3 The Structure of Documents

FREDSON Bowers's most enduring book is the *Principles of Bibliographical Description*,[1] in which he consolidated his ideas and reputation for analytical and descriptive bibliography. Following Greg, who argued that editorial practices had to be technically precise in their methods,[2] Bowers made the exact description of documents a prerequisite for the analysis of all textual materials, and he was particularly acute at mapping patterns and discontinuities in printed books that were of significance. His methods received their most extended development in Hinman's monumental *The Printing and Proofreading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*.[3] Yet the intensity of this gaze on individual texts obscured those more complex associations of concurrent work that McKenzie illuminated in 'Printers of the Mind'.[4] That response is sometimes misunderstood as a refutation of analytical and descriptive bibliography. It is not. McKenzie insisted that the complexity of books was a function of the trade and the methods of manufacture were far more flexible than then prevalent theories allowed. His caveat against analytical bibliography was that, whilst it could establish certain facts about the production of a book, those facts could not be stretched to make generalizations about the organization of output, edition runs, or the work of individuals; and further, he insisted that physical evidence needed to be understood alongside related archival information, and be inclusive of all materials.

Analytical bibliography maps the recurrences and differences in the making of books and manuscripts to localize specific events in the production process. Descriptive bibliography records the structure, format, and physical characteristics (including the script or type) of books and manuscripts in order that each specific state of a document can be identified, and related items distinguished from, or connected to one another: thus, descriptive bibliography informs both cataloguing practices, and textual scholarship. In principle, the format, structure,

[1] F. T. Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, NJ, 1949). In the same year Bowers founded *Studies in Bibliography*. For two very different assessments of Bowers, see: G. T. Tanselle, 'The Life of Fredson Thayer Bowers', *Studies in Bibliography*, 46 (1993), 1–154; and, H. Amory, 'Review: *The Life and Work of Fredson Bowers*', *TEXT*, 9 (1996), 466–74. Tanselle discusses the *Principles* on pp.40–8.
[2] Greg, 'Bibliography—An Apologia', 239–66.
[3] C. Hinman, *The Printing and Proofreading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1963).
[4] McKenzie's article, based on his exhaustive study of the early Cambridge University Press accounts, was originally published by Bowers: McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind'.

and binding of manuscripts and printed books (that is, the way in which sheets of paper were folded, collected, modified with insertions or removals, and bound together) is common to both. The study of these physical characteristics enables an understanding of how these items were produced, as well as a comparative analysis of materials, so that the extent to which any book or manuscript varies from established conventions of textual representation can be analyzed.

In recent times, the shift in bibliographical scholarship towards a study of the uses of the book and the history of reading practices has moved the focus away from the primary skills of material analysis and description. As a consequence, narratives about the history of the book sometimes fail to notice the way in which the structure of a document communicates meaning. Books and manuscripts reveal through the aesthetics of their page design, form, and function, preconceptions about their use, including the extent to which they were conceived of as being privately kept, or socially exchanged and circulated texts (hence a manuscript that was prepared for a patron or employer might differ from the smaller, less formal volumes kept as diaries, commonplace books, miscellanies, and as journals for recipes). Practical decisions about format, size, and binding are primary considerations that define the shape and physical appearance of the book. For this reason, matters of presentation should not be regarded as 'incidental' to a document, but as fundamental to the history of the book: form affects meaning.[5]

This chapter is concerned with the format and structure of books and manuscripts (that is with the decisions that were made about their material characteristics before they became text-bearing artefacts). In many instances, those decisions will have been made with an awareness of what was to be reproduced and the length of the text that needed to be accommodated, together with the type to be used, or script employed. These issues have to be resolved first as they determine how much paper is required, how it is to be folded, and so bound. If a manuscript is an original where the details of length and format were not yet known, then it was common for it to be written in folio (i.e. the paper was folded once) so that extra sheets or quires of paper could be added at the end. This practice was also usual for correspondence.

By studying the structure of a document, it is possible to understand the primary technical and economic considerations that went into its making, the language of its presentation, the reasons why decisions were made, and the relationship of the item with other documents. It is important to put this structural and contextual analysis before the study

[5] McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning', 198–236; *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 4.

of the precedence, alteration, and correction of a work since textual analysis tends to separate one document from another owing to its concern with error and difference. Further, a concern with the text tends to obscure other signs that may be of cultural and historical value in understanding what a particular copy represents. Thus, some contemporary bindings give expression to political or social obligation and intent. In other instances, the extent to which printed books were manuscripts (the content of which did not always relate to the 'text'), owing to their marginalia and other annotations, is still inconsistently treated by scholars and repositories, who since the early seventeenth-century have privileged print over the written word.[6]

If the structure of a document is part of its bibliographical language, then the art is to read the complexity of books and manuscripts in their modes of production and use. To do so requires a grasp of descriptive techniques. At first sight, the *Principles of Bibliographical Description* fulfils this need. It details the concepts, formulae, and processes involved in describing books, including how to determine and record variant states, issues, editions, and reimpositions of type, together with the size and format of the sheet, and the order of the signatures. It is, in its way, a work of acute technical virtuosity that is focused on printed books, particularly literary texts. As with McKerrow, Bowers did not discuss how to apply these methods to manuscripts or inscriptions, and he only lightly touched on maps and plates, ignoring volvelles (rotating paper wheels pinned with a rivet through the page in books of mathematics, navigation, and astronomy) and similar attachments. The method fused the formula for collating texts according to their signatures with the more general practices found in the catalogues of the better booksellers. The result was both more limiting, as well as less comprehensive, than Bowers envisaged, whilst being over-elaborate as a practical technique for distinguishing most printed texts from one another.

The reason it is instructive to understand the format of documents is because structure shapes reading practices.[7] An octavo or duo-decimo is a pocketbook: it can be carried and read casually. A folio weighing 2 kg or more is less likely to be portable, and was generally read at a desk, lectern, or some similar space. The ease of use with the octavo and smaller sizes, as well as the fact that such books were rarely more than 30 sheets in length (with most under a dozen sheets), meant that runs for pocketbooks were, as a sweeping generalization, likely to be

[6] McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, 12–17. See also, R. C. Alston, *Books with Manuscript: A short Title Catalogue of Books with Manuscript Notes in the British Library* (London, 1994).
[7] McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning', 223–8.

higher than for folios, where the extra costs of composition and paper meant that the returns on a first edition were carefully calculated and the potential for loss minimized. The same sense of scale and proportion in relation to reading practices is true of manuscripts. Yet the issues are not only those of cost, portability, and (if published) copy-runs, but the intimacy of the reading space. Smaller volumes are often found in conjunction with smaller scripts and type sizes. At the most extreme reduction of format, texts of this kind are inherently unreadable in any sustained manner: the tiny psalm-books (32mo and smaller) set in brevier and pearl served more as *aide-memoires* than reading texts, reflecting the oral and memorial habits of repetition and ritual, as well as tokens of cultural and religious identification.

Bowers did not discuss why books have the format, structure, or binding they do, and what this might communicate about their purpose and use. These matters, he felt, were critical issues. Rather he claimed that descriptive bibliography 'may be described as "pure" scholarship'. Against this, one might place the practical insight of Hugh Williamson:

> Aesthetic factors in book production are difficult to pin down for examination and description. Efficiency in the presentation of its contents, economy in manufacture, and durability in use and store are the prime physical virtues of a book, but to attract and please is as important for the book as for an orator. Taste as well as reason must attend the choice of format.[8]

In retrospect, it is possible to see that Bowers (owing to his desire to trace agency and responsibility for every textual act) isolated one class of material within a methodology that ought to have encompassed the full variety of evidence, just as his analytical work isolated individual literary documents from the concurrent complexities of their making. With that caveat made, the guidelines that were first outlined by Greg,[9] and developed by Bowers, retain their usefulness as the most concise means of describing any particular artefact, including (with a little adaptation) manuscript, and its relationship to other materials.

Precision in the description of books and manuscripts is a necessary skill as it is the means by which the bibliographer records and controls information, including copy-specific details where multiple examples survive. This is as true for works of law, history, geography, science, mathematics, music, and theology, as for commonplace books, charts,

[8] Bowers, *Principles*, 3; H. Williamson, *Methods of Book Design: The Practice of an Industrial Craft*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1966), 24.
[9] Greg, 'A Formulary of Collation', *Collected Papers*, 298–313.

broadsides, pamphlets, and ephemera, as well as literature. The starting point is the way in which a sheet of paper has been folded because the sheet is the primary unit of documentary organization. What needs to be remembered about format and structure is that the decisions that gave rise to any particular document were normally made in relation to other texts, and their format and structure, as well as the item in hand.

Format

If the principles of structural description are simple, the permutations can be quite complex. In what follows, it should be assumed that we are dealing with sheets of paper: the size and details do not particularly matter—those issues were addressed in the previous chapter and, for practical purposes, a sheet of A3 will substitute for a trimmed sheet of pot; nor is it significant whether the sheets are blank, a manuscript, or a printed text. The primary concern is the relationship between the parts that make up a document, together with the removal and addition of leaves, and how one goes about describing these characteristics.

Take a sheet of A3 paper. If this were not folded, and printed on one side only, it would be known as a broadside. This format was chosen for texts that could be pasted up on a post or a wall: proclamations, ballads, playbills, and their ilk.[10] Next, fold the sheet of paper once. The paper now has two leaves with inner and outer pages, four in all. This format is known as folio. In order to get eight pages we could do one of three things. We could fold another sheet and place it in sequence, we could fold another sheet and place, or quire, it within the first (a folio in fours), or we could fold the sheet of paper again as a quarto, giving half the page area but twice the number of leaves. With a quarto, pages 2–3 and 6–7 will be on the one side of the paper, and pages 1, 4–5, and 8 on the other. In a printed book, these are the inner and outer formes.

If we now wanted to create a document with 16 pages, the number of options more than doubles: we could have four separate folio sheets, or four sheets quired as a single gathering. There could be two quires with two folio sheets in each; a quire of three folio sheets (a folio in six) with a singleton before or after; two quarto sheets in sequence; two quarto sheets one inside the other (a quarto in eights); or the paper could be folded for a third time as an octavo. With an octavo, pages 2–3, 6–7, 10–11, and 14–15 are on one side of the sheet, pages 1, 4–5,

[10] See, for instance: T. Stern, '"On Each Wall and Corner Post": Playbills, Title-pages and Advertising in Early Modern London', *English Literary Renaissance*, 36 (2006), 57–89; T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991).

