



manuscript culture

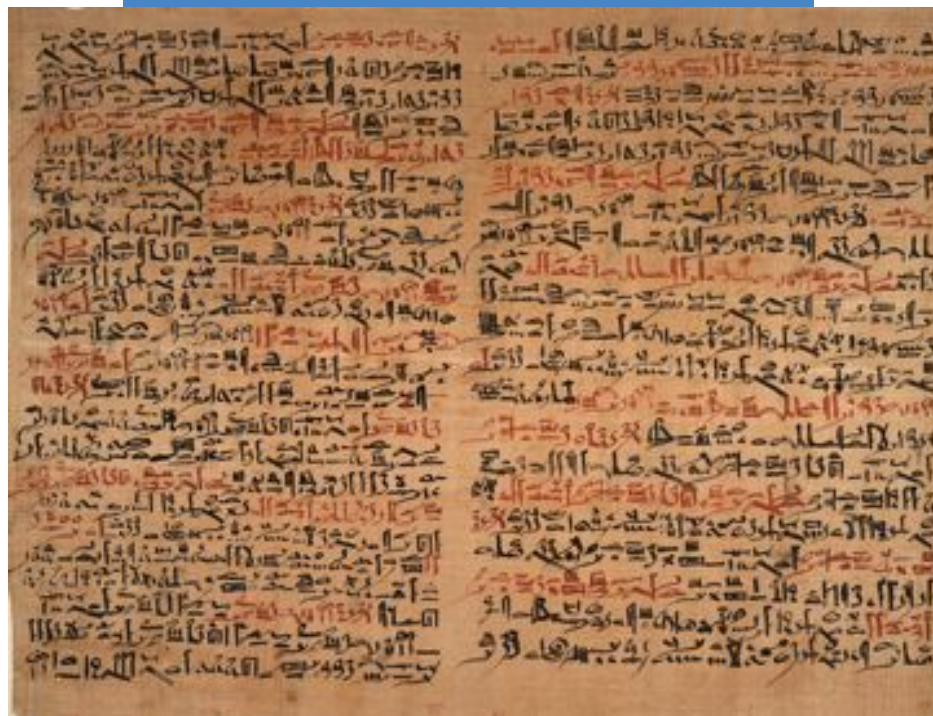


unacknowledged revolutions

history of information

february 4, 2010

<http://courses.ischool.berkeley.edu/i103/s10/SLIDES/Hof110PD-MSCulture.pdf>





aob?



course corrections?

take a look

How to make a medieval (quill) pen
(and paper and ink)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HlwYh97LDk>



The Making of a Medieval Book

<http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/making/>



bancroft tour

Friday, Feb 5, 2 pm



Rare Book Collections



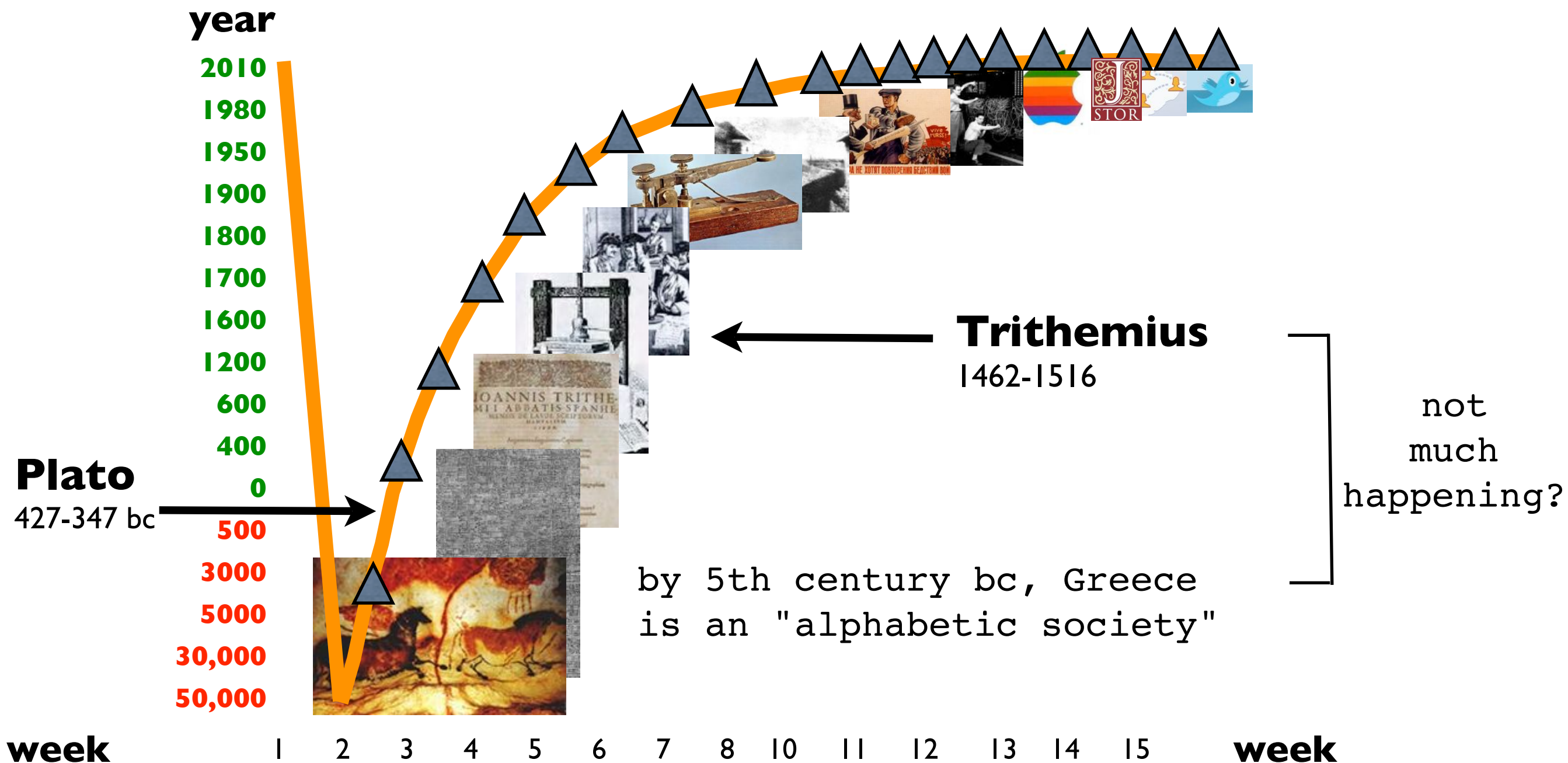
Bancroft Library

Campanile

88 Dwinelle



where are we going?





overview

a word more on determinism

eyewitnesses to history

the coming of the book

revolution & technologies

geoff's custard

a technological triumph

back to the business

(and the scroll)



determining questions

what happened?

"simple" to "complex"

what did (or didn't) come before?

oral

what did (or didn't) follow?

writing; rise of "society," end of oral culture

what contributed?

alphabets

what happened elsewhere?

what's underestimated?



determined mistakes



necessary vs sufficient

"Is industrial technology the necessary and sufficient condition for capitalism?" – Heilbroner



going soft?

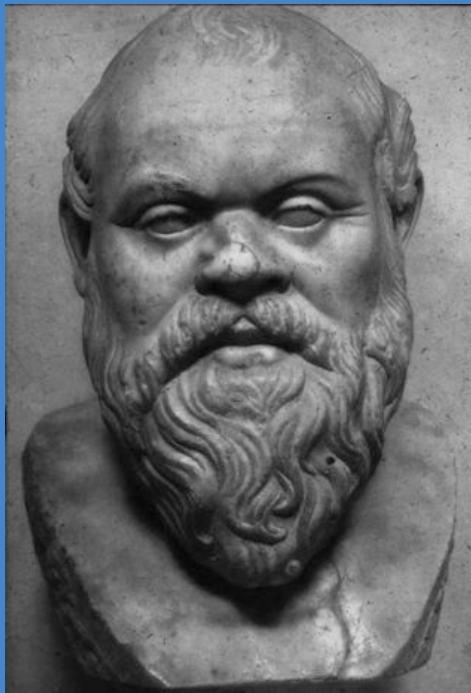
- the handmill produces feudalism?
- couldn't have feudalism without handmill?



