

# Humanities

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES · VOLUME 9 · NUMBER 3 · MAY/JUNE 1988



**T**ΑΙ Α, αἰ, ἡ, sine τῶν, (poet. utrunque) A Terra, Tellus. Ut autem prius esse γῆν quam αἶν existimem (quum & alioqui hoc αἶν ex poetarū licentia profectum esse, metri causa li-

tem pluralis numeri vsus) quam expositionem affert & Eustathius, sed ego latius accipere malim. Theocr. certē hunc locum imitans, non γῆν sed pro eo αἶν τῶν dixit, in Europa, Φαίητες δ' εὐτ' αἶψά τις ἀλκίβοος, ἀπὸ μὲν ὑπὸ γῆν, ἱερὰ δὲ πόλις ἀπείρα. γῆν interpr. terras Aen. 3, Post-

abscondentiū, credibilis. nec iam amplius vllz Appa vndique pontus. Ouid. nihil est nisi pontus in illo Homeri loco nam: quam signi- de versu 18 Od. 1, αἶν ἰδὲ γῆ. Sz dicit, ut vide- tionē nomi- ceteris etiā adere dici- am posito vi lacens mit humi) terra nomi sit (etiā liquid ter- ferreum, Tum igit- superficiem acunque rē sit in, Il. 9. 1. 1. αἶν vti τῆς γῆς βαλ- ροι βαλὰ γῆν. Huc αἶν καὶ γῆν. Et Il. 1, dicitur de illis qui in bel rre. lidem & γῆν ἰδὲ γῆν. o dicuntur (quē imitatus Virg. ocumbit morien-, & humum semel ordit) item αἶν γῆν ἰδὲ γῆν, ne οὐδὲν: interdum verō & subaudito dativo αἶν. Considera- cus porro hic nominis istius γῆν vsus, mirū cuiquam



Research  
Tools from  
Text to Disk





The compact disk from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* project contains 42 million words of ancient Greek text. The disk rests on a page of *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* by Stephanus. This first attempt to create a thesaurus of the Greek language was published in Geneva in 1572. (Photograph by Theodore F. Brunner.)

## Humanities

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## Editor's Note

### Research Tools in the Humanities

Prompted perhaps by false modesty, Samuel Johnson once defined a lexicographer as a "harmless drudge." "Useful colleague" or "invaluable assistant" would be nearer the truth, for the tools that codify information are indispensable in any field of research. Preparing a research tool for the humanities—whether dictionary, atlas, encyclopedia, calendar, concordance, catalogue raisonné, linguistic grammar, or scholarly edition—represents an enormous undertaking both in time and expense. Yet, by providing access to a body of specific information, these research tools save countless hours of research time for individual scholars.

This issue of *Humanities* looks at a number of research tools supported by NEH. In "Overcoming Verzettelung," Theodore Brunner, director of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, describes an undertaking so vast that, before the advent of the computer, more than one thousand years would have passed before the thesaurus could be completed using traditional methods. In "A Dictionary on a Disk," Matthew Kiell explains how the complete archive of the Old Spanish language may one day be accessible on a five-and-one-half-inch disk. Don L. Cook discusses the decisions that face the editor of a critical edition in "Preparing Scholarly Editions." Also, "Making Dictionaries," by Erle Leichty, examines how archaeologists and others use comprehensive dictionaries to advance knowledge of ancient and modern civilizations.

Another approach to understanding ancient and modern civilizations has always been through literature and drama. From the Greeks to Shakespeare to the drama of the Harlem Renaissance, plays have dramatized the lives and histories of heroes and ordinary people, both real and imaginary. In "The Page on Stage," John Carr explores the interpretation of dramatic texts on stage and in film. "More than the Big Four," by Peggy O'Brien, director of education at the Folger Shakespeare Library, describes the wider world of Shakespeare's *other* thirty-three plays—the histories and comedies not traditionally studied in high school. Finally, "Drama to Change the Heart," by Linda Butler, explores the message conveyed in several plays written by black female playwrights of the Harlem Renaissance.

The nature of old and new civilizations is also reflected in their architecture. "Birth of a Metropolis," by Joseph Brown, traces the international roots of Chicago architecture as depicted in a museum exhibition sponsored by the Art Institute of Chicago. The essay is accompanied by an article in the *Humanities* Guide in which John Zukowsky, the institute's curator of architecture, draws on his own experiences in planning and mounting the exhibition to suggest how proposals for museum exhibitions can move successfully from overall concept to eventual dialogue with the public.

The public remains the ultimate beneficiary of humanities research, whether facilitated by massive thesauri like the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, or expressed through the interpretation of ancient and modern drama, or illuminated in the exhibition of one city's architectural heritage.

—Caroline Taylor

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## A Humanistic Discipline Meets the Computer

# OVERCOMING "VERZETTELUNG"

BY THEODORE F. BRUNNER

IN ITS EARLY DAYS, the computer—itself a creature of science and technology—was viewed primarily as a tool to be used for scientific and technological applications. The computer's ability to manipulate numerical data at a high rate of speed and efficiency proved crucial in advancing rapidly those very disciplines and fields that gave it life. In the academic world, computers are permanent fixtures today. It would be difficult to name an institution of higher learning without highly sophisticated and complex administrative computing facilities. Virtually all academic departments in disciplines as diverse as microbiology and medieval studies now avail themselves of computer technology in pursuit of their research and, increasingly, their teaching missions.

Not all the academic disciplines discovered the benefits of research and pedagogically oriented computing at the same time. The humanities, in fact, lagged by decades behind the physical and social sciences. There are several reasons for this. In part, there has been a long-

standing humanistic antipathy toward machines and technological gadgets. Moreover, unlike either the scientist or the social scientist concerned with the quantitative analysis of social phenomena, the humanist focuses primarily on words—literary and documentary texts whose interpretation more often than not presupposes critical and qualitative, rather than quantitative, processes. Thus, no matter what its prowess in scanning text or in manipulating numbers, the early computer seemed to have little to offer to the scholar investigating the nuances of Ciceronian style or the impact of Molière on the modern stage. Although the scientist could avail himself of the computer to solve problems of a narrowly circumscribed nature, the humanist, who must usually confront both a broad subject matter and broad questions, continued to be frustrated by the absence of large-scale electronic data pools against which he might test the computer's capabilities.

Computing in the humanities, though pursued by a handful of pioneers on a very limited basis as early as the 1940s and 1950s, did not come fully into its own until the mid- and late 1970s when large-scale data banks of literary and documentary texts began to spring up around this country and abroad. The ancient Greek text data bank of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) at the



All photos by Theodore F. Brunner

Papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, containing portions of Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus. A computer search pinpointed the textual origin of seven letters on one of the smallest pieces.

University of California at Irvine is a prime example of how the availability of massive amounts of electronic text can effect fundamental changes within a humanistic discipline.

Although clearly a product of the computer age, the TLG constitutes the final culmination of several centuries of scholarly effort to collect the entire corpus of Greek literature extant from classical antiquity. The first Greek thesaurus, the result of two decades of labor on the part of Henri Estienne (known to classicists by his Latin name, Stephanus) was published in Geneva in 1572.

Unlike modern thesauri, which list synonyms and antonyms for words, Stephanus' thesaurus was essentially a mammoth lexicon, carrying, citing, and defining in Latin every ancient Greek word known at that time. Its comprehensiveness suffered quickly, however, for eventually Renaissance rediscoveries of long-lost classical texts, accompanied by rapid progress in text editing, rendered the Stephanus Thesaurus incomplete and out of date.

It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that classicists seriously began to contemplate creation of a new Greek thesaurus. The sheer magnitude of the task rendered impossible the one-man scholarly entrepreneurship of a Stephanus, for the extant corpus of Greek literature by then was estimated to total approximately 90 mil-

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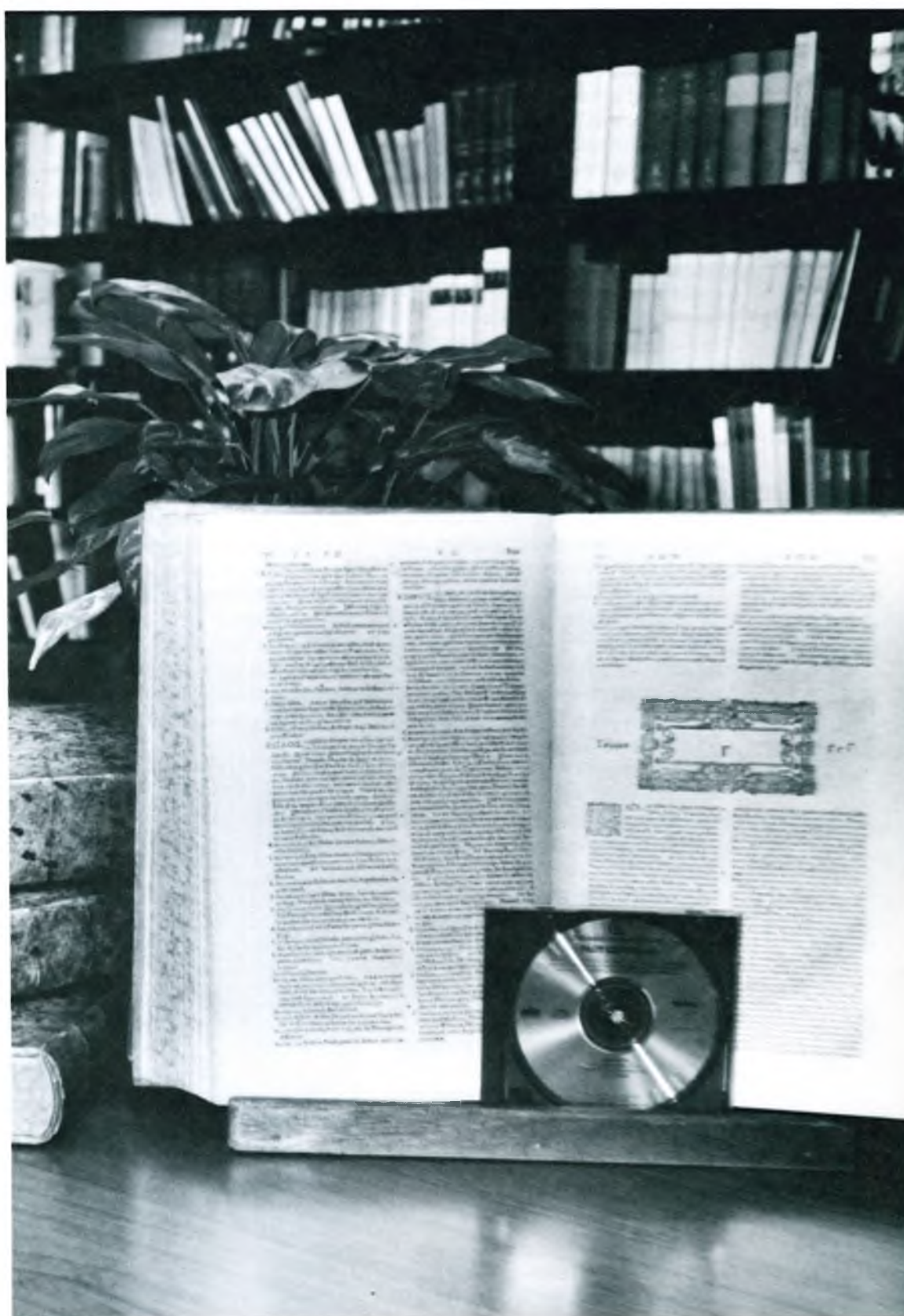
*Theodore F. Brunner, professor of classics at the University of California at Irvine, founded the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae in 1972 and has held the directorship of the project since then. Since 1974 the TLG has received a total of \$2.5 million in NEH support.*



lion words. An international collaborative effort was mounted during the 1890s. Although it was meant to lead to the creation of *both* a Greek *and* a Latin thesaurus, scholars were soon compelled to lower their sights. By 1905, plans for a TLG had been abandoned. The Latin thesaurus, which is still operating in Munich and which covers a corpus of only 9 million words of text, will most likely not see completion until the year 2025.

Essentially, two problems frustrated those seeking to compile a Greek thesaurus at the turn of the century. Huge numbers of words had to be collected, arranged, and stored. The only known data collection technique was to write words on individual slips of paper (*Verzettelung*). Creating and manipulating an estimated 90 million paper slips proved insurmountable. Thesauri in the field of classics were meant to be comprehensive lexica. Consequently, if the Latin thesaurus were to serve as a guide, the lexicographical work on a Greek thesaurus could be expected to consume in excess of one thousand years.

Organizational problems also seemed overwhelming. Writing in 1905 for the *Neue Jahrbuecher*, the distinguished classical scholar Hermann Diels stated, "Since the proportion of Latin to Greek literature is about 1:10, the office work of the Greek thesaurus would occupy at



By transforming into machine-readable form the surviving ancient Greek texts in their entirety, the TLG compact disk has helped scholars transcend the limitations of the Stephanus thesaurus of 1572.



least one hundred scholars. At their head, there would have to be a general editor, who, however, would be more of a general than an editor."

A TLG was an impossible dream, Diels thought, and the rest of the classicists regretfully concurred. Yet, they again tried to make the dream a reality half a century later. In the early 1950s a TLG was founded at the University of Hamburg. Again, it aimed at collecting millions of Greek words on paper slips, with lexicographical analysis (i.e., semantic definition) of those words to follow thereafter. And again, reality defeated ambition: Within a few years, plans to create a comprehensive Greek thesaurus were abandoned in Hamburg.

By the early 1950s, however, a number of scholars had begun to experiment with the computer as a potential tool to aid humanities-based research. For the most part, their experiments focused on single texts or relatively self-contained literary corpora such as the New Testament or the writings of Thomas Aquinas, and they aimed more often than not at the creation of concordances or other similar reference tools. Nevertheless, their efforts produced a slowly growing body of machine-readable texts. Although characterized by a multiplicity of encoding conventions and formats that were often incompatible, these texts ultimately warranted the establishment of a centralized electronic text pool.

In 1969, the American Philological Association (APA), the professional association of classicists, endorsed and supported the founding of the APA Repository of Greek and Latin Machine-Readable Texts at Dartmouth College. By 1969 the number of U.S. classicists experimenting with computer-aided research had grown to about a dozen, and an APA-created Committee on Computer Activities had begun to support and coordinate their computer-related work.

Yet, the majority of classical scholars continued to keep their distance. There remained insufficient evidence that potential benefits inherent in the computer could sweeten the traditional distaste for machines. Com-

puter-aided research in the field continued to be hampered by the unavailability of significantly large amounts of electronic texts. By 1971, for example, the Dartmouth repository held only about 100,000 lines of sundry text.

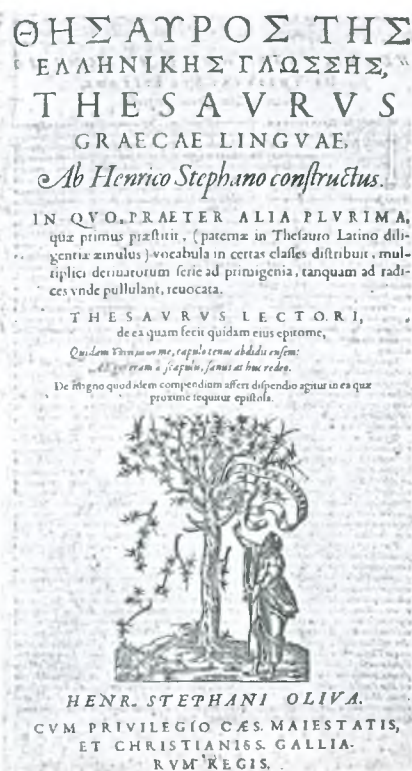
It was in this climate that the modern TLG was born. In the autumn of 1972, a small group of classicists convened in California to develop the guidelines for a computer-based TLG that would, within a short number of years, bring about revolutionary changes within the field. Recognizing the pitfalls of *Verzettelung*, the conference participants agreed that computer-based procedures should be employed in collecting, storing, and manipulating the massive amounts of Greek text that would need to be confronted.

Recognizing the shortcomings of a Greek thesaurus built along traditional lines, the classicists stipulated that a modern thesaurus should not be merely a lexicographical tool; it should benefit *all* scholarly interests, whether philological, linguistic, stylistic, historical, philosophical, or theological. In essence, each of the surviving ancient Greek texts, rather than to be broken up into its component parts (such as the individual

words recorded on the *Zettel* of an earlier era), should be transformed into machine-readable form in its entirety, thus affording future users maximum flexibility in their scholarly pursuits.

As implemented thereafter, the TLG met the expectations of those who charted its course in 1972. Today, sixteen years later, the TLG is indeed a data bank containing, in electronic form, all ancient Greek texts that have survived from the period between Homer and A.D. 600—61 million words of text in all, deriving from more than 3,000 Greek authors. (The 90-million-word estimate made at the turn of the century seems now to have been exaggerated.) As an electronic data bank, the TLG not only presents virtually unlimited opportunities for computer-aided data manipulation and analysis, but it also guarantees continuous scholarly access to the most up-to-date Greek text editions. Unlike printed editions, whose subject matter becomes "frozen" at the instant of publication, an electronic data bank can easily be modified and enhanced to assure that the texts included reflect the current state of scholarship at all times. Consequently, the TLG data bank is now being used by scores of scholars, who, even a few years ago, would not have considered using a computer.

Using the TLG's data bank and computing resources, the scholar today can obtain in seconds, or at most minutes, data and information whose procurement, if at all possible, would have consumed months or even years but a decade and a half ago. In fact, there is clear evidence that the advent of the TLG has brought about a reversal in the ratio of data procurement versus data analysis. Whereas traditionally the scholar could devote as much as 75 percent of his time to the former, leaving only 25 percent for analytical and interpretive processes, today's data bank and computer-equipped classicist, given ready and efficient access to essential data upon which to base conclusions, can devote much more time to the critical and judgmental processes that lie at the



The title page from Stephanus' Thesaurus Graecae Linguae, which cited in Latin every Greek word known at the time.



After years of painstaking study, in 1941 the papyrologist Edgar Lobel identified twenty-nine of fifty-three papyrus fragments found at the turn of the century near Oxyrhynchus in Egypt as containing portions of the text of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The twenty-nine fragments were quite large and contained sizeable text portions. The balance of the pieces, most of them containing little more than a handful of letter fragments each, defied identification by traditional means.

A scholarly paper delivered at the December 1987 meeting of the APA postulated a reading in a text that illuminates the clash between Jews and Alexandrians during the Jewish revolt of 115–117. Although eminently reasonable, this reading could not be supported in the light of evidence available from traditional scholarly reference materials such as lexica, concordances, and word indices. The word at issue simply could not be found in any of these scholarly tools. A subsequent one-minute scan of the TLG data bank proved conclusively that the proposed reading is correct and demonstrated the existence of an ancient, previously unattested Greek word.

In early 1983, a doctoral student at the University of Lausanne began work on a dissertation seeking to locate the classical sources of some 2,000 philosophical definitions of a group of medieval manuscripts recently discovered in the Vatican li-


The student then decided to continue her research on the TLG premises, using the TLG's data bank and computing facilities. There, able to consult the corpus of ancient Greek literature in its entirety with the aid of the computer, she soon located classical sources for an additional 300 definitions residing in the manuscripts. Locating these additional 300 sources involved scanning through the entire TLG data bank 1,200 times, that is, searching an aggregate of some 73 billion words of Greek text. Working only a few hours a day, the student scanned this astonishing amount of Greek text material in less than eight weeks. Prior to the advent of the TLG, the same task would have consumed numerous lifetimes.

