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FEEDFORWARD

An Analysis of Inventory Books' Visualities
Using Scholarship about Medieval Manuscripts

1540297
Supervised by Professor Michelle P. Brown

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Manuscript images featured in this dissertation are all extracted from the British Library's digitised manuscripts collection due to the limited accessibility of the physical materials.

The irony of this dissertation's visuality is not lost on me.

INTRODUCTION: THE MEDIUM IS MAGICAL

In Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* (1953), character Professor Faber assures the protagonist that 'books were only one type of receptacle where we stored a lot of things we were afraid we might forget. There is nothing magical in them at all. The magic is only in what books say, how they stitched the patches of the universe together into one garment for us.'¹ Faber's statement reflects a modern priority of text before form, before image. In a society wherein the appearance of a book's pages largely adheres to a standardised layout – that is, blocks of black text on a white background – the Professor Fabers of the world have come to expect reading experiences that are almost entirely textual. The layout of a text rarely seems to be regarded as important, if it is consciously noticed at all.²

During the 1960s and 1970s, a series of non-fiction mass-market paperbacks, which Jeffrey T. Schnapp and Adam Michaels call 'inventory books', was published. The term was inspired by the subtitles of the first two books from this series, written by Marshall McLuhan, designed by Quentin Fiore, and coordinated by Jerome Agel: the first, and best-known, being *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (1967) and then *War and Peace in the Global Village: An Inventory of Some of the Current Spastic Situations That Could be Eliminated by More Feedforward* (1968). These publications offered an 'inventory' of 'technology's impact on the contemporary psyche and society', Schnapp and Michaels explain. 'Fast-paced verbal-visual collages, intermedia

¹ Ray Bradbury, *Fahrenheit 451* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1953; repr. London: Harper Voyager, 2004), pp. 107-108.

² This dissertation uses the term 'layout' in favour of the more general 'form', as its focus is on the appearance of the page rather than on material composition.

hybrids, nonlinear “COLLIDE-O-SCOPIC” look-arounds aimed squarely at the contemporary scene and at younger readers, INVENTORY BOOKS made the rhythmic sequencing, laying, and interleaving of photographic-textual combinations their stock and trade.’³ These books strayed from the typical visual linearity of printed books of the time and instead presented unconventional page layouts through incorporation of imagery, changes in font style and size, and unusual word placement and orientation.

Following their work with McLuhan on the creation of the two inventory books referenced above, Fiore and Agel went on to collaborate with other contemporary writers such as R. Buckminster Fuller for *I Seem To Be a Verb* (1970), Jerry Rubin for *Do It!: Scenarios of the Revolution* (1970), and Herman Khan for *Herman Kahnsciousness: The Megaton Ideas of the One-Man Think Tank* (1973), as well as other prominent thinkers of the day such as Stanley Kubrick (1970), Alan Lakein (1975), and Carl Sagan (1975). Inventory books, as they are considered here, only include those books produced by Fiore and Agel. A more fulsome list of inventory books, as well as other works that could be classified as additional inventory material (such as the *Whole Earth Catalog* or *Aspen Magazine*, the ‘magazine in a box’), is provided in Appendix A. This dissertation concentrates on the McLuhan, Fuller, Rubin, and Kahn books to highlight the recurrent themes of the series. The specific visual examples selected represent visual strategies employed repeatedly throughout the series.

This dissertation compares inventory books to two of the most renowned British manuscripts of the fourteenth century: the Luttrell Psalter (British

³ Jeffrey T. Schnapp and Adam Michaels, *The Electric Information Age Book: McLuhan/Agel/Fiore and the Experimental Paperback* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2012), p. 27.

Library Add MS 42130) and the Queen Mary Psalter (British Library Royal MS 2 B VII). While inventory books and the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters all use text and imagery in unique ways, they all appear to use visuality to elaborate upon that addressed in their texts. These visualities are more than just illustrative: they appealed to both the personal and collective dispositions of their books' intended readers, affirming readers' identities while simultaneously conveying implicit and explicit commentary on contemporary culture. Readers were encouraged to reflect not just upon that included in the books, but also upon the greater cultural contexts within which the books were produced.

It should be noted that the focus of this dissertation is on inventory books. The Psalters and the scholarship about them that I use for comparative purposes serve as just one lens through which to view this uncharted territory. In this dissertation, I apply extant theories about medieval manuscript visuality and reading practices to understand the complexities and overall significance of inventory books' unconventional page layouts. Scholarship about medieval manuscripts offers the basic framework for my consideration of inventory books.

This dissertation yields to Sydney Walker's definition of visuality. Visuality, Walker explains, refers to the socialisation of the physical and psychological processes of vision. 'This socialization is a network of cultural meanings generated from various discourses that shape the social practices of vision.'⁴ When I refer to the visualities of medieval manuscripts and inventory books, I do so in recognition of the respective social circumstances surrounding vision that influenced and were influenced by the conventional page layouts of

⁴ Sydney Walker, 'Artmaking in an Age of Visual Culture: Vision and Visuality', *International Journal of Arts Education*, 2.3 (2004), 72-92 (p. 75).

the day. As Jay David Bolter writes, ‘to read is to choose and follow one path from among those suggested by the layout of the text.’⁵ Readers’ experiences are often heavily mediated by visual conventions (for example, page numbers) that prompt readers to follow particular paths. Inventory books, however, deviate from the conventional visuality of modern books, offering readers opportunities to stray from any one path, or to pave their own paths by determining meaning through cognitive association.

Also worth noting is that the ‘modern books’ referred to in this dissertation are specifically English-language printed books in codex form, produced in Western contexts for Western readers within the last hundred years. Although books around the world appear to adhere to similar visual conventions, I have limited my scope so as to avoid generalities. Further, I limit my consideration of modern books to books that are text-based, using imagery for primarily illustrative purposes. Books that are image-based (for example, graphic novels and artists’ books) require specialised attention that is not given here.

The Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters have been selected for this comparison because the substantial extant scholarship about them enables interpretive analyses of their visualities to be applied to this treatise. The foundations – individual image descriptions and historical identifications, for example – have already been laid. The Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters were also chosen for this comparison because they were produced contemporaneously. Their similar circumstances of production streamline the

⁵ Jay David Bolter, *Writing Space: The Computer, Hypertext, and the History of Writing* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991), p. 108.

discussion. This said, the comparative exercise undergone herein could be applied using any medieval manuscript that utilises visuality in similar ways as shown.

Schnapp and Michaels imply a connection between print and manuscript in their critique of a facsimile of Lewis Carroll's original hand-written and illustrated *Alice's Adventures Underground*. They note that, when considered alongside its print edition, one sees 'a new media constellation in which the gap once separating handwritten manuscripts from print artifacts from television-age publishing models has collapsed.'⁶ Whether the distinctive gap has ever really existed is debatable – such scholars as Nancy Barta-Smith and Danette DiMarco believe that it has not⁷ – but that the established visuality of printed books was and is called into question by inventory books' page layouts is undeniable. 'Various labels and genre designations came and went over the [twentieth] century,' write Schnapp and Michaels:

But not one core conviction: that off-set lithography, photography, telegraphy, telephony, radio, moving pictures (and, later, video, television, and electronic data networks), shaped by and shaping, in turn, new social needs and expectations, had disrupted the galaxy of the Gutenbergian book and created the preconditions for a communications revolution. A gulf had opened up between the printed page – with its well-oiled typographic geometries, its subordination of image to text, and a cognitive linearity that it both produced and enforced – and contemporary life, with its simultaneity, accelerated cadences, and overloaded sensorium.⁸

This dissertation explores the 'new social needs and expectations' that shape and are shaped by page layout, as well as the influence of unconventional page

⁶ Schnapp and Michaels, p. 74.

⁷ Nancy Barta-Smith and Danette DiMarco, 'Same Difference: Evolving Conclusions About Textuality and New Media', in *Eloquent Images: Word and Image in the Age of New Media* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003), pp. 159-178 (p. 161).

⁸ Schnapp and Michaels, p. 32.

layouts on reader interpretation in both fourteenth-century England and 1960s/70s America. There has been much material published about the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters, particularly by scholars such as Michelle P. Brown, Lucy Freeman Sandler, and Michael Camille, to name just a few. As of yet, however, Schnapp and Michaels offer what may be the only comprehensive analysis of inventory books, although other scholars such as Jan Baetens and Kevin Brooks have examined the McLuhan books in papers about visualities of books and digital environments.⁹ Because of the discrepancy in the amount of scholarship available, I devote more time to describing inventory books than I do to the manuscript exemplars. When possible I direct the reader to appropriate sources about the Psalters so as to avoid reiteration of extant scholarship.

The first chapter of this dissertation introduces the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters, and provides an historical overview of the development of conventional modern page visuality and the linear reading practices it supports. This chapter is by no means comprehensive, but simply sets the stage for the subsequent discussion. The second chapter explores inventory books and the Psalters as sites for personal reflection, resulting from the multiple nonlinear paths made available to readers through interpretive freedom granted by unconventional visuality. The third chapter explores inventory books and the Psalters as sites of representation through their inclusions of particular cultural references with connotative value that would have appealed to readers' understandings of self and society. Throughout this dissertation I argue that

⁹ Jan Baetens, 'Illustrations, Images, and Anti-Illustrations', in *Eloquent Images: Word and Image in the Age of New Media* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003), pp. 179-199; Kevin Brooks, 'More "Seriously Visible" Reading: McCloud, McLuhan, and the Visual Language of *The Medium is the Massage*', *College Composition and Communication*, 61:1 (2009), 217-237.

inventory books represented and affirmed the countercultural movements of 1960s/70s America, much as the Luttrell and Queen Mary Palter represented and affirmed the religious beliefs and identities of their patrons. My intent in this dissertation, though, is simply to begin an enquiry into the decipherment of inventory books, and to uncover some of the myriad potential meanings embedded in inventory books' visualities.

Fahrenheit 451's Professor Faber was mistaken: there is indeed magic in books. Perhaps layout standardisation had stifled books' illusionary appeal by the time Bradbury was writing in the 1950s. Inventory books, however, rewrought many of the visual tricks once so apparent in medieval manuscripts.

CHAPTER 1: 'RATIONAL' READING THROUGH THE GUTENBERG CLICHÉ

Modern book visuality largely adheres to a 'Gutenberg cliché': blocks of black text on a plain white background, surrounded by small image- and commentary-free margins.¹⁰ This layout, according to Marshall McLuhan, supports the modern understanding of rationality as linear thought through 'the presentation of connected and sequential facts or concepts. For many people', McLuhan writes, 'rationality has the connotation of uniformity and connectiveness... Rationality and visuality have long been interchangeable terms.'¹¹ For modern books, the reader's eye moves mechanically from the left to the right, and from the top to the bottom, of the page, guided by the content of the text and by habitual linear reading practices. Images in these books, if included at all, similarly follow a linear flow, so too supporting McLuhan's conception of rationality. William M. Ivins, Jr. suggests that the ingraining of lineal, sequential reading habits resulting from the visual homogenisation of print culture has had 'incalculable effects upon knowledge and thought'.¹² Jay David Bolter echoes McLuhan and Ivins when he maintains that printing defined 'the contemporary, highly organized and standardized writing space', thereby initiating the modern economy of writing in which the presentation of imagery is

¹⁰ The term 'Gutenberg cliché' is credited to Valerie Kirschenbaum, *Goodbye Gutenberg: Hello to a New Generation of Readers and Writers* (New York: The Global Renaissance Society, LLC, 2005), pp. 106-117.

¹¹ Marshall McLuhan, Quentin Fiore, and Jerome Agel, *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (New York: Bantam Books, 1967), pp. 44-45 (p. 45).

¹² William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge: MA, Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 2-3.

similarly standardised.¹³ It is for such reasons that McLuhan deemed the printing press 'a ditto device', a point stressed in *The Medium is the Massage* both explicitly through the text and implicitly through the book's deviation from the visual standard (Figure 1).¹⁴ With this deviation, the Gutenberg cliché's constraints on nonlinear – and perhaps less explicitly rational – thinking are surmounted to facilitate broader understandings of the presented concepts through reading practices comparable to those of the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalter's medieval audiences. Modern readers have become so accustomed to the Gutenberg cliché that 'we no longer notice how the page is fundamental to the transmission of ideas and that it shapes our interpretation of those ideas.'¹⁵ Inventory books made readers notice.

¹³ Bolter, p. 39.

¹⁴ McLuhan, Fiore, and Agel, *The Medium*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁵ Bonnie Mak, *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), p 8.