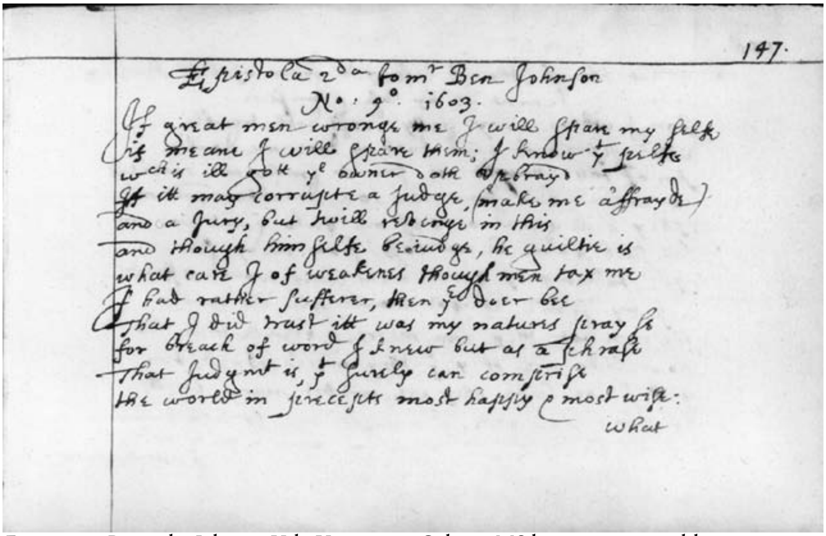
8–9, 12–13 and 16 are on the other. Folio, quarto, and octavo are the most common formats found in early printed books and manuscripts.

It is possible to keep folding the paper and smaller formats do exist. These are most often associated with psalm-books and pocketbooks of devotional piety. If an octavo is folded again it becomes a decimo-sexto. The problem with decimo-sexto and the smaller formats (32mo, 64mo, 128mo) is that they could not be easily stitched through the middle. In order to achieve the small page area, but not have a problem in the binding, the paper was cut in half or quartered to produce a decimo-sexto or 32mo in eights. With folio and octavo books, the chainlines are vertical on the page and the wirelines horizontal. With quarto and decimo-sexto, the chainlines are horizontal, and the wirelines vertical.

The other important format is the duo-decimo of 12 leaves. This may be either a single sheet folded uncut, or one cut and then folded in two sections: for this reason, mistakes in the gathering and binding of this format are not unknown. The most usual method of folding a duo-decimo was to cut the right third from the rest of the sheet, set with pages 12, 13, 16, and 9 on one side, and 10, 15, 14, and 11 on the other; then the left two-thirds that contains pages 1–8 and 17–24 was folded as a typical octavo, and the right third was folded twice and placed inside.[11] The resulting page is tall and narrow and thus ideal for rapid reading (like a newspaper column). A further consequence is that whereas quarto and octavo books have the occasional half-sheet, duo-decimos tend to have eights and fours.[12] It is possible to fold the sheet uncut like a 'z', or to turn the left side inwards, and fold the right side over the top. It is also possible to have very narrow long pages. These are unusual methods for a book in this format. With the common format of duo-decimo, the chainlines are horizontal and the wirelines vertical. If the format is a long duo-decimo then the chainlines would be vertical and the wirelines horizontal, with the mark on the top edge.

Generally, a sheet of pot will yield a trimmed folio of c.290 × 190 mm, a quarto of c.190 × 140 mm, an octavo of c.140 × 95 mm, and a duo-decimo of c.145 × 65 mm. Yet sometimes with manuscripts, music, or illustrated books, variations upon the standard practices occur. The most common difference is for the paper to be bound as an oblong: thus, there are a number of music part-books arranged as oblong quartos, whilst oblong octavos were sometimes used for verse miscellanies (figure 3.1).[13]

[11] Or, it is placed following (i.e. B^8 C^4): e.g. R. Thorius, *Hymnus Tabaci* (STC 24033; 1626).
[12] A full series of format diagrams can be found in Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 87–107.
[13] For instance, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Tenbury 1018; and Beinecke Library, Yale University, Osborn MS b114.


147.

Epistola 2da fo mr Ben Johnson

No: 9o. 1603.

If great men wronge me I will spare my selfe
If meane I will spare them; I know that selfe
wch is ill gott ye owner doth upbrayd
If itt may corrupte a judge, (make me afrayde)
and a Jury, but twill revenge in this
and though himselfe be judge, he guiltie is
what care I of weaknes though men tax me
I had rather sufferer, then ye doer be
that I did trust itt was my natures stray
for breack of word I knew but as a schrafe
That judgmt is, that surely can comprise
the world in precepts most happy & most wise:
what

Figure 3.1 Beinecke Library, Yale University, Osborn MS b114, p.147, an oblong octavo.

Another unusual example of a non-standard format is the diary of Archbishop Laud, which consists of three sheets of royal folded as a long decimo-sexto, making it very long and thin.[14] It is a volume in which Laud kept intensely private records, from irrational fears and court gossip to his dreams of failed communions.[15] One of the immediately striking things about this format is the way in which it departs from convention. Whether private or public, choices about format depended on the text being prepared and its length; the purposes to which the volume would be put and so its size; and the social profile of those involved in its creation and use.

Understanding format is necessary because the sheet is the unit with which all scribes, compositors, and pressmen worked. In relation to this, they had to calculate the size of the page, how many sheets might be involved in preparing the copy of a text, and how many copies might be required. From that they could calculate how much paper would be necessary for the job to be completed, and from that they could begin to estimate cost. Measuring the page, counting the number of leaves in each gathering, and multiplying the sums out to establish the size of the sheet may often lead to a predictable result, but it reinforces the sense of the book as a physical object and on occasion it yields answers that are

[14] St John's College, Oxford, MS 258. The diary thus measures 20 × 8 cm, not 16 × 10 cm.

[15] M. B. Bland, '"Invisible Dangers": Censorship and the Subversion of Authority in Early Modern England', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 90 (1996), 190–3.

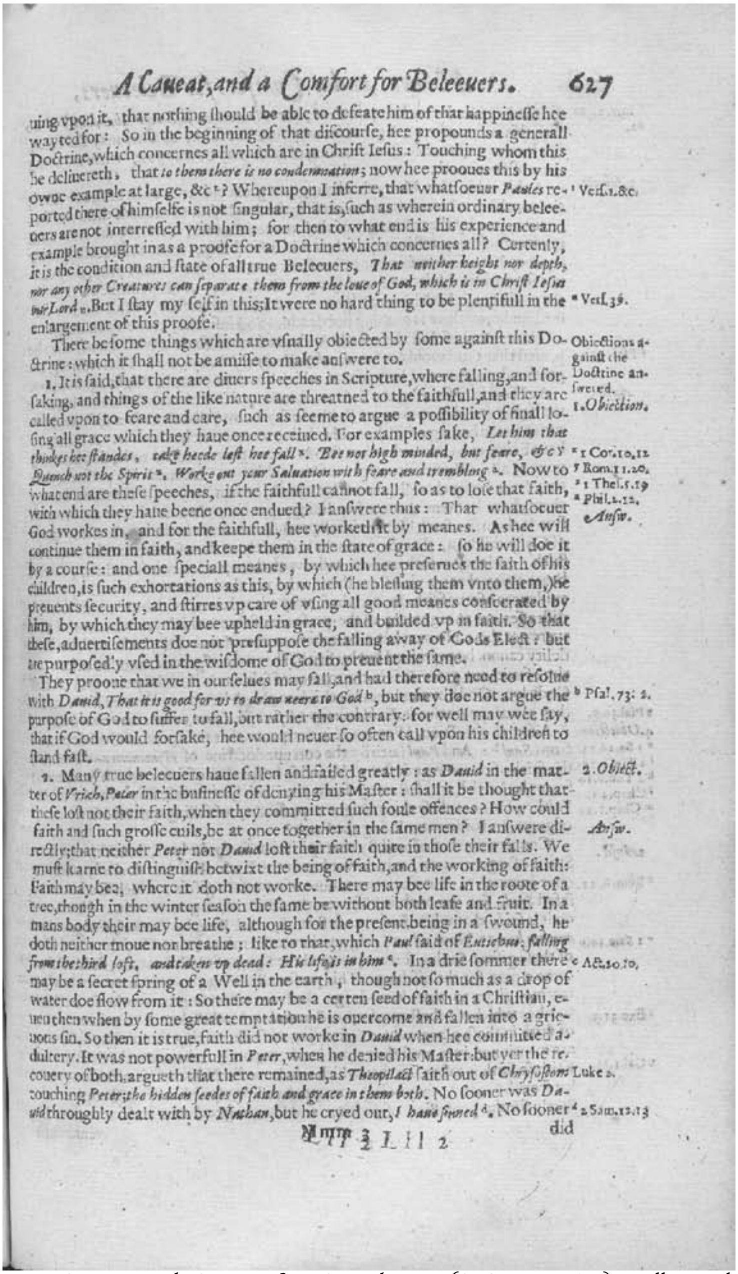
not expected. The Herbert manuscript of *Biathanatos*, for instance, was prepared as a folio with extra wide margins to be cut down, not as the quarto it would seem to be at first glance from its size and shape.[16]

Pagination and Signatures, Rectos and Versos

With printed books, the organization of the sheets to be gathered was usually alphabetical, although asterisks, hands, paragraph marks (¶), daggers (†), and other signs might be employed for preliminaries. Once the alphabet was exhausted it was repeated again in duplicate (Aa), then triplicate (Aaa), and so on.[17] In principle, the sequence of signatures in printed texts makes it easier to refer to a leaf by its place in a gathering rather than by the page number. There are a number of reasons for this, not least because the pagination of early printed books is not always strictly logical whereas the signature sequence typically is, and can always be precisely recorded. Some texts might also be numbered by the column, or foliated by the leaf. With manuscripts, formal signatures are rare and the foliation or pagination has been checked by the curatorial staff, so references to a folio or page are generally more convenient.

