

## manuscript "revolution"

## the authority of the text and a "missing revolution"?

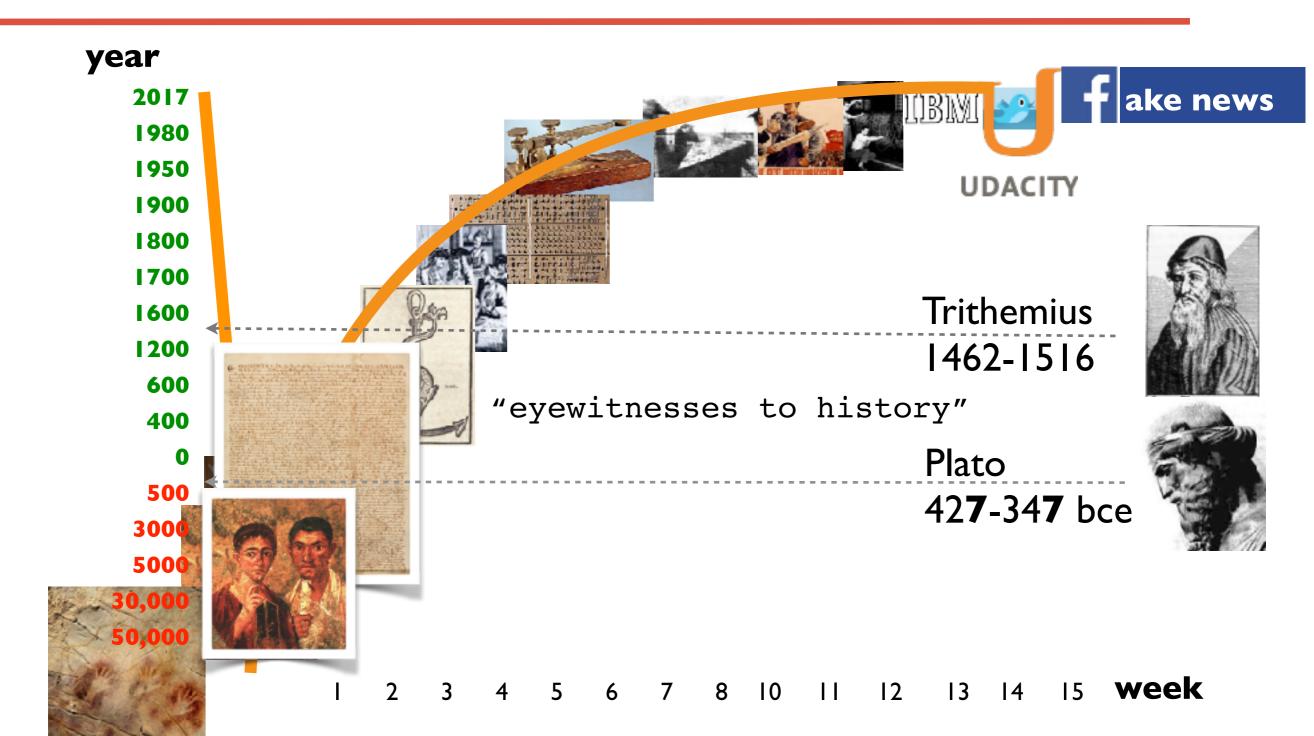
history of information February 2, 2017

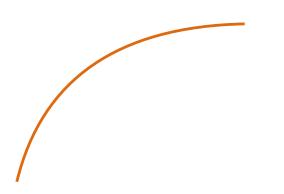






## a great leap forward





"By **Plato's time** the written word had created a new environment that had begun to detribalize man. Previously the Greeks ... had memorized the poets."

## technological effects

#### how to think about determinism

what happened? who/what was in

who/what was involved? and what did they think

what did (or did not) come before?

about it?

what did (or did not) follow?

what did (or did not) contribute?

what happened elsewhere?

what's likely to be underestimated?

what was necessary, what sufficient?

## Manuscript revolution?

## overview

unintended consequences

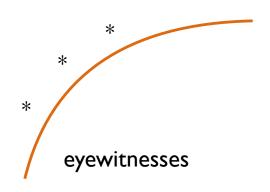
authority

technologies

eyewitnesses

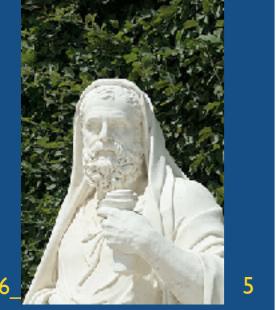






## Plato's perspective





#### that "new technology" -- writing

#### cast of characters

Socrates

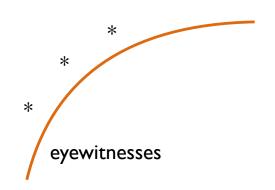
**Phaedrus** 

Lysias

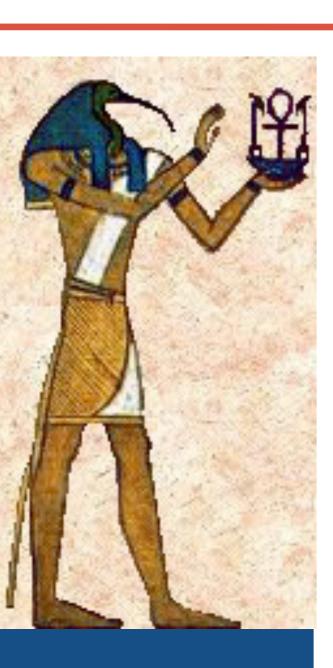
**Thamus** 

Theuth

**Thebes** 



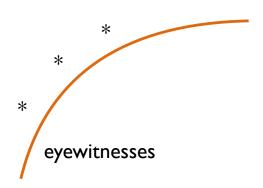
## what good is writing?



Theuth: "An accomplishment ... which will improve both the wisdom and the memory of the Egyptians ..."

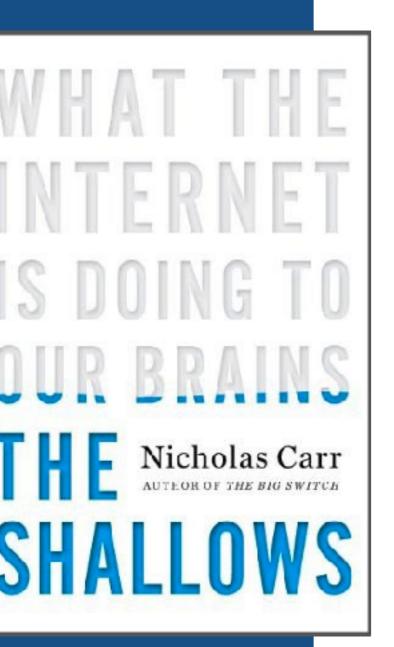
Thamus: "The discoverer of an art is not the best judge of the good or harm which will accrue to those who practice it."

