Introduction

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In the early 1950s the historian Jacques Presser invented a new word: “egodocument”. He proposed to use his neologism for diaries, memoirs, personal letters and other forms of autobiographical writing. There was an obvious need for a generic and neutral term to cover this broad variety of textual forms. The word egodocument was quickly adopted by the public, and is now part of the Dutch language. Today the word has its own entry in Dutch dictionaries. Presser used the word egodocument for all texts in which an author wrote about his or her own feelings, thoughts and actions. He defined egodocuments as “those historical sources in which the user is confronted with an ‘I’, or occasionally (Caesar, Henry Adams) a ‘he’, continuously present in the text as the writing and describing subject”. Somewhat later, he formulated it more succinctly as “those documents in which an ego intentionally or unintentionally discloses, or hides itself...”. Texts in which an author writes about his or her own acts, thoughts and feelings would be the shortest definition.

Jacques Presser (1899-1970) was initially a history teacher at the Vossius Gymnasium in Amsterdam. In the early 1920s he already dedicated his studies to what he later was to call egodocuments. During the thirties his interest focussed on the French mémoires literature. Soon after the German occupation, Presser was dismissed from his teaching post at the Vossius Gymnasium. His dismissal, together with that of six other Jewish teachers, led to a strike by pupils of the school. In 1941 he was appointed as a teacher at the Joods Lyceum, a school that Jewish children from Amsterdam and surroundings were forced to attend. Among the pupils at this school was Anne Frank. In 1943 the school was closed and the pupils and teachers were deported, or went into hiding.

Jacques Presser went into hiding and survived. After the war he initially returned to teach at the Vossius Gymnasium, and a little later he became a lecturer, then professor at the University of Amsterdam. After the war, Presser lived at the home of another well-known Dutch historian, Jan Romein, his colleague at the University of Amsterdam. Jan Romein and his wife, Annie Romein-Verschoor, were among the first readers of Anne Frank’s diary, which circulated in typescript in their circle. Annie Romein wrote the introduction to the first edition of the diary. Presser himself wrote the introduction to another impressive war diary, that of Philip Mechanicus.

In 1949, Presser received an official commission to write the history of the Dutch Jews during the years of German occupation. Personal accounts and reports from both victims and perpetrators of the holocaust received his full attention. He con-
ducted several hundreds of interviews with other survivors, and with those, both Dutch and German, who had organised and carried out the holocaust.6 Again, but in an entirely different way, he became aware of the problems surrounding egodocuments, both oral and written. He was faced with people whose memories were so painful that they could not recount or even wanted to remember them, but also with people who unconsciously, but more often consciously changed and rewrote their memories. His book however, could not be written without using such sources. The book, titled Ondergang [Ashes in the Wind], was published in 1965 and immediately called forth numerous reactions, many of them positive, but also some negative ones. The main criticism was that the book was too subjective.7

Presser introduced the concept of egodocuments around 1950. He wrote a few articles on the subject, collected material, but did not get around to writing a book on this theme. He was mainly occupied with Ondergang, and the ensuing discussion. His plans for a study on egodocuments, were cut short by his death in 1970. Beside being a historian, Presser was also a poet and a novelist. His short novel De nacht der Girondijnen [The Night of the Girondists], published in 1957, was a literary parallel to his historical work Ondergang. The book was translated into English, German and other languages.8 In 1992 in a new English edition was published with a foreword by Primo Levi. Presser had an eye and an ear for the literary aspects that play a more important role in egodocuments than in the official sources that are more prominent in the hierarchy of historical documentation. Presser also started to write his own autobiography, but this never got beyond childhood memories of the Amsterdam of the early twentieth century, due to his premature death.9

Peter Burke was probably the first English author to espouse the word egodocu-
ment. Mary Lindemann’s recent article on the sources for social history in the Encyclopaedia of European Social History, also discusses the word, which is a sign of both the growing appreciation of this type of texts and the wide acceptance of the word egodocument itself. She points out that egodocuments are important for historians “by endowing ordinary lives with agency, dignity, and texture”. And she continues: “Egodocuments have demonstrated how the rigid categories constructed by historians preoccupied with studying large groups and big structures might be less confining in practice.”