The pagination of printed books was subject to error because the skeleton forme with the running title and pagination was set separately from the text page which included the signature. The skeleton was used again and again to avoid resetting minimally changing text, and because it served as a reference point to ensure that the pages of the next forme were arranged in the same place relative to the sheet as the previous forme or gathering. As a consequence, it is not uncommon to find that a compositor might not replace the pagination, or invert the numbers when setting, pick up a numeral from the wrong box, or mis-distribute a numeral when the type was being returned to the tray. These kinds of detail can help establish the relationship of one forme to another, and sometimes an overlap or gap may indicate concurrent setting, or occur because parts of the book were set in different printing-houses. Hence, pagination can be very instructive as to how a book was printed, but it does mean that it is a less accurate form of record than the signature, and some books were set without any pagination at all. The formal structure and the relationship of the leaves within a gathering, however, can always be described.

[16] Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS e. Musaeo 131; British Library, MS Royal 18.A.XLV; see, M. B. Bland, 'Jonson, *Biathanatos*, and the Interpretation of Manuscript Evidence', *Studies in Bibliography*, 51 (1998), 154–82; see also, p. 69 below.
[17] What follows summarizes Bowers, *Principles*, 191–254; Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 321–35.



A Caueat, and a Comfort for Beleeuers. 627

uing vpon it, that nothing ſhould be able to defeate him of that happineſſe hee
wayted for: So in the beginning of that diſcourſe, hee propounds a generall
Doctrine, which concernes all which are in Chriſt Ieſus: Touching whom this
he deliuereth, that *to them there is no condemnation*; now hee prooues this by his
owne example at large, &c [t]? Whereupon I inferre, that whatſoeuer *Paules* re- [t] Verſ.1.&c.
ported there of himſelfe is not ſingular, that is, ſuch as wherein ordinary belee-
uers are not interreſſed with him; for then to what end is his experience and
example brought in as a proofe for a Doctrine which concernes all? Certenly,
it is the condition and ſtate of all true Beleeuers, *That neither height nor depth,*
nor any other Creatures can ſeparate them from the loue of God, which is in Chriſt Ieſus
our Lord [u]. But I ſtay my ſelf in this; It were no hard thing to be plentifull in the [u] Verſ.39.
enlargement of this proofe.

There be ſome things which are vſually obiected by ſome againſt this Do- Obiections a-
ctrine: which it ſhall not be amiſſe to make anſwere to. gainſt the
Doctrine an-
ſwered.

1. It is ſaid, that there are diuers ſpeeches in Scripture, where falling, and for-
ſaking, and things of the like nature are threatned to the faithfull, and they are 1. Obiection.
called vpon to feare and care, ſuch as ſeeme to argue a poſſibility of finall lo-
ſing all grace which they haue once receiued. For examples ſake, *Let him that*
thinkes hee ſtandes, take heede leſt hee fall [x]. *Bee not high minded, but feare,* &c [y] [x] 1 Cor.10.12
Quench not the Spirit [z]. *Worke out your Saluation with feare and trembling* [a]. Now to [y] Rom.11.20.
what end are theſe ſpeeches, if the faithfull cannot fall, ſo as to loſe that faith, [z] 1 Theſ.5.19
with which they haue beene once endued? I anſwere thus: That whatſoeuer [a] Phil.2.12.
God workes in, and for the faithfull, hee worketh it by meanes. As hee will *Anſw.*
continue them in faith, and keepe them in the ſtate of grace: ſo he will doe it
by a courſe: and one ſpeciall meanes, by which hee preſerues the faith of his
children, is ſuch exhortations as this, by which (he bleſſing them vnto them,) he
preuents ſecurity, and ſtirres vp care of vſing all good meanes conſecrated by
him, by which they may bee vpheld in grace, and builded vp in faith. So that
theſe aduertiſements doe not preſuppoſe the falling away of Gods Elect: but
are purpoſedly vſed in the wiſdome of God to preuent the ſame.

They prooue that we in our ſelues may fall, and had therefore need to reſolue
with *Dauid, That it is good for vs to draw neere to God* [b], but they doe not argue the [b] Pſal.73: 2.
purpoſe of God to ſuffer to fall, but rather the contrary: for well may wee ſay,
that if God would forſake, hee would neuer ſo often call vpon his children to
ſtand faſt.

2. Many true beleeuers haue fallen and failed greatly: as *Dauid* in the mat- 2. *Obiect.*
ter of *Vriah*, *Peter* in the buſineſſe of denying his Maſter: ſhall it be thought that
theſe loſt not their faith, when they committed ſuch foule offences? How could
faith and ſuch groſſe euils, be at once together in the ſame men? I anſwere di- *Anſw.*
rectly; that neither *Peter* nor *Dauid* loſt their faith quite in thoſe their falls. We
muſt learne to diſtinguiſh betwixt the being of faith, and the working of faith:
Faith may bee, where it doth not worke. There may bee life in the roote of a
tree, though in the winter ſeaſon the ſame be without both leafe and fruit. In a
mans body their may bee life, although for the preſent being in a ſwound, he
doth neither moue nor breathe; like to that, which *Paul* ſaid of *Eutichus*, *falling*
from the third loft, and taken vp dead: His life is in him [c]. In a drie ſommer there [c] Act.20.10.
may be a ſecret ſpring of a Well in the earth, though not ſo much as a drop of
water doe flow from it: So there may be a certen ſeed of faith in a Chriſtian, e-
uen then when by ſome great temptation he is ouercome and fallen into a grie-
uous ſin. So then it is true, faith did not worke in *Dauid* when hee committed a-
dultery. It was not powerfull in *Peter*, when he denied his Maſter: but yet the re-
couery of both, argueth that there remained, as *Theopilact* ſaith out of *Chryſoſtom* Luke 2.
touching *Peter*; *the hidden ſeedes of faith and grace in them both.* No ſooner was *Da-*
uid throughly dealt with by *Nathan*, but he cryed out, *I haue ſinned* [d]. No ſooner [d] 2 Sam.12.13
did

MMm 3 L l 2

Figure 3.2 S. Hieron, *The Sermons of . . . Samuel Hieron* (STC 13379; 1620): Bodleian Library, Oxford, shelfmark Vet. A2 d.7(1), 3L2ʳ.

The signature was important to compositors, pressmen, binders, and warehouse managers and the sequence is usually accurate because more depended upon it. First, type was arranged according to the side of the sheet on which it was to be printed and thus the signature enabled the outer forme to be distinguished from the inner; second, it helped the pressmen get the relationship between one side of the sheet and the other right when printing so that the type was aligned on both sides of the sheet;[18] third, it avoided confusion in the gathering and sorting of materials by the warehouseman; and fourth, it provided guidance for a binder to fold and gather the sheets together.

Mistakes did occur in signature sequences, including both omission and mis-signing. Hence, sheet 3L2 of the *Sermons* of Samuel Hieron (STC 13379; 1620) was first signed 3M3, prompting a manual correction to be overstamped on that leaf (figure 3.2). More often, two leaves within the same gathering might be signed the same, e.g. C2. Provided cancels and inserts have been recorded, and the formalities of recto and verso observed, what page is meant by C2^{v} is always understood. Put simply, C2 refers to the leaf, C2^{r} to the first page of the leaf, C2^{v} to the second page of the leaf: thus 'C2, blank' means both sides of a leaf are blank; 'C2^{v}, blank' means only the second page of a leaf is blank. Sometimes, in error, references to a leaf or sheet are given where the '^{r}' is dropped and only '^{v}' is specified: when cited in this way, the document concerned ought to be re-examined, however much one might comprehend the reasons for the lack of precision or carelessness involved: to describe a reference as C2–C2^{v} involves a non-sequitur as the first descriptor (C2) already implies the second. If there are two or three repeated alphabet sequences in a book, then the subsequent C2s are preceded by a superscript number, as in ^{2}C2 or ^{3}C2, in order that the group of repeated sequences to which the specific leaf belongs can be identified.

Quires, Cancels, and Inserts

Paper was sold in quires of 24 or 25 sheets at a time, with 20 quires to a ream. Some manuscripts are prepared as a single quire of this kind, but it is more usual to quire two or three sheets in folio texts, or to quire two sheets per gathering in longer quarto books, and for the same reason—to do so made sewing easier and the spine more compact; the limit being, as with the smaller formats, the number of conjugate leaves that have to be stitched at a time: four being the preferred upper limit. If a

[18] For details about imposing formes: Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, 323–33; Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 78–117.

folio is in sixes (three sheets per gathering), the first page will be on the same outside of the sheet as page 12, page 2 will be opposite page 11, and so on: this arrangement of material, particularly for printed books requires some care in the production.

As well as paper being folded together, leaves and sheets could be added or removed. There are many reasons why a scribe or printer might do this,[19] including adding illustrative material (engravings, maps, diagrams, mathematical tables), or resetting because a better text became available, or because of a significant omission or other blunder by a compositor. The use of cancels owing to censorship is rarer as books were licensed before they were printed. Cancels and inserts reflect the malleability of the codex form, and the ease with which it could be altered, albeit one copy at a time. Early modern books and manuscripts were hand-made, with several artisan crafts working in conjunction with one another: scriveners, printers, engravers, and binders tailored their products towards individual needs and wishes; whilst private compilations of papers, commonplace books, and miscellanies reflect their unique and idiosyncratic characteristics. Hence all texts were to some extent adapted as circumstances required, and the making of cancels and inserts was inevitable.

Whilst manuscripts could have initials and other spaces decorated if room was left by the scribe, illustrative materials frequently required separate treatment from the text in printed books. Printers' ornaments began to appear from the late fifteenth-century, whilst woodcuts and metal casts could be included with a little forethought; however, copperplate engravings were prepared by specialists and printed on a different press to that used for text production. As a consequence, engravings could be added to a book in one of two ways. Either the engraving was printed off on a separate sheet and inserted when copies of the book were made up, or (as with engraved title-pages) the printer would set the text and print this off for the conjugate leaf, and then the engraved page would be printed separately. The latter would not involve an extra inserted leaf into a gathering, but the former would. This was done by pasting the plate to the back of the adjacent leaf. Similarly, if a page was to be cancelled it was sliced through the middle of the text and then cropped leaving a short stub (occasionally one finds a sliced page that has not been removed as it ought).[20] The difference between an insert and a cancelled leaf is that an inserted leaf is added with its stub pasted to the recto

[19] See, Bland, 'Invisible Dangers', 156–8 and 163–5, where the examples of Camden and Purchas are discussed.
[20] See, R. E. Stoddard, *Marks in Books, Illustrated and Explained* (Cambridge MA, 1985), 13.

