PRIVY TOKENS: WASTEPAPER IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND, 1536-1680

Anna Christina Reynolds

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University of York

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the importance of wastepaper in early modern England. More than a rhetorical trope, I argue that repurposed pages were both materially and figuratively useful. Drawing on a range of textual and archival sources, I show how layers of meaning developed around paper fragments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that, because of a widespread sensitivity to the life cycle of paper, visible in its surfaces and folds, wasted pages prompted imaginative work. With particular attention to how waste objects serve as palimpsests of multiple events and histories, I consider how wastepaper intersected with ideas of temporality, and how it came to be a potent emblem, or 'thing to think with', in the period.

Chapter 1 traces the origins of the wastepaper commonplace from ancient Rome to early modern England. It argues that it was the basis for an insult and a modesty topos, but also provided a potent counter-narrative to Horace's enduring *monumentum*. Chapter 2 considers the presence of monastic manuscript fragments in post-dissolution England, and how, valued variously as popish trash, national monuments, and exotic curios, they provided John Bale with a metaphor for his religious understanding of time, as well as, a century and a half later, offering John Aubrey an emblem for his antiquarian thought. Chapter 3 offers a reading of Thomas Nashe's wastepaper play, arguing that he shaped a poetics of prodigal creativity and consumption with the kinaesthetics of dispersed pages. The final chapter considers how almanacs taught their users that their bodies were interconnected with the environment through their text, their material form, and their tendency to turn 'out of date'. Wastepaper, this thesis demonstrates, invited its users to decipher its multi-layered histories and prompted potent metaphors: it told, above all else, stories about organic matter and its passage through time.

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NOTE ON TEXT AND ABBREVIATIONS

In all direct quotations from early modern sources I have italicized expanded contractions and suspensions. Deleted manuscript text is supplied in brackets as follows: x<…>x. I have not altered italicization or modernized 'u/v', 'i/j' and 'vv/w' in direct quotations, although I have silently replaced the long 's'. In giving the publication details of primary texts, I have included full details from the colophon or from the *STC*, as this may provide interesting information regarding habits of repurposing in early modern printing houses.

Due to concerns of size the font size and margins of the appendices is not consistent with the body of the thesis.

The following abbreviations have been used:

OED   Oxford English Dictionary <www.oed.com>

EEBO Early English Books Online <eebo.chadwyck.com>

ELR   English Literary Renaissance

PMLA Proceedings of the Modern Language Association

ESTC English Short Title Catalogue <estc.bl.uk>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. An early version of Chapter 2 has been published as '"Such dispersive scattredness": Early Modern Encounters with Binding Waste', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017), http://www.northernrenaissance.org/such-dispersive-scattredness-early-modern-encounters-with-binding-waste/.

INTRODUCTION

'SUCH DISPERSIVE SCATTEREDNESS'

In 1652 Thomas Urquhart, a Royalist imprisoned by the Commonwealth, published *Ekskybalauron*, or *The Jewel*. This macaronic text was many things at once: an attempt to 'vindicat[e] […] the honour' of his native Scotland, presently governed by the Presbyterian Covenanters, with a catalogue of Scottish heroes dominated by the Rabelaisian history of the 'Admirable Crichtoun'; an account of Urquhart's capture at the Battle of Worcester the previous year; and the promise of a 'Universal Language', of incalculable value to any nation, which could only be completed if Urquhart was granted his freedom, his lands, and his property.[1]

The 'Epistle Liminary' to the *Ekskybalauron* offers an account of Urquhart composing the book in the printing house: because more and more gossip slandering his country-men reached him daily, he 'was necessitated […] to over-triple [his] diligence' and 'coop' himself up 'betwixt the case and the printing press'. But the compositor was 'so nimble' that Urquhart struggled to keep up with him, and so '[h]e and I striving thus who should compose fastest, he with his hand, and I with my brain […] we would almost every foot so jump together in this joynt expedition, and so nearly overtake other in our intended course'.[2]

This collaboration between the cognitive and the manual, the 'joint emulation betwixt the *theoretick* and *practical* part', stops just short of crediting the unnamed 'workman' as a co-author of *Ekskybalauron*. Urquhart also, however, draws attention to the materials and manhandling that underpin his own acts of composition. In his haste, we are told, Urquhart was 'glad to tear off parcels of ten or twelve lines apeece' to give to his compositor.[3] These lines were written 'upon the loose sheets of cording-quires', the wrappings for reams of paper, usually comprised of 'Torn, wrinkled, stained, or otherwise naughty Sheets' that the paper-maker had to hand, and that were lying discarded in the printing house.[4] These 'naughty' sheets, apparently good for 'nought', are the materials of Urquhart's 'extemporanean' textual generation. And, when he 'minced & tore them', Urquhart continues, they 'look[ed] like pieces of waste paper, troublesome to get rallied, after such dispersive scattredness', so that he 'had not the leisure to read what I had written'. His description of these minced fragments is part-apology, part-brag for having 'in the space of fourteen working-daies, compleated this whole book'.