The word has also been adopted in other languages. In Germany Winfried Schulze was the first to borrow the word. He proposed a more inclusive interpretation of Presser’s concept, however. In his view judicial interrogations, the curriculum vitae and all kinds of other official documents should also be regarded as egodocuments. Such a wide interpretation makes the concept unworkable, concluded Benigna von Krusenstjern in a reaction. In a more limited way the word “Egodokument” can now be used interchangeably with “Selbstzeugnis”. The concept was more recently also introduced and adopted into French by historians such as Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire.

Apart from discussing terminology, there is an ongoing debate among historians about the meaning of the terms they use, new or old. Today most scholars believe that it is not sufficient to classify a text as an egodocument on the sole grounds that it was written in the first person and contains personal information. Writing about autobiographies, Philippe Lejeune proposed that there must be a “pacte autobiographique” between author and reader. By this Lejeune indicated the reader’s assumption that the author, the narrator and the actor in the text are one and the same person. Ultimately, the decision to call a text an egodocument is subjective, and may vary from reader to reader.

Jacques Presser enthusiastically defended the use and study of egodocuments by historians. At that time, the 1950s and 1960s, this was rather exceptional, because most historians regarded egodocuments as a doubtful source. In those years the dominant style of history was a combination of quantitative methods based on serial sources, stretching over long periods, and primarily taken from governmental archives. History should be objective, and subjectivity had become taboo. This development made the use of egodocuments even more marginal than before.

The problematic nature of egodocuments again came to the fore in the public controversy around Friedrich Weinreb, who published his extensive memoirs in 1969. Presser had put him before the public as a Jewish resistance fighter, and that is how Weinreb presented himself in his memoirs, Collaboratie en Verzet 1940-1945 (Collaboration and Resistance 1940-1945). An official investigation, carried out by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation showed, however, that Weinreb was a fantasist and an impostor. The report was purely factual, but later Regina Grueter published a fascinating dissertation in which she critically analysed Weinreb’s autobiography itself.
In the 1980s the return of narrative history and the invention of microhistory raised the value of egodocuments considerably. In fact, the judgement of historians with regard to autobiographical writing had its ups and downs, ever since the word “autobiography”, another neologism, was introduced into various European languages around 1800. It was originally even considered to be the most reliable form of biography, because the text was written by its protagonist, the person who knew the story best. The first criticism came from the German historian Leopold von Ranke. He called the genre untrustworthy, and warned especially against commercially published French memoirs. The attitude towards egodocuments began to change subsequently. The final verdict was given in 1903 by another German historian, Hans Glagau. He showed that autobiographies had too many “roman-haften Bestandteile” [novel-like passages] to be trustworthy sources. Historians in other countries had become no less suspicious. In England G.P. Gooch formulated an even more severe verdict. After discussing several autobiographies he concluded: “The argument that an actor must know best what he had done, or attempted to do, breaks down again and again.” One of the cases analysed by Gooch was Adolf Hitler’s Mein Kampf which was translated into English with the word autobiography in the title: Hitler's Autobiography, My Battle. Since then the book has no longer been regarded as an autobiography, but Werner Maser has rightfully included those aspects in his analytic study of the text.

At the lowest ebb of their popularity egodocuments were rediscovered by historians of ideas. Jacob Burckhardt, and after him Wilhelm Dilthey and George Misch, saw such texts as the expression of a growing individualism since the Middle Ages. In 1907 Misch published the first part of his Geschichte der Autobiographie. In this volume he only discussed classical antiquity. After a lifetime of study, other volumes followed between 1955 and 1962, covering the Middle Ages. Misch’s miscellaneous work, covering the 16th to 19th centuries, was posthumously published in 1969. Only the first volume was translated into English, but his insights were made accessible to the English speaking world through scholars like Karl Joachim Weintraub, William C. Spengemann and Roy Pascal, and the more philosophically oriented studies of George Gusdorf in France. Two lesser known but classic studies should also be mentioned here. In 1909 Anna Robeson Burr published The Autobiography. Her book was based on 260 texts, and she used an innovating, comparative approach. Burr sorted authors according to occupation, and tried to link texts to the social background of their authors. In Das europäische Tagebuch, Gustav René Hocke discussed some 500 diaries from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. Misch was Hocke’s main example, but the psychology of Carl Jung and the philosophy of Martin Heidegger were also of great influence on his rather a-historical search for “Gründerfahrungen der menschliche Existenz” [basic experiences of human existence]. Not all such experiences were to Hocke’s taste, and he fulminated against some pornographic diaries he had come across.