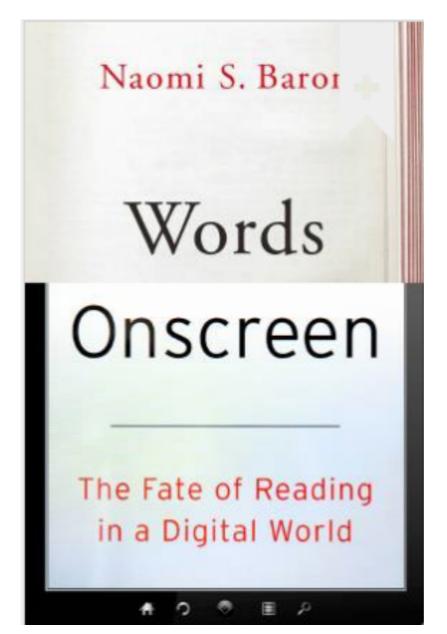
"... Those who acquire it will cease to exercise their memory and become forgetful; they will rely on writing to bring things to their remembrance by external signs instead of on their own internal resources."

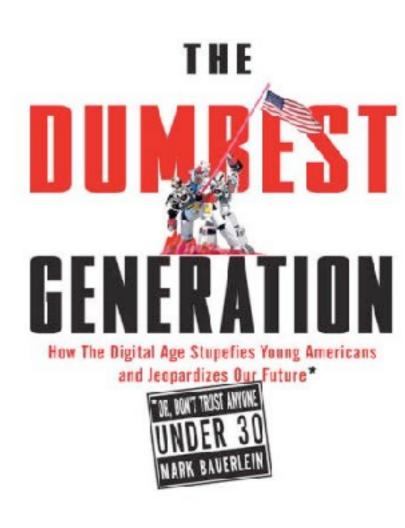


## Thamus updated?

#### generational revolution once more









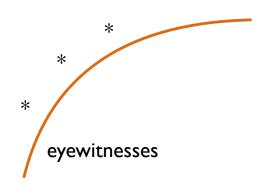
#### **Socrates Was Against Writing**

## implications: Socrates didn't like books

#### really?

"I am a lover of learning ... Men lead hungry animals by waving a branch or some vegetables before their noses, and it looks as if you will lead me all over Attica and anywhere else you please ... by waving the leaves of a speech [book] in front of me"

"Plato ...had such a love of books that he bought three books ... at the price of 10,000 denarii. Aristotle ... acquired a few books for three Attic talents which amounts to 72,000 nummii."



## Socratic concerns



#### **Phaedrus**

memory

speeches

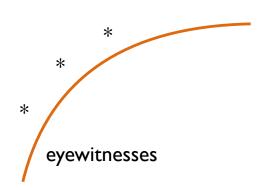
rhetoric

sophists

writing

wisdom

truth [and authority]





## Socratic concerns



#### **Phaedrus**

memory

speeches

rhetoric

sophists

writing

wisdom

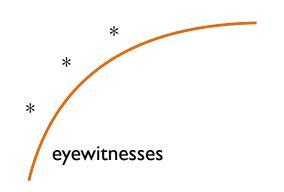
truth [and authority]

dialectic



#### CLIMATE CHANGE: THE HOAX THAT COSTS US \$4 BILLION A DAY





#### Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

post-gazette.com







The facts don't add up for human-caused global

warming

May 29, 2014 4:38 PM

writing vs wisdom

## Socrates' concerns

"Writing circulates equally among those who understand the subject and those who have no business with it."

"for wisdom, your pupils will have the reputation for it without the reality; they will receive a quantity of information without proper instruction, and in consequence be thought very knowledgeable when they are for the most part quite ignorant."





### DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL,

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

No. 43. Vol. I.

J. S. FOLDS, 5, BACHELOR'S WALK.

APRIL 20, 1833.

## recurring info-problems?

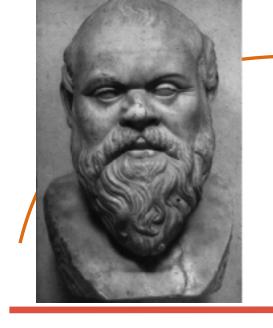
# Socrates' concerns endure

#### INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE.

There is a wide and obvious distinction between knowledge and information. A man may be well-informed who possesses but an indifferent stock of knowledge. Information may consist in such a general idea of things, as to enable a man to talk about them, but knowledge comprehends the minutia of every thing within its scope. A well-informed man may be able to take a share in almost every conversation arising in the company in which he is present. Talk of politics-he knows public characters, understands daily changes, is not astray with a new ministry, or at fault with a foreign ambassador. Talk of astronomy-he is aware that the sun is our centre, that the earth has a twofold revolution, that there are a number of other planets revolving in like manner round the sun, and that the fixed stars are in all probability suns, the centres of other systems. Touch upon any topiche has information upon all, and can talk respectably upon all. But the man of knowledge can lay down the boundaries of kingdoms, track the courses of rivers, lay his finger on the constellations, and has a well-defined meaning attached to his ideas. You may, by plausible ingenuity, deceive and bewilder an informed man-but the man of knowledge is secured in his footing, and cannot be easily overcome.



THE DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL. 1833



## writing, dialectics, & truth

"Writing involves a similar disadvantage to painting ... if you ask [words] what they mean ... they simply return the same answer over and over ... writing cannot distinguish between suitable and unsuitable readers ..."

"written composition aimed at creating belief without any attempt at instruction."

"when a man employs the art of dialectic, and, fastening upon a suitable soul, plants and sows in it truths accompanied by knowledge ... such truths can defend themselves ..."

"Speech ... written on the soul of the hearer"

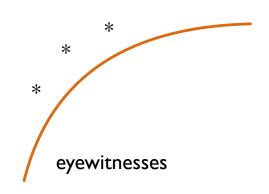


## remember?

## Socrates' concerns

"But though books are easily procured, yet, even in this age of information, there are thousands in the lower classes that cannot read. Besides, it is a well-known truth, that the same precepts inculcated by a living instructor, adorned by a proper oratory, enforced by a serious and authoritative manner, produce a powerful effect, not to be experienced in solitary retirement."

—Vicesimus Knox, Essays Moral and Literary, 1778



## More People Were Affected by Travel Ban Than Trump Initially Said

By RON NIXON JAN. 31, 2017

## ashamed no more?

# Socrates' concerns endure

"... most influential statesmen are ashamed of writing speeches and leaving them in written form, lest they should be called Sophists by posterity.

Go and tell .. Solon and anyone who has written ... political utterances. ... If any of them had knowledge of the truth when he wrote, and can defend what he has written by submitting to an interrogation ... "

## Manuscript revolution?

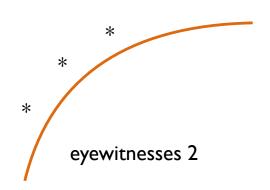
unintended consequences

authority

technologies

eyewitnesses 2

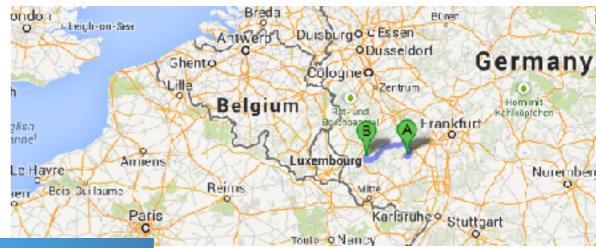




## the set up



Trithemius (1462-1516)
native of Trittenheim (B)
Abbot of St Martin's,
Sponheim (A),1483-1505





#### Platonic?

"Scripture records
the past truthfully,
interprets the
present more
intelligibly."