These examples illustrate the vastly different nature of research in classics in the late 1980s. Scholarly findings that were difficult, if not impossible, to obtain in the early 1970s are commonplace today. Classics graduate students now not only undertake, but successfully complete, research projects that frustrated seasoned classics scholars a few years ago. And there is good

αυροδόκης ἔντοσθεν ἑξήσαν, ἔνθα περ ἄλλα  
 γὰρ ἡ **Ἰφιγένεια** ταλασίφρονος ἱστάτο πολλὰ,  
 ὕπνῃ δ' ἔς θρόνον εἴσεν ἄγων, ὑπὸ λήτα πε  
 ς  
 ὦν πατέρ'· ἄλλα νυ τὼν γε θεοὶ βλάπτουσιν·  
 ὃ γὰρ πυτὴνθηκεν ἐπὶ χρονὶ διός· **Ὀδυσσεύς**  
 ἅλ' ἔτι πον ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ πόντῃ,  
 ς  
 ἔ· Ἐφύρῃς ἀνιόντα παρ' Ἴλιου Μερμερίδαο·  
 χετο γὰρ καὶ κείσσε θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς **Ἰφιγένει**  
 κρηκεῖν ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὅφρα οἱ εἴ  
 ς  
 ἄλλὰ πατήρ οἱ δοκεν ἑμός· φίλεσκε γὰρ αἰν  
 οῖος ἔῶν μηποτέρῃν ὀμιλήσειεν **Ὀδυσσεύς**  
 ἅντας κ' ἡμέτεροί τε γενοίαιτο πικρόγυμοι  
 ς  
 τοὶ δ' ἐπιτολμάτῳ κραδίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἀκούειν  
 οὐ γὰρ **Ὀδυσσεύς** οἷος ἀπώλεσε νόστιμον ἔγμῃ  
 ἐν Τροίῃ, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι φῶτες δλοντε  
 ς  
 πολλοὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ, νέοι δὲ παλαιοὶ  
 τῶν κέν τιν τοδ' ἔχρουν, ἐπεὶ ἥδη διός·  
 αὐτὰρ ἔγῳν οἰκοῖο ἀναξ ἔσσυ' ἡμετέριοι

The computer screen displays an entry in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae for a portion of Homer's *Odyssey*.

All of this is fully understood by the classicists, and the computer-based TLG, which not too long ago was the subject of skepticism within the field, is now a focal point of attention. Throughout 1973, the Dartmouth Repository of Machine-Readable Texts received only thirteen requests for computer-generated data and materials. Today, similar requests to the TLG in a single week far exceed this number. By the early 1980s, more than a hundred educational institutions in the United States and abroad maintained copies of the TLG data bank for purposes of local research; today, this number has multiplied fourfold. In fact, direct access to the TLG's data bank resources is no longer limited to large institutional users. With the advent of the compact disk data-storage medium and the concomitant decrease in data dissemination costs, even smaller classics departments and perhaps even the individual classicist can have an opportunity to benefit from computer-aided research.

Classics and the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae represent, in a way, a paradigm: The oldest of the humanistic disciplines, for centuries wedded to traditional research methodologies, has been transformed through the acceptance of modern technology. Other humanistic fields can be expected to follow suit as more and more humanities-oriented data banks come into being. Indeed, the humanities and technology need no longer coexist simply as friendly antagonists but can truly benefit one another. Ironically in the case of classics, it will be the computer—the most advanced product of modern technology—that will help us achieve a full understanding of those ancient writings that constitute the very roots of Western thought and civilization. 

A complete archive of the Old Spanish language may one day be accessible to scholars on a five-and-one-half-inch disk.

# A Dictionary on a Disk

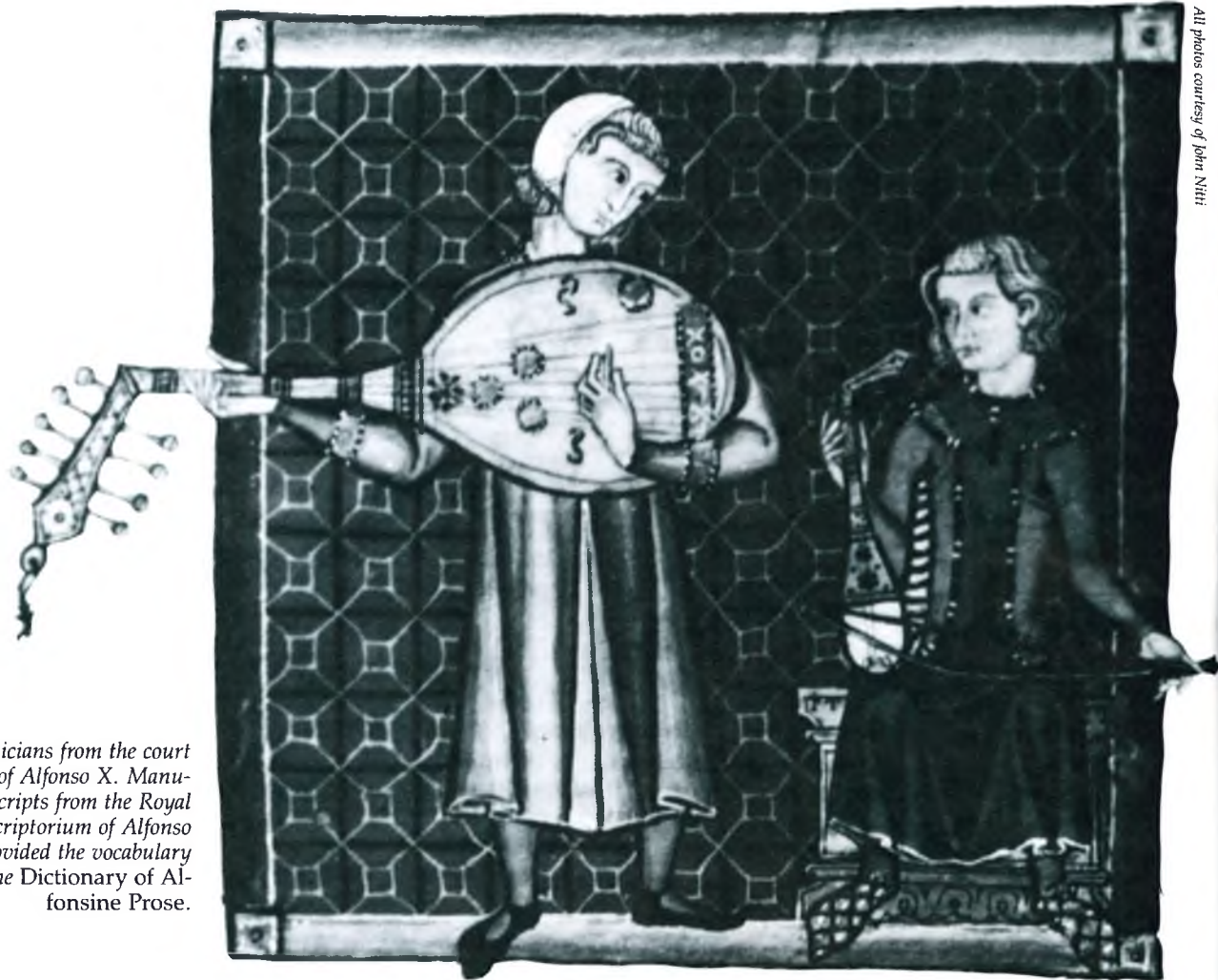
BY MATTHEW KIELL

**I**N THE LATE 1920s, Antonio García Solalinde, founder of the Seminary of Medieval Spanish Studies at the University of Wisconsin, embarked on what promised to be a lifelong endeavor: compiling a dictionary of the Old Spanish language, later, under the directorship of Lloyd Kasten and John Nitti, to be called the *Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language* (DOSL). Because it would require analysis of the full corpus of Spanish literature written between 900 and 1500, Solalinde hoped that his dictionary would become the cornerstone of research in medieval

Hispanic studies—in history, science, linguistics, law, and medicine.

Solalinde's approach employed the collection of three-by-five-inch slips, each containing a citation entry, with reference information, for a word in an Old Spanish text. Eventually this mammoth effort would be drawn together, resulting in a kind of context concordance that would then lead to a definitive historical dictionary. The DOSL would be the medieval Spanish analogue of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, with entries charting the developing and changing meanings of words, listing variant spellings,

*Musicians from the court of Alfonso X. Manuscripts from the Royal Scriptorium of Alfonso provided the vocabulary for the Dictionary of Alfonsine Prose.*



*All photos courtesy of John Nitti*



and documenting examples of the use of the words.

A few lexicons of medieval Spanish have appeared in print, but because they are based on flawed nineteenth- or even twentieth-century transcriptions that used inconsistent editorial criteria, they are not completely reliable. The DOSL will improve on those efforts by returning to the original manuscripts and incunables through photographic reproductions of them.

Over the years the DOSL has elicited a great deal of volunteer help from Hispano-medievalists around the world who had access to the requisite texts. Before his untimely death in 1937, Solalinde passed the then infant project on to Lloyd Kasten, who had been a graduate student of his.

Thirty years later as a graduate student, John Nitti came to Wisconsin to work under Kasten. At the Seminary, Nitti was introduced to thirty filing cabinets, each ten drawers high, with each drawer holding three rows of three-by-five-inch slips of paper representing millions of citations. This mammoth accumulation represented fewer than half of all the entries yet to be catalogued for the Alfonsine material (1252-84) alone. Ahead lay many more years of processing the information needed to produce a concordance, refine and define the entries, and finally edit the dictionary.

In the late 1960s, the university began offering time on its mainframe computer to doctoral candidates. Kasten and Nitti surprised the keepers of the computer by requesting time for a Ph.D. thesis, Nitti's dissertation on an Aragonese-dialect version of *The Book of Marco Polo*. Using the computer for text collation and preparation of a concordance proved to Kasten and Nitti that the computer could make it possible to gain control of their seemingly endless project. Using manual methods, the processing of entries for the DOSL concordance and dictionary had consumed four decades. Without the computer, many more decades would pass before the production of published works could be managed and completed.

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*Matthew Kiell is an editor and freelance writer in Chicago.*

In the succeeding years after 1970, the DOSL employed the newest computer innovations, often well before their common use. Bar-code scanning was used to speed data input, years before the same technology was developed for merchandising through the Universal Product Code. Optical character scanning was used to transfer the primary modern Spanish dictionary to the computer so that an adapted version could be meshed with the DOSL data base.

Since 1973, with support from NEH, editors of the DOSL have moved rapidly into the world of automation, developing a unified data entry system, generating a variety of spin-off projects undreamed of in the days before computerization, and publishing a variety of reliable, consistent transcriptions, concordances, and bibliographies in relatively inexpensive microfiche form. The DOSL has also become a pioneer in developing data-based methods for lexicographical research.

"The Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts (BOOST) started out just as an in-house canon of texts—a tool to tell us what was available," Nitti explains. "It acquired a life of its own and is now a full-fledged bibliography that endeavors to document every one of these surviving medieval Hispanic texts all over the world. No other single bibliography does that." In fact, because of its bibliographic importance, says Nitti, BOOST has been turned over to another Hispanist, Charles Faulhaber of the University of California at Berkeley. The fourth edition of the bibliography will have approximately 5,000 entries.

This year, Kasten and Nitti are completing the *Dictionary of Alfonsine Prose*, which focuses on vocabulary in the texts from the Royal Scriptorium of Alfonso X "El Sabio" (The Wise). Alfonso, who reigned from 1252 to 1284, was the first Spanish monarch to advocate using the Spanish vernacular as an official tongue. Before his time, Latin was the dominant language, and relatively few books were written in Spanish.

The Alfonsine years produced 5 million words of Spanish text, and Alfonsine Spanish provides a rich core vocabulary of Old Spanish. Many of the texts were supervised by Alfonso himself. The manuscripts

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*Old Spanish is as comprehensible to readers of modern Spanish as Chaucerian English is to readers of modern English. But although Old Spanish is readable in a general way, the meaning of the literature and other documents of the medieval Spanish world remains clouded without an authoritative dictionary.*

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*A game of dice is portrayed in "Libro de Ajedrez" (The Book of Chess), ca. 1270, another manuscript from the Royal Scriptorium.*



are reliable and their content and vocabulary varied.

In published form, the *Dictionary of Alfonsine Prose* will be 2,500 pages of double-column small print. Much of its contents are already available in computer-readable form.

With the introduction of automation, ancillary scholarly projects that are needed to create the DOSL are now being made available outside the Seminary. Professor María Teresa Herrera of the University of Salamanca in Spain is a student of medieval Spanish medicine and one of the many contributors to the DOSL project. Herrera and Nitti are working together on the Medieval Spanish Medical Text Series, made up of text transcriptions and concordances of medical terms that will be a major contribution to the history of medicine. Twenty-two of the known med-

ical treatises of the period have been transcribed, along with concordances, and published on microfiche.

Compilation of the Medieval Spanish Legal Text Series is also under way. It will contain the transcription of Alfonso's code of law. His code is the foundation of law in the Spanish-speaking world, much like the Magna Carta and the Constitution. In courts in the states of Arizona and New Mexico, attorneys may need to refer all the way back to Alfonsine law for precedent in matters in which the Spanish heritage of residents plays a role.

Early this year, the DOSL started using laser disk technology. "We are now working with an 800-megabyte optical laser drive," says Nitti. "That means that one five-and-one-half-inch disk holds 400 million characters of information on each side. Charles

Faulhaber and I are hatching a plan eventually to distribute a complete Old Spanish text archive—bibliography, transcriptions, concordances, and dictionary, along with interactive software that would permit scholars to retrieve full texts keyed to BOOST. Thus the entire body of Old Spanish literature, with a complete set of reference materials, could eventually be available on one disk about the same size as two of Solalinde's three-by-five-inch slips of paper." ☞

*In 1985 Lloyd Kasten received \$266,191 in outright funds and \$35,000 in matching funds from the Reference Materials category of the Division of Research Programs for "Creation of an Old Spanish Dictionary: Completion of the Dictionary of Alfonsine Prose."*



*This manuscript from Alfonso's Royal Scriptorium depicts baseball in thirteenth-century Spain. The manuscript is titled, "Cantigas de Santa Maria" (Songs to the Virgin Mary).*



# THE ILLUSTRATED BARTSCH

BY ELLEN MARSH



**I**N THE LAST YEARS of the eighteenth century, Adam von Bartsch, keeper of the Imperial Print Cabinet in Vienna (now called Graphische Sammlung Albertina), the world's premier repository of engravings, etchings, and woodcuts, began compiling a unique resource for scholars, *Le Peintre-graveur*. On his own initiative, Bartsch had undertaken a task of daunting and seemingly impossible scope: to catalogue all the prints he could find that had been executed by Italian, German, and Netherlandish Old Masters from about 1450 through the mid-eighteenth century.

Between 1803 and 1821, twenty-one volumes of *Le Peintre-graveur* were published. Bartsch arranged his catalogue by country and by artist, ordering the prints for each artist according to subject, starting with the Old Testament and then proceeding through the New Testament, mythology, ancient history, secular subjects, and frontispieces. He also included some biographical information about the printmaker.

The ramifications of Bartsch's scholarship were perhaps unknown even to him. To this day his work remains the standard reference tool for engravings, woodcuts, and etchings produced in those countries. Every print collection in the world follows Bartsch's system of cataloguing according to printmaker. Indeed, before Bartsch, there was no cataloguing system at all.

"Prints were the mass media of a pre-photographic era," says John Spike, an independent art historian who has been working since 1980 on updating Bartsch's Volume XIX with support from NEH. "Not only do prints reveal the artistic achievements of their era, but also the religion, science, social history, literary history, and culture of the period."

Before photography, Spike explains, works of art were made available to the general public through engravings and etchings. Some prints, such as those by Rembrandt and Dürer, were original works of art in themselves. Others were copies of oil paintings meticulously executed by artist-craftsmen to translate color and form into linear black and white. The prints based on paintings are enormously useful in tracing the provenance of those paintings, because many prints bear a date, identify the artist and printmaker, or tell to whom the painting belonged.

Some artists worked on commission, producing allegorical "thesis conclusions" to commemorate doctoral dissertations. They also executed elaborate engraved allegorical frontispieces for books bearing the coat of arms of the author or the person to whom the book was dedicated. Often prints were commissioned to depict the festivals and triumphal parades that enlivened city life—church dedications, elegant weddings, celebrations of patron saints, and jousts.

Bartsch used his own studies and the notes of earlier connoisseurs to determine who had actually produced the vast outpouring of prints from Italy and the Germanic countries. He sorted out copies and imitations, and dis-



Etching by Francesco Antonio Meloni, after a painting of Leah and Rachel by Marcantonio Franceschini.

Bartsch only knew this print in an example from which the lower margin and explanatory inscription had been trimmed off. He gave it the title of *Two Nymphs and a Child*, although the quotation from Genesis (30:14) clearly identifies the subject as Leah and Rachel. In his catalogue of works by F.A. Meloni, Bartsch inadvertently cited this print three separate times, once as *Two Nymphs and a Child* and then two times as lost works: *Two Women in a Landscape with a Child Presenting Flowers* and correctly (had he only known) as Leah and Rachel.

Ellen Marsh is a freelance writer in the Washington, D.C., area.





Giovanni Battista Coriolano's title page to Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum Historia* . . . , Bologna, 1642.

The collected researches of the naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi were jointly edited by several publishers in Bologna and constituted one of the major scientific publications of the seventeenth century. Most of the title pages for these multiple volumes were engraved by G.B. Coriolano. This particular title page, which was unknown to Bartsch, introduces Aldrovandi's studies on "monsters" and other freaks of nature. The volume is dedicated to (no irony intended) Ferdinand II de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose portrait is at the top.

tinguished the states of a print, that is, the alterations the artist or publisher might have made to a copperplate or woodblock between prints. Because Bartsch knew the prints mostly as loose sheets, he had no knowledge of the larger part of any one printmaker's works and often did not know the print in its context. It was inevitable that, as the years passed, scholars who specialized in the various schools and periods encompassed in *Le Peintre-graveur* began to make corrections and additions to Bartsch's text.

That work goes on to this day. For the past ten years or more, an international group of scholars under the editorship of Walter Strauss (d. 1987) have been engaged in the compilation of a multivolume series titled *The Illustrated Bartsch*. The series reproduces in picture atlases the prints described by Bartsch, adhering to the order in which he listed them. Commentary volumes accompanying each picture atlas will depict additional prints unknown to Bartsch and will also contain corrected and updated information about each print and its artist.

The books are being issued as they are completed. To date, seventy-one volumes have come off the presses; all but ten are picture atlases. The latter outnumber the commentary volumes because locating each print listed in Bartsch, while involving painstaking work, is somewhat simpler than conducting research on biographical and iconographical subjects. Spike estimates the series will contain 120 volumes on completion, depending, of course on what the scholarship turns up.

When *The Illustrated Bartsch* project was begun, the logistical difficulties of tracing the prints Bartsch knew and then obtaining photographs of them seemed as prohibitive to its progenitors as his pioneer scholarship must have appeared to Bartsch. A measure of the depth of Bartsch's scholarship is the fact that it has taken the work of hundreds of people to reproduce what one man accomplished alone.

"Prints in general are a pictorial resource that is greatly underused," remarks Spike. No single repository has a complete set of all prints, making scholarship difficult. Moreover, for many years prints were studied only for their artistic value. Creative artists of the first rank, such as Dürer or Rembrandt, have had their complete oeuvres published many times over, but other artists are almost unknown.

Volume XIX, on which Spike has been working, is the only catalogue of Bolognese and Roman printmakers of the latter half of the seventeenth century, many of whom are little known. Yet the artistic products of these relatively obscure figures are of great value to historians, social scientists, and art historians. Using Bartsch's descriptions, Spike has identified and located nearly every print in Volume XIX. These prints have been published in three picture atlases in *The Illustrated Bartsch* (Volumes 41-43).

In the course of this project, Spike discovered many previously unidentified prints and prints unknown to Bartsch that belong to the oeuvre of the fifty-one artists catalogued in Volume XIX. Although Bartsch identified about 1,000 prints in his volume, Spike has located at least 1,000 more by the same artists, many of which have never been published. He will introduce this information in the commentary volumes.

In addition to the new entries, Spike will provide fifty-one completely revised biographies, as well as discussions of iconography and related drawings. "The commentary volumes will provide stylistic and iconographic information about seventeenth-century printmakers and their work, which is presently difficult for scholars to obtain," says Spike. "More importantly, these volumes will include art historical research done in the last 160 years since Adam von Bartsch compiled his volumes."





Last summer Spike spent several weeks in Bologna conducting preliminary research for the commentary volumes of Volume XIX. "In the Archivio di Stato I hit by chance a mine of information that was previously unsuspected," Spike says. He found prints with coats of arms and allegorical subjects, such as putti (cupids) carrying a papal tiara or cardinal's hat, and personifications of Wisdom and the city of Bologna conversing by a pyramid. These prints were the title pages of books commissioned by doctoral candidates at the University of Bologna to sum up their theses. Spike also located large poster-like broadsheets announcing when and where the candidates would defend their theses.

For the years in question, Spike searched through the extensive files of teachers' correspondence from the university in the Bologna archives, locating many prints that were either unknown to Bartsch or were unidentified. With the help of the information accompanying the prints, Spike was able to identify coats of arms of the sponsors of the doctoral candidates or of the candidates themselves. "Through the use of this archive, which might seem an unlikely resource for print studies, I have come to understand better how and why many allegorical engravings came into being," Spike relates.

