

SALVAGE AND SALVATION

BOOKBINDINGS AS AGENTS OF PRESERVATION

A book can contain elements of more than one biography. There is, of course, the biography of the volume itself, the date of its creation as a manuscript or printed text and its subsequent history as it passes from owner to owner, is damaged and repaired and moves from current interest to antiquarian value. In its binding, it may also contain elements of other books and ephemeral material, salvaged and re-used, either to cut costs or because materials were in short supply. It is in such cases that the individual biographies of different books can intersect in sometimes surprising and often informative ways.

The recycling of secondhand material in the making of new books is almost as old as the codex itself. Examples of re-used manuscript fragments on papyrus have been found as the laminations of paste-boards used on Coptic codices dating from as early as the third century AD,¹ and the practice continued from that time right through to the industrial bindings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where the limp paper covers of magazines and journals discarded when their contents were bound up into volumes were regularly used as spine linings and the spine inlays of boards-and-cover-type adhesive cases. The motives were probably quite straightforward – a lack in some parts of the literate world of new materials to use (this applies particularly to the desert monasteries of the middle east), coupled with a very keen sense of the investment made in, and therefore the cost of, turning animal hides into leather and parchment, and rags into paper, and, particularly after the invention of printing, a commercial requirement to keep costs strictly under control. What the process has done, of course, is to preserve material that was otherwise destined for the rubbish dump.

The material used varies enormously, sharing only the single characteristic that it has, for some reason, become waste, and is no longer required for its original purpose. Waste can be divided into two major categories, the earlier of which consists of material, which until the mid-fifteenth century is mostly manuscript, that has already been used for its original purpose and has been

1 John A. Szirmai: *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, Aldershot 1999, pp. 28–30.

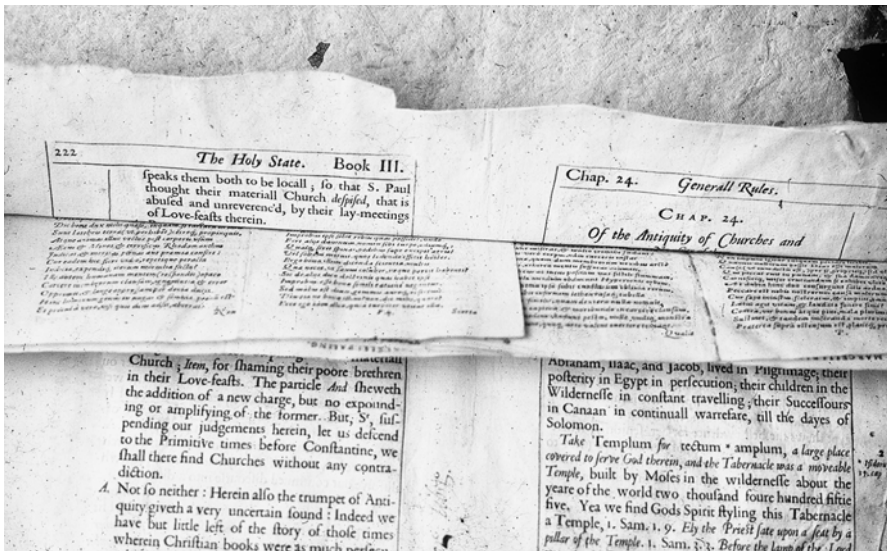


Fig. 1: Printed waste and retrieved printed waste used as endleaves in a mid-seventeenth-century English binding, by permission of the National Trust

retrieved from that purpose, perhaps from bound volumes or archival use, and which for this reason can be called ›retrieved waste‹. The later category is more closely associated with printed books, and consists of sheets that for one reason or another have not been bound, perhaps because a copy is incomplete and cannot be sold in that state, or has printing faults that would also have prevented its being sold, or are left over as the result of overruns of individual sheets of which too many copies were printed or represent copies that simply failed to sell and became waste when thought unlikely to sell. This would happen very quickly with ephemeral material such as almanacs, but could also happen to editions superseded by new and better ones. Because the retrieved material will have been in conventional use, it will usually bear the marks of that use. This may be in the form of the holes made at the sewing stations of bound books or the remains of adhesive left on the outside of the outer folds of gatherings, or the traces of folds often found in ream wrappers, which if in large enough pieces, may give the dimensions of the paper originally wrapped in them.² The two different types of waste were sometimes

² Jane Eagan: An unexpected discovery: Early modern recycling, <https://www.merton.ox.ac.uk/library-and-archives/conservation/ream-wrapper> (accessed 18.8.2016).

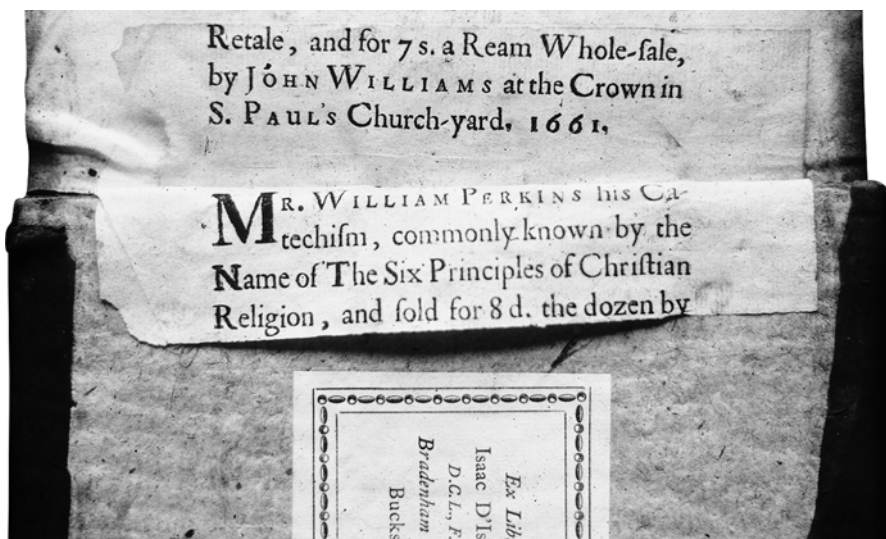


Fig. 2: Printed waste taken from a stock-list of the London bookseller John Williams used as an endleaf guard of a binding on a copy of Thomas Godwin: *Moses and Aaron*.

Civil and ecclesiastical rites used by the ancient Hebrews, London 1662,

by permission of the National Trust

used together, as in the left endleaves in an English binding of the mid-seventeenth century (Fig. 1), where two bifolia of a printed octavo edition which had been retrieved from a bound book³ (the glue stain on the spine fold of one of the bifolia shows this) were used as an internal sewing guard within an outside hook endleaf made from a bifolium of Fuller's *Holy State*.⁴ The latter has no sewing holes and has never been folded but has single holes made at the head and tail in the inner margin between the two printed pages that were made by the press-pins when the sheet was printed. These show that this is a sheet that has come straight from a printer or bookseller's stockroom.

The use of such printed waste does not offer much in the way of provenance information. The retrieved sheets from a continental European edition could have been used wherever this copy of the edition became waste. Similarly, the single sheet of *The Holy State* cannot be used to prove or disprove a connection with Cambridge. Some waste, however, may offer useful provenance information for the binding in which is found. A fragment of a printed

³ An unidentified sixteenth-century continental Latin edition printed in italic.

⁴ The centre-fold of gathering Ff (Ff2-3) of a copy of Thomas Fuller: *The Holy State*, Cambridge: Printed by R. Daniel for J. Williams 1642.

advertisement of the stock of the London bookseller John Williams⁵ in 1661 was used as a folded endleaf guard in the binding on a book published by Williams in partnership with Andrew Crooke⁶ in 1662 (Fig. 2).⁷ It is therefore almost certainly the case that this binding was made for John Williams, either by a binder employed by him in his bookselling business, who would have had ready access to such waste, or by an independent binder working nearby to whom Williams supplied waste, presumably in return for reduced prices for his work. Such advertisements do not survive in large numbers and we can begin to see here how important the work of the binder can be in preserving such material.