- once the handmill was superseded, feudalism was in trouble?



bookends



Plato,
Phaedrus, ?360bc/1973



Johannes Trithemius,
In Praise of Scribes, 1492/1974

what were they doing?



eyewitness to history



"The discoverer is
not the best judge"

Phaedrus
what's the setup?



eyewitness to history



"The discoverer is
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Phaedrus

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Socrates



eyewitness to history



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"The discoverer is
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Lysias



eyewitness to history



"The discoverer is
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The Egyptian story?



eyewitness to history



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eyewitness to history



"The discoverer is
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Phaedrus

Lysias

The Egyptian story?

Thamus

Thebes

Theuth



eyewitness to history

Phaedrus

what are the issues?



eyewitness to history

Phaedrus

what are the issues?

speeches



eyewitness to history

Phaedrus

what are the issues?

speeches

reciting



eyewitness to history

Phaedrus

what are the issues?

speeches

reciting

writing



eyewitness to history

Phaedrus

what are the issues?

speeches

reciting

writing

truth



eyewitness to history

Phaedrus

what are the issues?

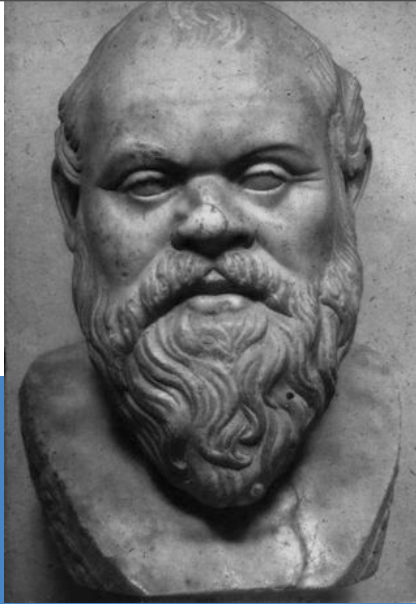
speeches

reciting

writing

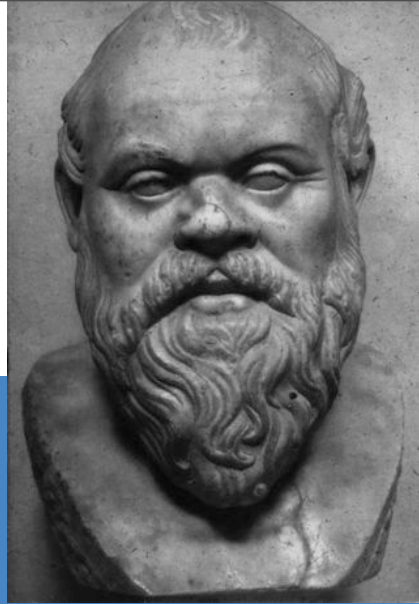
truth

dialectic



memory and forgetfulness

"Those who acquire [writing] will cease to exercise their memory and become forgetful; they will rely on writing to bring things to their remembrance by external signs instead of on their own internal resources."



truth

"Your pupils will have the reputation for [wisdom] without the reality; they will receive a quantity of information without proper instruction."

"If you ask [documents] what they mean ... they simply return the same answer over and over again ... [Writing] circulates equally among those who understand the subject and those who have no business with it; a writing cannot distinguish between suitable and unsuitable readers"

"the kind of recitation that aims merely at creating belief."



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coming up:
science



Trithemius

"The written word on parchment will last a thousand years. The printed word is on paper. How long will it last? The most you can expect of a book of paper to survive is two hundred years. Only time will tell."

reading between the lines

De Laude Scriptorum, 1492

what's the bee in the abbot's bonnet?



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"The dedicated and sincere scribe ... will not receive less than the preacher"



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VS

contemplation, manual labor, preaching



"I readily admit my boundless and unceasing love of studies and books. Neither could ever satisfy my desire to know everything which can be known in this world. It is my greatest pleasure to own and to know all books I ever saw or which I knew to have appeared in print . . . To my regret . . . money was always lacking . . . for the satisfaction of my passion for book".

Trithemius

1462-1516

Abbot of St Martin's, Sponheim, 1483-1505

bibliophile

1483: 48 books in the library

1505: 2,000 books

intensive to extensive

troubled reign

Exhortationes ad Monachos, 1486

De Laude Scriptorum, 1492



"The collector of books should beware that his inclination and liking do not become ends in themselves."

Trithemius

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lasting

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Trithemius & the press



De Laude Scriptorum

"For all his dislike of mechanical reproduction, 'Trithemius] proved particularly deft at exploiting the printing press. ... He had his book... published in Mainz by Peter von Friedberg, his favourite printer, and ... set the work not in Gothic type normally used in Germany, but in an innovative and attractive Roman font".

Grafton & Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, 2006.

Catologus Scriptorum Ecclesiastorum, 1494





not just the press

Monks "are so
detested that it is
considered bad luck
if one crosses your
path"

Erasmus,
In Praise of Folly,
1511

"brothers, concentrate now all your fervor on
the sacred books, for the salvation of your
souls and **the order**"

the university

"In the 700 years between the Fall of Rome and
the 12th century, it was the monasteries
which enjoyed an almost complete monopoly of
book production and so of book culture.... from
the end of the 12th century a profound
transformation took place ... reflected in the
founding of the universities and the
development of learning".

Febvre & Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 1984

humanism



survival





survival

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Our prayers and blessings go out to the families of those affected by the crisis.

Commerce with Compassion
Given the same product at comparable pricing wouldn't you rather purchase from the company whose proceeds support our communities?

10% OFF your order at www.BenevolentBlends.com!

Ink & Toner That Changes Lives

Roasted fresh every Wednesday. Shipped the Next Day

greetings and peace
As Cistercian monks, we have a 900-year tradition of community service and outreach.



survival

LaserMonks
Saving you money. Serving those in need

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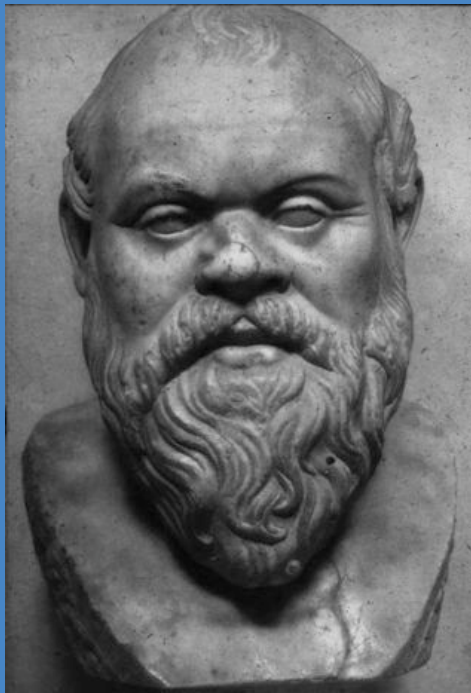
our

greetings and peace

As Cistercian monks, we have a 900-year tradition of community service and outreach.



something happened



... quickly

"Plato ... had such a love of books that he bought three books .. at the price of 10,000 *denarii*. Aristotle, no less famous among philosophers, acquired a few books for three Attic talents which amounts to 72,000 *nummii*."

[up ahead: libraries]



but what do we mean by *book*?