#### 

EPISTOLA

IOHANNIS TRITHEMII ABBATIS SPANHE-MENSIS AD DOMINUM GERLACUM ABBATEM TVITIENSIS CANOBIL



ESI E.E. A.B.I.L. I de amantifisme patri Domine Corless de Srontiach Ab. The ST Testion for State Same Same, fraire takenande Desiredom, co. rature Abbas in Spanhous, classican ardina fainteen de caritacione Casa anpar de annali capitala Erfuedas celebrata finas renertentes de maiof ate diamount fingen oran varia insign trailorance de per sarum filindarum aufrem caligiment quandam giarisfam finife diamentat i perifik "a è me sum multa serituris informia, ne cui atquita firsioneme, que caes ad à…

SIMI VIRI, REVERENDIQUE IN CHRI Boparia, dominil sh init de l'intentem Abbatis Span homentis, Liber de recleiatricis feripenellus



Lemens fander Romane ecclefar quartus a beato Perrot yr quiboldam placet ordinaces epicopus, nations Romanus, vir fan écus & deo calectus, morum quoqu decore omatus, cuim vita & pall o in furiproris ec e lestafficis habentur, fedit in ponuficaru mouem annis & decorredicbus, la recitam profide Christi relegatus animo cestanti, Obijeanno Traiani Cesteis terrio, domi-

tyr nonnallia fide & eraditione plenas fertur in persona Romane erairine forepittle epittelas. De quota excit percepus Ad eccletam Corinthiorum Epittelavus.

Ad facobi quog aportuius Epittelavus.

Franteres ininerarii vita fue
libri decem. Cum in vebe Roma.

Przeteres minerarij vite faze liber decem. Cum in vebe Roma.
Icem disputationis Petri liber vent.
Hara ante dan whima walamina inter spocryphs objettantur, ve pa
ser. et. diff. Sedir Romana. Ferund dan & alic septe, fedapooryphr.

Long fans Anopagita Athenicalis, philosophus integris,
per beatum Paslam apost olium contourius ad fidem, primari ve quibus Lam placed Athenicalis epistopas ordina
rus rit, vir eximite fanchitatus & incomparabila doctrina. Hunc post decessium apostolosis beatus Chemens Rom me vebus pistopas că Rustico pref bytero se Eleustrenia diacunatul fidcandă grisbus verba denanite în Ferham, alio in trus total optimato
episcopo. Ser pite autem gravea femanate multa perclara opascula.
De quibus spud beimos matumino em fabicăta.
De ceclestistica hierarchia
De ceclestistica hierarchia
De diuinis nominibus
De mystica theologia

lib.1. Secretori qualem aft.
lib.1. Tent cas superiidistica,
lib.1. Tent cas superiidistica,
lib.1. Tent cas superiidistica,

the standard view?



#### Trithemius praised scribes ...

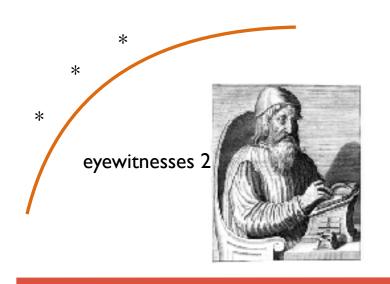
"monks shouldn't stop copying because of the invention of printing"

#### ... so he didn't like print?

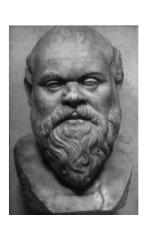
"It is my greatest pleasure to own and to know all books I ever saw or which I knew to have appeared in print ... To my regret money was always lacking ... for the satisfaction of my passion for books."

1483: 48 books in monastery library

**1505**: 2,000



## Trithemius & Socrates



#### rebellious youth?

"monks shouldn't stop copying because of the invention of printing"

#### ... doubts about new tech?

"findings of scholar ... never reach posterity without the skill of the scribe ... forgotten ... printed book ... quickly disappear...

"the sermon ... vanishes into air ... the preacher's office dies with him ...

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



## reading between the lines

#### ... and the how - learning through writing

"Since Scripture cannot be read until it is written, it is both profitable and necessary for monasteries to train monks carefully in the art of writing"

"Every word we write is imprinted more forcefully on our minds." [cp Socrates: "written on the soul of the hearer"]

"findings of scholars ... never reach posterity without the skill of the scribe" [coming up: Erasmus]





Why Using Pen And Paper, Not Laptops, Boosts Memory: Writing Notes Helps Recall Concepts, Ability To Understand

Feb 6, 2014 12:18 PM By Lizette Borreli

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"findings of scholars ... never reach posterity without the skill of the scribe"

St. Bonaventure 1221-1274

## dialectics of "copying"

Quadruplex est modus faciendi librum. Aliquis enim scribit aliena, nihil addendo vel mutanda; et iste mere dicitur scriptor. Aliquis scribit aliena addendo, sed no de suo; et iste compilator dicitur. Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua tamquam annexa ad evidentia; et iste dicitur commentator non auctor. Aliquis scribit et sua et aliena, se sua tamquam / principia, aliena tamquam annexa ad confirmationem et debit dici auctor.

There are four ways to write a book. One just writes the other's words, adding nothing; that is merely called the writer. Another writes another's words, adding, though not from his own work; and that one is called the compiler. A third writes both the other's and his own words, but gives precedence to the other and attaches his own by way of explanation; that one is called a commentator. Yet another writes both the other's and his own, but his are the principal ones, the other's annexed for confirmation; such aught to be called an author.



"parchment will last a thousand years. The printed word is on paper. How long will it last?"

## only an ancient problem?

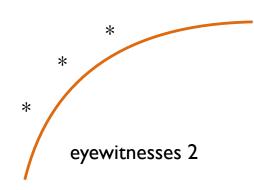


Magna Carta June 15,1215

#### magna carta or magna curta?







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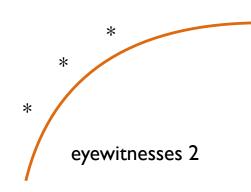


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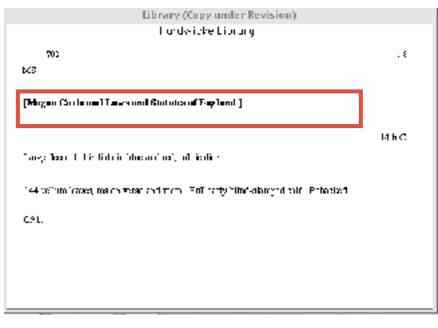
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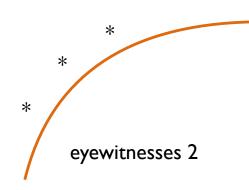