(front, or 'r') of the related leaf; whereas a cancelled leaf is first removed, and its replacement is pasted on the verso (back, or 'v') to the stub of the once conjugate second leaf.[21]

Simple alterations to the primary structure of a gathering are quite common, as is the replacement of a single cancelled leaf by a bifolium (i.e. two leaves with the stub pasted to the back of the second), so that there are five leaves. More complex cases can be perplexing, particularly as it can be difficult to dig down into the gutter of a binding to establish what happened (librarians tend to be twitchy about such manipulations of a volume). One particularly unusual example, which will illustrate what can happen when changes are made to a duo-decimo, is John Benson's pirated edition of Ben Jonson's *Q. Horatius Flaccus his art of poetry* (STC 13798; 1640), which includes the 'Execration upon Vulcan', 'The Masque of Gypsies' and 20 of Jonson's poems.

In November 1639, Benson acquired a manuscript, or manuscripts of the 'Execration upon Vulcan' and 'Epigrams' that he corrected against some stolen sheets of the as yet unpublished 1640 *Workes*, and published as *Ben Ionson's Execration upon Vulcan* (STC 13770; 1640).[22] The licence was first dated 1640, but taking advantage of the legal calendar which ended in March, he changed this to read 1639 to imply that he had owned the copy for more than a year.[23] Shortly thereafter, he acquired a manuscript of the *Masque of Gypsies* and another of the first version of Jonson's translation of *Horace his Art of Poetry*. He reissued all the texts in duo-decimo, but while the volume was at the press, he acquired a further, better manuscript of *The Masque of Gypsies*. As it was first printed, the volume was a standard duo-decimo, except for sheet E, which had eight leaves with E5–8 removed in the normal way. This was because the miscellaneous poems began with sheet F, and they may have been set up concurrently, or even prior to *The Masque of Gypsies* that precedes them.

With the new source for *The Masque of Gypsies*, Benson had to make cancellations to both D and E, to which he then added sheets d and e. With sheet D, he cancelled leaves D5–10, leaving four at the beginning and two at the end.[24] D3 and D4 were thus singletons, but they were contained within the enclosure of D1/12 and D2/11. After D4, Benson inserted the new sheet d. The stubs of D3 and D4 were pasted to d12^{v}, creating an unusual 18-leaf gathering.

[21] For a full-scale study of cancels: R. W. Chapman, *Cancels* (London, 1932).
[22] The matter is fully dealt with in M. B. Bland (ed.), *The Poems of Ben Jonson*, Oxford, forthcoming.
[23] Huntington Library RB62053 and Beinecke Library, Yale University, Ih J738 640e copy 1 have the date 1640, the other 20 copies seen all read 1639. There are 29 known copies.
[24] The only copy with the original issue of D is Cambridge University Library, Syn 8.64.13.

Sheet E is slightly more surprising. It has generally been assumed that it was cut in half, leaving the four singletons E1, 2, 3, 4 followed by e^{12}—both e12 and the original E12 being blank. In fact what happened (as demonstrated by two copies where the final blank is present with the stub in between the end of the text and the blank) is that e12 was cancelled and E12 retained. This is because E12 is conjugate with E1 and thus, once again, the singletons and additions could be contained by the outer conjugate leaves.

This example illustrates how early modern book production was not guided by a strict mathematical logic (as we tend to infer), but rather by a visceral and a practical sense of how one might preserve the integrity of the artefact. Mathematical logic would have placed the four leaves E1–4 between D and e and left any or all of them at risk of being lost. That was much less likely to happen if the four singletons were E2–4 and e1, leaving E1 conjugate with E12, with the loose leaves sandwiched alongside the new sheet between them.

Methods of Notation

The use of signatures for recording the structure of the book has more to do with the history of binding than with production because, in practice, there is no necessary reason why sheet B ought to be printed before sheet D, particularly if the book is a page-for-page reprint.[25] What the formula records, therefore, is the order of the material as it ought to be bound, with J, U, and W not used. Some books, such as the third volume of Jonson's 1640 *Workes*, were able to be bound in several different yet equally inclusive ways.[26] Hence, the collation needs to be accompanied by a description that combines brevity with accuracy. As some books exist in both standard and large paper copies, or maybe on crown rather than pot, it is also useful to measure the page and multiply this out to the implied size of the trimmed sheet. Thus, a two-sheet pot quarto pamphlet, with the title-leaf and first page of the text unnumbered but with the number of A2^r implied by the sequence that follows, would be recorded as:

c.280 × 380 mm, 4°: A–B^4; \$3.
pp.16: (2) *1* 2–14.
A1^r, Title; A1^v, Blank; A2^r–B4^v, Text; B4^v, 'FINIS.'.

[25] See, McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind', *Making Meaning*, 46–7.
[26] See, M. B. Bland, 'The James A. Riddell Collection of Jonson's 1616 and 1640 *Workes*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 489–503.

layout, but was structurally quite simple, usually being single folios gathered in a sequence.[31] Mathematical books, with volvelles attached to some of their leaves are more awkward, and there is no standard convention for describing them. One option is to use . The problem with is that it potentially confuses an inserted full-page illustration with a piece of paper that has been cut out and attached to a specific part of the page, and so the letter rho ( ) has been chosen. The example that follows is a quarto in eights in two parts, with an unsigned preliminary half-sheet including an engraved title-page; this is followed by the signed dedication and preface, a half sheet of preliminary verses signed 'a', the text in eights, a cancel and insert at F7, an extra inserted leaf after Q 5, a single-page diagram after L6, a double-page engraved insert after 2B3, and volvelles on P4, V2, and 2A8. The volume before the cancels and inserts is 60 sheets, with part 2 beginning at sheet T, and with S and 2H being single-sheet gatherings. The first four leaves per gathering are signed, except for A, S, and 2H where the first three leaves are signed; the half-sheet of verses is signed on both leaves.

> c.280 × 380 mm, 4° in 8s: ^{2} A^4 a^2 B–E^8 F^8(±F7) G–K^8 L^8(L6+ 1) M–O^8 P^8(P4^r+ 1) Q^8(+Q 5.1) R^8 S^4 T^8 V^8(V2^v+ 2) X–Z^8 2A^8(2A8^r+ 3) 2B ^{8}(2B3+2 1.2) 2C–2G ^{8} 2H^4; $4 (Š A4, S4, 2H4).
> 1, Blank; 2 ^{r}, Engraved Title; 2^v, Blank; A1^r–2^v, Ded. to Sir John Smith; A2^v, Signed 'A. B.'; A3$^{r–v}$, Preface; A4$^{r–v}$, Contents; a1$^{r–v}$, Poem, signed 'C. D.', a2^r, Poem, signed 'E. F.'; a2^v, Poem, signed 'G. H.'; B1^r–S4^r, Text, Book One; L6^r+ 1, 190 × 140 mm; P4^r, Volvelle, 90 mm; S4^v, Blank; T1^r–2H3^v, Text, Book Two; V2^v, Volvelle, 100 mm; 2A8^r, Volvelle, 85 mm; 2B3+ 1.2, 190 × 280 mm; 2H3^v, 'FINIS.' 2H4^r, Errata (32); 2H4^v, Blank.

To be fair, most books are not this complex; but the point is that they can be and, if they are, that the methods exist to describe their structure in a precise, concise way. Any attempt to understand the work of a printer or publisher involves understanding all their relationships to the extent that these can be reconstructed, including the work of engravers and image-cutters. The work of these people is easily overlooked and treated as part of the stock of available resources. Yet these extras always had to be paid for in the first instance. Behind every material trace that a book contains is a human and a financial relationship.

[31] See, McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, 40–3, who also emphasizes the need for bibliography to account for the full range of historical evidence (6–7); D. W. Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553–1700* (London, 1975).

Complex books, with extra illustrative materials could be frequently reprinted, as was Blundevile's *Exercises* (STC 3146–51a.5; 1594–1638), a 102-sheet mathematical text set as a quarto in eights. The book, though large, is scarce and the fifth edition does not survive at all. We know that William Stansby must have printed this c.1617–18, and any attempt to reconstruct his workflows at that time has to account for the missing output. Most of the copies of the other editions that do survive want, in part, their volvelles.

With other books, such as Ralegh's *The history of the world*, the collation may help distinguish between the first and second editions. Not all copies of those editions retain the final leaf with the printer's dated colophon. Where this is wanting, the easiest way to distinguish between the suppressed 1614 edition (STC 20637), and the surreptitious 1617 edition (STC 20638), which is a page-for-page reprint (including pagination errors), is through collation. With the 1614 edition, 2V1 is cancelled and replaced; in 1617 it is not.[32] The collation for 1614 is:

> c.330 × 440 mm, 2^{o} in 6s: π^2 A–E^4 a–c^6 d^2 ^{2}B–F^6 G^6(G2+χ1.2) H–P^6 Q^6(Q5+2χ1.2) R–Y^6 Z^6(Z4+3χ1.2) 2A–M^6 2N^6(2N3+4χ1.2) 2O–T^6 2V^6(±2V1) 2X–3I^6 3K^4 4A–5C^6 5D^6(5D4+5χ1.2) 5E–O^6 5P^6(5P4 +6χ1.2, 5P5+7χ1.2) 5R–6T^6 6V–Y^4 7A–C^6; \$3.

Similarly, the two states of *Q. Horatius Flaccus his art of poetry*, together with a description of the contents, should read:

> First issue. c.330 × 440 mm, 12^{o}: A–D^{12} E^{12}(–E5–8) F–G^{12}; \$5 (–C3, F1).
>
> Second issue. c.330 × 440 mm, 12^{o}: A–C^{12} D^{12}(D5+d^{12}, –D6–10) E^{12}(E4+e^{12}(–e12), –E5–11) F–G^{12}; \$5 (–C3, F1).
>
> A1, Blank; A2^r, Signature within ornamental border; A2^v, Blank, A3^r, Blank; A3^v, Engraved Portrait; A4^r, Title; A4^v, Blank; A5^r–6^v, Dedication to Thomas, Lord Windsor; A6^v, signed 'I. B.'; A7^r, Poem, Sir Edward Herbert; A7^v–9^v, Poem, Barten Holyday; A10^r, Poem, Zouch Townley; A10^v–12^v, Poem, signed 'I. C.'; B1^r–C2^r, Horace his art of poetry; C2^v, Blank; C3^r, Sub-Title, Execration upon Vulcan; C3^v, Blank; C4^r–C8^v, Execration; C9, Blank; C10^r, Subtitle, Masque of Gypsies; C10^v, Blank; C11^r–E/e11^v, Masque of Gypsies; E12, Blank; F1^r, Subtitle, Epigrams; F1^v, Blank; F2^r–G11^v, Epigrams; G12, Blank.