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a love of **books**
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the price of 10,000
denarii.
Aristotle, no less
famous among
philosophers,
acquired a few
books for three
Attic talents which
amounts to 72,000
nummi."

what's in the packages?

"Printed books evolved into better-
designed packages of information."

Paul Grendel, "Printing and Censorship" in
Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy

"History of books...the social and cultural
history of communication by print."

Robert Darnton,

"What is the History of Books," 1990



but what do
we mean by *book*?

what's in the packages?

"[B]efore you begin, dear heart, just let me
see what it is you are holding in your left
hand under your cloak."



codex



Pompeii, c 79 ce

Codex, later spelling of *caudex*
trunk of tree, wooden tablet, book,
code of laws

... collection of rules

... software code

book .. Generally thought to be
etymologically connected with the
name of the beech-tree



techno-sequence



tablet
scroll
codex





techno-sequence

tablet
scroll
codex





missing revolution?

scroll to codex

"the revolution between the second and fourth centuries that changed the very structure of the book by substituting the codex for the roll"

Roger Chartier,
Forms and Meaning, 1995

"Gutenberg did not so much start an information revolution as introduce a second technology for the creation of the familiar codex."

Jessica Brantley,
"The Prehistory of the Book," 2007



technologies

He who saw the deep ...
...set all his labours on a tablet of stone

See the tablet-box of cedar,
Release its clasp of bronze
Lift the lid of its secret,
Pick up the tablet of lapis lazuli and read out
The travails of Gilgamesh ...

stone
clay
wood
wax
parchment / vellum
papyrus
paper
palm
silk
ink
pens



technological triumph?

Homerus ...
Vergilius ...
Cicero ...
Titus Livy ...
in membranus
...quam brevis
immensum cepit
membrana

Martial (c38-103)
Epigrams



western europe

200 ce, codex gaining, scroll losing

300 ce codex achieves same level of usage as the roll
for Greek literary texts

500 ce, codex dominating

"The roll continued to serve for ... writing of
the sort that goes into files or archives, but
the codex took over in literature, scientific
studies, technical manuals ... the sort that go
onto library shelves".

Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World*, 2000

why?



technological superiority?



technological superiority?

random access



technological superiority?

random access

one handed



technological superiority?

random access

one handed

two-sided



technological superiority?

random access

one handed

two-sided

pagination



technological superiority?

random access

one handed

two-sided

pagination

marginalia



technological superiority?

random access

one handed

two-sided

pagination

marginalia

footnotes



technological superiority?

random access

one handed

two-sided

pagination

marginalia

footnotes

indexes



technological superiority?

random access

one handed

two-sided

pagination

marginalia

footnotes

indexes

"indexical"



technological superiority?

random access

one handed

two-sided

pagination

marginalia

footnotes

indexes

"indexical"

["pies"]



technological superiority?



random access

one handed

two-sided

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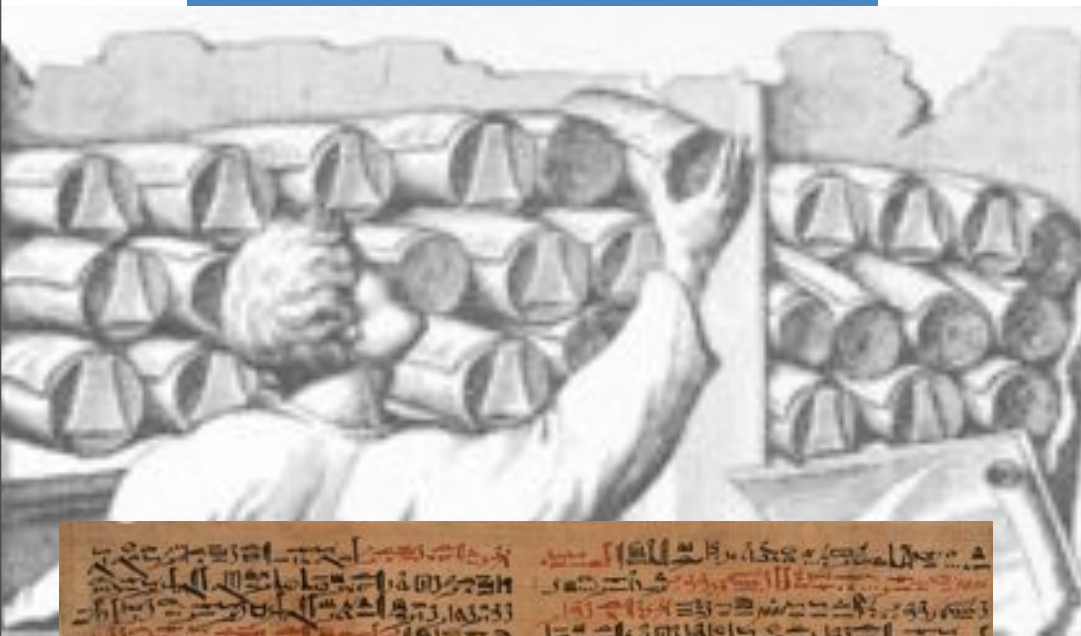
indexes

"indexical"

["pies"]



underestimated?



Edwin Smith Papyrus
c. 1600 bce
NY Academy of Medicine

**handy
pages
collection
divisions**

(incipits, explicits, colophons)

random access?

(sillyboi)

doesn't crack?



NOUVEAU JOURNAL

DES

SCAVANS.

Dressé à ROTTERDAM,

Par le Sieur C * * * * *

Mois de

JANVIER & FEVRIER 1694.



A ROTTERDAM,
Chez PIERRE VANDER SLAART.
MDCXCIV.

the battle goes on?

(1) Num. 1.
**PHILOSOPHICAL
TRANSACTIONS.**

Monday, March 4. 1687.

The Contents.

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HENCE there is nothing more necessary for promoting the improvement of Philosophical Matters, than the communicating to each, as apply their Studies and Endeavours that way. Such things as are discovered or put in practice by others: it is therefore thought fit to employ the Press, as the most proper way to gratify those, whose engagement in such Studies, and delight in the advancement of Learning and profitable Discoveries, doth excite them to the knowledge of what this Kingdom, or other parts of the World, do, from time to time, afford, as well



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A of



know when to fold 'em



"the move from scroll to codex was accompanied
by a move from papyrus to parchment"

papyrus
processed plant

parchment
animal skin



kinds of determinism

geographical determinism?

parchment at Pergamum

papyrus at Alexandria

palm in India
(*pattachitra*)

silk in China

"the parchment alone in a fine
Bible, even allowing for the
shorthand script of the day,
represented a flock of perhaps
three hundred sheep"

John North, *God's Clockmaker*, 2005



technological diffusion

paper

200 bc? - 105 ad, **China**

Ts'ai Lun, Emperor Ho-ti, Hunan
bark, rags, bamboo

diffusion:

300 ad, **Korea** (Koguryo dynasty)

5th century, 'domestic' uses, **India**

610, **Japan**

750, **Samarkand ...**

795, **Baghdad**

9th century, **Byzantium**





slow on the uptake

?11th century **Spain**

12th century **Genoa, Nuremberg**

hesitation

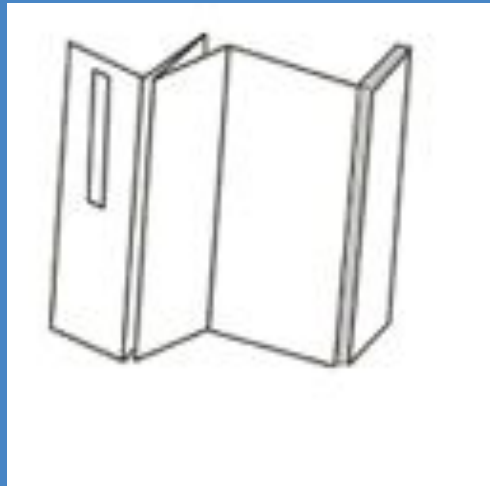
1145, Roger of **Sicily** ordered all charters on paper to be copied to parchment then destroyed

1248, paper accepted for use by the notaries of Languedoc (**France**)

"The written word on parchment will last a thousand years. The printed word is on paper. How long will it last? The most you can expect of a book of paper to survive is two hundred years. Only time will tell."



paper codex-a technological triumph?