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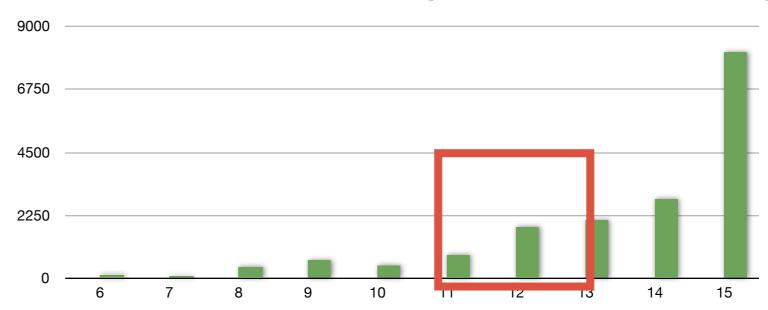


"It is both **profitable** and necessary for monasteries to train monks carefully in the art of writing"

## not just spiritual concerns?

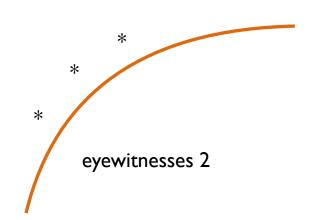


#### Shifts in MS Production in Europe, 6th-15th century

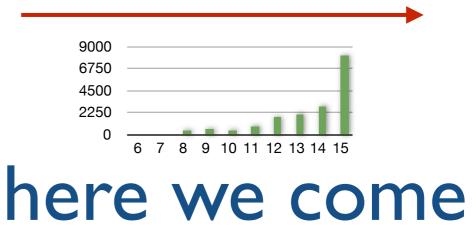


Buringh & van Zanden, "Charting the 'Rise of the West': Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe" Journal of Economic History 2009
"By 1200 most scribes were professionals
instead of being monks"

— Michael Clanchy, "Parchment and Paper," 2008









#### from monastery to university

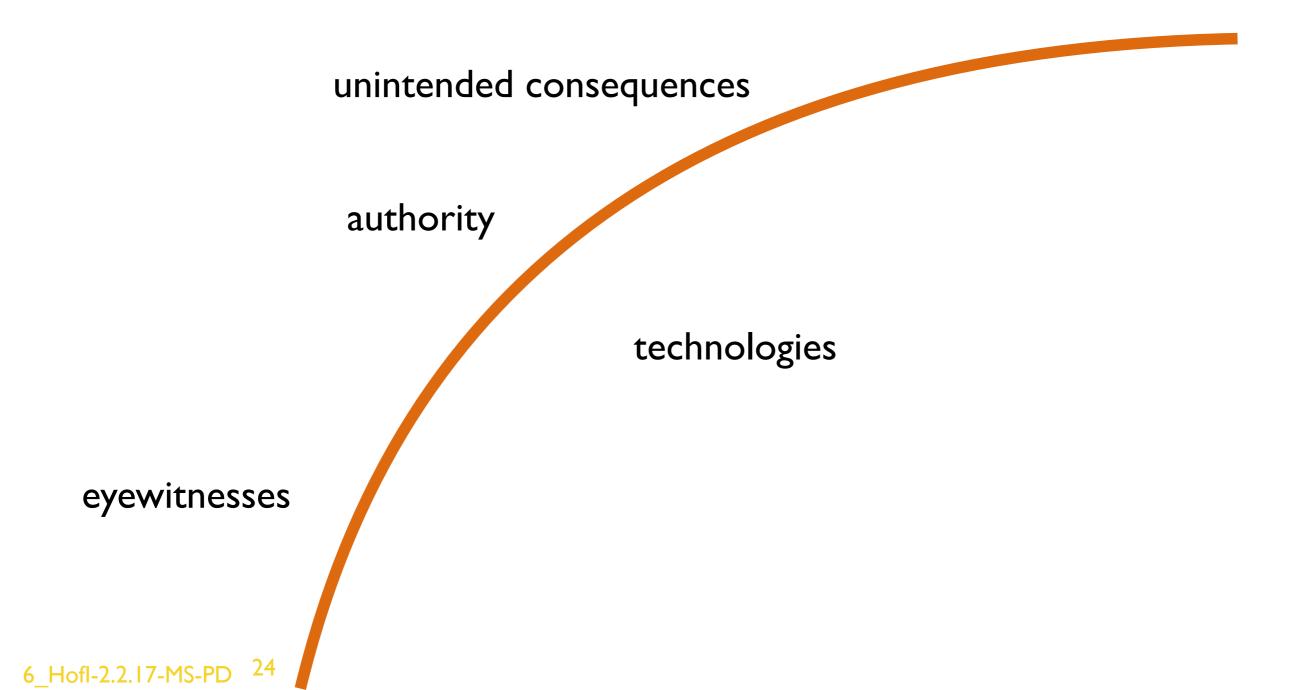
"In the 700 years between the Fall of Rome and the 12th century, it was the monasteries .... which enjoyed an almost complete monopoly of book production and so of book culture.... from the end of the 12th century a profound transformation took place ... reflected in the founding of the universities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

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

#### [but

"We owe to the holdings amassed in ... monasteries most of what has survived of the writings in Latin and Greek"]

## Manuscript revolution?













Bullae and tokens

### Early cunieform material matters

#### and "immutable mobiles"?

stone

clay

boow

wax

parchment/vellum

papyrus

palm

bamboo

silk

paper

ink











Bullae and tokens
material matters

Early cunieform

#### and "immutable mobiles"?

stone

clay

boow

wax

"bees' wax with
metal stylus ...
slivers of fir
wood recycled
from old barrels"

parchment/vellum

papyrus



bamboo

silk paper ink UK's oldest hand-written document 'at Roman London dig'

⊙ 1 June 2016 | London

Share

Happy 1960th, give or take



Over 400 tablets were found at the site, 87 of which have been deciphered

Roman tablets discovered during an excavation in London include the oldest hand-written document ever found in Britain, archaeologists have revealed.

The Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) said it had deciphered a document, from 8 January AD 57, found at the dig at Bloomberg's new headquarters.



"parchment will last a thousand years. The printed word is on paper. How long will it last?"

[or How much will it cost?]

## material changes





#### geographical determinism?

bark
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



"parchment will last a thousand years. The printed word is on paper. How long will it last?"