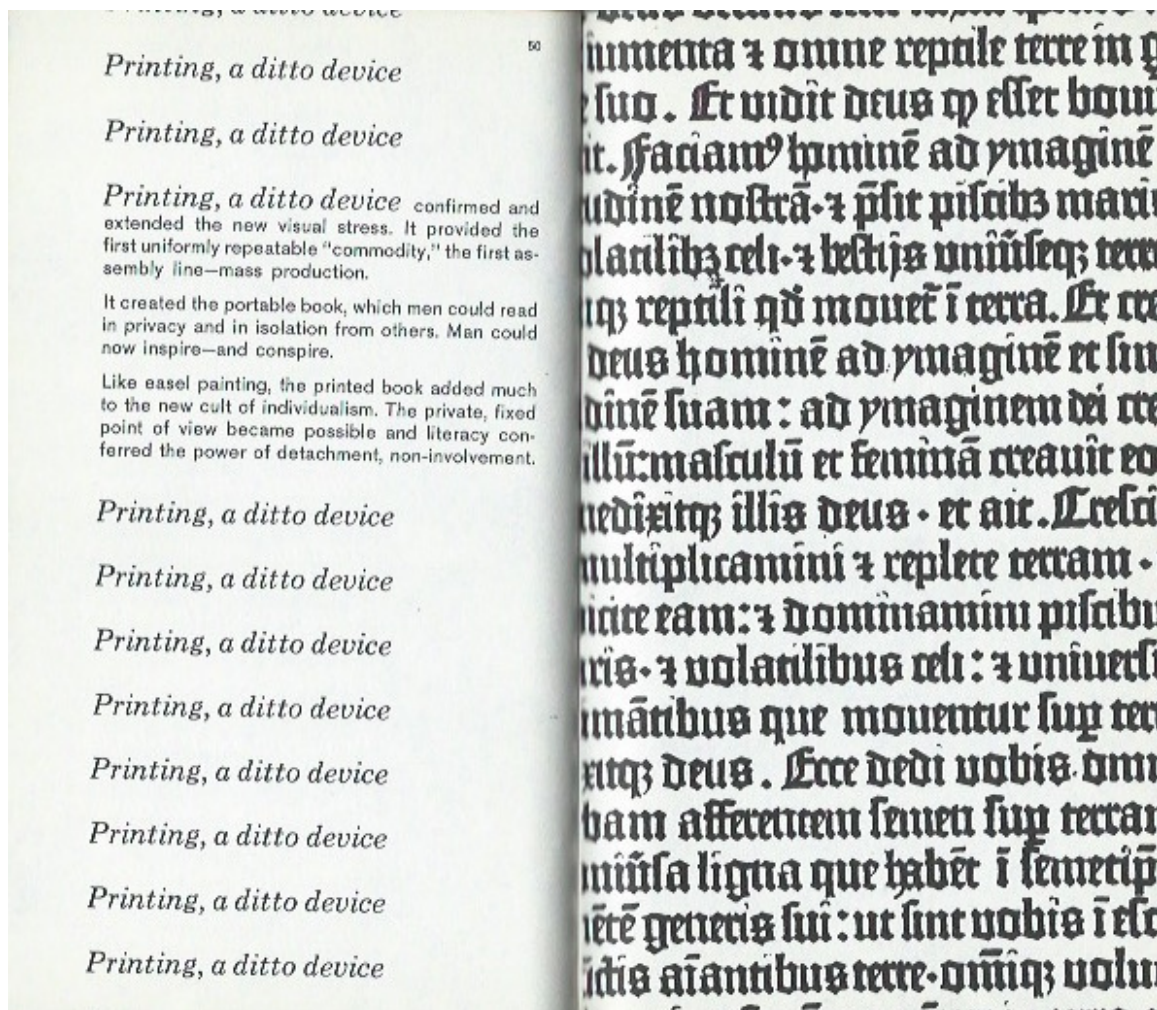


Figure 1: Pages 50 and 51 of *The Medium is the Massage*, wherein McLuhan calls the printing press 'a ditto device'.

In this chapter, I introduce the two manuscripts featured in this dissertation – the Luttrell Psalter and the Queen Mary Psalter – and trace the development of the Gutenberg cliché. This chapter provides the necessary foundation for the following chapters, which focus on the implications of inventory books' unconventional visualities. It is not intended to be comprehensive; concepts presented are elaborated upon in following chapters.



Figure 2: Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, as depicted on folio 202v of the Luttrell Psalter.

The Luttrell Psalter is one of the most visually rich surviving medieval manuscripts. Its pages teem with marginal illumination and colour that has maintained its vibrancy over the centuries. Michael Camille and Michelle P. Brown have both inventoried the Luttrell Psalter's imagery, and have offered persuasive analyses of the religious, historical, and social influences on the Psalter's visual programme.¹⁶ The Luttrell Psalter was produced in the first half of the fourteenth century for Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, a wealthy landowner, who is pictured on folio 202v as a fully-armed knight on horseback (Figure 2).¹⁷ However, as both Camille and Brown make quite clear, the Luttrell Psalter's marginal imagery does more than just reflect the patron's aristocratic status and illustrate the text's religious themes: the images also depict the everyday

¹⁶ Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Michelle P. Brown, *The Luttrell Psalter: A Facsimile* (London: The British Library, 2006).

¹⁷ 'Add MS 42130 [f. 202v]', *The British Library MS Viewer* <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_42130> [accessed 20 July 2015]

activities of contemporary common people. Farm labourers are shown tending their fields and flocks; individuals are shown dancing, singing, and playing musical instruments; men and women are shown brawling with one another. These realistic depictions of daily life appear alongside more fantastic imagery: grotesques – hybrids between man and animal – slither and frolic up and down the margins, often interwoven into foliated borders. The Luttrell Psalter's text is generally limited to text blocks centred on the page, although the Psalter's illustrations almost overcome its text, diverting the reader's attention from its words to its spectacular – and often seemingly decontextualised – imagery.

The Queen Mary Psalter's margins are neither as occupied, nor as colourful, as those of the Luttrell, making its appearance sleeker and altogether courtlier. Although the Queen Mary Psalter's visual programme has not been analysed as extensively as the Luttrell's, Anne Rudloff Stanton offers what is perhaps the best overview of the book's functionality and physicality, including detailed notes on some of its images.¹⁸ The Psalter was named for Queen Mary I of England who received it in 1553, although some scholars speculate that it was produced around 1310-1320 for Isabella of France, queen consort of Edward II of England.¹⁹ The Queen Mary uses various page layouts, including one much like the Gutenberg cliché from folio 20v to 22r. Throughout the manuscript, images appear alongside the text of the Psalms and, like the Luttrell Psalter, seem to

¹⁸ Anne Rudloff Stanton, *The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2001).

¹⁹ The intended purpose and user of the Queen Mary Psalter's commission remains contested. Although conclusive evidence documenting the original owner of the Psalter is lacking, Kathryn A. Smith presents a persuasive argument for royal patronage, particularly for Isabella's use, in her analysis of the Psalter's Joseph cycle: Kathryn A. Smith, 'History, Typology and Homily: The Joseph Cycle in the Queen Mary Psalter', *Gesta*, 32.2 (1993), pp. 147-159. This argument is supported by Rudloff Stanton, pp. 191-244.

weave dynamic narratives of their own that draw the reader's attention away from the central text. The *bas-de-page* scenes in particular tend to communicate narratives based in contemporary circumstances using realistic and fantastic creatures, as in the Luttrell Psalter. While the margins of the Queen Mary Psalter are not nearly as occupied as those of the Luttrell, imagery nevertheless plays a strong role in its visuality.

The Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters contain different visual arrangements, but both demonstrate joint use of text and image to engage the reader. Each component of an illuminated manuscript's visual arrangement, Stephen G. Nichols writes, 'is a unit independent of the others and yet calls attention to them; each tries to convey something about the other while to some extent substituting for it.'²⁰ For Nichols, these verbal-visual compounds constitute the 'manuscript matrix', a term that Martha Dana Rust later adapted to describe the network of textual and visual signs present in medieval manuscripts.²¹ The manuscript matrix, according to Nichols, assumes a double literacy: the ability not just to read texts, but also to interpret visual signs, thereby offering 'a dual route of penetration to the underside of consciousness'.²² Rust uses the term slightly differently, preferring what she calls a 'lineal dimension' constituted by a reader's cognitive recognition of the diverse semiotic systems present on the page. Nichols' version of the manuscript matrix is primarily concerned with the book as a material object. For Rust, all aspects of

²⁰ Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum*, 65.1 (1990), 1-10 (p. 7).

²¹ Martha Dana Rust, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books: Exploring the Manuscript Matrix* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

²² Nichols, 8; W. J. T. Mitchell uses the notion of 'double literacy' as a foundation for his discussion about William Blake, found in W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 89, 111-150.

the page – all text, all imagery – work together as ‘one overarching, category-crossing metasystem of signs.’²³ Rust’s manuscript matrix is founded upon the unity that can exist between word and image to influence the reader. This dissertation tends towards Rust’s definition of the manuscript matrix, but respects Nichols’ notion of double literacy.

Nichols’ notion of double literacy is complemented by Brown’s concept of the inner library. Brown describes the inner library as a patristic concept wherein each believer builds a personal mental repository of biblical stories, rote verse, and theological meaning through continued study of Scripture. She writes that ‘books are the vessels from which the believer’s ark, or inner library, is filled. They are enablers of direct, contemporary Christian action, channels of the Spirit, and gateways to revelation, for “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God”.’²⁴ Through cognitive association, readers come to make connections between that shown on the page and that held in their inner libraries. For example, a harvesting scene in the Luttrell Psalter set alongside Psalm 95, as is explained in Chapter 3, may serve as more than just a mere nod to the text’s reference to ‘the fields and all things that are in them’. The concept of the inner library, however, need not only apply to religious contexts. For any process of meaning-making related to the interplay between text and visuality to occur, one depends heavily on the associational work undergone in one’s own mind.²⁵ As Brian Stock avers: ‘The single great

²³ Rust, p. 9.

²⁴ Michelle P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality, and the Scribe* (London: The British Library, 2003), pp. 398-399.

²⁵ The concept here draws upon associational mind play, from the writing of Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 2008).

storehouse of meaning is memory.'²⁶ One's perceived unity of text and image – Nichols' double literacy – is enhanced by the quality of one's inner library. Through cognitive association, a manuscript's layers of meaning, together comprising the manuscript matrix, are unravelled.

The Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters are rife with imagery that depends on cognitive association for meaning-making. This is perhaps because 'the [P]salms, despite their vivid, evocative, and dramatic verbal imagery, are not narrative.'²⁷ In the introduction of her facsimile of the Macclesfield Psalter, Stella Panayotova identifies common iconographic motifs and strategies of illustration used in medieval psalters. However, although Panayotova shows that there are certainly similarities in medieval psalters' visualities, she emphasises the personalisation of each psalter's visual programme and the seemingly intentional vagueness of much of the imagery to incite the reader's imagination.²⁸ The texts of the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters do not necessarily lend themselves to direct illustration; the Psalms' figurative language induces nonliteral illustration that by necessity delves into abstraction, offering the reader a plethora of choices in a web of potential interpretations. As Rosemary Muir Wright suggests, a Psalm's accompanying illustration 'could be seen as responding imaginatively to the needs and aspirations of the reader/listener to give focus to the personal nature of the prayer of the

²⁶ Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Languages and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 15.

²⁷ Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'The Images of Words in English Gothic Psalters', in *Studies in the Illustration of the Psalter*, ed. by Brendan Cassidy and Rosemary Muir Wright (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), pp. 67-86 (p. 69).

²⁸ Stella Panayotova, *The Macclesfield Psalter* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), pp. 58-78.

[P]salm.²⁹ The Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters, then, do not tell narrative stories so much as they evoke a sense of closeness to God and overall spiritual enrichment.

It is obvious that the visualities of most modern books differ greatly from those of the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters. Gone are the illustrations that occupied the margins of illuminated manuscripts. The Gutenberg cliché reigns supreme. The printing press is often cited as the primary instigator of uniformity and linearity of codicological appearance. Camille, for example, attributes ‘the demise of the marginal tradition’ to the printing press, ‘which used repeatable blocks to frame pages... and limited the newly discovered Grotesque decoration to another “modern” invention, the title page.’³⁰ Bolter similarly attributes a separation of text and imagery to technological limitations of the printing press, leading to a standardised layout that readers expected. Bolter recognises, though, that these technological limitations no longer exist. He writes that ‘today it is possible to place pictures and illustrations in and around text, and even superimpose images up on the text... Yet the pictorial and verbal spaces are still not as subtly combined as they were in medieval illuminated manuscripts.’³¹ It might be said that inventory books serve as rare examples of modern combinations of pictorial and verbal spaces, reviving the marginal tradition of illuminated manuscripts such as the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters. Like the Psalters, inventory books do not feature just one central narrative: their texts are

²⁹ Rosemary Muir Wright, ‘Introduction to the Psalter’, in *Studies in the Illustration of the Psalter*, ed. by Brendan Cassidy and Rosemary Muir Wright (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), pp. 1-11 (p. 1).

³⁰ Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), p. 158.

³¹ Bolter, p. 73.

disjointed and dramatic, often with entire sections of text (original or quoted) seemingly decontextualised, accompanied by images that also appear decontextualised upon first glance. As just one example of the presentation of multiple narratives, *War and Peace in the Global Village* includes quotations from James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* alongside the central text throughout, as well as photographs and contemporary print advertisements that seem to reflect the disjointedness and distress of an American culture overwhelmed by consumerist and militaristic excess (Figure 3).³² The implications of multiple textual and visual narratives are explored in greater depth in Chapters 2 and 3. Inventory books, as will be shown, depend heavily on the same double literacy and cognitive association for meaning-making as the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters.

³² Marshall McLuhan, Quentin Fiore, and Jerome Agel, *War and Peace in the Global Village: An Inventory of Some of the Current Spastic Situations That Could be Eliminated by More Feedforward* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 124-125.

