and the construction of the universe.³⁸ Firstly, the Creator had relied on the cosmic figures for the respective distance ratios between the spheres of the various planets (e.g. the tetrahedron fits proportionally between the orbits of Jupiter and Mars). Although the discovery of the elliptical orbit of the planets between the publishing of the *Mysterium cosmographicum* and the completion of the *Harmonices mundi* has severe consequences for this model as well, Kepler stuck to the idea that the distance between the orbits of two planets could be traced back to the ratio between the circumscribed and inscribed sphere of one of the five solids.³⁹ Secondly, according to Kepler, for the creation of the number of planets God had started from the five cosmic polyhedra. Since the distance between the orbits of two planets can be expressed by means of a regular polyhedron and since only five regular polyhedra can be constructed, the number of planets amounts to six.⁴⁰

From the above, it is clear that Kepler extracts – in his opinion – a Platonic-Pythagorean element, namely the construction of the five polyhedra, from its original connection with the cosmic elements and applies it to God's blueprint of the universe. The legitimacy of this transplantation is guaranteed by Kepler himself.⁴¹ The link between the polyhedra and the elements is valid as a plausible analogy (*analogia plausibilis*) from the perspective of the Creation as an act of God in the guise of geometrician (*mundum a Deo creatum esse, in*

this beginning he indicates what the Pythagoreans understood by the word "fire," so that it is remarkable *that the disciple disagreed with the masters* on the position of the center, which they gave to the Sun itself." (my emphasis) Cf. *ibidem* 367: "[...] *ex hoc Pythagorae crater, quem Proclus in ipso statim primo versu hymni propinat.*" / "[...] from this cup of Pythagoras, which Proclus pledges straight away in the very first verse of his Hymn."

37 The association of the elements with the Platonic solids became widespread in Western iconography and is also found in Kepler's *HM*. See Stephenson (1994) 20.

38 Kepler, *HM* 298.

39 Field (1988) 93ff. Cf. Kepler, *HM* 299.

40 Kepler, *HM* 298: "*Tertio repetat lector ex Mysterio meo Cosmographico, quod edidi ante 22. annos: numerum planetarum seu curriculum circa solem, desumptum esse a sapientissimo conditore ex quinque figuris regularibus solidis [...].*" / "Third, the reader should remember what I published in *The Secret of the Universe*, 22 years ago, that the number of the planets, or of courses round the Sun, was taken by the most wise Creator from the five regular solid figures [...]."

41 Kepler, *HM* 81.

pondere mensura et numero).⁴² But when it comes down to the validity of this analogy *an sich* (*tamen sic in specie informata*), it is not a matter of necessary truth (*nulla necessitate continetur*). The acceptability and necessity of the analogy are for Kepler clearly distinct criteria. It is interesting to see how Kepler leaves the possibility open that for the Pythagoreans as well, these criteria were dissimilar:

If the Pythagoreans held onto this theory, I do not blame Ramus, or Aristotle, for rejecting this disputed analogy. But twenty-four years ago I discovered a very different relation between these five figures and the fabric of the world. I said in the introduction to book 1 that I thought it likely that even some of the ancients had been of this same opinion, but had kept it secret, in the manner of their sect.⁴³

In the following, Kepler gives the example of the Pythagorean Aristarchus of Samos who made an allusion to the interposition of the polyhedra by describing how the cosmos comprises six spheres around the sun which are separated from each other by large and unequal intervals (*magnisque et inter se inaequalibus intervallis dirempta*). In other words: even in this question Kepler is in the possession of the hermeneutical key by means of which the truth that was concealed by the Pythagoreans in the capacity of a plausible analogy can be deciphered. When we return to Kepler's quarrel with Ramus, a similar argument is found:

What if the Pythagoreans put forward the same teaching as I do, and hid their doctrine by wrapping it up in words? [...] Therefore that in the secret of the Pythagoreans on this basis the five figures were distributed not among the elements, as Aristotle believed, but among the planets themselves is very strongly confirmed by the fact that Proclus tells us that the aim of geometry is to tell how the heaven has received appropriate figures for definite parts of itself.⁴⁴

42 Book of Wisdom 11.

43 Kepler, *HM* 81: "*Quod si hic substiterunt Pythagorei, non reprehendo in hac parte Ramum, non Aristotelem, quod hanc analogiam disputationibus convulsam rejecerunt. At ego ante annos viginti quatuor, longe aliter haec quinque corpora in fabrica Mundi indagavi; dixique in praecambulo libri I. mihi videri consentaneum, eandem doctrinam etiam veterum fuisse, sed occultatam more sectae.*"

44 Kepler, *HM* 17–18: "*Quid si Pythagorici hoc idem docuerunt, quod ego, sententiam involucris verborum texerunt? [...] Quod igitur in mysteriis Pythagoreorum hoc pacto quinque figurae distributae fuerint non inter elementa, ut Aristoteles credidit, sed inter ipsos planetas; illud*

I pay close attention to Kepler's and Ramus' differing views on the role of the five Platonic solids, because in Kepler's opinion – as in my own – this particular point indicates the essential difference between his reading of Proclus (and Euclid) and that of Ramus and his followers. After his outburst against Ramus Kepler targets one of Ramus' students by the name of Snellius.⁴⁵ The fact that Kepler explicitly refers to Snellius as a follower of Ramus proves that we are not dealing with a simple *ad hominem*, but with a vicious attack on Ramism in general:

Consider the most ingenious of today's geometers, Snellius, clearly a supporter of Ramus [...]. First he says, "That division of the inexpressibles into thirteen kinds is useless for application." I concede that, if he is to recognize no application unless it is in everyday life [...]. But why does he not follow Proclus, whom he mentions, and who recognizes that there is some greater good in geometry than those of the arts which are necessary for living?⁴⁶

The core of Kepler's critique amounts to the following: a Ramist is only interested in the direct usefulness (*usus in vita communi* and *usus ad vitam*) of mathematics for daily life and fails to appreciate the philosophical value at stake.

