

## Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830

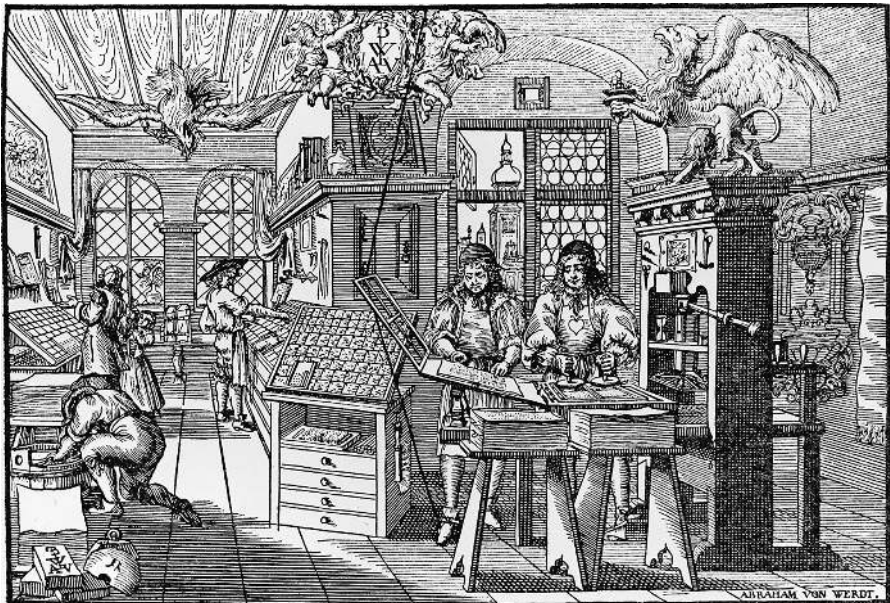
This book re-examines fundamental aspects of what has been widely termed the printing revolution of the early modern period. David McKitterick argues that many of the changes associated with printing were only gradually absorbed over almost 400 years, a much longer period than usually suggested. From the 1450s onwards, the printed word and image became familiar in most of Europe. For authors, makers of books and readers, manuscript and print were henceforth to be understood as complements to each other, rather than alternatives. But while printing seems to offer more textual and pictorial consistency than manuscripts, this was not always the case. McKitterick argues that book historians and bibliographers alike have been dominated by notions of the uses of the early printed book that did not come into existence until the late nineteenth century, and he invites his readers to work forward from the past, rather than backwards into it.

DAVID MCKITTERICK is Fellow and Librarian of Trinity College in Cambridge. He is the author of *A History of Cambridge University Press*.

# Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830

DAVID MCKITTERICK

Fellow and Librarian  
Trinity College, Cambridge



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment  
978-0-521-61852-6 — Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830  
David McKitterick  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom  
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India  
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521618526](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521618526)

© David McKitterick, 2003

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2003

Third printing 2006

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

ISBN 978-0-521-61852-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

*List of illustrations* [page vi]

*Acknowledgements* [ix]

*List of abbreviations* [xi]

1 The printed word and the modern bibliographer [1]

2 Dependent skills [22]

3 Pictures in motley [53]

4 A house of errors [97]

5 Perfect and imperfect [139]

6 The art of printing [166]

7 Re-evaluation: towards the modern book [187]

8 Machinery and manufacture [205]

9 Instabilities: the inherent and the deliberate [217]

*Notes* [231]

*General index* [303]

*Index of manuscripts* [310]

## Illustrations

- 1 The Book of Job, marked up in a copy of the Bishops' Bible (1602). [page 24]
- 2 Andrew Maunsell, *The first part of the catalogue of English bookes* (1595). [28]
- 3 Thomas Smeton, *Ad virulentum Archibaldi Hamiltonii Apostate Dialogum* (Edinburgh: John Ross, 1579). [39]
- 4–5 *Missale ad usum Sarum* (1500). [44–5]
- 6 Albrecht von Eyb, *Margarita poetica*, copied from the edition printed by Ulrich Han (Rome, 1475). [49]
- 7 An engraving, by the Master S, of the Baptism of Christ, integrated with a manuscript collection of private prayers (1530). [54]
- 8 A selection from the missal, perhaps written in Carinthia, with a hand-coloured woodcut of the Crucifixion bound in. [57]
- 9 Part of a sheet of woodcut devotional images designed to be cut up and pasted into books. [58]
- 10 An engraving of the Nativity inserted in a Utrecht breviary (Paris, 1514). [62]
- 11 A coloured and reworked engraving inserted into a manuscript book of private prayers. [65]
- 12–16 Livy, *Historiae Romanae decades* (Venice: Vindelinius de Spira, 1470), showing different printed and manuscript marginal decoration. [70–4]
- 17–19 Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, *Isolario* (Venice: Guilelmus Anima Mia, Tridinisensis?, c.1485). [75–7]
- 20 Hyginus, *Poeticon astronomicon* (Ferrara: Augustinus Carnerius, 1475). [78]
- 21 Hyginus, *Poeticon astronomicon* (Venice, 1482). [79]
- 22 Dante, *Divina commedia* (Florence, 1481). [83]
- 23–4 Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* (Ghent, 1485). [85–6]