Spike's scholarship involves much original research in libraries and other archives in this country and abroad, especially in Italy, and the perusal of hand-written manuscripts ordered by name—"and by first name, at that," says Spike. "There are dozens of Giovanni Battistas."

The Braidense Library at the Brera Museum in Milan has an extensive collection of albums containing prints cut from books, a product of the nineteenth-century craze for albums or scrapbooks. "These albums, of which every library has a sampling, make scholars and bibliophiles shudder, because each one represents hundreds of mutilated books," says Spike. "However, these haphazard collections often have applications for our research, since they do contain interesting frontispieces from obscure books that we would otherwise never find."

When the entire series is complete, a scholarly index will be compiled to link all the volumes by artist, the themes of the prints, iconography, and date. "Through the use of these indices, the completed *Illustrated Bartsch* will become the repository for an incomparable wealth of artistic, political, religious, and social pictorial images produced by Western civilization since the Renaissance," Spike concludes.

Even without many of the commentary volumes, *The Illustrated Bartsch* is an invaluable pictorial archive. Suzanne Boorsch, associate curator, Department of Prints and Photographs of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, explains: "In *The Illustrated Bartsch* virtually all of the Old Master prints are available for the first time in illustration. It is extremely useful to be able to see the print itself for iconographical reasons, if no other."

*The Illustrated Bartsch* is well-known already, and not just by scholars. Spike says, "Everywhere I go, whether it be Berlin or Bassano, people are excited about *The Illustrated Bartsch*." Several years ago, Spike was visiting Bassano, near Venice, a town that has a sizable collection of prints in its public museum. "I walked into the museum and, explaining my project to the guard, asked whether I could do research in the collection. The guard interrupted me in mid-sentence—'Stop, stop, stop!' He rushed off and brought back a volume of *The Illustrated Bartsch*. 'You're too late, somebody else has already done it!'"

Since 1980, *The Illustrated Bartsch* series has received \$203,881 in outright funds from the Tools category of the Division of Research Programs.



An etching by Giuseppe Maria Crespi of Saint Luke Painting an Image of the Virgin.

This etching consists of two parts: a figure of Saint Luke, patron saint of artists, and (below) a form used to call the artist-members to a meeting of an artists' association in Bologna. The blanks are left for particulars of time and date. This example in Paris is the only known impression of the print in which the original pen instructions appear: at 13 hours on April 9, Tuesday morning (*martedì mattina*) in 1697. The print documents the existence of the association called *Conseglio de' Pittori*. Because the print is signed Ludovico Mattioli at lower left, Bartsch listed it as such. However, the design is clearly by Crespi. Crespi's son and pupil reported that this Saint Luke is one of several prints that G.M. Crespi etched but allowed his friend Mattioli to sign.



# Preparing Scholarly Editions

BY DON L. COOK



National Portrait Gallery,  
Smithsonian Institution

THE REALM OF scholarly editing has two distinct domains. The division into documentary and critical editions turns on what the editor intends to accomplish. In many cases historically important records, papers, and letters lie in storage. Whether catalogued or uncatalogued, they remain inaccessible because they are scattered or badly housed or because access to them is restricted. The time and money required for an individual scholar to search these documents and transcribe the information needed is prohibitive.

Documentary editions, such as the papers of John Marshall, Samuel Gompers, Frederick Law Olmsted, the documents surrounding the ratification of the Constitution, or the proceedings of the parliament of 1626—all of which have been supported by NEH—make archival materials available to scholars. In addition to accurate transcriptions, these editions provide explanations of obscure references, annotations suggesting the context and significance of the documents, and indexes and finding lists to guide the user through the volumes and the archives from which the documents are selected for publication.

It is absolutely essential that a documentary editor recover, record, and publish every detail of a specific, unique document so far as the medium of print allows. The task is not

easy. It requires skill and experience to decipher the eccentric inscription on a smudged and aging document that has been folded, faded, and torn. The selection and annotation of only the most significant documents from an archive requires erudition and judgment. Yet, the documentary editor can take comfort in knowing that the document he has edited has a real historical existence, however imperfectly it may represent the author's intended meaning.

The editor of a critical edition has different responsibilities. The critical edition is no less scholarly than the documentary edition, but it requires the exercise of a broader critical judgment about what should be published as the "established text." Unlike the documentary edition, the text of which was already extant in some physical document before the editor even looked at it, the critical edition aims to present a text that reflects the intention of the author at a chosen moment, even if there is no single extant document that perfectly embodies the text as the author wanted to see it in print.

In teaching and in literary criticism, it is essential that the texts interpreted by scholars reflect as precisely as possible what the authors intended to say. Often the interpretation of a poem or a story depends on a brief passage or a few words. An example is the interpretation of Henry Fleming's war experience in *The Red Badge of Courage*, which has depended heavily on the last few sentences of the novel.

The surviving manuscript shows that Stephen Crane decided to change his initial conclusion in which "The procession of weary sol-

diers. . . , despondent and muttering," march "in a trough of liquid brown and under a low wretched sky." Henry is smiling, "though many discovered it [the world] to be made of oaths and walking sticks." Crossing out his inscription "The End," Crane added a new concluding image of "tranquil skies, fresh meadows, cool brooks; an existence of soft and eternal peace." But when the text appeared in print, its meaning was further complicated by the presence of still another concluding sentence: "Over the river a golden ray of sun came through the hosts of leaden rain clouds." The exact meaning of Henry's experience of disillusionment, cowardice, injury, and sudden battle valor is ambiguous at best, but students or critics cannot even hazard a well-informed opinion about its significance unless the version they are using records all of Crane's words and only Crane's words and preferably also informs these users how the text evolved.

Consider the kinds of problems facing a scholar who wishes to present a text not just the way it happened to appear in one of several versions, but exactly the way the author desired to have it appear. Suppose this hypothetical text is a first novel and that the author is modest, willing to listen to advice, and eager to have his work published and read by a large audience. Assume that the author allows his friends to read the manuscript and to suggest improvements, and suppose that he finds a publisher willing to publish the novel on condition that he delete some passages and alter some language that the publisher judges to be offensive to the public.

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Don L. Cook is a professor of English at Indiana University and one of the editors of a critical edition of the work of William Dean Howells, which received support from NEH.



Such a case occurred with the initial publication of William Dean Howells' *The Rise of Silas Lapham*. A character's half-joking threat to dynamite the cool, spacious, and unoccupied houses of the Boston aristocrats when he contemplated the urban poor sweltering through the summers in their squalid tenements alarmed the publishers of *Century* magazine. They feared that the magazine would be seized and suppressed in London where there had recently been a series of bombings. Howells was compelled to remove the offending words and to soften the character's outrage. The editors of the Indiana University Press edition of Howells' works have restored the original passage to the novel.

Assume that, like Howells, our hypothetical author has an opportunity to serialize his novel in a magazine before the first book edition is issued. Some time after the first book edition is published with the alterations and deletions suggested (or were they demanded?) by the publisher, the author gains enough fame and authority to publish a second American edition without the original publisher's cuts. A British edition

has in the meantime been set from a copy of the first edition into which the author had entered a few substitutions of words as well as some corrections of punctuation. Of course, the British publisher has imposed a British style of spelling and punctuation on the copy he received from America.

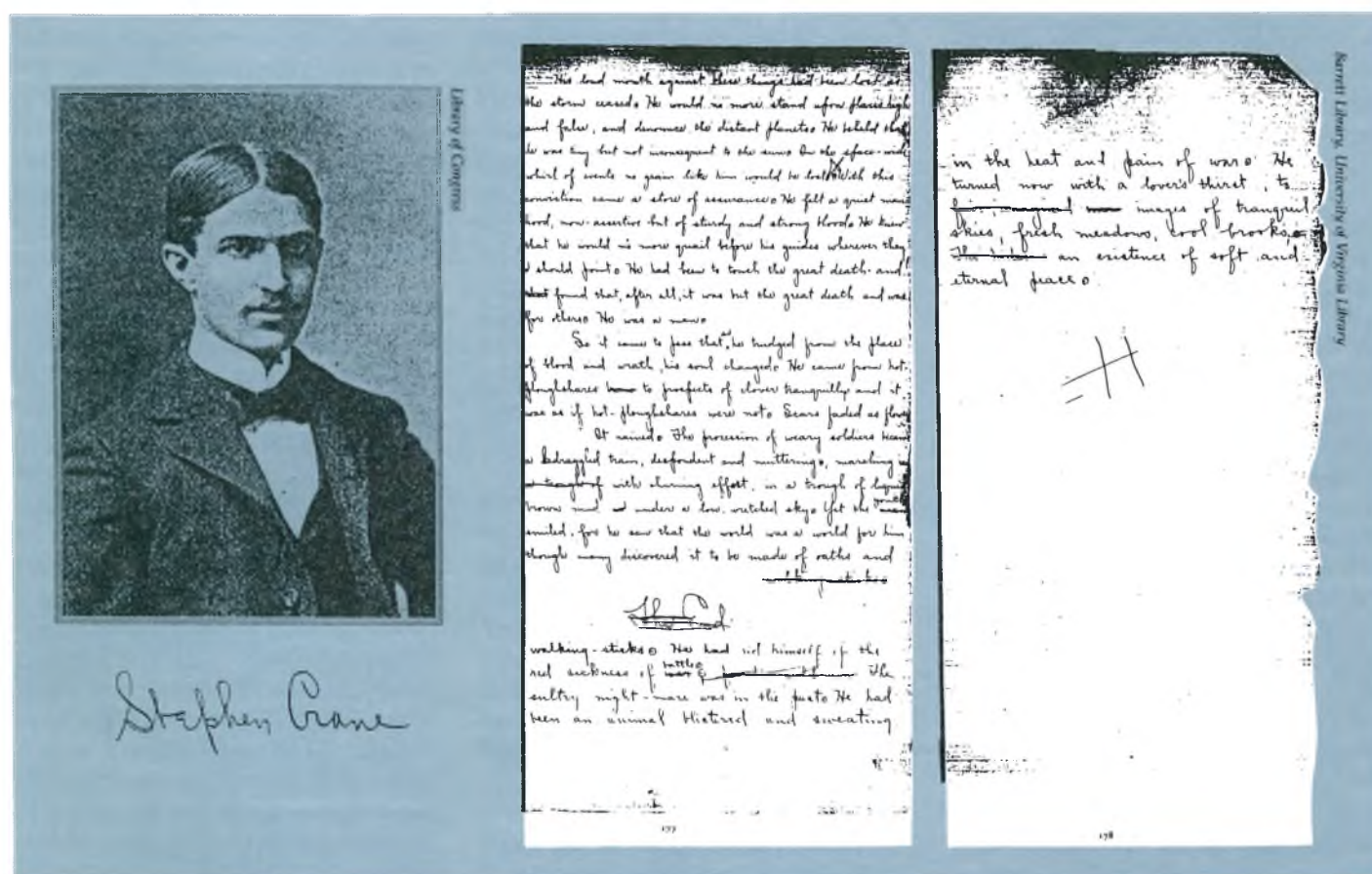
One could go on to suppose dramatizations, pirated editions, and translations. But so long as these versions of the work were neither approved nor generated by the author, they are not "relevant texts" of the novel and have no "authority." The point for the editor of a critical edition is not to decide which version of the novel is the right one but to confront the question of where the author's intention has been most accurately realized.

The method for making that decision has been evolving since at least the Renaissance and is still not settled beyond dispute. Critical editing, sometimes called "textual editing," arose from the desire of scholars to revive and recapture the learning of the Greeks and Romans and to recover both sacred and secular texts of antiquity.

Although there was no hope of recapturing the author's intention in *The Odyssey* or the Old Testament, the method that was developed for piecing together fragments of texts and for comparing or "collating" variant versions produced some understanding of how and why scribal copies differ and how a close study of the differences can sometimes suggest the relations among various copies and even establish probable sequences of derivation, the "stemma" or family tree of a text.

These methods of study and reconstruction were not applied widely to modern literature until the late nineteenth century. Before then, editors often exercised great freedom to improve texts. Works by "primitive" writers such as Shakespeare were made to conform to the classical taste of the eighteenth century in diction, structure, and even plot. The happy ending appended to *King Lear* was perhaps the benchmark for this kind of editing.

A more austere practice allowed the editor to use only the words already in some version of the text but to combine them, producing a melange of the most beautiful or ele-



The manuscript of *The Red Badge of Courage* shows Stephen Crane's decision to change the ending. The printed text contained yet another concluding sentence. The pencil sketch of William Dean Howells (1837-1920) on page 14 is by Orlando Rouland, 1890.





The painting of Theodore Dreiser (1871–1945) was executed in 1933 by Henry Varnum Poor.

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

vated or inspirational or characteristic passages in the way that pleased the editor best. This method was finally denounced as “subjective eclecticism” and replaced by reliance on the “last best text”—on the assumption that the author’s final edition would preserve his own best judgment about how he wished his text to read.

This relatively responsible and attractive idea was widely accepted until close examination of the conditions of publication showed that the author often lost or abandoned control of his text, and the “final,” “author’s last,” and “deathbed” editions were often supervised not by the author but by a publisher, a son or daughter, or a grieving spouse. Such editions were frequently shaped to the taste, piety, or reverence of the editor with little attention to the intentions of the author while he was a productive writer. Quite aside from editorial interference by friends and family, even the living, producing author sometimes exercised little control over the publication of his works.

Prior to the late nineteenth century, spelling and punctuation were quite fluid. Although some authors tried to exact from typesetters precise adherence to a manuscript, others did not. And some authors willingly surrendered responsibility for such details, relying on the “house style” to render their carelessly inscribed prose respectable. The style manuals governing the work of the typesetters always enjoined on them absolute accuracy in setting the author’s words but prescribed adherence to the house style in matters of spelling and punctuation. And of course, like medieval scribes, modern typesetters do misread and make errors. Every time a text is reset from an earlier setting, these errors are perpetuated and increased.

The “last best text” far from being best, may be the most corrupt text. Even when the author claims to have revised a work, he is likely to have worked from an earlier edition of his work that contains the accumulated corruption of words and punctuation. Because few authors are able to remember precisely what they originally wrote unless they compare the printed version with the manuscript, later editions “revised by the author” may appear to authorize readings that the author never penned.

How does a scholarly editor establish the text of a critical edition? Using our fledgling author as an example, several arguments might be made for the choice of copy-text for an edition of his novel. Copy-text refers to the text an editor chooses to work from when he begins to incorporate the emendations into what will become the “established text.” It is the matrix into which the readings judged to be most surely authorial will be set.

Copy-text editing derives from the work of Sir Walter Greg, who explained in 1949 what he called the “rationale of copy-text.” Because of the instructions that typesetters had been trained to follow and because they were prone to human error, the “accidentals” (punctuation and spelling) of a printed text are likely to vary more from those of the setting-copy and to deteriorate more quickly with resettings than are the words.

Words have more staying power because we respect them more, take them seriously, and see them as

more essentially authorial than the accidentals. Greg even called the words of a text the “substantives” to suggest the superior weight they carry. To preserve the accidentals used by the author, the editor is well-advised to choose the author’s manuscript, if it exists, or the form of the text that lies closest to it.

Greg did not mean to suggest that authors never change their punctuation, but it is manifestly more difficult to recognize authorial changes in punctuation than in words, sentences, and paragraphs. Greg conceded that in choosing to stick with the punctuation of a manuscript or a first edition, an editor might be losing some changes the author made in later printings. He advised that any time the editor has *evidence* that the change is authorial, he should adopt the later authorial punctuation, just as he would the later authorial word, phrase or sentence. Simply playing the odds, Greg said that when there is no evidential basis for choosing between two variants, instead of flipping a coin and ending up with a hodgepodge, one should stay with the copy-text, which comes closest to preserving at least the author’s first intention.

Because it determines the fallback position when two variants seem equally desirable, the choice of copy-text is an important decision. Using our hypothetical example, assume that the manuscript from which the author’s novel was set still survives. The proof sheets are lost, so the form next closest to the manuscript is the first American book edition containing the changes required by the publisher. But there is also the *second* American book edition to which the author restored the material that had been cut from the first edition. The author could also have incorporated the variations that appeared in the magazine serial, had he wished to do so. Although the setting copy for the second American book edition was a marked-up copy of the first edition and not the manuscript, the author’s correspondence indicates that he had the manuscript in his possession while he was inserting those previously deleted and altered portions. The alterations that he made in the first American edition for the British edition are fewer than those he made for the second American edition,



and they were made earlier.

All of these facts have to be discovered through a word-by-word, comma-by-comma collation of all the extant texts, including any reprints of relevant editions. When these collations are conflated into tables, it is possible to see when each variant from the manuscript entered the text. One can often see that a particular variant, baffling by itself, forms part of a systematic change running throughout the book or passage. It is only after this detailed history of the text has been developed that an editor is able to make the final choice of copy-text.

The editor must also decide what to do with all the variant substantive readings revealed by the collations. Because the proof sheets for the first American edition are lost, the editor cannot be certain whether the author or a publisher's editor was responsible for the many cuts and few additions in that edition. But the editor knows that the author revised the copy for the second edition and can assume that the restorations of those passages in the manuscript that are missing from the first American edition originated with the author or at least were approved by him when he was making major changes throughout the book.

That allows the editor to emend into the copy-text the authenticated variants that appear in the second American edition at the same time that he rejects both accidentals that disagree with the manuscript and substantives that disagree with either the manuscript or the second American edition. The second American book edition incorporates most of the changes the author made for the British edition. Substantives that appear only in the British edition should be viewed with suspicion because the second American edition is later and more thoroughly revised by the author.

So the editor selects the manuscript as his copy-text matrix and emends into it the changes the author made for the second American book edition, some of which appeared also in the first American book edition. He has carefully weighed the substantive variants that appeared in the British edition, adopting those that also appeared in the American second edition. He may have to weed out apparent non-

sense readings or orthographic errors in the manuscript that persisted through the printed versions, but he must weigh these very carefully to be sure that they do not represent an eccentric but intentional usage by the author.


The game would seem to be played out except for one complication: What is the editor to do with cuts made in the manuscript before it was submitted for publication? He knows that the author's friends read it and made suggestions for cutting. The manuscript even bears marginal lines enclosing passages and the inscription "cut?" Some of these marked passages appear in the first and all succeeding editions, but others do not. Would the book be improved by the inclusion of these previously omitted passages? Is this even a proper consideration?

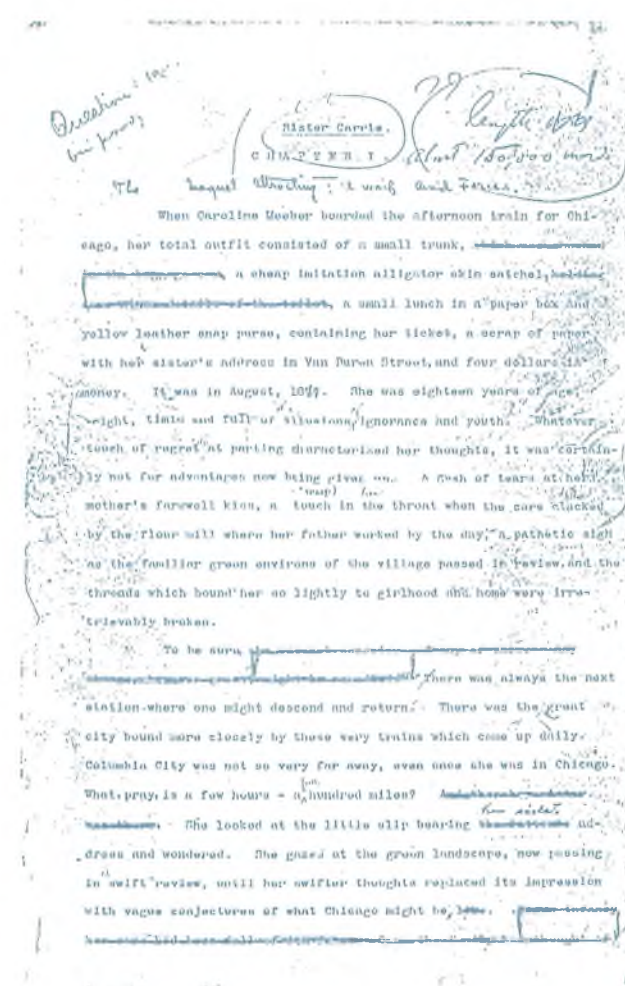
Is it an editor's duty, or his right, to "improve" a work beyond the state in which the author released it to be printed? These are the kinds of questions that faced scholars who produced the Pennsylvania Edition of Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie*. In our hypothetical case, should the editor rescue this fledgling novelist from his own modesty and insecurities of taste by restoring the passages criticized by his friends and omitted from the book?

