

A Survey of the Duplicate Pages in Wittgenstein's TS 210, TS 211 and TS 213

1. Introduction

In his catalogue of the *Nachlass*¹, G.H. von Wright writes, "A few pages [of TS 211] are missing, but can be identified in 213. Photocopies of the missing pages have been inserted."

In the course of transcription work at the Wittgenstein Archives, however, it became apparent that these replacements need detailed documentation. They have been taken from various versions of TS 213 and are not marked as copies, such that the unwary reader is likely to take them in good faith to be authentic².

In addition to the pages shared with TS 211, TS 213 also contains two pages removed from TS 210. These have also been replaced in their source by Xerox copies.

The aim of this survey has been a better documentation of the replaced pages in TS 210 and TS211.

¹ The classification of Wittgenstein's *Nachlass* is according to G.H. von Wright's catalogue (in: Georg Henrik von Wright (1982) *Wittgenstein* Oxford: Basil Blackwell).

² In this context authentic can mean two things: firstly, that the page as a physical object was handled and produced by Wittgenstein himself; secondly, that there was a page of this description among the pages of a particular *Nachlass* item such as the *Nachlass* was left to us. The restored pages in TSS 210 and 211 are authentic in neither of these senses.

2. Background

Wittgenstein compiled TS 213 from three previous typescripts. He produced a rough draft for the new work by rearranging fragments from TS 208, TS 210 and TS 211. The resultant collection of cuttings has survived largely intact, and is listed by von Wright as TS 212. From this collage, and making only negligible alterations to the text, Wittgenstein then dictated a clean copy of the work, ensuring, as usual, that the typist produced at least one carbon copy. It is this final clean version (and often only the top copy thereof) which is now referred to as the *Big Typescript* (TS 213).

All of TS 208, TS 210 and TS 211 once existed at least in duplicate – as top copy and one or more carbon copies. The top copies of TSS 210 and 211 have survived more or less intact. The carbon copies, on the other hand, served as raw material for Wittgenstein's cut-and-paste technique of revising his texts.³

In preparing the collage TS 212, most of the material from TS 210 and TS 211 was cut into fragments of less than a page in length. But occasionally Wittgenstein was satisfied with larger spans of the original text and was able to incorporate in his draft whole pages from the source typescripts. Later, during the stage of dictating from this rough version, the intact pages were transferred yet again from the collage into the final, clean copy. Thus TS 213 – the ultimate product of this process – now contains pages which were once physically part of TS 210 and TS 211.

³ Of TS 208 97 pages have survived intact; the rest exist mainly as cuttings in TSS 209 and 212. See Heinz Wilhelm Krüger (1993) "Die Entstehung des *Big Typescript*" Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky (Akten des 15. Internationalen Wittgenstein-Symposiums), pp. 303-312, and Alois Pichler (1994) *Untersuchungen zu Wittgensteins Nachlaß* Bergen: Working Papers from the Wittgenstein Archives at the University of Bergen, pp. 31ff.

In total there are 75 such adoptive pages in TS 213. Of these 73 are taken from TS 211 and 2 from TS 210. In their new context these pages are easily recognisable due to their double pagination. Central in the upper margin – and invariably undeleted – is the number the page had in its position in the source typescript, while the number that marks its position in TS 213 has been added in the upper right-hand corner.

Since Wittgenstein was producing not just a top, but also a carbon copy of TS 213, he needed more than one copy of the source pages that were to be transferred intact. This need was met by plundering the otherwise untouched top copies of TS 210 and TS 211. Top pages from the source TSS took their places in the top copy of TS 213 while carbon copies from the sources were inserted into the carbon copy of the new work.

In this way conspicuous gaps appeared in the top copies of TS 210 and TS 211, – and it is these gaps which von Wright mentions as being filled with photocopies. For all but three pages of TS 211 – which, according to the *Nachlass* reproductions available at the Wittgenstein Archives, are still missing – these photocopies have been taken from TS 213 and inserted into the earlier TSS as proxies, thus leaving the originals where Wittgenstein last placed them in TS 213.

If the *Nachlass* is to be restored at all, then this is probably the only defensible strategy. It is at least more defensible than the alternative, of returning the shared pages to their original homes and putting the Xerox copies instead into TS 213. What confuses matters, however, is that the Xerox copies were made, sometimes from the top copy of TS 213, which is rich in later annotation, sometimes from the carbon copy, and sometimes even from a transcription – which in all probability was made long after Wittgenstein's death, and therefore has no real claim to be regarded as part of the *Nachlass*.