Physical proximity to a source of waste was clearly important for the bookbinder Vincent Williamson, who worked at Eton College for Sir Henry Savile⁸ in the early seventeenth century,⁹ and who seems not only to have scavenged in the college archive (references to various college activities are evident on a number of the fragments used) and in amongst the medieval manuscripts presumably discarded by the college library, but also used waste sheets from the press established by Savile to print his monumental edition in Greek of the works of St John Chrysostom,¹⁰ including marked-up proof

- 5 John Williams, bookseller in London (1634) 1635-1678, see Katharine Pantzer: A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640, Volume 3, A Printers' & Publishers' Index, London 1991, p. 183.
- 6 Andrew Crooke, bookseller in London, (1629)1632-1674 and in Dublin, 1637. Brother of John and Edmond Crooke, succeeding one of his masters, Robert Allott (see Pantzer (fn. 5), vol. 3, p. 48).
- 7 Thomas Godwin: Moses and Aaron. Civil and ecclesiastical rites used by the ancient Hebrews, London: Typis heredum Jacobi Luci 1662 (The National Trust, Hughenden).
- 8 Sir Henry Savile (1549-1622), mathematician and classical scholar, matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1561, from 1585, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and from 1595, Provost of Eton College, where, using a press set up by the London printer Melchisidec Bradwood between 1610 and 1612, he published his monumental edition of the works of Saint John Chrysostom in eight folio volumes, a number of the surviving copies of which were bound by Vincent Williamson, see Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online [limited access], <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 29.1.2017).
- 9 Robert Birley: The history of Eton College Library, Eton 1970, pp. 22-25. Williamson bound for Eton college from at 1602/3 and disappears from the Eton records in 1620/1.
- 10 Saint John Chrysostom: Του εν Αγίοις πατρός ημών Ιωάννου του Χρυσοστόμου των ευρισκομένων [ed. by Sir Henry Savile], Eton: in Collegio Regali. Excudebat Joannes Norton 1612.

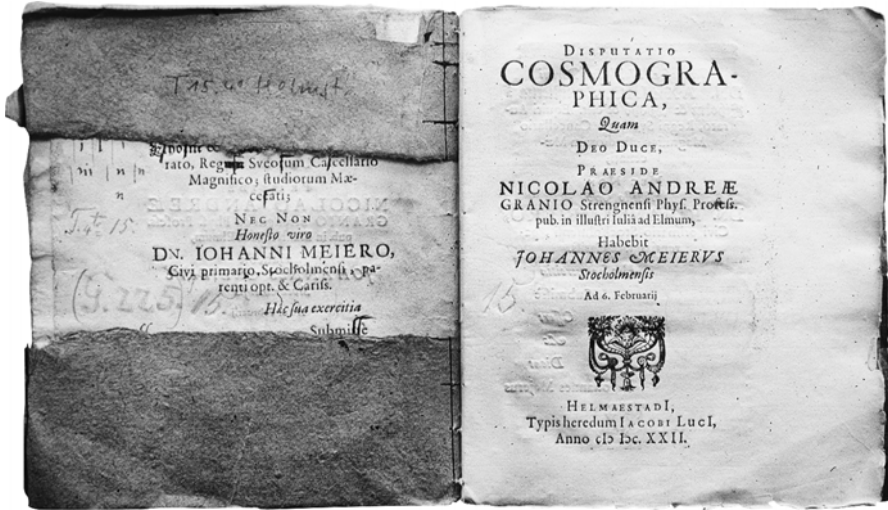


Fig. 3: The title-page and the inside of the left cover made containing a corrected proof sheet of the edition it is wrapped around: Nicolaus Andreae Granius: *Disputatio cosmographica, quam deo duce / praeside Nicolao Andreae Granio ... habebit Johannes Meierus Stocholmensis Ad. 6. Februarii*, Helmstedt 1622, Herzog August Bibliothek

sheets, thus once again accidentally preserving material that seldom survives by any other means. Other corrected proof sheets survive in the Helmstedt University library now located in the Herzog August Bibliothek, on a copy of a work by the Swedish Professor of Physics, Nicolaus Andreas Granius,¹¹ who was in addition an amateur bookbinder of, it has to be said, no great skill. He bound a copy of one of his own works in a brown paper cover folded over the corrected proof sheets of the same work (Fig. 3), which is, perhaps, a unique combination of author, bookbinding, text and proofs, all contained within a single object. Such survivals point to one of the remarkable and somewhat contradictory features of the re-use of discarded material, which is that it is only because the material has been discarded, and is therefore available for other use, that it has been preserved.

¹¹ Nicolaus Andreae Granius: *Disputatio cosmographica, quam deo duce / praeside Nicolao Andreae Granio ... habebit Johannes Meierus Stocholmensis Ad. 6. Februarii*, Helmstedt 1622 (Herzog August Bibliothek, T 15.4° Helmst.). For further information on Granius, who was born in Strengnäs in Sweden in 1569 and who died in Helmstedt in 1631, see Paul Zimmermann: *Album Aademicae Helmstadiensis*, Hannover 1926, p. 437.

Spoiled sheets from the press seem quite often to have found their way to the bookbinders, where good quality paper used for printing made suitable endleaves for cheaper bindings, in which the use of printed waste was a common phenomenon well into the seventeenth century, and for the cheapest books and bookbindings, until at least the beginning of the nineteenth century. Vincent Williamson used at least one offset leaf (the text reversed and very faint) from the 1611 King James Bible, from 2 Chronicles, chapter 36, from verse 10 to 23 as an endleaf in a copy of the Eton Chrysostom now in the chapter library of St George's Chapel in Windsor Castle.¹² It must have been waste from the printing house of Robert Barker¹³ where the leaf was printed (where else would a leaf with wet ink able to offset be found?) and argues for a connection between Williamson and Barker, perhaps via the London printer John Norton,¹⁴ who was employed by Savile to print his books. In such ways, waste offers the possibility of throwing light on working connections within the booktrade. It may well also be the case, in fact, that such leaves, the otherwise unconsidered waste material from a busy printing house, will only be found when re-used in bindings, making us dependent on the binders for their survival. Another offset sheet,¹⁵ folded at an angle to the printed text area for use as an endleaf, is to be found in a the mid-seventeenth-century English binding on a copy of Odo Lancellanus, *Flores Sermonum*, Paris, 1519.¹⁶ A rather more straightforward, though somewhat surprising, printing error supplied endleaves for a Spanish limp laced-case binding in parchment, using sheets printed in red with the rubric for a liturgical edition but with only a tiny fragment of the black-printed text having apparently been inked (Fig. 4). The edition in the binding was printed in Valladolid in 1549,¹⁷ and the binding must be close in date, suggesting that the printed waste is also of the mid-century.

12 Chapter Library, St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, C 213.

13 Robert Barker, printer in London, (1589)1593-1634 (died 1645). Queen's and from 1603 King's Printer, 1600-1617, and intermittently thereafter, see Pantzer (fn. 5), vol. 3, p. 11.

14 John Norton, Bookseller in London (1586), in Edinburgh, 1587-1592(?), and again in London, 1590, 1593-1612, when he died. Appointed King's Printer in Latin, Greek and Hebrew in 1603 and used that style in the Greek books printed for him at Eton, 1610-13, see Pantzer (fn. 5), vol. 3, p. 126.

15 The leaf was taken from the ›Index rerum‹ of an unidentified seventeenth-century edition.

16 Odo Lancellanus: *Flores Sermonum*, Paris 1519 (Lincoln Cathedral Library).

17 Gaspar de Texeda: *Estilo de escrever cartas mensageras cortesaneamente*, Valladolid: Martinez 1549 (Herzog August Bibliothek, A: 40.1 Rhet.).

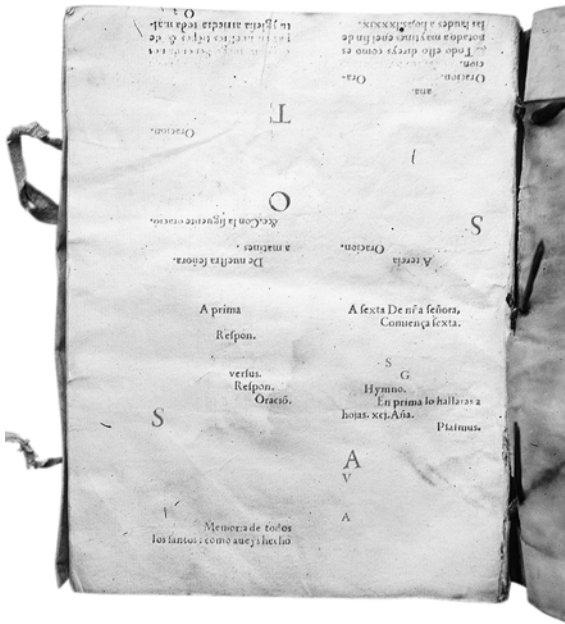


Fig. 4: The right endleaves made from a sheet of spoiled printed waste in a binding of a copy of Gaspar de Texeda: *Estilo de escrevir cartas mensageras cortesantemente*, Valladolid 1549, Herzog August Bibliothek