In his eagerness to see his novel in print, the author evidently succumbed to pressure from the first publisher; but he also brought out a second American book edition in which he restored words and passages absent from the first edition. At the time of this revision, he had his manuscript before him and could have restored all the omitted passages had he wished to do so. But in the second American book edition he evidently rejected the advice or pressure of his first publisher but affirmed his acceptance of *some* of the advice of his friends. It is not the editor's right or responsibility to second-guess the author's accomplished intentions, so disputed passages may be reported in an appendix, but they should continue to be excluded from the text of a critical edition.

An editor may think that the author's judgment was poor. If he prefers an extant form of the work that dissatisfied the author, he may produce a documentary edition of the version he most admires. But those

setting out to produce critical editions must be very circumspect, attempting at all times to adhere to the author's intention so far as it is recoverable, recording fully the evidence on which the editorial decisions are made, including all the variant readings.

The editor of a critical edition must always bear in mind that other reasonable scholars examining the same evidence might arrive at other interpretations and conclusions. It is this final recognition that makes vain the claim of critical editors to have produced "the definitive edition" of a text. If the record of evidence is free of errors, that record may be called definitive. But the established text rests on the editor's conscientious interpretation of all the discoverable evidence, supported by cogent argument. That, and only that, is what critical edition means. 



Typewritten manuscript of *Sister Carrie* by Theodore Dreiser, showing changes in various hands. Dreiser sometimes asked friends to write comments on his manuscripts.

Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania





# Making Dictionaries

BY ERLE LEICHTY

**W**HEN SPEAKING OF dictionaries, most people think immediately of Samuel Johnson or Daniel Webster. But the making of dictionaries was a popular intellectual pursuit long before then. In fact, the earliest dictionaries are almost as old as writing itself. When the Sumerians first put reed stylus to clay in Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq), they found an immediate need for dictionaries.

Writing was invented by the Sumerians about 3200 B.C. for business purposes. But the very complicated cuneiform writing system with its hundreds of lexicographic and syllabic signs was not easily taught or learned. So the scribal headmasters compiled word lists organized by types of objects or similarity of meanings for pedagogical purposes. The apprentice scribes dutifully memorized the lists and recopied them over and over again.

During much of Sumerian history, the land of Sumer was bilingual. Akkadian (with its more familiar dialects of Babylonian and Assyrian) was spoken alongside Sumerian. as a consequence, it was not long before Akkadian translations were added to the Sumerian word lists, and this resulted in the first bilingual dictionaries. Later, when Sumerian was dying as a spoken language, the Babylonian scribes added pronunciation guides to the Sumerian in some of these bilingual lexical lists. These ancient dictionaries are of great value today because Akkadian and Sumerian are both long dead. Although we might have a chance at learning

Akkadian because it is a Semitic language with close relatives in Arabic and Hebrew, without these ancient dictionaries, we would probably never completely understand Sumerian, which has no known linguistic affinities.

The Mesopotamian wordsmiths also left "grammars" in the form of bilingual paradigms and large numbers of glosses and commentaries on lexical items in both languages.

The lexicographical traditions established in ancient Mesopotamia were eventually passed on to Western Europe via the classical world. Indeed, the plethora of modern dictionaries can be attributed to the fruitfulness of these ancient roots.

Dictionaries are useful. They teach spelling, pronunciation, the meanings of words, the subtleties of words, the history of language, and many other things. We are introduced to dictionaries at a very early age and spend the rest of our natural lives consulting them. Although we tend to think of dictionaries only as language aids—tools to help us understand our own or someone else's language—that is only the tip of the iceberg. I recently browsed through a catalogue advertising publishers' remainders. There were no fewer than twenty-four dictionaries offered for sale. The only larger category fell to encyclopedias with forty-six listed. And this catalogue was not one specializing in reference works. The dictionaries advertised cover the whole gamut of human civilization from medicine, wars, and clichés, to some X-rated items.

We seem to have an insatiable thirst for dictionaries. We continuously find needs for new ones or for revision of old ones. And why not? After all, our major means of communication with one another is

through language, and language is what dictionaries are about. It is very difficult to think of any tool that is consulted more frequently than the dictionary, and not just by lexicographers.

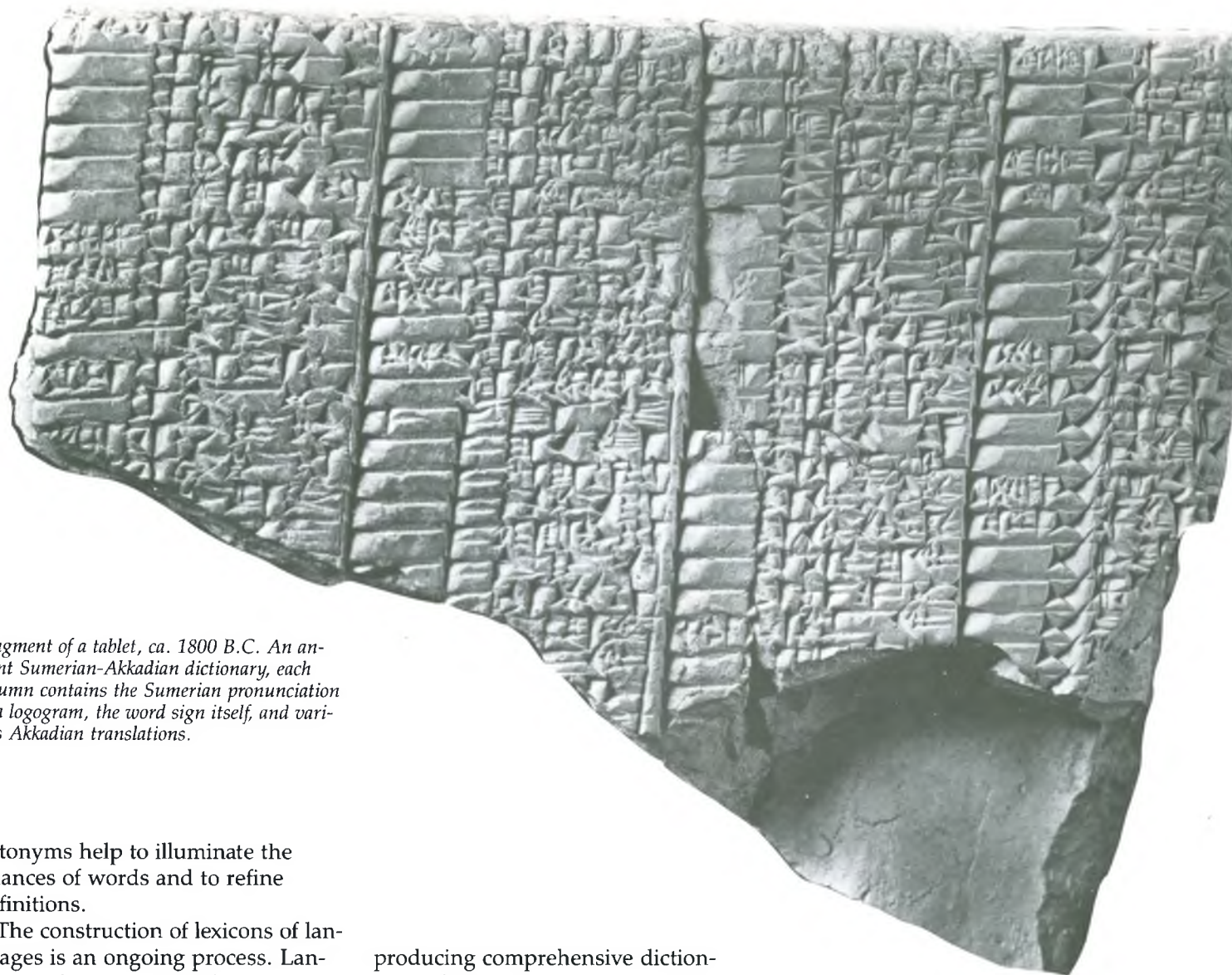
Dictionaries are of special importance to those who study ancient civilizations. Our only contacts with these long dead peoples are through their archaeological artifacts and their written legacy. Because there are no native informants to help with the languages, the meaning and nuances of words must be learned through the context in which they were used. Similar or parallel passages in the literature are invaluable for getting at the meaning of a word or phrase. Synonyms and



Shell plaque from a lyre, ca. 2600 B.C., found at the Royal Tombs of Ur in Iraq. Above left is a fragment of a cuneiform school tablet.

*Erle Leichty is professor of Assyriology at the University of Pennsylvania and a collaborator on the Sumerian Dictionary Project.*





Fragment of a tablet, ca. 1800 B.C. An ancient Sumerian-Akkadian dictionary, each column contains the Sumerian pronunciation of a logogram, the word sign itself, and various Akkadian translations.

antonyms help to illuminate the nuances of words and to refine definitions.

The construction of lexicons of languages is an ongoing process. Languages change constantly as new vocabulary is introduced, old vocabulary disappears, case endings drop, syntax changes, etc. These changes are apparent in English when the language of Chaucer or Shakespeare is compared with current usage.

In the case of dead languages, the language itself is no longer undergoing change, but the evidence for that language and its evolution is in constant flux. New documents are constantly being discovered, and each one forces a reassessment of current knowledge. The evidence is in flux. Every new document that is found adds a little more and helps refine our understanding of individual lexical items. The making of dictionaries is a never-ending process. Every lexicon must be revised or even recreated at regular intervals as our knowledge increases or changes.

The current thinking in lexicography, at least in ancient Near Eastern studies, is to attempt to expand the time gap between new editions of dictionaries of dead languages by

producing comprehensive dictionaries of those languages. These comprehensive dictionaries do more than provide lists of words and their definitions. These dictionaries give examples of words in their original, contextual usage. For each word, all or at least all significant occurrences of the word are cited in the dictionary in the original sentence or phrase where they occurred, together with a translation and bibliographical citation. This type of dictionary, perhaps best exemplified by the grand *Oxford English Dictionary*, stems from a tradition that precedes Samuel Johnson.

Comprehensive dictionaries have many virtues, not the least of which is longevity. When the user of such a dictionary finds or edits a new document, the dictionary can be consulted; and the words, sentences, or phrases in the new document can be compared with what is already known. Changes or improvements in understanding of meaning or nuance furnished by the new evidence can be added as marginalia or,

if important enough, published. Annotation from published works, as they appear, will also extend the life of such a tool. Because a comprehensive dictionary contains virtually all of the evidence available at the time of its publication, it is easily kept up to date and remains a useful tool for a very long period time. Comprehensive dictionaries can often retain their usefulness for centuries.

But comprehensive dictionaries are not just the plaything of philologists, linguists, and assorted wordsmiths. Comprehensive dictionaries can also tell a great deal about the society and people who wrote the documents they quote. In dictionaries like the *Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*, or the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, both of which have received support from NEH, readers, even if they are not philologists, can learn all kinds of things about Mesopotamian civilization. Let me







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[illegible]

For many years, the excavators of ancient Nippur, the holy city of the Sumerians, have been guided by an ancient map of the city, which has the prominent features of Nippur labeled in cuneiform.

There are also texts describing statues of the gods, which help in iconography, and texts that describe everyday objects found by archaeologists. The descriptions plus the objects themselves help us to understand the function of the objects and thus enhance our understanding of these dead civilizations.

There are dozens of dictionaries—of dead languages, dying languages, and living languages—under preparation both here and abroad. Some are easily recognizable languages like Greek, Yiddish, or Old High

It is beyond question that dictionaries are one of the most important tools at the disposal of the humanist. As forcefully stated by my colleagues at the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary Project, "Dictionaries constitute the single most important instrument for broadening and refining comprehension of ancient civilizations, earlier states of contemporary alien cultures, and most immediately, contemporary alien cultures; their usefulness is not a matter of fashion."

In fact, Lawrence Clark Powell in *Alchemy of Books* selected Webster's unabridged as his choice of reading material if cast away on a desert island. "What a glorious prospect—to be alone on an island, with an opportunity to sit back against a banana tree, and read all the way from aardvark to zymurgy!" 

### FIGURE 3. DICTIONARIES SUPPORTED BY NEH

**Albanian-English Dictionary**  
 Leonard D. Newmark  
 University of California at San Diego  
**Basque-English/English-Basque Dictionary: Vol. II (English-Basque)**  
 William A. Douglass  
 University of Nevada at Reno  
**Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800**  
 Philip H. Highfill, Jr.  
 The George Washington University  
**Biographical Dictionary of Early Pennsylvania Legislators**  
 Marianne S. Wokeck  
 Historical Society of Pennsylvania  
**The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary**  
 Erica Reiner  
 University of Chicago  
**Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon**  
 Delbert R. Hillers  
 Johns Hopkins University  
**The Dictionary of Alfonsine Prose**  
 Lloyd Kasten  
 University of Wisconsin at Madison  
**Dictionary of American Business Biography**  
 Matthew J. Bruccoli  
 Center for Study of American Biography  
**Dictionaries of Upriver Halkomelem**  
 Brent D. Galloway  
**and Nooksack**  
 Victoria, B.C., Canada  
**Dictionary of American Regional English**  
 Frederic G. Cassidy  
 University of Wisconsin at Madison  
**Dictionary of Classical Newari**  
 Ian A. Alsop  
 Kathmandu, Nepal  
**Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic**  
 Michael W. Sokoloff  
 Bar-Ilan University  
**English Dictionary of the Tamil Verb**  
 Harold F. Schiffman  
 University of Washington  
**English-Vietnamese Dictionary**  
 Dinh H. Nguyen  
 Southern Illinois University at Carbondale  
**Etymological Dictionary of Geez**  
 Wolf Leslau  
 Los Angeles, California  
**Etymological Dictionary of Old High German**  
 Albert L. Lloyd  
 University of Pennsylvania

**Gothic Etymological Dictionary**  
 Winfred P. Lehmann  
 University of Texas at Austin  
**The Great Dictionary of the Yiddish Language**  
 Marvin Herzog  
 Columbia University  
**Gros Ventre Dictionary**  
 Allan Taylor  
 University of Colorado at Boulder  
**Hittite Dictionary**  
 Harry A. Hoffner  
 University of Chicago  
**Hopi Dictionary**  
 Kenneth G. Hill  
 University of Arizona  
**Idoma Dictionary and Grammar**  
 Robert G. Armstrong  
 Otukpo, Nigeria  
**Lahu-English Dictionary**  
 James A. Matisoff  
 Berkeley, California  
**Lexicon of Classical Arabic Philosophical Terms**  
 Eric L. Ormsby  
 Catholic University of America  
**Lushootseed Dictionary**  
 Thomas M. Hess  
 Seattle, Washington  
**The Middle English Dictionary**  
 Jay L. Robinson  
 University of Michigan at Ann Arbor  
**Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium**  
 Alexander P. Kazhdan  
 Harvard University  
**Reference Dictionary of Chinese Artists**  
 Nancy N. Seymour  
 Honolulu, Hawaii  
**Salish Lexicography**  
 Donald M. Topping  
 University of Hawaii  
**Shinzwani-English Dictionary**  
 Harriet Ottenheimer  
 Kansas State University  
**Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus**  
 James A. Matisoff  
 University of California at Berkeley  
**The Sumerian Dictionary**  
 Ake W. Sjoberg  
 University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia



"I didn't know they could do it that way."

—Richard Nixon, following a performance of the New York Shakespeare Festival production of *Much Ado About Nothing*, set in early twentieth-century America and featuring a brass band, ragtime music, and the Keystone Kops.

# THE PAGE ON STAGE

BY JOHN C. CARR

FINDING OUT THAT there is no prescribed way to envision a playwright's work can be the open sesame to understanding and appreciating dramatic texts. Like Richard Nixon, students react positively when they learn that plays do not have definitive interpretations and that drama, by its nature, is perhaps the most ambiguous of literary genres.



A 1977 performance of *Death of a Salesman* by the University Theatre of the University of Maryland at College Park.

Dramatic texts are perceived in a different light when one understands that they are components of theater and that playwrights create them in the knowledge that they must be transferred from page to stage. Hoping to reach many audiences in many places and times, and knowing that contact will come from many different directors, actors, and designers, playwrights expect that their texts will be interpreted vari-

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ously. They know that to argue for definitive interpretations of their work is to shortchange qualities that make them worthy of attention. Although critics disagree about the limits of interpretation, they acknowledge the right of interpreters to explore variations in action, characters, and themes as long as those variations preserve the integrity of a playwright's central purpose. King Lear as existential metaphor, yes. Tartuffe as victim, no.

Knowing that audiences inevitably shape and reshape the meaning of plays because of the cultures, societies, and periods in which they live is fundamental to understanding and appreciating the unique role dramatic texts play in the art of theater. *Antigone* and *Julius Caesar* are almost always perceived in relation to personalities and topical issues of the time in which they are produced. Arthur Miller reports that when he recently directed his play *Death of a Salesman* in the People's Republic of China, the noncapitalist audiences focused not on the failure of the American Dream or on Willy Loman's business misfortunes but on the themes of social pressure and family disorder.

Directors, actors, and designers cope with issues that require alternative thinking and that lead to intellectual and artistic choices. Exposure to that kind of thinking, based on theatergoing, film and video viewing, and listening to recordings, can help validate students' experiences as legitimate interpreters of dramatic texts. Seeing and hearing scripts brought to life leads students to recognize that reading a play is not necessarily the best way to understand it.

In a play production—whether professional or in the community or school—one finds the ultimate test of dramatic interpretation. The

choices of the various production collaborators are evident in the performances, settings, costumes, makeup, lighting, and sound. When the choices are well made, they converge in a way that allows viewers to engage in willing suspension of disbelief. When that occurs, the interpretation of the playwright's text has both validity and power. Here is the page on stage.

## Interpreting Character

Over the last ten years, well-known productions of *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, *The Cherry Orchard*, *A Streetcar Named Desire*, *A Raisin in the Sun*, *Waiting for Godot*, and *Pygmalion*, to name a few, have allowed actors to demonstrate that characters worth our attention are those whose dimensions are not measured solely by one interpretation.

That Medea is a witch is clear from Euripides' text. However, the quality of her evil is ambiguous. To compare Zoe Caldwell's writhing, sex-centered performance (in a video adaptation of the 1982 stage production) with Judith Anderson's traditionally classic rendering (in a recording of the 1947 stage production) is to recognize immediately the startlingly different and valid choices made by two gifted actresses and their directors.

Medea's complexity is such that her rage and desire for revenge can be traced to many possible roots. Caldwell portrayed an exotic and flamboyant mistress of the dark arts, while Anderson depicted a wary foreigner mindful of the need to contain her fury in an alien society. An examination of Robinson Jeffers' translation, used in the two productions, reveals that both interpretations are sound.



A similar comparison of Dustin Hoffman's performance as Willy Loman in Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* (in a video treatment of the 1984 stage production) with that of Fredric March (in the 1952 film) and with that of the original Willy, Lee J. Cobb (in a video recreation of the 1949 stage production), stretches one's conception of who Willy is and what motivates him. Having seen all of these performances, a sophomore commented, "I had the feeling that the three Willys were all different. They looked different. They sounded different. But they had the same soul."

### Staging the Greek Chorus

Except for the kind found in musical comedy, choruses are things of the past. To imagine their function as a kind of bona fide character in Greek tragedy is difficult if one has not seen a Greek tragedy performed. Students who have never seen a Greek tragedy are usually surprised that the chorus does not always speak in unison but varies its dialogue from unison to solo speech. The extant texts of Greek plays offer no stage directions, nor do they give details about number, appearance, or movement of the chorus. Even Leo Brady's contemporary translation of *Oedipus* provides scant information:

The scene is Thebes. On one side, the doors of the palace of the king. A soldier stands guard. On the other side, an altar. It is just before dawn and still dark. The Chorus enters. It is composed mostly of old men, but there are a few young ones. They moved slowly, spiritlessly toward the palace.

When Brady's adaptation of the play is read, students' breadth of knowledge about ancient Greece governs the degree to which they can understand the stage directions, and this will influence how they make meaning of the dramatic text that follows. Yet, when the story of *Oedipus* is enacted, choices about the tragedy's meaning are offered. The audience can attend from the outset to the details of character and plot and can respond to the nuances of language that help reveal Sophocles' thematic purposes.