Kepler's reading of Proclus differs fundamentally from Ramus' utilitarian approach.⁴⁷ In the introduction of the first book of the *Harmonices mundi* Kepler reports how Proclus was the only one in Antiquity to *philosophically* interpret Euclid's *Elements*:

In fact not even among the ancients is anyone found who has intimated that he knew exactly these specific distinguishing features of geometrical objects, except for Euclid and his commentator Proclus. [...] Proclus Diadochus in the four books which he published on the first book of

vel maxime confirmat, quod Proclus finem geometriae inter caeteros hunc tradit, quod doceat, quo modo figuras convenientes coelum certis sui partibus acceperit."

45 Willebrord Snellius (1580–1626) was a Dutch mathematician whom Kepler knew personally. See Aiton (1997) 88.

46 Kepler, *HM* 18: "Ecce sollertissimum geometrarum hodiernorum Snellium, plane suffragantem Ramo [...]. Primum ait, ad usum inutilem esse divisionem illam ineffabilem in tredecim species. Concedo, si nullum ille usum agnoscat, nisi in vita communi [...]. At cur non Proclum sequitur, quem allegat, qui agnoscit aliquod maius geometriae bonum, quam sunt artes ad vitam necessariae?"

47 On Proclus and Kepler as exegetes, also see Claessens (2011) 183–86.

Euclid explicitly played the part of a theoretical philosopher dealing with a mathematical subject.⁴⁸

From Kepler's perspective, Proclus' text becomes fundamental and even indispensable for a correct understanding of geometry's philosophical bearing: "But there is no need for arguments: Proclus' whole book should be read."⁴⁹ What is more, the hermeneutical key needed is similar to that of the Pythagorean corpus. Proclus does not state this doctrine openly and conspicuously (*non in aperto et conspicuo ponit*), but his eloquence flows fully (*pleno velut alveo*) and is wrapped in obscure Platonic terminology.⁵⁰ Only Kepler is able to penetrate into such mysteries (*ad tam recondita penetrare*).

Kepler thus asserts that Euclid's text is in permanent *need* of a commentator providing the philosophical framework in which the text should function.⁵¹ Proclus' *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements* is a decisive moment in the reception of geometry as philosophy. It is not surprising then, that Kepler understands the poor geometrical knowledge of his contemporaries as a symptom of the oblivion into which Proclus' text has fallen. Obviously, this problem can be solved by bringing renewed attention to Proclus' text, with Kepler as the exegete *par excellence*. After all, only Proclus has witnessed the same Christian truth that Kepler now tries to explain.⁵²

Conclusion

For both Kepler and Ramus any comparison between sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Europe and Antiquity concerning mathematical thinking points in one direction: that of the past. Somewhere on the road "truth" has been lost. Both thinkers see it as their task to rectify this loss by reproducing an original moment of the past, prior to this fall. The way in which this return has to be made and the precise moment that should be reproduced, however, is for both men completely different. Ramus wants to return to a moment before

48 Kepler, *HM* 15: "*Adeoque ne ex veteribus quidem, qui has specificas rerum geometricarum differentias se exacte cognovisse significaverit, praeter Euclidem ejusque commentatorem Proclum, quisquam occurrit. [...] Proclus Diadochus, libris quatuor in primum Euclidis editis, Philosophum Theoreticum in mathematico subjecto ex professo egit.*"

49 Kepler, *HM* 16: "*Sed non est opus argumentatione, legatur totus liber Procli.*"

50 Kepler, *HM* 16.

51 See Claessens (2011) 184.

52 Kepler, *HM* 364. According to Kepler the Christian foundation of that truth has always already been present in Proclus' work. See Martens (2000) 34.

and outside of the textual history and tradition: a collective primordial state where nature rules. According to Ramus, truth coincides with an initial, natural disposition, and a return to this disposition is therefore a return to the past. It is history, in all its appearances, that stands between us and our nature: the evolution of education, the oblivion of usefulness, the arrogant choice that alienated man from nature, et cetera. The only solution available is a methodical reform, modelled on our own nature instead of external authorities. In his *Dialecticae institutiones* (1543) Ramus writes that we would do better to obtain advice from unschooled workers than from scientists. From the logical – and unaffected – mind of the former, the image of our nature will reflect as in a mirror (*ex eorum ingenii veluti speculis imago naturae resultabit*).⁵³

Kepler, on the other hand, chooses an irreproducible moment *within* history. It is exactly history, that spiritual awakening situated in time, that forms the necessary condition for revealing our essence. According to Kepler, the actual situation should be ascribed to a crack in the tradition. The only way to restore this gap is linking up with tradition. Firstly, by bringing Proclus' commentary to the attention of his contemporaries; secondly, by completing the project initiated by the Neoplatonist. Consequently, the moment of the past to which Kepler wishes to return is by no means a democratic, collective primordial state. On the contrary, Kepler's paradise lost is a highly individual and privileged testimony that originated *within* a history and was crystallized in this specific text. Like Proclus, Kepler is a witness and both testimonials function within a dialogue of mutual affirmation. The text as a historical momentum gives access to truth and Kepler holds the hermeneutical key.

In Kepler's account of the history of geometry as a process of spiritual awakening the ἀρχή of geometry coincides with the ἀρχή of philosophy, namely the *textual* history of Platonism. In other words, history is originally an evolution *towards* the text. On the contrary, Ramus' verdict of Platonism shows a history of alienation: not a history of texts, but an anti-textual history of people and acts. Geometry's ἀρχή precedes the text of philosophy, its goal is *a-textual*. Kepler praises Antiquity as the place of an historical and authentic momentum, while Ramus considers this textualization precisely as the alienation from a reproducible moment where man coincides with his materiality. Both interpretations thus reveal an explicitly different contact with Antiquity, which brings about a crucial shift in the meaning of the term reception. For Kepler, receiving Antiquity is and should be a textual phenomenon: it is the bridging of a gap and the restoration and fulfilment of a spiritual-textual tradition. From

53 This example is given by Goulding (2006) 65 and stems from Ramus, *Dialect. Instit.* f. 6.

Ramus' perspective, receiving Antiquity can only be useful as an a-textual and material event, i.e. as the remembering of mathematical practice.