In addition to the sheets of substantial printed books, binders also made use of more ephemeral material that one would have thought would have become waste quite quickly, such as the sheets of almanacs. However, unbound and unfolded almanac sheets for the year 1679¹⁸ were used when already at least 50 years old as board linings in an English binding on an edition of 1729,¹⁹ begging the question of where (and, indeed, why) these leaves had been kept for so long when they must have passed their natural sell-by date quite early in 1679. It is perhaps a case of a printer or bookseller clearing unsellable material out of a warehouse at rather infrequent intervals. The same phenomenon is evident in the multiple copies of the same sheet used to make a cover

18 Plunket: A New Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1679, London 1679.

19 Gilbert Burnet: History of the Reformation, London 1729 (The National Trust, Castle Ward, EL 2/4).

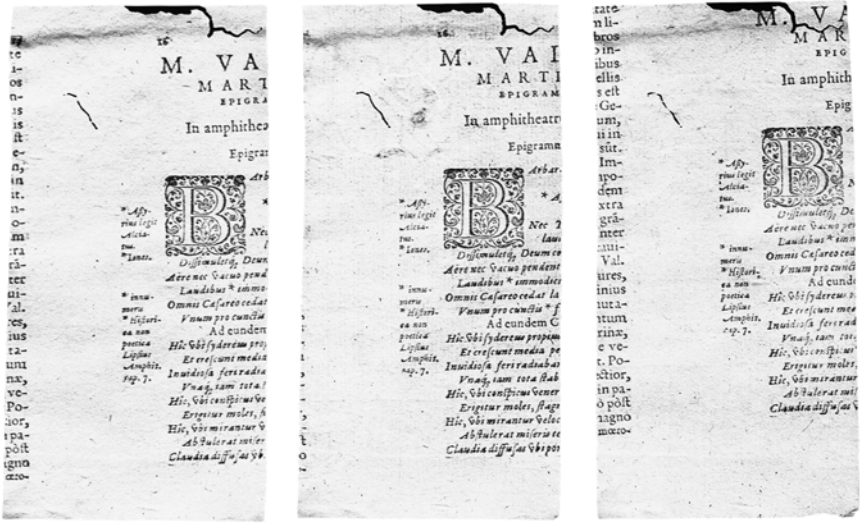


Fig. 5: Three near identical fragments of the same sheet of a sixteenth-century edition of Martial's Epigrams used as a board in a copy of Bartolomeo Cambi: *The seven trumpets of Brother Bartholomev Salvtibvs of the holie Order of S. Francis; Exciting a sinner to repentance*, St Omer 1626, by permission of Norwich Cathedral Library.

lining for a French laced-case binding on an edition of 1573.²⁰ The unfolded and unbound waste sheets were printed in 1523,²¹ and were therefore also at least 50 years old when pasted together to make the cover-lining. Whether the sheets of this Lyon edition indicate that the binding was also made in Lyon is uncertain, as such sheets could have ended up in Paris or elsewhere. The fact, however, that they are copies of the same sheet is, I think, highly suggestive of a Lyon provenance for the binding, especially as the book has been in a house in the Auvergne from about the time it was printed to the present day.

The same phenomenon can be seen in the use of three identical pieces of printed waste cut from unused sheets that were pasted together to make the

20 Thesaurus Linguae Latinae seu Promptuarium Dictionum et loquendi formularum omnium ad Latini sermonis perfectam notitiam assequendam pertinentium: ex optimis auctoribus concinnatum, Lyon 1573 (private collection, France).

21 Jason de actionibus. Lectura preclarissima. D. Jasonis Mayni super nodoso. titu. de actionibus Jnsti. cu[m] eiusdem additionibus necnon apostillis q[uam]plurium clarissimorum doctoru[m] nuperrime impressa cu[m] tabula p[er]modu[m] numeri [et] alphabetum ordine suo nouiter edita, Lyon: Giunta 1523 (private collection, France).

boards of a French laced-case binding with boards on a recusant text printed by an English printer in St Omer for the Catholics in England (Fig. 5),²² and were almost certainly pasted together as whole sheets, just as in the cover lining described above, and then cut into smaller boards as required. If this edition of Martial's first book of epigrams can be identified, then the location of the binder may also be revealed. The use of an uncut sheet of playing cards printed in Lyon²³ to provide thin boards for a laced-case French binding with boards covered in parchment on a Lyon edition of 1649²⁴ has not only preserved materials the great bulk of which has been lost, but also identifies the binding as almost certainly Lyonnais work – as well as preserving the cards in remarkably bright condition (plate I, p. 470).

It is not often that wrapping paper is preserved, but ream wrappers are an occasional exception. These are the sheets of either text-weight paper or a thin card, the former often with manufacturing faults that prevented their sale at full price, that were used to protect reams of paper when they left the paper-mills, and which usually bore the stamp of the paper-maker on them to identify what was inside.²⁵ The inked stamps can be seen on the reams of new paper stacked on the shelf behind the binder's head in the water-colour of 1658 of a binder covering a laced-case binding with boards by the Amsterdam bookbinder Dirk de Bray.²⁶ Such wrapping sheets would have been a commonplace in a productive bindery, as in bindings of any quality, bookbinders used new paper for endleaves, frequently hard-sized high quality paper suitable for writing on as indicated by a number of Dutch stamps on ream wrappers protecting paper of the highest quality intended for the English market and then used by a binder as a board lamination (Fig. 6).²⁷

22 Bartolomeo Cambi: *The seaven trumpets of Brother Bartholomevv Salvthivs of the holie Order of S. Francis; Exciting a sinner to repentance*, St Omer: John Heigham 1626 (Swaffham Parish Library, on deposit in Norwich Cathedral Library, SWC 5/07).

23 Part of the maker's name is preserved on the piece used for the right board: FAITE.A.LYON.PAR.IEA[N] ... DEMEVANT.A.LA.GR ...

24 Petrus à Saint Joseph: *Idea Theologiæ Specvlativæ, pvcis mvlta complectens de Deo, de Christo, de Angelis, & de Gratia*. Editio VII, Lyon: Apud Antonium Cellier 1649 (private collection, United Kingdom).

25 See Eagan (fn. 2).

26 Dirk de Bray: *A short instruction in the binding of books*, ed. by Koert van der Horst and Clemens de Wolf, translated by Harry Lake, Uithoorn 2012, p. 91.

27 On a copy of Lieuwe van Aitzema: *Saken van staet en oorlogh, in ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden, beginnende met het jaer 1621, ende eyndigende met het jaer 1669*, 6 vols., The Hague and Amsterdam: by Johan Veely, Johan Tongerloo and Jasper Doll 1669-1672 (The National Trust, Dyrham Park).



Fig. 6: A printed ream wrapper of thick card used as a board lamination in the binding on a copy of Lieuwe van Aitzema: *Vervolgh van Saken van staet en orlogh, in ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden, beginnende met het jaer 1621, ende eyndigende met het jaer 1669*, 6 vols, The Hague and Amsterdam 1669-72, by permission of the National Trust

Bookbinders would have had ready access to these wrappers, either through their own use of new paper or through their connections with printers, where many thousands of such wrappers would have been discarded every week in a busy printing centre. Vincent Williamson of Eton clearly had access to the wrappers from the paper bought for Sir Henry Savile's press in Eton and many examples can be found in bindings made in his workshop. It is quite possibly the use of this material by bookbinders that has preserved a large proportion of the surviving ream wrappers, though I know of no consistent attempt to record them. Large enough pieces will often show, in the distance between the folds, quite clearly how thick the ream of paper was.²⁸

²⁸ See also Eagan (fn. 2).

The use of waste materials as board laminations brings with it another, perhaps unexpected problem. In 1943, a mass of printed and manuscript material was taken from the boards of six folio volumes bound in around 1740 in Italian laced-case bindings in parchment with boards.²⁹ It consists of a remarkable assemblage of material, both printed and manuscript, covering a period of almost two hundred years. The printed material is highly miscellaneous and includes both bound and unbound sheets from various different editions. The unbound sheets include Roberto Bellarmino, *Dottrina Cristiana*, Florence, 1718, a portion of a sixteenth-century printing of Cicero's *Orationes*, which includes multiple copies of sheets L and M, and fragments only of sheets O, T, and V, a large part of sheet N of a sixteenth-century edition of Caesar's *De Bello Civili* and fragments of several breviaries and a Greek grammar. There are also leaves from disbound books, including a few fragments of sixteenth-century music printed by Antonio Gardano in 1563,³⁰ a large quantity of leaves from a sixteenth-century small-format edition of works by Leonhart Fuchs, including *De Sanandis totius humani corporis* and *De medendis singularum partium corporis humani*, a sixteenth-century edition of Virgil, and, the most complete of all the disbound fragments, a Florentine edition of 1637,³¹ which was originally in a longstitch binding. The manuscript leaves include legal correspondence and accounts, much of it ecclesiastical in origin, and coming mostly from Venice, but also Florence and Milan (Fig. 7).