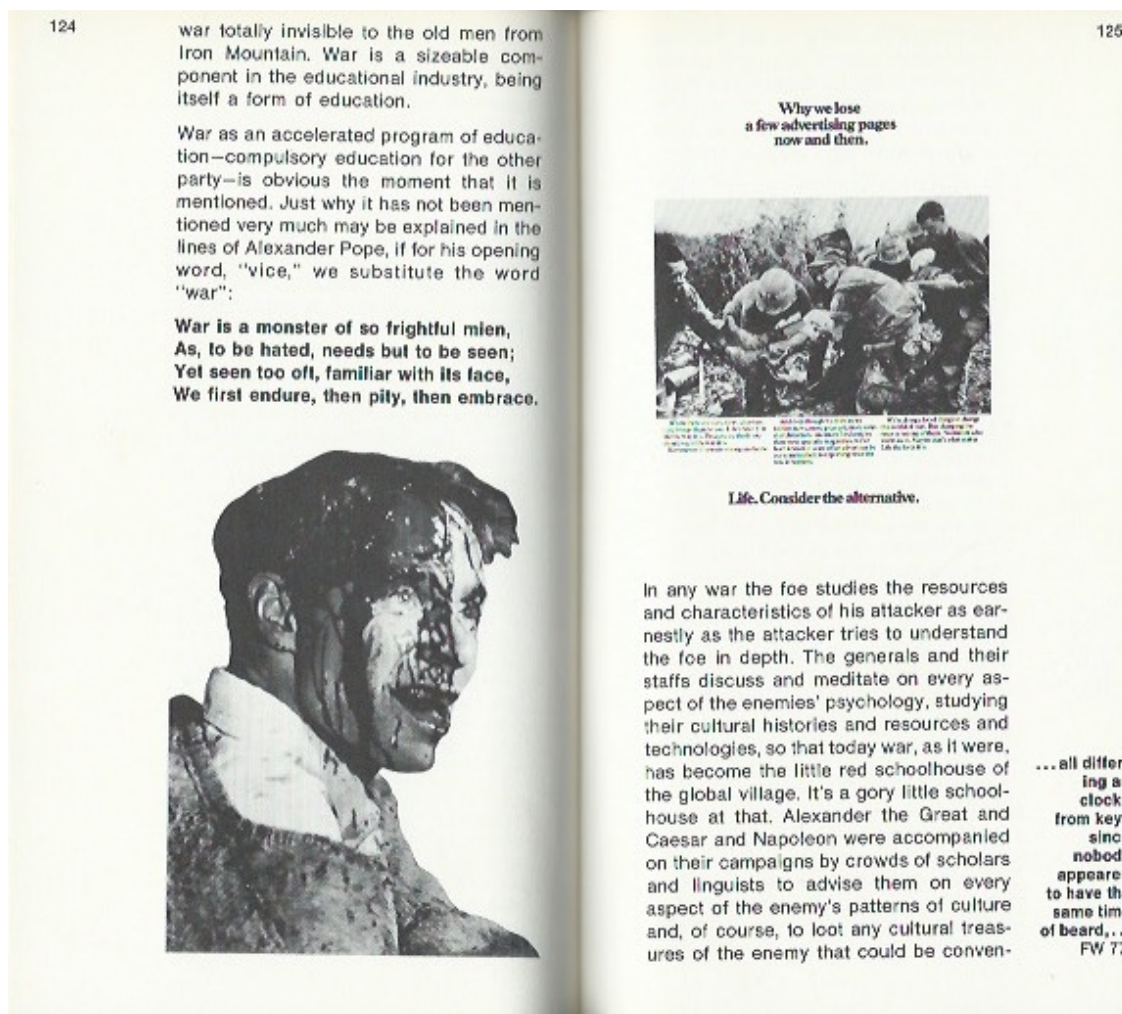


Figure 3: A spread from *War and Peace in the Global Village*, which includes a central narrative, alternative visual narratives including an advertisement for *Life* magazine, and one of many quotations from *Finnegans Wake*.

I shall not rehash the arguments for why printers adopted a standardised layout, but shall simply acknowledge some of the available scholarship. Scholars tend towards two reasons for standardisation: technological and financial. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein's 1979 *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* seems to remain the most solid foundation for the technological reasons for standardised impressions; she examines the effects of Gutenbergian printing press technology in detail.³³ Paul Saenger, while agreeing with Eisenstein, delves into the historical nuances she disregards when he indicates that printing did not

³³ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979; repr. 2009), p. 83.

necessarily introduce the propensity towards visual uniformity, but merely accelerated and broadened an ongoing evolution towards it. He notes that from the eighth century onwards, scribes tended towards copying texts using visual as opposed to aural means, allowing for copies of texts that replicated space patterns, abbreviations, and forms of punctuation, all occurring in similar places.³⁴ The uniformity and linearity of printed books were not necessarily products of the printing press, but the printing press did support the mass production of visually identical texts. Such mass production aligned with book producers' profit motives.³⁵ For 'one fact must not be lost sight of,' write Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin. 'The printer... worked above all and from the beginning for profit.'³⁶ To be sure, the development of a standardised layout was not immediate. Visual cues such as running heads, historiated initials, and rubrication all feature in both manuscript and printed books.³⁷ Psalters in particular often included initials at the beginning of each Psalm; these opening initials not only served functional purposes, but also served as sites of distinctive decoration that could elaborate upon their respective Psalms' contents.³⁸

However, it was the printing press' technological capacity for mass production,

³⁴ Paul Saenger, 'The Impact of the Early Printed Page on the History of Reading', in *The History of the Book in the West: 1455-1700*, ed. by Ian Gadd (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 385-450 (pp. 392-393).

³⁵ The term 'book producers' is used herein to refer to all those involved in a book's production as a collective. For a manuscript, this might include scribes and illustrators; for a printed book, this might include page designers and publishers. 'Book producers' is intended to be a more inclusive term that can accommodate the blurring of boundaries in role classifications (for example, one individual as both author and artist).

³⁶ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800*, 3rd edn, ed. by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton, trans. by David Gerard (London: Verso, 2010), p. 249.

³⁷ For an overview of the paratextual mechanisms for the visual orientation of medieval manuscripts, see Mak, pp. 34-46.

³⁸ Muir Wright, p. 4.

and book producers' ever-prominent profit motive, that expedited the shift towards a text-centric standardised layout that accommodated new economies of scale: the Gutenberg cliché.

Some scholars argue that printing fundamentally changed public perception of the word, as well as its accompanying imagery. Bolter writes that 'mass production by printing did eventually make books cheaper and more plentiful, and this change was important. However, the fixity and permanence that printing gave to the written word were just as important in changing the nature of literacy.'³⁹ Printed books exemplify a conceptual fissure between word and image. Images are typically separated from their respective texts by small white borders, or are relegated to pages of their own. Camille suggests that this conceptual fissure was supported by large-scale societal revolutions such as the Reformation and the Renaissance:

The urge to have clean edges often resulted in medieval manuscripts being cruelly cropped down, a practice typical of the increasing disrespect for everything but the text in subsequent centuries. The great religious upheaval of the Reformation also had its effect on the eradication of the medieval image-world. A great rift opens up between words and images. Language is now in a separate realm, written in discrete boxes or in fields hanging in the picture space. Focusing all representation in the middle [of the page], the centre where man stood resplendent, Renaissance thinkers pretended that they no longer required this space of 'otherness', unless it be the new edges of the World being discovered by Columbus.⁴⁰

Rather than harkening back to the 'medieval image-world', Renaissance book producers yielded to the technological limitations of printing, despite an initial transition period wherein illumination was included alongside printed text to emphasise the solemnity of governmental and religious texts, to confirm nobility,

³⁹ Bolter, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, p. 158.

and to enhance saleability more generally.⁴¹ Clean edges afforded printers greater profit margins, but also accommodated Renaissance thinkers' new disregard for the space of 'otherness' that imagery once inhabited. Still, illustrations in printed books were not customarily included for informative purposes until the early sixteenth century, and there are convincing arguments that the earliest woodcuts were not so much looked at for information as 'for the awakening of pious emotions' within readers.⁴² The shift towards informative woodcuts may reflect the greater shift of intended readership. With the larger audiences afforded by printing technology, texts and images appeared in more objective ways that supported quicker production, and that appealed to diverse audiences rather than just individual patrons. Moreover, Camille's argument for clean edges to emphasise a page's central text is supported by Lotte Hellinga's understanding of Renaissance readers to have considered books to be, first and foremost, 'vehicles for text'.⁴³ The evolution of visual standardisation thereby accommodated the needs of both profit-motivated printers and Renaissance readers. This standardisation has now become not just accepted, but expected in modern books. It is this expectation of the Gutenberg cliché that makes inventory books' extraordinary visualities particularly unsettling. The reader is no longer guided by habitual linear reading practices, but is left wandering unattended.

⁴¹ Rowan Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and their Makers* (London: V&A Publications, 2003), pp. 126-128.

⁴² Ivins, Jr., p. 28. Admittedly, Ivins does not give adequate attention to such books as *Ars moriendi* and *Biblia paupera*, popular genres from the 15th century that seemed designed to deliver information through heavy use of imagery.

⁴³ Lotte Hellinga, 'The Codex in the Fifteenth Century: Manuscript and Print', in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London: The British Library, 1993), pp. 63-88 (p. 65).

It seems that the primary difference between medieval illuminated manuscripts and modern printed books depends on the role of the reader. Manuscripts tended to emphasise the reader's role as a producer of meaning (even if a reading aide was required), while printed books tend to emphasise the reader's role as a consumer of meaning. Inventory books, I argue, returned the power of meaning-making to the reader through unconventional page layouts that resurrected the manuscript matrix and required application of double literacy for full comprehension. Although particular interpretations of inventory books' verbal-visual compounds would have been anticipated by the books' producers, that the process of interpretation allowed for personalised meaning-making from cognitive association is significant. Inventory books challenged, and continue to challenge, the modern convention of using images predominantly for informative purposes. While these books were not customised for predetermined patrons as medieval manuscripts were, they appealed to 1960s/70s American readers' inner libraries through the (counter)cultural references embedded in their visualities. The Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters evoked a sense of closeness to God; inventory books evoked a sense of closeness to elements of counterculture.⁴⁴ They returned to the freer visual strategies evident in the Psalters. Less constrained by the structural layout of the Gutenberg cliché, inventory books returned to readers the power to determine meaning.

⁴⁴ 'Counterculture' refers to any ideal or organised movement that intentionally or unintentionally challenges the dominant culture of its time.

CHAPTER 2: PREGNANCY, PAGE NUMBERS, AND PRIVATE READING

With most modern books adhering to the Gutenberg cliché, what is the impact of unconventional visuality on the individual's reading experience? What role does an extensive visual programme play in one's comprehension and interpretation of a book's text? In Lucy Freeman Sandler's consideration of the Luttrell Psalter's marginal *imagines verborum* – word illustrations – she concludes that *imagines* may have been born from their artists' responses to the texts, and may have been intended 'to provide a heightened and intensified experience of reading, through the discovery and appreciation of all the riches both apparent and concealed in the words. If the words gave rise to the images, the images disclosed the depths of meaning in the text.'⁴⁵ Such a comment affirms Nichols' aforementioned notion of a double literacy wherein the full appreciation of a manuscript matrix depends on one's ability to comprehend both its text and imagery.⁴⁶ Just as a single word or phrase may have multiple meanings, a single visual feature may too be subject to a variety of interpretations. This chapter explores the impacts of the visualities of medieval manuscripts and inventory books on a reader's understanding of a text. Particular attention is given to the implicit visual references that may initially seem decontextualised, but which through *ruminatio* – meditation upon written and visual meanings – help the reader gain a more profound appreciation of the text.

⁴⁵ Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'The Word in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the Luttrell Psalter', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), 87-99 (p. 97).

⁴⁶ Nichols, 8.

To begin, it is worth considering the perceived functions of the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters' illustrations. Michelle P. Brown suggests that illustrations helped readers 'to locate themselves within the sequence of the Psalms, upon which they based their own conversations with God. Images not only served to help recall text but were an integral part of its perception and the understanding of its meanings.'⁴⁷ Although a psalter's imagery may have served educational or navigational purposes, it could have also prompted readers to consider the text in relation to their own experiences and worldviews. Through *ruminatio* the reader could practice thought-association that was spiritually enriching and intellectually engaging. Although in the Middle Ages complete comprehension of religious texts may have required the aid of a confessor or chaplain, readers could nevertheless be stimulated by imagery to apply the words of the Psalms to their own personal circumstances, reinforcing a sense of connection to the Divine already promoted by the Psalms' intimate language.⁴⁸ The individual's agency to relate biblical texts to personal circumstances is significant. It is the reader, not any book producer, who determines the course of reading. Although the producer(s) may have laid down some roads, the reader determines which road to take, or may decide to go off road altogether.

Off road, however, a driver creates her own path. She is limited by nature's obstacles, but remains free to drive where she likes. Kenneth Goldsmith writes:

⁴⁷ Michelle P. Brown, *The World of the Luttrell Psalter* (London: The British Library, 2006), p. 37.

⁴⁸ Muir Wright, p. 6.

Narrative reflexes that have enabled us from the beginning of time to connect dots, fill in blanks, are now turned against us. We cannot stop noticing: no sequence too absurd, trivial, meaningless, insulting, we helplessly register, provide sense, squeeze meaning, and read intention out of the most atomized of words. Modernism showed us that we cannot stop making sense out of the utterly senseless. The only legitimate discourse is loss; we used to renew what was depleted, now we try to resurrect what is gone.⁴⁹

Why would a medieval artist choose to include grotesques – man-creature hybrids, often monstrous and disturbing – alongside the text of the Psalms, which praise God’s Grace? Surely, if the artist juxtaposed the two, he was inspired to do so by some connective meaning. Driving off road requires the driver to be aware of myriad details that she would not otherwise attend in order to remain safe in charting her course. After all, the road to heretical interpretation would surely not have been a desired route for the medieval reader. The driver makes meaning from the seemingly senseless arrangement of nature’s obstacles to plot the path that she expects to undertake. Similarly, when reading medieval manuscripts or inventory books, one draws connections between disparate text and imagery to chart a course through the textual and visual arrangement of the page.

⁴⁹ Kenneth Goldsmith, *Uncreative Writing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p. 221.