Christian codex, 2d century

Islamic codex, 8th century

Hebrew codex, 9th century



Chinese sutra fold, 10th century



geoff's custard

bureaucracy

religion

education

business

law



technological triumph?

"In late antiquity, all authority was founded on Scripture and the highest authority, the authority of the church, was represented by the codex."

Cavallo, "Du Volumen au Codex," 1997

"[P]agans ... continued to regard it as a culturally inferior form. In contrast, the great majority of Christian texts were already in the form of codices. ... no Jewish codices have survived from before the tenth century in the Middle East and the eleventh century in Europe."

Peter Stallybrass, "Books and Scrolls," 2002



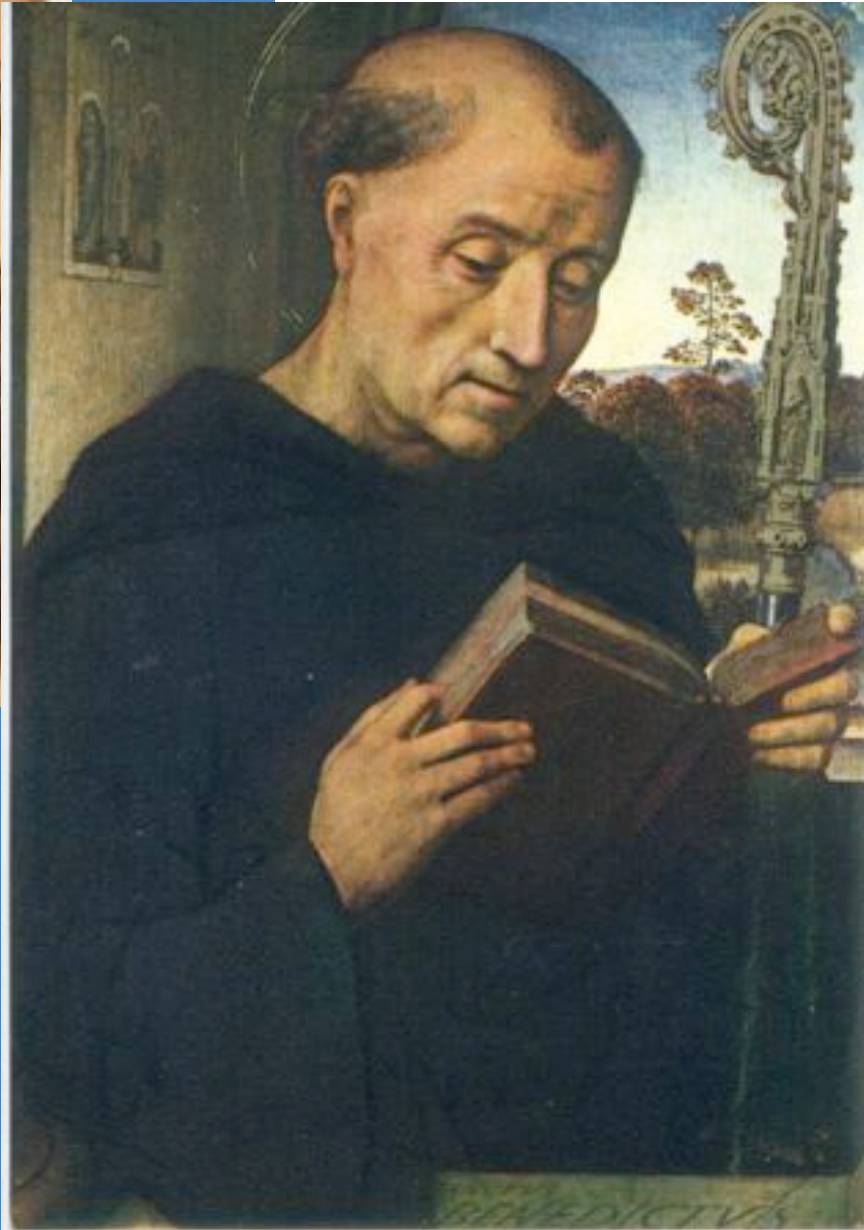
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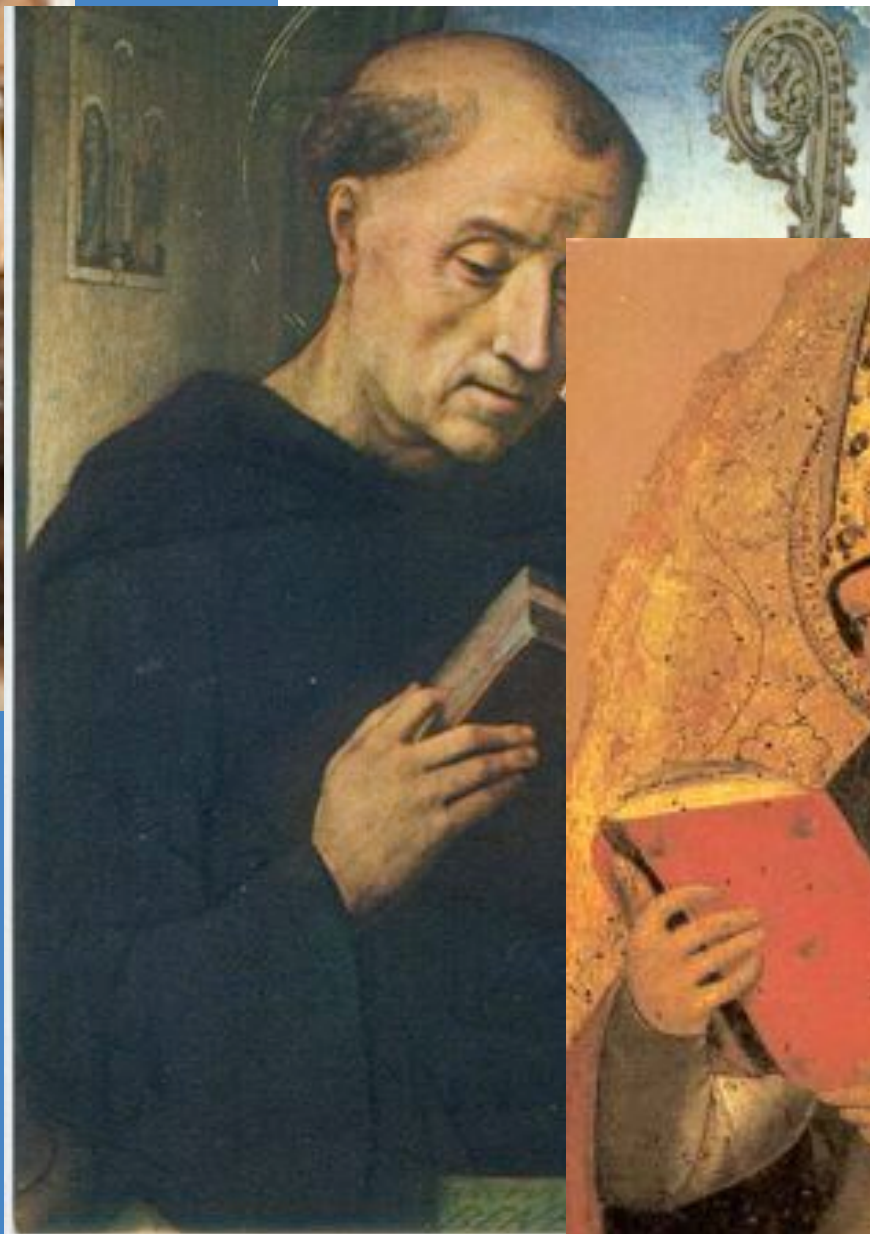


ological triumph?