### Performance Styles

Thematic purposes are also interpreted through style of performance. Under the best of circumstances, simply reading Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* can provide only faint intimations of its style. The "aha!" factor is pronounced when, after reading the play, students see it performed. Those who are unfamiliar with the play usually are delighted by its witty artificiality and by the hand-in-glove way it serves Wilde's comedy of manners.

A discussion with actors after a performance about the scene in which Lady Bracknell interviews John Worthing can be helpful in seeing how actors make choices. What indeed is the scene about? What does it say about Wilde's view of the Victorian upper classes? Would the effect of the play be different on film or video?

### The Play on Film and Video


Because film and video treatments of plays usually open up the stage settings by placing them in real surroundings and by employing a range of photographic techniques not possible or desirable in stage productions, they permit valuable comparisons to the dramatic texts from which they have been adapted. There are numerous film treatments of plays, particularly modern ones. Recordings of both classical and con-

temporary plays are also widely available. Although film treatments of dramatic texts are once removed from those in a playhouse, and audio recordings are twice removed, they both serve the important purpose of making a script vital through performance.

One need only look at the video and film treatments of *Death of a Salesman* to understand how their "on-location" settings help to interpret the play's examination of family relationships and the death of the American Dream. In the Dustin Hoffman video and in the Frederic March film, the realistic settings stand in sharp contrast to Miller's stage directions, which say that the "setting is wholly or, in some places, partially transparent."

Expressionistic versus realistic setting is one of numerous issues faced when transferring plays from stage to film. Aesthetic distance, which exists between stage and audience, requires larger-than-life depiction and permits great illusion. The camera's ability to focus at close range requires smaller-than-life depiction and demands great verisimilitude. Moving from stage to film, what possible choices allow interpreters to remain faithful to a playwright's intention? Should some performances be left in the playhouse?

To see and hear a play translated from page to stage is to experience drama in three dimensions. Teachers can indeed expect that students will transfer such experiences to the reading process and that their future encounters with dramatic texts will have greater value. As students explore dramatic texts in performance, they develop skills that allow them to create theater in their minds. Eventually, exposure to performances of dramatic texts and the ability to create theater in the mind intertwine, and it becomes possible to play reading and audience experiences against one another in ways that enrich responses to text.

We should be heartened by Richard Nixon's delight in finding Shakespeare transported through time and space and made uniquely American. For Nixon as for many playgoers, the familiar was made strange—a magical circumstance that allows us all to discover something about the variety of interpretations that dramatic texts invite. 



The chorus from *Iphigenia in Taurus* by Euripides in a performance at the annual University of Utah Classic Greek Theatre Festival in Salt Lake City.



IN 1959 Lorraine Hansberry's *Raisin in the Sun* opened to rave reviews. It was the first play written by a black woman ever to be produced on Broadway and the first by a black person ever to win the New York Drama Critics' Award. Hansberry's determination to address the condition of her people was as important to her as her craft, and she was hailed as belonging to a new breed of black women playwrights. To this day few people realize that she was part of a tradition whose roots stretched back four decades.

During the 1920s, black theater in America was dominated by musical comedy. The few serious plays about blacks—for example, *Emperor Jones*, *All God's Chillun*, and *Green Pastures*—were usually written by sympathetic whites. At the same time, however, a number of realistic, sometimes angry plays about lynching, class tensions, miscegenation, political loyalty, and the myriad indignities of race discrimination were written by a group of black women. In fact, these women were the major dramatizers of the black experience between 1916 and 1940. As forerunners of the socially conscious, activist black theater of the 1950s and 1960s, these plays offer insights into the development of black drama in America.

Eleven of the women playwrights were recently the subject of a study by Kathy A. Perkins, an independent professional lighting designer and an affiliated scholar at the Center for the Study of Women at UCLA. Ten of the women that Perkins studied had either lived in Washington, D.C., or had close, ongoing connections with the Washington community through their association with the Howard Players of Howard University. With a 1987 Travel to Collections Grant, Perkins spent two weeks examining the collection of rare photographs, playbills, programs, audiotapes, and personal correspondence of these eleven women at Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, one of the world's richest repositories of materials documenting the history and culture of people of African descent.

Perkins is now editing an anthology of the women's plays, as yet untitled, that will be published by the Indiana University Press. The book will include a number of unpublished manuscripts by the women that Perkins found at Howard, including the manuscript of *Mule Bone*, a play coauthored by Zora Neal Hurston and Langston Hughes.

While in Washington, Perkins also located May Miller, now in her eighties and the only surviving member of the group. She spent a few days with her, gleaned additional insight into both the period and the personal lives and work of the women playwrights.

Most of their plays were written during the Harlem Renaissance—a time when Harlem's jazz clubs had become a magnet for white music-lovers, and financial support from white patrons encouraged the flowering of black arts and literature. "What most people don't know," remarks Perkins, "is that the District of Columbia also played a significant role in the intellectual ferment then going on in the black community."

Howard University was a mecca of black intellectual life, the Howard Players was a truly national black theater, and Alaine Locke, one of the Howard Players' directors, was also a major spokesman for black artists.

Angelina Grimke's landmark play *Rachel* about lynching was first performed in Washington in 1916. Produced by the NAACP, it concerned the effects of her father's lynching on a young southern woman and how the family's subsequent flight from its home brings her face to face with the shock of

Linda Butler is a freelance writer in Washington, D.C.

# DRA to Ch the F

BY LINDA



A 1987 photograph of May Miller, the only surviving member of a group of black female playwrights from the Harlem Renaissance. At right is a 1926 playbill for the Krigwa Players.



"RACHEL"  
The Drama Committee  
of the District of Columbia Branch  
of the N. A. A. C. P.  
—PRESENTS—  
"RACHEL"  
A Race Play in Three Acts by  
Angelina Grimke  
under direction of  
NATHANIEL GUY  
AT  
Myrtilla Miner Normal School  
Friday Eve., March 3rd and  
Sat. Eve., March 4th, 8 P. M.  
Tickets 75 and 50 Cts.  
Tickets on Sale at Gray and Grays Drug Store 12th & U  
Sta. N. W. after February 1st from 6 to 8 o'clock P. M.  
All Seats Reserved.  
PRINTED BY MUMFORD



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### KRIGWA PLAYERS LITTLE NEGRO THEATRE

An attempt to establish in High Harlem, New York City, a Little Theatre which shall be primarily a center where Negro actors before Negro audiences interpret Negro life as depicted by Negro artists; but which shall also always have a welcome for all artists of all races and for all sympathetic comers and for all beautiful ideas.



A. DOUGLAS  
At their Playhouse  
Basement of the 135th Street Branch, New York Public Library

Courtesy of Kathy Perkins

racial discrimination in the North. The play's impact was tremendous, says Perkins. "It set off a kind of chain reaction of plays dealing with race."

Why were so many of these women connected to Washington? Certainly, Howard University was a factor. Miller, along with Myrtle Smith Livingston, Zora Neal Hurston, Shirley Graham, and Thelma Duncan had attended the university as undergraduates, and some were associated with the Howard Players. Although it might not be accurate to speak of a movement, Perkins believes that in Washington there was undoubtedly what today would be called "a powerful support group."

Most of the women were close friends. Many, including May Miller, Angelina Grimke, and Marita Bonner also met informally to discuss new works and ideas at the "S-Street Salon" of Georgia Douglas Johnson, the most prolific of the writers and a source of encouragement to all. Both Langston Hughes, the most important writer of the Harlem Renaissance, and W.E.B. DuBois, editor of the NAACP magazine *Crisis*, visited the salon when they came down from New York. Hurston, the most important female figure in the Harlem Renaissance, stayed with Johnson on her visits to Washington.

Among the incentives for these women to write were the competitions for one-act plays sponsored by *Crisis*, and another magazine, *Opportunity*, edited by Charles Johnson and published by the National Urban League. Through correspondence housed at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Perkins became especially aware of DuBois's importance in nurturing female talent. Instrumental in the movement for native drama—plays by blacks and about blacks—DuBois especially promoted what he called "race propaganda" plays with a strong political message. He also founded the Krigwa Players in New York to stage the performances. At Howard, Alain Locke had a different philosophy: He opposed overtly political plays and instead promoted folk plays portraying aspects of black life intended to appeal to both white and black audiences. The two philosophies were not as divergent as might appear at first glance, says Perkins, because both men wanted to provide blacks with an alternative image to the pervasive stereotypes of the day.

A number of the women wrote both kinds of plays. The folk plays written by Eulalie Spence, one of the rare women playwrights not connected to Washington, were produced not by the Howard Players but by the Krigwa Theatre. Myrtle Livingston, although associated with Locke's Howard Players, wrote *For Unborn Children*, a play in which a black man and white woman plan to run away together. The play ends with the man's lynching.

May Miller wrote historical dramas aimed at depicting black history in ways that would inspire hope and optimism. But Miller also wrote plays that were more controversial and political. *Stragglers in the Dust*, for example, is about a black cleaning woman who, while cleaning the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, informs the watchman that her son is the soldier buried there. The watchman and a visiting politician then comment on "what a joke it would be" if the woman's fantasy were true.

Georgia Douglas Johnson wrote a few folk plays, including *Blue Blood*, a comic satire about the class system among blacks that was performed by the Howard Players in 1933. But her plays more often concerned lynching. In *Safe*, a black woman strangles her newborn child when she hears the cries of a black man being torn apart by a white mob.

Another common theme was whether blacks owed anything to a society that had given them nothing. *Mine Eyes Have Seen* by Alice Dunbar-Nelson examines whether blacks should fight in the war. *Aftermath*, by Mary Burrill, depicts a young soldier returning home after being decorated for bravery.

At left is an announcement for *Rachel* (1916) by Angelina Grimke, a play about a lynching and its effects on the lives of black people, and right, a photograph of Grimke in later years.





Zora Neale Hurston  
(1891–1960) in the  
late 1930s.



Courtesy of Patricia Hart

Eulalie Spence  
(1894–1981) in 1927.



Shirley Graham  
(1896–1977).



Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

Georgia Douglas  
Johnson (1886–1966).



Mary P. Burrill  
(1881–1946) in 1944.

Discovering that his father has been lynched in his absence, he rushes out to seek revenge. Bonner's *Purple Flower* openly advocates revolution as the only way for blacks to rise above their condition.

Most of the women wrote for a black audience, although their themes were not necessarily popular with black people. In general, native drama could not compete with the commercially produced black Jazz Age musicals. Propaganda plays, in particular, attracted the smallest audiences. In a tape-recorded interview that Perkins found at Howard, Eulalie Spence points out with some vehemence that black people came to the theater to be entertained, not to be confronted with the harsh realities of everyday life. Despite DuBois's urgings, therefore, she wrote only folk plays.


Aside from the handful of plays produced by the Krigwa Theatre and the Howard Players, the main platform for the women's plays remained the high schools in which many of them taught. Grimke, Dunbar-Nelson, Burrill, Bonner, Miller, and Livingston were all teachers. Indeed, the school was such an important forum for their plays that Miller gave up writing when she left the school system.

Perkins's examination of the playwrights' correspondence showed that the frustration of not being produced elsewhere drove many of the women to abandon their playwriting. Although all of them went on to write poetry, novels, or short stories and some became political activists, by the 1930s few wrote plays anymore. Bonner began to append the words, "a play to be read," after her titles. Miller and Johnson both have several published works of poetry. Graham, who in 1932 had written *Tom-Tom*, the first opera by a black to be performed in this country, wrote plays throughout the 1920s, and then went on to write novels. She married W.E.B. DuBois.

Perkins was particularly interested in how the women playwrights dealt with issues they chose to write about and how they differed from men writing at the time. She found that while male playwrights wrote of blacks interacting with each other in a white world, the women depicted ways in which the white world reverberated in the home. Many of the plays were set in the kitchen or living room, with their themes approached from a woman's perspective.

The obsession with themes centering around lynching, for example, reflected a mother's fears for her sons. Other plays referred to the struggle and sacrifice involved in educating a child, perhaps, says Perkins, because black women tended to be better educated than their male counterparts. Although the plays project a positive image of the black family—the husbands, for example, are referred to as hard workers devoted to their families—in most cases the men are deceased or otherwise not present during the action. "What you see in these plays," explains Perkins, "is strong women making decisions on their own, thinking for themselves, and coping with all kinds of problems. Such situations rarely appear in other black plays of the day. Most are not well-written from the technical standpoint," she adds, "but they do yield a firm sense of the attitudes and concerns of the time in which they wrote."

The plays by the eleven women have importance beyond their historical value, she points out. For aspiring actresses, the plays offer the strong female roles that are so hard to come by. For young people, seeing or performing in these plays can bring home an entire period of history.

Among the documents at Howard University, Perkins found an unpublished paper by Angelina Grimke that explained her purpose in writing *Rachel*: "to touch the hearts of white women so they can change the hearts of their husbands." 

In 1987 Kathy Perkins received \$750 in outright funds from the Travel to Collections program of the Division of Fellowships and Seminars for "Black Female Playwrights of the American Theater: 1916–50."



# Broadening students' exposure to Shakespeare— More than the Big Four

BY PEGGY O'BRIEN

ONCE UPON A TIME in a far off land, a man named Shakespeare wrote four plays, and we have been forced to read them ever since," a student once confided in me. Most schools do require the study of one or two of the Big Four—*Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*—although there is no law of school district or Shakespeare that prevents students from at least sampling the rich opportunities for learning provided by the remainder of the canon.

Other plays have come and gone with the odd curriculum and the innovative teacher, but the Big Four go on forever. Tradition seems to dictate that these are the plays that speak most appropriately to students. This tradition has been further institutionalized by the publishers of literary anthologies.

Early in the twentieth century, anthologies were created on the premise that students would benefit from the study of short selections of reading material that supplemented their main texts; students could thus learn literature in breadth as well as depth. By the 1930s, however, the anthology had moved from enriching the curriculum to determining the entire course of study. For Shakespeare's plays, this has come to mean not only the selection but the version of the play.

*Romeo and Juliet* turns on passion and yet is frequently studied in carefully edited anthologized versions in which that passion is hard to find. Sampson and Gregory's thumb-biting exchange is almost always cen-

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MR. WILLIAM  
SHAKESPEARES  
COMEDIES,  
HISTORIES, &  
TRAGEDIES.  
Published according to the True Originall Copies.



LONDON  
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1617

Title page of the first folio of Shakespeare's plays. The poem by Ben Jonson appears on the verso page opposite Shakespeare's portrait.

## To the Reader.

This Figure, that thou here seest put,  
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut:  
Wherein the Grauer had a strife  
with Nature, to out-doo the life:  
O, could he but haue drawne his vvrit  
As well in brasse, as he hath hit  
His face; the Print would then surpass  
All, that vvvas euer vvrit in brasse.  
But, since he cannot, Reader, looke  
Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

B. I.

sored, presumably because it is thought to be excessively vulgar even for those students who avail themselves of "Crime Story," "Fatal Attraction," and their own school yards. Some of the funniest lines in the balcony scene—"O, wilt thou leave me so unsatisfied?/What satisfaction canst thou have tonight?"—often disappear, along with much of the Nurse. The Porter in *Macbeth*, as plain-speaking and earthy as the Nurse, suffers a similar fate.

In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America, Shakespeare's works enjoyed great general popularity. Performances abounded, and people in all manner of communities and on many campuses gathered to read the plays aloud at meetings of Shakespeare clubs. In the formal school curriculum, however, the plays were not so readily embraced. In many ways, Shakespeare flew in the face of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century education, which sought to inform moral as well as literary development. Because of its appeal to the imagination rather than to rational thought, drama was far from a legitimate discipline. Indeed, the subject matter of Shakespeare's dramas proved sometimes controversial. In 1828 a New England teacher was fired for reading part of a Shakespearean play aloud to his class. At Oberlin College, Shakespeare was banned from coeducational classes until the 1860s.

Nevertheless, Shakespeare endured. In the 1890s, when ten college professors set down the first formal secondary school English curriculum, Shakespeare was represented by *Julius Caesar*. Education was classical, after all, and this Roman play was a logical choice to teach alongside Caesar's *Commentaries*. This worthy linkage enabled students to explore both Elizabethan



England and Rome through the examination of power, politics, and honor. Because the play was short and presented neither a complicated lexicon nor inappropriate intimacy, it was deemed the perfect play for sophomores.

The crowning of *Caesar* marked the beginning of the Big Four, a kind of Mount Rushmore of the most commonly taught Shakespearean plays in American secondary schools. Gradually *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth* joined *Caesar*. Generations of students began to engage in discussions of kingship, revenge, psychology, and varying qualities of familial relationships and responsibility through their involvement with Prince Hamlet. They discovered the genius of a man who created worlds with only words, a man who, in *Romeo and Juliet*, wrought a Verona perhaps not unlike their own world—alive with the tension of headstrong youth and parental determination. Through *Macbeth*, perhaps Shakespeare's most commonly taught play, students had an opportunity to experience the playwright probably at the height of his art and to consider powerfully presented questions of ambition and equivocation, destiny and the supernatural.

The Big Four are splendid plays, and yet their constancy in the school curriculum belies the extraordinary value of the rest of the canon. They are not the only splendid plays. Exposure to a broader range of Shakespeare's plays serves to reveal the playwright to students as a vital part of American cultural heritage, to deepen their understanding of his roots in his own period, and to begin to bridge the gap between past and present caused by changes in language, custom, and thought. Shakespeare's genius produced thirty-seven plays; thus there are the Big Thirty-Three left to explore. In these works, the playwright offers students and their teachers many opportunities to recast their literary horizons.

On a few occasions during the past ten years, the Big Four have been expanded into the Big Seven with the addition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, and *Othello*. *Othello*, which is sometimes substituted for *Hamlet* in the twelfth grade, provides an arena in which

students can begin to unravel the conflicts caused by the power of jealousy, blind love, race, and the disenfranchisement of the stranger in a strange land. Of no small significance to an Elizabethan audience or to today's students is the idea that *Othello* is a cracking good story. Through rich characterization, the unfolding of Iago's deceit and its effect on the love between the black general and his white wife motivates students to study the structure of tragedy.

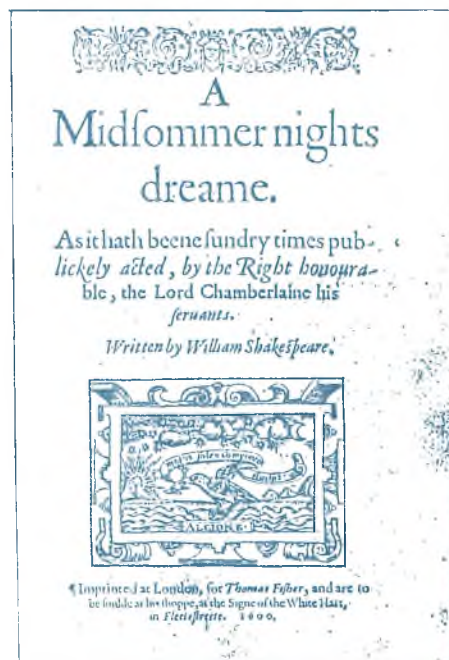
But there is more to Shakespeare than tragedy. Students should also study Shakespearean comedy. On one level, the comedies provide situations in which the main characters do not lose or die or go mad. On another level, these plays display Shakespeare's most positive female characters. Rosalind in *As You Like It*, Portia in *Merchant of Venice*, or Olivia and Viola in *Twelfth Night*, are without the usual male influence of father or husband. They are strong, witty, and smart—at considerable counterpoint to Shakespeare's tragic women. Study of these characters can provide a positive and exciting beginning to exploration of Shakespeare's comedic structure and its multiplication of disguises, schemes, and love plots.

The ideal play with which to begin all Shakespeare study is *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The dramatic structure is clear and straightforward, and the action offers a view of love, marriage, and familial motivation played out by endearing characters in a play whose language is some of the most mesmerizing in all of Shakespeare. Students are delighted by an exasperated father, love requited and unrequited, a bickering couple who happen to be king and queen of the fairies, and a set of workmen who have been funny since Shakespeare wrote them down. These important elements combine to dispel students' most common misconception: that Shakespeare is "always" solemn and ponderous.

Like the comedies, the histories are usually passed over in secondary school. Students are thus denied the opportunity to delve into characters who have shaped so much of the world's history. *Henry IV, Part 1* is particularly suitable for secondary school students.