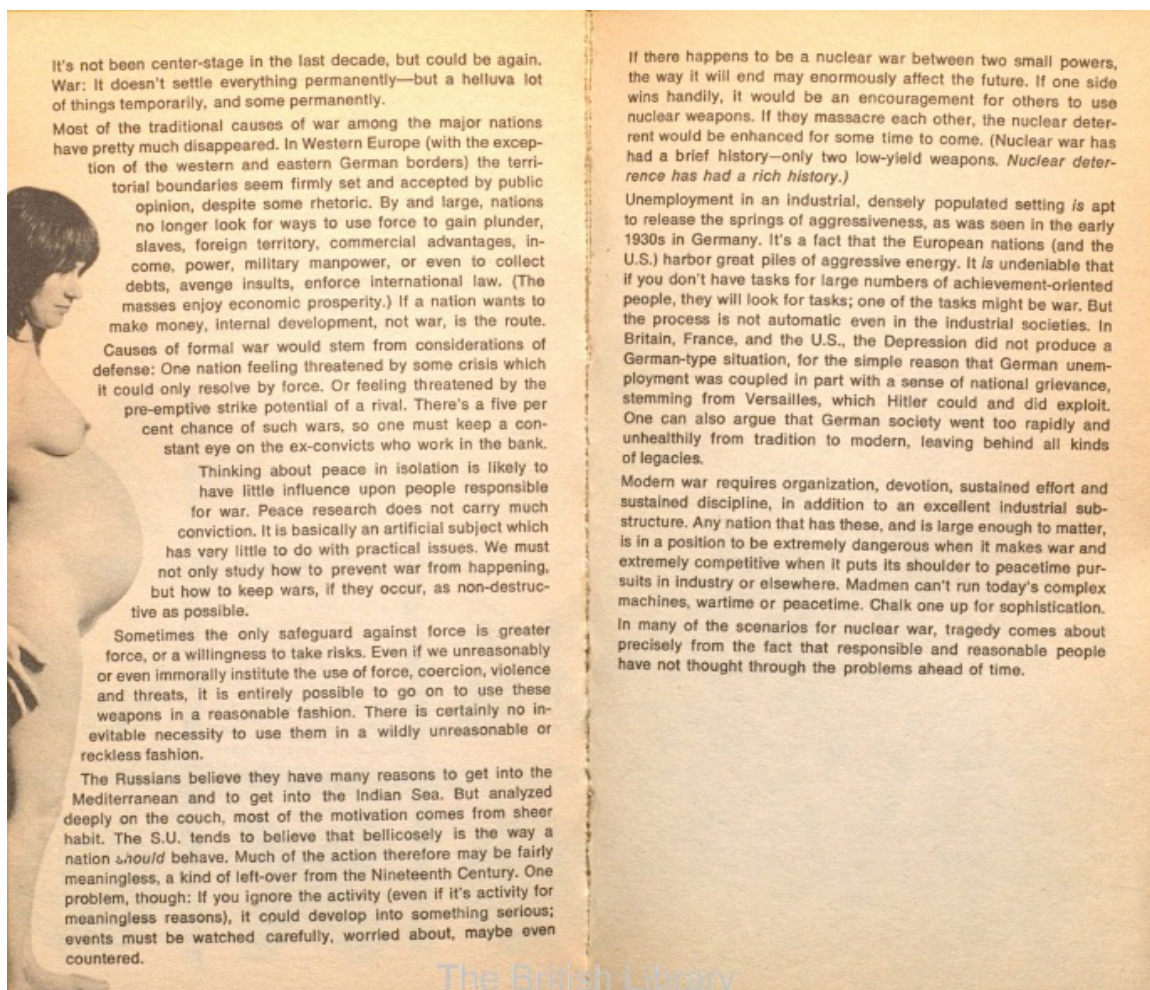


Figure 4: Pages 96 and 97 of *Herman Kahnsciousness*, featuring a heavily pregnant woman alongside text about war.

Page 96 of *Herman Kahnsciousness* pictures a heavily pregnant woman emerging from the left side of the page (Figure 4).⁵⁰ She stands fully nude, looking pensively in front of her. The page's text snakes around her head and abdomen, accommodating the image's placement. It is not readily apparent why a pregnant woman is pictured. Nowhere does the page's text mention pregnancy, women, childbirth, or anything else that would support a direct connection between the featured text and image. Rather, the page's text discusses Soviet attitudes towards war and the futility of peace research.

⁵⁰ Herman Kahn and Jerome Agel, *Herman Kahnsciousness: The Megaton Ideas of the One-Man Think Tank* (New York: New American Library, 1973), pp. 96-97.

The woman's position beside such a discussion may initially seem absurd, but through associative patience may come to reveal a deeper layer of meaning in the text. While conclusively determining the authorial intent of this image does not seem possible, one can nevertheless speculate as to the intended meaning through analysis of all that is available on the page. As Goldsmith writes, 'we cannot stop noticing: no sequence too absurd, trivial, meaningless, insulting, we helplessly register, provide sense, squeeze meaning, and read intention out of the most atomized of words.'⁵¹ The reader finds further meaning in the page's text by making connections through consideration of juxtaposed elements that the book's producers have consciously included, perhaps hoping for an implicit commentary to be extracted.

One assumption is that a pregnant woman – a metaphor for creation, renewal, and hope for the future – is put in direct juxtaposition to a discussion about war to reinforce the notion of war as an embodiment of destruction, turmoil, and terror. Another potentially conscious inclusion is the placement of the text around the pregnant woman's abdomen. At the widest part of her extended stomach, the text reads: 'Thinking about peace in isolation is likely to have little influence upon people responsible for war.'⁵² This woman stands unadorned, her nakedness perhaps symbolising purity, simplicity, and authenticity: she is not, as the text beside her reads, 'an artificial subject which has very little to do with practical issues. We must not only study how to prevent war from happening,' the text continues, 'but how to keep wars, if they occur, as

⁵¹ Goldsmith, p. 221.

⁵² Kahn and Agel, p. 96.

non-destructive as possible.⁵³ Upon giving birth, this woman may have produced one of the people responsible for future wars. Pregnancy, then, may represent a starting point wherein it is the woman's, and society's, duty to teach future generations about the futility, but inevitability, of war as it is described in Kahn's text. The positioning of a pregnant woman's stomach at its widest point next to this text may serve to elaborate upon the ideas being discussed, albeit indirectly so as to encourage the thoughtful consideration that Kahn suggests may serve to pre-emptively prevent conditions of war.

Perhaps, though, the inclusion of this image was not only inspired by the ideas presented in the text. Perhaps this image's inclusion was inspired by just one word on the page: *bellicosely*. The word is used in the following passage: "The S.U. tends to believe that *bellicosely* is the way a nation *should* behave."⁵⁴ I do not mean to say that a pregnant woman is used to illustrate a word that refers to a hostile temperament. Rather, the word as a simply phonetic entity, isolated from any definitional determination, is undeniably similar to the word 'belly'. Belly, of course, is a word commonly used to refer to a pregnant woman's protruding abdomen. Although the word belly may not relate to the text's discussion, the use of the word *bellicosely* in the text may have provoked a mental image of a pregnant woman in the book designer's mind due to the two words' phonetic similarity. Once the text and image are placed in juxtaposition, it is the reader's responsibility to find meaning in the connection between them, rather than the author's responsibility to delineate a meaning. That I have just suggested some potential meanings stemming from this juxtaposition

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

demonstrates the responsibility I as a reader assumed when considering this page. Ultimately, the meaning determined for this page, and for inventory books more generally, is determined more by the reader than by the book's producers.

This instance of an illustration inspired by a word's phonetic properties is not unique. Freeman Sandler has comprehensively examined the inspirations of countless *imagines verborum* – images inspired by particular nouns and verbs in a text – and their potential effects on readers' acts of meaning-making. Drawing an example from the Luttrell Psalter, Freeman Sandler suggests that the word 'passer' ('sparrow') in the last line of folio 152v inspired the *bas-de-page* image of two naked men pressing their feet together (Figure 5).⁵⁵ The passage in question, Psalm 84:2-3, translates thus: 'My heart and my flesh have rejoiced in the living God. For the sparrow hath found herself a house.' 'Pes', the Latin word for 'sparrow', is pronounced similarly to 'pas', meaning 'foot'. Additionally, Freeman Sandler notes, the men's nakedness seems to stem from the phrase, 'my heart and my flesh'.⁵⁶ One could advance this argument and note that the image reflects the sense of joy alluded to in this Psalm. While the men both don serious faces, the inherent ridiculousness of what they are doing suggests an air of playfulness. One of them even looks as though he may be dancing. My and Freeman Sandler's interpretations of this image may not be those that were intended by its artist. Nevertheless, while this image may seem altogether decontextualised, it can be argued that it is, in actuality, indirectly based in the text it accompanies. To conclude one of her articles on *imagines verborum*, Freeman Sandler asserts that 'implicit in this interdependent relation between

⁵⁵ 'Add MS 42130 [f. 152v]' [accessed 6 July 2015]

⁵⁶ Freeman Sandler, 'The Images of Words', p. 77. Freeman Sandler miscites the folio as folio 83, and the Psalm as 83:2-3.

marginal and non-marginal is the importance of active reading rather than passive hearing.⁵⁷ In an inescapable effort to make sense of what one is seeing on the page, one makes connections between seemingly disparate details. It is uncertain whether these connections, which seem to unveil deeper meanings behind source texts, were fully conceived by the books' producers before readers' interactions with their books. However, while each entity may stand out to the reader as distinct, through associative patience the reader connects various visual entities to make sense out of the seemingly senseless.



Figure 5: Folio 152v of the Luttrell Psalter, where two naked men press their feet together in the *bas-de-page*.

⁵⁷ Freeman Sandler, 'The Word in the Text', 97.

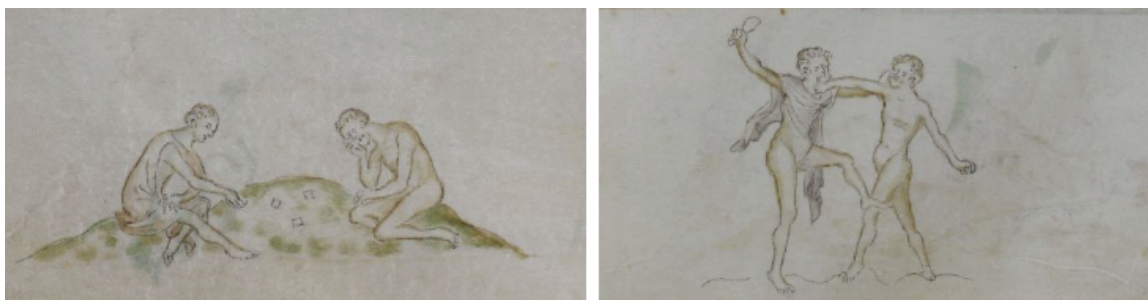


Figure 6: The *bas-de-pages* of folios 167v and 168r of the Queen Mary Psalter, showing two men gambling in the first scene, and the aftermath in the second.

The fragmentary visuality of medieval manuscripts also manifests itself in secondary narratives, which can be held within *images verborum*. The Queen Mary Psalter exemplifies the presence of secondary narratives through its series of *bas-de-page* scenes. Many of these scenes depict hunting, as well as more fantastic stories that presumably would have been familiar to the medieval reader. There are, however, some scenes wherein everyday life is depicted, as in the Luttrell Psalter. For example, the images on folios 167v and 168r depict two men gambling (Figure 6).⁵⁸ In the first image, one man has just thrown his dice, causing the other man, who has already lost his clothing, to look rather displeased with his situation. The second image shows the possible aftermath of the former event: the men have begun to brawl. While many of the Queen Mary Psalter's *bas-de-page* images require readers to be cognisant of particular cultural narratives, these images only require readers to recall all-too-familiar incidents that they themselves had either witnessed or experienced.

Gambling may appear to have little relevance to the text of the Psalms. Yet, Muir Wright maintains that the assumption of the decontextualisation of marginal imagery from the text it accompanies 'ensure[s] the search for the

⁵⁸ 'Royal MS 2 B VII [ff. 167v-168r]', *The British Library MS Viewer* <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_2_b_vii> [accessed 6 July 2015]

source word from within the text, then as now.’⁵⁹ The text on these pages is that of Psalm 67:28-36. It makes no mention of gambling. The first line of verse 28, however, includes a reference to '*Principes Iuda*' ('Princes of Judah'). Considering Freeman Sandler’s notion of *imagines verborum* as explained above, the word '*Iuda*' could be exchanged for '*ludo*', thereby summoning conceptions of play, and of gambling. Medieval readers may have discerned this linguistic reference. However, this scene could have still appealed to medieval readers even if they were unable to comprehend the Latin nuances, simply because it would have been relatable; the image maintains its humour for modern audiences because the scene is one to which we continue to relate. Although the two gambling men seem decontextualised from the text they accompany, their presence nonetheless encourages readers 'to read through the text to find the verbal analogue in its scriptural setting... [and to] be challenged to engage in the activity of seeking out the relevant words in the text and discovering the riches of meaning concealed within', thereby possibly serving as means to remember the text due to deeper consideration of it.⁶⁰

Interplay between text and image supported medieval readers’ processes of *ruminatio*. As Stella Panayotova writes, 'the effort and the pleasure of recognition create memorable visual-verbal amalgams. Such "word-images" intensify the reader’s experience by inviting a slow, careful examination of the text and reflection on its structural units.'⁶¹ A word or phrase may trigger a visual reference, or vice versa, either to something directly related to the text or

⁵⁹ Muir Wright, p. 10.

⁶⁰ Freeman Sandler, 'The Images of Words', p. 85.

⁶¹ Panayotova, p 63.

else something related through thought-association.⁶² The reader is then responsible for deciphering, in Rust's words, the 'overarching, category-crossing metasystem of signs' characteristic of the manuscript matrix.⁶³ 'Texts and images could be peeled back,' Brown writes, 'like the layers of an onion, to reveal a sequence of interrelated meanings and an inner kernel of wisdom.'⁶⁴ The desire to make sense from the senseless is not, evidently, a purely modernist feature, but a historical human habit. While their reading processes may not have been linear – 'rational' – medieval readers nonetheless would have looked for patterns and pointers to make sense of what they were viewing. Likewise, inventory books prompted nonlinear – 'irrational' – reading processes.

How does one make sense of the seeming disparities between word and image? W. T. J. Mitchell argues that meaning is determined by the relationships between the two. 'Difference is just as important as similarity, antagonism as crucial as collaboration, dissonance and division of labor as interesting as harmony and blending of function', he writes. 'The key thing... is not to foreclose the inquiry into the image/text problem with presuppositions that it is one kind of thing, appearing in a certain fixed repertoire of situations, and admitting of uniform descriptions or interpretive protocols.'⁶⁵ The images included in inventory books and medieval manuscripts may have been included with particular interpretations by their producers in mind, although the lack of explicit accompanying explanation implies that producers recognised the

⁶² Michelle P. Brown, *The Luttrell Psalter: Commentary* (London: The Folio Society, 2006), p. 29; Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008; repr. 2009), pp. 274-276.

⁶³ Rust, p. 11.

⁶⁴ Brown, *Luttrell Psalter: Commentary*, p. 30.

