

## Forum Kommunikationsgeschichte

Das ›Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte‹ widmet sich seit nun über 20 Jahren der Vielfalt an möglichen Zugängen und interdisziplinären Perspektiven zu historischer Kommunikation. Die anhaltenden Fragen zu Konturen, Werkzeugen und Denkmustern kommunikationshistorischer Erkenntnisinteressen gaben uns Anlass im Band 20 von 2018 ein Beitrags-Forum zu begründen, dessen Grundfrage »Was ist Kommunikationsgeschichte« seither und in den nächsten Jahren aus unterschiedlichen Forschungsrichtungen und aus dem Blick auf verschiedene Epochen erörtert werden soll. Die bewusst kurz gehaltenen und mit wenigen Anmerkungen versehenen Beiträge dieses Forums sollen fragende, einordnende und anregende Impulse geben, um »Kommunikationsgeschichte« innerhalb historisch arbeitender Disziplinen konzeptionell zu schärfen. In diesem Sinne werden die einzelnen Beitragenden das eigene (fachliche) Verständnis von Kommunikationsgeschichte vorstellen, begründen sowie Potentiale und Grenzen der eigenen Ansätze erörtern.

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### SENSING BOOKS. COMMUNICATION BY MORE THAN SIGHT AND SOUND

The following has a simple aim: it is to suggest that the communicative reception history of books and material texts must attend more to smell, feel and even taste among other sensory experiences. It is perhaps suggestive that »media« may be construed from the Latin as »the way between«, and yet existing histories of communication processes are often surprisingly conservative in relation to sensory scope and boundaries. This is even the case for studies of early modern and eighteenth-century Europe where research in the history of emotions and senses has been so productive. For Richard Cullen Rath, to date the most investigative scholar of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century »sensory media«, the visual and aural are primary and only a concluding afterthought comes his assertion that »in the discussion of media, the senses, and enlightenment, the proximal senses – smell, taste and touch – necessarily take a back seat to the distal senses«.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. ENLARGING THE SENSORY

The cultural history of material texts forces consideration of the relationship between the primary modes of communication: the spoken and the written (or imprinted or otherwise made graphic) and modes of perception, the aural and the visual. All elements of communication, however, operate in uneven, changing and restricted combinations. Above all, concentration on sight and sound should not obscure the impor-

<sup>1</sup> Richard Cullen Rath: *Sensory Media: Communication and the Enlightenment in the Atlantic World*. In: Anne C. Vila (ed.): *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Age of Enlightenment*. London: Bloomsbury Academic 2014, p. 203–221, here p. 223.

tance of other sensory experiences which might be allied and even crucial to textual receptivity. Sensory experiences filter information and feed our cognitive processes. Knowledge is attained and our environment interpreted through sensory channels. However prominent and specific, visual and verbal communications are also contextually related to other sensory experience such as olfactory and gustatory systems, vestibular movement (the sensory system crucial to a sense of balance and spatial orientation), and proprioception (the personal sense of the relative position bodily parts and the efforts employed in movement). In turn, sensory experience is modulated by age, by physical differences and impairment, and by habitual and culturally regulated behaviour.<sup>2</sup>

Histories of communication in early modern Europe focus insistently on the advance and mutation of visual cognition. The introduction of printing by moveable type has been evaluated in reception terms as the increasing displacement of the ear by the eye and of the generation of a »print culture«, problematic as that concept is.<sup>3</sup> As summarised by Daniel Woolf, it was »the increased assault on the eyes provided by print«.<sup>4</sup> According to Constance Classen, »mastering the printed page required intensive visual training – »eye drill«.<sup>5</sup> Debate continues about the consequences of a »printing revolution«, of the nature and impact of a technologically determined »cultural fixity«,<sup>6</sup> and of the intellectually and socially transformative relationship between print, image and manuscript. Emphasis on the power and influence of print has been modified by evidence of the continuing effectiveness of script, particularly in relation to issues of authority and authenticity.<sup>7</sup> More recent questioning of »printedness« and mediation has highlighted the reading relationship between text and image, the density and design of type, the awareness (or not) of space, and the reception of the *mise-en-page*. Such debate, however, remains focused on *visual* cognition – the responses evinced by ocular means.

A broader and now familiar objection to the privileging of viewing and the viewable – whether print, manuscript, image or all in combination – is that oral habits of thought and communication continued even as visual texts proliferated. Walter Ong, an early

<sup>2</sup> As Rath observes: »The communicative aspects of mediation are thus entirely external to the senses and the self, but reachable by no other means and therefore virtually connected to the sensory realm«, Rath (2014) p. 206 (see footnote 1).