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## material changes



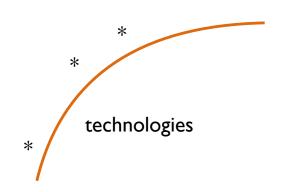
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paper

-- John North, God's Clockmaker, 2005



## technological leaders?



Ts'ai Lun 62-121

#### paper

China 200 bce

Korea 3d century ce

India 5th century

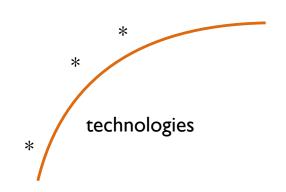
Japan 7th century

Islam 8th century

Jews 10th century

Byzantium 9th century

-along the "Silk Road"

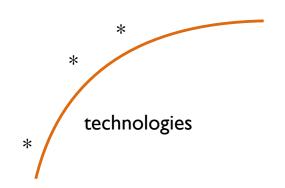


## technological leaders?



Ts'ai Lun 62-121

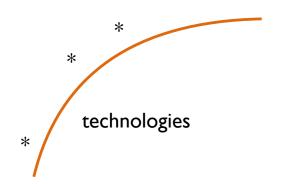
paper		w. Europe:	
China	200 bce	Spain	1056 [?]
Korea	3d century ce	Italy,	1255
India	5th century	France	1348
Japan	7th century	Germany	1390
Islam	8th century	Switzerland	1411
Jews	10th century	Britain	1494
Byzantium	9th century	Russia	1690
-along the '	'Silk Road"	USA	1690/1



## "dark ages"

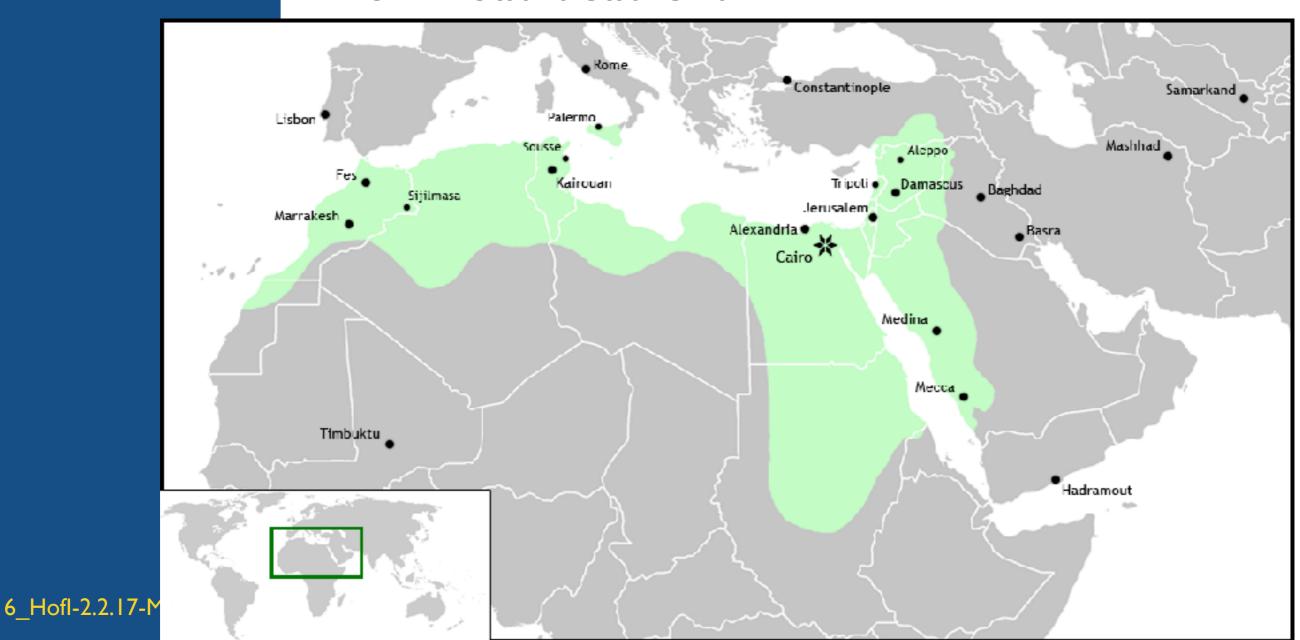
#### silk road dead end

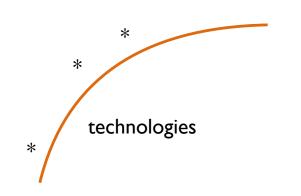




## "dark ages"

#### silk road dead end







## unrevolution?



### a missing "revolution"?

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

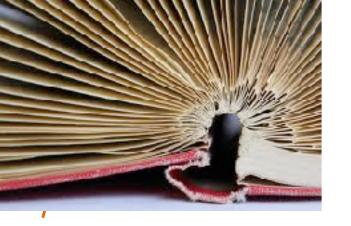
— Roger Chartier, Forms and Meaning, 1995

Pompeii, c 79 ce

"Homerus ... Vergilius ... Cicero ... Titus Livy ... in membranus...quam brevis immensum cepit membrana" —Martial (c38-103), Epigrams

#### pugillares

"Printed books will never be the equivalent of handwritten **codices**" — Trithemius





# technologically determined?

#### parchment to paper

China, 200 bce

Korea, 3d century ce

India, 5th century

Japan, early 7th century

Islam, 8th century

Byzantium, 9th century

Jews, 10th century

#### scroll to codex

Christians, 2d century

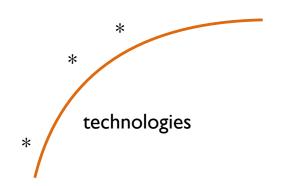
Islam, 8-9th century

Jews, 8-9th century

China, 9th (butterfly)
13th (thread binding)

Korea, ?12th century (sutra binding)

Japan 18th century



# codex - superior technology?



## order of importance?

pagination

marginalia

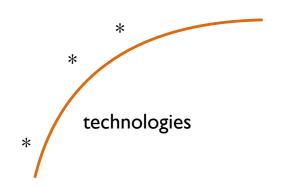
footnotes

indexes

one handed

two-sided

random access



# do we trivialize the past?





Edwin Smith
Papyrus
c. 1600 ce
NY Academy of Medicine
6\_Hofl-2.2.17-MS-PD 32

handy pages divisions

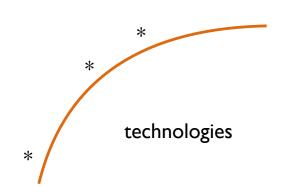
(incipits, explicits, colophons, sillyboi)





#### "Discovered as a possibility, television ...

... had unforeseen consequences"



