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978-0-521-17270-7 - The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700

Edited by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham

Excerpt

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I

*Introduction: Script, print, and history**Alexandra Walsham and Julia Crick*

When, in 1793, the fugitive French philosophe the Marquis de Condorcet traced his *Outline of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind* through ten ages of history, he placed print in the seventh age, preceded by darkness. For him, the invention of printing marked a critical point in the process by which Western European society escaped the yoke of priestly dogmatism and monkish tyranny and launched from intellectual blindness into the age of Enlightenment.¹ In presenting medieval scribal culture as a symbol of clerical hypocrisy, corruption and dominance, and in linking the advent of the press with the triumph of reason and civilisation over ignorance and barbarity, Condorcet was reproducing a motif over 200 years old. In 1740 Prosper Marchand had likewise heralded printing as ‘un riche Présent du Ciel’, a conceit given graphic expression in the frontispiece to his book, which depicted the press descending from the heavens and being presented by Minerva and Mercury to Germany, and thence to the nations of Holland, England, Italy and France (Illustration 1).² But the myth of print as a providential instrument had its taproot in Reformation polemic. It was a trope which found its most classic articulation in John Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*. For Foxe, as for Martin Luther before him, printing was a ‘divine’ and ‘miraculous’ art, a special gift from God which had dispelled the mists of idolatry and superstition and ‘heaped upon that proud kingdome’, the papacy, ‘a double confusion’.³ The theme was constantly echoed in the following century: by George Hakewill in 1627, who celebrated the role of this ‘new kinde of writing’ in redeeming books out of their ‘bondage’ in the libraries of the monasteries, and in 1662 by an anonymous apologist for the printing industry itself, who declared that

¹ Marquis de Condorcet, *Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind* (1795; first publ. in French 1793), esp. pp. 178–85.

² Prosper Marchand, *Histoire de l’origine et des premiers progrès de l’imprimerie* (The Hague, 1740), p. 1 and frontispiece.

³ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, 2 vols. (1583), vol. II, p. 707.

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Illustration 1 The press descending from the heavens. Prosper Marchand, *Histoire de l'origine et des premiers progrès de l'imprimerie* (The Hague, 1740), frontispiece.

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the pen compared with the press was ‘but as a Rush-candle to a Torch’ and boasted that by this means ‘the Church of Rome hath received such a wound, as she will never be able to cure: for upon its discovery, such a light hath broken forth, that many Kingdoms and Countries that formerly had no other glimpse but what proceeded from her Dark Lanthorn, have hence received so great Illumination, that they finde just occasion to forsake her’.⁴

The concept of a printing revolution, as retrospectively created by early modern writers, has exerted enduring and powerful influence over subsequent historians. In her famous book, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979), Elizabeth Eisenstein saw the invention of the mechanical press as the mainspring of a major cultural metamorphosis, as a development which, by bringing standardisation, permanence, and the possibility of mass dissemination, not only facilitated and transformed the Renaissance, Reformation and the Scientific Revolution in turn, but even altered ‘the nature of the causal nexus itself’. In surveying the late medieval culture of scribal copying, she emphasised the inherent instability and infidelity of manuscript transmission and portrayed the handwritten text as an early and easy casualty of the introduction of the new technology.⁵ For Eisenstein and the generation of scholarship she represented, the boundary between ‘script’ and ‘print’ demarcated the barrier between the medieval and early modern eras.

Medievalists stand in uneasy relation to this divide. While acknowledging that printing belongs to the complex of events which have been used to define the Middle Ages from their inception, some have fiercely resisted such cultural partitions, rejecting a ‘crude binarism that locates modernity (“us”) on one side and premodernity (“them”) on the other’.⁶

⁴ George Hakewill, *An Apologie of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World* (Oxford, 1627), book III, p. 257 and pp. 256–9 *passim*. Hakewill was echoing the words of Polydore Vergil, *A Brief Discourse Concerning Printing and Printers* (1662), pp. 22–3.

⁵ E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. in 1 (Cambridge, 1980 edn), p. 703. For her characterisation of medieval scribal culture, see pp. 10–14. Her work was influenced by M. McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographical Man* (Toronto, 1962). See also the optimistic assessment of the impact of printing in L. Febvre and H.-J. Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, trans. D. Gerard (London and New York, 1976; first publ. Paris 1958).

