ANDRÉ DE MELO ARAÚJO

(Re)producing the English Printed Past

Antiquarian Knowledge-Making Practices in Joseph Ames's Typographical Antiquities *(1749)*

▼ **RESEARCH ARTICLE**

▼ **ABSTRACT** In this paper, I investigate how Joseph Ames construed knowledge about the past as he examined early English printed artifacts. I analyze Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* (1749) and three main groups of handwritten sources directly related to his editorial project. In a first step, I follow Ames's papers to showcase how an eighteenth-century antiquarian developed a laborious system for managing bibliographical data, about which he was either informed or which he had judiciously observed. The second part of the paper delves into the groundbreaking innovation of the book published in 1749: the study and classification of types. Here, I explore how evidence of the English printed past was not only collected and classified but also (re)produced in Ames's printed work. In the third and fourth steps, I investigate how the plates commissioned in the eighteenth century for the English *Typographical Antiquities* could authoritatively visualize fifteenth-century (typo)graphical evidence. Here, handwritten, drawn, and printed testimonies related to the making of those plates reveal that an empirical approach to the material remains of the past was pivotal to the construction of early modern knowledge.

▼ **KEYWORDS** History of Knowledge; Antiquarianism; Empiricism; History of the Book; Joseph Ames; *Typographical Antiquities* (1749)

▼ **ISSUE** Volume 5 (2024)

André de Melo Araújo • University of Brasília, BR andaraujo@unb.br

BREPOLS

In 1749, Joseph Ames (1687–1759) published a work whose purpose was to show "the rise, progress, and gradual improvements of" the art of printing in England. To achieve this goal, he prepared biographical notes on eminent printers, followed by a bibliographical description of the titles they produced, which were then "disposed as near as possible into a sort of chronological order of time, beginning with each Printer's first work."[1] Ames drew on the bibliographical and antiquarian tradition of publishing catalogs and lists of arti-facts, on previous histories of printing, as well as on historical notes included in some printers' manuals. At this time, "a new enthusiasm for the antique," in general, and for the first "products of the early presses,"[2] in particular, fostered debates and spurred further publications on the history of printing.

In pursuing his plan to publish a work on English typographical antiqui-ties, however, Ames faced two main problems. The first was how to include undated printed material from known presses in the chronological structure of his book. The second problem was related to the first; previously unidentified works should also be made to fit the chronological structure of the book and ideally be attributed to their printers. For this reason, Ames made much effort to identify and classify the first products of English presses.

Ames's effort is a milestone in bibliographical studies. Within this academic field, he was paradigmatically described as "the founding-father of British bibliography."[3] More recent studies, though, frame this characterization amidst a broader eighteenth-century intellectual and economic context. Nevertheless, despite the emphasis given in these recent studies to the elevated interest in early printed artifacts within eighteenth-century antiquarian circles, the knowledge-making practices through which Ames achieved his goals in the 1740s have been thoroughly overlooked. In the handwritten notes left by Ames, for example, we are informed that the specimen of types first used by an unknown printer in Oxford and (re)produced on a metal plate for his *Typographical Antiquities* was "taken from the Book it self by" him [**Fig. 1**].[4]

Ames wrote comments on the printed content of his book with a quill, thereby leaving a testimony to the work involved in producing a book in the hand-press period. Taking these handwritten pieces of evidence into consideration, I investigate in this paper how Ames construed knowledge about the past as he examined fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English printed antiquities. More specifically, I explore how the knowledge-making practices underpinning his editorial enterprise are the expression of a burgeoning empir-ical approach to historical artifacts.

---

1 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), Preface.

2 Sibbald, "Book Bitch to the Rich," 489. For a general framework, see: McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books*.

3 Hellinga, *Caxton in focus*, 28. In a similar characterization, Arthur Freeman describes Ames's *Typograph-ical Antiquities* as "the cornerstone of English descriptive bibliography." See: Freeman, "Everyman and Others," 269; Shiner, "Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*."

4 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), after p. 438, copy: British Library (henceforth: BL): C.60.0.5.
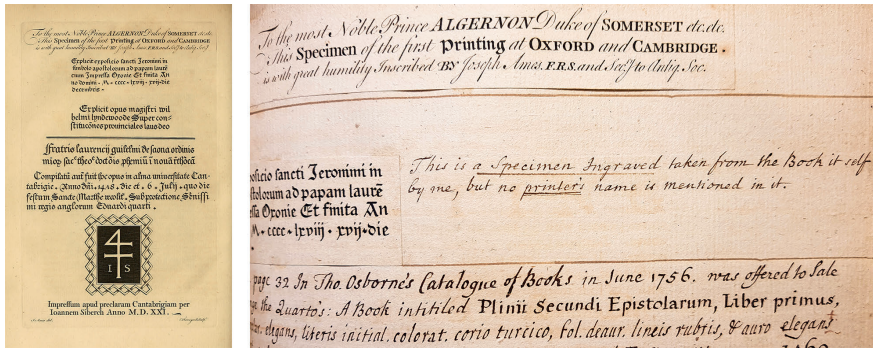
Figure 1. Plate "Specimen of the first Printing at Oxford and Cambridge" (left) and pasted-in intaglio print on metal and handwritten notes from Joseph Ames (right), inserted in: Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, © British Library Board, C.60.o.5, before p. 437 (left) and after p. 438 (right). All photos by the author with the kind permission of the British Library.

In the eighteenth century, antiquarian scholarship played a key role "in pursuing the historic origins" of national identities.[5] As shown by Rosemary Sweet, "it was with domestic antiquities—not those of Greece and Rome—with which these antiquaries were primarily concerned, and it was in the discovery and recording of the national past of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland that some of their most important contributions were made."[6] By examining Ames's efforts in discovering, recording, and classifying English printed antiquities, I focus on the entangled connections between antiquarianism and scientific empiricism, which ground his knowledge-making practices. For this reason, I analyze not only the printed pages published in 1749 but also three groups of sources directly related to Ames's project, which have mainly remained neglected by scholars until now. They comprise, first, Ames's handwritten working notes out of which the printed volume was compiled; second, his collection of fragments of printed books, specimens of types, alphabets, and title pages; and, third, extant copies of the English *Typographical Antiquities*, including Ames's own interleaved copy, where printing proof material can be found along with comments and expansions made with the quill by different hands throughout the eighteenth century.

In a first step, I follow Ames's papers to showcase how an eighteenth-century antiquarian developed a laborious system for managing bibliographical data, about which he was either informed or which he had judiciously observed. The second part of the paper delves into the groundbreaking innovation of the book published in 1749: the study and classification of types. Here, I explore how evidence of the English printed past was not only collected and classified but also (re)produced in Ames's printed work. In

---

5 Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities…," 181.
6 Sweet, *Antiquaries*, XVIII.

the third and fourth steps, I investigate how the plates commissioned in the eighteenth century for the English *Typographical Antiquities* could authoritatively visualize fifteenth-century (typo)graphical evidence. Here, handwritten, drawn, and printed testimonies related to the making of those plates reveal that empirical knowledge about the English typographical past was underpinned by widespread practices within eighteenth-century antiquarian circles.

Since the authority of the artifact conveyed in Ames's editorial project results from information (re)produced both in text and image, I argue that this authority goes beyond the graphic form that the artifact assumed in the plates. By focusing on the material nature of knowledge production in this investigation into Ames's working methods, I strive to contribute to recent research approaches that underscore *how* knowledge was construed, mediated, and shaped by collectively performed practices in the Early Modern period.[7]

Joseph Ames's System for the Management of Bibliographical Information

Information about material remains of the past was widely shared amongst the members of the Society of Antiquaries of London, especially on the occasion of its regular meetings. Some of the minutes of such learned exchanges are preserved and were partially penned by one of its secretaries, Joseph Ames. Apart from describing in words and sometimes depicting in ink either the coins that the fellows saw or the ancient buildings they discussed, these handwritten records testify to Ames's research activities at the time he was expanding his book collection and drafting his work on the English *Typographical Antiquities*.