<sup>3</sup> See James Raven: »Print Culture« and the Perils of Practice. In: Jason McElligott / Eve Pat-ten (eds.): *The Perils of Print Culture: Book, Print and Publishing History in Theory and Practice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2015, p. 218–137.

<sup>4</sup> D. R. Woolf: *Hearing Renaissance England*. In: Mark M. Smith (ed.): *Hearing History: A Reader*. Athens: University of Georgia Pr. 2004, p. 112–135, here p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> Constance Classen: Introduction: *The Transformation of Perception*. In: Constance Classen (ed.): *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Age of Empire*. London: Bloomsbury Academic 2014, p.1–24, here p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> As influentially but controversially proposed by Elizabeth Eisenstein: *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Pr. 1979.

<sup>7</sup> Harold Love: *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Pr. 1993; James Raven: *What is the History of the Book?* Cambridge: Polity Pr. 2018, pp. 110–111.

critic of boundaries between cognitive styles, still attended greatly to the differentiation between the oral/aural and the seen and visually read in postulating the existence of different types of reading communities (largely in the early modern period). Discussion of »logocentrism« often hinges on the extent to which writing is more than the image of speech.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, perceptions of a shift to visualization can be overstated and Arnold Hunt and others have insisted on the power of voicing texts, of audiences hearing and of readers, notably preachers and teachers, modulating their oral communication of texts.<sup>9</sup> Broader histories of hearing have given fresh attention to speech communities and acoustic environments.<sup>10</sup> Disrupting the traditional focus still further, however, are important studies attempting to recover the historical significance of early modern smell, taste and touch. Alain Corbin pioneered investigation of smells and fragrance between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries,<sup>11</sup> and his work has been followed by numerous histories of odours in the same centuries, including contributions by Norbert Jonard, Mark Jenner and Robert Muchembled (among several others)<sup>12</sup> of taste (if often centred on food),<sup>13</sup> and, most recently, of touch and the vestibular.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See Woolf (2004) p. 119f. (See footnote 4).

<sup>9</sup> Arnold Hunt: *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences 1590–1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Pr. 2010, considering a »sermon culture« enabled by speech acts and sets of practices enabling a particularity of hearing; see pp. 56f., for a perceptive critique of Ong.

<sup>10</sup> See in particular, Bruce R. Smith: *Soundscapes of Early Modern England*. In: Mark M. Smith (ed.): *Hearing History: A Reader*. Athens: University of Georgia Pr. 2004, p. 85–111.

<sup>11</sup> The hugely influential Alain Corbin: *Le Miasme et la jonquille: l'odorat et l'imaginaire social, XVIII-XIXe siècles*. Paris: Aubier Montaigne 1982, a wide-ranging study of the social significance of smell in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France, was published in English as Alain Corbin: *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination*. Leamington Spa: Berg Publ. 1986.

<sup>12</sup> Norbert Jonard: *Du dégoût et des odeurs: Note sur la révolution olfactive au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle*. In: *Studi Secenteschi*, 15, 1995, p. 235–244; Mark S. R. Jenner: *Civilization and Deodorization? Smell in Early Modern English Culture*. In: Peter Burke / Brian Harrison / Paul Slack (eds.): *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*. Oxford: Oxford University Pr. 2000, p. 127–144; Robert Muchembled: *Civilisation des odeurs*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres 2017; see also Jonathan Reinartz: *Past Scents: Historical Perspectives on Smell*. Urbana: University of Illinois Pr. 2014; J. Douglas Porteous: *Smellscape*. In: *Progress in Human Geography: Earth and Environment*, 9, 1985, p. 356–378; Jim Drobnick (ed.): *The Smell Culture Reader*. London: Bloomsbury Pr. 2006; Christina Bradstreet: »Wicked with Roses«. *Floral Femininity and the Erotics of Scent*. In: *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, 6, 2007; Christopher M. Woolgar: *The Senses in Late Medieval England*. New Haven: Yale University Pr. 2006; Holly Dugan: *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Pr. 2011; Mark M. Smith: *Smell History: A Reader*. Morgantown: West Virginia University Pr. 2018; Janice Carlisle: *Common Scents: Comparative Encounters in High-Victorian Fiction*. Oxford: Oxford University Pr. 2004. Most of the above focus on body odours. For ancient times, see S. A. Harvey: *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination*. Berkeley: University of California Pr. 2006, and Lydie Badiou / Véronique Mehl (eds.): *Odeurs antiques*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres 2011. A broad comparative study is offered by Constance Classen /