## what sort of determinism?

### order of importance?

pagination

marginalia

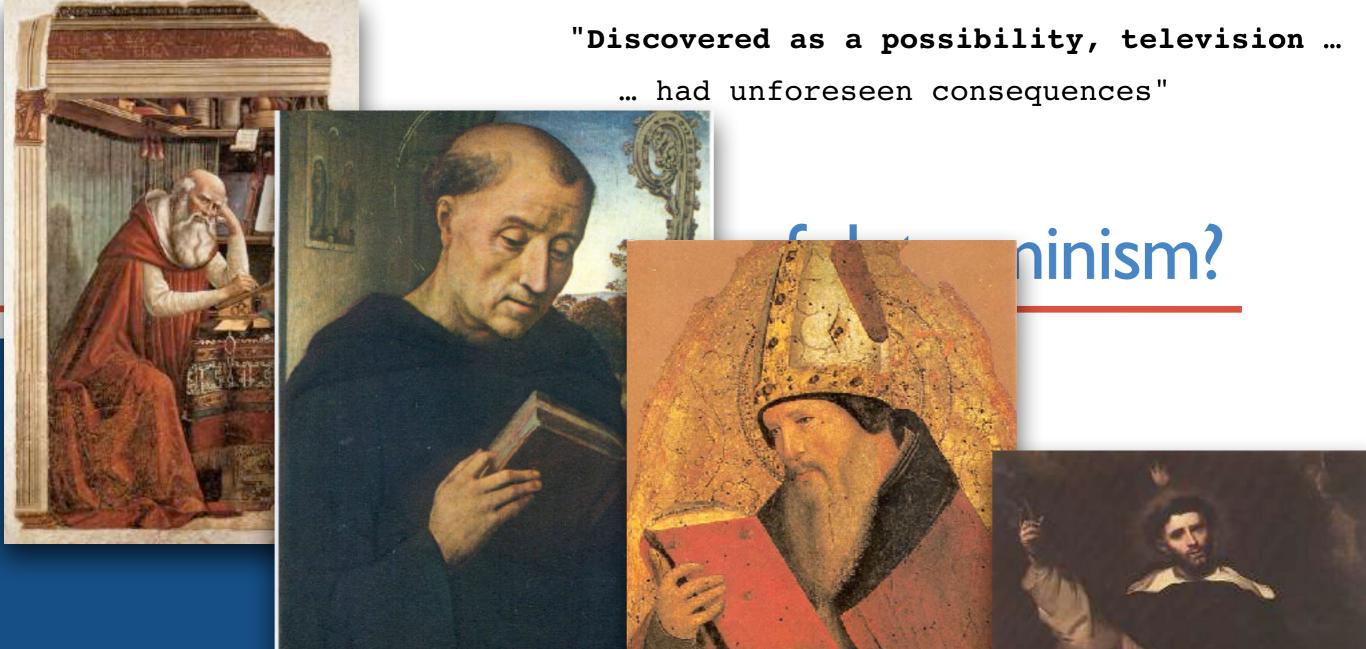
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one handed

two-sided

random access



<a href="#link">Link</a>`

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# critical advantage?

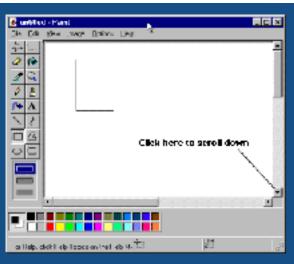
## knowing your place?

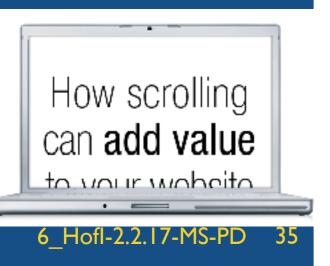












bottom();

# codex to scroll back to the future?

# Manuscript revolution?

## overview

unintended consequences

authority

technologies

eyewitnesses



Deferred notification.

**WhatsApp** 

New voice message.

Description

Jan 8 3:26 PM 07 seconds

#### autoplay

### Skype

You have missed message.

View messages.

#### Gmail

Delayed notification.

View notifications.

#### facebook

You have missed notification.

View notifications.

"Knowledge of Scripture .. Nobody will doubt your words, kings and princes will call you friend and the farthest ends of the earth will praise you." —Trithemius

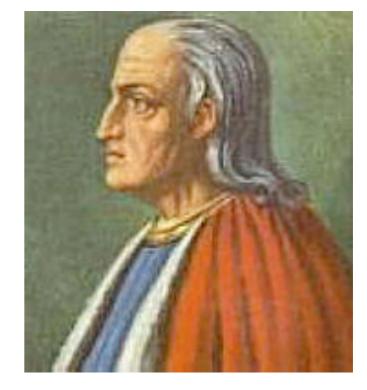
## what/whom to trust?

### Henry I vs Anselm

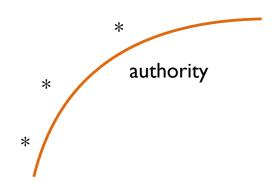
"We don't accept the evidence of monks or bishops, why should we accept that of a sheepskin?"



Henry I 1068-1135



St. Anselm 1033-1109



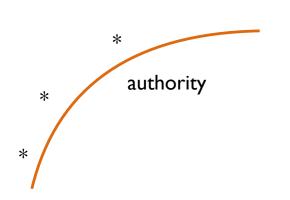
"Knowledge of Scripture .. Nobody will doubt your words, kings and princes will call you friend and the farthest ends of the earth will praise you." —Trithemius

## Socrates not alone?

#### Hadith & Isnäd

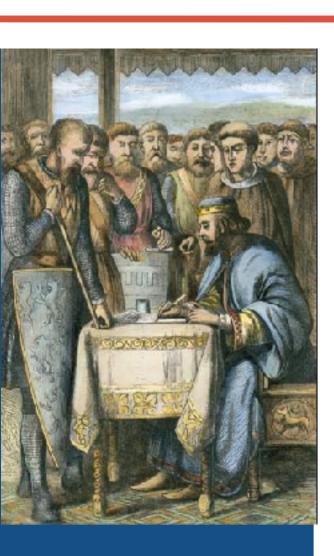
"documenting the authenticity of all transmission of knowledge ... truth does not reside in documents, however authentic, ancient, or well-preserved, but in authentic human beings ... Documents alone, without a line of persons possessed of both knowledge and righteousness ... are useless ... a book ... of no use without ... certification of a master."

—Graham, "Traditionalism in Islam," 1993





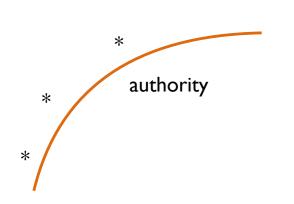
## quo warrento



#### medieval contracts

"usual practice ... to preserve the memory of a title to property in the object that symbolized their possession ... Earl Warenne in a gift to Lewes priory in 1147 had given it possession by the hairs of his head; these, together with his brother's, were cut off before the altar."

-- Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record, 1993





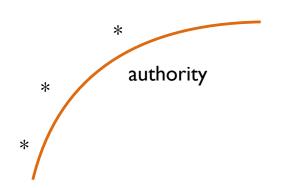
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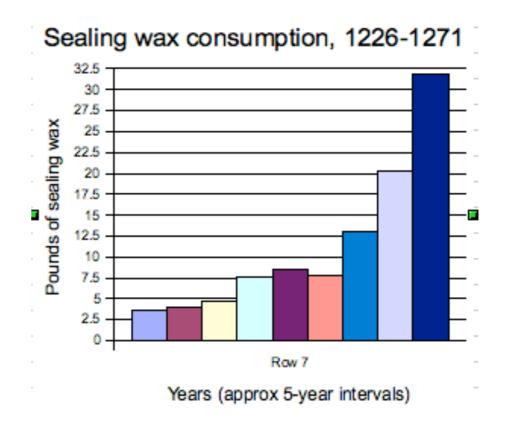