In May 1738, the then secretary put the quill aside to acquaint the fellows with his search for early English printed books in libraries and private collections scattered across the country.[8] On this occasion, Ames reported about a rare fifteenth-century title he had found at the Inner Temple Library and in the collection of John Browning.[9] While searching for other rare gems, he acquired what would become the crown jewel of his collection. On April 28, 1743, Ames presented to the Society's fellows his recently purchased copy of the very first English printed translation of the New Testament by William Tyndale. It had "curiously Illuminated" initial letters and displayed handwritten notes "in a very fine hand,"[10] as reported in the minutes of the Society. However, whereas

---

7 In recent years, many studies have explored early modern knowledge-making practices from different perspectives. Here, I mention paradigmatically just a few studies on which I draw more directly: Daston, "The History of Science"; Grafton, *Inky Fingers*; Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*; Eddy, "The Interactive Notebook"; Blair, *Too Much to Know*; Bittel, Leong, and von Oertzen, *Working with Paper*; Fransen, Reinhart, and Kusukawa, "Copying images"; Moser, "Making Expert Knowledge."

8 Ames, *Index to the Minute Books*, BL: Egerton MSS. 1041, f. 195ᵛ–96ʳ.

9 See: Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), 77.

10 Ames, *Index to the Minute Books*, BL: Egerton MSS. 1042, f. 60ᵛ.

the curiosity of the fellows might have been satisfied by just seeing the copy shown on this occasion, Ames's ongoing editorial project required more of him than an eye for rare printed artifacts; indeed, writing a comprehensive book on the first products of the English presses required the development of a laborious system for the management of bibliographical information.

Two months before Ames presented his copy of Tyndale's translation at the Society of Antiquaries in London, he had sent a letter to the printer James Watson of Edinburgh requesting that he correct his notes on the oldest printed books in Scotland. Ames prepared a copy of his handwritten notes especially to this end, leaving the verso side of each leaf intentionally blank. He expected that Watson would fill in the free spaces with valuable remarks about the titles already listed in his working notes and inform him about any old printed items in Scotland he was unaware of.[11] Apart from the information Ames received from his reliable and extensive network of acquaintances, he also made a great effort to gather as much data as possible from "the books themselves."[12] In those cases, bibliographical information was not retrieved from notes penned by others' hands but from the evidence presented by the printed artifacts to Ames's eyes. "Training the eye was thus paramount for the physician-collector and for the connoisseur,"[13] as recently noted by Anna Marie Roos when exploring the development of a "'scientific' antiquarianism" within the context of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries of London. Judicious observation was thereby a cornerstone of eighteenth-century antiquarian knowledge-making practices. However, not all collectible items available to Ames's scrutiny were kept bound as books. Information about some of the artifacts he claimed to have judiciously observed had been stored by him since 1733 as fragments,[14] as cutouts of printers' marks and title pages waiting to be classified.

Collecting fragments of old prints was a practice already pursued at the beginning of the eighteenth century by a founding member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, John Bagford (1650–1716). At this time, Bagford was commissioned by many scholars and book collectors to search out rare printed works for their private libraries.[15] Such commissions granted him access to a variety of books and collections that fed into his project of publishing a historical account of the art of typography. A book never came out, but Bagford left some preliminary reflections on the topic along with many cutouts and title pages of early printed books. In these reflections, Bagford mentions that his account would be based on the observations he "made in many Years from old Books of several sorts and kinds."[16] His observations, in turn, sought to correct

---

11 See: Ames, *Collections for a history of printing in England*, BL: Add MS 5151, f. 165ʳ.
12 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), Preface.
13 Roos, *Martin Folkes*, 5.
14 Ames, *A collection of Initial-Letters*.
15 Andrews, "The Importance of Ephemera," 438.
16 Bagford, "An Essay on the Invention of Printing," 2397.

Figure 2. Joseph Ames's collection of title pages and cutouts. © British Library Board, General Reference Collection Ames.1-6, f. 86ʳ (left), f. 4ʳ (middle), and f. 17ʳ (right).

the information available in catalogs of books, on which "*Titles* are abbreviated and otherwise imperfect."[17]

Against this background, it has been suggested that Ames's work could be "in some way a direct outcome of Bagford's project."[18] While this might be plausible, what brings Bagford's and Ames's undertakings more profoundly together is their engagement with early printed artifacts as historical evidence from an empirical perspective.[19] Both antiquarians explored the material remains of the past after training their eyes to identify differences and similarities within a collection of artifacts. As such, Bagford's working papers,[20] as well as his and Ames's collections of old books and cutouts of early printed artifacts, were recurrent sources for the title published in 1749.

Although Ames did not put together his collection of cutouts and title pages as it is now preserved, it is still an eloquent example of how his work depended on a laborious system to manage bibliographical information stored in and across diverse media [**Fig. 2**].

Along with original printed material, Ames's collection of prints was enhanced by handwritten notes and slips of paper through which he could

---

17 Bagford, "An Essay on the Invention of Printing," 2409.

18 Gatch, "John Bagford, Bookseller and Antiquary," 164. For a more detailed account of Bagford's and Ames's collections of fragments, see: Pollard, "The Ames Collection of Titlepages."

19 Kristian Jensen recently placed Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* within the context of an emerging object-based discipline "capable of engaging with objects as historical evidence" and making "distinguishable, and thus marketable" collectible items. Moreover, he convincingly characterizes Ames's approach as practical, in contrast to the "word-based differentiation" which had stood as "the only reliable criterion for classification" within the universitarian tradition. Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book*, 69 and 96, respectively.

20 Since the end of the 1730s, Ames was acquainted with Bagford's working notes. See: Korsten, "Thomas Baker and his Books," 495.
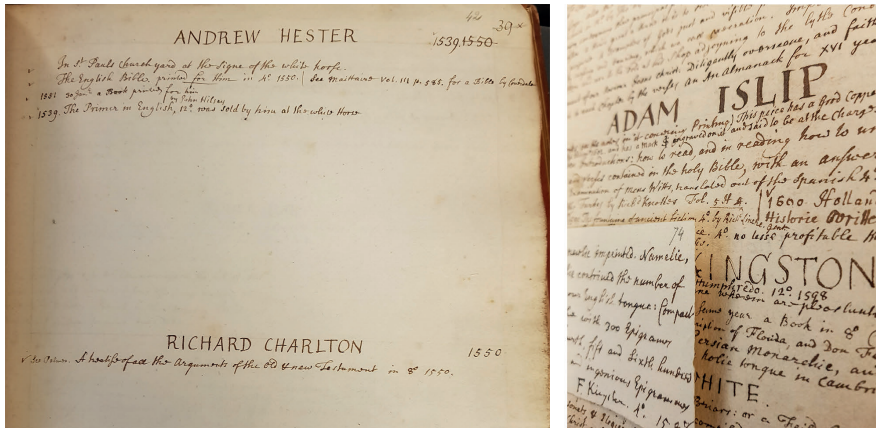
Figure 3. Joseph Ames's handwritten working notes to his Typographical Antiquities. © British Library Board, Add MS 5151, f. 42ʳ (left), and f. 76ʳ (right).

reassemble data about old titles he had either seen or been informed about. At that time, libraries and archives had their catalogs of books and manuscripts pasted up from slips.[21] In Ames's working papers and preparatory material for his book, fragments of early printed artifacts and handwritten notes stored on paper coexisted side by side. They were information prone to be managed and, hence, materially suitable to be (re)assembled anew.