A cultural historian's own experience can be suggestive. As a boy in rural East Anglia in the 1960s, I was taken by my father to a newspaper reading room where the »Silence« visually demanded by signs on the walls actually enhanced the sound of frequent crinkled page-turning (of at least the fresher newspapers). Pages were lifted and flattened out by men – mostly farmers and cattlemen – standing in front of high sloping desks. Further noise came from the licking of the thumbs and forefingers that turned pages, followed by the ahems, clucks and chuckles of engrossed readers (the reading room was large enough for about thirty readers at a time). But smell also evokes and contributes to communicative experience – in this case, the smell of desks reeking of a morning's oiling, of much-fingered newsprint and the earthy pungency of its readers, many of whom also smoked hard on pipes and cigarettes. Whiffy dogs came in and they contributed to the reading olfactorum. News was absorbed, at least associationally, by the nose and fingers. And where smell and touch were associated with the communicative experience, so also was taste – when, for example, smell was strong or when page-turning involved licking.

In addition, as this anecdotal example reveals, smell invites the memory of communicative behaviour – and a selective memory at that. When I turned the pages of the newspapers myself – usually to look at cartoons – it was an unpleasant experience that leaves a redolent memory to this day. Slithery newsprint surfaces combined with the sickly odour of week-old (or older) newspapers, dampened, thumbbed and fingered by scores of readers. Many men read, I remember, by moving their forefinger between words. And consolidated by memory is the maleness of it all. Women seemed never to enter the reading room, perhaps by unspoken agreement, perhaps because of the unappetising mix of reading materials and reading smells. That reading-room smell is also associated with time. Saturday was the main livestock market day and the farmers – with boots from the wet, straw-strewn market and stockyard floor – read mostly mid-morning on Saturdays before returning home with their empty malodourous trucks.

There are innumerable parallels, such as the leathery mustiness accompanying and affecting reading in so many libraries of old books. The olfactory experience can partly

David Howes / Anthony Symnott: *Aroma: A Cultural History of Smell*. London: Routledge 1994, but again, with the exception of part of the chapter on »The aroma of the commodity« focusing on the human body.

<sup>13</sup> Including Tom Nealon: *Food Fights and Culture Wars: A Secret History of Taste*. New York: The Overlook Pr. 2016; Paul Freedman (ed.): *Food: The History of Taste*. Berkeley: University of California Pr. 2007.

<sup>14</sup> »A Cultural History of the Senses« series edited by Constance Classen offers a notable survey, albeit with the studies of »sensory values and experiences« organised by subjects including social life, the urban, religion, literature, art and media rather than by separate senses: Jerry Toner (ed.): *A Cultural History of the Senses in Antiquity*. London: Bloomsbury 2014; Richard Newhauser (ed.): *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*. London: Bloomsbury 2014; Herman Roodenburg (ed.): *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance*. London: Bloomsbury 2014; Anne C. Vila (ed.): *Cultural History of the Senses in the Age of Enlightenment*. London: Bloomsbury 2014; Constance Classen (ed.): *Cultural History of the Senses in the Age of Empire*. London: Bloomsbury 2014; David Howes (ed.): *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Modern Age*. London: Bloomsbury 2014.

be explained by the material paraphernalia for books' storage and reading and the detritus of human interaction (the fishbone used as a bookmark REF coming from Tony Grafton), but it also results from simple chemical ageing, in confined, damp, warm or largely undisturbed places, of the components of the books: parchment, paper (rag-based or wood chip), ink and binding materials (including the mutton fat rubbed into book covers by the father of one of our most distinguished cultural historians).<sup>15</sup> The removal of a book from a packed shelf releases volatile compounds – as conjured in a current spoof internet advert for a »Smell of Books« aerosol which »brings back that real book smell you miss so much [...] Does your Kindle leave you feeling like there's something missing from your reading experience?«<sup>16</sup> The British Library shop has sold a candle that purports to smell of »library«.<sup>17</sup> Alberto Manguel has written of a special fondness for old Penguin paperbacks derived from their attractive aroma of »fresh rusk biscuits«.<sup>18</sup> Christopher de Hamel has mused about the different scents of manuscript books: »I have no vocabulary to define this, but there is a curious warm leathery smell to English parchment, unlike the sharper, cooler scent of Italian skins.«<sup>19</sup> In 2017 two members of the Institute for Sustainable Heritage at University College London produced a »Historic Book Odour Wheel« based on the analysis of samples from »an old book, picked up in a second-hand shop« and which connects identifiable chemicals with people's reactions to them. As they wrote: »When we talk to curators of historic libraries, they point out that smell is the first really important reaction between the visitor and the library itself.«<sup>20</sup> Recently also the word »bibliochor« has been used to describe the smell emanating from old books, a neologism combining the Greek *biblio* (book) with *ichor* (the fluid that flows like blood in the veins of the gods). As one claimant to its invention writes, »like petrichor (the earthy scent released by rainfall on dry soil), bibliochor describes a very distinct fragrance that somehow inhabits one's very soul when they encounter it.«