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Occasional Writer, Sensational Writer: Multatuli as a Sentimental Benevolence Writer in the 1860s¹

Laurens Ham

Introduction

In 2007, Darren C. Zook published a surprising article about Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* (1860). According to Zook, this centrepiece of the Dutch literary canon is a little overrated. Too often, Dutch readers have regarded *Max Havelaar*, the writer's debut novel, as a wonderfully modern book which defends progressive political ideas. Zook states: "Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* was not an anti-colonial text and [...] its stylistic innovations were not radically new and did not single-handedly invent Dutch literary modernity."² Admittedly, for many non-professional Dutch readers Multatuli (1820–1887) is *the* anti-colonial writer, although this interpretation may be based as much on the fact that a fair trade company adopted the name "Max Havelaar" in the 1980s as on his novels. Many important non-Dutch readers have defended an "anti-colonial" reading too: Benedict Anderson, Edward Said, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, even Vladimir Lenin.³ However, when Zook claimed that a revisionist reading of Multatuli's works was never attempted, he certainly was wrong.⁴ The Dutch novelist Willem Frederik Hermans, to name but one influential reader, wrote in his 1976 Multatuli biography that the author was not a revolutionary at all. Multatuli did not want to reorganize the societal structure, but he wanted individuals to change their behaviour. Admitting that it would be disastrous if Holland lost

1 This paper was realized as part of the PhD-project "The autonomy of the Dutch literary author: boundaries and possibilities." It is part of the NWO-funded project "The power of autonomous literature: Willem Frederik Hermans" (supervised by Wilbert Smulders, Frans Ruiters and Geert Buelens). I would like to thank the supervisors and Saskia Pieterse for their advice and Esmée Fein and Claire Stocks for proofreading.

2 Zook (2007) 1183.

3 Pieterse (2010) 55–56; Salverda (2007).

4 Zook (2007), 1187–1188, note 32.

its colony, he argued for high moral standards, to prevent future upheaval in the Indies.⁵

As far as the question of literary newness is concerned, Zook's claims are fresher. Still, he takes a somewhat rigid position when he claims that it is "either/or": Multatuli is a "modernist" writer *or* he is "anti-modernist." The general consensus in recent Multatuli studies seems to be that this author's position is not one-dimensional. Some critics (e.g. E.M. Beekman) do indeed claim that this ambiguity makes the works typically "modern," while other critics (e.g. Saskia Pieterse) do not go that far.⁶ One could even say that his "(anti)modern" stance is one of the recurring points of debate in the reception of Multatuli's works. Very often, progressive politicians and writers tried to incorporate him into their political plans (of liberalism, feminism, anarchism, socialism...), but Multatuli always tried to stay away from these groups.⁷ If history had taken a different direction, Multatuli would have become a conservative politician in the 1860s.⁸

It is not my intention to present my own view on the problem of Multatuli's (anti)modernist stance. I want to rephrase the question and wonder *why* generations of readers have come to address the problem of a progressive or anti-progressive tendency in the oeuvre. The complexity of Multatuli's works provokes discussions among every new generation of Dutch readers. The way these works address the reader might contribute to the oeuvre's continuing allure and controversial status.

Multatuli's texts offer us a paradoxical "reading contract": they try to strike up a friendship with the reader, but reject the possibility of this friendly contact at the same time.⁹ I will show how this game of attracting and rejecting works, and what its effects are. Multatuli's peculiar way of communicating with the reader on the one hand raises the feeling that this author wants to do something radically new, while on the other hand it contributes to a literary strategy which was very common at that time.

I do not want to claim that all meaning in a text is produced by the author. A writer does, in my opinion, create a place for the reader in the text – the so-called "implied" or "mock reader," who (in the texts we are discussing here) is

5 Hermans (1976) 92.

6 Beekman (1996) 202–52; Pieterse (2008, 2010).

7 Everard and Jansz (2010); Gasenbeek (2010).

8 van der Meulen (2003) 535–57.

9 Cf. Booth's remarks on "Implied Authors as Friends and Pretenders." Booth (1988) 169–98. For a slightly different view on Multatuli's relationship with readers, see Pieterse (2008) 48–59.

often explicitly addressed.¹⁰ Actual readers are, of course, not identical to their textual counterparts. They can be unwilling, or unable, to identify themselves with the “reader-in-the-text” – they can act as “resisting readers.”¹¹ My analysis will clarify this situation to show that every text produces different meanings for different readers, depending on their historical, literary or ideological horizons. Still, it might be valuable to investigate to what extent the reception of an author’s work by his or her readers is the product of certain characteristics of the literary text. That is what this article aims to do.

My analysis focuses on one of the least known works by Multatuli, the pamphlet *Show me the place where I sowed!* (*Wijs mij de plaats waar ik gezaaid heb!*, 1861). This novella, published to benefit the people stricken by a flood in the Dutch East Indies in 1861, is perhaps the most “sentimental” of the author’s books. It can only be understood properly when placed in the context of the forgotten tradition of Dutch benevolence literature. In the next two sections, I will give a rough sketch of benevolence literature as it functioned in the 1860s, and of its political significance. After that, *Show me the place* will be analyzed against the backdrop of this tradition.

Benevolence Literature Around 1861

The front cover of *Show me the place where I sowed!* explicitly mentions that this is a benevolence book: “Published for the benefit of the people destitute after the flood in the Dutch East Indies.”¹² The words “published for the benefit of...” functioned as a formula, which indicated that a book was a so-called “benevolence publication.”¹³ All profits from these books were meant to benefit the people affected by a flood, a storm, a large fire or poverty. Two groups can be distinguished within the material: books republished for charity or books specifically written for the good cause. Here, I will focus on the second group of texts.