Ames's information management system of handwritten notes and printed sheets becomes even more evident in his collection of papers related to the history of printing in England from 1474 to 1600. These working papers include lists of printers and drawings of their marks.[22] They also comprise some of the original handwritten notes, received letters, and memoranda from which Ames's historical account was compiled. In these working papers, two early modern knowledge-making practices come to the foreground. First, in a system designed to facilitate the collection of information and classify it, Ames left blank spaces on the page to accommodate future corrections and additions [**Fig. 3**]. This strategy made the sheet of paper a more flexible tool for storing and (re)classifying bibliographical information. For this reason, the verso side of each handwritten leaf in the manuscript he prepared for the Scottish printer James Watson was intentionally left blank, as already mentioned. Second, paper slips were introduced to expand information previously registered on paper [**Fig. 3**]. Especially when the page was crammed with working notes, slips acted as a filing system that enabled data slots to be expanded and

---

21 Considine, "Cutting and Pasting Slips," 494; Friedrich, "How to Make an Archival Inventory," 167.
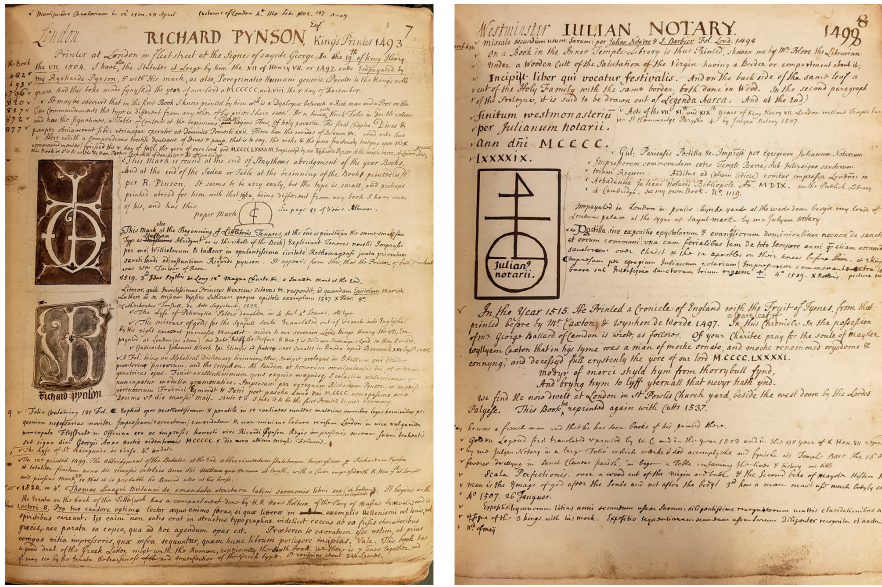22 Ames, *Collections for a history of printing in England*, BL: Add MS 5151.

Figure 4. Pen drawings in Joseph Ames's working notes to his *Typographical Antiquities*.
© British Library Board, Add MS 5151, f. 8ʳ (left), and f. 9ʳ (right).

(re)classified.[23] Therefore, with the help of a portable and flexible technology that framed how knowledge could be produced,[24] Ames expanded, retrieved, and assembled collected data while simultaneously (re)codifying and (re)classifying them.

Aided by this technology, Ames hoped to create order in his handwritten notes and the printed evidence he collected of the English bibliographical past.[25] A classification of the bibliographical world should follow the evidence left by the printers, which were identified by their names, marks, and devices. For this reason, Ames frequently reproduced by hand not only textual but also other graphical information presented on the artifacts he either saw or was informed about. Printers' marks were either drawn directly into the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries of London[26] and on Ames's working notes to

---

23 In a similar way, Staffan Müller-Wille and Sara Scharf explored Carl Linnaeus's eighteenth-century paper tools for indexing nature. See: Müller-Wille, and Scharf, "Indexing Nature." For a further account of paper slips as an integral part of Linnaeus's "practical process of working out taxonomic relations between new and already known species," see: Charmantier, and Müller-Wille, "Carl Linnaeus's botanical paper slips," 230. For a general perspective on the importance of slips of paper as a ubiquitous procedure for storing and managing information within Renaissance scholarly circles, see: Blair, *Too Much to Know*.

24 See: Bittel, Leong, and von Oertzen, "Introduction."

25 David McKitterick and Kristian Jensen have already "drawn a parallel between eighteenth-century attempts to create bibliographical order and the systematisation of the natural world" from a book historical perspective. See: Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book*, 103–04; McKitterick, "Bibliography, bibliophily," 46.

26 Ames, *Index to the Minute Books*, BL: Egerton MSS. 1041, f. 196ʳ.

his *Typographical Antiquities* [**Fig. 4**], or pasted[27] into them, as in the case of Richard Pynson's mark.

Rather than just embellishing this eighteenth-century work on paper, drawings and prints served to mainly (re)produce the (typo)graphical evidence on which Ames's classificatory method was based. But how were they visualized for his readership?

(Re)producing (Typo)graphical Evidence

At the time Joseph Ames was gathering and storing information for his book, he was also involved in organizing an index to the coins[28] and medals collected by Lord Pembroke and making a descriptive catalog of engraved English portraits.[29] Both endeavors were explicit expressions of a mindset cultivated by "all Lovers of the Antiquities," as conveyed in the preface to the catalog of portraits he put together in 1748.[30] This catalog was dedicated to James West (1703–1772), whose collection of books nourished Ames's ongoing editorial project on the English typographical antiquities,[31] which would find its way to the press the following year and include "the heads of some of the most celebrated printers," their marks or devices, besides specimens of types.[32]

While preparing *A Catalogue of English Heads*, Ames was dissatisfied with the criteria according to which the prints were organized. At that time, the verbal descriptions of the images were displayed in alphabetical order according to the identity of the sitter portrayed.[33] In other words, the referent represented in a figurative print was the sole subject waiting to be ordered. By contrast, within the context of the *Typographical Antiquities*, it was not the portraits of English printers that were subject to classification but rather the artifacts they produced. This change of perspective is made clear in the frontispiece of the work published in 1749, which displays a collection of printers' marks. These were visual clues through which the early products of the presses in England could be attributed to a printer, thus expressing the classificatory method befitting Ames's empirical approach.

Within the first generations of printers in England, marks or personal devices were used to distinguish different print shops and advertise their products.[34] Accordingly, these devices were relevant information for identifying printed artifacts. For this reason, Ames left drawings in ink of many devices

---

27 See: Ames, *A collection of 7425 titlepages*, vol. 1, cut 153.

28 For Ames's engagement in this project, informed by "a spirit of precise empiricism," see: Roos, *Martin Folkes*, 200–06.

29 See: Ames, *A Catalogue of English Heads*.

30 See: Ames, *A Catalogue of English Heads*, Preface.

31 Lucas, "Book-Collecting in the Eighteenth Century."

32 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), Preface.

33 See: Ames, *A Catalogue of English Heads*, Preface.

34 For the case of Wynkyn de Worde, see: Driver, "Ideas of Order," 90.

throughout his working papers that would later figure in the frontispiece of his book. This is evident in the case of Richard Pynson's mark, which, apart from being drawn in ink [**Fig. 4**], was also collected by Ames in the form of an original fifteenth-century woodcut.[35] It is, though, the case of John Siberch's (c. 1476–1554) device that opens up a window for more deeply exploring how evidence was (re)produced within the context of Ames's editorial project.