Another group of historians started studying and using egodocuments more re-
Jacob de Vos kept a diary in sketches for his children. On 11 November 1803 he made a drawing of himself showing them the new sketchbook he had bought for them: ‘Ha! ha! Here comes papa with a new book.’ From Eveline Koolhaas-Grosfeld, Father and Sons: Jacob de Vos Wzn. (1774-1844) and the Journals He Drew for his Children (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001) Series Egodocuments 24, p. 114.

cently. For the history of mentalities, and especially for microhistory, such texts seem ideal sources. Alan Macfarlane published his groundbreaking study on the diary of Ralph Josselin in 1970, followed a few years later by an edition of the diary itself.28 There are some earlier examples, such as Iris Origo’s study The Merchant of Prato based on the letters exchanged by the Italian merchant Francesco Datini (c. 1335-1410) and his wife.29 As early as 1914, L. Rice-Oxley defended the genre, writing that “to modern historians memoirs are dangerously flavoured, yet what value they have must be recognised”. That value was “the fresh, vital atmosphere from the past” and “the spirit of life” which could be found in such texts.30 Today, this remark may seem naive, but it explains why, despite the scorn of historians, the wider public has always been interested in egodocuments.

In recent years more and more studies on cultural history were primarily based on egodocuments, and at the same time more and more studies appeared which were exclusively dedicated to such texts. Authors like Lawrence Stone, Peter Gay, Natalie Davis, James Amelang, and Daniel Roche, to name only a few, have written influential studies.31 Some publications taking this approach opened entirely new fields of study, such as the work by Dorothy and Roy Porter on the experience of
medical patients in the past. Several historians, including Robert Darnton have pointed out the usefulness of egodocuments for the study of reading practices. In England the large scale project “Reading Experience Database” brings together readers’ notes from 1450 to 1914 gathered from egodocuments. Among the many other subjects which can be explored using egodocuments, is the history of dreams and dreaming, as shown by Peter Burke. The methods used range from detailed analysis of a single text to statistical processing of large numbers of texts. A recent example of the latter approach is Andrew Miles’s study on social mobility in England in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in which he analysed a corpus of 479 working-class biographies. How the study of individual egodocuments must be tied in to the study of social history is a problem exercising historians. Fortunately, the discussion is past the stage of the one question whether a certain text is “representative” or not. The alteration in the appraisal of egodocuments as a genre must be regarded as an aspect of the cultural or linguistic turn in history. Some historians even expect to find in such texts all the answers they had been looking for in vain elsewhere. More recently, however, there has been a growing awareness of the complexity of these texts, and of the difficulties involved in interpreting them or in using them as a source. Moreover, doubts have arisen about the chronological-teleological approach taken by Misch and his followers. The recent work of Michael Mascuch offers an alternative view. He sees autobiographical writing mainly as a cultural practice, as a public show of self-identity. In his view, an autobiography is not primarily the reconstruction of the life of the author, but the construction of an identity. In the textual ambivalence of egodocuments the flexible, shifting and chameleonic character of personal identities are reflected. A change in the appreciation of autobiographical writing has also taken place in the field of literary studies and literary history. Here egodocuments have until recently also been viewed as a marginal genre. Such texts were not regarded as literature if only because they were not fictional. Since the 1980s the status of autobiographical texts has risen considerably in these disciplines. It became clear – and historians were the first to point this out – that egodocuments had a fictional aspect. And while this aspect increasingly deterred historians, it started to attract literary critics. In 1968 Stephen Shapiro published an article titled “The dark continent of literature”, in which he encouraged his colleagues to explore this vast territory. To begin with, egodocuments were identified as the origin of the modern novel. Literary historians have always concentrated on the genre of autobiography, much less on the diary and other forms. Like historians, they initially adopted a chronological-teleological perspective. The birth of modern autobiography was situated in the second half of the eighteenth century, with Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s Confessions as an influential example. Often the Confessions by Saint Augustine were seen as a forerunner or a prefiguration. Further steps towards modern autobiographical writing were found in the Renaissance with authors like Benvenuto
Cellini and Gerolamo Cardano, and in Protestant England, with John Bunyan.