In 1861, the production of benevolence books appears to have reached its peak.¹⁴ An estimated amount of 110 books were published in this year. Most of

10 For the term “mock reader,” see Booth (1975). Cf. Herman and Vervaeck (2005) 20–22.

11 Fetterley (1978).

12 “*Uitgegeven ten behoeve der noodlijdenden door de overstroming in Nederlandsch Indië.*” Multatuli (1861a) front cover. All translations of Dutch texts in this article are mine.

13 For the modern term “benevolence publication,” see den Boer (1994).

14 Den Boer (1994) counted 67 publications about the flood of 1855, and 87 about the flood of 1861. However, she missed a significant number of books from the latter year, some of which were summarized in the *Nederlandsche bibliographie* of 17th May 1861 and 28th

them were written after a flood in the mid-eastern part of the Netherlands, a few (like Multatuli's) were published after the Javanese disaster. One of the reasons for suspecting that this number of books was relatively high, is that contemporary critics showed their surprise at the benevolence production of 1861. In some newspaper articles or pamphlets, the literary quality of the "flood" of benevolence books was ridiculed. The liberal poet P.A. de Génestet, for example, mocked the poor quality of benevolence poems, but praised the Dutch readers at the same time, because their financial contributions for the good cause made "nutritious bread [...] out of Water poetry."¹⁵ So, de Génestet was not against benevolence through the sale of books per se, but he objected to the mass production of inferior poems that resulted from such sales. Inferior or not, the readers loved buying benevolence books. *Show me the place*, for instance, was reprinted within a few weeks after its first publication. The publisher Nijgh received more than 1300 guilders for the two editions of the book. Considering that it was sold for 60 cents, over 2100 copies must have been sold.¹⁶ In the same year, the poet Bernard ter Haar earned an astonishing 3000 guilders from a benevolence book.¹⁷ It would seem that the negative reactions of the critics did not conflict with the popularity of the books for the reading public.

It is very unlikely that the buyers of benevolence books always enjoyed every page of the works they acquired. Presumably, they considered it their duty to buy them, just as the benevolence writers considered it their duty to write them. In the 1860s, Dutch social politics to a large extent relied on charity. There was no socio-political structure within which questions of poverty, disasters, or other social problems could be addressed, so another system had to be established: private enterprises carried out several charity projects.¹⁸ For the liberal democratic leaders of the country, private initiatives were important to prevent the state from becoming too powerful. For large groups of Christian civilians, charity projects were the only acceptable way of (re)structuring society.

September 1861. In total, I counted no less than 110 books about the flood of 1861. Although we do not have precise numbers of titles published after the floods of earlier years (1809, 1820, 1825), my bibliographical survey indicates that far less books were issued in these years.

15 "[V]oedend brood kan maken / van Waterpoëzij." Schim van Braga (1861) 7. For a more comprehensive analysis of some satirical pamphlets, see Ham (2012).

16 Multatuli (1865) 30.

17 Mathijssen (2002) 225.

18 Hoekstra (2005).

Although some research has been conducted recently on charity in the Dutch nineteenth century,¹⁹ the genre of benevolence literature as a whole has received little attention from scholars: only a few short articles and an unpublished masters thesis have been written on the subject.²⁰ This scholarship, published within the past few decades, tends to analyze benevolence literature as a literary practice with many positive political effects: writers showed their social involvement and so were able to influence social conditions.

I propose a more critical approach, framing benevolence literature as a conservative practice which refashioned society according to the desires of the Christian and liberal upper and middle classes. It established a communicative pact between congenial readers, by means of prologues and epilogues, in which the bourgeois backgrounds of both the producers and the consumers were emphasized. It seems unlikely that lower class readers purchased these books.²¹ They were more or less explicitly excluded from the literary communication, although the donations of benevolence books were often meant for them. Therefore, one could call literary benevolence a paternalistic initiative, a powerful instrument to control the societal hierarchy.

One of the books that was published during the 1861 flood in the Netherlands clearly displays the way in which this communicative agreement works. This short prose work, *In the attic* (*Op den zolder*, 1861) by the highly popular commercial writer Jacob Jan Cremer,²² is about a family living in the countryside, forced to flee from the rising water and finding a refuge in their attic. Because it is February, the cold threatens their lives. The father succeeds in making a fire, but when his daughter burns her feet from the flames, he needs to put out the fire. While there is little hope that they will survive this ordeal, the last section of the book presents a miraculous recovery, followed by the moral of the story. God's reasons for sending this flood are explained in the last lines:

[H]ere they come, here they come! – yes – yes look – here they come to save you. Listen to the splashing sound of the oars. Listen to the voices. You, numb with cold! You, dead tired! You, half-dead people! Shout with

19 For instance Houkes (2009) 47–71.

20 Dongelmans (1990); den Boer (1994); Mathijssen (2002, 2008).

21 Cf. van den Berg and Couttenier (2009) 547, on the contact between readers and writers in the nineteenth century. Book historians, however, have never attempted to write about the consumption of benevolence literature.