Displayed above the colophon of a work printed in Cambridge in 1521, Siberch's device was engraved for the 1749 edition of the English *Typographical Antiquities* from a drawing by Joseph Ames, as stated at the bottom left-hand corner of the print. An extant copy of the first stage of the plate with Siberch's device is preserved together with the handwritten notes from which Ames's work was compiled.[36] On its right margin, he left unequivocal instructions for the artist, who should clear the inside of the device and darken it [**Fig. 5**]. Ames's note primarily testifies to his awareness that material remains of the English typographical past were here (re)produced employing a different print technique. Whereas the original image was carved in a wooden block and printed in the same printing press used for type, the eighteenth-century reproduction was engraved on a metal plate and printed on paper in a different printing press.[37] Despite these differences, however, the intaglio prints on metal commissioned for his book convey visual clues through which the first products of the presses in England—printed in relief—could be identified and classified. Within eighteenth-century antiquarian circles, engravings were considered the most suitable printing technique for (re)producing material evidence in visual form.[38] Therefore, Ames's corrections were not limited to the cleanness and darkness of the lines in Siberch's device.

Since what counted as the first book printed at Cambridge was still a matter of debate, Ames was delighted to receive from his friend and fellow of the Society of Antiquaries George North "a perfect transcript of part" of the alleged oldest book printed there with types. These were "very much like Caxton's largest."[39] Indeed, in a letter dated April 21, 1747, North reported that he "discovered a book hitherto unknown & unheard of." If his suppositions were confirmed, this discovery would predate the use of printing in Cambridge. As North comments, "The Title is Fratris Laurentij Gulielmi de Saona Nova Rhetorica (…). I will soon send you a fuller account & a correct specimen of the Letter."[40]

35 Ames, *A collection of 7425 titlepages*, vol. 1, cut 153.

36 Ames, *Collections for a history*, BL: Add MS 5151, f. 90ʳ.

37 For the technical differences between relief and intaglio printing processes, see: Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking*, 13–71.

38 See: Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities…," 194; Roos, *Martin Folkes*, 5.

39 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), 455.

40 Letter from George North, Benet College Cambridge, April 21st. 1747, to Joseph Ames. This letter is now bound together with: Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1785), BL: 1572/959, f. 1ʳ–1ᵛ.
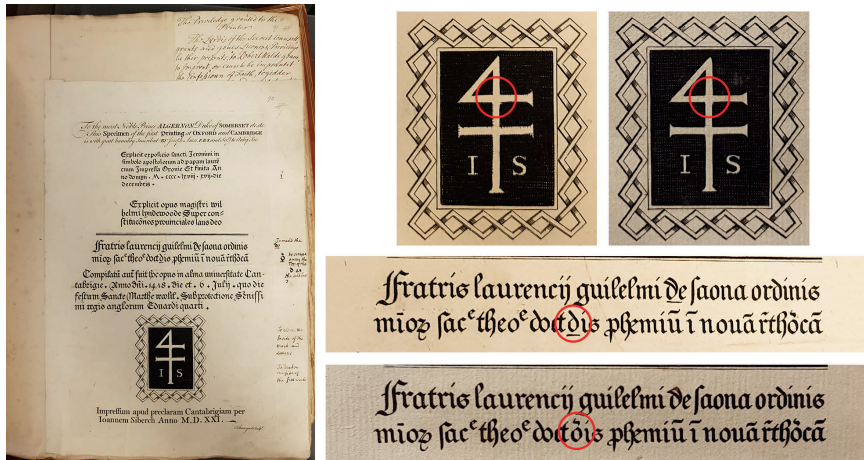
Figure 5. Specimens of the first Printing at Oxford and Cambridge. First stage (left), © British Library Board, Add MS 5151, f. 90ʳ. Second stage (right and below), © British Library Board, C.124.f.1, plate.

The discovered work was compiled by the Italian humanist scholar Lorenzo Guglielmo Traversagni (1425–1503), who lectured on Latin rhetoric at the University of Cambridge. Yet, it was published not in a local print shop —as supposed by North—but in Westminster by William Caxton between 1478 and 1480. As far as I know, there is no further documentary evidence of North's report, apart from Ames's acknowledgment of having received "a perfect transcript of part"[41] of the book, whose first lines and colophon were etched in the plate that (re)produces specimens of the metal types used in Oxford and Cambridge, along with Siberch's device. Since this paper transcript needed to be reproduced on a metal surface by the artist, Ames kept his eyes open for the information he could control. According to the corrections required by Ames, the artist made mistakes when (re)producing the bibliographical information on the metal plate. He, therefore, was required to "mend the <u>de</u>" in the first line and "scrape away the Top of the d [ō]" in the second line of the title described in the section devoted to the development of the art of printing in Cambridge.[42] The graphical result of these corrections is evident when comparing the two different stages of the plate [**Fig. 5**].

Despite the correction made by the artist, Ames's handwritten request does not provide strong evidence that he guided his hands after having examined the original artifact. Instead, it is somewhat more plausible that he had just recognized the regular use of special glyphs when words in Latin were abbreviated in a fifteenth-century print shop. In its expanded form, the text reads: *Fratris*

---

41 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), 455.
42 Ames, *Collections for a history*, BL: Add MS 5151.

Laurencii Guilelmi de Saona ordinis minorum, sacre theologie doctoris, prohemium in nouam rhetoricam. Here, knowledge of Latin makes up the most plausible explanation for Ames's interference in the image-making process of this plate. For the readership, however, how could intaglio prints authoritatively visualize (typo)graphical evidence?

(Re)producing Authoritative Specimens of the English Typographical Past

In Ames's interleaved copy of his *Typographical Antiquities*, there are three different reproductions of the metal types used in the fifteenth-century work described by George North as printed—though in fact just compiled—in Cambridge. Laid out close to each other in Figure 6 are, first, the lower section of the intaglio print on metal in its first stage; second, two strips of thin paper with the same content traced by hand; and third, a different specimen of the same metal types, now including a further line of text drawn with the quill at the bottom of the recto page [**Fig. 6**].

When one compares the first state of the print and the traced paper strips, on the one hand, with the original printed work[43] they aimed to illustrate on the other, many differences in the graphical form of the letters and their distribution on the page come to the foreground. That is the case of the shape of the letter R in the word *ordinis*, the alignment of the text to the right, the absence of the letter I in the word *rthōicā*, and the graphical form of the diacritical marks frequently used in the text reproduced in the second line. By contrast, the specimen drawn with the quill shows the alignment of the text to the right margin closer to the original work printed in the fifteenth century [**Fig. 7**], as it is also the case of the form of the diacritical marks placed above the letters. Furthermore, it also presents the first words of a third line of text, which was neither included in the print nor in its traced version. However, since the drawing retains the absence of the letter I in the word *rthōicā* and reproduces a different graphical form of the letter R in the word *ordinis* [**Fig. 7**], it is not easy to ascertain which eyes might have empirically observed the original fifteenth-century work, nor which hands (re)produced specimens of types based on which (typo)graphical information.