⁶⁵ Mitchell, pp. 89-90.

images' abilities to be considered in various contexts. Had explicit explanation been included, the images could perhaps be regarded more linearly, more rationally. However, in being presented as somewhat detached from their texts, the images must be regarded through nonlinear reading practices.

For the Queen Mary Psalter in particular, Anne Rudloff Stanton suggests that the book's images were not necessarily viewed in a liturgical sequence. Her point is indicated by 'the intricate linkages between the levels of imagery and the text [which] suggests that the creator of the manuscript was well aware of the possibilities inherent in the use of the images to create a visual devotional complex for each prayer.'⁶⁶ For the Luttrell Psalter, Brown similarly argues that, whether read privately or as part of religious services, the manuscript was seldom read in a continuous sequence.⁶⁷ Images did not necessarily just help readers navigate the text, adhering to modern desires for linearity and rationality. Images also offered opportunities for readers to drive into off-road territory, prompting them to explore the terrain of their own minds while reassuring them that the paved road was nearby should they choose to return to the smoother route.

In modern books, page numbers encourage readers to stay on paved roads. Page numbers have come to be an expected feature of the page, informing readers how far they are through a book, as well as allowing for effective citation and future reference. Indeed, page numbers are indispensable in modern scholarship. However, while inventory books mostly present texts based in extensive research by renowned scholars, most do not include page numbers

⁶⁶ Rudloff Stanton, p. 82.

⁶⁷ Brown, *Luttrell Psalter: Commentary*, p. 27.

consistently throughout. McLuhan's *The Medium is the Massage* for example, includes page numbers only on those pages that almost entirely adhere to the Gutenberg cliché. On the pages that are more visually distinct, page numbers are usually absent.

Shumon Basar, one of the authors of *The Age of Earthquakes*, a 2015 experimental paperback that imitates the visual style of *The Medium is the Massage*, recalls his co-author's interaction with the book's designer:

Doug's simple request to Wayne was that the cover should 'feel like a classic Penguin paperback.' And this time-travel logic continued in the brief for the insides, too: 'Wayne, the reader should be able to open our book somewhere and it feels like 1967. Then open it elsewhere and it's 2015.'⁶⁸

The Age of Earthquakes uses page numbers sparingly on its more visually unconventional pages.⁶⁹ In removing the reader's ability to linearly navigate her reading experience, to feel rooted in a numerical sense of space, the reader is more easily transported to an intellectual hyperspace unbounded by rational linear thought. *The Age of Earthquakes'* authors made a conscious decision to omit page numbers so as to avoid drawing attention to any sense of linearity that might offer the reader a rational and predictable sense of order.

Perhaps page numbers posed a technological issue in the 1960s and 70s: the formatting process of the time may not have easily accommodated the inclusion of page numbers laid on top of the images. However, McLuhan's *War and Peace in the Global Village*, while still largely adhering to the pattern of page numbers only being included on Gutenberg-clichéd pages, does include page

⁶⁸ Shumon Basar, 'Cover Versions' *Yourheadisthewholeworld* (8 February 2015) <<https://yourheadisthewholeworld.wordpress.com/2015/02/08/cover-versions>> [accessed 11 June 2015]

⁶⁹ Shumon Basar, Douglas Coupland, and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *The Age of Earthquakes: A Guide to the Extreme Present* (London: Penguin Books, 2015).

numbers on many of its more visual pages. The ability to include page numbers on visual pages thus appears to be present within a year of the publication of *The Medium is the Massage*. Of course, as book production is a profit-driven enterprise, the financial element of page numbers may have been a limiting constraint. Perhaps the cost of overlaying a page number on a visual page was not justifiable. Such considerations are opportunities for further study, and will not be discussed at length here.

The most apparent example of a lack of page numbers is in *Herman Kahnsciousness*. *Kahnsciousness* does not include a single page number in its body. For a citation, the reader must count the book's pages, one by one, and often more than once to ensure a proper reference. The image credits page at the end of the book, though, cites each image using the page number on which it appears. This kind of crediting implies that page numbers were present in the working copies of the book, and were consciously removed for publication.

Removing page numbers dampens the sense of orderliness, linearity, and rationality associated with modern books and scholarship; their absence forces the reader to be present on the current page, and only the current page, as there is no longer a reference to the rest of the book aside from the weight of it in the reader's hands. Page numbers, if included on image-based pages, might draw attention to themselves, begging the reader to return to the linear reading practices customary of modern life. Pages 8 and 9 of *Herman Kahnsciousness*, for example, allow for the reader to disregard any numerical sense of space, and instead float into the universal abyss alongside the pages' reminders of Earth:

contestants of a Miss Universe beauty pageant (Figure 7).⁷⁰ While the physicality of the book itself prevents the reader from feeling a full sense of immersion in the imagery, the removal of page numbers supports readers' journeys into intellectual hyperspaces through a similar 'time-travel logic' as that utilised by the producers of *The Age of Earthquakes*.



Figure 7: Pages 8 and 9 from *Herman Kahn consciousness*. Consistent with the rest of the book, these pages do not include page numbers.

Of course, medieval manuscripts were rarely paginated or foliated by their producers, at least for readers' sakes.⁷¹ Fourteenth-century foliation was

⁷⁰ Kahn and Agel, pp. 8-9.

⁷¹ Saenger, p. 402 indicates that in the eighth and ninth centuries, partial numbering of leaves was introduced into some books produced in the British

quite exceptional, and virtually no literary works contained tables with folio references as integral parts of their texts.⁷² Saenger argues that, even with foliation's emerging popularity in the fifteenth century, readers do not seem to have used the numbers as reference points to employ in copies of the same edition. Rather, the preoccupation with defining locations within texts through the use of numerical reference points really began to take form in response to sixteenth-century humanism.⁷³ This is not to say that medieval book producers did not have systems for locating information on the page, but simply to say that by the fourteenth century there did not appear to be any standardised system in place.⁷⁴ It is therefore unsurprising that neither the Luttrell nor the Queen Mary Psalter includes foliation. Although this does not mean that the Psalters were not used for reference purposes, these works' visualities imply that they were likely used as means for solidifying the readers' senses of connectedness to the world that God created.



Figures 8 and 9: Examples of grotesques from the Luttrell Psalter, folio 32v, and the Queen Mary Psalter, folio 148r.

Isles to ensure correct sequencing within the quire. Medieval Coptic scribes also appear to have 'perpetuated the ancient Greek practice of pagination.'

⁷² Saenger, p. 403.

⁷³ Detailed in Saenger, pp. 402-427 (p. 424).

⁷⁴ Mary Carruthers offers a more detailed analysis of some of the visual strategies employed in medieval books for mnemonic purposes in Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 274-338.

A further means for achieving such a sense of connectedness may have been through figuratively overturning a reader's reality. Brown suggests that a primary function of the grotesque, for example, may have been 'to symbolise the world turned upside down – the ridiculous, the bizarre and the unexpected – and the forces of chaos and anarchy held at bay only by prayer and adherence to the law of God and of his earthly vice-regents, whether monarch or local lord.'⁷⁵ Brown writes here specifically of the Luttrell Psalter, but grotesques also feature heavily in the Queen Mary (Figures 8 and 9).⁷⁶ While grotesques in medieval manuscripts supposedly symbolise the world flipped upside down, inventory books often require readers to literally flip their books upside down. The clearest example of this is in R. Buckminster Fuller's *I Seem To Be a Verb* (Figure 10), wherein the top halves of most of the pages feature one verbal and visual narrative (printed in black) and the bottom halves feature another verbal and visual narrative (printed in green).⁷⁷ The reader must turn the book upside down, reading from the first page to the last and then the last page to the first, to read the book in its entirety. All the while, two large lines of text run through the middles of the pages, to be read from the first page to the last and then the last page to the first, presumably in a separate reading. A subtler example of inventory books' needs to be flipped upside down is on page 19 of *Do It!* (Figure 11).⁷⁸ The featured photograph has been set upside down, and is virtually incomprehensible unless the reader turns the book on its head. When the book is

⁷⁵ Brown, *The Luttrell Psalter: Commentary*, pp. 79-80.

⁷⁶ 'Add MS 42130 [f. 32v]' [accessed 24 August 2015]; 'Royal MS 2 B VII [f. 148r]' [accessed 24 August 2015]

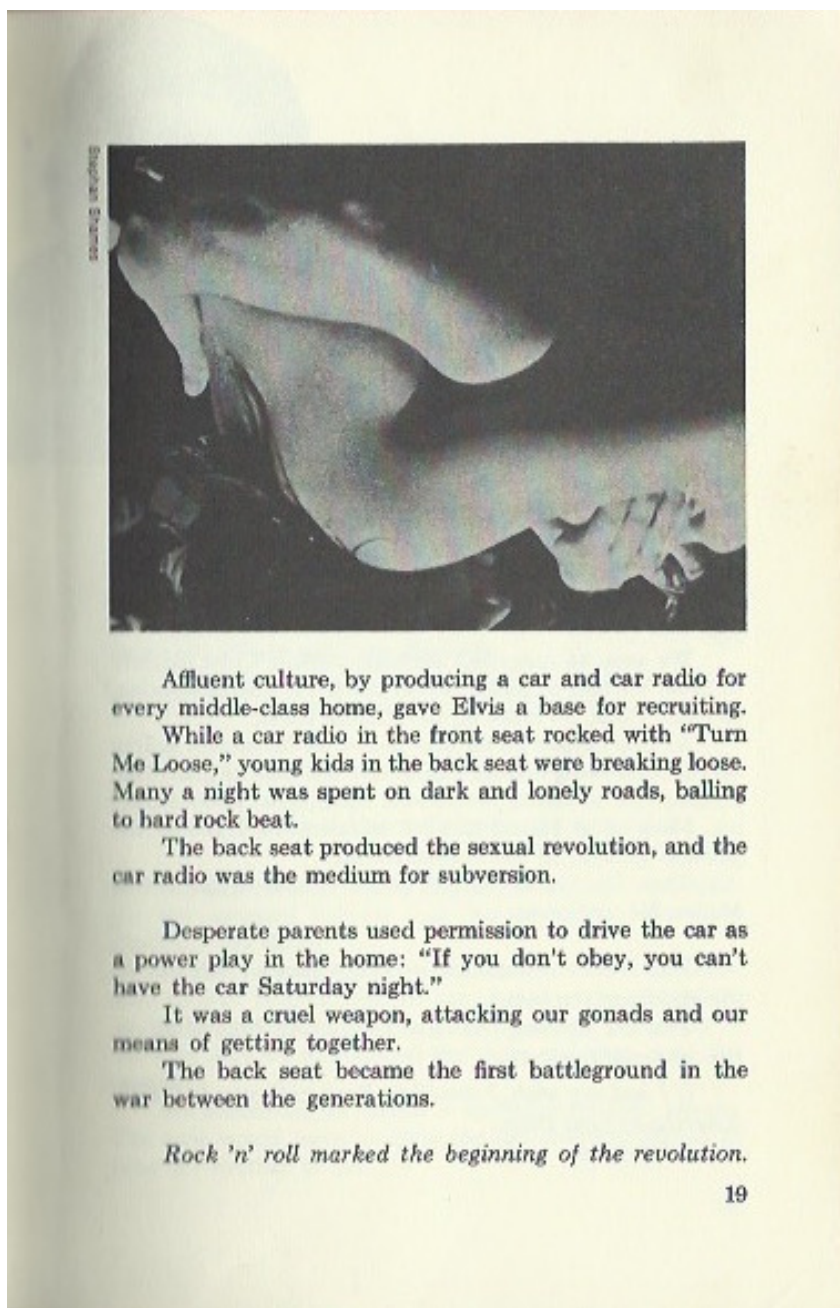
⁷⁷ R. Buckminster Fuller, Jerome Agel, and Quentin Fiore, *I Seem To Be a Verb* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), pp. 22-23.

⁷⁸ Jerry Rubin and Quentin Fiore, *Do It!: Scenarios of the Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), p. 19.

viewed right-side up, one can distinguish little more than human hands; only once the book has been flipped can the reader see that the photograph is of a bare-breasted woman, beaming as she hugs another bare-breasted person.



Figure 10: Pages 22 and 23 of R. Buckminster Fuller and Quentin Fiore's *I Seem To Be a Verb*. Readers must repeatedly flip the book upside down to read all of its narratives.



Affluent culture, by producing a car and car radio for every middle-class home, gave Elvis a base for recruiting.

While a car radio in the front seat rocked with "Turn Me Loose," young kids in the back seat were breaking loose. Many a night was spent on dark and lonely roads, balling to hard rock beat.

The back seat produced the sexual revolution, and the car radio was the medium for subversion.

Desperate parents used permission to drive the car as a power play in the home: "If you don't obey, you can't have the car Saturday night."

It was a cruel weapon, attacking our gonads and our means of getting together.

The back seat became the first battleground in the war between the generations.

Rock 'n' roll marked the beginning of the revolution.

19

Figure 11: Page 19 of Jerry Rubin's *Do It!*, featuring a photograph by Stephen Shames printed upside down.

The action of physically flipping a book upside down shifts the act of reading from being a primarily visual experience to a more participative one, connecting the reader's imaginative world to the physical world surrounding the reader. The eye is no longer in a position of total predominance. Further, the inversion of the image prompts nonlinear reading as the reader is encouraged to move not just her eyes, but more of her body to physically turn the book – the

womb of her imaginary world – upside down. ‘Tactility is the mode of interplay and of being rather than of separation and of lineal sequence,’ Marshall McLuhan declares.⁷⁹ Medieval grotesques and many of the images in inventory books symbolise or present their respective worlds turned upside down. These images draw attention to ‘the forces of chaos and anarchy held at bay’ through internalised social conventions by making the reader feel uncomfortable among ‘the ridiculous, the bizarre, and the unexpected’.⁸⁰ In the case of inventory books, by requiring a reader to turn a book upside down to make sense of it, the book directly opposes the typical visual conventions of printed books. The discomfort the reader feels at being presented with such visually extraordinary pages unsettles her as she wanders through unfamiliar territory, unconstrained by linearity.