3. Sources

This survey is based on the evidence of two facsimile sources: the Cornell edition (1968) and a more recent microfilm of the holdings at Trinity College Library⁴.

The Trinity microfilm (TMF) consists of 11 rolls of microfilm. All items involved in this study are to be found on rolls 1 and 2. Roll 1 contains TS 210, TS 211 pp. 1-686, and a carbon copy of TS 213 pp. 0-528. Roll 2 contains the remainder of TS 211 (with an overlap of two pages, hence pp. 685-771) and the 'definitive' version of TS 213 (complete and, in its earlier parts, heavily annotated).

TS 210 is not contained in the Cornell edition. The version of TS 211 captured in Cornell (volumes 88A-C) is evidently the same as that on the TMF. Thus we have to contend with only one version of each of these items.

The case of TS 213 is more complex.

The Cornell paper edition of TS 213 fills four volumes, Cornell 89A-D. Volumes 89A to 89C reproduce pages 0-528 of the 'definitive' version of this typescript, i.e. the same as is found on roll 2 of the Trinity microfilm. Cornell volume 89D, however, does not continue with the same version. Instead it reproduces a transcription of the last 240 pages (pp. 529-768).

So far, it has not been possible to establish who made this transcription⁵. Indeed, it seems to have passed largely unnoticed

⁴ The electronic facsimile of the *Nachlass*, currently being prepared at the Wittgenstein Archives in collaboration with Oxford University Press, was not available at the time when this survey was made.

⁵ Although not pictured on the Trinity microfilm, it is possible that this transcription is now in the keeping of Trinity College Library. In a letter

that it is one. And perhaps not surprisingly. The potential for confusion with the authentic version is considerable. For the transcriber of these pages was evidently at pains to reproduce the original in every relevant – as well as a fair amount of irrelevant – detail. For example, the vast majority of line- and pagebreaks occur in exactly the same places as in the original, and even the double pagination of the pages adopted from TSS 210 and 211 has been reproduced.

The evidence that the pages in question are indeed a transcription is nonetheless sufficient. Of relevance for the pages studied by this survey is the fact that the typefaces of the original and the transcription are different. This difference is most apparent from a comparison of the numerals⁶.

4. Method

The method of this survey has been to compare closely the different copies of the double-paginated pages in these items. Study of the originals would doubtless have made this work much easier. Even so, evidence for the distinctions is visible and fairly consistent in the sources available.

to the Wittgenstein Archives of 5 August 1993, Jonathan Smith, the library's Manuscript Cataloguer, wrote that he had just been looking through some papers deposited at the library by the executors of Rush Rhees', amongst which he found "pp. 529-768 of a clean version of the Big Typescript which corresponds to the missing portion of our second copy".

⁶ For a more detailed account of the Trinity College transcription of pages 529-768 of TS 213, see Cripps, "Catalogue of the Trinity College Library Microfilm of Wittgenstein's *Nachlass*", also in this volume.

The most important aspects of comparison can be summarised as follows:

- On carbon copies the type generally appears fuzzier than it does on the corresponding top copies.

- Both top and carbon copies are occasionally annotated. Where this is the case there tends to be an easily distinguishable difference of tone between the typewriter pigment and the handwriting medium (ink or lead pencil). There are Xerox copies of annotated pages, but no Xerox copies with new (authentic) annotation (presumably all Xerox copies were made after Wittgenstein's death).

- Both top and carbon copies can exhibit noticeable variations in pigment density resulting from the varying pressure with which the keys were struck. This is not the case with Xerox copies, which generally show less differentiation of pigment tone. On Xerox copies the pigment of type and handwriting usually appears equally dense. Alternatively, what appears grey on a top or carbon copy frequently seems granular on the Xerox, and there are often granular shadings away from the centre of the page due to uneven light exposure.

- Xerox copies are generally recognisable from marks resulting from the mechanics of their production. Equally spaced along the top edge of most Xeroxed pages are a number of small "skid-marks", presumably made by the wheels that draw the paper through the machine.

- Many of the Xerox copies exhibit narrow shadowy stripes down the vertical edges, possibly the result of the image frame being larger than the depicted page (i.e. the stripes are a glimpse of darker background).