But these aren't the only 'foul' papers that Urquhart describes in the preliminaries to *Ekskybalauron*. In addition to this copy that was both written on and came to resemble wastepaper in the printing house, 'sixscore & eight quires and a half' of manuscripts prepared for print were, according to Urquhart, stolen and used as wastepaper at the Battle of Worcester.

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[1] Thomas Urquhart, *Ekskybalauron* (London: Ja: Cottrel, to be sold by Rich. Baddeley, 1652).
[2] Ibid., A8r-v.
[3] Ibid., a1r-v.
[4] Randle Holme, *The Academy of Armory* (Chester: for the author, [1688]), 120.

After 'plundering' Urquhart's belongings, the victorious Parliamentary soldiers had first cast away his papers 'as unfit for their use' but, greedy for 'new booty', they turned back, 'apprehending how useful the paper might be unto them'. Handing out the sheets to their 'Camarads [comrades] […] for packeting up of Raisins, Figs, Dates, Almonds, Caraway, and other such-like dry Confections and other ware, as was requisite', they 'kindle[d] pipes of Tobacco with a great part thereof, and threw out all the remainder upon the streets, save so much as they deemed necessary for inferiour employments, and posteriour uses'.[5]

Discarded for a second time, some of 'those dispersedly-rejected bundles of paper […] were gathered up by Grocers, Druggists, Chandlers, Pie-makers, or such as stood in need of any cartapaciatory utensil [notebooks, or scrap paper], and put in present service, to the utter undoing of all the writing thereof, both in its matter and order'. One 'quinternion', or gathering of five sheets, was recovered by a kind citizen. Stuck in the gutter amongst 'a heap of seven and twenty dead men, lying upon one another', its rescuer recognised that it had been marked up for print and endeavoured to 'preserve it'. These muddy sheets were 'but a parcel of the Preface' of 'the Grammar and Lexicon of an Universal Language' which form the first part of the *Ekskybalauron*: a list of 134 statements describing the promised Language, give or take a dozen items omitted because the manuscript was damaged.

For Urquhart, then, composition is framed by the material history of paper: its vulnerability and vagaries, and its tendency toward 'dispersive scattredness' and an afterlife as waste. This wastepaper, Urquhart makes clear, is useful as a material for 'inferiour employments', but also as an idea. The physical experience of wastepaper, either at Worcester or in everyday life, shapes Urquhart's experience of composition in the printing house and provides him with a narrative of composition, near-complete loss, and partial re-composition: a performance, perhaps wholly rhetorical, grounded in the biography of paper. We can't be sure, after all, if Urquhart's wasted manuscripts or his Universal Language ever existed.

Although Urquhart is an eccentric character who composed singular texts, his description of wastepaper and his sense that textual objects might recognizably be *like* wastepaper, is in keeping with a broader set of negotiations that took place throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Urquhart's book moves in and out of a 'waste' state: waste is at once a practical reality and a textual fantasy. This thesis argues that wastepaper was common stuff in the early modern period: drawing on the evidence of wastepaper in our archives and libraries, as well as the textual renderings of wastepaper practices and wastepaper imagery, I argue that the experience of wastepaper generated powerful imaginative work. By tracing its material and

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[5] Urquhart, *Ekskybalauron*, 2-4.

tropic history, I demonstrate that the process of repurposing pages and the widespread sensitivity to the narratives contained within them, structured a solid metaphor, an emblem, a potent 'thing to think with' in early modern England.

<u>'Rouled vp in a piece of waste paper'</u>

Wastepaper – also 'waste paper', 'waste-paper', or 'wast paper' – is defined by the *OED* as (1) 'Paper cast aside as spoiled, superfluous, or useless for its original purpose. Also *fig.*' and (2), 'Blank or unused paper'.[6] The first definition cites John Higgins' 1585 edition of the octolingual dictionary, *The Nomenclator*, as the earliest use, describing it as 'waste paper […] wherein occupiers wrap their seuerall wares'.[7] The *OED* goes on to cite Thomas Nashe describing books that 'pretend […] to anatomize abuses' as 'waste paper beeing wel viewed', which 'seemes fraught with nought els saue dogge daies effects'.[8] The second definition of 'blank or unused paper' is described as obsolete, though as we will see, the idea of wastepaper as blank, useable space has a much longer and richer early modern heritage than the *OED* suggests. Although not comprehensive, these two definitions suggest the complexities and ambiguities of wastepaper: it is both an object (a wrapper) and a literary trope (*'figurative'*); it has been discarded, 'cast aside' because it is lacking or defective ('spoiled') but it is also 'superfluous'. Branded 'useless' – either spoiled, 'used up', or blank, awaiting use – wastepaper is nonetheless useful, if not for its 'original' purpose.