In both inventory books and medieval manuscripts, readers can become enthralled with the imagery, striving to determine its meaning in relation to the text it accompanies through cognitive association. Such books are visual and intellectual feasts, causing the mind to salivate as it hungers for a sense of connectedness. Thus, on the outset, the modernist desire to make sense from the senseless seems to correspond with the extraordinary layouts of inventory books. However, inventory books and medieval manuscripts both exhibit unique and dynamic text-image relationships that do not necessarily lend themselves to the rational, linear thinking characteristic of modern scholarship. Through word-image interplay that appeals to readers’ inner libraries, these books support ‘irrational’ nonlinear reading practices that bring the reader towards more

⁷⁹ Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962; repr. 1967), p. 240.

⁸⁰ Brown, *Luttrell Psalter: Commentary*, p. 79.

comprehensive and customised understandings of their texts. Through consideration of pregnancy, page numbers, and physicality, private reading becomes private reflection.

CHAPTER 3: SCENARIOS OF PUBLIC REPRESENTATION

In this chapter, I shift the focus from the individual to the individual's surroundings, to the cultural influences that inform book production and interpretation. A book is produced within a particular cultural context that informs its visuality. Likewise, readers read within particular cultural contexts that inform their thought-associations. Mary Carruthers recognises that thought-association, noted in the previous chapter to be an important practice for understanding the books discussed herein, 'has an irreducibly personal and private or "secret" dimension to it. ... [but] at the same time, because most of its building materials are common to all – are in fact common places – thought-association is also fully social and political, a truly civic activity.'⁸¹ In *Orality and Literacy*, Walter J. Ong asserts that the printed word conveys an air of finality brought on by a printed text's sense of closure. 'The printed text is supposed to represent the words of an author in definitive or "final" form. For print is comfortable only with finality,' Ong writes.⁸² Inventory books, though, hardly represent the words of their authors in any definitive form: their visualities afford myriad potential interpretations for readers to determine for themselves. Ong continues: 'By contrast, manuscripts... were in dialogue with the world outside their own borders. They remained closer to the give-and-take of oral expression.'⁸³ Through Nichols' aforementioned notion of double literacy,

⁸¹ Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 21.

⁸² Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1982; repr. 1997), p. 132.

⁸³ Ong, p. 132; For further detail, Michael T. Clanchy traces the slow shift from memory ('oral') to written record ('literate') in Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory*

medieval readers and inventory book readers alike could interpret what they were seeing on a page in multiple ways, all of which were informed not only by their own inner libraries, but also by their collective experiences and cultural circumstances.

Ong is perhaps too constrained in his assessment by equating the printed word with only one particular visuality. The Gutenberg cliché may represent the author's words as being definitive, but the visualities of inventory books most certainly do not. The psalters and inventory books discussed herein all reflect the cultural circumstances within which they were produced and, moreover, construct and affirm particular individual and (counter)cultural identities. These books are public artefacts, representations of cultural circumstances that support a range of potential interpretations made in light of each reader's personal inner library, which itself is largely informed by that reader's perceived place within the greater cultural context. Nonetheless, it is worth remembering that many of these interpretations would have been anticipated by these books' producers and shared by other readers. Semiotic language and symbolism are rooted in a shared cultural consciousness: the inner libraries of the respective books' intended readers would have been stocked with similar materials.

Difficulty may come when scholars attempt to analyse texts and images by applying their own modern worldviews to books of the past, failing to appreciate the cultural circumstances in which the books were produced. As David Freedberg rhetorically asks about his preparatory work for *The Power of Images*: 'Could it not be... that I was simply postulating ideal beholders, and

forgetting that responses are forged on the anvil of culture and in the fire of particular history?’⁸⁴ Modern scholars must be mindful of their cultural preconceptions when considering the imagery of medieval manuscripts and inventory books. An understanding of manuscripts’ matrices, or of any of the inventory books’ visualities, necessitates what Martha Dana Rust calls a ‘codicological consciousness’ of the contemporary processes of book production, as well as a cultural awareness of ‘the social and symbolic traditions that books encode as material objects – an awareness, in other words, of a codicological semiotics that may function independently from the texts a book contains.’⁸⁵ As explained in Chapter 1, modern readers expect their books to adhere to the Gutenberg cliché. Medieval manuscripts followed a less rigid standard than the books produced under the Gutenberg cliché due to their being intended for a limited readership. Manuscripts were quite supportive of custom visuality, although certain visual features such as rubricated passages and enlarged initials were consistently included to guide readers through texts. Moreover, many manuscript texts were displayed in the rectangular text blocks typical of the Gutenberg cliché. Likewise, inventory books do include some features of the Gutenberg cliché: they generally read from left to right, from the top of the page to the bottom; most include page numbers, albeit inconsistently; many of the pages display text in rectangular text blocks, printed in black ink on a white background. In accordance with the textual privilege of the Gutenberg cliché, inventory books are very much based in their central texts. Just as any countercultural movement is defined by its relationship to the dominant culture

⁸⁴ David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. xx.

⁸⁵ Rust, pp. 15-16.

it challenges, any visual feature of an inventory book is defined by its relationship to the book's text. This said, an inventory book's incorporation of an abundance of visual distraction challenges the Gutenberg cliché by calling into question not only the constraints of the visual conventions of the page, but also the constraints of American cultural conventions more broadly.

For an analysis of inventory books one must consider the cultural climate of America in the late 1960s and early 70s, where and when these books were produced. Numerous countercultural movements had materialised. The Beat movement of the 1950s – characterised by explicit portrayals of the human condition, exploration and experimentation (particularly with drugs and sexuality), and anti-conformity in general – had waned but had nonetheless instilled a lasting sense of scepticism of the conventional. The 1950s also saw the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) active in its investigations against those with presumed communist ties, perhaps serving as inspiration for the media censorship depicted in Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451*; HUAC later targeted those involved in the 1960s countercultural movements. The Vietnam War was in full swing, with many large-scale demonstrations against the War being held across the country, contributing to the development of an increasingly strong suspicion amongst citizens of the American Government's activities. Jerry Rubin, author of *Do It!*, was among the most notable demonstrators against the Vietnam War, and cofounded the Youth International Party (the Yippies) with other prominent countercultural figures such as Abbie Hoffman in 1967. The Yippies, alongside other groups such as the hippies and Students for a Democratic Society, advocated the replacement of the current government with a more socialist alternative. It is within the context of such widespread cultural

scepticism, and a growing prominence of countercultural movements, that inventory books were published and received.

As well, this was a postmodernist period, wherein abstract art had become a familiar feature of the cultural landscape, and was no longer considered shocking.⁸⁶ While experimentalist visual art was commonplace, though, the visuality of the book does not appear to have changed during this time. When the first inventory book (*The Medium is the Massage*) was published in 1967, unconventional page layouts, especially those featuring an abundance of seemingly decontextualised images, had hardly been exploited in mass-produced text-based books.

⁸⁶ Mitchell, pp. 213-214.

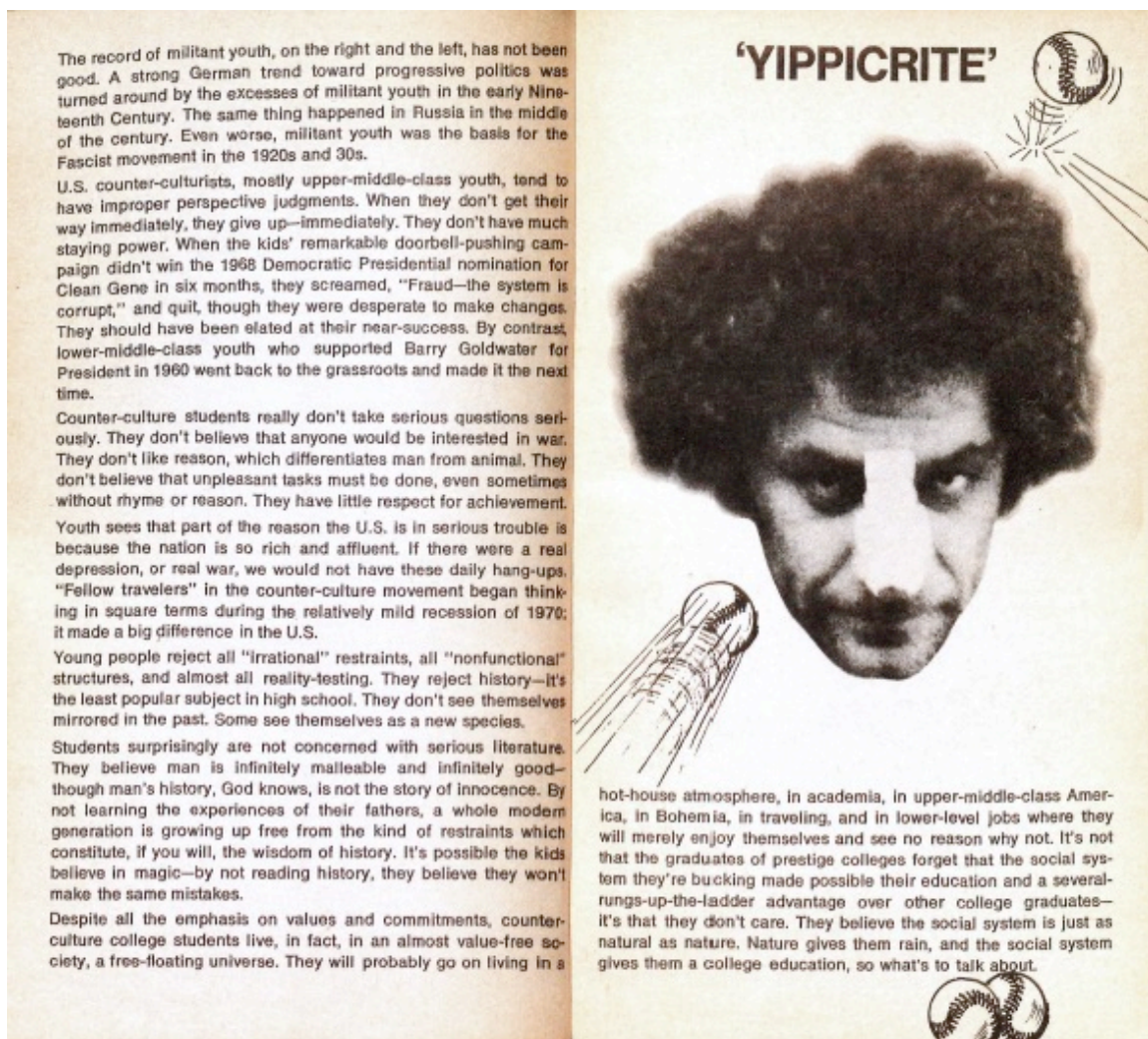


Figure 12: Page 17 of *Herman Kahn's Consciousness*, featuring a photo of Abbie Hoffman's head, being pelted with baseballs. A 'Yippicrite' label accompanies the image.

Inventory books include timely visual references that cite particular cultural aspects with which the reader would have been assumed to be familiar. One can read any of these books' texts while negating their visualities entirely but, as shown in the Chapter 2, the visualities expand upon, and add nuance to, that addressed in the texts. Through references to contemporary cultural figures and events, inventory books appealed to the inner libraries of 1960s/70s American readers.

Page 17 of *Herman Kahn's Consciousness* features a large photo of Yippie cofounder Abbie Hoffman's face being pelted by baseballs that presumably

represent 'traditional' American values (Figure 12). Abbie Hoffman was a familiar figure at the time of *Kahnsciousness*' publication and, despite there being no explicit mention of Hoffman's name in the book, readers likely would have recognised him, especially with the accompanying 'Yippicrite' label above his head.

This image does relate to the text it accompanies. On pages 16 and 17, Kahn criticises those involved in American countercultural movements: 'They don't like reason, which differentiates man from animal... They don't see themselves mirrored in the past. Some see themselves as a new species.'⁸⁷ However, this image may also be an implicit reference to Jerry Rubin's *Do It!: Scenarios of the Revolution*, a Yippie manifesto and a hopeful argument for an alternative future, published three years earlier. *Do It!* was designed by Quentin Fiore, Jerome Agel's former inventory book co-producer, and it was Agel who supervised the production of *Kahnsciousness*. Ironically, *Do It!*'s subtitle may be an implicit nod to the notion of scenario planning, a strategic method used by some organisations to predict possible futures based on current socioeconomic trends. The development of scenario planning is generally attributed to Herman Kahn during his time at the American RAND Corporation.⁸⁸ Rubin's use of Kahn's mainstream notion of scenario planning indicates an adaptation of a dominant cultural practice for countercultural purposes. Thus, perhaps the inclusion of Hoffmann's photo in *Herman Kahnsciousness* was partly a critique of Rubin's, and the Yippies', misuse of the scenario planning method. Intentional or not, these

⁸⁷ Kahn and Agel, p. 16.

⁸⁸ Kahn describes scenario planning in Herman Kahn and Anthony J. Wiener, *The Year 2000: A Framework for Speculation on the Next Thirty-Three Years* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 262-264.

visual and textual details can only be fleshed out and connected through cognitive association that is based in an understanding of the cultural circumstances within which these books were produced and consumed.