Amongst the more surprising material is a series of what appear to be toll tickets, three copies of a bookplate and two part-printed handbill forms relating to early Italian banking practice. I have not before seen so many small pieces of waste used to make western-European boards and it seems to me likely that the waste was collected from multiple sources, much as rags were for paper-making, and was either sold directly to binders, or, perhaps more probably, was made into boards by a supplier to the binding trade in a large centre of book production, such as Venice, and was then sold to the binders. One question that will arise if such boards were ever to be investigated – I will not say dismembered – on a regular basis and recorded in full is how could it all be catalogued? There is a great deal of history in this material, but

29 The edition from which these boards were taken was Lodovico Antonio Muratori: *Antiquitates italicæ mediæ ævi*, 6 vols, Milan 1738–41 (private collection, United Kingdom).

30 Hubert Naich: *i soventi marti ri accompagnati da grave dolore from Canto (alto, tenore, basso quinto) di Cipriano de Rore. Il Secondo Libro di Madrigali*, Venice, appresso di Antonio Gardano 1563.

31 Laurentius Franciosinus: *de Particvlis Italicæ orationis*, Florence: Typis nouis Amatoris Masse, & Socor 1637.



Fig. 7: The contents of the boards of the contemporary Italian laced-case bindings in parchment with boards on 6 volumes of Lodovico Antonio Muratori: *Antiquitates italicae mediaevi*, 6 vols, Milan 1738-41, private collection, United Kingdom

teasing it out would take a very long time – and it should be remembered that this collection all comes from just one six-volume edition.

The material that becomes waste can also include real rarities. A German binding on a Venetian edition of 1514³² contains, probably as comb spine linings (from the photograph in the bookseller's catalogue it is impossible to be entirely sure), a single-leaf, papal bull printed on vellum in London on 8 March, 1498 by Richard Pynson.³³ It was issued by John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and confirms the succession of Henry VII and his

32 Alexander de Imola in Prima(m) (et) Secunda(m). ff. Novi Parte(m). Cum Apostillis Doctissimo(rum) Doctorum Domini Fra(n)cisci de Curte (et) Bernardini de Landriano. Et cum Aliis Innumeris Additionibus per Dominum Antonium Franciscum de Doctoribus Patavinum Noviter Editis, Venice. Per Baptistam de Tortis 1514 (Lawbook Exchange, Catalogue 30, American, English & Continental books with attractive bindings, December 22, 2015).

33 Innocentius VIII, Pont. Max. (Giovanni Battista Cibo): Summarium bullae Innocentii VIII et Alexandri VI de successione regni Angliae, issued by John Morton, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, 8 Mar. 1497/98, London after 8 Mar. 1497/98

heirs and endorses his marriage to Elizabeth of York. How and why this document became available to a German bookbinder more than 16 years later is not known, but the fact that another of the three recorded copies of the second printing was found as binder's waste in the Stadtbibliothek in Trier, and the only other copy known is in the ›Historisches Archiv‹ in Cologne,³⁴ would appear to indicate that copies of the broadside were distributed on the continent, a deduction that it is possible to make on the strength of their use as waste in German bindings. No copy is known in an English collection and it is only the single surviving copy of the earlier printing of 1497/98 that is to be found in England.³⁵

An otherwise unknown indulgence printed on parchment by William Caxton in Westminster in 1481 for the Hospital of St Mary Rounceval, in Charing Cross in London, was found by Paul Needham cut into strips used to make sewing guards in a ›Sammelband‹ containing four editions printed by Caxton³⁶ and apparently bound some sixty years later by (or, more probably, for) the London bookseller John Reynes,³⁷ in which printed waste of 1530 was used as board linings, giving a ›terminus post quem‹ for the binding. Needham suggests that Reynes had the book rebound or repaired in the 1530s, replacing an earlier binding, though it seems to me more likely that the book was originally assembled with its sewing guards as a sewn bookblock, possibly with a limp parchment cover, and not given either boards or a leather cover until these were added by Reynes, at a date when the use of sewing guards throughout a bookblock had long been abandoned.³⁸

The relationship between the waste and the binding is one of reciprocal values – the waste may identify a binding workshop where it is known to have been used, and the binding will give a location for the waste at the point where it was consigned to the waste bin. This can be highly significant, as

(ISTC no. ii00158093). I am grateful to Paul Needham for his comments on the distribution of this printing.

34 These copies are recorded in ISTC.

35 An imperfect copy in Canterbury Cathedral Library (ISTC no. ii00158090).

36 Paul Needham: *The printer and the pardoner: An unrecorded indulgence printed by William Caxton for the Hospital of St. Mary Rounceval, Charing Cross, Washington* 1986, *passim*.

37 John Reynes, Dutch immigrant to London by 1510, bookbinder and bookseller from at least 1523 until his death in 1544, see Pantzer (fn. 5), vol. 3, p. 144.

38 Binders began to restrict the use of sewing guards from every gathering in the bookblock to only the first and last gatherings by the last decade of the fifteenth century, and by and large abandoned the practice by the end of the century. Sixteenth-century examples are hard to find.

shown by the board laminations of a London binding on an edition of Etienne Dolet of 1538.³⁹ The board laminations had entirely separated as the result of many years of damp storage and revealed that each board was made up from 10 leaves of printed waste, and one board contained two leaves of the French translation by Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse of the *Facta and Dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus, printed in 1475-77 in the Southern Netherlands by the anonymous printer known only as the Printer of Flavius Josephus.⁴⁰ They were sandwiched between the leaves of a copy of a 1477 Basel edition of the *Decretals* of Gregory the Great, which supplied all the other board laminations, and provide the only evidence that a copy (albeit possibly incomplete) of this very rare edition was ever in England.

A rather more surprising source material for endleaves can be found on an inexpensive English, probably Oxford, binding of the third quarter of the seventeenth century on an Oxford-printed edition of 1667, now in the Marciana Library,⁴¹ in which the endleaves were taken from an copy of the 1483 edition of the *Confessio Amantis* printed by William Caxton. On the evidence of traces of deckle edge and the unused space left for a hand-painted initial, these were apparently unbound sheets at the time they were used as endleaves. Again, it is the circumstances through which these leaves became available to a binder, in this case some one hundred and eighty-five years after they were printed, at a time when interest in incunables was already evident, that remain mysterious. They raise the question whether other bindings from the same workshop, if they can ever be identified, might contain more leaves of the same book, or, indeed, whether the discovery of more of the leaves from the Caxton edition will identify those other bindings.

The use of printed waste continued well into the nineteenth century and the waste used as board linings in the binding of an early Aldine edition now in the library of the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai⁴² shows that the book was bound by an English binder who had access to printed sheets from the *The Bengal Hurkaru*,⁴³ or *Political, Commercial and Literary Ad-*

39 Etienne Dolet: *Commentariorvm lingvae Latinae Tomvs Secundus*, Lyon: Apud Seb. Gryphum 1538 (Southwell Minster Library).

40 I am grateful to Dr Lotte Hellinga for identifying these and the other leaves found in these boards.

41 Alcinoi in Platoniam Philosophiam introductio, Oxford: Typis Lichfieldianis 1667 (Biblioteca Marciana, 67 D 188).

42 Thucydides: *De bello Peloponnesiaco*, Venice: in domo Aldi 1502 (Monastery of St Catherine, Mount Sinai).

43 The word *Hurkaru* means a running footman or messenger. A newspaper was issued in Calcutta under this name from 1795 to 1866.



Fig. 8: The outer side of the left endleaf of *Canones et Decreta Sacrosancti*, Rheims 1564, by permission of the Diocesan Library of Derry and Raphoe

vertiser of 27 January, 1824. Whether the book was bound in England or in India is unclear, though the latter is perfectly possible, as Sinai could well have been taken in by an English traveller from India returning to England, and access to this waste would have been easier in Calcutta, where books had been printed and bound by the English from at least the 1780s. Perhaps in this case the printed waste provides unexpected evidence of colonial enterprise and international travel.