The sense that waste is 'blank or unused' stems from its etymological root in the Latin *vā̆stus*, meaning either 'a desart or solitary [unoccupied] place' or an immense and extensive 'void'.[9] This shaped what was defined as waste, and how waste was conceived: 'waste blanks' and waste books, for instance, were empty sheets ready to be filled.[10] Waste, therefore, invites intrusion and suggests future use. Waste is also a verb: it can describe the wasting or wearing away of an object over time.[11] This entropic trajectory underlies early modern negotiations of

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[6] 'Waste-paper', *OED*.

[7] 'Segestria' in Hadrianus Junius, *The Nomenclator*, trans. by John Higgins (London: for Ralph Newberie and Henrie Denham, 1585).

[8] Thomas Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie* (London: I. Charlewood for Thomas Hacket, 1589), B2r.

[9] 'Wast' in William Camden, *Remaines of A Greater Worke* (London: G[eorge] E[ld] for Simon Waterson, 1605); William Viney, *Waste: A Philosophy of Things* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 18-21.

[10] See, for instance, the 'waste blanks' in Shakespeare's 'Sonnet 77'. 'Waste book' can refer to any 'day book' for rough account-keeping (see 'waste book' in Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of Manuscript Terminology, 1450-2000* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011)), but printed waste books emerged later in the seventeenth century. John Vernon's *The Compleat Comptinghouse* (London: J[ohn] D[arby] for Benj[amin] Billingsley, 1678) describes how to make and rule a waste book.

[11] 'Consumer', 'to consume, to waste, to weare away' in Claudius Hollyband, *A Dictionarie French and English* (London: T[homas] O[rwin] for Thomas Woodcock, 1593).

wastepaper, but 'waste' can also mean to 'lay waste': the aggressive destruction, unpeopling, and scattering of landscapes and cities.[12] This shares a rough outline with the process of tearing up and scattering books and papers, as well as with the ambiguities of wastepaper: the paradigmatic wastelands of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel provide a model in which a desolate space, laid waste by God, is not quite empty. Wastelands might, as in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, be 'wildernesse[s] and wastefull deserts', brimming with noise, movement, and unwanted surplus.[13] But as the books of the latter prophets also make clear, things that have been laid waste can also be redeemed, repopulated and redefined as non-waste.[14] Many things then, both figurative and physical, might be 'rouled vp in a piece of waste paper'.[15]

The earliest uses of the term 'wastepaper' pre-date the *OED*'s examples by a number of decades, reflecting the dictionary's dependence on print. The term appears in a number of probate inventories from the 1550s onwards, in which items such as 'olde broken bokes and other trasshe' are described as being available 'for waste paper'.[16] Another early use can be found in the 1566 Privy Council *Ordinaunces decreed for reformation of diuers disorders in pryntyng and vtteryng of Bookes*. Intended to punish both the importation of Continental Catholic publications and the violation of patents, the *Ordinaunce* instructs wardens that 'all bookes to be so forfayted, shalbe brought into the Stationers hall in London' to be 'destroyed or made waste paper' at the discretion of the Company.[17]

These early examples refer to books transformed into waste, either because they were old and unwanted or because they were new and illicit. Although blank paper could also be 'wasted' in the period, it is difficult to identify and, perhaps because of this, was rarely referred to in early modern texts. As a result, this study limits itself to the study of the practice and figurative potential of repurposing text objects. Such wastepaper was now 'use[d] in a different way': no longer a text to be read, repurposed pages become paper with text on them, wrapping, stopping, or wiping something else.

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[12] 'Waste' in Hollyband, *A Dictionarie*.

[13] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (London: Routledge, 2013), I:3, l.4. See Isaiah 13:1, 'But the wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there', KJV.

[14] Isaiah 51:3, 'For the Lord shall comfort Zion: he will comfort all her waste places; and he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody', KJV.

[15] 'Incartocciato' in John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes* (London: Arnold Hatfield for Edw. Blunt, 1598).

[16] E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), 816-20.

[17] *Ordinaunces decreed for reformation of diuers disorders in pryntyng and vtteryng of Bookes* ([London: s.n., 1566]), broadside; see David J. Harvey, *The Law Emprynted and Englysshed: The Printing Press as an Agent of Change in Law and Legal Culture 1475-1642* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 52-53, 69.

Both printed and manuscript material was frequently turned to wastepaper, and paper was reclaimed from bound and stitched books as well as loose sheets. Throughout this thesis, I use 'book' to describe multiple quires of manuscript or printed material, however temporarily held together, in opposition to 'loose sheets'. I also use the phrase 'wastepaper practices' to encompass the act of repurposing a book or loose sheets made from a material other than paper, such as papyrus in Chapter 1, and parchment in Chapter 2. The life stories and potential meanings of these materials is distinct from that of paper, but it is rewarding to consider waste practices and representations of repurposing broadly in the period, not least because early moderns were engaged in and alert to the productive confusion of these categories. I avoid the term 'recycling', instead using 'repurposed', although neither was current in the period. 'Repurposing' indicates conversion 'for a different purpose or for use in a different way', a suitably vague and capacious process that suggests continuity between the object before and after its adaptation.[18] Although 'recycling' is sometimes used in this sense, it carries the connotation of a more substantial transformation. Recycled objects 'return to a previous stage of a cyclic process', frequently being melted down or chemically treated to form radically altered and reusable products.[19] Paper, even wasted, remained paper.