[32] See, Bland, 'Invisible Dangers', 184–90.

In order to prepare descriptive notes of this kind, it helps to consult multiple copies of the same edition, for the imperfect evidence of one copy may be rectified by reference to another. This is not to imply that there is such a thing as a perfect copy of an early printed book, rather there is a putative state of physical completeness from which all copies may depart through the absence of a leaf or leaves.[33] Thus, any particular copy of *Q. Horatius Flaccus his art of poetry* may lack the blanks A1, C9, E12, and G12, without rendering that copy textually incomplete, but each of these leaves exists in some of the copies of that book.

Title-pages

As well as the structure of a book, it is also usual to record the exact details of the title-page. Historically, the title-page developed from the incipit, and by the late fifteenth-century had become a standard feature of printed texts.[34] The two most important details it contained were the title and the publisher; the printer and author being of less significance and not always recorded, or sometimes recorded only by their initials. A great many title-pages are explanatory, indicating the nature of their contents; or, with sermons and plays, the circumstances of preaching or performance: for a prospective purchaser, these details gave a very brief synopsis of the nature of the material, and a few extra copies of the title-leaf could serve as an advertisement.

The forme with the title-page was generally the very last part of a book to be printed, and could be subject to several stop-press states. If the book was shared between two or more publishers, it might well have variant imprints, and sometimes the layout might be adjusted to improve the visual balance of the page. A replacement title-page might also be printed for a reissue, to freshen the impression.[35] The title could be printed in both black and red, with the type for each colour set separately, and the page printed off twice. The full range of roman, italic, and black-letter fonts might be used as well, including the very large titling fonts that are not present in the body of the text. For all these reasons, title-page transcriptions record an exact line-for-line state of the copy being described, in order that variants in other copies may be identified and the reason for them determined.

[33] The idea of physical integrity derives from a pragmatic understanding of the component parts of a document, and is different from (although Bowers conflated it with) the concept of ideal copy put forward by Greg (*Collected Papers*, 374–91).
[34] See, M. M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development 1460–1510* (London, 2000).
[35] For example, S. Daniel, *Dramatick Poems* (STC 6243.8; 1635), from the 1623 *Works*.

The method of title-page transcription as developed by Greg and Bowers employed a number of scribal conventions to record typographical features that digital technologies have rendered obsolete: italics were underlined, small capitals double-underlined, and adjacent full capitals underlined three times; black-letter was recorded with subscript dash marks, and red with dots.[36] Ornaments and devices were measured and identified, but the differing sizes of fonts were not distinguished because they could not be represented in typescript. Those methods can now be simplified. For practical purposes, the best option is a digital image of the title-page supported, if need be, by a transcription engaging a full range of fonts to make the distinctions that were once achieved by secondary means. Where digitization of the title-page is not practical, then the standard procedures can be applied using fonts and extended character sets, with dotting for red retained. The other forms of underlining are unnecessary. These examples illustrate the method:

1.] THE | NORTHERN | LASSE, | A | COMOEDIE. | [Rule, 108 mm] | As it hath beene often Acted with good | Applauſe, at the *Globe*, and *Black-Fryers*. By his | Maieſties Servants. | [Rule, 107 mm] | Written by Richard Brome. | [Rule 107 mm] | *Hic totus volo rideat Libellus*. Mart. | [Rule, 107 mm] | [Ornament with head, 18 × 59 mm] | [Rule, 101 mm] | LONDON: | Printed by Avg. Mathevves, and are to | be ſold by Nicholas Vavasor, dwelling | at the little South dore of S^{t}. *Pauls* Church. | 1632.

2.] [Within double rules, 313 × 198 mm; in black and red:] S. THOMÆ | AQVINATIS SVMMA | THEOLOGICA: | IN QVA | ECCLESIÆ CATHOLICÆ DOCTRINA VNIVERSA, | ET QVICQVID IN VETERVM PATRVM MONVMENTIS | eſt dignum obſeruatu; quicquid etiam vel olim vocatum eſt, vel hodie vocatur | ab hæreticis in controuerſiam; id omne vt eruditè, solidè & delucidè, | ita piè atque fideliter explicatur; | IN TRES PARTES AB AVCTORE SVO DISTRIBVTA. | *OLIM QVIDEM EX MANVSCRIPTIS* | *exemplaribus, quorundum Louaniensum Theologorum, deinde aliorum* | *doctissimorum virorum, ac nouissimè nonnullorum Duacensium Theolo-* | *gorum operâ, ab infinitis mendis repurgata*; *ita vt ſuum primæuum nito-* | *rem vel nunc habeat, vel ad eum proximè accedat*. | QVID POST RELIQVAS OMNES IN HAC EDITIONE | præſtitum, exponetur Epiſtola ad Lectorem. | [Engraved device of the phoenix and the fire, with the motto 'do flammæ esse svvm, flamma dat esse mevm.'; 116 × 140 mm] | DVACI, | Sumptibus Marci Wyon, Typographi Iurati, | ſub ſigno Phœnicis. | [Rule, 81 mm] | Anno M. DC. XIV. | [Between bottom rules:] *CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO*.

[36] For some examples, see Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 368–80.

Describing Manuscripts

Unlike printed books, for which title-pages became standard in the late fifteenth-century, most manuscripts were produced without one. When they do occur, as a separate leaf on a political pamphlet prepared by a professional scrivener, for instance, or on a manuscript intended for the press, the formal nature of their presence indicates either a specific context such as the circulation of a text through the commercial trade, or a deliberate imitation of the presentational language of print. For many other manuscript texts, a brief summary title was written at the top of the first page indicating the nature of the text.

When catalogued, multiple manuscripts in a single volume may be listed as separate items; or, else, are foliated (pagination is rarer). As a consequence, a specific leaf can be cited without reference to the gathering of paper to which it belongs. The problem of prior pagination sequences (where these exist) is superseded by archival cataloguing practice and what is meant by f.198 ought to be unambiguous. A codicological analysis focused on the structure of a document is thus purely concerned with understanding how a manuscript was prepared, as well as how and why it came to have its present form. In some cases, as with correspondence, the manuscript volume may be nothing more than a collection of separates gathered as single folios in a sequence. Other manuscripts might be sammelbände of several items, or a single document that has been prepared in several stages, starting out as a booklet and being built up over time.[37] The evidence for these patterns is established through the relationship of paper, script, and structure.

Most early modern manuscripts were not prepared with a signature sequence; however, the folding of the folio, quarto, or other formats was no different to print. A collection of single folio sheets represents one extreme of what a manuscript volume might be. At the other end of the spectrum are the table-books and notebooks that the trade sold ready bound with the regular structure of a book that has no added or removed material. Frequently, these volumes were never completely written through, but the integrity of the volume was established at the outset. In between these casual and formal states, were manuscripts tailored to individual needs, prepared in sheets and quires and then later bound once the text was complete, or abandoned.

Owing to the lack of signatures in manuscripts, there are two options for description: to imply a sequence as if it were a printed book; or, to

[37] See, R. Hanna, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Stanford, CA, 1996), 21–59.

number the gatherings sequentially. For various reasons, not least the avoidance of confusion, the latter is preferable; but it does mean that descriptive conventions do need to be strictly observed. With a printed book, F^{12} means sheet F has 12 leaves, F12 means the 12th leaf of the sheet. The same gathering in a manuscript would be 6^{12}, and the leaf 6.12: both the superscript and the point are absolutely necessary.[38]

A few examples of seventeenth-century manuscripts will convey the variety of possible structures. For instance, National Library of Scotland MS 2067 is a verse miscellany with poems by Donne, written by William Drummond of Hawthornden. It is a ten-sheet quarto in eights that was not originally bound, but left as a booklet that could later be compiled with other items. It never was, and collates as it was first prepared:

c.310 × 410 mm, 4^{o} in 8s: $1{-}5^{8}$.

Similarly, Derbyshire Record Office MS D258/10/15 is an unbound two-sheet quarto in eights with the sixth leaf removed, and collates:

c.310 × 410 mm, 4^{o} in 8s: 1^{8} (–1.6).

The relationship between the page area of a manuscript and the size of the sheet is subject to greater variation than with print and so the placement of the watermark and the direction of the chainlines need to be confirmed as well. One example of this is the autograph of Jonson's *The Masque of Queenes* (British Library MS Royal 18. A.XLV) written on Italian paper that had been cropped down to look like a royal quarto. It is however a folio gathered in single sheets:

c.210 × 340 mm (from c.313 × 432 mm), 2^{o}: $1{-}10^{2}$ 11^{2}(–11.2).

Another folio manuscript, this time in the hand of a professional scribe who has been nicknamed 'Feathery' after the style of his hand, is Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poetry 31, bound in contemporary limp vellum.[39] This volume is gathered as a folio:

c.285 × 390 mm, 2^{o}: $1{-}3^{8}$ $4{-}5^{6}$ $6{-}7^{8}$.

A more complex example is the Wedderburn miscellany (National Library of Scotland MS 6504). This volume, which is related textually to

[38] See, Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 330, who gives a single example.
[39] P. Beal, *In Praise of Scribes*, 58–108 and 211–68.

Drummond's MS 2067, was originally a manuscript of 144 leaves on crown paper bound in limp vellum, to which two leaves were added in the 1660s and nine removed. Two of these original leaves have been used as pastedowns. The manuscript collates:

c.330 × 390 mm, 4^{o} in 8s: 1–7^{8} 8^{8} (–8.3) 9^{8} (–9.2, .3) 10^{8} (–10.3) 11^{8} 12^{8} (–12.1) 13–14^{8} 15^{8} (15.3+.3.1–2) 16^{8} (–16.6, .7, .8) 17^{8} (–17.1) 18^{8}.