What is certain, though, is that identifying the early products of the English presses according to the form of the types used to print them was a method that Ames had been improving for years. From the beginning of the 1730s, he envisioned many possible uses of his *Collection of Initial-Letters, from the Beginning of Printing*. Besides inspiring "designers, drawers, painters, or cut[t]ers in wood" by providing a variety of patterns, observing "the differing forms of the *Letters*" could also "show the dates or ages of *Books*," as well as "the places

---

43 See: Traversanus, *Margarita eloquentiae*.

Figure 6. Joseph Ames's interleaved copy of his *Typographical Antiquities*. © British Library Board, C.60.o.5, before p. 455.
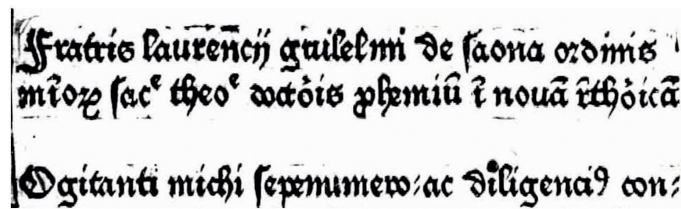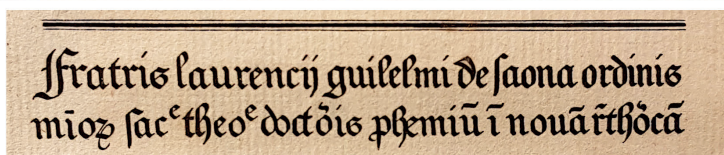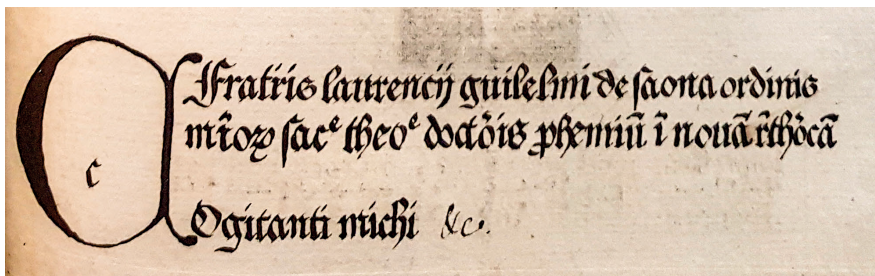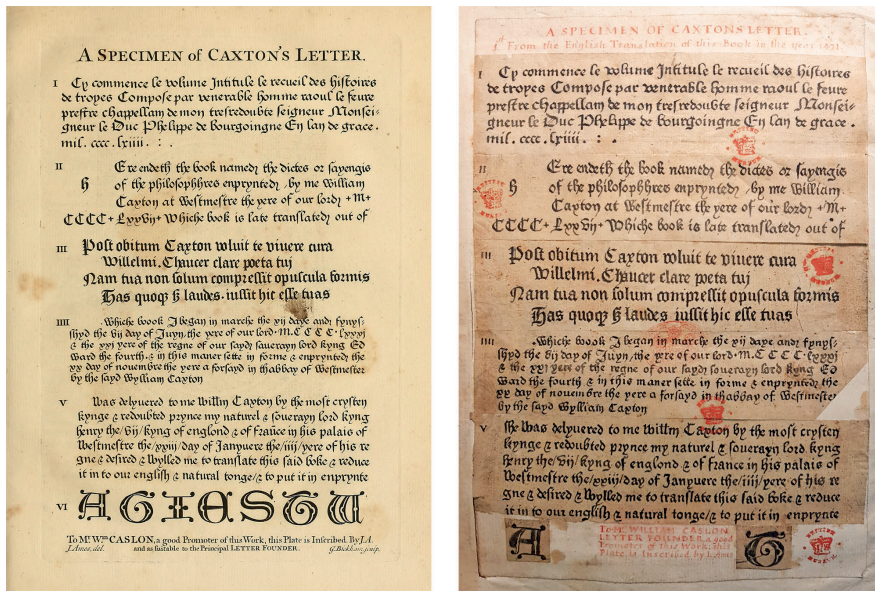

Figure 7. Drawing (above), © British Library Board, C.60.o.5, before p. 455, first stage of the metal plate (middle), © British Library Board, C.124.f.1, plate, and original work (below), Traversanus, *Margarita eloquentiae*, Biblioteca Civica Anton Giulio Barrili, Savona, it-sv0038.

Figure 8. "A Specimen of Caxton's Letter," plate (left) (Boston Public Library, available at Internet Archive, OCLC Number: 1158086982, before p. 1), and slips of paper (right). © British Library Board, C.60.0.5, before p. 1.

where, and persons by whom they were performed."[44] This last possible use was undoubtedly the one that interested Ames the most. In 1738, at meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, he presented some leaves of a book printed in 1483. At this point in time, he supposed this book to have been printed with the types used at the print shop of William de Machlinia.[45] On this subject, he betrayed no doubt a decade later: "by comparing the character," one may determine that the leaves were "assuredly printed by Machlinia."[46] Having this method in mind, Ames commissioned a plate that should (re)produce five specimens of the metal types used by Machlinia's predecessor in the art of printing in England, William Caxton. In Ames's interleaved copy, there are also seven slips of thin paper that, put together, make out the visual content of this plate, except for five missing initials [**Fig. 8**].

Type I was used in the first book printed with metal types in English, the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (1473?). These metal types were also used in the edition in French of the same title.[47] The intaglio print on metal displays the first lines of the edition in French, of which Ames had one copy in his

---

44 Ames, *A collection of Initial-Letters*, f. 3ʳ.

45 Ames, *Index to the Minute Books*, BL: Egerton MSS. 1041, f. 195ᵛ–96ʳ.

46 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), 77.

47 For a chronology of Caxton's seven Ghent/Bruges editions of this title, based on investigations on the paper supplies, see: Hellinga, *William Caxton*, 41; 51.

private collection. Both the hand-drawn reproduction [**Fig. 8**, right] and the intaglio print [**Fig. 8**, left] present the shape of the letters in a very close manner to those printed in the fifteenth century.[48] However, as a product of a different technique, the etched letters and their traced versions by hand show clearer and rounded lines of the shape of the letters, compared with the graphical form of the metal types used to print the original artifact in relief. In this case, differences in the graphical shape of letters in the reproductions created either by the etching needle or by the quill are more a characteristic of the technique by means of which typographical information was stored, (re)produced, and disseminated than a deviation of the taxonomic purposes of Ames's endeavor. Nevertheless, in this particular case, it is more likely that the hand-drawn reproduction [**Fig. 8**, right] was traced by the quill over the intaglio print, and not the original artifact.

Whereas the connections between the drawing and different print techniques concerning the (re)production of Caxton's first specimens of type seem to be mostly straightforward in the first case (Type I), they are certainly more complex in the fifth one. In Ames's work, Caxton's Type V is illustrated by the reproduction of a textual passage taken from a 1489 translation of Christine de Pisan's *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie*.[49] A close analysis of the traced image shows that the letter F has irregular shapes in its third line, which reads: "kyng of england [and] of france in his palais of." By comparing the traced Fs with the form of the letters used in the original book printed by Caxton, one notices more regularity within the shape of the same letter used in different lines, as one would expect when using metal types cast from the same matrix. The etching, however, seems closer to the traced version when considering the form of the letter F. Yet, on the other hand, it is undoubtedly more comparable to the original artifact when considering the spelling of the word "France." Moreover, the traced version included the word "she" at the beginning of the line so that the person who traced the text was acquainted with the whole content of the original lines printed by Caxton, though not displayed in the intaglio print on metal [**Fig. 9**].