⁶ L. Patterson, ‘On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History and Medieval Studies’, *Speculum* 65 (1990), 93. See also his ‘Critical Historicism and Medieval Studies’, in L. Patterson (ed.), *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380–1530* (Oxford, 1990), p. 4; D. Aers, ‘A Whisper in the Ear of Early Modernists; or, Reflections on Literary Critics Writing the History of the Subject’, in D. Aers (ed.), *Culture and History 1350–1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing* (1992), p. 192; D. Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford, 1997), pp. xiv–xvi.

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Yet this inherited model of polarity and periodisation still shapes the contours of much academic endeavour. The opposition between the two media is institutionalised in libraries in which the 'Rare Books' and 'Manuscript' rooms occupy separate spaces and are frequented by different sets of readers. Its chronological dimension is perpetuated in the traditional disciplinary distinction between 'medievalists' and 'early modernists' and reflected in the lack of dialogue, even the degree of misunderstanding and distrust, which can divide those working in these respective fields. For if the shift 'from script to print' has long set the agenda for specialists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, much medieval English historiography over the past two decades has moved in semi-conscious parallel, respecting the advance traced by Michael Clanchy between 1066 and 1307, 'from memory to written record'.⁷

In recent years, however, new research by both medievalists and early modernists has begun to unsettle old assumptions about the nature and development of communication in the period between 1300 and 1700. The interfaces between literacy and orality and between the products of the pen and the press have prompted a wealth of important and stimulating studies.⁸ In the process the ingrained contrast between 'script' and 'print' has begun to blur and fade, giving way to an emphasis on their lingering co-existence, interaction and symbiosis both before and after 1500. To change the metaphor, the division between the *terra cognita* of printing and the obscure, unmapped world of scribal culture now seems to have almost run its rhetorical course. Building on the burgeoning literature which has grown up under the rubric of 'the history of the book', this collection of essays seeks to promote discussion and collaboration between scholars working on either side of this long-standing divide and to transcend the constraints imposed by conventional periodisation, technical

⁷ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1993). S. D. White, in his review of the second edition, noted Clanchy's indebtedness to the script-print model: *Speculum* 77 (1997), 131-3. This has earlier roots: H. J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print: An Introduction to Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, 1945).

⁸ Including G. P. Tyson and S. S. Wagonheim (eds.), *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe* (Newark, 1986); A. Grafton and A. Blair (eds.), *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 1990); S. Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, c.1450-1520* (Ithaca and London, 1991); A. F. Marotti and M. D. Bristol, *Print, Manuscript, and Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England* (Columbus, OH, 2000). Such themes have also been explored in several festschrifts, containing essays which are largely bibliographical in character: e.g. R. Beadle and A. J. Piper (eds.), *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle* (Aldershot, 1995) and A. S. G. Edwards, V. Gillespie and R. Hanna (eds.), *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (2000). See also *CHBB* 3 and 4. Many of these studies perpetuate the medieval/early modern division.

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specialisation, and confessional historiography. It is concerned to refine the boundaries between the cultures of speech, manuscript and print in England and to investigate the origins and implications of the historical fissures which they have come to represent. It seeks to emphasise that writing and print have overlapping but also separate histories and associations and to demonstrate the ways in which the medium not only encloses but also often encodes and engenders the message. The purpose of this introduction is to provide a backdrop for the twelve essays and the epilogue that follow.

We begin with the observation that some of the most striking challenges to the older paradigm of the printing revolution have come from historians of print themselves. Against the earlier emphasis upon the immutability of print, the late D. F. McKenzie and others have drawn attention to its ephemerality, to the ways in which it facilitated the emergence of a topical literature which was inherently transient. Meanwhile, the work of Roger Chartier has cast doubt on the uniformity which authoritative printed texts are alleged to have been able to create by underlining the diverse and infinite ways in which such objects could be appropriated, used and interpreted by their consumers.⁹ More recently, in *The Nature of the Book*, Adrian Johns has persuasively contested the assumption that fixity and fidelity were intrinsic qualities of the products of the mechanical press, arguing instead that these were features which had to be artificially grafted on to them. Printing did not possess preservative power *per se*; it did not protect texts from corruption or guarantee stability, truth or reliability any more than manuscript copying. On the contrary, it often led to the cumulative accretion of error, a point emphasised here in Scott Mandelbrote's discussion of seventeenth-century printed editions of Scripture. To combat this, mechanisms for creating the impression of definitive knowledge and credit had to be manufactured, among which we may number the footnote.¹⁰

This recognition of the contested and unstable character of printed materials is partly a function of fresh awareness of the role which entrepreneurial printers, compositors and stationers played in determining content, meaning and form. Far from transparent projections of an unmediated authorial

⁹ D. F. McKenzie, 'Speech-Manuscript-Print', *The Library Chronicle of the University of Texas at Austin*, 20 (1990), 99–100. Roger Chartier has expounded this thesis in a variety of publications: see esp. his *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. L. G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1987); 'General Introduction: Print Culture', in R. Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 1–10; 'Texts, Printing, Readings', in L. Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 154–75.