Similarly, St. John's College, Cambridge, MS S.23 is a quarto in 16s, with four leaves removed:

c.280 × 380 mm, 4^{o} in 16s: 1^{16}(–1.3) 2–5^{16} 6^{16} (–6.9, .13, .15).

As these examples indicate, the structure of early modern manuscripts may be more varied than printed books. Trinity College, Dublin, MS 877 is, for instance, a volume originally consisting of 288 leaves, of which 277 are present with two of the other leaves copied. Another sheet at the front has a nineteenth-century index. Nine leaves (ff.1, 12, 47.1, 47.2, 266.1–.4, 279.1) are lost, with ff.1 and 12 recopied on Irish paper of the nineteenth-century. Two leaves are cancelled: f.159.1 with a knife or scissors, f.247.1 having been torn out; f.167 has been cancelled and replaced. It collates:

310 × 400 mm, 2^{o}: 1^{6} (±1.1) 2^{6} (±2.6) 3–4^{12} 5^{12} (–5.12, 5.1 bd. after 5.11) 6^{12} (–6.1) 7–9^{12} 10^{16} 11–13^{12} 14^{8} 15^{10} (–15.6) 16^{10} (±16.4) 17^{8} 18–21^{12} 22^{10} 23^{12} (–23.9) 24^{12} 25^{12} (–25.5/.8, 25.6/.7) 26^{10} (–26.10).

Studying the relationship of the structure, paper, and scribes, makes it possible to understand what happened to this Donne manuscript. It looks as if the volume was initially prepared by scribe A (who was possibly a professional scrivener), c.1618–20.[40] The scribe prepared a volume of 150 sheets (300 leaves), and completed ff.13–161, with 162–3 blank, being quires 3–15. Apart from the two lost leaves between ff.47 and 48, there are three other changes to these quires. First, two sheets were taken from quire 14 and moved to quire 10 for copying, the reason for which is not evident. Next, folio 147 (14.1) was torn out and pasted back in (it is not a cancel as such), its verso blank except for the words 'The Marchant, &c.', which begins the following leaf; on leaf 148 the scribe adds in the margin a sentence of omitted text. This suggests that a mistake occurred when, turning over the leaf, the scribe started at the

[40] See also, pp.46–7 above. Trinity College, Dublin, MS 877 will be discussed in Bland, *Jonson and Donne: Manuscript Traditions, Connections, and Revisions*, forthcoming.

next recto and not the verso. Later at 15.6 a leaf is removed, probably owing to a serious transcription error, with the text starting again on the next leaf. Further, another sheet was removed from the gathering: this suggests that the scribe was copying in unbound quires.

Quires 3–15 originally constituted 78 sheets of which the scribe had removed one from the final quire, leaving a further 72 sheets (144 leaves) blank. As the first part of the text ends with Donne's *Paradoxes and Problems*, it is possible that the remaining sheets were intended for some of Donne's Sermons (as with the Dobell Manuscript: Houghton Library MS Eng 966.5). Then, sometime c.1625, two scribes added material to f.104 (the Hamilton obsequy), and then another scribe added poems to f.162. The next step appears to have been taken by scribe E (c.1630) who added in a selection of poems on ff.164–74. The manuscript was then passed to scribe F who used it as a miscellany, moving one quire of paper (six sheets) to serve as an index, which was placed at the front. This index must have been a quire (hence the original being a 150-sheet folio), as two sheets from quires 15 and 16 had already been removed (hence these are 10-, not 12-leaf quires). Further indeterminate sheets were removed from quires 17, 22, and 26. Soon after scribe F completed the volume, the manuscript must have been bound. It was later rebound in the nineteenth-century.

Complex examples of preparation and reorganization are not unusual in larger manuscripts. Thus, National Library of Wales, MS 5390D was prepared by members of the Salusbury family of Lleweni, who were also responsible for the equally complex Christ Church, Oxford, MS 184.[41] MS 5390D has had 18 leaves removed:

> c.285 × 390 mm, 2°: 1^4 2–10^6 11^8 12^6 13^6 (−13.2) 14–15^6 16^6 (−16.1) 17^{14} (−17.2, .3, .13) 18^{14} (−18.14) 19^{10} 20–25^6 26^6 (−26.2) 27–29^6 30^6 (−30.2) 31^{12} (−31.4, .6, .12) 32^6 (−32.2) 33^8 (−33.1, .3) 34^8 35^8 (−35.8) 36^8 37^6 (−37.5) 38–39^6 40^6 (−40.1) 41^2 42–43^4 44^6 (−44.5) 45^2.

The reason collations like this are important is that, often, scholarly arguments are made about the existence of a text within a manuscript without an understanding of how that manuscript was put together. Not only may manuscripts be prepared by different scribes at different times, but a manuscript may be a composite document in which one part is only related to another through the later binding practices of an owner. It is to that subject that the discussion now turns.

[41] See, M. B. Bland, '"As far from all revolt": Sir John Salusbury, Christ Church MS. 184 and Jonson's First Ode', *English Manuscript Studies*, 8 (2000), 45–8, 72–3 and 75.

Booklets and Sammelbände

During the later medieval period, the booklet had been the standard format for commercial manuscript production. This enabled work to be divided up between professional scribes who were expected to be able to write near-identical hands. As a consequence, a copy of a text could be prepared more rapidly with two or more scribes than by a single scribe alone. The use of booklets, however, went much further than the commercial trade: for lawyers, they were composite documents for case histories; for scholars, they were a means of circulating knowledge; for the clergy, they were a way of grouping sermons and homilies. It is a practice that lingered in the early modern period as booklets could be easily circulated and copied into personal collections and then passed on or returned. A small group of poems by Robert Herrick and Thomas Carew, for instance, survives as a two-sheet booklet amongst the papers of Robert Boyle.[42] Printed pamphlets were, in effect, booklets by another name that could be later bound together in a single volume.

From the mid-fifteenth-century onwards, sammelbände need not be exclusively manuscript or printed, but both could be mixed together. Similarly, gathered collections of loose papers might include a few printed sheets, most often pamphlets and broadsides. Regrettably, later librarians, collectors, and booksellers, either separated manuscript and print for ease of classification, or found greater profit in each item than the whole, and have broken many of these composite volumes apart.[43] In the process, much of our sense of the continuity between manuscript and print, and between one text and another, has been lost.

What the sammelbände offers through its unexpected associations is a sense of how texts might have been read together, in much the same way as the verse miscellany brings to the fore associations between texts that are now regarded as significant literature, and others that are all but unknown except to specialist scholars who work with manuscript verse. In some cases, collections were composed of closely related material: a volume of 22 items concerned with contemporary accounts of the new world, once in the Holford collection, was acquired and broken up by the Philadelphia book-dealer Dr George Rosenbach in 1925. It had been arranged as an account of the first English plantations, with the Virginia material first, in chronological order, then the Bermuda pamphlets, and finally three other items that formed a contextual appendix: it is now

[42] Royal Society, RB MS 42, ff.111–17, collates 1^4 $2^4(-2.4)$, with a pot 'R | DP' watermark.
[43] McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, 50–2; A. Gillespie, 'Poets, Printers, and Early English *Sammelbände*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 189–214.

dispersed amongst seven libraries. One item has extensive marginalia; another was completed in contemporary manuscript.[44] Later groupings, however, may simply be volumes of convenience, with diverse papers grouped together in a single binding: when looking at sammelbände, it is necessary to consider how and when their coincidence came to be, and the purpose the volume might have served.

With manuscripts, in particular, care needs to be taken in describing material as the use of microfilms is common, and so misunderstandings about the internal structure of documents can arise when they are not physically examined, or the differences between the component parts are not understood. British Library, Harley MS 4064 is a volume of this kind, and the verse miscellany that has most interested literary scholars is only one of its four parts; nor are the parts coherent, and there is no evidence that they were brought together before the early eighteenth-century. It would, therefore, be mistaken to infer anything from these other items in the volume about the miscellany, or to read the miscellany as deriving from the same source as them.[45]

One example may illustrate both the nature of a sammelbände, and the relationship between its parts. British Library, Lansdowne MS 740 is made up from several booklets and leaves; items 3a, b, and c (ff.56–141) of which derive from the endpapers and quires of an earlier verse miscellany. The binding is from the late seventeenth-century, with the gilt stamped arms of the first Marquess of Lansdowne. The parts are:

1. ff.1–39: An incomplete collection (39 leaves of 42), in a single hand, of extracts in Greek, c.1618–20? Many leaves are damaged, some with a loss of text. The leaf prior to f.1 has a fragment of the missing first leaf. The paper is Spanish, of a cross within a pendant.
2. ff.40–55: A booklet of two quires, in verse, in three different hands (40–4, 45, 46–55: the last italic). The paper is northern French pot, with the initials DM. Late 1580s–early 1590s?

3a. f.56: A single leaf, related to ff.138–41 (in the same hand), containing a list of books and prices. No watermark, or pagination; perhaps an endpaper; written c.1640.

3b. ff.57–137: A verse miscellany in a single hand, except for ff.70–2, which is in the same hand as the book lists on ff.56 and 138–41. The miscellany is built up from three different stocks of French paper (none being pot), the earliest of which is found on ff.74–81, 87–91,

[44] L. A. Morris, *Rosenbach Abroad: In Pursuit of Books in Private Collections* (Philadelphia, 1988), 12–33.

[45] See, A. F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca NY, 1995), 21 and 149. The manuscript is also described as Egerton MS 4064 (21) and so indexed (374).

94–7 (c.1602–3). By c.1620, the volume had been expanded to become a 304-page quarto (with the now missing pages recorded in angle brackets): [2] 1–32 <33–8> 39–54 <55–6> 57–76 <77–80> 81–4 <85–6> 87–8 <89–96> 97–164 <165–6> 167–8 <169–206> 207–10 <211–20> 221–32 233–4 <235–90> 291–6 <297–8> 299–300 <2>. Thus, the miscellany lacks 93 leaves, the first of which is amongst the final list of book prices. Many of these leaves were probably blank, especially ff.235–90, a unit of 14 sheets. Written c.1603 to c.1620.

3c. ff.138–41: Four leaves numbered on the bottom outer verso 299, 295, 293, and 291, indicating their relationship with the previous material. The list of books and prices was evidently written upside down and in from the back. As with f.56, this material is very much later than the original copying of the manuscript, c.1640.