Courtesy of Folger Shakespeare Library



Above: The sculpture of Puck was executed by Brenda Putnam for the Folger Shakespeare Library. Below: The 1600 edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is part of the Folger's collection.



While Falstaff is predictably the object of great surprise and delight, the greening of Prince Hal—who has to prove himself to his father without surrendering his own identity—understandably seizes the adolescent imagination. As Hal grows up before their eyes, the students' appreciation and interest in this process serves to propel them into the consideration of other issues and problems raised in the play, such as integrity and kingship.

Although he in no way resembles an ideal king, Shakespeare's *Richard III* is positively irresistible in plot and main characterization. The ultimate example of the hero as villain engaged in a fascinating scheme of dispassionate career planning, Richard's restless ambition is at once attractive and terrifying—until he meets his death by the Earl of Richmond.

Secondary school teachers who have participated in the Folger's Teaching Shakespeare Institute, which has received four years of NEH support, are living proof that a foray into previously unexplored plays can breathe fresh air into the teaching and learning of Shakespearean drama. At the institute, teachers work for a month with scholars and actors on four plays. Each year the plays are selected according to a formula that calls for one play from the Big Four, one comedy, one history, and one play that usually is not taught in high school. Various programs in recent years have included the following mix of plays:

- *Macbeth*, *As You Like It*, *Henry IV, Part 1*, and *Othello*
- *Hamlet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Richard III*, and *Much Ado About Nothing*
- *Julius Caesar*, *Twelfth Night*, *King Lear*, and *The Winter's Tale*

Plays other than the Big Four are selected for the sometimes problematic richness that they can add to the traditional school study of Shakespeare. *The Winter's Tale*, for example, presents endless contrasts, including three stereotypical views of women most commonly held by men—ingenue, whore, and harpy—as represented by Perdita, Hermione, and Paulina. *Twelfth Night* is another play in which to explore the duality of the woman's role.



A view of an English stage just after the restoration of Charles II, as shown in an engraved frontispiece to *The Wits, or, Sport upon Sport*, London, 1662. The book contains a medley of humorous theatrical extracts, including some by Shakespeare.

This kind of stretch has proved to be exhilarating and rewarding for participants many of whom had become accustomed to life in a small literary space. Informed and inspired, they return to their home schools excited by the prospect of rediscovering these and other plays with their students.

In addition to teaching the plays

prescribed by the school curriculum, many alumni of the Teaching Shakespeare Institute now find time to study other plays, or at least scenes from other plays, as a way of introducing their students to the canon at large.

One tenth grade teacher spends two weeks exploring scenes from various Shakespearean comedies, beginning with *Much Ado About Nothing*. The repartee between Beatrice and Benedick affords students insight into the structure of Shakespeare's comedic language. They recognize that the tense and snappy way in which they speak to one another on the playground and the sharp dialogues that they see weekly on the television series "Moonlighting" are direct descendants of the language of Beatrice and Benedick.

Some plays are not as well suited to high school students. *Love's Labor Lost* with its rich characterization and hilarious plot has language that can be too obscure and difficult. Some of the romances—*Pericles* and *Cymbeline*—do not seem wise choices for people early in their Shakespeare education, nor do plays like *Troilus and Cressida*, *King John*, or *Henry VIII*. Of course, there are no rules, and a knowledgeable and enthusiastic teacher can teach almost any play to any student. A teacher with a passion for the comedic pairs, for example, can make the study of an atypical choice like *The Merry Wives of Windsor* a splendid literary experience.

"He was not of an age but for all time," said Ben Jonson about his friend and sometime rival. Shakespeare's genius spoke eloquently then as now to all sorts of people and through all sorts of characters. And although the reading list may have become somewhat cemented during the last sixty years, there is cause for a fresh perspective. In Shakespeare's plays, we find drunks, ghosts, teenagers running away from home, boy who gets girl, boy who loses girl, king who loses everything, woman caressing her lover's body which is minus its head, woman caressing her lover's head which is minus its body, weddings and celebrations, and murder by stabbing, suffocation, poison, decapitation, and drowning in a vat of wine. For schools, the possibilities are exciting and close to infinite.



# BIRTH OF A

## EXAMINING THE OF CHICAGO

On October 2, 1987, "Chicago Architecture" opened in Paris at the Musee d'Orsay. The exhibition closed there on January 4, 1988.

The exhibition traveled next to Frankfurt and the Deutsches Architekturmuseum, where it ran from February 5 through April 25. (As *Humanities* goes to press, we learn that the Frankfurt show may be extended through mid-May.)

After Frankfurt, the exhibition comes home to the Art Institute of Chicago from July 16 through September 5.

San Francisco's Museum of Modern Art will be the site through the end of the year. For 1989, the exhibition may travel to museums in Montreal, Barcelona, and Luxembourg.

**I**N THE EYES of most of the world, the Chicago School skyscraper and the Prairie School single-family house are recognized as America's most important contributions to international architecture. Even so, architectural historians have for the most part seen Chicago architecture as an expression of regionalism and nationalism. Its international connections have never been dealt with systematically or comprehensively.

That situation is now changing with the new exhibition, "Chicago Architecture, 1872-1922: Birth of a Metropolis," assembled by the Art Institute of Chicago with support from NEH. According to project director John Zukowsky, who is also

the institute's curator of architecture, "the idea for the exhibition really took hold at the first international conference of architectural museums where I met Henri Loyrette, conservateur at the Musee d'Orsay, Paris, and Heinrich Klotz, director of the Deutsches Architekturmuseum, Frankfurt." Both museums have provided support for the exhibition to travel to Paris and Frankfurt and for publication of the French and German editions of the exhibition catalogue. "The exhibition represents the first time that Chicago's architecture and planning have been placed within a broader social, historical, and economic context, with the region's connections to Europe serving as a focal point," Zukowsky adds.

Zukowsky has assembled more than 270 drawings, photographs, building fragments, furniture pieces, and small-scale models to document

*Joseph Brown is a promotions manager with the University of Chicago Press.*

*A view of the desolation left by the 1871 Chicago fire, which raged for three days and destroyed 18,000 buildings on more than 2,000 acres. The need to rebuild the city attracted architects and engineers to Chicago.*



Chicago Historical Society



# METROPOLIS

## INTERNATIONAL ROOTS

BY JOSEPH H. BROWN

### ARCHITECTURE

the growth of Chicago during the fifty years that made its architectural reputation. The exhibition begins after the Great Fire that raged for three days, October 8–10, 1871, and ends with the 1922 international competition for the *Chicago Tribune* tower.

According to contemporary estimates, the fire covered 2,000 acres, destroyed 18,000 buildings, killed close to 300 people, and left another 90,000 homeless. A nightmare for the citizens of Chicago, the fire was an architect's dream come true. As Zukowsky explains, "The need to rebuild an entire city attracted a large number of architects and engineers to Chicago, and kept them there during a time of national economic recession."

Reconstruction started immediately. Incredibly, within one month after the fire, more than 5,000 cottages had been completed or were being built. But, Zukowsky points out, "The commercial buildings being constructed were much like their predecessors—mostly four stories high, with the sunken ground floor and the first floor reserved as retail space and the higher floors serving as offices or warehouses."

It took several years, but eventually a number of important technical innovations came together as the prelude to Chicago's architectural fame. The technology included a method of fireproofing the iron and steel frames of buildings, an ingenious system of raft foundations that provided a stable base for buildings constructed on Chicago's marshy ground, a wind-bracing system necessary to reinforce buildings taller than five stories, and the safety passenger elevator.

The first tall office buildings rose

in the 1880s. Called "sky-scrapers" by the press, these multistory buildings with floors and walls supported on a rigid skeleton of iron columns and bars, became the trademark of the Chicago School of architects. Even then, skyscrapers were not unique to Chicago; but they were built there in greater numbers. One important factor was Chicago's relative youth. The city had more room to grow than did New York or Boston. That potential for growth—along with Chicago's advancing position as the commercial and transportation center of the Midwest—attracted real estate speculators from the East.

The new Chicago buildings, whether the Romanesque structures of John Wellborn Root or the skeletal, functional-looking edifices of John A. Holabird and Martin Roche, were unlike anything city dwellers had ever seen. To create a civilized urban atmosphere, East Coast architects had developed a highly ornamental style. But because investment in Chicago architecture came from the East, the addition of costly ornamentation was thought an unnecessary waste. Thus Chicago buildings assumed a more businesslike air. They boasted less ornamentation and, covering every inch of ground, they directly abutted each other.

Many of these buildings have been celebrated over recent years because they were thought to prefigure the modern work of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Harry Weese, and the firm of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill during the 1950s and 1960s. In fact, however, Chicago architecture had strong ties to some of the French educational methods and German architectural practices that the modernists rejected so strongly.

The French connection was established after the Civil War, when it became popular for American architects to study in Paris at the *Ecole des Beaux Arts*. Such well-known figures as Louis Sullivan, Edward H. Bennett, and Holabird trained at the *Ecole*. Others—Burnham, for example—trained in the *Ecole* tradition at home, where many architectural schools had adopted the *Ecole's* atelier system.



*The Pullman Building (1883–84), designed by Solon Spencer Beman, was a ten-story forerunner of the modern Chicago skyscraper.*

Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago



## SULLIVAN, WRIGHT AND BURNHAM



Above: a terra-cotta relief ornament designed by Louis Sullivan for the 1907 National Farmers Bank in Owatonna, Minnesota. Below: Daniel H. Burnham and John Wellborn Root in their office in Chicago's Rookery (1888), which they designed.

"Ecole students laid out their designs carefully and consciously, first planning the overall structure of the space, then designing the facade, and finally working out a cross-section," Zukowsky explains. "It's a disciplined and analytic way of developing a reasoned solution to an architectural problem."

Chicago's German connection "resides mostly in people," he adds. After the unsuccessful revolutions of 1848, increasing numbers of Germans emigrated to the United States. They settled in a midwestern "Germania" that stretched from Milwaukee to St. Louis, with Chicago serving as the region's economic and cultural center. Among the emigres were a host of architects, engineers, technicians, suppliers of drafting equipment, engravers, and printers. With their arrival, the level of Chicago's architectural practice rose.

Throughout the exhibition's seven sections, "Chicago Architecture" details the work of its architects in a variety of contexts. Designed by Stanley Tigerman, the exhibition rooms reflect the design philosophy behind the objects displayed in each category. Some of the architects are well known: William Le Baron Jenney, Solon Spencer Beman, and John Wellborn Root. Others are less familiar: August Wilmanns, Edmund Krause, and Alfred Alschuler. Dwarfing all others, however, are the three men who changed the face of the American cityscape: Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Daniel Burnham.

Sullivan, with his commercial buildings, and Wright, with his family dwellings, strove quite consciously to create a distinctively American architecture. Yet both men—unconsciously, if not admittedly—were influenced by foreign

precedents, training, and attitudes. On the other hand, Burnham, with his plans for use of public spaces, was criticized for being all too conscious of European prototypes. Yet his work is no less American than that of Sullivan and Wright.

Sullivan is best known for his elaborate individualistic ornamentation based on a rational, underlying geometry that he claimed was to be found within all natural forms, and for his principle that form follows function. Also influential was his tripartite theory of commercial design. This rational approach to the skyscraper, for which no classical precedents existed, yielded a tall building with an articulated base, an uninterrupted shaft, and an elaborate capital top, after the pattern of a distant cousin, the column.

Because of his individuality and eccentricity, Sullivan had few followers. Yet the significance of his work was recognized abroad even



In 1908 Frank Lloyd Wright designed the Evans house in Chicago, including its furnishings and fittings.





A rendering by Jules Guérin for D.H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett of the view west of the proposed Civic Center Plaza, Chicago, in 1908. Burnham's City Beautiful design is evident in this plan, which he hoped would make Chicago the rival of Paris.

during his own lifetime. His foremost student, Wright, is considered by many to have been America's most important architect.

Wright concentrated on the design of smaller buildings, particularly residences. He and his followers were responsible for spreading the Prairie School philosophy of residential design that is distinguished by rambling, open, horizontal spaces.

Wright's ideas about functionalism and interpenetrating spaces and planes found a ready welcome in Holland and Germany and were even exported as far away as Japan and Australia.

Burnham's firms specialized in speculative office buildings, corporate high rises, and large department stores. He was personally involved with large-scale city planning projects for Washington, D.C., Cleveland, and San Francisco. But he is best known for his attempt to create in Chicago his own version of the European urban environment.

The capstone of Burnham's career was the Chicago Plan of 1909. He believed that implementing this plan for public parks and monumental civic buildings stretching along the Lake Michigan shore would make Chicago so beautiful that it would rival Paris. The plan also included a decidedly American concept: a mass transportation system of streets and bridges that would make the city more efficient. Although the plan

was never fully implemented, its legacy is enjoyed today in the city's lakefront park system, the Michigan Avenue Bridge, and the expanded boulevard section of Michigan Avenue known as the "Magnificent Mile."

Accompanying the exhibition are English, French, and German editions of a 480-page catalogue with 585 illustrations. More than a catalogue raisonné, the catalogue offers a significant reassessment of this seminal period in Chicago architectural history. Eighteen scholars from several disciplines have contributed essays on topics as diverse as the design problem of the Chicago multi-story to shopping Chicago-style to Chicagoan Walter Burley Griffin's design for Canberra, the capital of Australia.

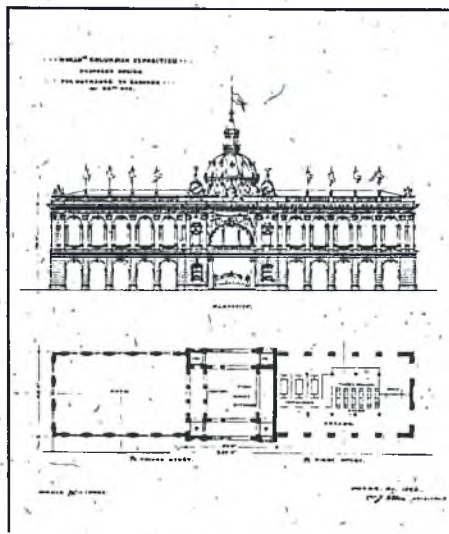
Zukowsky has also planned a series of education programs. Six films about the city's major architects will be presented in Chicago. Two of the films were subtitled for showing in Paris and Frankfurt. At a symposium on "The Hero in Chicago's Architecture," to be held on July 30 in Chicago, participants will address principles of heroism and morality as they relate to architecture and development and the subject of heroes and heroines in the remaking of Chicago from the perspective of a variety of disciplines.

Also in Chicago, teacher-training workshops organized around

themes in both the catalogue and exhibition will provide participants with experience in using an architectural museum exhibition or extant city architecture and urban form as a teaching laboratory. Finally, a primer will be published for high school students on how to "read" the American cityscape, using Chicago's built environment as an above-ground archaeological site.

"In the end," says Zukowsky, "we have what we hope is a well-rounded, though by no means comprehensive, study of the work of the architects who in a fifty-year period shaped this flat lakeside site into the metropolis of mid-America."

In 1986 the Art Institute of Chicago, with John Zukowsky as project director, received \$300,000 in outright funds from the Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations program of the Division of General Programs for "Chicago Architecture 1872-1922." For further information, see article on page 35.



Architect Peter J. Weber's 1892 elevation of a proposed design for the entrance to the fairgrounds at the World's Columbian Exposition.





### Byzantine Divorce

In "An Hour in Byzantium" (Jan./Feb. 88), Alexander Kazhdan said of Byzantium, "... free divorce, typical of the Roman Empire, was forbidden. . . ." Actually, unlike the West, the Byzantine East always allowed for divorce; even today in the Orthodox Church, one can be married three times. However one of the emperors (I am writing this off the top of my head and have forgotten which) wanted a fourth marriage, but the Church refused. It caused a crisis in government at the time. An article concerning that crisis can be found in the Dumbarton Oaks papers.

Third marriages, after two divorces, comes close enough to Rome, doesn't it?

Father Andrew L.J. James  
Holy Cross Orthodox Church  
Athens, Ohio

### Professor Kazhdan replies:

The emperor whose name you have forgotten is Leo VI, the Wise. He did indeed marry four times, but he was never divorced. Three of his wives died: Theophano, ca. 895; Zoe Zaoutzes, 899/900; and Eudokia Bajana, 901. His fourth spouse survived him.

The enormous scandal that you recall—the so-called Moechian controversy—was created when another emperor, Constantine VI, walked out on his wife Maria in 795. The poor emperor became unpopular and in 797 was blinded at his mother's order and deprived of power.

One must distinguish between divorce and remarriage of a widower. Byzantine canon law allowed a second marriage but disapproved of it. Kekaumenos, a Byzantine writer of the eleventh century, wrote at length about the dangers connected with a second marriage. A third marriage required an *epitimia*.<sup>\*</sup> The fourth was absolutely prohibited. Leo VI was given an exception because his first three wives died leaving him without an heir. The fourth spouse bore him a son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

As for divorce, the Church was strictly against it from the very beginning. The Council of Carthage (407) punished divorce with excommunication. Secular society followed suit in about two centuries. The *Ekloge*<sup>\*</sup> of 726 listed explicitly the cases in which divorce was allowed. Its author called the family "a flesh in two persons" and rejected the possibility of a divorce for "insignificant" reasons. Only the wife's prostitution, the man's impotence, or either spouse's plotting against the other's life were considered significant reasons.

In the ninth century Pope Nicholas I stressed that in Rome marriage is less formal than in Byzantium. The situation eventually changed, and divorce became easier in the Orthodox church than in the West. However, I was writing about Byzantium, not contemporary Orthodox principles. We should not confuse the two societies.

<sup>\*</sup>Defined in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.

### Latin Lapses

The cover caption for your latest issue (Jan./Feb. 88) states "A prominent feature of the woodcut is the Byzantine church of Sancte Sophie, now called Hagia Sophia." This gives the impression that the church had two different names, which is, of course, wrong. From its construction in the sixth century, the church was always called Hagia Sophia in Greek and Sancta Sophia in Latin.

Your version of the Latin name is incorrect. You took the genitive case from the Latin inscription on the woodcut: "ecclesia Sancte Sophie" while the correct nominative case is Sancta Sophia.

Bariša Krekić  
Professor of History  
UCLA



# THE Humanities GUIDE

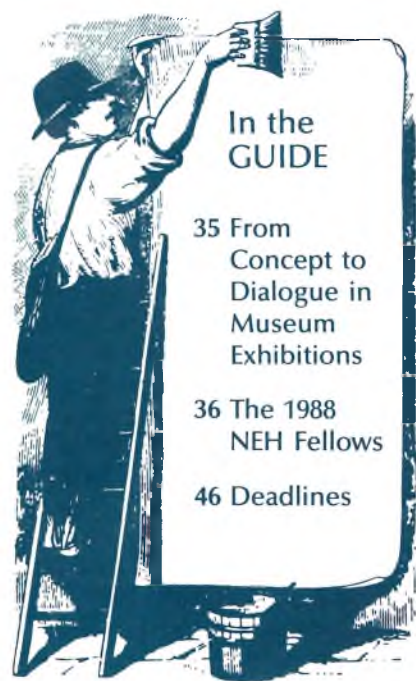
for those who are thinking  
of applying for an NEH grant

## From Concept to Dialogue in Museum Exhibitions

BY JOHN ZUKOWSKY

NEH asked me to offer a few thoughts about putting together a successful proposal for a museum exhibition. The Art Institute of Chicago received its principal support for "Chicago Architecture: 1872–1922," (described on pages 30–33) from the Humanities Projects in Museums Program in the form of a \$15,000 planning grant in 1985 and an implementation grant of \$300,000 in 1986. Based on my own experience, I can make a few gener-

John Zukowsky is curator of architecture at the Art Institute of Chicago.



alizations about preparing a successful grant proposal that might be helpful to prospective applicants.

More than other federal funding agencies and private foundations that support cultural projects such as "Chicago Architecture," NEH makes two important but rewarding demands: The first of these is *concept*. The project should deal with larger issues and concepts—with ideas.

The overriding concept for our project was internationalism. This concept permeates the exhibition, catalogue essays, brochures, and educational programs. Yet internationalism or cosmopolitanism as an interpretation of Chicago architecture is antithetical to the more pervasive and more traditional views of the skeletal Chicago School and the Prairie School as expressions of regionalism or nationalism.

Our idea was to show that the international character of Chicago architecture extends beyond the Chicagoan who studied in Paris or the Germans who immigrated to the Midwest. The influence of French, English, and German philosophy and art theory on Louis Sullivan's search for uniquely American architectural forms is one example of the project's conceptual framework.