- 25 Erasmus, *Moriae encomium* (Basel, 1676). [89]  
 26 Abraham Bosse, printing copperplates (1642). [91]  
 27–8 John Williams, *Great Britains Salomon; a sermon preached at the funerall of the King, James* (1625). [94–5]  
 29–30 Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum* (Paris, 1476/7). [103–4]  
 31–2 Gregory I, *Regula pastoralis* (Cologne, not after 1471). [105–6]  
 33 Gregory I, *Regula pastoralis* (Cologne, not after 1471). [107]  
 34 Hieronymus Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia* (Leipzig, 1608). [116]  
 35 Michael Taylor, *Tables of logarithms* (1792). [125]  
 36 Pietro Sarpi, *Historiae Concilii Tridentini libri octo* (1620). [142]  
 37 *Pasquils Palinodia and his progresse* (1619). [146]  
 38 *Biblia sacra* (Salamanca, 1584). [155]  
 39 Alberico Gentili, *De legationibus* (1585). [158]  
 40 Nicolaus Copernicus, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium libri VI* (Nuremberg, 1543). [164]  
 41 Frontispiece to the *Universal Magazine*, 1752. [174]  
 42 The interior of an eighteenth-century printing house. J. G. Ernesti, *Die Wol-eingerichtete Büchdrückerey* (Nuremberg, 1733). [175]  
 43 Prosper Marchand, *Histoire de l'origine et des premiers progrès de l'imprimerie* (The Hague, 1740). [176]  
 44 Speech by David Ricardo in the House of Commons, 24 May 1819. [218]

Illustrations are reproduced by courtesy of the following: the Curators of the University Libraries, University of Oxford, 1, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 38; the Syndics of Cambridge University Library, 7, 10, 13, 16, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 43; the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 11; Roger Gaskell Esq., 26; the President and Fellows, Magdalen College, Oxford, 30; the Warden and Fellows, New College, Oxford, 6; the Master and Fellows, Trinity College, Cambridge, 2, 3, 4, 5, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 29, 35, 36, 39, 40, 44.

## Acknowledgements

This book is a considerably expanded version of the Lyell lectures in Bibliography, delivered at the University of Oxford in May 2000. I am, first, grateful to the Electors to the Lyell Readership for providing me with the stimulus to organise the issues addressed in the following pages, and to my audience for their contributions in discussions before and after the lectures.

In tackling so broad a subject, it is inevitable that one draws on experiences of many years. There is no substitute for handling books, and thus appreciating their physical properties, their differences, their materials, and their appearances. The ideas for this book in a sense germinated as a result of working with the late John Oates, who introduced me to some of the complexities of the earliest printed books. But the results of the bibliographical work of the late H. M. Adams, in Cambridge (England) and Ruth Mortimer in Cambridge (Massachusetts) will be equally apparent to the student of footnotes. It is an especial personal pleasure to acknowledge here the benefits conferred by Katharine F. Pantzer on everyone who deals with early printing in the British Isles, by her inspired revision of Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-title catalogue* of books down to 1640. Other ideas were reviewed and tested with the late Don McKenzie and Hugh Amory; it is this book's misfortune that it could not benefit from the discussions that were developing at the time of their untimely deaths.

At various points, I have shamelessly sought help, and never been disappointed – even though many of those who are named here cannot have realised the purposes of my importunities. In alphabetical order, I am therefore glad to thank Judy Amory, Nicolas Barker, Peter Blayney, Karen Bowen, James Carley, Chris Coppens, Ton Croiset van Uchelen, Martin Davies, John and Clare Drury, Mary Kay Duggan, Conor Fahy, Christine Ferdinand, Roland Folter, Paul Grinke, Craig Hartley, Lotte Hellinga, Jos Hermans, Ted Hofmann, Arnold Hunt, Dirk Imhof, Kristian Jensen, Mayke de Jong, the late Vivien Law, Elisabeth Leedham-Green, Richard Linenthal, Andrew Macintosh, Ian Maclean, Linne Mooney, Paul Morgan, James Mosley, Paul and Ruth Needham, Will Noel, Adam Perkins, Nicholas Poole-Wilson, Dennis Rhodes, Nigel Roche, Richard and Mary Rouse, Margaret M. Smith, Nicholas Stogdon, Michael Twyman, Mary Beth Winn and, as always, the

innumerable booksellers who have tolerated my searches of their shelves, tables and stockrooms.