4. ff.142–67 (+155.1): A separate booklet in two hands, containing part of a long poem by Anne Southwell, together with the paratext. The manuscript is in three hands: hand A is found on ff.142^{r} and 167^{v}; hand B, on f.142^{v}, has a distinct mixed script; hand C, the scribe, is responsible for ff.143^{r}–67^{r}, and is corrected by hand A. The paper is northern French pot with the initials H and BR. This material has no relationship to item 3.[46]

5. ff.168 and 168.1: A single folio leaf cut down, with no watermark, containing a Latin poem and translation; ff.168^{v} and 168.1 are blank.

6. ff.169–70: A half-sheet with no watermark, containing mathematical calculations, a translation from Lucian's second dialogue, and ten lines of verse from Dryden's *Marriage à la Mode*.

7. ff.171–3: Three leaves of verse in a single hand, perhaps fragments with partial watermarks present on ff.171 (a sword within a wreath?) and 173 (the bottom part of a small crest?); f.173^{v} has accounts, with the signature Jo: Davies, and a note 'Poems by | Dr Evans | JW'.

The material in Lansdowne 740 was gathered together in the 1680s from a variety of sources. It is not only that the constituent parts are quite independent of one another, it is important to realize that the miscellany at its heart was built up in three separate stages.[47] The ability to recognize the physical differences both between the parts, and within the miscellany, derives from the analysis of the paper and the scribal hands. Whilst the latter is more immediately obvious, the history of the paper is perhaps an even more significant source of primary information.

[46] J. Klene, *The Southwell-Sibthorpe Commonplace Book: Folger MS V.b.198* (Tempe AZ, 1997) has speculated that part 3 and part 4 of the manuscript are linked; they are not.
[47] See also, pp.124–5 below.

Bindings

During the last 20 years, the bibliographical study of bindings has undergone a significant transformation with a greater emphasis on the role of the trade in the making of books. Earlier scholarship had focused on structure and ornament, particularly if the bindings were elaborate, or else could be localized to a particular workshop, or collector. Thus, when Greg discussed the scope of bibliography, he thought the study of bindings as, at best, a branch of art history because he did not connect the binding with meaning, or the networks of patronage that it might represent as being linked to the concerns of textual scholarship.[48] The traditional concern with tooled and luxury bindings also meant that the impact of increasing literacy on the trade, and the materials that were used, received less attention than it ought.

The technical aspects of sewing and attaching the cover have been described many times and are summarized, with a few historical notes, by Gaskell.[49] Since then, and in far greater detail, the structure of early bindings has been discussed by Szirmai,[50] whilst McKitterick, Foot, and Pickwoad have shifted attention towards the practical, commercial, and cultural aspects of the trade, and Pearson has given a detailed account of English binding styles, materials, and techniques as they evolved between 1450 and 1800, as well as a localized account of the trade in Oxford.[51] These studies of the trade have provided a new context within which to understand the work of earlier scholars in the field.[52]

[48] Greg, *Collected Papers*, 240 called it 'a bookish art'; see also, M. M. Foot, *Bookbinders at Work*, 3–12, who summarizes the debate.
[49] Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 146–53.
[50] J. A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot, 1999).
[51] D. J. McKitterick, 'Customer, Reader and Bookbinder: Buying a Bible in 1630', *Book Collector*, 40 (1991), 382–406; M. M. Foot, *Studies in the History of Bookbinding* (Aldershot, 1993); —, *Bookbinding as a Mirror of Society* (see fn. I: 19); —, *Bookbinders at Work* (see, fn. I: 50); N. Pickwoad, 'Onward and Downward: How Binders Coped with the Printing-Press before 1800', in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds.), *A Millennium of the Book* (Winchester, 1994), 61–106; D. Pearson, *Oxford Bookbinding 1500–1640: Including a Supplement to Neil Ker's Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings* (Oxford, 2000); —, *English Bookbinding Styles, 1450–1800* (London, 2005). See also, D. Pearson (ed.), *'For the Love of the Binding': Studies in bookbinding history presented to Mirjam Foot* (London, 2000); and M. M. Foot (ed.), *Eloquent Witnesses* (London, 2004).
[52] As well as the work of A. R. A. Hobson, G. D. Hobson, and H. M. Nixon, see, G. Pollard, 'Changes in the Style of Bookbinding, 1550–1830', *Library*, V: 11 (1956), 71–94, later expanded as part of 'Commentaries on the Physical Form of Books', typescript, Bodleian MS Pollard 284, 68–127; H. M. Nixon and M. M. Foot, *The History of Decorated Bookbinding in England* (Oxford, 1992); and, J. B. Oldham, *English Blind-stamped Bindings* (Cambridge, 1952); —, *Blind Panels of English Binders* (Cambridge, 1958).

It is the realization that binding was more than a decorative craft that has begun to alter approaches to its significance. We are proverbially taught that the value of a book cannot be assumed from its covers; yet this view of the function, or aesthetics, of the structure and binding of a book is textual in its assumptions rather than historical: in other words, if we assume that it is the *text* that matters, then the binding of any given copy of a work may only be of incidental interest; however, if we assume that it is the *book* that is of interest (and, thus, the complex social relationships and spaces within which patronage as well as ownership and reading take place), then the structure and binding of a volume is an integral part of the history of any given copy and may reveal aspects to the meaning of an artefact that a strictly textual approach would not notice. If paper is the material that gives a book its voice, the binding is the architecture in which that voice finds resonance.

Scholars interested in literary editing had tended to regard binding as incidental to their concerns, in part because the drama was so dominant as a field in early modern studies and because a great many dramatic texts are preserved in nineteenth-century morocco dress. It is not uncommon to find plays and pamphlets in bindings of ruby, emerald, or sapphire morocco, as well as brown or black, often with the discreet gilt-stamped name of Bedford, Rivière, or Zaehnsdorf on the edge of the inside board.[53] Many of these ephemeral texts had once been preserved in sammelbände. Even in the eighteenth-century, incunabula and other important books had received similar treatment as collectors represented rarity and age by replacing damaged or unpretentious bindings with coverings of more conspicuous value. In these instances, unless other kinds of historical record survive, it is not possible to assess the role a binding played in the early transmission of a book. Yet the impact of the later binding trade on a group of highly valued texts is only part of the story. Fortunately, not all books have been rebound and a perspective that takes in a broad conspectus of all the evidence reveals just how important the original bindings could be.

Binders were an important part of the early modern book-trade, and it would not be unreasonable to estimate that by 1600 there may have been as many as c.100 binders in London, with that figure increasing significantly during the following century.[54] The binder was responsible

[53] The firm of Rivière merged with Bayntum of Bath in 1939; part of the establishment is a museum on the history of binding.

[54] This broad estimate is based on the data prepared for Bland, 'The London Book-Trade in 1600', 450–63, allowing for manuscripts and imports and the rate of work given by Foot, *Bookbinders at Work*, 117.

for the integrity of a book or manuscript, including the collation of the gatherings, the addition of plates or attachments, and the cancellation and insertion of appropriate leaves. The process of collation, as a bibliographer practises it, is to understand exactly how, when, and what a binder stitched together in making a book, and to account for anything else that has been added or removed subsequent to that fact, as books have always had to be repaired and rebound depending on the conditions of their storage and use. The second step is to be able to describe and assess the materials used both from the perspective of the extent to which it differs from standard practices, and the extent to which those standard practices slowly evolved.

The complete book was not finished by a scribe or a printer: in fact, a scribe or printer might only be responsible for a section of the work, it having been shared amongst two or more of them. Equally, a publisher could sell a book bound; or one gathered, beaten, and stab-stitched ready for binding (figure 3.3): it is not surprising, therefore, to find the well-known publisher William Ponsonby described by Fulke Greville and John Ramsay as a 'book-bynder': an important part of a publisher's business was his standard trade and customized bespoke binding services.[55] The reason for this was quite simple: the binding was the most variable expense available to a customer when they purchased a book. Owing to that expense, they often chose to have two or three items bound together. Thus, with trade bindings, only a few copies need be finished at any one time, and these could be blind-stamped or gilded if extra finishing was required.

The materials available to a binder commonly included calf, sheep, vellum, goat (black turkey and blue morocco being common), pig (used quite often in German bindings), velvet, embroidered silk, gold and silver thread, gold leaf, red dye, brass clasps and cornerpieces, silk ties, and a variety of ornaments, including arabesques and rules, that could be heated and applied either blind, or finished with gold leaf. The fore-edges of the paper might be stippled, or gauffered, with a pattern after gilding, and in the later seventeenth-century marbled end papers first appear, as do red calf and morocco bindings. Other colours, such as citron, were also possible. The possible permutations therefore range from the simplest limp vellum wrapper to highly elaborate velvet bindings embroidered with silver and gold thread. The more elaborate the binding, the greater the cost, and the more time and skill that was required of the binder.

[55] M. G. Brennan, 'William Ponsonby: Elizabethan Stationer', *Analytical & Enumerative Bibliography*, 7 (1983), 91–110 (see, pp. 93 and 102); see also, Foot, *Bookbinders at Work*, 35–40.