The recycling of waste within a bookselling business, that is using waste generated by a bookselling or binding business to use in bindings made within that business, has also yielded some rare survivals. The endleaves of a sewn bookblock (it was never given either boards or a cover) on a Rheims edition of 1563⁴⁴ now in the Diocesan Library of Derry and Raphoe used leaves of an alphabetical bookseller's stock list and it is hard to believe that the binding was not executed for the bookseller whose stock is listed on them.

44 Canones et Decreta Sacrosancti, Rheims 1564 (Diocesan Library of Derry and Raphoe, A.III.a.12).

Unfortunately, the surviving leaves do not give any indication of the identity or location of the bookseller, but he clearly had an extensive stock of books, as the two leaves contain entries only beginning with the letters S and G (Fig. 8). The discovery in 1988 in the boards of a binding from the workshop belonging to the Cambridge bookseller Garret Godfrey⁴⁵ of leaves from his account book spanning the years 1527 to 1533 and subsequently published by Elisabeth Leedham-Green provide a unique glimpse into the financial activities of this important Cambridge bookseller.⁴⁶ It is clear that the redundant leaves of his daybook, with their cancelled entries, were simply handed on to the binder to make paste-boards, just as the correspondence from an unknown client of the Meissen bookbinder ›Meister Jörg‹ was used to make boards in his workshop.⁴⁷

These examples of waste from within the booktrade preserved in bindings are extremely rare, and most waste has no such connections, though it may, of course, be of interest in itself. It all, however, raises a very difficult question of priorities of interest, as much of it is invisible in well-preserved bindings. The examples given here have mostly been exposed by the release of adhesive after years of damp storage and often only recognised during conservation work, a process of discovery as accidental and unpredictable as the use of the waste in the first place. There are however many thousands of bindings of the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, when the use of both printed and manuscript waste for endleaves and board laminations was most prevalent, which remain in sound condition and which may or may not contain material of interest, but which at the moment can only be investigated at the expense of the binding. In the conflict of interest between the interested parties – palaeographers, printing and binding historians and historians of all other sorts – whose interest is to take precedence? It should always also be remembered that gaining access to the waste could possibly put the waste itself at risk.

A stark example of this problem was identified by Dr Nikolas Sarris during his PhD research into the tooled decoration of the bindings on the manuscript

45 Garrett (or Garratt) Godfrey, native of Graten in Limburg and active as a stationer, printer and bookbinder in Cambridge, 1503–1520 (died 1539). Appointed a University stationer in 1534 and University printer, see British Booktrade Index, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=27593> (accessed 29.1.2017).

46 Elisabeth Leedham-Green: *Garrett Godfrey's Accounts c. 1527–1533*, Cambridge 1992 (Bibliographical Society Monograph No. 12).

47 Falk Eisermann: ›Lieber Meister Jörg‹. Briefe an einen Meißener Buchbinder der Reformationszeit, in: Thomas Müntzer – Zeitgenossen – Nachwelt: Siegfried Bräuer zum 80. Geburtstag, ed. by Hartmut Kühne, Mühlhausen 2010 (Veröffentlichungen der Thomas-Müntzer-Gesellschaft, 14), pp. 143–162.

collection at St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai.⁴⁸ He noticed in one of the photographs taken during the survey of the books undertaken by the Ligatus Research Centre a small area of manuscript in Greek uncials, exposed by someone presumably searching for such fragments in the past, which his earlier work on the Codex Sinaiticus project at the British Library allowed him to recognise as part of a leaf from this important manuscript. The question now is to decide what to do with this fragment, as any attempt to lift it is fraught with difficulties. It could be argued that the group of eleven eighteenth-century bindings, of which this volume is one, is not of sufficient significance to outweigh the benefits of exposing both sides of this fragment of Ecclesiastes (the leaf immediately before the first of the previously known surviving leaves of the manuscript) from one of the most famous biblical manuscripts to have survived, but should we be lifting pastedowns on the off chance that other volumes in the group might also have used such leaves? And would the process of lifting them in fact damage the manuscript leaves? In this case, the leaf appears to be glued flesh-side downward on to the board of the book, and it is quite likely that the ink is now more firmly adhered to the board than to the leaf, and any attempt to lift it may well leave much, if not most, of the ink behind on the board. This cannot be regarded as acceptable, but this is a dilemma common to the preservation of much other cultural material, from paintings to entire buildings, that have been altered and adapted over the centuries. It can only be hoped that recent and continuing developments in x-ray and infra-red imaging techniques will allow such leaves not only to be discovered but actually read without having to remove them from their bindings, with all the damage both physical and historical that that involves. We have, I hope, escaped for ever the risk of such waste fragments being removed, more or less carefully, from their host bindings without any record being made of where they come from in pursuit of some collecting mania or, worse still, some bizarre departmental rivalry in which it is decided that manuscript fragments should be removed and placed in the manuscript department and the printed books left in the printed book department, without any regard for the loss of the historical as well as physical integrity of the books in which they can be found. Where this *has* been done without making any record of the books they came from and the fragments have then been dispersed, we lose the ability to know where the manuscripts were when they were dismembered (the bindings will often contain that

48 Nikolas Sarris: Classification of finishing tools in Greek bookbinding: Establishing links from the library of St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt, Ph.D., University of the Arts London, 2010.

information), just as we lose the connection between bindings which use fragments from the same manuscript in their construction if those fragments are removed. Bound books are highly complex objects in which each part plays a significant role in our understanding of its history and that of the wider trade in and use of books.⁴⁹

It was not, of course, just manuscript and printed leaves that were recycled by bookbinders. Components of older bindings were also recycled, such as the blind-tooled alum-tawed skin taken from the cover of what appears to be a late fifteenth-century binding which was cut into strips for use as split-strap sewing supports on a Strasburg edition of 1525,⁵⁰ whilst a larger piece of the blind-tooled tanned skin cover of a book of a similar age has been used as a cover on a stitched book printed in Antwerp in 1636 (Fig. 9).⁵¹ As many of the secondhand books from continental Europe that would have been sold to England through Antwerp would have had their bindings removed to escape paying the protectionist tax levied in 1533 under King Henry VIII on the importation of bound books, it may be that such material was easily to be found within the Antwerp booktrade. It is not uncommon to find discarded parchment covers of books subsequently rebound in boards and leather re-used of covers, with the sides of folio bindings being separated and used on smaller format books. This could happen also to the high quality red tanned goat-skin taken from a French binding on a folio edition, where the gold tooling was more or less effectively scrubbed out and one side at least then used on an octavo.⁵²

Book boards, especially wooden boards, were also likely to be re-used rather than discarded as books were repaired or rebound. This was certainly the case with some of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts from Exeter Cathedral that were repaired there later in the middle ages before their removal

49 Jennifer Murray, PhD student at the University of the Arts London, is currently devising a methodology that would allow fragments removed without a record of which book they came from to be reconnected with their original host volumes.

50 Franciscus Lambertus: In Amos, Abdiam, et Ionam Prophetas, Commentarij, Strasburg: Hervagius 1525 (Herzog August Bibliothek, H: C 202.8° Helmst. [1]).

51 Don Diego di Aedo y Gallart: *Le Voyage dv Prince Don Ferdinande Infant d'Espagne: Cardinal, depuis le douzieme d'Avril de l'an 1632. Qu'il partit de Madrit pour Barcelone avec le Roy Phillippe IV. son frere, jusques au jour de son entree en la ville de Bruxelles le quatrieme du mois Novembre de l'an 1634. Traduit de l'Espagnol de Don Diego de Aedo et Gallart, ... Par le Sr. Iule Chifflet ...*, Antwerp: chez Iean Cnobbaert 1635 (The National Trust, Kingston Lacy, A.7.28).

52 Joseph Justus Scaliger: *Opuscula varia antehac non edita*, Paris: Hadrianus Beys 1610 (The National Trust, Wimpole Hall).