It is also the case that even a discussion primarily concerning early modern Europe benefits from comparisons with important extra-optical/visual and extra-oral/aural sensory experiences in other cultures. In the handling of a book, what was read or heard, is affected by other sensory experience, some of which might be a form of »reading«.

<sup>15</sup> I am obliged to Professor Peter Burke for this reminiscence.

<sup>16</sup> <http://smellofbooks.com>, »Have you been avoiding e-books because they just don't smell right?«

<sup>17</sup> »Enclosed in Guaiac wood and patchouli, this aromatic scent tells a whimsical story of discovery and contemplation. Cinnamon, clove buds, and soft base notes of cedar and moss all recall the quiet decadence of a stolen afternoon, lost in the world of a long forgotten book«, advertisement of Birch & Brook, manufacturers of the Library Candle, <https://www.bl.uk/shop/library-scented-candle/p-409>.

<sup>18</sup> Cited in Claire Armitstead: Can you Judge a Book by its Odour? In: The Guardian <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/apr/07/the-smell-of-old-books-science-libraries>.

<sup>19</sup> Christopher de Hamel: Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts: Twelve Journeys into the Medieval World. London: Allen Lane 2016, p. X.

<sup>20</sup> Cecilia Bembibre / Matija Strlič: Smell of Heritage: A Framework for the Identification, Analysis and Archival of Historic Odours. In: Heritage Science, 5, 2017, 2. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-016-0114-1>.

Certain material texts demand touch in order to communicate. Tactile receptors range from subtly raised painting on early Chinese bamboo books to Inca khipus (or quipus) whose textured and twisted knots were interpreted mnemonically by feel as well as by colour.<sup>21</sup> Significantly shaped and incised texts also allowed reading in poor or dimmed light and aided sensory impairment. An obvious, more modern example is the message-brokering of Braille, introduced in 1821 but based on earlier tactile experiments in embossed letters and »night writing«. Touch further links the most ancient tablets with the most modern. Cuneiform impression might be additionally sensed by touch; the screen-touching used to scroll down digital texts on phones and tablets requires sight and light but the touch-sensing technology draws the finger to the character forms, and often activates them. Licked finger-from-mouth to assist page turning does not translate to the digital screen, but it remains a habit in the reading of paper (and some other material) publications, and it features compellingly in histories and fictions from »La Reine Margot«, the film adaptation of Alexandre Dumas's novel in which Catherine de Medici infuses a book with arsenic to poison Henri de Navarre (but instead kills her own and more bibliophilic son Charles IX), to the deadly book of Aristotle that kills all finger-licking leaf-turners in the fourteenth-century monastery in Umberto Eco's 1980 novel »The Name of the Rose«. Copper acetoarsenite or »Paris green« developed from 1814 was widely used in the nineteenth century to produce bright emerald coloured bindings of (it is now known) significant toxicity. Victorians also bound numerous medieval manuscripts in the same poisonous material.<sup>22</sup>

## 2. DISCERNING THE FACULTIES

Matthew Milner's examination of senses in the English Reformation adopts a multi-sensory approach demonstrating how early modern operation and modes of sensory communication differed greatly from post-Enlightenment understandings.<sup>23</sup> The touch and taste of books is, perhaps, under-examined in Milner's study, but his discussion of the different interpretations of the experiential Eucharist highlights the keen appreciation of sensory experience. Milner also offers the ironic musing that »amidst the full panoply of theophony lay the sensory paradox where proper sensation was no sensing at all.«<sup>24</sup> Such observation, of contradiction and negation, invites consideration of the silent and the less noisome library as a refuge from disruptive sensory communicative experience. If we accept Corbin's construal of foul-smelling habitations, workplaces and people in »pre-deodorized« early modern Europe, then libraries and privileged reading sites might not only have been more silent places, assisting noiseless reading and a more interiorised world, but also sanctuaries from the pungent and the noxious. Even beyond the library (a largely rarefied and elite space), the absorption in reading might have negated proximate sensory revulsions – reading as a temporary obliteration

<sup>21</sup> See Raven (2018) (see footnote 7).