¹⁰ A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London, 1998), pp. 2–6, 30–6, 624–5, and *passim*. A. Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (1997).

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voice, printed books need to be seen as the outcome of a complex negotiation between the commercial instincts of the businessmen who produced them and the priorities of those who had initially written and composed them. William Caxton, England's proto-typographer, is a case in point: combining the functions of editor and publisher, he 'corrected' and altered the text of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* in ways which significantly shaped it.¹¹ New research is likewise revealing how significantly figures like John Day contributed to the making of key works like Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs', while Ian Green's exhaustive survey of Protestant bestsellers provides further evidence of how the strategies employed by shrewd publishers in their efforts to establish a niche in a rapidly expanding market subtly distorted and diversified the messages of godly ministers and preachers.¹² The piracy and plagiarism which were rife in the book trade presented a chronic threat to the credibility of its products, so much so that as late as 1734 Jean Theophilus Desaguliers announced he would inscribe his name in each copy of his *Course of Experimental Philosophy* in order to deter unauthorised versions of this work. Ironically, the only way to ensure the authenticity of a text was to abandon typography and return to the personal seal of approval which could be bestowed upon it by the more ancient technology of the pen.¹³

Equally, historians are becoming increasingly conscious of the constraints upon the printing industry in England. Compared with the highly decentralised culture of print which was the pattern in most Continental countries, its English counterpart was overwhelmingly concentrated in London, with minor offshoots in the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge. Not until 1695 did the lifting of restrictions enable provincial presses to be legally established. Traffic in printed materials, by contrast with scribal products, thus travelled largely in one direction: from the capital outwards. Moreover, as Andrew Pettegree has recently stressed, at least for the first century after the invention of printing, England must be regarded as occupying 'the outer ring of a two-speed Europe'. Despite – even, perhaps, because of – the vast body of scholarship devoted to Caxton, it is not always recognised that early English print culture was relatively modest in scope, held back by a variety of structural and economic barriers. One measure of this is

¹¹ L. Hellinga, 'Manuscripts in the Hands of Printers', in J. B. Trapp (ed.), *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing* (1983), pp. 3–11.

¹² E. Evenden and T. S. Freeman, 'John Foxe, John Day and the Printing of the "Book of Martyrs"', in R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (eds.), *Lives in Print: Biography and the Book Trade from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century* (2002), pp. 23–54; I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 444, 590 and *passim*.

¹³ Cited in Johns, *Nature of the Book*, p. 182.

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its slender output of incunables – no more than 3% of the total of 10,000 for Europe as a whole.¹⁴ Neither the monument to English bibliography which is the *STC*, nor the swift growth of the industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, should blind us to its limitations. The granting of a monopoly to the Stationers' Company in 1557, combined with repeated governmental efforts to regulate the press, placed considerable obstacles in the way of the development of the print trade. While debate continues about the scale and effectiveness of official censorship and internal licensing, it is clear that these mechanisms for control had an inhibiting effect upon printed publication.¹⁵ Although intermittent and spasmodic in character, they certainly persuaded some to adopt silence as the path of discretion and safety. More significantly for the preoccupations of this volume, they also helped to ensure that manuscript retained its vitality as a medium of communication long after the arrival of print.

This has been the theme of a number of important studies by Harold Love, Arthur Marotti, Peter Beal, Henry Woudhuysen, and Margaret Ezell.¹⁶ As these and other scholars have shown, unprinted texts occupied a fundamental place in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English life. Script was absolutely central to the administrative and bureaucratic

¹⁴ A. Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation: The English Exception', in P. Marshall and A. Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), esp. pp. 157–65. For recent surveys of key aspects of the early printing industry, see the essays in the section 'Technique and Trade' in *CHBB* 3; D. F. McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades', in *CHBB* 4, pp. 553–67. For the book-trade in the provinces, see J. Barnard and M. Bell, 'The English Provinces', in *ibid.*, pp. 665–86. For the broader European context, see D. McKitterick, 'The Beginning of Printing', in C. Allmand (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. vii, c.1415–c.1500 (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 287–98.