22 I chose to discuss this work mainly because it is mentioned in Multatuli's *Show me the place where I sowed!* Compared with Cremer's somewhat stereotypical text, we see how provocative Multatuli's pamphlet must have been for the contemporary reader.

joy: "There is salvation!" You, put to the test! Praise, praise the Lord, because the misery of your house and the misfortune of your village, meant for the well-being of *your* souls, also reflected GOD'S CALL FOR LOVE AND COMPASSION, MEANT FOR ALL DUTCH PEOPLE!²³

Cremer communicates with the casualties of the flood here, by addressing his fictional characters directly. It is clear that these characters are powerless; they require godlike saviours to rescue them. The disaster is interpreted as an act of God, who has "used" this disaster to convince his people to be pious Christians. The people who live in the flooded area are urged to live a devout life, while the civilians who buy *In the attic* are given the opportunity to show their compassion. From a strictly rationalized perspective, this disaster is incomprehensible, but it becomes acceptable in the context of a Protestant worldview. It is the buying public that is best qualified to soften the blow to the afflicted families, so fulfilling their Christian obligations. The epilogue of *In the attic* is explicitly directed to these readers: "Esteemed Reader, not stricken by the flood..."²⁴ This well-to-do class of readers has already sacrificed "significant gifts on the altar of love," according to Cremer.²⁵ Still, they are able to relieve the casualties' needs even more with new donations.

The Politics of Benevolence

In the last section, benevolence literature was, rather unambiguously, read as a literary genre with a conservative political agenda. The reader's interpretive position seems to be inscribed in the text: it constructs a conservative, explicitly addressed reader. Another framing is possible, however, if we take three things into account. Firstly, the reader can choose (more or less deliberately) not to connect with the position of the reader in the text. When critically evaluating the ideology of *In the attic* and other philanthropic books, the interpreter uses a way of reading which might have been "unthinkable" in 1861. To use a term introduced by the literary critic Derek Attridge, every reading

23 "[D]aar komen ze, daar komen ze! – ja – ja zie maar – daar komen ze om u te redden. Hoor dan het klotsen der riemen. Hoor dan die stemmen. Verstijfden! afgetobden! halve dooden! juich, juich: "Daar komt redding!" Beproofden! loof, loof dan den Heer, want zie, de nood van uw huis en het wee uwer oorden – zij het almée tot heil uwer zielen – het was ook: DE WEKSTEMME GODS TOT LIEFDE, VOOR HEEL HET NEËRLANDSCHE VOLK!" Cremer (1861) 26.

24 "Waarde en niet door den watersnood beproefde Lezer," Cremer (1861) 27.

25 Cremer (1861) 27.

process is a “performance,” in which the text, the author and the reader converge.²⁶ These performances are to a large extent influenced by the historical and ideological backgrounds of the reader.

Secondly, the fundamental ambiguity in the process of producing meaning has to be taken into account. According to theorists in the fields of New Historicism or Cultural Materialism, every text undermines its own ideology. An apparently conservative text like *In the attic* might serve as an example. While this book silences the lower-class readers for which it collects money, at the same time it brings these people implicitly into view. Cremer’s appeal to the “Reader, not stricken by the flood” can only be meaningful when another individual (the one who *is* stricken by the flood) is taken into account. Moreover, the fact that the reading pact between like-minded writers and readers has to be re-established time and time again, proves that it is not a natural pact. Whereas Attridge seems to think that only literary masterpieces are able to represent the hitherto unthinkable, to bring the cultural “Other” into being, some critics reject the idea that only *some* texts are able to do that. Catherine Belsey, for example, presents every text as a possible *locus* of “dissent.”²⁷

There is a third reason to take the ideological meaning of benevolence into reconsideration. Recent American criticism has shown that the genre of sentimental fiction, which was and often is regarded as a highly conservative literary practice, might be understood in a more “progressive” way. To some extent, benevolence literature can be compared with the sentimental genre; that is why it is insightful to introduce this American debate in slightly greater detail.

One of the texts which succeeded in bringing sentimental fiction back to critical attention was a chapter in Jane Tompkins’ *Sensational designs* (1985).²⁸ In her text, Tompkins argued that the ideas about the naïveté of sentimental novels (such as Harriet Beecher Stowe’s million-selling *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*) were largely related to the gendered and modernist values of literary scholars. American sentimental fiction, often written by middle-class white women, followed an aesthetic which differed radically from the one twentieth-century scholars had adopted. According to Tompkins, these scholars refused to take the nineteenth-century literary values into account, whereas some knowledge about these values is necessary to understand why these novels came to be so extremely popular in their age. Tompkins not only re-emphasized the cultural importance of sentimental literature, she also started a debate on the politics of sentimentalism which has continued well into the twenty-first century.

26 Attridge (2004) 95–106.

27 Belsey (1999) 1–25.

28 Tompkins (1985).

Some critics discussed its conservative (racial) ideas,²⁹ but others tried to follow Tompkins in the idea that these texts provided an opening to more progressive politics. The volume *Our sisters' keepers*, for instance, argues for the political possibilities benevolence literature enforced for the nineteenth century women who wrote the texts:

[T]he writers of benevolence literature have done nothing less than re-envision the American individual. In the face of an ethos of individualism and self-reliance, nineteenth-century women writers saw the value of and need for connection with others. Hence, they imagined the self as a dynamic entity that seeks a balance between selfish and selfless pursuits, between concerns with the individual self and with the self that is created in relation to another.³⁰

Marianne Noble as well reads sentimental literature as both “positively” and “negatively” connoted. She analyzes a rhetorical effect in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* she calls “sentimental wounding,” “a bodily experience of anguish caused by identification with the pain of another.”³¹ According to Noble, sentimental wounding can have the positive effect of involving readers emotionally, but it had the unintentional effect of sexualizing the body of the victim.

For Dutch benevolence literature, the question of positive effects on readers and writers might be addressed as well. Can the sentimentality of *In the attic* be interpreted as a way of confronting the higher- or middle-class readers with the devastating effects of disasters on their fellow citizens? Moreover, is it possible to recognize a more liberal and liberalizing tendency in this novella? In the last lines of Cremer's epilogue to the book, he approaches the victims explicitly and shows them that they do have agency in improving their daily lives:

Perhaps one question is not inappropriate here...? It is a hint for the inhabitants of areas that are threatened by floods, year after year. Would it be possible for you to put up a hill in your district, when there is not that much work to be done; a large terp on which a big shed can be placed, to save your belongings when a disaster is at hand...?³²

29 Sundquist (1986).

30 Bergman and Bernardi (2005) 1.

31 Noble (1997) 295.

32 “Zou een vraag hier ongepast zijn; een wenk voor de bewoners der oorden die telken jare toch, aan de gevaren van watersnood bloot staan...? Kunt gij in tijden, wanneer er handen teveel zijn, geen heuvel opwerpen in uwe gemeenten; een brede terp waarop een groote loots [sic]

The politics of benevolence literature can be interpreted, therefore, in a less one-dimensional way than I have shown in the previous section. The reader not only had the power to refuse the conservative reading-pact offered to him or her, but he or she could go so far as to activate an emancipatory meaning in the text: sentimental benevolence books might be able to make connections between different groups in society.