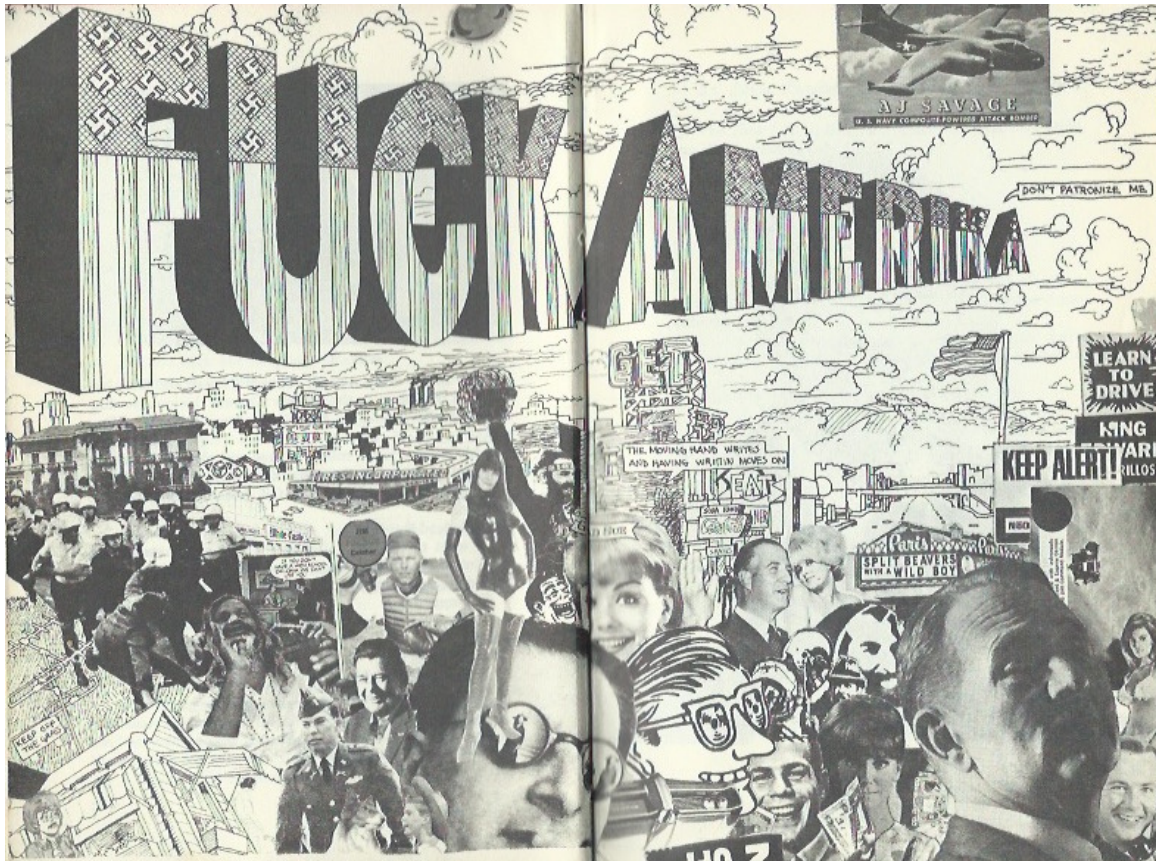


Figure 13: Pages 14 and 15 from *Do It!*. This spread uses a collage layout to muddle together both dominant cultural and countercultural references.

Like *Herman Kahnsciousness*, *Do It!* makes considerable use of visual cultural references. This is exemplified on pages 14 and 15 (Figure 13), which feature a collage of American iconography prominent at the time: capitalist company logos, such as Coca Cola and White Castle; portraits of leading personalities, such as former President Lyndon Johnson and Jerry Rubin; references to ‘wholesome’ popular entertainment, such as *Josie and the Pussycats* comic books, baseball, and the *Lassie* television program; and journalistic photography related to burning social issues such as the Vietnam War and public demonstrations. The collage is a mixture of cultural and countercultural symbols,

muddled together so that it is at times difficult to distinguish into which category they may fit. There is no singular point of view; there is a pile of familiar imagery to be sorted by the reader, who must consider each image's relation to the 'FUCK AMERIKA' banner occupying the top of the collage. The reader must participate to discern meaning.

When inventory books were initially published, their unconventional visualities would have unsettled readers accustomed to the Gutenberg cliché. However, inventory books' visualities served not only to unsettle: they also affirmed the countercultural ideals of the time. As counterculture scholars Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle write:

The countercultural mode reveled in tangents, metaphors, unresolved contradictions, conscious ruptures of logic and reason; it was expressly anti-linear, anti-teleological, rooted in the present, disdainful of thought processes that were circumscribed by causation and consequence. Countercultural knowledge can't be accurately represented by a straight line, or even the squiggly line; a more evocative figure would be the matrix, or perhaps the concentric circle.⁸⁹

Braunstein and Doyle's use of the word 'matrix' brings to mind Nichols and Rust's aforementioned notion of the manuscript matrix, wherein readers are encouraged to engage in nonlinear and participative reading practices to decipher the network of textual and visual signs present on a page. This kind of reading necessitates a double literacy to determine what Rust calls a 'lineal dimension' to make the books' visualities comprehensible. The imagery and overall visuality of inventory books not only represented the countercultural movements of 1960s and 70s America, but also affirmed these movements. The

⁸⁹ Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, 'Historicizing the American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s' in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*, ed. by Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 5-14 (p. 13).

mixed and merging discourse of the various countercultural groups present in America at this time was represented through inventory books' matrices of tangents, metaphors, unresolved contradictions, and conscious ruptures of logic and reason. These matrices depended upon both the textual and the visual for their rhetorical impact. The Gutenberg cliché, which supports rationality through uniformity and connectiveness, would only have stifled the anti-linear and anti-teleological countercultural modes embodied in inventory books' texts.

Inventory book producers would have anticipated many reader interpretations due to an assumed knowledge base founded upon a shared cultural consciousness. However, while readers would have recognised the individual images included in *Do It!*'s 'FUCK AMERIKA' collage, their interpretations would have differed based on their perceived places within the greater cultural context. To clarify, I draw attention to the collage's car-related inclusions. There are two: a large 'LEARN TO DRIVE' sign at the rightmost side of the spread, and a photo of an upside down Pontiac car on the bottom right side of the centre fold. Those sympathetic to Rubin's countercultural ideals may have interpreted these inclusions to represent the freedom of physical mobility and spontaneous adventure that comes with driving, such as that Beat writer Jack Kerouac documented in *On the Road* (1957).⁹⁰ A Pontiac in particular may have appealed to a countercultural audience in light of General Motors' 1968 television advertisement, which showed countercultural icons Bonnie and Clyde (as represented in Arthur Penn's 1967 film, which Peter Braunstein calls 'a

⁹⁰ Jack Kerouac, *On the Road* (New York: Viking Press, 1957).

cultural hand grenade') fleeing a bank heist in a Pontiac GTO.⁹¹ Rubin himself declares later in *Do It!* that 'Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow are the leaders of the New Youth.'⁹² In these ways, this collage's car-related inclusions affirmed the countercultural identities of Rubin and his followers. However, the 'LEARN TO DRIVE' sign might have also represented a desire for the upward mobility that had come to characterise the American Dream. Cars are status symbols, and the Pontiac was one product of a hip consumerism wherein consumers felt they could express their individuality through their purchasing decisions.⁹³ In this way, readers adhering to dominant cultural ideals may have observed the financial and social prospects represented by the collage's car-related inclusions. Given the content of *Do It!*'s text, though, it is clear that these ideals are the ones the 'FUCK AMERIKA' banner is directed against. After all, Rubin contends, 'revolution is profitable. So the capitalists try to sell it.'⁹⁴ Thus, this collage's car-related images called into question the cultural conventions of the day (the American Dream) while simultaneously affirming the beliefs of those involved in countercultural movements. Indeed, this collage prompted processes of meaning-making that were informed by readers' personal and cultural experiences. The artist (Spain) accentuated the culture within which the book was produced, and set the stage for the book's critique of this culture by

⁹¹ Peter Braunstein, 'Forever Young: Insurgent Youth and the Sixties Culture of Rejuvenation', in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*, ed. by Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 243-273 (p. 263); '1968 Pontiac GTO Commercial', *dreamingimalive YouTube Channel* (YouTube, 28 November 2006)

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jKDhJL1BNdc>> [accessed 4 August 2015].

⁹² Rubin and Fiore, p. 122.

⁹³ The notion of hip consumerism is adapted from Joseph Heath, 'The Structure of Hip Consumerism', *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 27.6 (2001), 1-17 (p. 2).

⁹⁴ Rubin and Fiore, p. 235.

immersing the reader in familiar imagery juxtaposed in an unfamiliar way. This collage emphasised the disjointedness of contemporary American culture, making it the 1960s/70s reader's duty to determine why each image was included, and to impose a new semblance of order: a counterculture, so to speak.

In this regard, one can again draw parallels between inventory books and the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters. The Luttrell Psalter similarly includes cultural references intended to appeal to its audience: namely, Sir Geoffrey Luttrell. This manuscript represents the experiences of Lancastrians in a way intended to appeal to Sir Geoffrey's inner library, to make him feel at home within its pages and to demonstrate the applicability of the Psalms' text to his personal circumstances. It abounds in depictions of various aspects of Lincolnshire life: roosters, rabbits, and other animals frolic in the margins; an organist plays on folio 55r (Figure 14); a man and women tend their sheep as two women carry heavy loads atop their heads on folio 163v (Figure 15).⁹⁵ Brown proposes that the Luttrell Psalter may have served something of a recording function, 'a visual Domesday Book of the Luttrell estates... and although the landholdings, chattels and tenants of the Luttrell estates, and the trappings of the lord's hall, are not in any sense itemized they are symbolically represented.'⁹⁶ Although Camille warns against the use of this psalter for historical verification,⁹⁷ there is little doubt that much of what Sir Geoffrey would have looked upon as he set about his day is visually included alongside the text of the Psalms. Further, both Brown and Camille recognise the symbolism embedded in the Luttrell Psalter's imagery. Sir Geoffrey's Lancastrian political

⁹⁵ 'Add MS 42130 [ff. 55r and 163v]' [accessed 6 July 2015]

⁹⁶ Brown, *The World of the Luttrell Psalter*, p. 70.

⁹⁷ Camille, *Mirror*, pp. 36-47.

leanings and his personal and familial achievements are anachronistically situated within the eternal biblical landscape. These images juxtapose the ancient text with contemporary references to demonstrate the text's continued relevance and to draw the reader – Sir Geoffrey, and perhaps his family – into the pages through the power of familiarity.



Figures 14 and 15: Two scenes from the Luttrell Psalter: the first, an organist playing on folio 55r; the second, a man and woman tending sheep as two women carry loads atop their heads on folio 163v.



Figure 16: A harvest scene from folio 172v of the Luttrell Psalter, depicting three women reaping corn as a man looks on, holding a sheaf of the crop.

Camille dedicates significant time to analysing the Luttrell Psalter's series of *bas-de-pages* scenes from folio 169v to 173v depicting harvest labourers working under Sir Geoffrey. He argues that these images have been carefully placed alongside the Psalms featured on their respective pages. For example, one image of a harvest on folio 172v (Figure 16) shows a man holding a sheaf of corn

as he watches three women reaping the crop.⁹⁸ This image accompanies part of text of Psalm 95:12: '*Gaudebunt campi et omnia*' ('The fields and all things that are in them shall be joyful'). However, Camille points out, the depiction of women in this image is unusual for contemporary harvesting scenes. Women generally do not appear to have been involved in reaping, but were instead tasked with tying the bundles of grain gathered by men. The image on folio 172v shows the opposite. 'So here we have an example of where an image in the [P]salter depicts what probably did *not* go on in fourteenth-century fields, but where an alternative reality was deliberately chosen,' writes Camille. 'Why?':

Allegorical and spiritual treatises from the twelfth century had shown women as workers at the harvest and there are the continuing folk traditions of the grain goddess, appropriated by the Virgin Mary, which specifically associate the crop with the female body. Showing women performing this hard work is thus more than an indication of the family unity and cooperativeness in this ideal harvest... The reversal is especially interesting since it has been argued that most scenes of medieval field-work under-represent the role of women... Going against both artistic convention and reality, this scene places the harvest as the responsibility of a whole society.⁹⁹

The depiction of peasants willingly working together to serve their lord would have affirmed Sir Geoffrey's identity as a landowner, instilling in him a sense of pride as he watched his labourers reap a bountiful crop. Camille proposes that this image is, in actuality, 'an ideological gloss to what was often in those decades of bad harvest and crop failure a bitter struggle on the part of landowners to exact and control labour from the peasants.'¹⁰⁰ Such an image actually appears to cement the social hierarchies of the day and romanticise feudal obligations. Hence, although this image served to affirm Sir Geoffrey's sense of self, it did so

⁹⁸ 'Add MS 42130 [f. 172v]' [accessed 16 July 2015]

⁹⁹ Camille, *Mirror*, p. 196.

¹⁰⁰ Camille, *Mirror*, p. 199.

in recognition of recent agricultural failures. Through a sort of medieval scenario planning, this image presents an optimistic alternative future wherein food was not so scarce and wherein *gaudebunt campi et omnia*. This image directly responds to contemporary concerns while at the same time drawing upon the text of the Psalms written above it.¹⁰¹



Figures 17 and 18: Two scenes from the Queen Mary Psalter: the first, a minor battle on folio 223r; the second, men and women socialising on folio 293v.

Despite its debatable patronage, the Queen Mary Psalter likewise appears to reference the particular experiences of its alleged patron. In her argument for Isabella of France as the book's initial intended reader, Anne Rudloff Stanton offers convincing arguments for the manuscript's textual and visual references to the English and French courts, and to Isabella specifically. For example, Rudloff Stanton suggests that the manuscript's many scenes of lions could remind the reader of King Edward II's own pet lion, and that Edward's 'supposed disinterest in Isabell[a] is countered by the strong wives depicted throughout the manuscript, from Sarah and Rachel to St. Anne and the mother of Thomas Becket.'¹⁰² The more common community is also represented in the Queen Mary Psalter's pages: two gambling men, referred to in the previous chapter, are shown on folios 167v and 168r; a minor battle, with the victorious knight

¹⁰¹ Camille's analysis of the Luttrell Psalter's use of marginal space to explore messages of personal import, particularly regarding representations of 'otherness' in a time of sociopolitical unrest, provides further evidence of the medieval scenario planning referenced here. See Camille, *Mirror*, pp. 276-308.