To the libraries where I have worked on this book, I offer my warmest thanks, and in particular to the many fetchers and carriers of books between the stacks and the reading rooms. Most of the groundwork was carried out in Trinity College, Cambridge and in Cambridge University Library. These apart, the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Fitzwilliam Museum and the St Bride Printing Library have all provided more than ordinary amounts of support, and I am grateful also to the staffs of Emmanuel College, Gonville and Caius College and St John's College at Cambridge, the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, the Houghton, Law and Widener libraries at Harvard, and the Firestone Library at Princeton. I am indebted to the Lyell Fund for a grant towards the cost of obtaining and reproducing the illustrations.

I have been greatly encouraged in this project by the help and example of Paul Needham, who has steered me through many difficulties and has read much of the book in an earlier form. The mistakes are, of course, my own. For daily succour of all kinds, both for the contents of this book and for more ordinary practicalities, I remain, as always, most thankful of all to my wife Rosamond.

DAVID MCKITTERICK



## Abbreviations

Adams	H. M. Adams, <i>Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501–1600, in Cambridge libraries</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1967)
Armstrong, <i>Renaissance miniature painters</i>	Lilian Armstrong, <i>Renaissance miniature painters and classical imagery; the Master of the Putti and his Venetian workshop</i> (1981)
BMC	<i>Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum</i> (1908– ), reprinted 1963
Condello and de Gregorio, <i>Scribi e colofoni</i>	E. Condello and G. de Gregorio (eds.), <i>Scribi e colofoni; le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa</i> (Spoleto, 1995)
<i>Contemporaries of Erasmus</i>	Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher (ed.), <i>Contemporaries of Erasmus</i> , 3 vols. (Toronto, 1985–7)
Darlow and Moule	T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, <i>Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society</i> , 2 vols. (1903)
Davies, <i>Incunabula</i>	Martin Davies (ed.), <i>Incunabula; studies in fifteenth-century printed books presented to Lotte Hellinga</i> (1999)
De Bujanda, <i>Index des livres interdits</i>	J. M. de Bujanda (ed.), <i>Index des livres interdits</i> , 10 vols. (Sherbrooke, 1985–96)
DNB	<i>Dictionary of national biography</i>
Dreyfus, <i>Aspects</i>	John Dreyfus, <i>Aspects of French eighteenth century typography</i> (Roxburghe Club, 1982)

xii	List of abbreviations	
	Duff	E. G. Duff, <i>Fifteenth century English books; a bibliography</i> (Bibliographical Soc., 1917)
	Dutschke, <i>Huntington</i>	C. W. Dutschke, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Guide to medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the Huntington Library</i> , 2 vols. (San Marino, 1989)
	Eisenstein, <i>Printing press</i>	Elizabeth Eisenstein, <i>The printing press as an agent of change</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979)
	Erasmus, <i>Works</i>	Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Collected works</i> , in English, ed. R. J. Schoeck, <i>et al.</i> (Toronto, 1974– )
	Fairfax Murray, <i>German</i>	H. W. Davies, <i>Catalogue of a collection of early German books in the library of C. Fairfax Murray</i> , 2 vols. (1913)
	Gaskell, <i>New introduction</i>	Philip Gaskell, <i>A new introduction to bibliography</i> (Oxford, 1972; repr. with corrections, 1974)
	GJ	<i>Gutenberg Jahrbuch</i>
	Goff	F. R. Goff, <i>Incunabula in American libraries; a third census</i> (New York, 1964), repr. from the annotated copy maintained by F. R. Goff (Millwood, NY, 1973)
	Goldgar, <i>Impolite learning</i>	Anne Goldgar, <i>Impolite learning; conduct and community in the republic of letters, 1680–1750</i> (New Haven, 1995)
	Greetham, <i>Textual scholarship</i>	D. C. Greetham, <i>Textual scholarship; an introduction</i> , corrected reprint (New York, 1994)
	GW	<i>Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke</i> (Leipzig etc., 1925– )
	Hellinga, <i>Copy and print</i>	Wytze Gs. Hellinga, <i>Copy and print in the Netherlands; an atlas of historical bibliography</i> (Amsterdam, 1962)
	Herbert	T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, <i>Historical catalogue of printed editions of the English Bible, 1525–1961</i> , rev. A. S. Herbert (1968)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Hindman, <i>Printing</i>                      | Sandra Hindman (ed.), <i>Printing the written word: the social history of books, circa 1450–1520</i> (Ithaca, NY, 1991)  |
| Hindman and Farquhar, <i>Pen to press</i>     | Sandra Hindman and James Douglas Farquhar, <i>Pen to press; illustrated manuscripts and printed books in the first century of printing</i> (College Park, Md., 1977) |
| Hollstein, <i>Dutch and Flemish</i>           | F. W. H. Hollstein, <i>Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca.1450–1700</i> (Amsterdam, 1949– )   |
| Hollstein, <i>German</i>                      | F. W. H. Hollstein, <i>Hollstein's German engravings, etchings and woodcuts, 1400–1700</i> (Amsterdam, 1954– )   |
| <i>Hunt catalogue</i>                         | Jane Quinby and Allan Stevenson, <i>Catalogue of botanical books in the collection of Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt</i> , 2 vols. in 3 (Pittsburgh, 1958–61)          |
| IGI   | <i>Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia</i> , 6 vols. (Rome, 1943–81)   |
| ILC   | Gerard van Thienen and John Goldfinch (eds.), <i>Incunabula printed in the Low Countries; a census</i> (Nieuwkoop, 1999)   |
| Johns, <i>Nature of the book</i>              | Adrian Johns, <i>The nature of the book; print and knowledge in the making</i> (Chicago, 1998)   |
| JPHS  | <i>Journal of the Printing Historical Society</i>  |
| Landau and Parshall, <i>Renaissance print</i> | David Landau and Peter Parshall, <i>The renaissance print, 1470–1559</i> (New Haven, 1994)   |
| Love, <i>Scribal publication</i>              | Harold Love, <i>Scribal publication in seventeenth-century England</i> (Oxford, 1993); repr. as <i>The culture and commerce of texts</i> (Amherst, Mass., 1998)      |