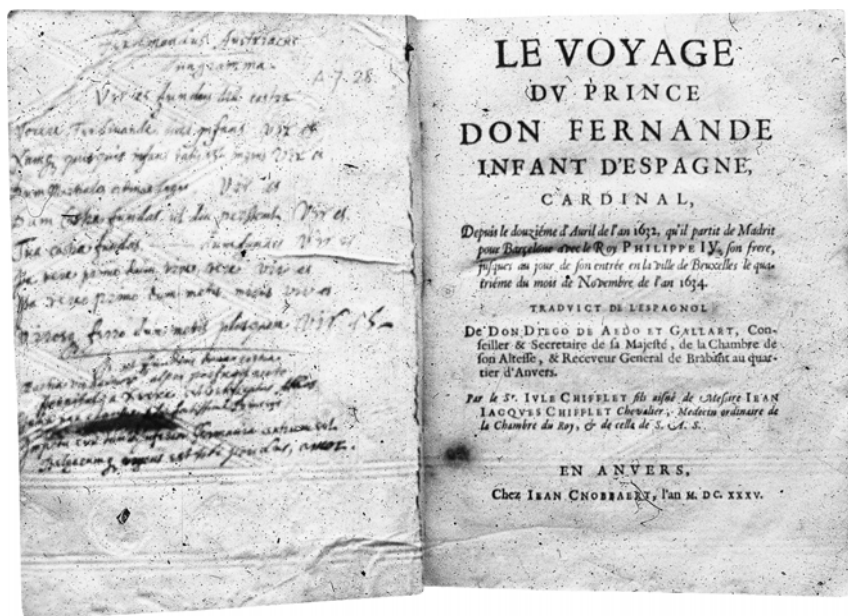


Fig. 9: The inside of the left side of the leather cover of Don Diego di Aedo y Gallart: *Le Voyage du Prince Don Ferdinando Infant d'Espagne*, Antwerp 1635, showing the impressions of blind tooling on the cover from another, much earlier binding, by permission of the National Trust

to the Bodleian Library.⁵³ The economical instincts of the binders who did this work is shown by the way in which they reversed the boards fore-edge to spine to present to the spine a clean edge without existing holes in order to lace-in the slips of the new sewing supports. This practice has, quite unintentionally, preserved the only Anglo-Saxon book boards (always excepting the boards of the binding on the St Cuthbert Gospel) to have survived. The triangular lacing paths are clearly visible in the x-rays⁵⁴ taken for Graham Pollard when he first drew attention to this phenomenon, which show that

⁵³ Graham Pollard: Some Anglo-Saxon bookbindings, in: *The Book Collector* 24/1, 1975, pp.130-159. Pollard's account was augmented and corrected in: Christopher Clarkson: Further studies in Anglo-Saxon and Norman bookbinding: Board attachment methods re-examined, in: Roger Powell: *The compleat binder, Liber Amicorum, Bibliologia* 14: *Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia*, ed. by John L. Sharpe, Turnhout 1996, pp. 154-239.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Pollard (fn. 53), fig 26, showing the X-ray of his binding VI (MS Bodl. 97).

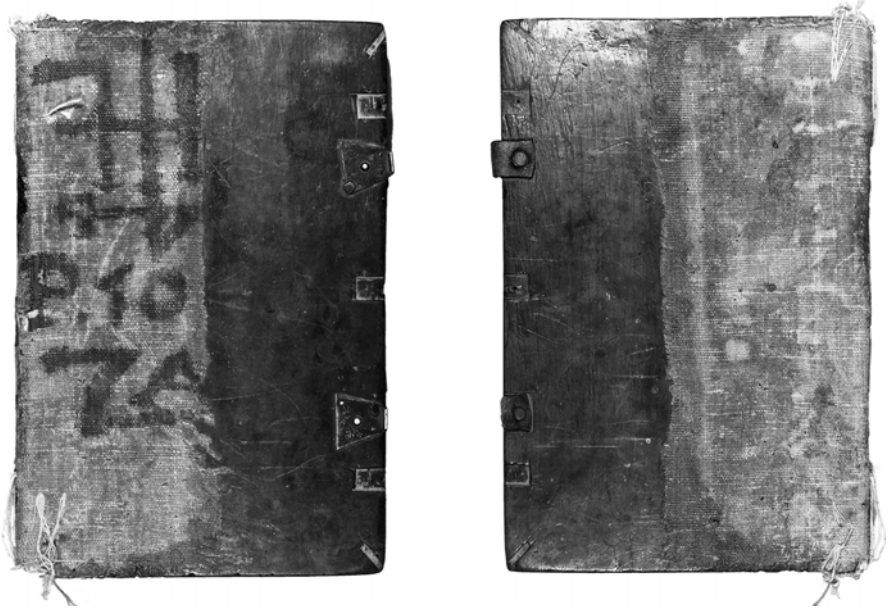


Fig. 10: The outer sides of the re-used left and right beechwood boards of the binding on a copy of Hesychius Alexandrinus: *Dictionarium*, Venice 1514, by permission of the Holy Synaxis of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai

in places the boards still retain the twisted cord supports of the Anglo Saxon structures, without which we would never have known that the first binders of these books did not use animal skin for sewing supports, as was typical of later medieval bindings.

The practice of re-using wooden boards continued through the middle ages and beyond. An Aldine edition of 1514⁵⁵ was repaired in St Catherine's monastery, where wood was certainly in short supply and never discarded, with early Italian boards, possibly from the book's first binding, which have been reversed, exposing the horizontal external channels for the sewing-support slips and the angled endband-slip channels at head and tail from the spine edge now on the fore-edge of each board (Fig. 10). The raised-lip catchplates of a very typical Italian pattern of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were presumably moved from the original fore-edge (now hidden) to the new fore-edge at the time of the re-use of the boards. The binder also gave the

55 Hesychius Alexandrinus: *Dictionarium*, Venice: Aldus Manutius 1514 (Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai).

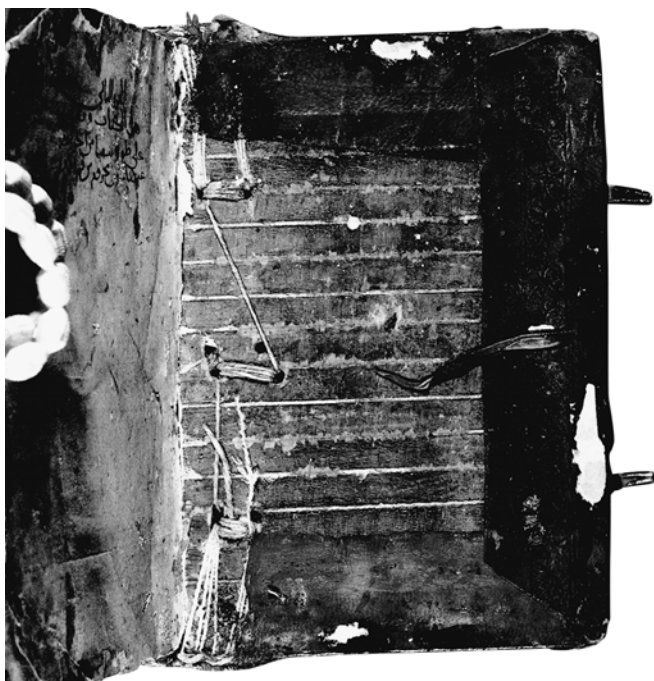


Fig. 11: The interior of the right board of MS Arabica 392, showing the remains of thin cords from its use as a ›mastara‹. The edge pins, typically found in the edge of the left (front) board of Greek manuscripts, have been placed in the right board, so as to be at the beginning of the Arabic text. The inner end of a leather board strap marker can also be found coming through the fore-edge turn-in, by permission of the Holy Synaxis of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai

book an overall lining in the Greek manner made from a piece of linen canvas with what appears to be a European merchant's mark on it, a remnant almost certainly of the packaging of goods shipped to the monastery. St Catherine's monastery is in fact a treasure house of recycling, no doubt on account of its desert location and the consequent scarcity of materials. It is almost certainly for this reason that one binding preserves as its left board a medieval ›mastara‹, a tool originally used in the Middle East to impress a grid of lines created by thin cords stretched between holes drilled in the board into the leaves of paper or parchment in preparation for writing on them (Fig. 11).⁵⁶ This is

⁵⁶ The ›mastara‹ was used as the right board of MS Arabica 392 (Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai).

one of the earliest known to have survived and, if the binding was made in the monastery, preserves tangible evidence of the presence of a scriptorium there. If so, it should be possible to find one or more manuscripts where the leaves were ruled with this board.

Within the context of St Catherine's Monastery, the recycling of material gives evidence of books and bindings that have since been lost, as two leather ›boards‹ used in the repair of an edition of Alexander of Aphrodisias's commentaries on Aristotle of 1520 show.⁵⁷ Each board is one side of a leather cover taken from two different German bindings, neither of which belongs to the book on which it is now found. There is certainly no longer a copy of a folio edition Epiphanius in Greek in the monastery that fits the cover used on the left side of the repaired binding (it is used reversed from its original orientation with the tooling against the bookblock, see Fig. 12), and the other board on the right side clearly comes from yet another binding, probably also now lost except for this fragment.