It is also useful to ask, *when* is wastepaper?[20] Waste is a stage in the life cycle of a material, but this life cycle is far from straightforward: wastepaper can be reinstated as a text-object. This is most visible when waste fragments have been salvaged by antiquarians and collectors, either early modern or modern, as we will see in Chapter 2, but also when annotations and scribbles engage with wasted text. A late seventeenth-century hand has copied the word 'Gomor' multiple times on the waste sheet of a dictionary bound within Robert Burton's 1628 *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (see Fig. 1), and a user of Thomas Morley's 1593 *Canzonets* has traced the illuminated capitals of its fifteenth-century wrapper (see Fig. 2). The blank spaces and margins of early modern books have much in common with wastepaper, and the distinction between them was often blurred: addressing young children in his 1612 *Ludus Literarius*, John Brinsley instructs them to practice their letters 'in some voyde place of their book, or some wastepaper', bringing into view the slippery distinction between 'voyde' and 'vastus'.[21]

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[18] 'Repurpose', *OED*.
[19] 'Recycle', I.1.a, *OED*.
[20] This is an adaptation of Leah Price's question 'when is a text?', in *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2012), 219.
[21] John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (London: [Humphrey Lownes] for Thomas Man, 1612), 37-39.

Fig. 1: A sheet of Thomas Elyot's *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (London: Thomas Bethelet, 1548) used, upside down, as a flyleaf in Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: John Lichfield for Henry Cripps, 1628), Durham Cathedral Library, Cosin AA.3.28.
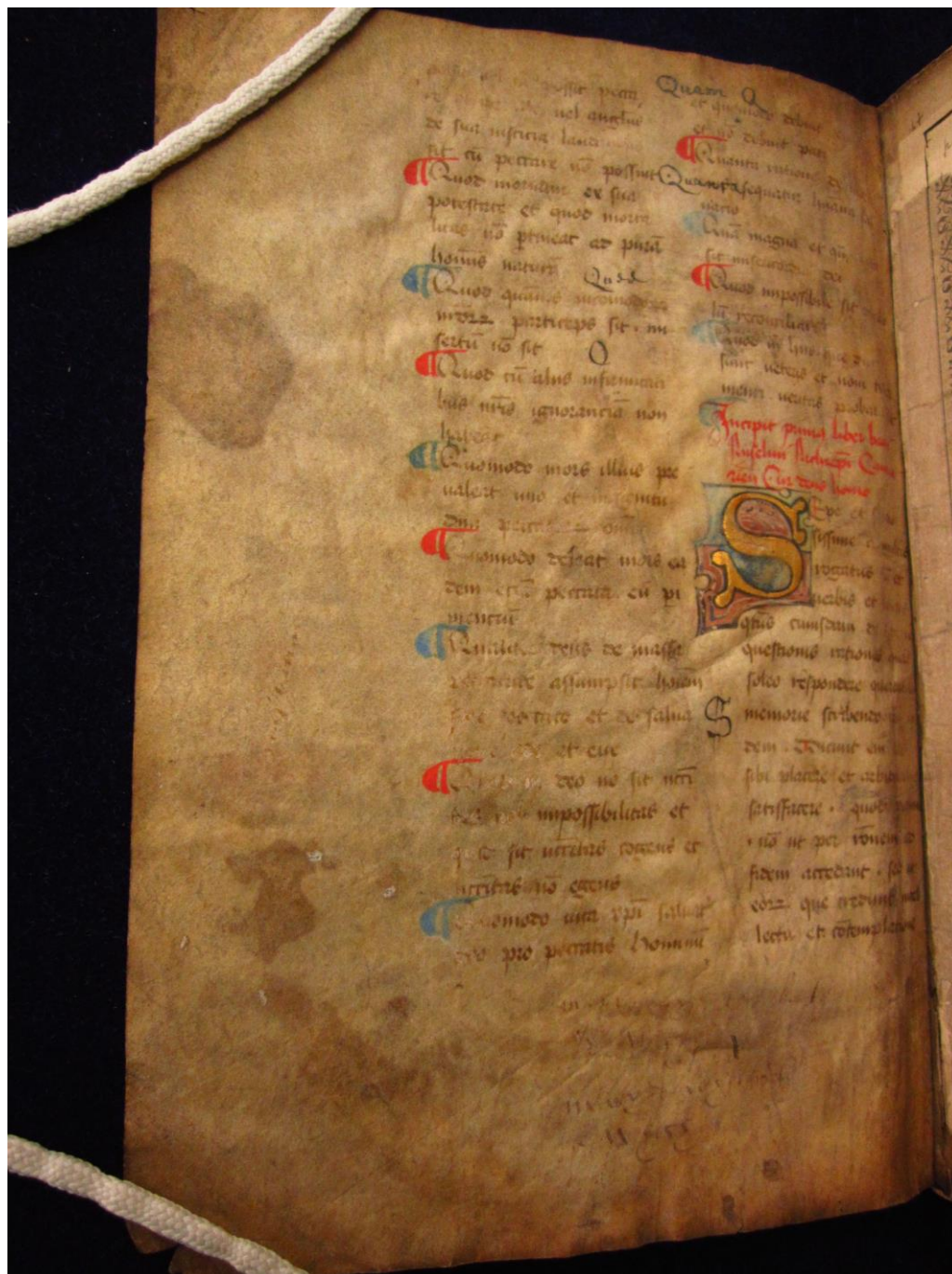
Fig 2: A fifteenth-century manuscript of St. Anselm used as a wrapper for Thomas Morley's *Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs to Three Voyces* ([London]: Tho: Est, [1593]), Henry E. Huntington Library, 13101v.1.