xiv	List of abbreviations	
	McKitterick, <i>Cambridge University Press</i> , I	David McKitterick, <i>A history of Cambridge University Press</i> , I, <i>Printing and the book trade in Cambridge, 1534–1698</i> (Cambridge, 1992)
	McKitterick, <i>Cambridge University Press</i> , II	David McKitterick, <i>A history of Cambridge University Press</i> , II, <i>Scholarship and Commerce, 1698–1872</i> (Cambridge, 1998)
	Mortimer, <i>French</i>	Ruth Mortimer, <i>Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Art; catalogue of books and manuscripts</i> , I, <i>French 16th century books</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1964)
	Mortimer, <i>Italian</i>	Ruth Mortimer, <i>Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Art; catalogue of books and manuscripts</i> , II, <i>Italian 16th century books</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1974)
	Moxon, <i>Mechanick exercises</i>	Joseph Moxon, <i>Mechanick exercises of the whole art of printing</i> , ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1962)
	Nichols, <i>Literary Anecdotes</i>	John Nichols, <i>Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century</i> , 9 vols. (1812–16)
	Oates	J. C. T. Oates, <i>A catalogue of the fifteenth-century printed books in the University Library, Cambridge</i> (Cambridge, 1954)
	PBSA	<i>Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America</i>
	Philip, <i>Bodleian Library</i>	I. G. Philip, <i>The Bodleian Library in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries</i> (Oxford, 1983)
	Polain (B)	M. L. Polain, <i>Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique</i> , 5 vols. (Brussels, 1979)
	Rhodes, <i>Bookbindings</i>	D. E. Rhodes (ed.), <i>Bookbindings and other bibliophily; essays in honour of Anthony Hobson</i> (Verona, 1994)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Richardson, <i>Renaissance Italy</i>     | Brian Richardson, <i>Printing, writers and readers in Renaissance Italy</i> (Cambridge, 1999)   |
| Robinson, <i>Dated and datable</i>       | Pamela Robinson, <i>Catalogue of dated and datable manuscripts, c.737–1600, in Cambridge libraries</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1988)  |
| Rosenthal, <i>Manuscript annotations</i> | Bernard M. Rosenthal, <i>The Rosenthal collection of printed books with manuscript annotations</i> (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library) (New Haven, 1997)  |
| <i>Schäfer Katalog</i>                   | Manfred von Arnim, <i>Katalog der Bibliothek Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt, I, Drucke, Manuskripte und Einbände des XV. Jahrhunderts</i> , 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1984)  |
| SB                                       | <i>Studies in Bibliography</i>  |
| Simpson, <i>Proof-reading</i>            | Percy Simpson, <i>Proof-reading in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries</i> (Oxford, 1935)   |
| STC                                      | A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, <i>A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, &amp; Ireland, and of English books printed abroad, 1475–1640</i> , 2nd edn, revised by William A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer, with a chronological index by Philip R. Rider, 3 vols. (Bibliographical Soc., 1976–91) |
| TCBS                                     | <i>Transactions of Cambridge Bibliographical Society</i>  |
| Voet, <i>Golden compasses</i>            | Leon Voet, <i>The golden compasses</i> , 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1969–72)   |
| Wormald and Giles, <i>Fitzwilliam</i>    | Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles, <i>A descriptive catalogue of the additional manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1982)  |

*All books are published in London, unless stated otherwise.*