The re-use of wooden boards continued well into the early modern period, and a copy in the parish library in the church of Hatfield Broad Oak in Essex of the Erasmus *Paraphrases* (a text ordered to be placed in every church in England in the reign of Edward VI)⁵⁸ has late-medieval oak boards that had been used twice before being used on this book. The binding is covered in blind-tooled tanned calf with crudely-made metal fittings and may well have been made locally. Even seventeenth-century paper boards could be recycled, together with their leather covers still on them. This might be the result of an extensive repair program, as happened to the books at Hatfield House in the eighteenth century, when many earlier books were refurbished (or repaired) by having their edges trimmed and redecorated and their covers replaced over their original boards, which were also cut down in size to match the reduced size of their bookblocks.⁵⁹ Alternatively, and more typically, the re-use of a

57 The title-page is missing, but the edition would appear to be: Alexander of Aphrodisias: *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis, in priora analytica Aristotelis, commentaria*, Venice, in the house of Aldus and Andrea Torresani [de Asola] 1520 (Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, 2580/1866).

58 Desiderius Erasmus: *The first tome or volume of the Paraphrases of Erasmus vpon the newe testamente*, London: by Edward Whitchurche 1551 (Hatfield Broad Oak Parish Library).

59 For example, the Hatfield House copy of: Jacques Androuet du Cerceau: *Le Premiere Volume des plus excellents Bastiments de France*, Paris 1607, the decoration of the brown, tanned calf cover of which, with a tooled panel with cornerpieces, can still be made out under the later covering. The slips of the original double raised sewing supports of alum-tawed skin remain laced into the boards.



Fig. 12: The inner surface of the left board taken from the left side of an edition with the title *EPIPHANIVS GRAECE* on a copy of a sixteenth-century edition of Alexander of Aphrodisias's commentaries on Aristotle, by permission of the Holy Synaxis

board might be a one-off, as in the pair of late seventeenth-century boards covered in dark brown tanned calf from an English binding used on a York edition of 1795.⁶⁰ The new binding has recessed supports, the slips of which are laced through the seventeenth-century leather on the boards, and a half cover of tanned calf with trough-marbled paper on the sides and parchment tips. An even greater disparity of date can be found in the binding covered in half tanned calf with a pink surface-coloured paper on the sides on a copy of a Paris edition of 1802/3 (plate II, p. 469),⁶¹ which uses about two-thirds of an early seventeenth-century Flemish board covered in dark-brown tanned

⁶⁰ Joseph Halfpenny: *Gothic Ornament in the Cathedral Church of York* drawn and etched by Joseph Halfpenny, York 1795 (Croxdale Hall, County Durham).

⁶¹ *Bulletin des Lois de la Republique Française*, 3^e Série. Tome Septième, Tot Parys 1802/3 (private collection, United Kingdom). The text is bilingual in French and Flemish, but binding is certainly Flemish, as evidenced by the sewn-endleaf board attachment, which is a typically Flemish technique not used in France.

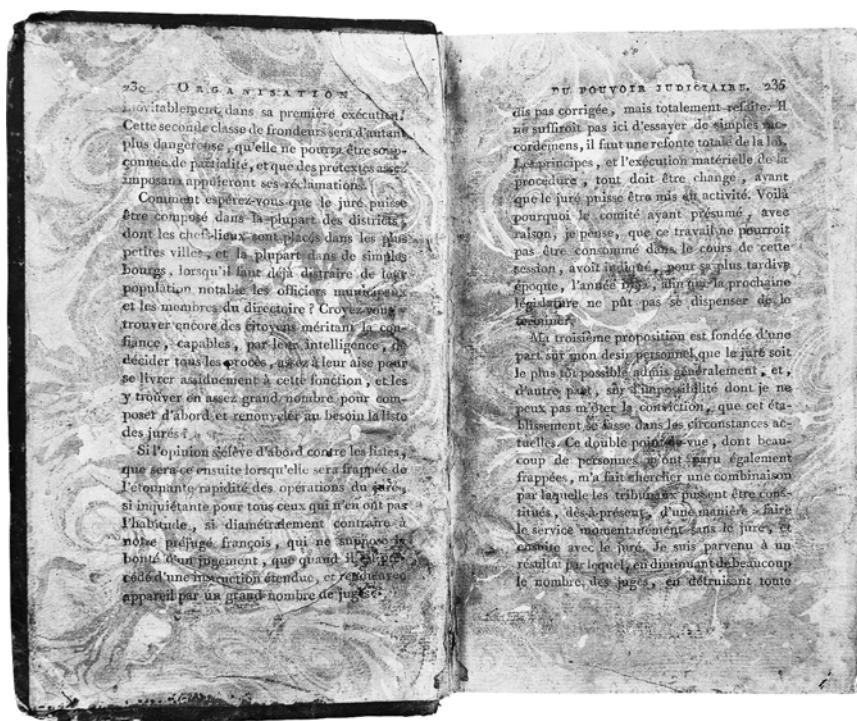


Fig. 13: The left endleaves of trough-marbled printed waste on a copy of Jean Baptiste Ladvocat: *Dictionnaire géographique portatif ... traduit de l'anglais sur la 13^e édition de Laurent Echard par le citoyen Vosgien, ... Nouvelle édition ... avec la nouvelle division de la France, la géographie ancienne et une explication des termes de marine ... par le citoyen Leclerc*, Paris 1790, private collection, United Kingdom

calf with blind- and gold-tooled decoration for only one of its two boards (the other board was taken from a binding covered in untooled, dark-brown, tanned sheepskin).

Cheaper marbled papers were often made using printed waste, though there is a tendency for the printed texts to appear more strongly through the marbling colours over the years than when they were first made. This can be seen in the binding on a copy of the *Dictionnaire portatif* of 1790,⁶² which uses paper marbled onto sheets of an edition with the running title 'Organi-

62 Jean Baptiste Ladvocat: *Dictionnaire géographique portatif ... traduit de l'anglais sur la 13^e édition de Laurent Echard par le citoyen Vosgien, ... Nouvelle édition ... avec la nouvelle division de la France, la géographie ancienne et une explication des*

sation du pouvoir judiciaire' (Fig. 13).⁶³ Here the problem is merely aesthetic, exposing the economical work of the paper-decorator and binder more and more obviously, but there is one notorious example in which the text under the marbling is a banned copy of John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, more often known now as *Fanny Hill*. The surreptitious printing of this book in the early nineteenth century, probably in Boston, was stopped after no more than a sheet or two had been printed and these sheets, rather than be destroyed, were then handed over to be marbled and were used all over New England, often on books of a rather devout nature out of which Cleland's decidedly irreligious text is now emerging.⁶⁴

Mostly such waste is rather more innocent, and may well be commercial jobbing printing rather than taken from books. An example of this phenomenon is found in the labels printed for packets of tea sold by a Glasgow tea and coffee merchant that were used to make marbled paper in the early nineteenth century. Although the marbling still obscures some of the text, it can be reconstructed by looking at the different covers on the six volumes of the edition on which it has been used (Fig. 14a and b).⁶⁵ It would not be surprising if these labels have survived only in this re-used form. Whether the use of waste from a Glasgow tea merchant indicates that these bindings were made in Glasgow is an open question, as printed paper may well have been sold as waste and end up far from its place of origin. The use of parchment for a Treasury warrant authorizing the payment of monies by the Bank of England under terms set out by the Inclosure Commission for land drainage⁶⁶ has certainly provided an unexpected covering material for a French binder by the name of Cordonnier (it is signed with an inked stamp in the centre of the left pastedown) to use on a binding on a school textbook of 1854 (Fig. 15).⁶⁷

termes de marine ... par le citoyen Leclerc, Paris 1790 (private collection, United Kingdom).

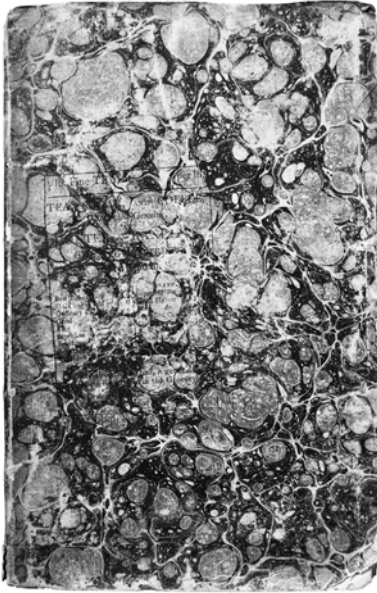
63 The BNP lists 43 editions printed before 1790 which incorporate this running title in their full titles.