As a separate genre, autobiography was only established around 1800. It was seen as a significant detail that the word autobiography was only then introduced into English and other languages. The context in which the development of the genre was placed, was what was called the discovery of the individual in Western Europe. This, in turn, was linked with the rise of the bourgeoisie, and a widening gap between public and private spheres of life. However, more recently this body of historical thought has been fundamentally questioned. The idea took shape that “the discovery of the individual” was in itself a literary construction. And by defining Rousseau’s Confessions, and comparable works by authors like Goethe, Benjamin Franklin, and Stendhal, as “modern autobiography”, scholars have excluded many other forms of autobiographical writing. In fact the study of autobiography as a literary genre has mainly been based on circular reasoning: by lifting out a limited corpus of texts and labelling them as autobiography, other texts became marginalised in the process. In the last two decades, in reaction to this, scholars of literature have started studying autobiographical writings that were left out of the traditional canon, especially those written by women, labourers, and non-Europeans, like native Amerindians and slaves in America. In short, the literary canon is in the process of being revised – or even abolished. This is not without consequences for historians.

Literary critics have developed growing doubts about the traditional division and hierarchy of literary genres. No literary critic would today maintain that there is a sharp dividing line between autobiography and the novel; no historian today would maintain that there is a clear dividing line between the “facts” of a non-fictional text and the “fiction” of a literary text. It is precisely the hybrid character of egodocuments, formerly feared and criticised, that has given such texts a greater prestige in recent years. However, old ideas about genre divisions, about truth and fiction linger on, while the terminology – also in related fields like psychology and philosophy, like “the Self”, or “individuality” – is often far from clear. Concepts like the Self, individuality, and identity seem to be more controversial now than ever before. The question of what makes a text an egodocument is also still open to debate.

This collection of essays addresses some of the current issues in the field. One of these issues is the need for breaking down compartmentalisation in research. The study of egodocuments has since long been divided along the lines of genre, language, period and discipline. These four boundaries have divided the field into several niches. There are studies covering some of these niches, but the boundaries are still difficult to cross. Even the authors of interesting new surveys on a more general level usually concentrate on only one genre and one language. Georges May’s useful study on the autobiography for instance, discusses 72 authors, mainly French and English, the only German author being Goethe. Beatrice Didier’s interesting study on the diary, beside 60 French diaries, discusses only a dozen in
German and English. 44

The widening of our knowledge is one of the aims we are presently pursuing. An improved inventory of egodocuments from the past, both in print and in manuscript, is part of this objective. Currently, there are projects in the Netherlands, 45 Switzerland, 46 Germany, 47 Austria, 48 Denmark 49 and elsewhere. A stimulating and coordinating role is being played by Philippe Lejeune. 50 These projects have already brought to light numerous unknown but valuable texts. In Germany, Switzerland, France and the Netherlands, series of publications have been set up in which discovered texts are published. 51 In this fashion a new view will also be gained of the development of autobiographical writing in Europe since the Middle Ages.

Recent theoretical works are usually also based on a selection restricted by language. The scope shown in this respect by George Misch has remained unparalleled up to now. However, considerable progress has been made by continuing specialisation in several language areas. Hitherto neglected areas have been made
accessible, for instance by the recent publication of several studies on Arabic autobiography. Breaking down the barriers of language and genre, period and discipline, which have dominated this field for more than a century, will be a great step forward. The essays in this collection cover a wide area: texts in Hebrew, Latin, German, French, Dutch, and English, ranging in time from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. The authors of the egodocuments studied are from Germany, Poland, Spain, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain and the United States of America. The concluding contribution points forward to a medium that now has an important role in promoting integration, the Internet.

A point of current interest is the question to what extent egodocuments were of a private nature, and whether the authors had a certain audience in mind. The idea of a continuous development towards an ever more private character of these texts is qualified in several contributions, however. The Jewish ethical wills, studied by Avriel Bar-Levav, for instance, were written by fathers for their children. These wills are a Jewish tradition which could be linked with the development of autobiographical writing. The genre of the ethical will has developed since the twelfth century, and was a common pattern well into the nineteenth century. In her contribution to this collection, Arianne Baggerman concludes that most Dutch autobiographical writing around 1800 must also be placed within the context of family identity, and not only of personal identity. These texts were often written for the children of the author to transfer a family’s culture and identity to the next generation. Historians have questioned the process of growing individualism since the Middle Ages. Hugo Röling, for instance, pointed out that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ideologies developed which stressed collectivism instead of individualism, such as utopian socialism, communism and fascism. In short, the connection between the rise of the autobiography, the rise of individualism, and the rise of the bourgeoisie is no longer as obvious as it seemed only a few decades ago.