¹⁰² Rudloff Stanton, pp. 232, 239.

donning St. George's Cross (Figure 17), on folio 223r; men and women socialising, with women carrying their children, on folio 293v (Figure 18).¹⁰³ However, as with the other books discussed, these images may have had deeper meanings. The image of the gambling men, for example, may have had more implicit political meaning if Isabella was, in fact, the manuscript's intended user. As Camille notes in his analysis of the Luttrell Psalter, in 1327 'a quarrel over a game of dice between Lincolnshire archers... and a group of Hainaulters resulted in the deaths of what some reported to be 300 Lincolnshire men.' Camille adds that these Hainault mercenaries had been brought from the Low Countries by Isabella and her paramour, Roger Mortimer, to fight in the civil war in 1326-7.¹⁰⁴ Although the Queen Mary Psalter is generally believed to have been produced sometime between 1310 and 1320, the presence of this image indicates that if the Psalter had been intended for Isabella it may have still been in production by the middle of the 1320s. Even if this image's inclusion were entirely coincidental, Isabella would have almost certainly associated the image of the men quarrelling over a game of dice with such a significant political event in which she was involved, and which would have been a recent addition to her inner library.

The Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters and inventory books all feature imagery inspired by contemporary circumstances and events to illustrate the text being accompanied. At times, images appear to have direct relevance to the text; at other times, they appear to be decontextualised. In all instances, the images enclose additional layers of meaning to be determined by discerning readers who employ associative patience to connect that held in their inner

¹⁰³ 'Royal MS 2 B VII [ff. 223r and 293v]' [accessed 16 July 2015]

¹⁰⁴ Camille, *Mirror*, p. 72.

libraries to that presented on the page. However, while the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters' visualities tended to engage their patrons by affirming the patrons' perceived devotional, cultural, political, economic, and dynastic circumstances, inventory books visualities' engaged their readers by calling into question the social conventions and ideals of the day, and by affirming alternative worldviews. All of these books employed the mediating power of imagery in the service of discovery and demonstration: in the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters this demonstration is of the Word and Grace of God, while in inventory books this demonstration is of countercultural ideals.¹⁰⁵ Each book's imagery is heavily embedded in the cultural context of its production, as evidenced by the use of timely references that require a deep social understanding to fully appreciate. The difference between the psalters and inventory books discussed here, though, is in the functions of their images. The Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters employed imagery to make their readers feel comfortable within the pages, whereas inventory books employed imagery to make their readers feel uncomfortable, to make them question the conventional.

Readers do not read in isolation. They read within cultural circumstances that inform their understandings and interpretations of what they are seeing. The images featured in the books discussed herein all reflect the circumstances and ideals of their respective cultural contexts, in ways that would have appealed to their intended readerships. The Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters affirmed the

¹⁰⁵ The notion of the 'mediating power of the image' is adapted from Veerle Fraeters and Jürgen Pieters, 'The Mediating Power of Images and Texts: The Dynamics of Sight and Insight in Medieval and Early Modern Literature and Art' in *Speaking to the Eye: Sight and Insight through Text and Image (1150 – 1650)*, ed. by Thérèse de Hemptinne, Veerle Fraeters, and María Eugenia Góngora (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013), pp. 1-14.

religious beliefs of the time, as well as their patrons' esteemed social statuses; their purposes were arguably to make readers consider their worldviews but not to doubt them. Inventory books, contrarily, called into question the cultural conventions of the day, encouraging readers to reconsider their places within the greater cultural context and to consider alternative worldviews. Once in the hands of readers, inventory books aimed to make readers uncomfortable in their safe and affluent button-down culture.

CONCLUSION: MATRICES OF MEANING

I began this dissertation with a statement from Professor Faber, a character from Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451*: 'Books were only one type of receptacle where we stored a lot of things we were afraid we might forget. There is nothing magical in them at all. The magic is only in what books say, how they stitched the patches of the universe together into one garment for us.'¹⁰⁶ There is certainly magic in the books discussed herein, illusions to be elucidated. Each psalter and inventory book contains layers upon layers of meaning to be discerned by readers who personalise their interpretations of the pages' visualities to accept them at more than face value. These books' intended readers were encouraged to determine meanings for themselves, customised according to that held in their inner libraries.

To appreciate the visualities of the psalters and inventory books considered in this dissertation, we must, in the words of Michael Camille, 'rethink our modern notion that reading is the rapid relay of information and see it as a far more meditative meandering, in which images are not so much illustrations of an already pre-existing text as part of the process of reading itself.'¹⁰⁷ In Chapter 1, I introduced Stephen G. Nichols and Martha Dana Rust's concept of the manuscript matrix, the 'category-crossing metasystem of signs' embedded in verbal-visual compounds that necessitates literacy of both text and imagery to penetrate 'the underside of consciousness'.¹⁰⁸ None of the books discussed in this dissertation function as definitive ends. Instead, they emphasise

¹⁰⁶ Bradbury, pp. 107-108.

¹⁰⁷ Camille, *Mirror*, p. 162.

¹⁰⁸ Rust, p. 9; Nichols, 8.

reading as a means for continued discovery through cognitive association between that held in the individual's inner library and that presented on the page. When a reader sees the hodgepodge of timely cultural and countercultural images in *Do It!*'s two-page collage spread, or the gambling men brawling in the *bas-de-page* of the Queen Mary Psalter, she depends upon the central text and her knowledge of contemporary circumstances to guide her through her process of meaning-making. The Gutenberg cliché emphasises linearity and rationality. Yet, the books discussed herein emphasise nonlinearity and participative reading for an alternative experience that unsettles the reader by purposefully straying from the expected layout.

The unconventional layouts of inventory books stimulate readers' narrative reflexes. 'We cannot stop noticing,' writes Kenneth Goldsmith. 'No sequence too absurd, trivial, meaningless, insulting, we helplessly register, provide sense, squeeze meaning, and read intention out of the most atomized of words.'¹⁰⁹ As shown in Chapter 2, a single image can lead to multiple very different interpretations. A photograph of a nude pregnant woman could be just an arbitrarily placed image. Set alongside a text about war, though, the photograph could actually be a commentary on the responsibility of society to prevent future wars for the sake of the unborn generations to come. Alternatively, considering what Lucy Freeman Sandler calls *imagines verborum*, one could determine the inclusion of the photograph as being inspired by the word 'bellicosely'. A similar process of *ruminatio* is required to comprehend the imagery in the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters. Seemingly decontextualised images of naked men pressing their feet together, or brawling over undesirable

¹⁰⁹ Goldsmith, p. 221.

gambling outcomes, require contemplation to determine their connections to the text, whether such connections were actually intended by the manuscripts' producers or not.

It is easy to become engrossed in trying to determine the meanings of such imagery. Inventory books' inconsistent uses of page numbers lessen readers' numerical senses of space, moving readers out of the confines of the Gutenberg cliché and encouraging them to become immersed in the text and imagery as they succumb to narrative reflexes. Like the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters, inventory books offer their readers opportunities to delve into visual analysis by foregoing constraints of sequential logic such as page numbering. 1960s/70s readers seem to have been encouraged to understand the books' visual matrices not only by comprehending the authors' words, but also by relating the words and images to their personal understandings of contemporary cultural circumstances.

In Chapter 3 I demonstrated that, in one's effort to resolve the myriad contradictions caused by decontextualised imagery in inventory books, it becomes clear that these books were interpretive representations of the cultural contexts within which they were produced. The same applies for the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters. The Luttrell Psalter's depiction of female reapers, for example, may have been more idealistic than realistic. There is a mediating power of imagery in discovery and demonstration that goes against the perceived sense of finality evoked by print: readers are free to either affirm or question their conceptions of self and society in the safety of these pages.

The visualities of the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters served to confirm their readers' understandings of the Psalms, while simultaneously confirming

the Psalms' relevance to their daily lives. By juxtaposing common daily scenes with the religious text, the Psalters' visualities associated the formality of religious study with their patrons' existences. Such connections encouraged medieval readers to consider the text in fresh ways, expanding their inner libraries through exploration of alternative avenues towards theological meaning by way of cognitive association. Similarly, the visualities of inventory books encouraged 1960s/70s American readers to explore alternative avenues of thought. However, rather than conforming to or affirming social conventions, as the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters affirmed the predominant religious beliefs of the day, the visualities of inventory books aimed to break down the cultural building blocks upon which readers founded their lives by making readers question their realities. Inventory books' visualities aimed to create new realities by altering or dismantling that held in readers' inner libraries, and by affirming the beliefs of those who already subscribed to countercultural ideals. For all of the psalters and inventory books discussed herein, visibility played a powerful role in readers' experiences. Indeed, text alone or image alone would not have been sufficient to communicate the relevance of these books' contents. The entire visualities were necessary to achieve the intended impact.

Inventory books have hardly been subject to any comprehensive analysis, and there is thus a limited scholarly foundation upon which studies can rest. This dissertation has used scholarship about the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters to suggest just one lens through which to examine inventory books. This is not to say that inventory books' producers looked to medieval manuscripts and purposely attempted to resurrect their visual qualities. Inventory books' visualities simply appear to reflect their producers' attempts to promote what

Nichols calls 'a dual route of penetration to the underside of consciousness' for rhetorical effect.¹¹⁰ Inventory books' verbal-visual compounds make medieval manuscripts useful comparative tools for setting the foundations of this study; the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters together offer a parallel context for understanding inventory books' visualities. As has been shown, inventory books utilise many of the visual strategies apparent in the Psalters to promote nonlinear and participatory reading practices for a sort of modern *ruminatio*. The power of inventory books' visualities at their time of publication, however, rested upon the reader's expectation of the Gutenberg cliché: inventory books' unconventional page layouts made, and continue to make, them countercultural artefacts of sorts, inspiring off-road experiences of social conventions with their texts and visual conventions with their visualities. Readers were required to construct alternative courses of reading to make sense of their multi-layered visual responses to the text. As with the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters, inventory books could be re-read and renegotiated, prompting different reader responses each time. Nothing is what it seems to be.

Although all of the books discussed here support multiple potential interpretations, they all reflect the cultural consciousness of the contexts within which they were produced. Not only did cultural consciousness inform the books' productions, it also informed the inner libraries of the books' readers. Thus, although inventory books served as countercultural artefacts, they still worked within the dominant cultural systems in place at the time. By using familiar imagery – as in *Do It!*'s collage of cultural icons, for one – readers could situate themselves in relation to the larger culture, and then analyse the imagery

¹¹⁰ Nichols, 8.

in ways that aligned with their personal political and social identities. The Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters operate similarly. Through the use of familiar imagery – the Luttrell Psalter’s depiction of harvesters and the Queen Mary Psalter’s depiction of gambling men, for example – the cultural contexts of the intended readers, and their perceived places with these contexts, were represented. After being welcomed into the pages through the power of familiarity, readers could interpret their books’ texts and images. The primary difference between inventory books and the Luttrell and Queen Mary Psalters, which I have highlighted, is one of intention. The Psalters, produced for particular patrons for fundamentally religious purposes, affirmed readers’ extant beliefs and identities. Contrarily, inventory books called those of a more general readership’s extant beliefs and identities into question, reflecting the greater social scepticism towards convention in 1960s/70s America. For both the psalters and the inventory books discussed, however, the books’ respective visualities supported the underlying objectives of their texts’ existence.

Contrary to Professor Faber’s statement, there is magic held in all of these books. Readers interpret the books’ visual and textual illusions and allusions, stitching the patches of their own universes together into garments that fit them perfectly.

APPENDIX A: INVENTORY MATERIAL

Inventory Books

The following list includes all known inventory books that Quentin Fiore and Jerome Agel were involved in producing.

Agel, Jerome, *Is Today Tomorrow?: A Synergistic Collage of Alternative Futures* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972)

Agel, Jerome, ed., *The Making of Kubrick's 2001* (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1970)

Kahn, Herman, and Jerome Agel, *Herman Kahn's Consciousness: The Megaton Ideas of the One-Man Think Tank* (New York: New American Library, 1973)

Lakein, Alan, and Jerome Agel, *It's About Time & It's About Time* (New York: Bantam Books, 1975)

McLuhan, Marshall, Quentin Fiore, and Jerome Agel, *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (New York: Bantam Books, 1967)

--- *War and Peace in the Global Village: An Inventory of Some of the Current Spastic Situations that Could be Eliminated by More Feedforward* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968)

Rubin, Jerry, and Quentin Fiore, *Do It!: Scenarios of the Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970)

Sagan, Carl, and Jerome Agel, *Other Worlds* (New York: Bantam Books, 1975)

Selected Additional Inventory Material

The following list includes additional books, magazines, and audio recordings that could be deemed inventory material, but were not necessarily produced by Quentin Fiore or Jerome Agel. Future studies may wish to consider this material, as doing so would contribute to a fuller understanding of the vast array of visualities employed, and their effects on reader experience. This list is not comprehensive.

- Andraos, Amale, and Dan Wood, eds., *Above the Pavement – the Farm!: Architecture & Agriculture at PF1* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010)
- Basar, Shuman, Douglas Coupland, and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *The Age of Earthquakes: A Guide to the Extreme Present* (London: Penguin Books, 2015)
- Brand, Stewart, ed., *Whole Earth Catalog: Access to Tools* (Melo Park: Portola Institute 1968-[1972])
- Fuller, R. Buckminster, *Tetra Scroll* (West Islip: Universal Limited Art Editions, 1977)
- Goldstein, Richard, ed., *US: A Paperback Magazine*, 1-3 (New York: Bantam Books, 1969-1970)
- Hoffman, Abbie, *Woodstock Nation: A Talk-Rock Album* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969)
- Johnson, Phyllis, ed., *Aspen Magazine*, 1-10 (1967–1971)
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- The Masses (Adam Michaels, Daniel Perlin, and Jeffrey T. Schnapp), 'The Electric Information Age Album' *Bandcamp* (17 September 2012) <<http://wearethemasses.bandcamp.com>> [accessed 20 July 2015]
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- Saporta, Marc, Salvador Plascencia et al., *Composition No. 1* (London: Visual Editions, 2011 [text first printed in 1962])
- Sinclair, John, and Gary Grimshaw, *Guitar Army: Street Writings/Prison Writings* (New York: Douglas Book Corporation, 1972)
- Stein, Maurice Robert, and Larry Miller, *Blueprint For Counter Education* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970)
- Woo, Roston, Meredith TenHoor, and Damon Rich, *Street Value: Shopping, Planning, and Politics at Fulton Mall* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010)

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- *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998)
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