With these ideas about the “progressive” political possibilities of benevolence literature in mind, we are now ready to analyze Multatuli’s *Show me the place where I sowed!* We will see that this novel deploys the typical characteristics of benevolence literature in a somewhat provocative manner. On the one hand, the author rejects the “affirmative” pact with the bourgeois reader. On the other hand, he sometimes confirms the contact with his readers, and tries to activate empathy for the Javanese people. In other words: he exploits an emancipatory effect in benevolence literature that was always there, but never stated explicitly.

Multatuli’s *Show me the place where I sowed!*

Multatuli’s *Show me the place* was commissioned by the Rotterdam publisher Nijgh, an important company at that time. Whilst we can believe that the practice of writing benevolence books by commission was fairly common, there are few sources to prove this. One of the most notable is in fact *Show me the place*, since Multatuli introduces his book with the disclaimer: “Mister Nijgh asked me today to write a ‘something’ for the benefit of the casualties of the Javanese flood.”³³

Here, the author violates an unwritten rule of philanthropic literature. When authors of benevolence books talk about themselves or their reasons for writing a book, they do so in paratexts, such as prologues or epilogues: the main text of the book is not the appropriate location for a metafictional commentary. Yet Multatuli starts with a long metafictional fragment that ultimately will form a large part of the book. By doing so he not only rejects the common “rules” of the benevolence genre, but he distances himself from the reader as well.

moest geplaatst worden om, bij naderende ramp, te bergen wat er te bergen is....? Cremer (1861) 27–28.

33 “De heer Nijgh wendde zich heden tot mij met een verzoek om een ‘iets’ ten voordeele van de slagtoffers van de overstrooming op Java.” Multatuli (1861a) 3.

According to Multatuli, he “cannot write and does not like writing.”³⁴ This polemical statement is meant to distinguish him from his contemporaries. To prove his point, Multatuli discusses one recent benevolence book: Cremer’s *In the attic*. Multatuli’s “analysis” can hardly be called a reading of the book, since he does not even open it – although he admits that it lies in front of him. *In the attic* is bound to be so predictable, he argues, that it is not even necessary for him to read it. Confidently and with some ironic remarks, Multatuli “summarizes” the content of Cremer’s novella. His description of the novel’s plot corresponds partly to the actual content, especially when it comes to the last words of *In the attic*: “Look at what you see on the last page of all flood pamphlets: God is love!”³⁵

Cremer is exactly the kind of writer whom Multatuli does not want to be: a prose writer. Fiction is a perverse way to arouse sympathy in the reader, according to Multatuli’s poetics.³⁶ With a striking metaphor, he states: “If someone once would inflict a deep wound on mister CREMER – Lord save him – nobody would believe in the sincerity of his grief. His cry of pain as a human being would pass unnoticed, because people remember his tune as an artist.”³⁷ This use of the metaphor of the wound – which may be interpreted here as both *mental* and *physical* pain³⁸ – reminds us of Marianne Noble’s analysis of the role of “sentimental wounding.” Whereas Harriet Beecher Stowe seems to be very confident about how to raise empathy by describing physical suffering, Multatuli is very sceptical about this possibility.

So, the difference between “conventional” writers and Multatuli is made clear from the beginning of *Show me the place*. At the same time, he refers to the great gap between himself and his readers. Cremer tried to emphasize the equality between himself and the middle-class reader, but Multatuli does the exact opposite. After a deliberately obscure fragment in the first pages of his text, he writes ironically:

[N]othing [is] more probable [...] than the improbable. Do you want evidence of that, reader? When you planned to read this text, did you

34 “...dat ik niet schrijven kan, en niet van schrijven houd.” Multatuli (1861a) 3.

35 “Zie de laatste bladzijde van alle watersnood-brochures: God is liefde!” Multatuli (1861a) 10. Cf. Cremer (1861) 9, 26.

36 Cf. Pieterse (2008) 286–97.

37 “Als den heer CREMER eenmaal, God beware hem wensch ik, eene diep treffende wond werd geslagen, zou niemand gelooven aan de opregtheid zijner smart. De jammerkreet van de mensch zou onopgemerkt wegsterven, wijl men zich den toon herinnert van den artist.” Multatuli (1861a) 6.

38 In Dutch, the word “*smart*” [pain] can be used to refer to both.

consider it likely that you would meet Briseïs next to cherrystones, or HUGO DE GROOT next to Dutch charity and an excursus on probabilism, all in the first page of a “something” about the Javanese flood?

That is the main reason why I hate writing for the readership, that does not like mental jumps and expects the writer to move on just like the others.³⁹

Here, Multatuli makes clear that his aversion to writing stems from his problematic relationship with his readers. But why does he judge the reading public so negatively? The first reason might be that Multatuli’s “natural” way of thinking and writing, which requires many mental jumps on the part of his readers, is not appreciated by them. However, his mentioning of Briseïs points to a second, even more important reason. Multatuli seems to be disappointed by his readers: “[T]he non-craftsmanship part of my ‘trade,’ is so completely conflicting with my nature, that, indeed, less talent is needed to bring the Dutch nation to beneficence, than to lure me away from the tent where I sit sulking about Briseïs.”⁴⁰

The author equates himself with the Greek hero Achilles, who, in the *Iliad*, sat in anger in his military tent after Agamemnon had robbed him of his female slave Briseïs and refused to return to battle in the Trojan War; it was only after his best friend Patroclus had died in battle that Achilles went back to the field. Multatuli compares his recent career with Achilles’ story. After the publication of *Max Havelaar*, a book which he expected to be of direct political significance, the author was extremely disappointed by the reception of his novel.⁴¹ Readers praised the book’s superior style, but they did not take its political message seriously, according to the author. Like Achilles who put aside his anger after Patroclus died, Multatuli is willing to forget his rage after Nijgh asked him to write a new book. His main goal, however, was not to obey the wish of the publisher, but to have his revenge on the readers for their indifference.