Although it is challenging to ascertain when and whose hands traced on paper fifteenth-century artifacts or later reproductions of the English typographical past, three things are clear. First, Ames informed his readership that he had a copy of the original artifacts reproduced on the intaglio print on metal in his collection, except for the work printed with the Type II, which was "in the possession of" his "worthy friend Sir Peter Thompson."[50] Therefore, Ames saw and had easy access to the typographical information (re)produced—in whatever order—by the etching needle and the quill. Second, he also claimed to have drawn the specimens—a widespread knowledge-making practice in

---

48 Lefèvre, *Le Recueil des histoires de Troyes.*
49 de Pisan, *Faits d'armes et de chevalerie.*
50 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), 12.
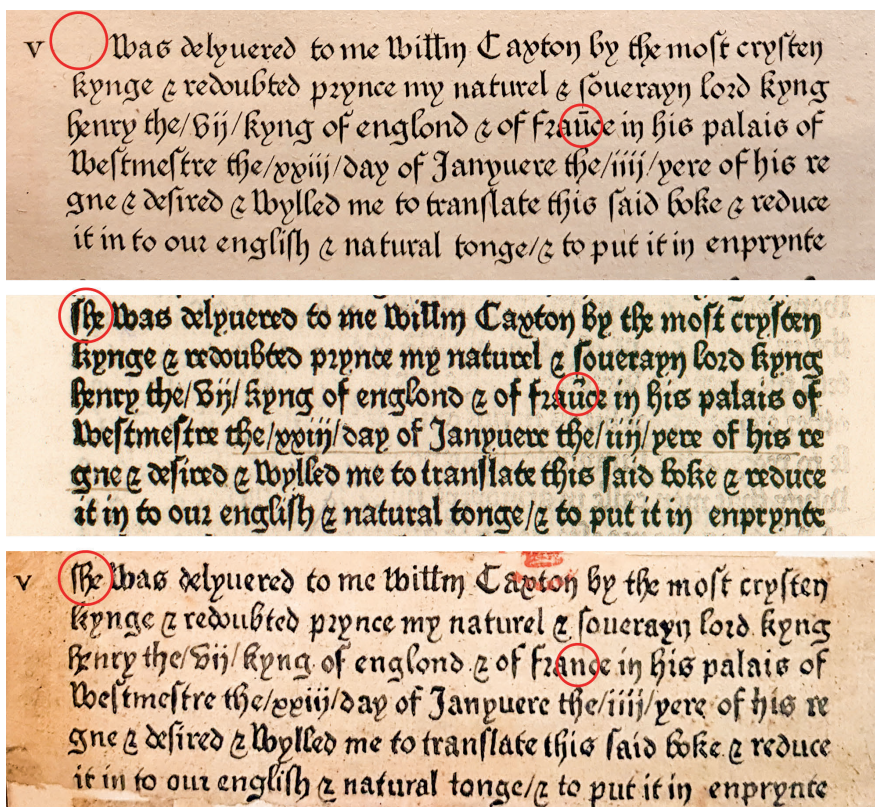
Figure 9. Comparisons: Intaglio print on metal (above, © British Library Board, C.60.o.5, plate), type in relief (middle, Christine de Pisan. Faits d'armes et de chevalerie. Westminster: William Caxton, 1489. Rosenwald 570, Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress Rare Book and Special Collections Division, available at: https://lccn.loc.gov/49036430), and tracing (below, © British Library Board, C.60.o.5, plate, and before p. 1).

antiquarian circles in the eighteenth century. Third, these specimens were afterward etched by the writing master George Bickham, whose most notable contribution to British intaglio prints on metal was *The Universal Penman*, a work issued in parts between 1733 and 1741 that contained many printed specimens of penmanship.[51]

Despite the universal "difficulty of reproducing on a copper plate the regularity of printing types,"[52] as recently commented by David McKitterick, Bickham was expected to depict the letters through which a printer could be identified and a book could be dated.[53] The plate should, therefore, visually

---

51 Sloan, "Bickham, George." Decades before, Bickham had already advertised his services as a teacher of handwriting, drawing, and engraving. See: Bickham, *The Universal Penman*.

52 McKitterick, *Old Books, New Technologies*, 102.

53 For a similar perspective, see also: Lerer, "Caxton in the Nineteenth Century," 333.

display the core characteristics of distinguished fifteenth-century metal types for Ames's classificatory purposes and thereby illustrate his method. In contrast, the particularities of the original "books themselves" examined by Ames can be followed by his readership exclusively in the written remarks scattered throughout the text of the English *Typographical Antiquities*.[54] Having in mind that the particularities of collected printed artifacts were the subject of verbal descriptions, while, in contrast, the metal plates commissioned for the book published in 1749 aimed at (re)producing (typo)graphical evidence primarily for classificatory purposes, I argue that, on the one hand, what Ames understands by authoritative knowledge relies upon the properties of the original artifacts that he judiciously observed or was informed about. On the other hand, evidentiary authority, as conveyed on the plates engraved for his work, is primarily the graphic expression of an eighteenth-century mindset informed by antiquarian knowledge-making practices. And these practices were not restricted to his editorial enterprise.

Widespread Knowledge-Making Practices of an Early Modern "Imperfect Enterprise"

Since eighteenth-century antiquarians could not gather in front of the ruins of the past or bring them inside intellectual meeting rooms, they put significant effort into picturing material remains of the past.[55] Portable notebooks and loose sheets of paper were the most suitable technology for storing what the traveling eyes could see.[56] Besides paper, Joseph Ames carried graphite and ink during his excursions to the outside world to (re)produce information that would later be classified. Some of these reproductions are now pasted in his collection of *Various Alphabets, Characters and Inscriptions used in divers Parts and Ages of the World*, together with many correspondences, a variety of manuscripts, specimens of penmanship, and some excerpts of printed text in relief as well as intaglio prints on metal.[57] In one of these loose sheets of paper, Ames presents the inscription he reproduced as follows: "This Inscription was found on a Stone on the pulling down St. Georges Church Steeple in Southwark Sept. 1733. I Rub'd it of from the Stone it Self."[58] [**Fig. 10**].

In the same collection in which the rubbed inscription of a stone is found, there are many other slips of paper displaying rubbed coins and epigraphic

---

54 See, for example: Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), 6, 78, 158, 490, and 585.

55 For the practice of visualizing the material remains of the past in the eighteenth century, especially within the context of antiquarian research practices, see: Siegfried, "Visualizing History in Eighteenth-Century France."

56 For an important discussion on the role of paper technologies in early modern information management systems, see: Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 80. The case of Ciriaco of Ancona's and Felice Feliciano's notebooks was recently studied by Anthony Grafton. See: Grafton, *Inky Fingers*, 5.

57 Ames, *A collection, ms. and printed, illustrative of various alphabets*.

58 Ames, *A collection, ms. and printed, illustrative of various alphabets*, n. 198.

Figure 10. Inscription … © British Library Board, General Reference Collection Ames.10, n. 198.

squeezes of non-European artifacts.[59] Whether these were rubbed on paper due to Ames's lack of skill in (re)producing characters in other languages by freehand or because of the historical information he valued and could eventually recognize in the shape of the letters, the result was the same: rubbed images conveyed proximity to original artifacts and, hence, provided the reproduction with evidentiary authority.

This image-making process was also valued within the context of the *Typographical Antiquities*. Pasted in Ames's interleaved copy of his work, is a rubbed image of the device used by John Reynes, a bookseller and bookbinder living in London during the reign of King Henry VIII.[60] In 1749, this device was (re)produced through a different technique to figure in Ames's printed book.[61] Considering the handwritten text displayed on the page on which the rubbed device is now pasted, it was probably not taken in the 1740s and could have been included within the pages of this copy at a later time point. Nevertheless, its presence in the papers related to the editorial history of Ames's work, together with other pieces of evidence left by the quill, shows the importance of image-making processes through which evidentiary authority could be conveyed within eighteenth-century antiquarian circles.