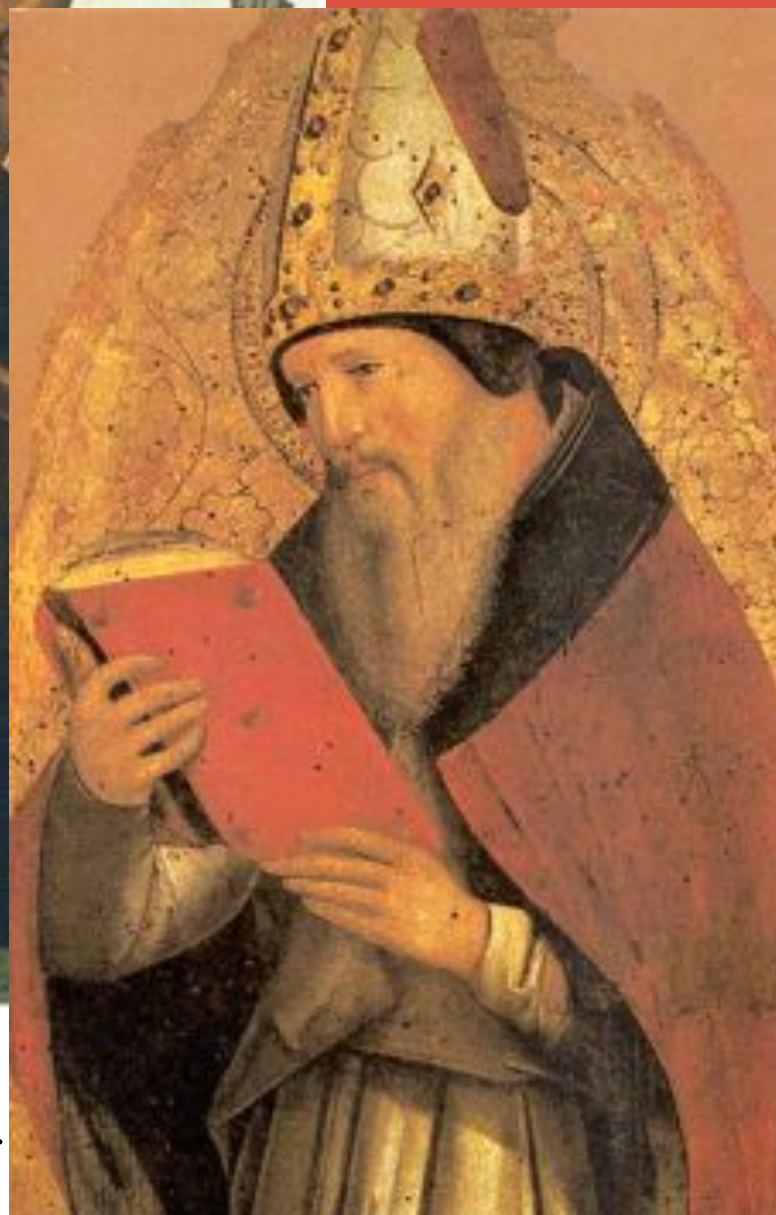
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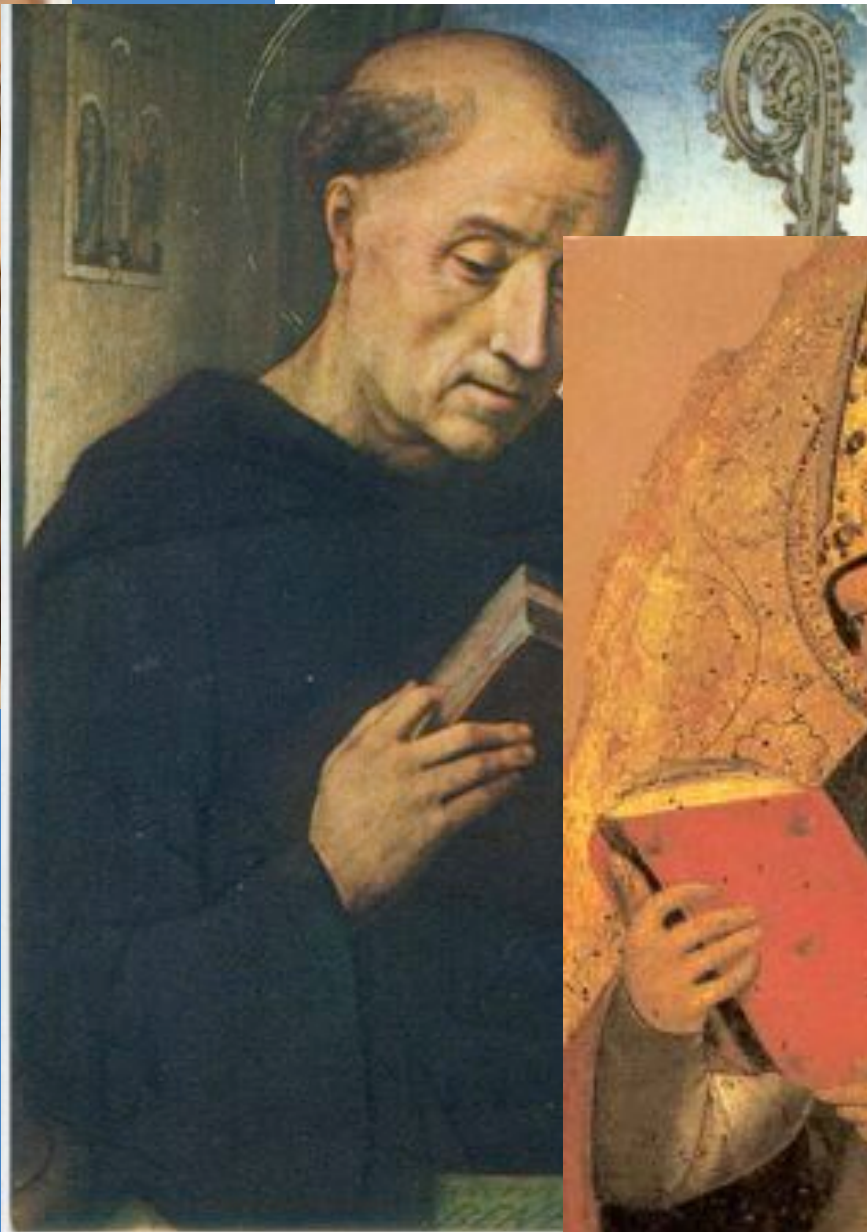
Peter