39 “[N]iets [is] waarschijnlijker [...] dan de onwaarschijnlijkheid. Wilt gij bewijzen, lezer? Hadt gy ‘t vooraf waarschijnlijk gevonden Briseïs met kerssepitten, HUGO DE GROOT en de Nederlandsche weldadigheid met een zijspromg op de probabiliteitsleer te ontmoeten op dit eerste blaadje van het gevraagde ‘Iets’ over den Javaschen watersnood? [...] Ook vooral daarom heb ik een afkeer van schrijven voor het publiek, dat niet van sprongen houdt, wijl men van den schrijver verlangt dat hij zich voortbewege als een ander.” Multatuli (1861a) 4.

40 “[H]et niet-ambachtelijk gedeelte van het ‘vak’ [...] strijdt zo geheel tegen mijne natuur, dat er inderdaad geringer talent noodig is om de Nederlandsche natie te bewegen tot weldadigheid, dan om mij weg te lokken uit de tent waar ik pruil om Briseïs.” Multatuli (1861a) 3.

41 Van der Meulen (2003) 413–21.

Show me the place is, indeed, a sarcastic and almost aggressive text, which constantly emphasizes the difference between the author and the readership. While Multatuli wrote *Max Havelaar* more or less in an affirmative, “traditional” manner by seeking sympathy in his public, from this moment on his writings take the form of an attack. Yet every time Multatuli tries to provoke the readers, he tries to attract them as well. That strategy is wonderfully phrased in his second novel *Love Letters*, written shortly after *Show me the place*: “Ladies and gentlemen, I despise you with the deepest sincerity.”⁴²

Many parts of *Show me the place* are concerned with widening the gap in literary communication. In the first part of the text, Multatuli calls it a “disharmony between precentor and congregation.”⁴³ This ecclesiastical metaphor is well chosen: it emphasizes that the friendly contact between producers and consumers of benevolence literature was not only guaranteed by their similar social position, but also by their shared religious ideas. Multatuli, however, underlines that he is not a Christian, but an outsider who tackles his fellow citizens on their social responsibilities: “Your belief is at stake, your Christ is at stake!”⁴⁴

Although Multatuli dismisses some of the key characteristics of benevolence literature, he does employ others. After the largely metafictional first part of the book, he tells a typically “sentimental” story to illustrate the annihilating effects of the flood.⁴⁵ The Javanese Karidien has just survived a tiger attack; he, his family and some other people from their village are dining together and are discussing the incident. A surprisingly large part of the story is devoted to the introduction of the the story’s characters. They are presented in a conventional way. First, an extensive extract focuses on introducing the character of Karidien and telling his story. After that, a smaller part establishes a portrait of Karidien’s wife Amia, who is expecting her first baby. An even smaller part mentions the names and characters of other children who are present. This way of narrating may be highly gendered – a man, Karidien, is presented as the most important and most dynamic character – but still this introduction is surprising. It presents several Javanese people as named

42 “Publiek, ik veracht u met groote innigheid.” Multatuli (1861b) 17. Cf. Pieterse (2008) 7–39. In the epilogue for the third edition of *Show me the place where I sowed*, Multatuli repeats these words: Multatuli (1865) 32.

43 Multatuli (1861a) 5.

44 “Het geldt de eer van Uw geloof; het geldt de eer van Uwen Christus!” Multatuli (1861a) 21.

45 This passage resembles the story of the Javanese children Saïdjah and Adinda in Multatuli’s *Max Havelaar*. In both cases, the sentimental story is embedded in a metafictional framework, in which the author comments on his own text. It is worth noting that, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* is explicitly mentioned in *Max Havelaar*. Multatuli (1987) 278–79.

individuals complete with feelings – a perspective which was far from common in the Dutch colonies in 1861. The narrator's voice emphasizes how important it is to look at these people as human beings: "You, who for your own interest try to banish the Javanese from the large family of humanity, do you think that a mother there, is no *mother*?"⁴⁶

The reader is shown how these Javanese families are surprised by the "banjir" (the Javanese word for flood), how everything is swept away, and how not one person is saved from death. Atrocious details are used to describe the disaster: "And *Amia*, who would be called *Emboh Sarie*?⁴⁷ Is one supposed to look for a woman, or for a *mother*? Is it her, who is lying there with a painful twist to her mouth, as if she succumbed to a double death? Would that have been her child, that clod without a form, that was born in the water?"⁴⁸ Time and time again, the story's narrator underlines the fact that these victims were human beings, just like the readers. "The bodies that lie there, and will probably spread the plague, are bodies of *human beings*! They felt things, they hoped, they feared just like us, they deserved happiness just like us, ... reader, they were *human beings*, these Javanese!"⁴⁹ Multatuli not only makes the Dutch readers eye-witnesses of what happens to the Javanese people, he even tries to inscribe the latter's suffering into the readers' bodies: "[W]e hear the last sighs, we feel the last cramps, we catch the last prayers, – and we feel cold in our hearts."⁵⁰ Here, Multatuli uses the rhetorical device of "sentimental wounding" to affect, and afflict, his readers.