In the binder's endleaves of another extant copy of the *Typographical Antiquities*, an eighteenth-century hand describes a method—or a recipe—for taking inscriptions from brass plates. Ames presented this method in May 1753 before the Society of Antiquaries of London. On this occasion, the fellows learned how to rub inscriptions and deal with printers' ink and damp sheets of paper.[62]

59 Ames, *A collection, ms. and printed, illustrative of various alphabets.*
60 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), 436, copy: BL: C.60.o.5.
61 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), 436.
62 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), endleaves, copy: BL: C.124.f.1.

Such recipes were widespread within a community that was fundamentally engaged in storing and sharing the material remains of the past they could judiciously observe. In the same year, the natural philosopher Henry Baker (1698–1774) published "a set of 'directions for obtaining an exact Representation or Picture of any Coin or Medal'," as one of many other "attempts by antiquaries and natural philosophers to provide more exact representations"[63] of their research objects based on empirical observation.

Besides making wax impressions or rubbing ancient coins and inscriptions, (re)producing information close to the original artifacts could also be done through different processes. As already explained, depicting printers' marks and (re)producing specimens of types by freehand drawing or tracing the typographical information on thin paper were two other image-making techniques recurrently used within early modern scholarly and antiquarian contexts. Indeed, already a century before Ames's work went to press, facsimiles made by tracing "became the palaeographer's counterpart to the epigraphist's squeezes and the numismatist's molds," as shown in a broader context by Anthony Grafton.[64]

As different as the graphical outputs of these distinct image-making processes were, they acted as testimonies to the proximity of the drawer to the original artifacts reproduced in Ames's working papers as well as in the plates collectively produced for his *Typographical Antiquities*. Accordingly, these illustrations testify to the experience of having been in contact with artifacts that were, in turn, (re)produced employing a different technique in an equally different media. Therefore, I argue that the evidentiary authority of the artifacts, as conveyed in Ames's editorial project, goes beyond the graphic form they assumed in the plates. It was simultaneously the graphic expression of eighteenth-century image-making processes and testimony to the empirical experience of having seen or been informed about early products of the English presses.

However, despite the fact that bibliographical information, which informed Ames's system for storing and managing bibliographical information, was continually gathered, stored, expanded, and (re)produced by many hands in the eighteenth century, his authoritative endeavor was neither free of mistakes nor complete when the *Typographical Antiquities* went to press. In the preface dated June 7, 1749, Ames admits to "have undertaken a task much too great for" his own "abilities." As a result, the printed work was "not so perfect" as he "could wish."[65] Bearing, therefore, the comprehensive spirit of his undertaking in mind, Ames continued to work on his project, leaving traces with the quill of his research activities within the already printed pages of his book. In the hand-press period, handwritten expansions and corrections over a printed

63 Roos, *Martin Folkes*, 206.
64 Grafton, *Inky Fingers*, 93.
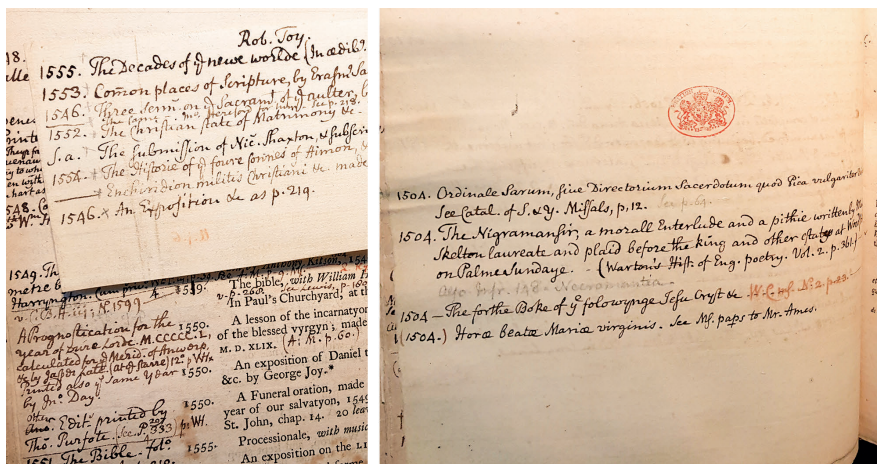65 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), Preface.

Figure 11. William Herbert's working notes. © British Library Board, C.60.0.5, after p. 220.

copy were a suitable and frequently used medium for autograph intervention in printed texts.[66]

Just after the *Typographical Antiquities* was published, Ames expanded the biographical information about William Caxton on the margin of his copy. In his handwriting, the author acknowledges having found Caxton's name among the Brotherhood of Saint Nicholas in a manuscript he was unacquainted with before 1750.[67] In this particular copy, though, information was expanded not only at the margins but also between the lines of the printed text and on extra sheets of paper. It is irregularly interleaved from the signature M onwards, possibly at the request of William Herbert (1718–1795), who bought Ames's annotated copy after his death. Herbert expanded the incomplete work into a new three-volume edition, published between 1785 and 1790.[68] For this task, he followed the knowledge-making practices embodied in Ames's working notes by leaving blank spaces on new sheets of paper still waiting to be filled. He also inserted slips of paper throughout handwritten and printed pages to expand information [**Fig. 11**].

To meet the readership's expectations, corrections and expansions to the English *Typographical Antiquities* were carefully incorporated into the new

---

66 See: James, *English Paleography*, 183.

67 "I find him among the Brotherhood of Saint Nicholas, preserved in a MS. of that Brotherhood: now 1750, in the Parish Clerks Company (…)." Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), 3, copy: BL: C.60.0.5. This new information was printed in the second edition. See: Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1785), 1.

68 Whereas Herbert concentrated his effort on correcting and expanding the text of Ames's work, all the plates as designed and initially printed in 1749 were not subject to his critique. These were hardly criticized by Thomas Frognall Dibdin, who published a third edition of the English *Typographical Antiquities* between 1810 and 1819. More recently, Joseph A. Dane convincingly explores the images commissioned by Dibdin as first and foremost nineteenth-century prints. See: Dane, *Out of Sorts*, 187.

edition prepared by Herbert.[69] However, when correcting some orthographical errors printed in Ames's work by hand, Herbert revealed a further important source for his editorial task: "[Some] literal corrections [were taken] from Mr. Tutet's copy of his interleaved Ames."[70]

Mark Cephas Tutet (c. 1733–1785) was a renowned book collector who had been a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London since June 1755 and knew Ames in person. Scattered throughout his interleaved copy of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* are many handwritten notes through which Tutet identified the titles listed in the printed volume as belonging to his private collection. In the eighteenth century, catalogs and lists of books were perceived as lists of desiderata for book collectors. However, when noticing that Ames's list of desiderata was far from complete, Tutet prepared his copy for storing new information he could amass, inserting blank pages between the printed ones. Part of his new knowledge about the English typographical past draws on the many loose sheets and cutouts of title pages, printers' devices, as well as specimens of old English typography—also traced by hand—that he collected throughout the years and judiciously observed. They are now preserved together with his interleaved copy of Ames's work.[71]

Like Ames, his contemporary readers also left handwritten, printed, and drawn testimonies of how they gathered information either about the first products of the English presses or directly from them. These testimonies are historical evidence of the empirical perspective through which eighteenth-century antiquarians sought to engage with the material remains of their past. Such an empirical perspective is a hallmark of Joseph Ames's efforts to identify and classify what he called "Typographical Antiquities." For this reason, the work published in 1749 and immediately received by renowned book collectors and antiquarians was not limited to presenting a "Register of Books Printed by" "Ancient Printers."[72] Instead, its pages should rather be seen as the printed outcome of a system fostered by antiquarian knowledge-making practices, through which knowledge was collectively construed and disseminated in the eighteenth century. By exploring the handwritten working notes from which Ames's work was compiled, his collection of fragments of printed books, specimens of types, alphabets, and title pages, as well as extant copies of the English *Typographical Antiquities*, I have aimed to show that an empirical approach to the material remains of the past was pivotal to the construction of early modern knowledge.