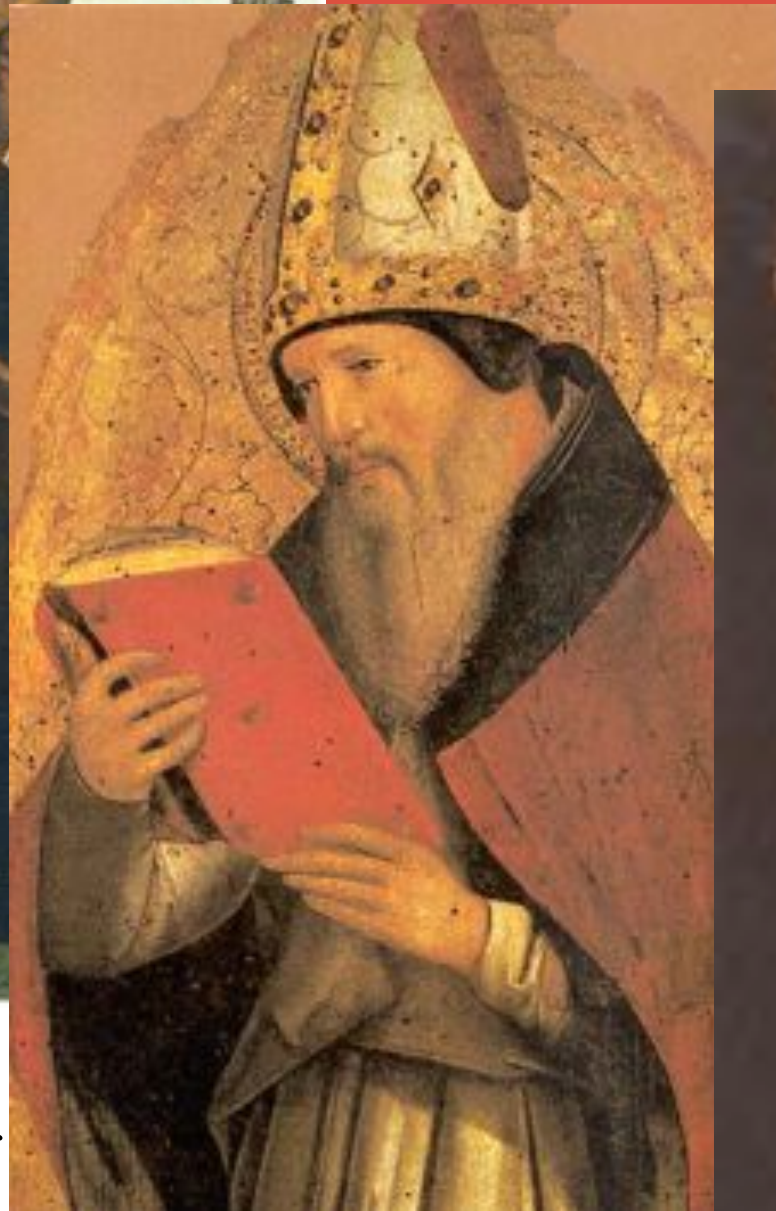
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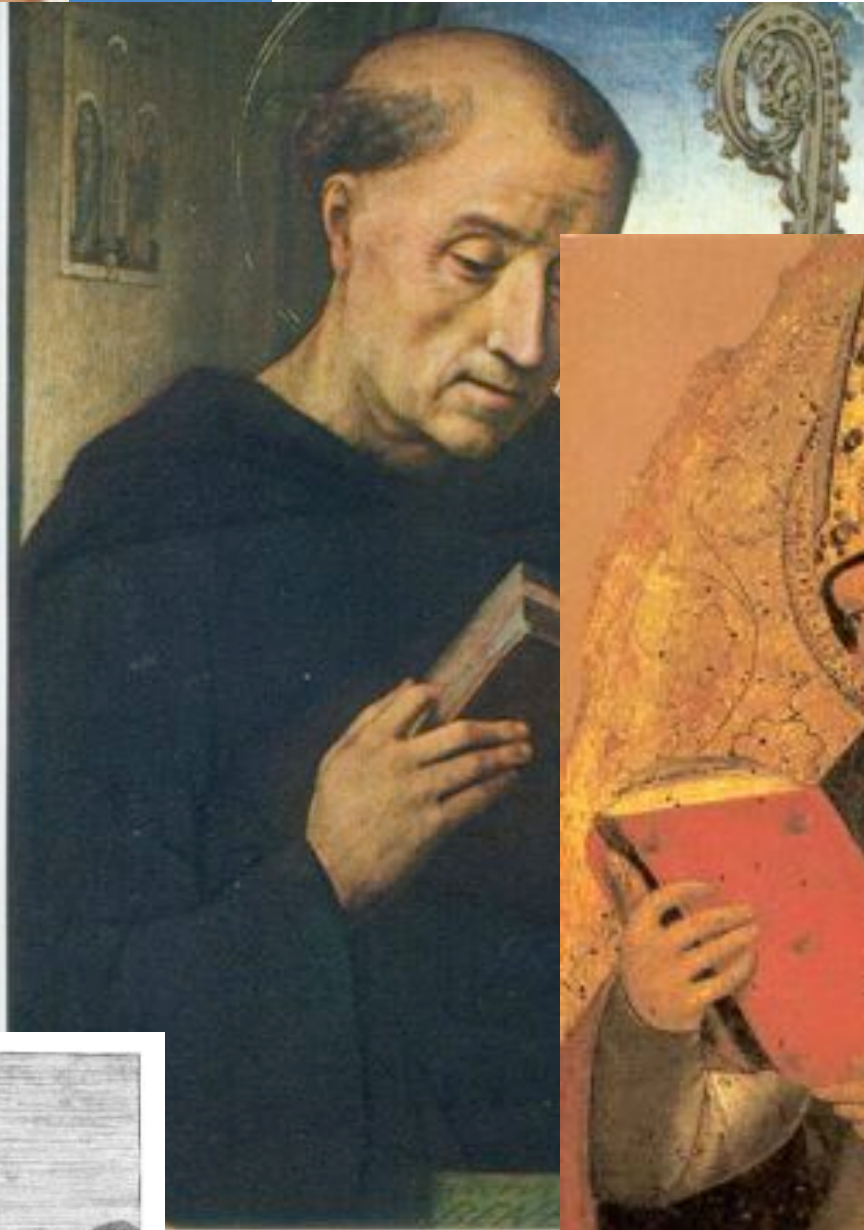
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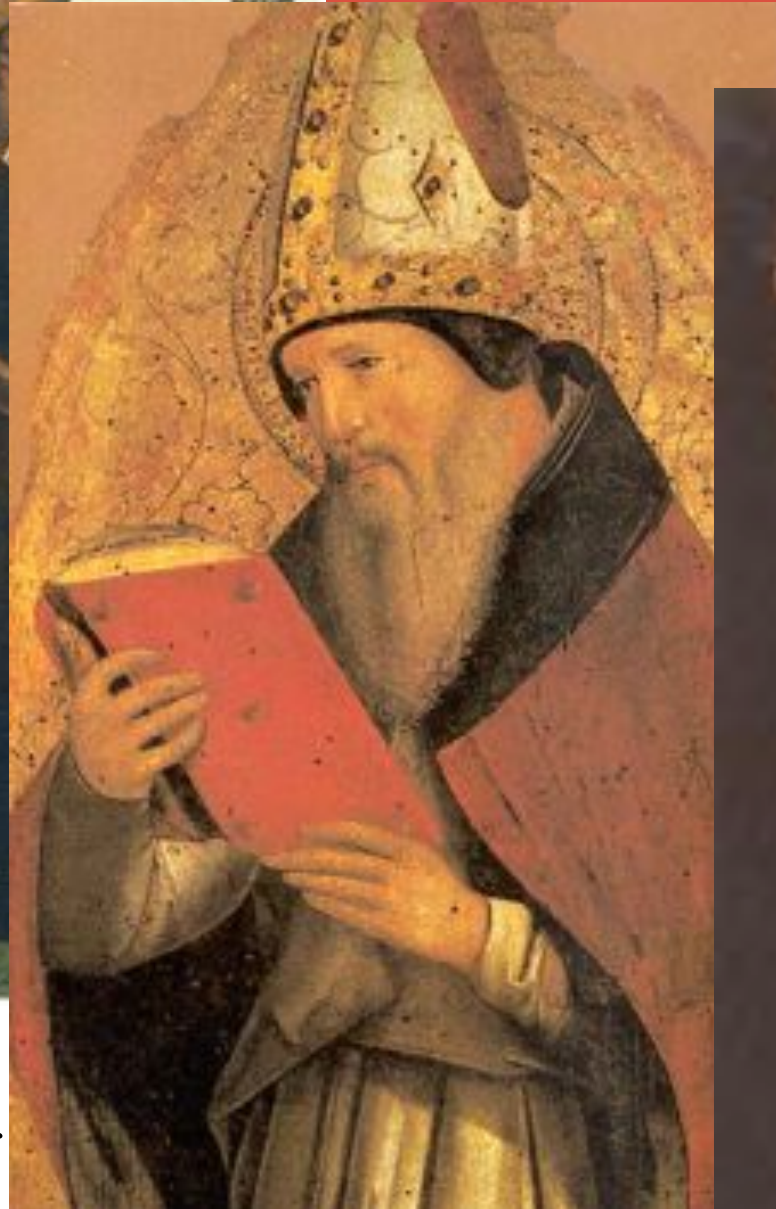
ological triumph?