¹⁵ For emphasis on the repressiveness of the censorship system, see A. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Reading and Writing in Early Modern England* (Madison, WI, 1984) and C. Hill, 'Censorship and English Literature', in *Collected Essays*, vol. 1, *Writing and Revolution in Seventeenth Century England* (Brighton, 1985). For revisionist analyses see S. Lambert, 'State Control of the Press in Theory and Practice: The Role of the Stationers' Company before 1640', in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds.), *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France, 1600–1910* (Winchester, 1992), pp. 1–32; A. B. Worden, 'Literature and Political Censorship in Early Modern England', in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse (eds.), *Too Mighty to be Free: Censorship in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen, 1987), pp. 45–62; C. S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, 1997) and *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001).

¹⁶ H. Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993); A. F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London, 1995); H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996); P. Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998); P. Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, I: 1450–1625, 2 vols. (1980); II: 1625–1700, 2 vols. (1987–93); M. J. M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore and London, 1999). See also M. Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot, 1992). It may be noted that literary scholars have so far dominated the rediscovery of post-print scribal culture. The enterprise has also left its mark in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* (1989–). Scribal publication was also the abiding concern of the late and much lamented Jeremy Maule.

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culture of the period, the basic instrument of record-keeping in the late Tudor and Stuart state and Church and the chief means of issuing executive instructions, as it had been in Lancastrian England. More intimate and flexible in character than the abstract and impersonal organ of print, it was also the preferred method for reproducing and disseminating a wide range of other texts. Poets like Sir Philip Sidney and Andrew Marvell scorned the press, regarding resort to it as 'a lapse in gentlemanly taste and decorum'. Some, like John Donne, who revered God himself as scrivener, felt obliged to apologise for ever having 'descended' to it at all.¹⁷ Script was the choice of writers who sought to communicate with an exclusive circle of readers or retain a reserved status for the knowledge they conveyed: it flattered patrons, concealed secrets, and surrounded religious revelations with an aura of sacredness. The Bristol prophetess Grace Carrie, for instance, refrained from printing a narrative of a vision she received in 1635 on the grounds that it was 'very unfitt, that such divine & miraculous truth shuld be made common in these times wherin so manie falasies and false printed papers are set fourth'.¹⁸ Gender and geography also played their part: women and provincial writers without access to the patronage networks and presses of the capital gravitated quite naturally towards the scribal medium.¹⁹ And often reluctance to communicate through the device of movable type may have merely reflected unease and anxiety about the rapid pace of technological change.²⁰

There was also a thriving trade in handwritten legal crib books and educational texts and, right up to the end of the seventeenth century, commercial scriptoria played an active role in the circulation of 'separates' recounting parliamentary affairs and overseas news. Offering more latitude for the expression of subversive, heterodox and unacceptable ideas, manuscript was the natural medium for obscene verse and for critical political commentary. Flourishing in times of governmental repression, scribal publication of such material tended to falter only during periods when the machinery of censorship crumpled or collapsed.²¹ It was also a trusty ally of religious dissent: as Thomas Freeman's exploration of the epistolary activity of the

¹⁷ P. Beal, 'John Donne and the Circulation of Manuscripts', in *CHBB* 4, p. 122. See also A. F. Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison, WI, 1986).

¹⁸ Quoted by M. J. M. Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1987), p. 65.

¹⁹ See *ibid.* and Ezell, *Social Authorship*, esp. p. 18 and chs. 1, 5; *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, vol. 9, *Writings by Early Modern Women*, ed. P. Beal and M. Ezell (2000).

²⁰ McKenzie, 'Speech-Manuscript-Print', p. 109.

²¹ Woudhuysen, *Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 391.

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Marian martyrs shows below, it could be a powerful weapon in the hands of the persecuted and dispossessed.²²

Crucially, these new studies have demonstrated that long after the introduction of the mechanised press scribal copying remained economically viable. It should not be assumed that typographical reproduction was necessarily more cost effective: the high initial investment required in type-setting made print uncompetitive in the case of small numbers of texts. Manuscripts, by contrast, could be produced to order, without the problem of disposing of unsold copies.²³ As Woudhuysen concludes, 'for at least two centuries the procreative pen and its many different and individual offspring complemented and at times rivalled the press's more uniform products'. Far from a 'curious anachronism', scribal copying remained a competitive technology for transmitting texts even after 1700.²⁴

This discovery has encouraged scholars of early modern communication to approach the manuscript book with greater sophistication and sensitivity, to become more closely attuned to the fluidity and malleability of texts, to the ways in which the acts of creation and duplication are interwoven. As a consequence, historians of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century culture have begun to embrace and absorb assumptions and expectations which have long underpinned the study of medieval textuality. As in 'the medieval manuscript matrix' described by Stephen Nichols, the copying of texts is increasingly seen as 'an adventure in supplementation rather than faithful imitation', a dynamic, open-ended process in which consumers merge with producers and in which concepts like 'authorship' and 'originality' are rendered virtually meaningless.²⁵ The disciplinary frontline between historians of medieval and early modern culture is steadily withering away.