---

69 For the handwritten expansions, see: Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), interleaved sheet bounded between pages 86 and 87 of the copy: BL: C.60.o.5. For the printed expansion, see: Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1785), 141.

70 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), 4, copy: BL: C.60.o.5.

71 See: Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), copy: Cambridge University Library, Adv.b.70.15-16.

72 Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), Title page.

Bibliography

Ames, Joseph. *A Catalogue of English Heads: or, an Account of about Two Thousand Prints …* London: W. Faden, 1748.

———. *A collection of 7425 titlepages of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland before the year 1749, brought together by Joseph Ames, and arranged originally in three, now in six volumes.* British Library, Shelfmark: General Reference Collection Ames.1-6.

———. *A collection of Initial-Letters, from the Beginning of Printing.* With some Notes, by Joseph Ames. Began anno 1733. Lewis Walpole Library, Shelfmark: LWL 49 3768.

———. *A collection, ms. and printed, illustrative of various alphabets, etc., brought together by Joseph Ames and pasted in a scrap-book.* British Library, Shelfmark: General Reference Collection Ames.10.

———. *Collections for a history of printing in England, Scotland and Ireland, by Joseph Ames.* British Library, Shelfmark: Add MS 5151.

———. *Index to the Minute Books of transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of London, from 1717 to 1748.* Compiled by their Secretary, Joseph Ames. British Library, Shelfmark: Egerton MSS. 1041–42.

———. *Typographical Antiquities: Being an Historical Account of Printing in England.* London: W. Faden, 1749.

———. *Typographical Antiquities …* Considerably augmented (…) by William Herbert. Vol. I. London: T. Payne & Son, etc., 1785.

Andrews, Martin. "The Importance of Ephemera." *A Companion to the History of the Book*, edited by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, 434–50. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007.

Bagford, John. "An Essay on the Invention of Printing, by Mr. John Bagford; with an Account of his Collections for the same, by Mr. Humfrey Wanley, F.R.S. Communicated in two Letters to Dr. Hans Sloane, R.S. Secr." *Philosophical Transactions* XXV, no. 311 (1707): 2397–410.

Bickham, George. *The universal penman, etc.* London: Robert Sayer, c. 1760.

Bittel, Carla, Elaine Leong, and Christine von Oertzen, eds. *Working with Paper: Gendered Practices in the History of Knowledge.* Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019.

Bittel, Carla, Elaine Leong, and Christine von Oertzen. "Introduction: Paper, Gender, and the History of Knowledge." In Bittel, Carla, Elaine Leong, and Christine von Oertzen, *Working with Paper: Gendered Practices in the History of Knowledge*, 1–14, Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019.

Blair, Ann. *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age.* New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2010.

Charmantier, Isabelle, and Staffan Müller-Wille. "Carl Linnaeus's Botanical Paper Slips (1767–1773)." *Intellectual History Review* 24, no. 2 (2014): 215–38.

Considine, John. "Cutting and Pasting Slips: Early Modern Compilation and Information Management." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 45, no. 3 (2015): 487–504.

Dane, Joseph A. *Out of Sorts: On Typography and Print Culture.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Daston, Lorraine. "The History of Science and the History of Knowledge." *Know* 1, no. 1 (2017): 131–54.

Driver, Martha W. "Ideas of Order: Wynkyn de Worde and the Title Page." In *Text and Their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society*, edited by John Scattergood, and Julia Boffey, 87–149. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997.

Eddy, Matthew D. "The Interactive Notebook: How Students Learned to Keep Notes during the Scottish Enlightenment." *Book History* 19 (2016): 86–131.

Fransen, Sietske, Katherine M. Reinhart, and Sachiko Kusukawa. "Copying Images in the Archives of the Early Royal Society." *Word & Image* 35, no. 3 (2019): 256–76.

Freeman, Arthur. "*Everyman* and Others, Part I: Some Fragments of Early English Printing, and their Preservers." *The Library* 9, no. 3 (2008): 267–305.

Friedrich, Markus. "How to Make an Archival Inventory in Early Modern Europe: Carrying Documents, Gluing Paper and Transforming Archival Chaos into Well-ordered Knowledge." *Manuscript Cultures* 10 (2017): 160–73.

Gatch, Milton McC. "John Bagford, Bookseller and Antiquary." *The British Library Journal* 12, no. 2 (1986): 150–71.

Grafton, Anthony. *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020.

Griffiths, Antony. *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques*. London: The British Museum Press, 2010.

Hellinga, Lotte. *Caxton in Focus: The Beginning of Printing in England*. London: The British Library, 1982.

———. *William Caxton and Early Printing in England*. London: The British Library, 2010.

James, Kathryn. *English Paleography and Manuscript Culture, 1500–1800*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020.

Jensen, Kristian. *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book: Reshaping the Past, 1780–1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Korsten, Frans. "Thomas Baker and his Books." *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8, no. 5 (1985): 491–513.

Lefèvre, Raoul. *Le Recueil des histoires de Troyes*. Ghent: David Aubert, for William Caxton, about 1474–75.

Leong, Elaine. *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and the Household in Early Modern England*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018.

Lerer, Seth. "Caxton in the Nineteenth Century." In *Caxton's Trace: Studies in the History of English Printing*, edited by William Kuskin, 325–70. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006.

Lucas, R. Charles. "Book-Collecting in the Eighteenth Century: The Library of James West." *The Library* s5-III, no. 4 (1949): 265–78.

McKitterick, David. "Bibliography, Bibliophily and the Organization of Knowledge." In *The Foundations of Scholarship: Libraries and Collecting, 1650–1750: Papers Presented at a Clark Library Seminar 9 March 1985*, edited by David Vaisey, and David McKitterick, 29–61, Pasadena, CA: Clark Memorial Library, 1992.

———. *Old Books, New Technologies: The Representation, Conservation and Transformation of Books since 1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

———. *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Moser, Stephanie. "Making Expert Knowledge through the Image: Connections between Antiquarian and Early Modern Scientific Illustration." *Isis* 105 (2014): 58–99.

Müller-Wille, Staffan, and Sara Scharf. "Indexing Nature: Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) and his Fact-Gathering Strategies." *Working Papers on The Nature of Evidence: How Well Do 'Facts' Travel?*, no. 36/08, London: London School of Economics, 2009.

Pisan, Christine de. *Faits d'armes et de chevalerie*. Westminster: William Caxton, 1489.

Pollard, Alfred W. "The Ames Collection of Titlepages." *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 7 (1904), p. 160–62.

Roos, Anna Marie. *Martin Folkes (1690–1754): Newtonian, Antiquary, Connoisseur*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Shiner, Elaine. "Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* and the Antiquarian Tradition." *Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 83, no. 4 (2013): 362–67.

Sibbald, John A. "Book Bitch to the Rich—the Strife and Times of the Revd. Dr. Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776–1847)." In *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Shanti Graheli, 489–521. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Siegfried, Susan L. "Visualizing History in Eighteenth-Century France." *Representations* 145, no. 1 (2019): 80–106.

Sloan, Kim. "Bickham, George." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Sweet, Rosemary. "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 181–206.

———. *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004.

Traversanus, Laurentius Gulielmus, de Saona [Guillelmus Saphonensis]. *Margarita eloquentiae, sive Rhetorica nova.* Westminster: William Caxton, after 26 July 1478.