An Artefact Without a History

Wastepaper has been largely overlooked in literary and historical scholarship, although the last five years have seen a turn towards celebrating the broader history of paper. It is no longer possible to describe paper, as Ian Sansom did in 2012, as 'an artifact without a popular history', a neglect which results, Sansom explains, from 'its everyday usefulness' and how it is

'forever disappearing and reappearing' from view.[22] There have been a flurry of paper histories in recent years, although the majority dwell less on the subject of paper itself than on the technologies that paper has shaped: writing, print, engraving, administration, bureaucracy, and communication.[23] There is also growing scholarly attention to the presence and experience of paper in early modern England, and a sense that the period was not as paper-short as has previously been assumed. Instead, we are becoming increasingly aware that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed an ever-expanding understanding of and familiarity with the materials and processes of papermaking. To begin to understand the nature of wastepaper practices, as well as the figurative potential of repurposed sheets, we must first appreciate the ubiquity of paper and its diverse uses in early modern England.

Used in England as early as the fourteenth century, white paper for printing and writing was largely imported from Italy until the late fifteenth century, and then from France until the late seventeenth.[24] Paper was also imported from the Netherlands, and the Court continued to use the best quality Italian paper throughout the period.[25] White paper was produced domestically, with John Tate's Hertford mill, set up in 1495, producing paper of good enough quality to be used in the printing house of Wynkyn de Worde. It is unclear when Tate's mill closed, but aside from an ambiguous reference in Tate's 1506 will, there is no further evidence of any white paper mills in England until the mid-sixteenth century.[26] John Aubrey describes a paper mill at Bemerton, near Salisbury, operating in the 1550s and 1560s, and there may also have been one at Fen Ditton in the 1550s.[27] Sir Thomas Gresham set up a mill at Osterley, Middlesex, in the 1570s, but this is described as being 'decaied' by 1593.[28] In 1585 Richard Tottell submitted a petition in which he described the 'dearth of good paper in this Realme' and complained that French papermakers were sabotaging English paper production. He sought a privilege 'for the sole manufacture of paper within the realm' and a prohibition against the

[22] Ian Sansom, *Paper: An Elegy* (London: Fourth Estate, 2012), xviii.

[23] See Sansom, *Paper*; Alexander Monro, *The Paper Trail: An Unexpected History of a Revolutionary Invention* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2014); Lothar Müller, *White Magic: The Age of Paper*, trans. by Jessica Spengler (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014); Mark Kurlansky, *Paper: Paging Through History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016).

[24] The standard historical overviews of papermaking are D. C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry, 1495-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), esp. 3-88; Richard Leslie Hills, *Papermaking in Britain, 1488-1988: A Short History* (London: Bloomsbury, 1988), esp. 1-12, 45-64; Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Dover Publications, repr. 1978), esp. 114-20, 224-46; Alfred H. Shorter, *Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England, 1495-1800* (Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1954), 19-50. See also Helen Smith, '"A unique instance of art": The proliferating surfaces of early modern paper', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017): para. 19-25.

[25] John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* vol. 4, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 538-601; Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 3.

[26] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 40-41.

[27] Ibid., 41.

[28] Ibid., 42.

exportation of rags.[29] Although he complains about its quality, his petition makes clear that paper was produced in England at the time.