It is clear that Multatuli does make a connection with his public, albeit in a different way from Cremer. For the latter, the relationship between him and his readers seems to be the foremost aim; the bond between the person who reads and the fictional characters is far less important. Cremer does try to raise em-

46 "O gij, die uit belangzucht den Javaan tracht weg te stooten uit de groote familie der menschheid, meent gij dat eene moeder daar, geene moeder is?" Multatuli (1861a) 25.

47 Elsewhere in *Show me the place*, the narrator explains that Javanese women are called after their first children. This is why *Amia*'s name would be changed in *Emboh Sarie*. Multatuli (1861a) 24–25.

48 "En *Amia* die *Emboh Sarie* heeten zou? Moet men eene vrouw zoeken of eene moeder? Zou zij het wezen, zij die daar ligt met pijnlijken trek als ware zij bezweken onder een' dubbelen dood? Zou dat haar kind geweest zijn, dat vormloos klompje, dat geboren werd in het water?" Multatuli (1861a) 33.

49 'Die lijken die daar liggen, en dreigen met pest, zijn de lijken van menschen! Zij voelden, hoopten, vreesden als wij, hadden aanspraak op levensgeluk als wij, ... lezer, het waren menschen, die *Javanen*!' Multatuli (1861a) 34.

50 "[W]ij hooren de laatste zuchten, wij voelen die laatste trekking der spieren, wij verstaan die laatste beden, – en het wordt ons eng om het hart." Multatuli (1861a) 33–34.

pathy, but when the characters' suffering comes "too close to home" he holds back. Take the following example, which describes how the fictional characters try to take shelter in their attic:

[N]o, who demands the description of the dark night which will follow! who desires – be it imaginary – to watch through the dreadful night with Hanneke Daalhof, while she needs to constantly force herself to stay awake, to cherish her beloved children as long as she is able to do so – be it very inadequate. No, no! Your heart would break if you heard the laments and wails which repeatedly fill the attic.⁵¹

Whereas Multatuli makes his readers *feel* the pain and anguish of the fictional characters, Cremer places them in the position of distanced witnesses, who are supposed *not* to empathize too much with the characters. Multatuli breaks the conventional reading agreement between the reader and the author, so that he can emphasize more forcefully the relationship between the reader and the character in the story. That he should choose to do so through fiction, illustrates that Multatuli's condemnation of fictionality is not as definitive as it seems. Although the metafictional framework forms a large part of the book, the fictional story seems to be the central part.

Conclusion

From the above analyses of *In the attic* and *Show me the place where I sowed!*, it is clear that Multatuli had a complex relationship with benevolence literature, seemingly rejecting some of the fundamental characteristics of the genre, notably in the first part of the book where he highlights the difference between himself and writers like Cremer. Multatuli portrays Cremer as a conservative, unoriginal, even naïve author, because he uses the instrument of fiction to convince his readers. Moreover, Multatuli chooses to approach his readership in a completely different way; whereas for Cremer a friendly contact is crucial, Multatuli accentuates the differences.

51 "[N]ee, wie eischt de beschrijving van den donkeren nacht die gaat volgen! wie heeft er lust om – zij het in de verbeelding – met Hanneke Daalhof dien schrikkelijken nacht te doorwaken, terwijl zij zich telkens moet geweld doen om wakker te blijven, ten einde haar dierbare kinders – al zij het dan uiterst gebrekkig – te koesteren wat ze nog kan. Neen, neen! Uw hart zoude breken wanneer gij de smart- en de jammerkreeten aan moest hooren die gedurig den zolder vervullen." Cremer (1861) 24–25.

By eloquently mocking contemporary writers and literary practices Multatuli aimed to stress the uniqueness of his work. His determination to create a singular status for himself might suggest one way in which contemporary scholarship is able to view him as a brilliant, typically modern individual, who famously changed the culture of literary consensus into a culture of “dissensus.”⁵² And yet the situation is more complex. Later on in *Show me the place*, the reader recognizes that Multatuli cannot distance himself completely from the rules of benevolence literature. The metafictional passages eventually end up in a fictional story about the flood, which makes use of conventional instruments (such as “sentimental wounding”) to raise empathy. One could say that cutting the ties between himself and his readers (which was a “modern” technique in the 1860s), made it even more effective for Multatuli to establish relations between the persons who read his work and the fictional characters living it.

The metaphor of “sowing” in the book title could refer to the effect Multatuli aims to create: namely in his writings he often presents an author as an individual who is able to find “fertile ground” for his ideas in the reader.⁵³ Of course, the choice of this title may be far more conventional: namely that the Dutch coloniser is presented as the one to “cultivate” both the Javanese soil and souls. Thus, the author seems to make a connection between writing and imperialism; both are colonizing acts.⁵⁴ There is, to be sure, no indication that he uses this metaphor in a critical or progressive way. Multatuli firmly believes that wise colonialism is a just practice, and that affecting readers is something for the writer to strive for.

It is questionable whether categories of “modern” or “anti-modern” techniques and ideas are still applicable here. Rather this author appears to focus on the possibilities inherent within the benevolence genre. With “sensational,” sentimental writing techniques, he shows us what impact an occasional genre is capable of creating.

The questions that the modern reader of *Show me the place where I sowed!* must face (such as “Is this a modern text, or not?” or “Does Multatuli take a conservative view with regard to colonialism?”) are typical of his oeuvre. It seems that its intelligent and provocative rhetoric, and its specific way of communicating with (implied) readers, constantly encourages us to think of Multatuli as the first modern Dutch writer. The ultimate question is thus not

52 For the mid-nineteenth-century transition of a culture of “consensus” to one of “dissensus,” see Ruiter and Smulders (1996) 17–29.

53 See Pieterse (2008) 103–07 for an analysis of Multatuli’s gendered view on reading.

54 Cf. the fascinating analysis of *Max Havelaar* and “writing as colonizing” in Wright (1990).

whether this is true or not, but how he makes us think that it is, through the powerful style of writing.

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