Peter



ological triumph?



Peter



not just tech

changing readership

"The late medieval book differs more from its early medieval predecessors than it does from the printed book."

"The expectation of readers was changed, and this was reflected in changes in the physical appearance of books. A writer organized his work for publication, and if he did not ... then a scribe would ..

The production of books became more sophisticated"

--Parkes, "Influence" 1976





"I can hardly express the anger I feel ... this work is worse than that of Ovid."

Treatise against The Romance of the Rose,"

publishing before print



Jean Gerson (1363-1429)

anti-scholastic "popular" writing

"Gerson... benefited from ... distribution circles ... the European network of Carthusian houses ... readers began to collect his works on a massive scale ... reading networks intersected and shared copies of works ... [monasteries] were actively involved in the lending and distribution of manuscripts to nonmonastic readers ... Carthusian libraries became lending libraries to the literate public."

Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, 2009





navigation



"All sorts of navigation
aids were produced for
preachers and university
teachers."

Peter Stallybrass,
"Books and Scrolls," 2002



pre-prints

still with the codex

gloss

running titles

subdivisions: books, chapters

analytical tables of contents

chapter headings

cross references

alphabetical order

page numbers

indexes



Canterbury Tales, c. 1405

unilluminating



Hours of Catherine of Cleves
1440





meanwhile ...

down to business

"The oldest writings to survive to our time were
inscribed five thousand years ago by temple
bureaucrats recording economic transactions ...
crops, animals, manufactured goods"

Lerner, *The Story of Libraries*, 1998

"In the twelfth century... magnates used documents
occasionally ... In the thirteenth .. laymen began
to convey property to each other by charter; in
the latter half ... this practice extended below
the gentry class to some peasants.

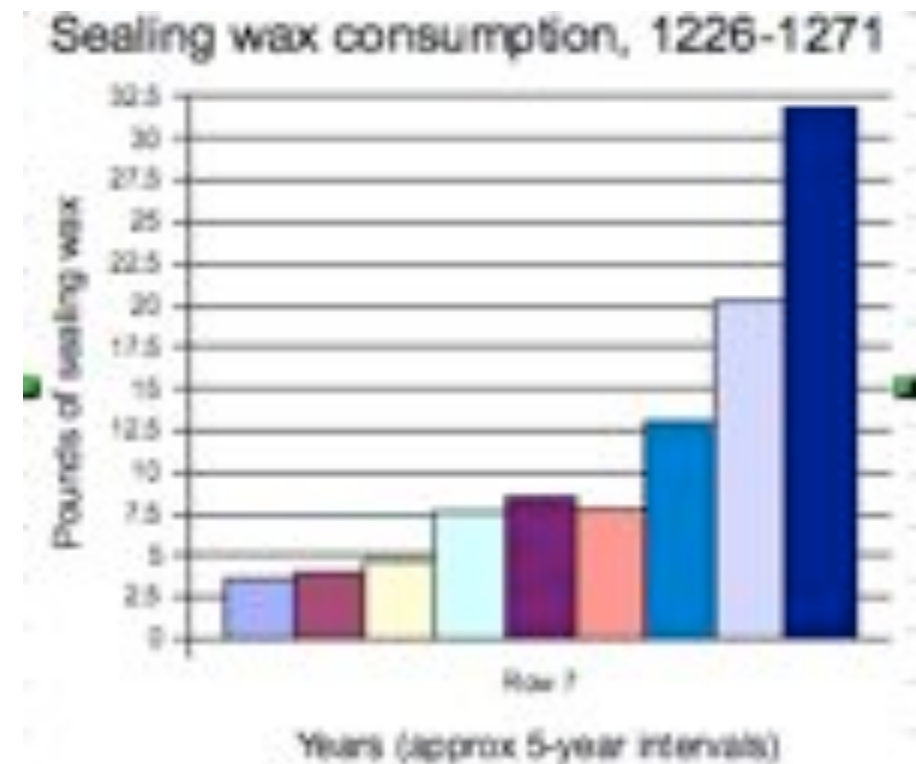
Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 1993



and bureaucrats

"If you ask
[documents] what
they mean ...
they simply
return the same
answer over and
over again ..."

Socrates



"[B]y the mark of a single impress the mouths of the
pontiffs may be opened."
-- Theobald of Canterbury

"We don't accept the evidence of monks against
bishops, why should we accept that of a
sheepskin?"



an information age?