In 1588, Thomas Churchyard published a *A Sparke of Frendship and Warme Goodwill* […] *with a description & commendation of a Paper Mill, now and late set vp (neere the Towne of Darthford) by an high Germayn called M. Spilman*. John Spilman set up his mill in 1588 and, in 1589, was granted a patent for 'the sole right to erect any paper mill or manufacture any paper within the realm' and to 'gather and buy all linnen rags, scrolls or scraps of parchment, pieces of lime leather, shreds and clippings of cards, and old fishing nets'.[30] These miscellaneous rags and scraps make up the raw materials for both paper and the coating of size that readies its surface for ink. Renewed for fourteen years in 1597, it stipulates that Spilman would lose his patent should he cease production for more than six months without good reason, or 'convert the rags &c. to any use other than the making of white writing paper'.[31] Heather Wolfe has identified a number of English books printed on Spilman's paper, including a copy of Churchyard's panegyric and a 1605 copy of Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*.[32] It is not clear when Spilman's mill ceased operating but it was certainly after the turn of the century: in 1601 Spilman complained that competitors were violating his patent and buying up the best rags, forcing him to make brown paper.[33] His efforts seem to have been forgotten, however, by 1640 when Endymion Porter, John and Edward Reade, and John Wakeman claimed that 'they have learned the art of making white writing paper, an art not yet practised within his Majesty's dominions'.[34] They, like the papermakers before them, requested a license for production and a prohibition of the exportation of rags. Their request seems to have been granted.

According to A. H. Shorter, between 1588 and 1650 there were 37 paper mills in England. By 1670 there were more than 50, and 100 by 1690.[35] Paper was, therefore, produced in England throughout the early modern period. The majority of mills produced brown paper, and white paper mills like Spilman's were something of an exception, albeit well-known ones. Very little brown paper was imported during the seventeenth century, since it was already readily available, but it was only late in the century that white paper imports began to fall, indicating

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[29] W. W. Greg, *A Companion to Arber* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 116.
[30] Ibid., 45.
[31] Ibid., 45; Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 43-47.
[32] Heather Wolfe, 'Rethinking the Price, Quality, and Social Significance of Writing Paper in Early Modern England' (paper presented at the Paper, Pen and Ink: Manuscript Cultures in Early Modern England Seminar Series, London, April 14, 2014). Heather Wolfe and Henry Woudhuysen are in the process of researching Spilman's paper in detail. See 'An example of early modern English writing paper', *The Collation* (blog), February 4, 2014, http://collation.folger.edu/2014/02/an-example-of-early-modern-english-writing-paper/.
[33] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 48.
[34] Greg, *Companion*, 353-55.
[35] A. H. Shorter, 'The Historical Geography of the Paper-making Industry in England' (Ph.D. diss., London, 1954), cited by Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 49. See also Shorter, *Paper Mills*, 39-44.

that a significant proportion of white paper had begun to be produced domestically.[36] After the 1680s, the English industry benefited from protective economic policies and the disruption of trade with France, as well as the influx of Huguenot refugees who brought with them advanced papermaking knowledge.[37]

It is with the rise in domestic white paper production that the time period covered by this thesis ends: cheap and ready access to white paper, as well as decorated paper, led to a shift in the structure and materials of bindings, and altered the use, conception and categorisation of waste.[38] Books bound late in the century look and feel very different to those of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, whose bindings were comprised of pasteboard rather than wooden boards or laminated sheets of (often waste) paper. Quarter and half bindings became increasingly common: these used less leather and the boards were typically covered with marbled paper. Either white or decorated paper was used for the majority of flyleaves and pastedowns.[39] Although wastepaper continued to be used in bindings, it was often 'damasked', its text concealed beneath patterns and ink, or cut into narrow strips and hidden within the spine (see Fig. 3).[40] Waste was no longer a visible presence in a significant proportion of books.

With this plenitude of brown and white paper in mind, a number of scholars have begun to recover an early modern 'paper-literacy': sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paper users were sensitive to the varying sizes, prices and colours of papers, be they 'blew', 'brown', 'cap', 'Demy', 'ordinary Printing and Copy', 'Painted', 'Pressing', 'Rochell Paper as large as demy', or 'Royall'.[41]

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[36] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 50-54.

[37] Ibid., 60-79.

[38] Decorated papers were in use throughout the early modern period as wall hangings in households and taverns and as box-linings, but only became common in bindings later in the seventeenth century. Marbled paper was imported from the Continent from the late seventeenth century. See Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 60; Gill Saunders, '"Paper Tapestry" and "Wooden Pictures": Printed Decoration in the Domestic Interior before 1700', in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Michael Hunter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 317-336; Richard J. Wolfe, *Marbled Paper: Its History, Techniques, and Patterns* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 1991), 48.

[39] See David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, vol. 1, *Printing and the Book Trade in Cambridge, 1534-1698* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 7-10.

[40] Juliet Fleming, 'Damask Papers', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 179-191.

[41] *An Act for the Redemption of Captives* ([London?: for Lawrence Blacklock, 1650]), 56. In its list of the importation rates for a range of goods, brown is the cheapest type of paper; 'printing and copy paper', destined for the printing houses, the next cheapest; cap, demy, and royal specify certain dimensions, with cap the smallest and cheapest listed, and royal the largest and most expensive; 'Rochell' indicates that the paper was produced in the Rochelle region of France; and 'blew' paper seems to have been used primarily as artists' paper and for decoration. John Krill, in *English Artists' Paper: Renaissance to Regency* (London: Trefoil, 1987), 56, describes it as 'inexpensive', and frequently used as wrapping paper, but this does not seem to be true in the seventeenth century, when its importation rate is almost equal to that of demy paper. Painted paper, almost as expensive as royal, refers to damasked or marbled sheets. Pressing paper is the most expensive: used by cloth-pressers, this was probably because of its size (see Krill, *English Artist's Paper*, 63). On paper sizes, see James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 34.