The conception of writing as a form of self-fashioning is a related matter. In recent years, self-fashioning or self-representation has become a focus of research in this field. In his contribution, Gadi Algazi looks at how sixteenth-century scholars used egodocuments to reshape their image by reading autobiographies of other scholars, and often writing their own life story in the same tradition later in life. Jeroen Blaak analyses the diary kept by David Beck, a Dutch poet and schoolmaster during the year 1623. Reading and writing practices are the central theme in this contribution. Beck was an early Dutch reader of Montaigne, and the first Dutch poet who wrote about how and when he composed his poetry.

Michael Mascuch shows how one of the most famous English diarists of the eighteenth century, John Wesley, used his serially-published Journal to fashion an image of himself that would serve as public embodiment of Methodist society, in his own way appropriating and expanding the function of the pattern set by the humanist scholars studied by Gadi Algazi. Arianne Baggerman shows how in Dutch bourgeois families in the nineteenth century writing autobiographical texts
Writing and privacy became more closely connected, drawing by Humbert de Superville from the early nineteenth century (Prentenkabinet Leiden).

bridged the gap between generations. Egodocuments were a means of keeping a partly consciously constructed family memory alive. She also stresses that egodocuments are often embedded in family archives, and even serve as a key to them.

Historians are questioning the division and hierarchy of their sources more and more searchingly, Egodocuments and other personal texts are no longer regarded as inferior to official sources, as they were when history was primarily a nation-bound discipline. Egodocuments, in recent years, have been especially used to write the history of groups which are underrepresented in official sources, such as women, labourers and ethnic minorities. Some of these “other voices” are represented here. The gender aspect is treated by Helga Meise, whose contribution is about the diaries of the German princess Karoline von Hessen-Darmstadt. In his contribution, Stephen Carl Arch broadens the study of eighteenth-century American autobiography by looking at other authors than Benjamin Franklin, whose popular and influential life story has long dominated the study of early American autobiography.

Another problem addressed in these articles is that of human memory. Historians have recently written much about collective memory as expressed, for instance, in monuments and memorial festivities, but personal memory has hardly been studied from a historical perspective at all. Carolyn Chappell Lougee analyses how French Huguenots used descriptions of their family history, including the flight from
France, to establish their social identity after being displaced. She compares the records of their experiences with those of Frenchmen who fled the country during the Revolution of 1789. These Huguenots made use of such texts in a way comparable to the ethical wills studied by Avriel Bar-Levav. Helga Meise studies the long tradition of writing calendars and diaries in the princely family of Hessen-Darmstadt, and their importance within court life. She focuses on the case of Karoline von Hessen-Darmstadt, the first female author in this long line of princely diarists, discussing also the tension between the public and the private character of her texts.

The papers in this collection, finally, reflect the coming of age of the study of egodocuments. Scholars are no longer focussing on individual texts as sources of historical knowledge, mining them only for charming anecdotes. The texts themselves have now moved into the centre of research: temporal developments, genre-conventions, differences between types of egodocuments, motives for writing, intended audiences, the differences between literary and family texts, intertextual relations between egodocuments and other texts, and between them and oral traditions. In addition, and more importantly, there has been an end to the usual one-way traffic between history and egodocuments, because by studying these texts new questions will arise, and new hypotheses can be formulated. One of the conclusions is that many egodocuments constitute links between the future and the past. The last contribution to this collection offers such a link in a different way: Gerard Schulte Nordholt presents a survey of the possibilities offered by the Internet for modern research into egodocuments from the past.

NOTES


5 His dissertation was published in German: Das Buch “De tribus impostoribus” (Von den drei betrügern) (Amsterdam: Paris, 1926).

6 Conny Kriese, Geschichtsschreibung als opdracht. Abel Herzberg, Jacques Presser en Loe de Jong over de jodenvervolging (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1998), 64.


10 Peter Burke, “Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes”, in: Roy Porter, ed., Reriting the
11 Mary Lindemann, "Sources of Social History," in: Encyclopaedia of European Social History 1, 6 vols. (Detroit: Scribner’s Sons, 2001), 36.
16 Regina Grueter, Een fantasie schrijft geschiedenis. De affaires rond Friedrich Weinreb (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Rodenburg, 1997).
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38 e.g. Mike Miron, "Autobiography as a Source for Writing Social history – German Jews in Palestine/Israel as a Case Study", in: *Tel Avivjahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 29 (2000), 251-281.


47 Benigna von Krusenstjern, *Selbstzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (Berlin, 1997) is an inventory of egodocuments dating from the time of the Thirty Years War; see also: Benigna von Krusenstjern,