preparing the ground

Domesday

cadastres

dates

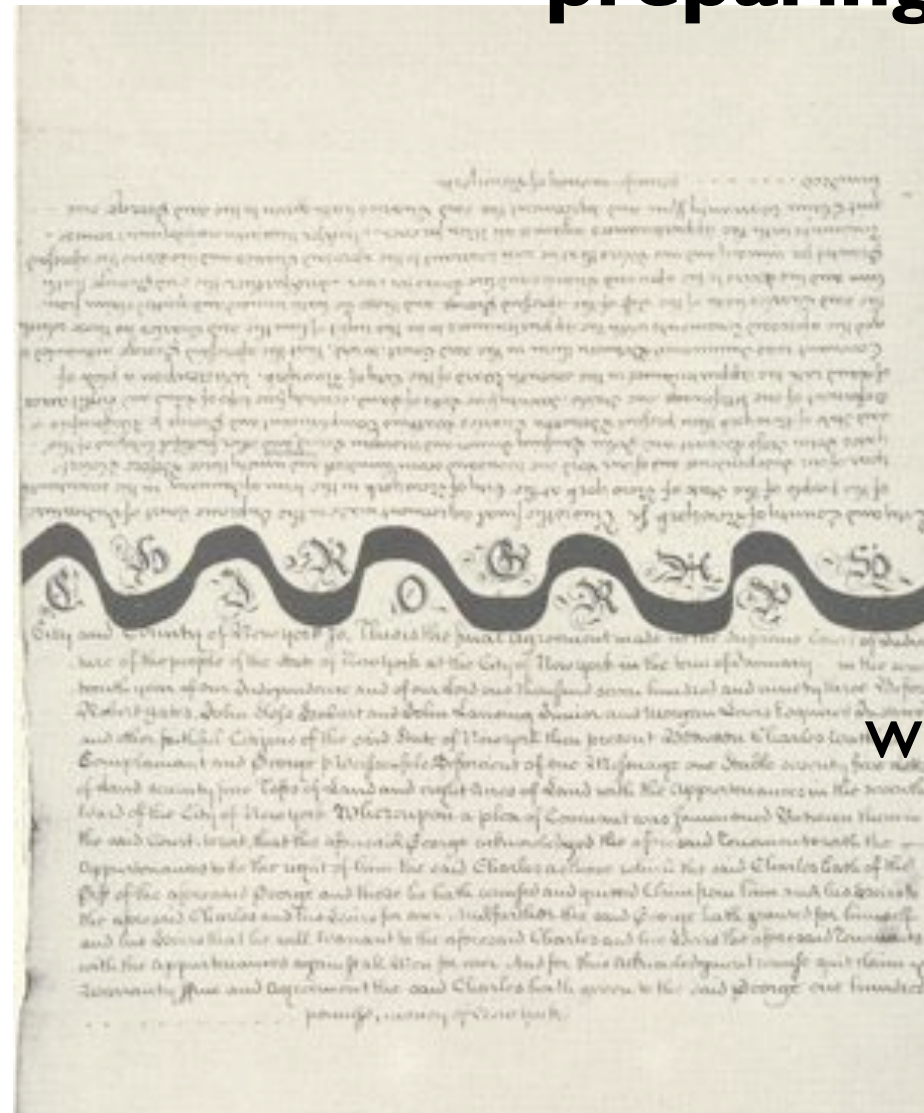
names

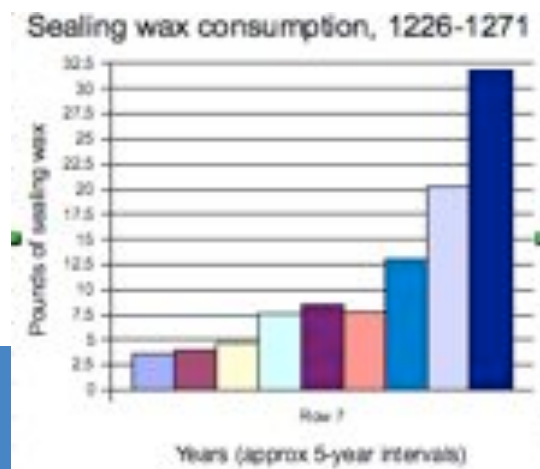
spelling

written evidence

authenticity

centralization





a linear model?

reversible trends

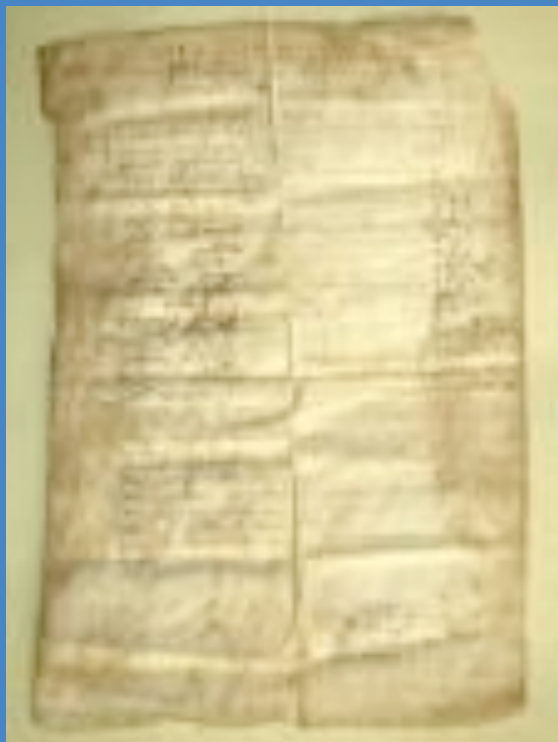
"Up to the eleventh century, western Europe could have returned to an essentially oral civilization. But by 1100 the die was cast".

--Stock

the return of the roll

"the reason why medieval England ... kept its records predominantly in rolls remains a mystery".

--Clanchy





unintended consequences

quo warrento

"No document coming from such centres of proved fabrication as Westminster, Evesham, Winchester cathedral, Chertsey and Malmesbury should be accepted at its face value without close examination.

"Ancient monasteries like Chertsey had traditionally forged charters. Now that the king was keeping copies ... abbots ensured that their forged documents were reinforced by inspection in the Chancery and enrollment among the royal records. The Chancery rolls, which were intended to prevent fraud, thus became a means of making forgeries official."

--Clancy, *From Memory to Written Record*



detective work

back to the monastery

"the Reformation era ... bringing to light
thousands of documents .. hitherto
inaccessible and unknown. ... France
pioneered in this new historical
research ... Mabillon Montfaucon."

James Thompson, "The Age of Mabillon," 1942



science of diplomatics



Jean Mabillon (1632-1707)

De Re Diplomatica, 1681

opposing

Paperbroche

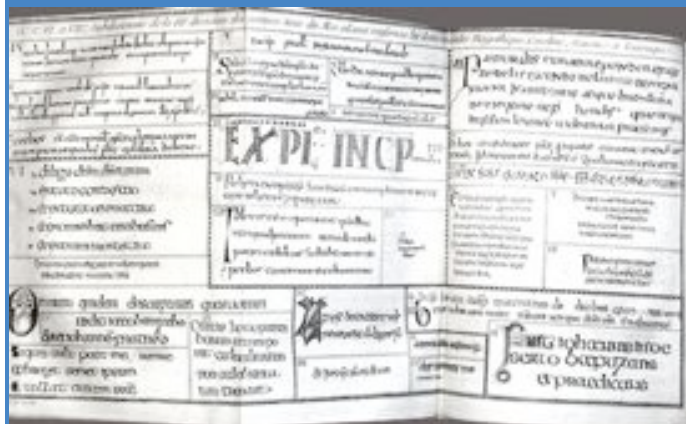
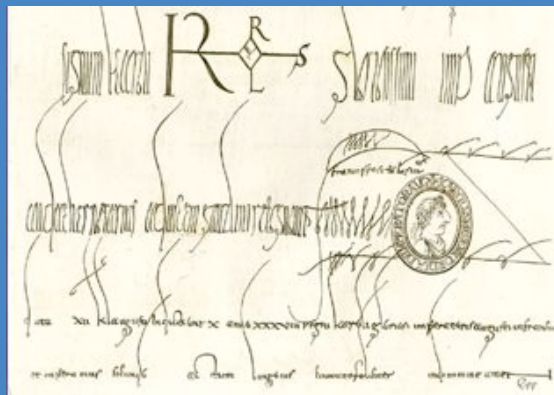
Acta Sanctorum 1675

"The Benedictine order ... regarded Paperbroche's work as ... an attack on their property rights."

--Thompson



beyond the page



"Mabillon frankly admitted that the authenticity of a charter could not be proved by any metaphysical or *a priori* argument; a decision could be reached only after the expert had examined a whole series of different indications -- the material used, the seal, the signature, the grammar and orthography, the modes of address, the plausibility of the dating, the intrinsic consistency of the whole document."

David Knowles



a guide to forgery

the charter of La Tour d'Auvergne

"skilfully forged [using Mabillon's principles]
by a sublibrarian who ended his days in the
Bastille"

--David Knowles



"some of the advantages which manuscript publication gave over print in other periods--immediate appearance, relative freedom from censorship"

Henry Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sydney*, 1966

manuscript beyond print

records and single documents

accounting

scribal publishing

note taking

personal communication



"some of the advantages which manuscript publication gave over print in other periods--immediate appearance, relative freedom from censorship"

Henry Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sydney*, 1966

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print beyond manuscript

and so to Gutenberg

Eisenstein (& McLuhan)

9 Feb: Print culture

Required reading:

- Eisenstein, Elizabeth. 1983. "Some Features of Print Culture," pp 42-91 in Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Optional reading:

- McLuhan, Marshall. 1962. "The Galaxy Reconfigured or the Plight of Mass Man in an Individualist Society," pp 265-279 in *The Gutenberg Galaxy: the making of typographic man*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto press.

Additional material:

- Watch: Fry, Stephen. [Stephen Fry and the Gutenberg Press](#) from the series "The Medieval Season: take a trip inside the medieval mind" on BBC4. (There are 6 parts which will take about 60 minutes total to watch.)



assignment

In another article, Elizabeth Eisenstein wrote "my concern has been to understand the difference between print and manuscript so as to comprehend the nature of the fifteenth-century change."

From what you have read and what we have discussed in class, do you think that Elizabeth Eisenstein's chapter in the reader underestimates the achievements of "manuscript culture"?