One of the major sub-themes of the exhibition is the hero in Chicago's architecture. Traditional histories have always viewed Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright as heroic figures. However, Burnham is still regarded with some suspicion, even by Stanley Tigerman, one of our essayists. In Tigerman's eyes, Burnham compromised architectural principles to become a financial success, whereas Wright and especially Sullivan were failed, struggling figures and thereby heroic. It really does not matter what the viewpoint is; what counts is that the theme, the idea, provokes some thought and some discussion.

And that leads me to the second de-

mand: *dialogue*. Dialogue comes naturally from provocative ideas and from project personnel who are attuned to ideas. Dialogue in an exhibition should be among the participants and also between them and the audience in a variety of media, and it should stimulate further ideas among the audience. For example, our exhibition provides for several levels of interpretation from a comprehensive history of Chicago architecture, to a thought-provoking view of Chicago's relationship to Europe, to a reassessment of the individual contributions of a variety of lesser-known architects.

Dialogue in the exhibition is expressed partly through the eighteen catalogue authors who sometimes have contradictory viewpoints and often have different methodologies. The authors were chosen for their variety of viewpoints and because a number of them were already beginning to research, on their own new interpretations of familiar topics.

But dialogue does not begin and end with reading the essays and viewing the exhibition. The NEH planning grant also enabled us to host a two-day conference in Chicago where we solicited reactions to our concept of internationalism from a variety of potential project participants.

NEH requires that applicants use their intellect to its fullest from large-scale concept through small-scale details. To complete a successful NEH grant application, one must do a lot of detailed production work, which in our case included a proposed plan for the installation, sample interpretive labels, a complete checklist of exhibition elements, and detailed documentation of secured loans of objects for the exhibition.

Our ideas were not created in a void, nor were they presented as definitive answers to the question of Chicago's architecture. They were concepts refined by dialogue.

PROPOSALS

DEADLINES

GRANTS

GUIDE



# THE 1988 NEH FELLOWS

Some of the items in this list are offers, not final awards.

## Archaeology and Anthropology

### UNIVERSITY TEACHERS

**Aletta Biersack**, U. of Oregon, Eugene, *Gender and Religion in Papua New Guinea*  
**John R. Bowen**, Washington U., St. Louis, MO, *Language and Religious Disputes in an Indonesian Islamic Society*  
**Joseph C. Carter**, U. of Texas, Austin, *Metaponto: Archaeology of a Greek and Roman Countryside*  
**Janet W. Hendricks**, U. of Texas, Austin, *A Discourse-Centered Analysis of a Shuar Life History Narrative*  
**Fred R. Myers**, New York U., NY, *An Interpretation of Anthropological Fieldwork with Australian Aborigines, 1973-88*  
**Richard Schechner**, New York U., NY, *The Relationship Between Ritual and Performance*  
**Anthony Seeger**, Indiana U., Bloomington, *A Comparison of Musical Performance among the Ge-Speaking Communities of Native Brazil*  
**Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing**, U. of Massachusetts, Amherst, *Landscape as History in the Meratus Mountains of Indonesia*

### COLLEGE TEACHERS AND INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

**David B. Coplan**, SUNY Res. Fdn./College at Old Westbury, NY, *The Poetry and Music of Lesotho Migrants in Performance*  
**Burt H. Feintuch**, Western Kentucky U., Bowling Green, *Reinventing Northumbrian Music: Musical Revival and Revitalization in an English Region*  
**M. Jamil Hanifi**, Unaffiliated, *The History and Cultural Features of the Durani State in Afghanistan, 1747-1978*  
**Jay O'Brien**, Lawrence U., Appleton, WI, *The Nature of Ethnography*

### YOUNGER SCHOLARS

**Chriss N. Earnest**, U. of Central Florida, Orlando, *Buccaneers and Baymen, Early British Colonialists of Corozal, Belize*  
**Helen A. Green**, Peace College, Raleigh, NC, *Influence of Hindu Religious Ideology on Women's Gender Identity*  
**Carla M. Jones**, Loma Linda U., CA, *Tell el-'Um-eiri in the Context of the Iron Age*  
**Randall G. Keller**, Secondary School, Scottsdale, AZ, *Folklore and Folk Humor in the Poetry of Leroy V. Quintana*  
**Belinda G. Shepard**, Louisiana State U., Baton Rouge, *Disease and Native Louisianian Population Change*  
**Victoria A. Wagner**, Northern Illinois U., DeKalb, *Maya Worldview and Town Planning*

### SUMMER STIPENDS

**Steven C. Caton**, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY, *An Ethnography of Oral Poetry from a North Yemeni Tribe*

**T. Patrick Culbert**, U. of Arizona, Tucson, *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing and Social Organization*  
**Nancy P. Hickerson**, Texas Tech U., Lubbock, *The Jumano Indians of the American Southwest, 1530-1700, an Anthropological Investigation*  
**Grant D. Jones**, Davidson College, NC, *An Ethnohistory of the Itza Maya Conquest*  
**Roger N. Lancaster**, Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA, *Family, Gender, and Personal Life in a Nicaraguan Barrio*  
**Judith S. Modell**, Carnegie-Mellon U., Pittsburgh, PA, *Adoption and the Meanings of Parenthood in American Culture*  
**Charles W. Nuckolls**, Connecticut College, New London, *The Multiple Meanings and Methods of Diagnosis in South Asia and the United States*  
**Gerald M. Sider**, CUNY Res. Fdn./College of Staten Island, NY, *Closed Corporate Peasant Communities in 19th-Century Bolivia*

## Arts—History and Criticism

### UNIVERSITY TEACHERS

**Terry Allen**, U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, *Syrian Architecture of the Ayyubid Period*  
**Bruce A. Brown**, U. of Southern California, Los Angeles, *Gluck and the French Theater in Vienna*  
**Thomas E. Crow**, U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, *Modes of Writing and the Visual Work of Art*  
**Joseph W. Donohue, Jr.**, U. of Massachusetts, Amherst, *Oscar Wilde and the Theater*  
**Michael P. Goldman**, Princeton U., NJ, *An Interpretation of Modern Drama*  
**Ellen T. Harris**, U. of Chicago, Illinois, *The Stylistic Development of Handel's Cantatas between 1706 and 1720*  
**Dennis Kennedy**, U. of Pittsburgh, PA, *Shakespearean Scenography in the 20th Century*  
**Jann C. Pasler**, U. of California, San Diego, La Jolla, *The Apaches in Paris, 1902-13*  
**Theodore Reff**, Columbia U., NYC, *Degas and History Painting*  
**Melinda Takeuchi**, Stanford U., CA, *The Sense of "Place" in Japanese Art*  
**Roland J. Wiley**, U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, *Marius Petipa in Russia: A Study of His Career and Ballets, 1847-1903*

### COLLEGE TEACHERS AND INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

**Scott L. Balthazar**, U. of Virginia, Charlottesville, *Simon Mayr: From Opera Seria to Melodrama*  
**Susan P. Cerasano**, Colgate U., Hamilton, NY, *A Biography of Edward Allyn*  
**Anne de C. Clapp**, Wellesley College, MA, *Commemorative Painting in Yuan and Early Ming China*  
**William E. Duckworth**, Bucknell U., Lewisburg, PA, *Twentieth-Century American Experimental Music*

**Arthur B. Feinsod**, Trinity College, Hartford, CT, *The Minimalist Aesthetic in 20th-Century Theater*  
**Sheila Ffolliott**, George Mason U., Fairfax, Virginia, *Antoine Caron's Artemisia, Catherine de' Medici, and the Invention of the Ideal Renaissance Queen*  
**Susan L. Foster**, Wesleyan U., Middletown, CT, *The Development of Theatrical Dance in Paris, 1760-1840*  
**Linda K. Fujie**, Colby College, Waterville, Maine, *The Power of "Tradition": Japanese Shinto Festival Music and Forces of Preservation*  
**Anne T. Gillain**, Wellesley College, MA, *Narrative and Meaning in the Films of Francois Truffaut*  
**Eleanor M. Hight**, Brandeis U., Waltham, MA, *Moholy-Nagy and Photography*  
**Barbara G. Lane**, CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College, Flushing, NY, *The Sources, Innovations, and Influence of Hans Memling*  
**Clark Maines**, Wesleyan U., Middletown, CT, *Charlemagne Iconography at Chartres: Image, Text, and Context*

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#### SUMMER STIPENDS

**Jeffrey S. Adler**, U. of Florida, Gainesville, *Sectionalism and the Making of the Urban West*

**Bess Beatty**, Oregon State U. Foundation, Corvallis, *Textile Workers in the Southern Piedmont, 1830–1910*

**Robert F. Burk**, Muskingum College, New Concord, OH, *The Corporate State and the Broker State: The du Ponts and American National Politics, 1920–40*

**William R. Childs**, Ohio State U., Main Campus, Columbus, *The Texas Railroad Commission and National Regulatory Policy, 1891–1981*

**Leon R. Fink**, U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, *Lawyers, Economists, and Labor Reform, 1900–1945*

**George B. Forgie**, U. of Texas, Austin, *What Northerners Saw at Stake in the American Civil War*

**William E. Gienapp**, U. of Wyoming, Laramie, *The Rise of the Republican Party, 1857–60*

**David P. Jaffee**, CUNY Res. Fdn./City College, NYC, *Artisan-Entrepreneurs and the Transformation of Rural America, 1760–1860*

**Naomi R. Lamoreaux**, Brown U., Providence, RI, *Banks, Kinship, and Economic Development in New England, 1794–1904*

**Peter J.D. Mellini**, Sonoma State U., Rohnert Park, CA, *Uncle Sam versus John Bull's Family: A Comparison of National Symbols*

**Ruth A. Needleman**, Indiana U. Northwest, Gary,

*The Evolution of Race Relations in the Calumet Region, 1945–60*

**Howard B. Schonberger**, U. of ME, Orono, *The Japan Lobby and America's Cold War in Asia*

**Robert J. Steinfeld**, SUNY Res. Fdn./College at Buffalo, NY, *The Disfranchisement of Paupers in the 19th-Century United States*

**Steven M. Stowe**, Indiana U., Bloomington, *Medicine, Family, and Belief in the American South, 1800–80*

**Thomas Zoumaras**, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, *United States-Peruvian Relations during the Cold War, 1945–68*

#### SUMMER SEM FOR SCHOOL TEACHERS

**William T. Jackson**, U. of California, Davis, *Classics on the Frontier Experience: Turner, Parkman, Twain, Powell, Roosevelt, and Cather*

**Carl A. Ross**, Appalachian State U., Boone, NC, *Appalachia: American Myth and Reality*

**Cary D. Wintz**, Texas Southern U., Houston, *Immigration and the Ethnic Community in Urban America*

## Interdisciplinary

#### UNIVERSITY TEACHERS

**Rachel M. Brownstein**, CUNY Res. Fdn./Brooklyn College, NY, *A Study of the Literary Images of the Tragedienne Rachel*

**Milad N. Doueihi**, Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD, *The Rhetoric of Revelation in Pascal's Pen-sees*

**William B. Gravely**, U. of Denver, CO, *The Black Churches North of Slavery, 1780–1870*

**Howard Jacobson**, U. of Illinois, Urbana, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*

**Philip S. Kitcher**, U. of California, San Diego, La Jolla, *Progress, Rationality, and the Growth of Science*

**Mark I. Seltzer**, Cornell U., Ithaca, NY, *The Culture of Realism: The Body and the Machine in American Realist Literary and Social Discourse*

#### COLLEGE TEACHERS AND INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

**Russel L. Barsh**, Unaffiliated, *A History of Native American Initiatives, 1890–1935*

**Catherine M. Bell**, U. of Santa Clara, CA, *Chinese Morality Books: Printing and Religious Texts*

**Michael Fobes Brown**, Williams College, Williamstown, MA, *Myth and Politics in a Peruvian Guerrilla Conflict, Satipo, 1965*

**Judith L. Elkin**, Unaffiliated, *Absent from the Creation: Jews and the Cultural Transformation of the New World*

**Richard A. Fine**, Virginia Commonwealth U., Richmond, *The Politics of the American Authors' Authority: James M. Cain's 1946 Plan to Organize Writers*

**Norman J. Gevitz**, U. of Illinois, Chicago, *Caring for One's Self: A History of Domestic Medicine in the United States, 1860–1985*

**John S. Gilkeson, Jr.**, Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT, *The Domestication of "Culture" in Interwar America, 1919–41*

**Elaine R. Hedges**, Towson State U., Baltimore, MD, *Praise within the Gates: The Quilt Culture of 19th-Century American Women*

**Adrienne Lash Jones**, Oberlin College, OH, *A History of Black Women in the Young Women's Christian Association*

**Marnie Cullen Jones**, U. of North Florida, Jacksonville, *The American Dreams of Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones*

**Alice S. Klak**, Eastern Oregon State College, La Grande, *Graphics of the Women's Suffrage Campaign*

**Anthony Mattina**, U. of Montana, Missoula, *Native American Texts: Genres of Colville-Okanagan Narratives*



**Deborah G. Mayo**, Virginia Polytechnic Inst. & State U., Blacksburg, *Philosophy of Statistics and the Rationality of Experimental Science*  
**John P. McWilliams, Jr.**, Middlebury College, VT, *A Biography of Hector St. John de Crevecoeur*  
**Stephen J. Pyne**, Arizona State U., Phoenix, *A Cultural History of Fire in Australia*  
**Martha A. Sandweiss**, Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Ft. Worth, TX, *Photography and the American West, 1839–1920*  
**Joan L. Severa**, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, *Dressed for the Photographer: A Study of Ordinary Americans*  
**Elaine M. Smith**, Alabama State U., Montgomery, *A Biography of Mary McLeod Bethune*

## HBCU GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS

**Patricia B. Hutto**, Clark College, Atlanta, GA, *American Studies: Black American Fiction*  
**Elsie A. Williams**, U. of the District of Columbia, Washington, DC, *American Studies: Black American Humor*

## YOUNGER SCHOLARS

**Sonda T. Allen**, Saint Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City, *The Harlem Renaissance in Baltimore, 1915–35*  
**Kenneth R. Ashworth**, Columbia U., NYC, *The Symbolic Language of Finnegans Wake*  
**W. David Ayers**, Secondary School, San Diego, CA, *California Native Americans: The Image Explored*  
**Eric G. Balaban**, U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, *Three Black Boxing Champions: Their Roles in Race Relations and Afro-American Culture*  
**Mary C. Berger**, U. of Notre Dame, IN, *The Idea of Virtue in Madison's Political Thought*  
**Noam J. Christopher**, Secondary School, NYC, *Black Autobiographies and Their Sociohistorical Context*  
**Marla E. Eisenberg**, Secondary School, Duluth, MN, *Feminist Arguments in Greek Antiquity and Modern Tradition*  
**Una W. Fahy**, Marymount Manhattan College, NYC, *Shakespeare's Influence on Verdi*  
**Sarah K. Flotten**, Kenyon College, Gambier, OH, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Minnesota, 1894–1923*  
**Kevin S. Fontenot**, Louisiana College, Pineville, *"One Word Engraved: Honor": The Influence of Southern Honor on the Work of Robert Penn Warren*  
**John W. Gastil**, Swarthmore College, PA, *African Independence, Ideal and Reality: A Comparative History of Nigeria and Cameroon, 1960–85*  
**Colleen A. Griffin**, Secondary School, Orange, CA, *Manners and Morals of 18th-Century England as Seen through Fielding, Hogarth, and Gay*  
**Jonathan B. Ivry**, Cornell U., Ithaca, NY, *Comparative Romanticism: Berlioz and Byron*  
**Gerri-Kai Jackson**, Spelman College, Atlanta, GA, *Inside the Ghetto: Survival Strategies of Black Mothers*  
**Debra F. Laefer**, Columbia U., NYC, *Demographic Changes in Brooklyn after World War II*  
**Katherine Mooney**, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA, *Literary Views of Law and Lawyers in Early America*  
**Lee O. Newman**, Secondary School, Baltimore, MD, *The Elizabethan Influence on Shakespeare's Kings*  
**Khiem D. Nguyen**, Virginia Commonwealth U., Richmond, *Monsters of the Renaissance: The Humane Views of an Essayist and a Surgeon*  
**Maimarie Lynn Parker**, Secondary School, Ann Arbor, MI, *Methodism in a Small Midwestern Town*  
**Wendie Ellen Schneider**, Secondary School, Ann Arbor, MI, *The Rebellion of February, 1986 in the Philippines*  
**Anand P. Shah**, Secondary School, Pittsford, NY, *The Validity and Significance of the Works of Henry Adams*

**Maria K. Spurgeon**, U. of Saint Thomas, Houston, TX, *Women in Nazi Germany as Seen in the Works of Edith Stein and Gertrud Von Le Fort*  
**Beverly G. Wachtel**, Secondary School, Rye, NY, *Imagism and the American Avant-Garde*  
**Trisa E. Watson**, Secondary School, Portland, OR, *The Emerging Black Woman: Self and Society*  
**Whitney E. Williams**, Secondary School, Fresno, CA, *The Jeffersonian Tradition in American Education and Its Classical Antecedents*  
**Michelle L. Zimmerman**, Secondary School, Central, SC, *Tomorrow Began Yesterday: Contributions of Women to Clemson University*

## SUMMER SEMINARS FOR COLLEGE TEACHERS

**Stephen G. Brush**, U. of Maryland, College Park, *Development of the Modern Scientific World View*  
**Everett T. Mendelsohn**, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA, *The Social History of Science*  
**Ann L. Middleton**, U. of California, Berkeley, *Late Medieval Lives: Representing the Self in History and Literature*

## SUMMER STIPENDS

**Ronald H. Baylor**, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, *Race and Urban Development: The Shaping of 20th-Century Atlanta*  
**Thomas H. Broman**, Michigan State U., East Lansing, *Professional Education in 18th-Century Germany: The Case of Medicine*  
**Cleophus Charles**, Berea College, KY, *Roy Wilkins's Childhood Environment and Education and Their Effects on His Ethnic Identity, Career, and Philosophy*  
**Dino Cinel**, Tulane U. of Louisiana, New Orleans, *Sicilian Immigrants in New Orleans: From Individualism to Assimilation*  
**James E. Force**, U. of Kentucky, Lexington, *Isaac Newton's Notion of God's "Dominion": Unity in Newton's Theological, Scientific, and Political Thought*  
**Albert J. Gedicks**, U. of Wisconsin, La Crosse, *Working-Class Radicalism among Finnish Immigrants in Midwestern Mining Communities*  
**Elliott J. Gorn**, Miami U., Oxford, OH, *American Sports: A Cultural History*  
**Richard A. Grusin**, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, *Art, Science, and Ideology in Late 19th-Century America: The Development of National Parks*  
**Graham R. Hodges**, Colgate U., Hamilton, NY, *The Afro-American Drive to Freedom in New York and Eastern New Jersey, 1664–1799*  
**Timothy P. Jackson**, Stanford U., CA, *Ethics, Abominations, and Liberations: A Study in Moral Freedom and Limitation*  
**Kenneth F. Kiple**, Bowling Green State U., OH, *The Biological Consequences of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*  
**Russell J. Linnemann**, U. of Tennessee, Chattanooga, *Blues Music in the Mississippi Delta: An Oral History*  
**Lynn K. Nyhart**, Michigan State U., East Lansing, *Animal Morphology and the German University, 1850–1900*  
**Larry J. Reynolds**, Texas A&M U. Main Campus, College Station, *Dramatizations of the Capture of Major Andre: A Historical and Critical Study*  
**Ronald C. Sawyer**, SUNY Res. Fdn./Binghamton, NY, *Patients and Healers in Early Modern England*  
**Milton C. Sernett**, Syracuse U., NY, *Afro-American Religion and the Rural-to-Urban Exodus, 1910–30*  
**Amritjit Singh**, Rhode Island College, Providence, *Richard Wright's Later Nonfiction: The Novelist and His Politics*  
**Jacqueline S. Taylor**, DePaul U., Chicago, IL, *Grace Paley's Woman-Centered Fiction*  
**David H. Watters**, U. of New Hampshire, Durham, *Marriage in New England, 1660–1750*  
**Sheila F. Weiss**, Clarkson U., Potsdam, NY, *Primary and Secondary School Biology Education in the Third Reich*

**Roger A. Zapata**, Trinity College, Hartford, CT, *The Conquest of America through the Eyes of the Native American Chroniclers*  
**Leila C. Zenderland**, California State U., Fullerton Fdn., *Henry Herbert Goddard and the Origins of American Intelligence Testing*