As well as varying in size, paper varied in texture and quality, and early moderns often apologized in correspondence if their letter was written on coarse or rough pages; as James Daybell has demonstrated, even the blank spaces and folds of a letter could communicate paper-based meaning to its recipient.[42] Furthermore, because competition over good quality linen rags was fierce, early moderns, particularly city-dwellers in papermaking regions such as the South-East, would have been aware of and often involved in the collection of these raw materials. Spilman's rag collectors were accused, in 1601, of aggressively 'begging at men's doors', and descriptions of poor 'rag-gatherers' seeking cast-offs in 'kennels' and 'dung-hills' are common.[43] A wider range of materials were also gathered to make brown paper, including poor quality linen rags, woollen rags, cordage, old sails, and fishing nets, as well as old parchment and leather for the production of size.[44]
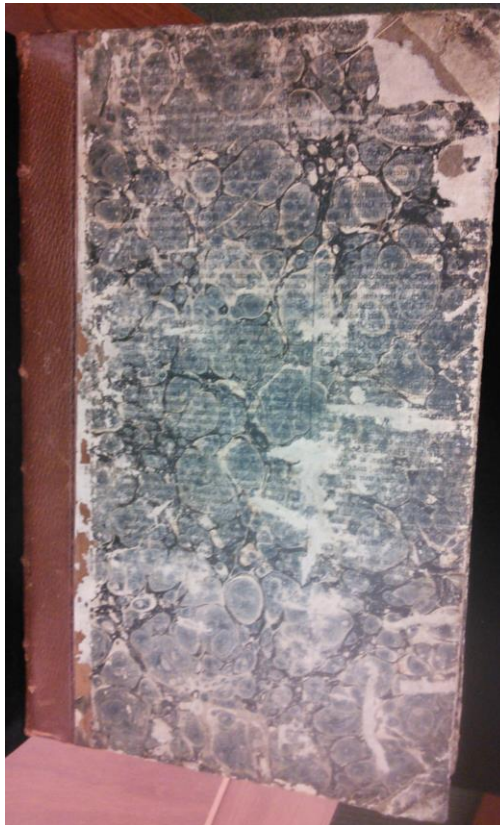
Fig. 3: Leaf from a 1693 *Book of Common Prayer*, marbled and used to cover the pasteboards of a quarter binding. The original leather has been removed and the volume has been respined. Bound text is Winston Churchill, *Divi Britannici* (London: Tho: Roycroft to be sold by Francis Eglesfield, 1675), Henry E. Huntington Library, 601609.

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[42] Wolfe, 'Writing Paper in Early Modern England', unpublished paper; Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 25; Daybell, *The Material Letter*, 37, 91-99.
[43] Quoted in Smith, '"A unique instance of art"', para. 23; Person of Honour, *Angliae Tutamen* (London: for the Author, sold by John Whitlock, 1695), 26; Thomas White, *Controversy-Logicke* ([Paris: S. N.], 1659), 167.
[44] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 37.

Paper was employed more often than we might expect in the early modern household. As well as being written on and read, Helen Smith has demonstrated that paper 'proliferat[ed]' in medicines and recipes. It rubbed against the body in the form of poultices and plasters; was sometimes shaped into prosthetics and bandages; formed wrappers to preserve foods and medicines, 'coffins' for baking in the oven, and filters for distilling liquids; and could be cut up and folded to make toys and mathematical instruments.[45] All of these paper technologies depend on a heightened knowledge of the physical qualities of paper: in particular, its malleability, its capacity to both repel and absorb water, and its variable softness. Smith argues that the ways in which paper was folded, stitched and pinned made it 'both a practical and an intellectual resource', resembling Urquhart's '*theoretick* and *practical*' modes of production: more than passive vehicles and wrappers for food and abstract knowledge, these medicines and models were, as Smith argues, 'modes of knowing', things with which to 'materialis[e] problems' and 'extrapolat[e] ideas'.[46]

This sensitivity to the raw materials, as well as the textures and physical capacities of paper, meant that an understanding of paper's material history was widespread in early modern England. Readers were well aware that the book they held was once a plant, transformed into clothing, and then rags: they knew that 'the Matter of Flax […] is pluck'd up' and 'putrefied and rotted in water', and then 'beaten, broken, peel'd, and last of all dress'd', then 'Cloth weaved of it', before being 'cut in pieces by Taylors', and 'when this Linnen is quite worn out, and torn, the old Rags are gathered together, and sent to the Paper-Mills, whereof they make Paper, which is put unto divers uses'.[47]