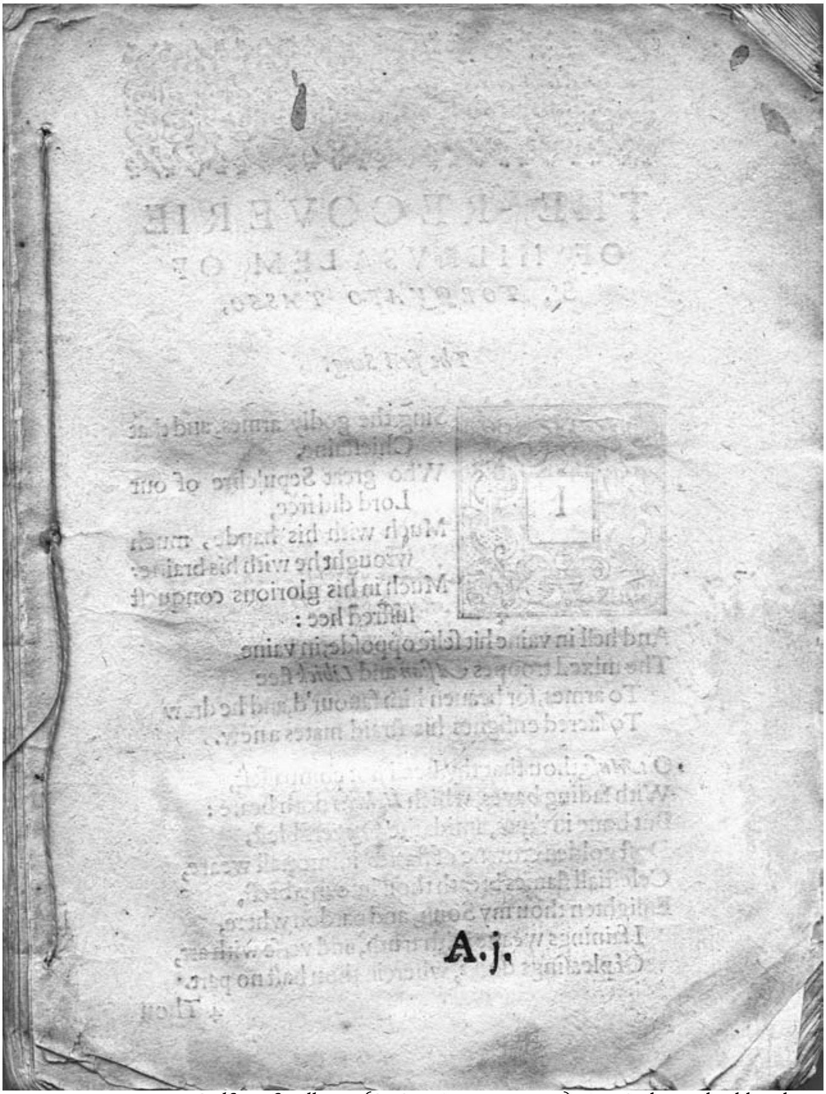


Figure 3.3 T. Tasso, *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (STC 23697–97a; 1594), A1^{r}: Stab-stitched binding. The copy lacks either of the variant title-pages (personal collection).

The evidence as to how much various bindings cost is fragmentary but fairly consistent and survives from several different sources.[56] The

[56] Foot, 'Some Bookbinders' Price Lists of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Studies*, 15–67; —, *Bookbinders at Work*, 106–26 gives some German examples.

trade usually priced bindings according to well-known books of various sizes and bulk, such as a Camden, or a Ralegh. The price was adjusted for the degree of decorative work involved. Sixteenth-century calf bindings have a bitter chocolate colour; those of the seventeenth-century vary from mid-brown lightening to dark tan towards the end.[57] Increasingly, as well, sheep came to replace calf as a cheaper alternative, as more skins were required to meet demand. That expansion ultimately led to half- and quarter-bound boards, and cloth in the nineteenth-century. Goatskin was the most common of the expensive materials.

A broadside from 1619, being *A generall note of the prises of binding of all sorts of bookes* (STC 16768.6), gives a fair guide to prices and styles. A folio roman Bible gilt over once cost 11*s*; with gilt fillets only, it cost 3*s* 4*d*; the two volumes of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* with fillets cost 12*s*, in hard boards 7*s*; Ralegh's *History* with fillets cost 3*s* 6*d*, the folio *Workes* of Gervase Babington (STC 1077–8; 1615), 2*s* 6*d*. For books 'in ouills' Camden's *Britannia* 'with maps' (i.e. STC 4508–9; 1607–10) cost 4*s* 6*d*, Ralegh's *History* 2*s* 6*d*, Plutarch's *Liues* 2*s* 4*d* and Comines' *Historie* 1*s* 6*d*. A duo-decimo like the *Practice of Piety* was 1*s* 4*d* gilt all over, and 1*s* with edges gilt and fillets. Smith's *Sermons* with ovals in quarto cost 10*d*; the psalms or a book of common prayer in quarto with gilt fillets cost 1*s* 2*d*. The *Statutes* in folio cost 2*s* 6*d*; whilst Michael Dalton's *Countrey iustice . . . of the Peace* in octavo cost 6*d*. Schoolbooks were normally bound in sheep rather than calf, with Cicero's *Orations* in decimo-sexto costing 3*d*, and an octavo grammar 2*d*. For Latin books costs were similar: small quartos cost 10*d*; a *Dictionarium poeticum* 1*s*.

Accounts are a further source of information: thus, in 1608, Robert, earl of Salisbury, paid Thomas Herbert 12*s* 8*d* for seven days' work and a further 30*s* for six dozen vellum skins.[58] Sometimes (with care) binding prices may also be inferred. Thus, an unbound copy of Jonson's 1616 *Workes* cost 9*s*, one bound copy 12*s*: the former price accords exactly with a rate of ½*d* a pica sheet adjusted by a ratio of seven-eighths as the *Workes* is set in english roman.[59] What we do not know (as the original binding for the 12*s* copy does not survive) is the extent to which the 3*s* binding was worked or gilded, but in view of the price for binding a Ralegh at 2*s* 6*d*, it seems likely that it was embellished in some way.

How an owner chose to have a text bound, or the bindings that they acquired, is revealing about the social and cultural values that shaped a collection, and (in cases of patronage) the role of the author in the

[57] For a comprehensive account, see Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles*, 41–163.
[58] For instance, H. M. C., *Hatfield House, Part XXIV: Addenda 1605–68* (London, 1976), 149.
[59] The *Workes* has 257 sheets (with 15 blank pages): 257 × 0.5 × 0.875 = 112½*d*; 9*s* = 108*d*.

presentation of a copy. For instance, Jonson's large paper presentation copy of his 1616 *Workes* to John Wilson, headmaster of Westminster School, is bound in dark calf, stamped and tooled with a central diamond panel, and inscribed by Jonson. However, a copy at Princeton is bound in black turkey with gilt rules and stamped dentelles, all edges red, then gilded. It was probably given to an aristocratic patron: hence the lack of an inscription. Another black turkey binding, again without an inscription but with a large 'Pyramis and Thisbe' ornament stamped on the front and back boards, is now in the collection of Robert Pirie: it was also probably a gift to a member of the nobility.[60] Jonson's inscribed copy to Edward Heywood, on the other hand, was rebound for Robert Hoe in the late nineteenth-century by Lortic Fils in red morocco lavishly gilt with brown morocco inner doublures, and cased. It may have been originally bound in gilt calf.[61] Similarly, the evidence of bindings from Jonson's library indicates that whilst his folios were bound in calf, smaller sizes were typically in plain vellum: the only velvet binding amongst his books being a gift copy of Lucan's *Pharsalia* from his friend, the translator Tom May.[62]

Authors could distinguish between presentation copies in a strict hierarchy of bindings.[63] Francis Bacon, for instance, gave copies of his *De Dignatate et Augmentis Scientiarum* (STC 1108; 1623) to the Bodleian, Cambridge University Library, and Trinity College, Cambridge: the first two are bound in turquoise velvet with gold thread (figure 3.4), the Trinity copy is bound in burgundy velvet, without the thread, but stamped with gold rules.[64] Similarly, a copy of Vesalius' *De Corporis* (1543) with hand-painted illustrations, that may have been a presentation copy to Charles V, was bound in purple velvet.[65] More typically, John Golburne had the vellum binding of his translation of Cipriano de Valera's *Two Treatises* elaborately gilded for the dedicatee, Sir Thomas Egerton.[66]

[60] PML 16254; Princeton University, Robert Taylor Collection, STC 14751; H. M. Nixon, *Five Centuries of English Bookbinding* (London, 1979), 62–3 (plate 25). Pirie also owns Sir Kenelm Digby's large paper presentation copy of Jonson's 1640 *Workes* to Elizabeth of Bohemia, bound in blue morocco.
[61] Huntington Library, RB62101.
[62] Library of Congress, Batchelder PA 6479 .E5M3 1627 (STC 16887; 1627).
[63] For instance, Bp. John Davenant to Dr Samuel Ward regarding STC 6293, 12 September 1640, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Tanner 65, f.118; also, Davenant to Ward concerning STC 6294, 8 December 1634, MS Tanner 70, f.41.
[64] F. Bacon, *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum* (STC 1108; 1623): Bodleian Library, shelfmark Arch A.c.6; Cambridge University Library, shelfmark Sel. 2.84; Trinity College, Cambridge, shelfmark R.4.60.
[65] Norman collection, Christies. The copy sold for $1.6525 million in 1998 to a private bidder.
[66] Huntington Library, shelfmark RB69718.

Figure 3.4 F. Bacon, *Opera . . . tomus primus: qui continet De dignatate et augmentis scientiarum libros IX* (STC 1108; 1623): Bodleian Library, Oxford, Arch A.c.6.

As well as gift bindings, there are others that always indicate a certain kind of personal association with the text. For instance, embroidered bindings with flowers, plants, birds, and so on, were usually made for women. Most of the texts with these bindings are Bibles, psalm-books, liturgies, and occasional volumes of godly devotion.[67] A Bible, book of common prayer, and psalm-book from 1625, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, has a list of five names, all of them women, all different.[68] Like similar volumes, it was almost certainly the book carried by the bride at her marriage, and was passed down from generation to generation: an inference that could be confirmed, or disproved, by checking the parish records. The devotional book that is handed down from mother to daughter has an iconic status quite separate from its text; as do the images of books (often indicative of godly piety) that appear in early modern paintings and sculpture, sometimes with a finger inserted in the otherwise closed volume to suggest the act of remembering the place in the act of reading. As with clothes, jewels, and animals, books in paintings reveal something about their owners, and generally what is depicted is not the open text (itself a very suggestive image, like that of a blank page), but the binding.

Coda: Monumental Inscriptions

A small group of early modern texts are preserved as inscriptions, particularly on funeral monuments. These can be quite difficult to record and describe. The best option available is to photograph the monument and the cartouche(s) that contain the text. It may be possible to measure both the monument and the lettering and therefore to give a sense of scale and composition. Perhaps the most important relationship, however, is the context within which an inscription is found, and particular thought needs to be given to how it is best represented and recorded. These decisions have to be made on the basis of both practicality and circumstance. What ought to be recorded, in particular, are the materials and the style of script used.

[67] See, G. Barber, *Textile and Embroidered Bindings* (Oxford, 1971); Foot, *History of Bookbinding*, 61–5. Folger STC 2535.2 (1610).

[68] Pierpont Morgan Library, shelfmark 16033. It is one of 25 English seventeenth-century embroidered bindings in the Morgan collection.