## SUMMER SEMINARS FOR SCHOOL TEACHERS

**William E. Carroll**, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, IA, *Galileo: Religion and Science*  
**James S. Cutsinger**, U. of South Carolina, Columbia, *Coleridge and the Imagination*  
**William W. Dunham**, Ohio State U. Research Foundation, Columbus, *The Great Theorems of Mathematics in Historical Context*  
**Allie M. Frazier**, Hollins College, VA, *Literature of the Holocaust*  
**John E. Murdoch**, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA, *Aristotle's Natural Philosophy*  
**Hewson A. Ryan**, Tufts U., Medford, MA, *Origins of a Central American Ethos: The Popul Vuh and the Conquistadors*

## Jurisprudence

## YOUNGER SCHOLARS

**John D'Amato**, Canisius College, Buffalo, NY, *The Constitutional Tradition of Liberty in New York*  
**Tracey E. George**, Southern Methodist U., Dallas, TX, *Balancing the Scales: Justice Lewis Powell and the Death Penalty*

## SUMMER SEMINARS FOR COLLEGE TEACHERS

**David Daube**, U. of CA, Berkeley, *Biblical Law in Historical Perspective*

## SUMMER STIPENDS

**Michael H. Hoefflich**, U. of Illinois, Urbana, Champaign, *The American Civil War and the Development of Modern International Law*  
**Michla Pomerance**, Hebrew U., Israel, *The United States and the World Court from 1919 to the Present*  
**Shannon C. Stimson**, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA, *Revolution and Reform in the Law: England in the Mid-17th Century*

## Language and Linguistics

## UNIVERSITY TEACHERS

**Christina Y. Bethin**, SUNY Res. Fdn./Stony Brook Main Campus, NY, *The Syllable in Language: A Study of Polish*  
**Luigi Burzio**, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA, *The Assignment of Word Stress in English*  
**Gordon N. Hutner**, U. of Wisconsin, Madison, *Wharton and Dreiser: Essays on the Rhetoric of Fiction and American History*

## COLLEGE TEACHERS AND INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

**Roberta L. Krueger**, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY, *The Female Audience of 12th- and 13th-Century Old French Courtly Romance*  
**Jorge Olivares**, Colby College, Waterville, ME, *Texts in Reflection: Contemporary Spanish American Fiction*  
**John S. Rohsenow**, U. of Illinois, Chicago, *The Effects of Social and Technological Change on the Chinese Writing System*

## YOUNGER SCHOLARS

**Georgia L. Jansson**, Secondary School, Racine, WI, *Coverage of the Soviet Press in the U.S. Media: An Investigation of the Accuracy of Russian-English Translation*



**Jeffrey N. Peters**, Lawrence U., Appleton, WI, *The Quarrel of Le Cid and Its Place in 17th-Century French Culture*  
**Kristin Roberts**, Secondary School, Monument Valley, UT, *The Development of Navajo English Dialect*

#### SUMMER SEMINARS FOR COLLEGE TEACHERS

**Hans Aarsleff**, Princeton U., NJ, *Reflections on Language and the Nature of Man: 17th Century through Romanticism*  
**Lloyd F. Bitzer**, U. of Wisconsin, Madison, *Eighth-Century British Sources of Early American Rhetoric*

#### SUMMER STIPENDS

**Beth Daniell**, West Virginia U., Morgantown, *The Politics of Literacy*  
**Joseph D. Falvo**, U. of Maryland, College Park, *The Structure of Castiglione's Book of the Courtier*  
**Donald P. Haase**, Wayne State U., Detroit, MI, *German Exile Writers and the Fairy Tale*  
**A. Wesley Jones**, Mary College, Bismarck, ND, *A Dictionary and Grammar of the Native American Language Hidatsa*  
**John M. Lipski**, U. of Houston, U. Park, TX, *Vestigial Spanish of the Sabine River Area: The Linguistic Analysis of an Isolated Dialect*  
**Kevin J. McKenna**, U. of Vermont, Burlington, *The Image of the United States as Depicted in Pravda, 1947-72*  
**Salikoko S. Mufwene**, U. of GA, Athens, *Morphosyntax in the American Creole Language Gullah: The Preparation of a Reference Grammar*  
**Irmengard Rauch**, U. of California, Berkeley, *The Old Saxon Language: Preparation of a Grammar*  
**Margaret F. Rosenthal**, U. of Southern California, Los Angeles, *The Poetry of Veronica Franco (1546-1592)*  
**Kenneth J. Safir**, Rutgers U., New Brunswick, NJ, *The Grammatical Function Relativity Hypothesis and the Notion of "Subject"*  
**John V. Singler**, New York U., NY, *Liberian Settler English: A Case Study of Language Change*  
**Talbot J. Taylor**, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA, *The Influence of Locke's Puzzle on Linguistic Thought, 1689-1953*

## Literature

#### UNIVERSITY TEACHERS

**Russell A. Berman**, Stanford U., CA, *The Cultural Ramifications of German Colonialism in Africa*  
**Peter P. Brooks**, Yale U., New Haven, CT, *The Place of the Body in Modern Narrative*  
**Martine W. Brownley**, Emory U., Atlanta, GA, *Clio in Crises: English Historical Discourse during the Restoration and Early 18th Century*  
**Betsy J. Erkkila**, U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, *An Analysis of Selected Writings on the American Revolution*  
**M. Catherine Gallagher**, U. of California, Berkeley, *British Women Writers and the Literary Marketplace*  
**Trudier Harris**, U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, *Toni Morrison's Literary Folklore*  
**William V. Holtz**, U. of Missouri, Columbia, *Laura's Daughter: The Life of Rose Wilder Lane*  
**James L. Kugel**, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA, *The Joseph Story in Early Biblical Commentaries*  
**Walter J. Meserve**, Indiana U., Bloomington, *American Dramatic Literature, 1850-89: Volume 3 of a Six-Volume History*  
**Wilson J. Moses**, Brown U., Providence, RI, *Black Literary Culture before the Harlem Renaissance*  
**John Riely**, Boston U., MA, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Critical Biography*  
**Raymond P. Scheindlin**, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, NY, *Medieval Hebrew Religious Poetry and Its Transformation under the Influence of Arabic Humanism*

**Frank C. Shuffelton**, U. of Rochester, NY, Thomas Jefferson and the Republic of Letters  
**Diana A. Wilson**, U. of Denver, CO, *Cervantes's Allegory of Love: The Labors of Persiles*  
**Ruth B. Yeazell**, U. of California, Los Angeles, *Modesty in the 18th- and 19th-Century Novel*

#### COLLEGE TEACHERS AND INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

**Peter A. Antelyes**, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY, *Strategies of Concealment: Secrecy and Selfhood in Black American Autobiography*  
**Ilona D. Bell**, Williams College, Williamstown, MA, *We Adventured Equally: Renaissance Love Poets and Ladies*  
**Kevin Brownlee**, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, *Courtly Poetry and History in Late Medieval French Literature*  
**Edward J. Brunner**, Johnson County Auditor's Office, Iowa City, IA, *The Writings of W.S. Merwin, American Poet*  
**Philippe Carrard**, U. of Vermont, Burlington, *Poetics of the New History: French Historical Writing since the 1960s*  
**Stephen M. Fallon**, U. of Notre Dame, IN, *Milton and 17th-Century Metaphysics*  
**Susanne G. Fusso**, Wesleyan U., Middletown, CT, *Gogol's Dead Souls: The Aesthetics of Disrupted Order*  
**Rita B. Goldberg**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Lexington, *Compassion and the New Humanity in 18th-Century Literature*  
**Marshall Scott Grossman**, Fordham U., NY, *Rhetoric of the Self in the Narrative Poetry of the British Renaissance*  
**Charles Hartman**, SUNY Res. Fdn./Albany, NY, *Symbolic Landscapes in Chinese Poetry of the T'ang and Sung Dynasties*  
**Charles R. Isenberg**, Reed College, Portland, OR, *The Frame-Narrative in Russian Fiction*  
**Amy Kaplan**, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MA, *The Imperial Imagination in Late 19th-Century America*  
**Carol Farley Kessler**, Pennsylvania State U., Delaware Campus, Media, *New Lives, New Worlds: Utopian Novels by American Women, 1836 to the Present*  
**William P. McCarthy**, Iowa State U., Ames, *A Biography of Anna Laetitia Barbauld*  
**John P. McGowan**, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, NY, *Postmodernism and Its Critics*  
**Donna T. Orwin**, Unaffiliated, *The Evolution of Leo Tolstoy's Art and Thought*  
**Julia Przybos**, CUNY Res. Fdn./Hunter College, NY, *French Decadent Writers and the Social Realm*  
**Michael Ragussis**, Georgetown U., Washington, DC, *Figures of Conversion: Jewish Identity and English Fiction*  
**William E. Ray, Jr.**, Reed College, Portland, OR, *Narration and Narrative in the 18th-Century Novel*  
**John A. Sekora**, North Carolina Central U., Durham, *Black Message, White Envelope: The Nature of the Slave Narrative*  
**Thomas F. Walsh**, Georgetown U., Washington, DC, *Katherine Anne Porter and Mexico*  
**Cecile C. Zorach**, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, PA, *The Geographical Expedition in 20th-Century Fiction*

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**Janet J. Montelaro**, Southern U., Baton Rouge, LA, *English Literature*  
**Hermine D. Pinson**, Texas Southern U., Houston, *Thematic Study of the Poetry of Melvin B. Tolson*  
**Ronald C. Samples**, Texas Southern U., Houston, *Henry James and the Common Touch*

#### YOUNGER SCHOLARS

**Alice L. Batt**, U. of Scranton, PA, *Innovative Aural Effects in the Poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt*  
**Gregory R. Bell**, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA, *A Jungian Account of the Grotesque in Flannery O'Connor's Fiction*

**Chaya G. Bhuvaneswar**, Secondary School, NY, *Indian Oral Tradition in Greater New York*  
**Stuart M. Brand**, Secondary School, Huntingdon Vally, PA, *William Blake's Influence on William Butler Yeats's Concept of Time and History in A Vision*

**Alan J. Brew**, Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, MN, *A Technical Analysis of the "Sound of Sense" in the Poetry of Robert Frost*

**Rafael J. Burgos-Mirabal**, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA, *Averroes's Thought in La Celestina*  
**Linda A. Camarasana**, Trenton State College, NJ, *Late 18th-Century European Politics and the Poetry of William Wordsworth*

**Miriam J. Cohen**, Secondary School, Park Forest, IL, *The Works of Bernard Malamud and the Book of Job*

**Lorie A. Damon**, Hood College, Frederick, MD, *Portraits of American Aristocracies in "Lost Generation" Literature*

**Lisa M. Diamond**, Secondary School, Los Angeles, CA, *Moral and Economic Implications of Ayn Rand's Writings*

**Michael J. Donally**, Reed College, Portland, OR, *Three Russian Children's Authors in Search of an Audience*

**Ira L. Dove**, Georgia Southern College, Statesboro, *Native American Self Concept in Native American Short Fiction*

**Alain-Rene W. Epp**, Bethel College, North Newton, KS, *"I Prefer Not To": The Moral Nature of Refusal in Melville's Fiction*

**Marjorie G. Feasler**, Pennsylvania State Univ., DuBois, *The Catholic Motif of The Great Gatsby*

**Anne-Lise Francois**, Yale U., New Haven, CT, *Extensions of Pastoral in Three Victorian Poets*

**Andrea K. Fullen**, U. of Kansas, Lawrence, *A Quiet Rebellion: The Lives and Poetry of Nora B. Cunningham and May Williams Ward*

**Randall G. Gentry**, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, *An Examination of Deaf Literature and Deaf Human Rights*

**Suzanne C. Hagedorn**, Princeton U., NJ, *Constructing a Female Literary Tradition: A Study of the Writings of Aphra Behn*

**Michael G. Idinopulos**, Secondary School, Cincinnati, OH, *Im Westen Nichts Neues (All Quiet on the Western Front): A New Translation*

**Karen L. Julka**, U. of Notre Dame, IN, *The Influence of Garcilaso and Quevedo on the Poetry of Ruben Dario*

**Shawn D. Kimmel**, Indiana/Purdue U., Indianapolis, *A Comparative Study of Human Nature in Melville's The Confidence Man and G.W. Harris's Sut Lovingood's Yarns*

**Michael J. Knapp**, Boise State U., ID, *The History of the Cincinnati Dial: A Study in the Relationship between Literature and Culture*

**Timothy R. Libretti**, Cornell U., Ithaca, NY, *The Question of Realism in Howells and James*

**Patricia L. Loughran**, Rutgers U., New Brunswick, NJ, *Nabokov's Narrative License*

**Lisa L. Madeker**, Wittenberg U., Springfield, OH, *Heian Japan: History through Literature*

**Richard A. Majerus**, Central U. of Iowa, Pella, *The Influence of Shakespeare on Whitman's Leaves of Grass*

**Zita P. Marzocchi**, U. of Rochester, NY, *Dramatic Conventions and Modes of Representation in the Writing of Geoffrey Chaucer*

**John E. Mennel**, Secondary School, Dallas, TX, *The Role of Insanity in 20th-Century Culture*

**Michele L. Morgan**, U. of Cincinnati, OH, *Sylvia Plath's Philosophy of Art*

**John M. G. Plotz**, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA, *The Shipbound Narratives of Melville and Conrad*

**Beth S. Posner**, Bryn Mawr College, PA, *Virginia Woolf: Theory and Practice*

**Michael Ravitch**, Yale U., New Haven, CT, *Blake and Freud: Transformative Systems*

**Leonard F. Rinchiuso**, Duquesne U., Pittsburgh, PA, *Social History and Literary Representation in Jane Austen's Persuasion*

**Elen Miriam Roklina**, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA, *Aleksandr Grin and Mikhail Bulgakov: Two*



Writers' Responses to Soviet Political, Social, and Artistic Reality

**Albert C. Sears**, Dominican College of San Rafael, CA, *Pontius Pilate and the Literary Tradition*

**Beverly A. Smith**, Secondary School, Wakefield, RI, *A Psycho-Literary Analysis of Salinger's Monomorphic Protagonists*

#### SUMMER SEMINARS FOR COLLEGE TEACHERS

**Anna Balakian**, Hofstra U., Hempstead, NY, *Dada and Surrealism Revisited*

**Victor H. Brombert**, Princeton U., NJ, *The Modern Anti-Hero*

**Peter Conn**, U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, *The American 1930s: Art and Politics in the Depression*

**Morris Dickstein**, CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College, NYC, *The Thirties: Literature and Culture*

**Edgar A. Dryden**, U. of Arizona, Tucson, *The Theory of American Romance*

**Emory B. Elliott**, Princeton U., NJ, *History and the Novel in America*

**Jane Gallop**, U. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, *Feminist Criticism: Issues in Literary Theory*

**Sander L. Gilman**, Cornell U., Ithaca, NY, *Humanities and Medicine*

**Alvin B. Kernan**, Princeton U., NJ, *Literature as a Socially Constructed Reality, 1740-1980*

**Arthur C. Kirsch**, U. of Virginia, Charlottesville, *Shakespeare and Human Experience*

**Mark Krupnick**, U. of Illinois, Chicago, *American Cultural Criticism, 1915-65*

**James Olney**, Louisiana State Univ. and A&M College, Baton Rouge, *The Forms of Autobiography*

**Francois Rigolot**, Princeton U., NJ, *Modern Critical Theory and French Narrative*

**Thomas P. Roche, Jr.**, Princeton U., NJ, *Romance and Dramatic Form: Sidney, Shakespeare, and the English Renaissance*

**Daniel R. Schwarz**, Cornell U., Ithaca, NY, *Critical Perspectives on the Early 20th-Century British Novel*

**Martin Stevens**, U. of California, Los Angeles, *The Ellesmere Chaucer and Towneley Plays Manuscripts: The 15th-Century Handwritten Book as Literary Source*

#### SUMMER STIPENDS

**Judith P. Aikin**, U. of Iowa, Iowa City, *Creating a Language for German Opera: The Development of Verse-Forms for Recitative and Aria in 17th-Century Germany*

**A. James Arnold**, U. of Virginia, Charlottesville, *Aime Cesaire: Lyric and Dramatic Poetry, 1946-82*

**Janet L. Beizer**, U. of Virginia, Charlottesville, *Hysteria as Metaphor in the Work of 19th-Century French Novelists*

**Ilona D. Bell**, Williams College, Williamstown, MA, *Renaissance Love Poets and Renaissance Ladies*

**Harry Berger, Jr.**, U. of California, Santa Cruz, *The Stage/Page Dialectic in Shakespearean Interpretation*

**Jeannine Blackwell**, U. of Kentucky, Lexington, *Religious and Witchcraft Confessions Made by German-Speaking People, 1300-1750*

**Linda M. Brooks**, Florida Atlantic U., Boca Raton, *The Romantic Sublime: Its Relation to Modern and Postmodern Thought*

**Susan S. Brown**, Manatee Junior College, Bradenton, FL, *James Joyce's Modernist Aesthetic: The Marriage of Physics and Form*

**William E. Cain**, Wellesley College, MA, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois and the Politics of Literature*

**Marilyn R. Chandler**, Mills College, Oakland, CA, *The Image of the House in American Fiction*

**Lorraine J. Clark**, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MO, *The Social Contract in Wordsworth and Rousseau*

**Deborah L. Clarke**, Eastern Illinois U., Charleston, *Women and the Fantastic in the Work of William Faulkner*

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#### YOUNGER SCHOLARS

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PROGRAMS

DEADLINES

GUIDE



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## Division of Education Programs—*Jerry L. Martin, Director 786-0373*

Higher Education in the Humanities—*Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380*

October 1, 1988

April 1989

Elementary and Secondary Education in the Humanities—*Linda Spoerl 786-0377*

January 8, 1989

July 1989

Teacher-Scholar Program for Elementary and Secondary School Teachers—  
*Linda Spoerl 786-0377*

May 15, 1989

December 1989

## Division of Fellowships and Seminars—*Guinevere L. Griest, Director 786-0458*

Fellowships for University Teachers—*Maben D. Herring 786-0466*

June 1, 1988

January 1, 1989

Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars—*Karen Fuglie 786-0466*

June 1, 1988

January 1, 1989

Fellowships on the Foundations of American Society—*Hrach Gregorian 786-0466*

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January 1, 1989

Summer Stipends—*Joseph B. Neville 786-0466*

October 1, 1988

May 1, 1989

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March 15, 1989

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March 1, 1989

Summer 1989

Directors

March 1, 1989

Summer 1990

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Summer 1989

Directors

April 1, 1989

Summer 1989

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Humanities Projects in Media—*James Dougherty 786-0278*

September 16, 1988

April 1, 1989

Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations—*Marsha Semmel 786-0284*

June 10, 1988

January 1, 1989

Public Humanities Projects—*Wilsonia Cherry 786-0271*

September 16, 1988

April 1, 1989

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Planning

August 5, 1988

January 1, 1989

Implementation

September 16, 1988

April 1, 1989



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Editions—David Nichols 786-0207	June 1, 1988	April 1, 1989
Translations—Martha Chomiak 786-0207	June 1, 1988	April 1, 1989
Publication Subvention—Margot Backas 786-0207	April 1, 1989	October 1, 1990

**Reference Materials**—Charles Meyers 786-0358

Tools—Helen Aguera 786-0358	November 1, 1988	July 1, 1989
Access—Jane Rosenberg 786-0358	November 1, 1988	July 1, 1989

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Regrants for International Research—David Coder 786-0204	March 15, 1989	January 1, 1990
Regrants in Selected Areas—David Coder 786-0204	March 15, 1989	January 1, 1990

## Division of State Programs—Marjorie A. Berlincourt, Director 786-0254

Each state humanities council establishes its own grant guidelines and application deadlines. Addresses and telephone numbers of these state programs may be obtained from the division.

## Office of Challenge Grants—Harold Cannon, Director 786-0361

May 1, 1988

December 1, 1988

## Office of Preservation—George F. Farr, Jr., Senior Preservation Officer 786-0570

Preservation—George F. Farr, Jr. 786-0570	June 1, 1988	January 1, 1989
U.S. Newspaper Program—Jeffrey Field 786-0570	June 1, 1988	January 1, 1989

Guidelines are available from the Office of Publications and Public Affairs two months in advance of the application deadlines.

Telecommunications device for the deaf: 786-0282.

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