<sup>22</sup> For a recent (July 2018) investigation, see <https://www.livescience.com/63025-poisonous-books-coated-in-arsenic.html/>.

<sup>23</sup> Matthew Milner: *The Senses and the English Reformation*. Farnham: Ashgate Publ. 2011.

<sup>24</sup> Milner (2011) p. 144 (see footnote 23).

of local unpleasantness – and promoted the contemporary identification of differently receptive places.

Books, of course, can smell of their owners and uses. A character in Samuel Jackson Pratt's »Family Secrets« muses about the state of books in Page's Circulating Library:

»Pray dear Mr. Page,« cries a pretty lisper, who had been looking over the catalogue, »is not that Lady Sarah Dingey? she who makes your books smell so horridly of spirits, and is so generous with her snuff ?-- I declare my sister Bab and a whole party of us were the other evening almost poisoned, in the first volume of »Delicate Distress« and sweet Jane Hectic was quite overcome before she had half got through »Excessive Sensibility.«<sup>25</sup>

A consciousness of smell also appears in numerous literary representations: the textual creation of the olfactory in poetry, drama and the novel.<sup>26</sup> This also translates into metaphorical allusions: the taste of literature, the appetite for reading, the digestion of texts (and much more), while books might also be sniffed out. In 1600-01 the essayist Sir William Cornwallis recorded of his reading that »I have been content to taste Histories.«<sup>27</sup> And as Pierre Bayle wrote towards the end of that century, »if a child, before he learned to read or write, were made acquainted with all things and actions [...] how easily would he understand all good books afterwards, and smell out the fopperies of bad ones.«<sup>28</sup> The metaphor was commonly used throughout the next century. The pseudonymous Monsieur de Blainville, transporting some Catholic books through Italy, for example, declares that »several did smell Rank of the Faggot.«<sup>29</sup>

In terms of communication history, a significant consequence of these representations was the association of the malodorous with disreputable books. The magistrate and Presbyterian »prophet« John Lacy (b. 1664) insisted that wicked books smelt. In his »Vision«, he imagined an assembly of men confronted with twelve sealed books:

One of them opened the Books, and on the Opening there issued forth a strong noisome Smell, as the Smell of Poison, so that the Assembly were struck with great Horrour, neither could they endure the same. But an Angel came down into the Place, who sprinkling Dew upon them, they read the Books without Fainting, for there was a Power in the Dew to conquer the noisome Smell that issued from the Books. So they read the Volumes, and in the Reading they looked pale with Fear, and red with Anger... For there was written therein divers Corruptions of filthy

<sup>25</sup> Samuel Jackson Pratt: *Family Secrets, Literary and Domestic*. 3 vols. 3<sup>rd</sup> Irish edn. Cork: 1800, 1: p. 142.

<sup>26</sup> See, mostly for the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Hans J. Rindisbacher: *The Smell of Books: A Cultural-Historical Study of Olfactory Perception in Literature*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Pr. 1992.

<sup>27</sup> W. Cornwaleys: *Of the Observation & Use of Things*. In: *Essays by Sir W. Cornwaleys*, 1st part 1600, 2nd part 1601; a new combined, Enlarged edition published in 1610 contained a few new essays.

<sup>28</sup> Pierre Bayle: *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical*. New translated edn, 10 vols. London: Roberts 1734–1741), 8: p. 359.

<sup>29</sup> Monsieur de Blainville: *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Italy*. 3 vols. London: Johnson & Davenport 1767, 2: p. 337.