In most cases these features have been sufficient to allow a fairly safe classification of the relevant pages according to the distinctions top/carbon copy, original/Xerox copy. All four permutations of these distinctions occur among the results (original top copy (O), carbon copy of original (C), Xerox copy of original top (OX), and Xerox copy of carbon copy of original (CX)).

5. Table: Summary of the findings

O	=	original
T	=	transcription
C	=	carbon copy of original
X	=	xerox copy
a, b, c ...	=	annotated

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TS213				TS211			
p. no.	MF 1	MF 2	Crm. 89	p. no.	MF 1	MF 2	Crm. 88
392a	—	Ca	Ca	603	—	—	—
392b	ObX	Ob		603	ObX	—	ObX
393	OaX	Oa	OaX	604	OaX	—	OaX
394	OaX	Oa	OaX	605	OaX	—	OaX
395	OaX	Oa	OaX	606	OaX	—	OaX
396	OaX	Oa	OaX	607	OaX	—	OaX
397	OaX	Oa	OaX	608	OaX	—	OaX
398	OaX	Oa	OaX	609	OaX	—	OaX
451	C	Oa	C	714	—	OaX	OaX
452	C	Oa	C	715	—	OaX	OaX
453	C	Oa	C	716	—	OaX	OaX
457	C	Oa	C	524	CX	—	CX
471	C	Oa	C	534	CX	—	CX
474	C	Oa	C	529	CX	—	CX
475	C	Oa	C	530	CX	—	CX
512	Cb	Oa	Cb	766	—	OaX	OaX
513	C	Oa	C	767	—	OaX	OaX
514	C	Oa	C	768	—	OaX	OaX
515	C	Oa	C	769	—	OaX	OaX
533	—	O	T	424	TX	—	TX
534	—	O	T	425	TX	—	TX
535	—	O	T	426	TX	—	TX
536	—	O	T	427	TX	—	TX

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543	—	O	T	674	OX	—	missing
544	—	O	T	675	OX	—	missing
549	—	O	T	431	TX	—	TX
555	—	O	T	613	OX	—	OX
556	—	O	T	614	OX	—	OX
557	—	O	T	615	OX	—	OX
559	—	O	T	620	OX	—	OX
560	—	O	T	621	OX	—	OX
563	—	O	T	546	OX	—	OX
564	—	O	T	547	OX	—	OX
573	—	O	T	555	OX	—	OX
574	—	O	T	556	OX	—	OX
577	—	O	T	586	OX	—	OX
584	—	O	T	550	OX	—	OX
588	—	O	T	617	OX	—	OX
589	—	O	T	618	OX	—	OX
593	—	O	T	623	OX	—	OX
594	—	O	T	624	OX	—	OX
595	—	O	T	625	OX	—	OX
597	—	O	T	628	OX	—	OX
598	—	O	T	629	OX	—	OX
607	—	O	T	562	OX	—	OX
608	—	O	T	563	OX	—	OX
609	—	O	T	564	missing	—	missing
611	—	O	T	566	OX	—	OX

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TS213				TS210			
p. no.	MF 1	MF 2	Crn. 89	p. no.	MF 1	—	—

646	—	Oa	T	43	OX	—	—
647	—	Oa	T	44	OX	—	—

TS213				TS211			
p. no.	MF 1	MF 2	Crn. 89	p. no.	MF 1	MF 2	Crn. 88

654	—	C	T	692	—	CX	CX
655	—	C	T	693	—	CX	CX
664	—	C	T	699	—	CX	CX
668	—	C	T	686	CX	CX	CX
669	—	C	T	687	—	CX	CX
678	—	O	T	439	OX	—	OX
679	—	O	T	440	OX	—	OX
680	—	O	T	441	OX	—	OX
681	—	O	T	442	OX	—	OX
685	—	O	T	456	OX	—	OX
686	—	O	T	457	OX	—	OX
689	—	O	T	460	OX	—	OX
691	—	O	T	463	OX	—	OX
693	—	C	T	736	—	CX	CX
694	—	C	T	737	—	CX	CX
695	—	C	T	738	—	CX	CX
707	—	C	T	729	—	CX	CX

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708	—	C	T	730	—	CX	CX
733	—	C	T	634	CX	—	CX
734	—	C	T	635	CX	—	CX
742	—	C	T	650	CX	—	CX
743	—	C	T	651	CX	—	CX
754	—	C	T	653	CX	—	CX
757	—	C	T	719	—	CX	CX
759	—	C	T	721	—	CX	CX
760	—	C	T	722	—	CX	CX