In questioning received wisdom about the occlusion of script by print and the relative roles and merits of the two media, furthermore, the work

²² See also M. Greengrass, 'Informal Networks in Sixteenth-Century French Protestantism', in R. A. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559-1685* (Cambridge, 2002) and Alexandra Walsham's essay, below.

²³ McKenzie, 'Speech-Manuscript-Print', p. 94; Love, *Scribal Publication*, pp. 126-34.

²⁴ Woudhuysen, *Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 391; Beal, *In Praise of Scribes*, p. v; Ezell, *Social Authorship*, p. 12.

²⁵ S. G. Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum* 65 (1990), 1-10, at 8 and 3 respectively. See also E. H. Reiter, 'The Reader as Author of the User-Produced Manuscript: Reading and Rewriting Popular Latin Theology in the Late Middle Ages', *Viator* 27 (1996), 151-69; G. L. Bruns, 'The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture', in his *Inventions: Writing, Textuality, and Understanding in Literary History* (New Haven, 1982), pp. 44-59; S. Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge, 1996). For early modernists acknowledging these points, see Marotti, *Manuscript*, ch. 3; Woudhuysen, *Circulation of Manuscripts*, pp. 15-16; Beal, *In Praise of Scribes*, pp. 24-5; Ezell, *Social Authorship*, p. 40.

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of early modernists converges with the insights which have emerged from accounts of scribal activity before 1500. As Michael Clanchy emphasised twenty years ago, we need to see the invention of printing not so much as the starting point of a new age as the culmination of a millennium, during which the displacement of the scroll by the codex in late antiquity was perhaps the most critical landmark. To speak of 'the coming of the book' in the 1450s is to ignore ten centuries of its long and complex history. To understand the success of the press we must investigate the social and intellectual soil from which it sprang.²⁶ The foundation of the European universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries placed new demands on the supply and even structure of books. Concentrations of scholars in need of texts were served by a book trade capable of large-scale production, detectable in the French capital as early as the last quarter of the twelfth century, and in Oxford a hundred years later. Richard and Mary Rouse have recently reconstructed in vivid detail the life of the scribal quarters of late medieval Paris, which revolved around dynasties of professional scribes supplemented by the casual labour of priests and students, who were loaned out corrected exemplars for copying in quires (*pecia*).²⁷ In England, before 1250 the city of St Albans sought to regulate the employment of scribes and in late fourteenth-century York they formed a guild of their own.²⁸

Meanwhile, as Malcolm Parkes has argued, the patterns of reasoning and interrogation of authorities integral to scholastic learning caused changes in the organisation and layout of texts, as well as the evolution of increasingly sophisticated systems of glossing and mechanisms of reference, including the use of running titles, indexes and tables of contents.²⁹ Nurtured in the circles of Italian humanist scholars and in the renewed religious orders of northwestern Europe, these technical developments promoted enhanced utility and clarity and facilitated increasing accessibility to the written word.

²⁶ M. Clanchy, 'Looking Back from the Invention of Printing', in D. P. Resnick (ed.), *Literacy in Historical Perspective* (Washington, 1983), pp. 7-22. For equation of the age of print with the 'coming of the book', see Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*; M. B. Stilwell, *The Beginning of the World of Books, 1450-1470* (New York, 1972); and H. Bekker-Nielsen *et al.* (eds.), *From Script to Book: A Symposium* (Odense, 1986). See also D. Pearsall, 'Introduction', in J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 1-10, and A. Grafton's criticism of Eisenstein in 'The Importance of Being Printed', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11 (1980), 273-5.

²⁷ R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000), vol. 1, p. 26. M. B. Parkes, 'The Provision of Books', in J. I. Catto and R. Evans (eds.), *The History of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), vol. 11, pp. 418-21.

²⁸ Chaytor, *From Script to Print*, p. 17, and ch. 2 *passim*.

²⁹ M. B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 115-41.