Gain, great Wickedness, and a long Account of Idolaters, how that they intended to destroy the good King.<sup>30</sup>

Such visions paralleled early modern associations between foul smells and the spread of disease.<sup>31</sup>

Critical reception was often aligned with smell. As Elizabeth Hamilton wrote of periodical reviewers (reviewing, she notes, the astonishing number of new books now being produced in England): »These terrible Genii are said to judge of books by the smell, and when that has happened to be offensive to their nostrils, have been known, by one well-aimed dart, to transfix an unfortunate book to the shelves of the book-sellers' shops for ever.« If, however, she continues, an author may »venture to send forth a book into the world, may it find these terrible Reviewers in this favourable mood. May its perfume be pleasing to their nostrils, and its form find favour in their sight.«<sup>32</sup> An early eighteenth-century skit on authorship dismisses a publication with the words: »This is Food only for such F--losophical Folks as our Author, who is arriv'd to the tip top of Learning by the Smell of Books that have bells on their Backsides.«<sup>33</sup>

### 3. FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

In the communications circuitry so often adopted in book history, processes and practises are not always as separable as sometimes assumed. Certain modes of reception following from production and transmission, for example, retain sensory traces from the earlier stages of »mediation«. These originating stages include both the myriad smells and touch involved in production – from, in printing alone, the casting of type and the engraving of plates, to the deft manual sensitivity required in composing the many small pieces of type. Joseph Moxon reported at length on the posture required to print correctly, of the »process of making Inck [...] as noysom and ungrateful to the Sence« and of the casting of metal type that »Half a Pint of Sack mingled with Sallad Oyl, [is] provided for each Workman to Drink; intended for an Antidote against the Poysonous Fumes of the Antinomy.«<sup>34</sup> Composition especially demanded exacting and refined vestibular sensing – the eye-hand coordination that for the compositor, as Moxon warned, meant that »his Thoughts ran no faster than his Fingers.«<sup>35</sup> Many readers also appreciated the tactility of the printed page that resulted from the manual dexterity of compositors and pressmen. Imposed type on paper (the impression made in soft dampened paper)<sup>36</sup> can offer the appearance – if only the appearance – of a raised surface

<sup>30</sup> The Vision of John Lacy, Esq; and Prophet, on Thursday the 9th of June, 1715. London: J. Roberts 1715, p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> Jenner (2000) p. 131 (see footnote 12).

<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Hamilton: Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah; Written Previous to, and During the Period of his Residence in England. 2 vols. London: Robinson 1796, 2: p. 332f.

<sup>33</sup> A Letter from a Male Physician in the Country, To the Author of the Female Physician in London. London: Warner 1726, p. 52.

<sup>34</sup> Joseph Moxon: Mechanick Exercise: Or The Doctrine Of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of Printing: The Second Volume. London: Moxon 1683, pp. 292–300 (»Of Pulling«), 82 (»Of Inck«), 167 (»Of Making Mettak«).

<sup>35</sup> Moxon (1683) p. 82 (»Of Composing«) (see footnote 34).

<sup>36</sup> Moxon (1683) p. 278–281 (»Of Wetting Paper«) (see footnote 34).

that might enable gentle touch to distinguish letters. Moxon described how the accumulated protrusion of type imposition on recently printed piles of paper sheets could cause the pile to lean in a particular direction. This was because the almost imperceptible raisings of the surface fell in exactly the same place on each sheet, or, as Moxon put it, »makes the Paper there more Huffie«. <sup>37</sup>

Diverse sensory experience permeates communicative reception – olfactory and the tactile besides the visual and auditory. New technology enables us to record ever more sensitive receptive and user experiences, especially in relation to messaging between sensory channels that is beyond visual and verbal communication. New archival material – and the revisiting of well-known sources – allows fresh interpretation of the gestural use of books, from the symbolic movement of the bible and other holy books and scrolls during communal religious worship to the political brandishing of little books and manifestoes. Such demonstrative usage is of interest in itself, <sup>38</sup> but of greatest significance is the sensory perceptions and assumptions involved in these acts. Yet much theoretical media, communications and more recently, mediation modelling attends imperfectly to broader sensory experience. The theory of communication by the pioneering information theorist Claude E. Shannon, for example (where a message is encoded and decoded as part of a communication process), follows a narrow sensory definition of channels of communication, as indeed, do the communications questions of the foundational media theorists Harold Innes and Harold Lasswell. <sup>39</sup> Very rarely did these influential contributors (who inspired Marshall McLuhan among many others) consider the simultaneity of multi-sensory communication. But it is this multi-layered, multi-sensory receptivity that speaks to the idea of communication as an experience. Cultural historians are increasingly aware of this – as must be historians of the book and textual reception.

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<sup>37</sup> Moxon (1683) p. 305 (see footnote 34).

<sup>38</sup> See in particular the insights of Leah Price: *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain*. Princeton: Princeton University Pr. 2012, and for earlier, specific practises, David Cressy: *Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England*. In: *The Journal of Library History*, XXI, 1986, p. 92–106.

<sup>39</sup> Raven (2018) p. 19, 80–81 (see footnote 7).