64 Richard J. Wolfe: *Marbled Paper: Its History, Techniques, and Patterns with Special Reference to the Relationship of Marbling to Bookbinding in Europe and the Western World*, Philadelphia 1990, pp. 93-98.

65 Carolus Sardagna: *Theologia Dogmatico-Polemica qua adversus veteres navasque hæreses ex scripturis, patribus, atque ecclesiastica historia, Catholica Veritas propugnatur*, 6 vols, York 1818. The trough-marbled paper on Volume VI uses printed waste from a book (private collection, United Kingdom).

66 I am grateful to David Chilton for identifying this document.

67 *Cours d'Histoire contenant L'Histoire Sainte divisée en huit époques: L'Histoire de France et quelques notions sur les anciens et les nouveaux peuples* Par F.P. B. ... seizième édition, Tours and Paris 1854 (private collection, United Kingdom). This



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Fig. 14: A detail of the printed text under the marbling colours on the right side of volume IV of Carolus Sardagna: *Theologia Dogmatico-Polemica*, 6 vols, York 1818, private collection, United Kingdom (left). A reconstruction of the printed text (right)

Dated 1850, the document appears to be a standard form to enable payment to be made to the owners of recently enclosed land for the purposes of drainage. Such forms must have been printed in large numbers and those left over would have been sold as waste, but how this one, and presumably others, got to France is another matter.

The use of leaves from medieval manuscripts as covers and endleaves as well as for spine linings, sewing supports, endbands cores, tie and tackets is so widespread and so well-known that an account of it is beyond the scope of this paper. It might however be suggested that rather than being critical

copy has the three-hole and tucked-under board lacing typical of the majority of French bindings made for general use rather than the one-hole and knotted lacing found on most French school books of this period, which can be seen clearly in a digitised copy of the 1858 edition of this work, which has a quarter spine of new parchment and decorated paper on the sides (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9691555r/f1.image>). This suggests that this binding is not the work of either of the publishers, but perhaps of a retail bookseller wherever the appropriately named M. Cordonnier had his workshop.

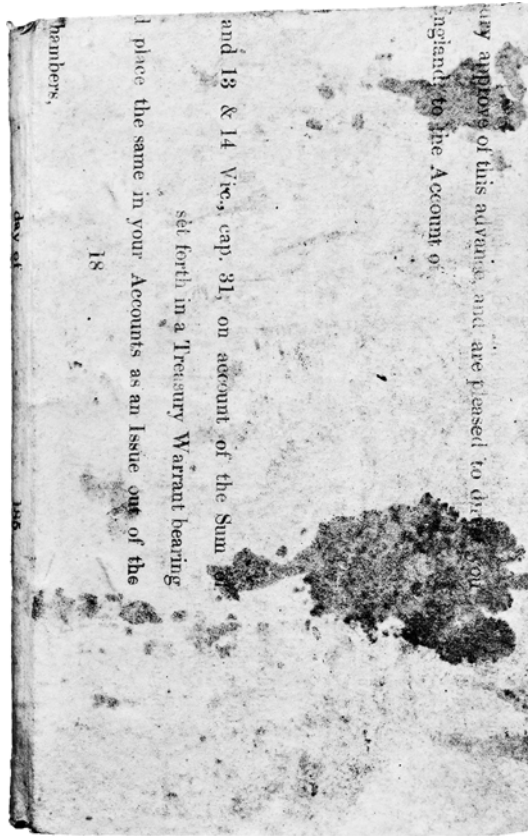


Fig. 15: The left side of the cover, taken from an English Treasury warrant printed on parchment, of the binding on a copy of *Cours d'Histoire contenant L'Histoire Sainte divisée en huit époques: L'Histoire de France et quelques notions sur les anciens et les nouveaux peuples. Par F. P. B. ... seizième édition*, Tours and Paris 1854, private collection, United Kingdom

of bookbinders for the destruction of so many medieval manuscripts (the responsibility might perhaps be more appropriately laid at the doors of those who discarded them from their libraries in the first place), we should perhaps be grateful to them for preserving leaves of manuscripts that might otherwise have been entirely lost to us. When, as was a common practice, especially, it seems, in Germany, binders used entire bifolia which resulted in placing the blank inner margins on the spines of the covers made from them, which would have allowed the owner of the book to write a title on clean parchment, they have often preserved the bifolia right out to their original outer edges

and have therefore retained marginal ruling and pricking. This is often not the case with manuscripts that have been rebound over the years and have had their edges trimmed. The surviving spine folds on the manuscript leaves used by bookbinders, often reveal the thread marks of only one sewing, showing that the manuscripts were often still in their first bindings when taken apart.

Very occasionally, a binder would place the parchment leaf in such a way that any decoration on it would end up on the left (or front) cover, to be shown off to good decorative effect. The person, not I think a conventionally-trained binder, who arranged the cover of a small-format Lyon edition of 1577⁶⁸ in order to place the large and colourful illuminated initial on its front cover, even though upside down, did so by keeping the greater part of a leaf from an eleventh-century north Italian manuscript⁶⁹ intact by folding it in around the edges before attaching it to the sewing supports of the book-block with somewhat amateur-looking secondary tackets of thread (plate III, p. 470). It is undoubtedly worn and damaged, but it has at least survived. The contents of the book (popular songs) and the poor quality and unusual nature of the cover folding and attachment both suggest its construction within a secular milieu, which raises the question of how the 'binder' obtained the manuscript leaf and therefore of the availability of such leaves to non-professionals.

Much more remarkable is the use of two illuminated leaves from a previously unknown gospel lectionary written in about 860 in the scriptorium of Charles the Bald in an edition of Calvin printed in 1565,⁷⁰ where the binder quite consciously, and rather cleverly, so arranged the leaves as to preserve the magnificent painted pages as the decoration of the binding. How and why

68 The volume contains four works: *Recueil de plusieurs chansons, tant musicales que rurales, anciennes et modernes*; *Augm. des chansons nouvelles qu'on chante à present*, Lyon: Rosne 1567, *Gelodacrye amoureuse*; *Cont. plus Aubades, Chansons, Gaillardes, Pauanes, Branles, Sonnets, Stanses, Madrigales, Chapitres, Odes*, Lyon: Benoist Rigaud 1576, *Le Parangon des Chansons Nouvelles*, Lyon: Benoist Rigaud 1577 and *Petit Recveil de chansons novvelles: Tant de l'amour, que de la guerre, cont. la pluspart les heurieuses victoires obtenues en Auuergne & ailleurs*, Lyon 1577 (Herzog August Bibliothek, A: 206.3 [1-4] Poet.).

69 I am grateful to Michelle Brown for identifying where this leaf was written.

70 A leaf from a Gospel Lectionary of ca. 860 used as the cover on the left side of the binding on a copy of Jean Calvin: *In viginti prima Ezechielis Prohpetæ capita Prælectiones*, Ioannis Budæi & Caroli Ionuillæi labore & industria exceptæ. Cum Præfatione Theodori Bezæ ad generosiss. Gasparem à Colignio Galliæ Amiralium. Additi sunt Indices duo copiosissimi, prior verborum ac sententiarum, posterior locorum qui citantur, Geneva: Ex officina Francisci Perrini 1565 (University of Amsterdam Bijzondere Collecties, 1.E.22).

this book, which was both printed and bound in Geneva, came to be covered in the leaves and who owned them prior to their being used in this way, is not known, though the earliest recorded, and probably first, owner of the book, Germain Colladon, who lived in Geneva, is known to have owned other early manuscripts, and may have had these leaves also in his library.⁷¹ Whatever the source of the leaves, it is an exceptionally rare example of a binder making careful and intentional use of the decoration of manuscript leaves to decorate a binding and in so doing, quite consciously preserving them for future enjoyment.

There is virtually no part of a binding in which a binder seeking to save money cannot recycle materials from an earlier use, and the frequency with which they did so bears witness to the financial pressures under which they often worked. They used such materials in conspicuous positions on their bindings even well into the nineteenth century, and, when hidden as board or spine linings, well into the twentieth century. In doing so they quite unconsciously preserved fragments of many different sorts of materials that might otherwise not have survived, and which occasionally may have a value today far outweighing that of the editions they are found on.

71 Rosamond McKitterick and Nicholas Pickwoad: A Carolingian manuscript fragment from the ninth century in Amsterdam University Library, used as the binding for ›Band I E 22‹, in: *Quaerendo* 43 (2013), 3, pp. 185-213. See also Erik de Boer: The provenance of a book by Jean Calvin, bound in a Carolingian manuscript fragment in Amsterdam University Library (Band I E 22), in: *Quaerendo* 44 (2014), 3, pp. 186-199.