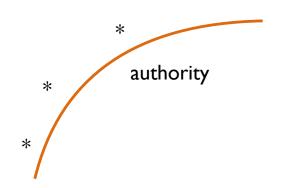
# sealing the deal

### icon/index/symbol









## not just mediaeval

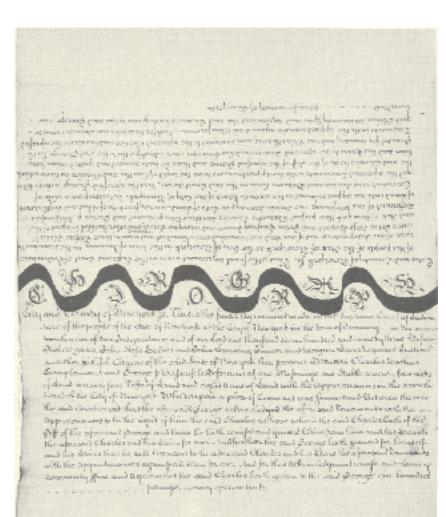
## icon, index, symbol

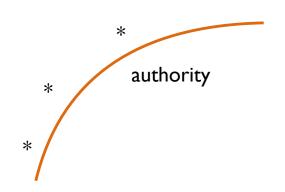
#### causal connections?

... rusty swords, knives, cups, staffs cut

from the land; chirographs,

## chirograph





## not just mediaeval

### icon, index, symbol

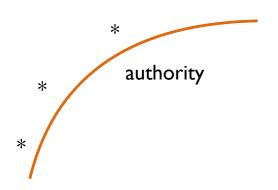
#### causal connections?

... rusty swords, knives, cups, staffs cut from the land; chirographs, seals, signatures,

### chirograph

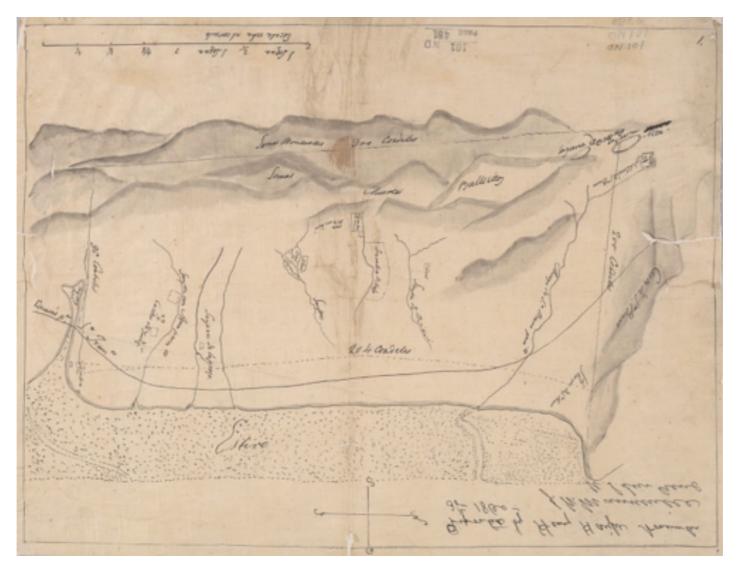
TOTAL STATE OF THE PROPERTY OF

"Fine and Recovery:
Conveyance of
property,
7th Ward NYC, 1793



# documenting ownership ancient issues?

### Buri Buri land grant 1827-1872



#### Title

[Diseño del Rancho Buri Buri : San Mateo Co., Calif.]

#### Description:

4362 B840n verso: Deposited ... November 30th, 1860. From: U.S. District Court. California, Northern District. Land Case 101 ND, page 481; land case map D-231 (Bancroft Library). José de la Cruz Sanchez, clmt. Penand-ink and watercolor. Relief shown by shading.

#### Creator/Contributor:

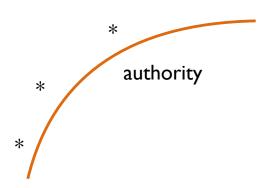
United States. District Court (California : Northern District). Land case. 101, Related Name Indexing Term Date:

#### \*\*\*\*

1860

#### Contributing Institution:

UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library

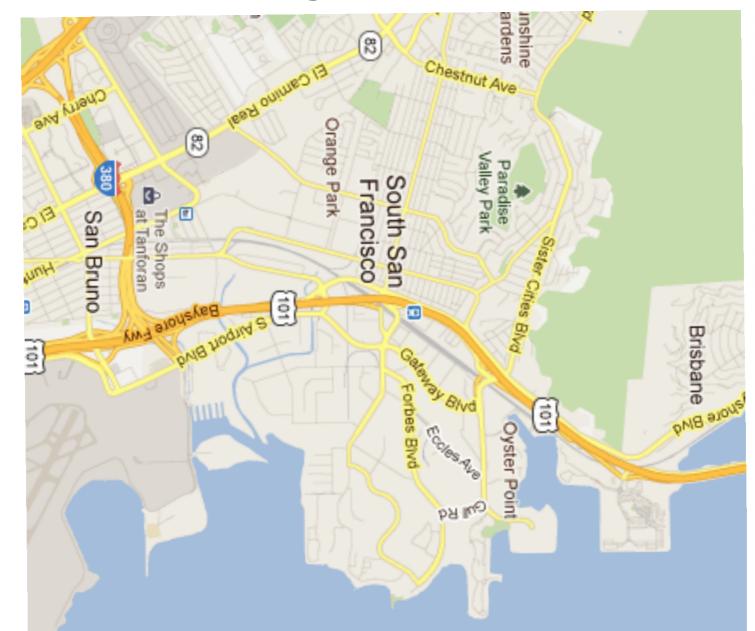


# documenting ownership ancient issues?

"Miller & Lux,
San Francisco
wholesale
butchers, have
450,000 [acres]
... These men are
the Lords of
California ... as
truly as every
were ribboned
Dukes or belted
Barons."

George Henry,
Our Land and Land
Policy, 1911

## Buri Buri land grant 1827-1872



#### Title

[Diseño del Rancho Buri Buri : San Mateo Co., Calif.]

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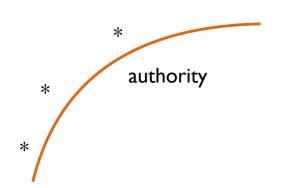
#### Creator/Contributor:

United States, District Court (California : Northern District), Land case, 101, Related Name Indexing Term

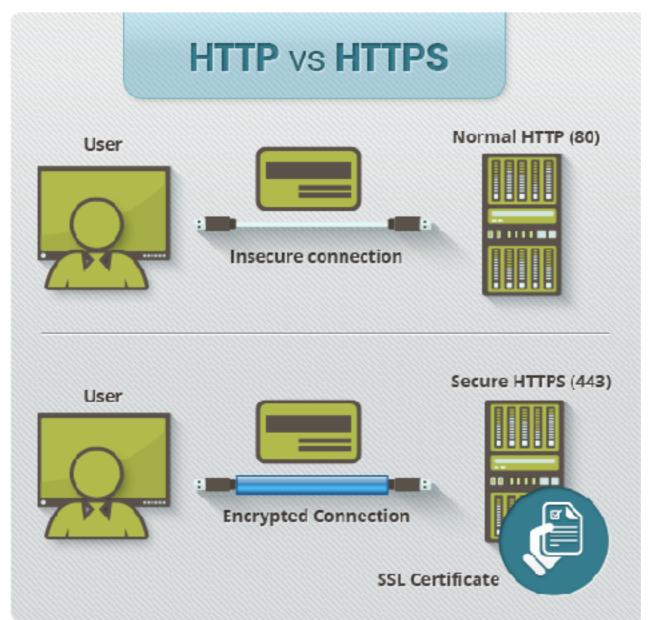
#### 1880

#### Contributing Institution:

UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library



# not just 19th century



failed certification



DNC Emails Hacked by Russia After Aide Made Typo, Investigation Finds

# Manuscript revolution?

"Discovered as a possibility, television ... had unforeseen consequences" — Williams



## overview

authority

technologies

eyewitnesses

unintended consequences



## unintended consequences

### quo warranto? — the true forgery?

"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."

--Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record

# trustworthy?

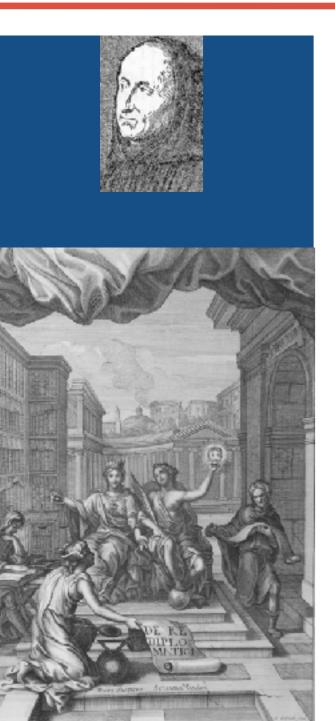
The "Donation"
apparently
giving,
authority of
the western
Roman empire to
the bishop of
Rome
(ie. the Pope),
Silvester
(314-335).

## donations of Constantine (c. 750-800)



forgery recognized by Nicholas of Cusa, 1565

## science of diplomatics

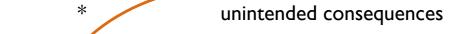


### **Jean Mabillon** (1632-1707)

De Re Diplomatica, 1681

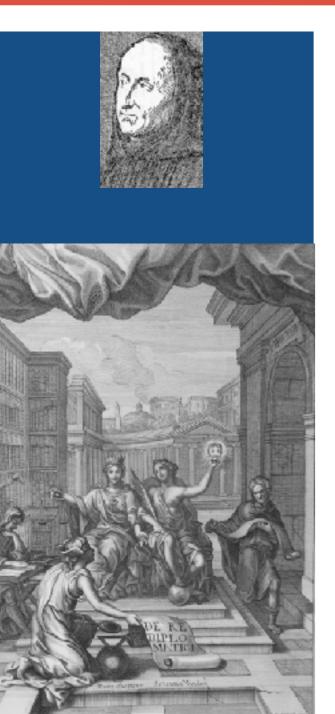
```
"the Reformation era ... bringing to light thousands of documents .. hitherto inaccessible and unknown. ... France pioneered in this new historical research ... Mabillon .... Montfaucon."
```

-- James Thompson,
"The Age of Mabillon," 1942





## science of diplomatics



### **Jean Mabillon** (1632-1707)

De Re Diplomatica, 1681

"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

# from authority to ...

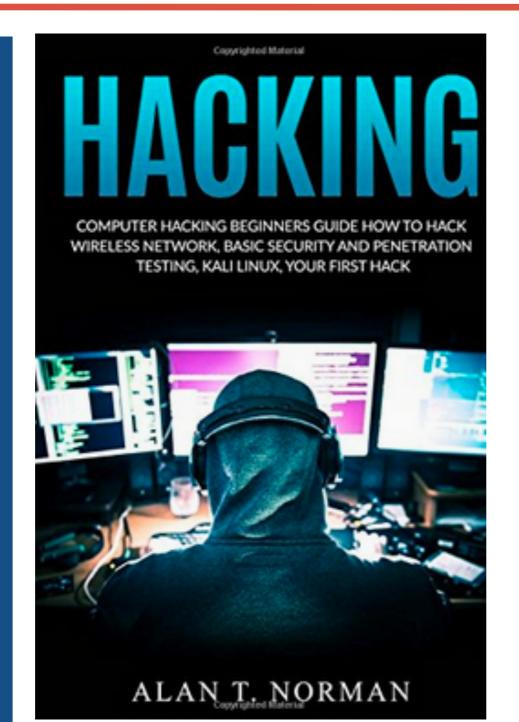
### a guide to forgery

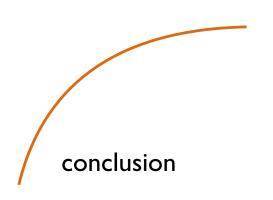
Mabillon "had exposed the fabricated charters of the Carmelite Father Andrew, in a model memorandum which later fell into the forger's hand, and was taken by him to heart with such good effect that he was able with a subsequent fabrication to have his revenge by planting one of his forgeries ... on Mabillon himself"

-- David Knowles



# revolution: going round in circles?





## in sum

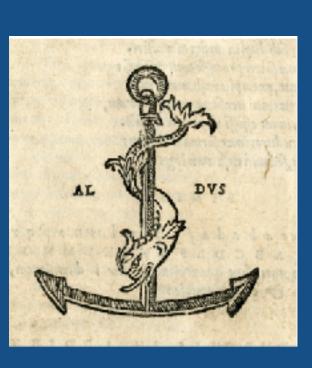
it's not just information
message and medium
the challenge of "immutable mobiles"
concerns from content to credibility
in/security



dog in the manger, one foot in the grave, cart before the horse, in the same boat, no stone unturned, .... festina lente



## at last, a real "revolution"?



#### festina lente

6\_Hofl-2.2.17-MS-PD

## and so to Gutenberg

7 Feb: Print "Revolution"

Printing is often credited with producing the first great technological revolution, bringing about, some have argued, democracy, science, and modern society. Today, people often herald the significance of a technology with the lead "not since the invention of the printing press ...." The readings for this class look at how print appeared to contemporaries: to Desiderius Erasmus (1467?-1536), one of the great figures of the European Enlightenment, and to William Caxton (1415?-1492), who brought printing technology from continental Europe to England. The readings call on us to consider how these views, published over 500 years ago, fit with the great claims made for printing (and technology more generally) today.

#### Required Readings

Erasmus, Desiderius. 2001 [1506], *The Adages of Erasmus*. William Barker (ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Read: "Festina Lente" (Adage III.1) pp. 132-153.

Source: Course reader [note on some right-hand pages the ends of the lines are missing]

Caxton, William. 1475. Printer's Prologue to Raoul Lefevre's History of Troy.

[look to bottom of page for Roman type].

Source: bCourses



## assignment





How do these early accounts of printing—one from Erasmus, the scholar, and one from Caxton, the printer—differ and what can these differences tell us about the introduction of printing? Which account would either (a) Plato or (b) Trithemius favor?