Attentive to the surfaces of paper, early moderns were able to decipher these past lives in the pages, wrappers, and instruments that they handled. Joshua Calhoun argues that because the swatches and shives of linen and flax remained embedded in the surface of paper, its users 'recognize[d] the polychronic dimensions of matter'. Animals, plants, and artisanal acts of making 'introduce into [the paper] multiple traces of different times'.[48] This multi-temporality generated rhetorical potential: Smith argues that because paper makes visible the 'multiple transformations undergone by […] flax', it 'could be read as representative of the transformations of matter' more generally.[49] Joshua Calhoun considers the imaginative power

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[45] Smith, '"A unique instance of art"', para. 4. The forthcoming collection *Working With Paper: Gendered Practices in the History of Knowledge*, funded by the Max Planck Institute, will contain further research on this topic, with essays by Elaine Leong, Heather Wolfe, and Elizabeth Yale.
[46] Smith, '"A unique instance of art"', paras. 3, 4, 43.
[47] Basilius Valentinus, *Of Natural & Supernatural Things* (London: sold by Moses Pitt, 1671), 119-20.
[48] Joshua Calhoun, 'The Word Made Flax: Cheap Bibles, Textual Corruption, and the Poetics of Paper', *PMLA* 126, no. 2 (2011): 339.
[49] Smith, '"A unique instance of art"', paras. 32-34.

of these transformations in his reading of Henry Vaughan's 'The Book', arguing that paper becomes, for the poet, an allegory of the corruption of matter and the possibility of a 'restoration': organic matter, constantly in 'flux', is contrasted with the incorruptible 'quintessence' of matter that persists in a divinely ordered world.[50]

Vaughan is one of a number of early modern poets who made use of the metamorphic narrative contained within the life cycle of paper, reflecting on how, in the words of another religious thinker, 'the body when it rots in the grave, is as linnen worn to rags, and cast upon the dunghill: but at the resurrection it is like those Rags gathered up, and made into paper, which many times becomes gilt, and capable of noble and divine impressions'.[51] The earliest description of papermaking in England offers a similar allegory: Churchyard tells his readers how, in Spilman's mill, 'rags and shreds' are made 'to sweate. | Of whose thick froth, a creame or crudde should rise', which takes the 'shape' of a sheet of paper.[52] This process, in which 'drosse and rags' become 'Paper white and cleane', is 'comparde' to the process in which 'Mans secrete faults, and foule defects of minde, | must be reformde, like ragges in Paper mill'.[53] Heather Wolfe's suggestion that the years in which Spilman set up his paper mill were also the years of a 'watershed' in paper literacy is a persuasive one: in the following decades, poets such as John Taylor and Abraham Cowley found symbolic potential, with Vaughan, in the transformations of the materials that make up paper.[54]

Taylor's version of this metamorphic narrative is the best-known, and is especially self-reflexive: he describes how, musing on paper, 'Into Phylosophy [he] straight wayes wade[s]'.[55] In a not strictly accurate account of 'the linnen of a Tyburne slaue' being 'transform'd' into expensive 'Paper-royall' while 'the torne shirt of a Lords or Kings' is 'pasht' into lowly 'Pot-paper' (only high-quality rags could produce high-quality paper), Taylor ends with an exposition of the relationship between things and metaphors: 'Thus', he concludes, 'are these tatters allegoricall | Tropes, types, and figure, of mans rise or fall'.[56] The rags and tatters, as well as the 'little *Hemp* and flaxen seeds' and sheets of paper, manifest various stages within a continuous

[50] Calhoun, 'Word Made Flax', 327-44.

[51] Henry Valentine, *Private Devotions, Digested into Six Letanies* (London: [M. Flesher] for John Marriot, 1635), 256-57.

[52] Thomas Churchyard, *A Sparke of Frendship and Warme Goodwill* (London: [T. Orwin], 1588), D2r; Hunter, *Papermaking*, 120.

[53] Churchyard, *Sparke of Frendship*, D3r-v.

[54] Wolfe, 'Writing Paper in Early Modern England', unpublished paper; Katherine A. Craik, 'John Taylor's Pot-Poetry', *The Seventeenth Century* 20, no. 2 (2005): 185-203; Smith, '"A unique instance of art"', paras. 28-30.

[55] John Taylor, *All the Workes of Iohn Taylor the Water Poet* (London: I[ohn] B[eale], Elizabeth Allde, Bernard Alsop, and Thomas Fawcet for Iames Boler, 1630), 69-70.

[56] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 27.

life cycle: each reminds Taylor of its potential to transform into the other, and so provides an emblem, a solid metaphor, a tattered 'trope' or 'figure' for transformation more broadly.

This thesis seeks to expand that life cycle a stage further, considering the subsequent transformation of a sheet into wastepaper and the ways in which early moderns were sensitive to this extended biography. Early modern writers would sometimes compress this biography, with 'old raggs' and 'totterd streamers' imagined as leaping a stage and turning straight to 'wast Paper'.[57] Whereas recent scholarship has focused on paper's 'pre-lives' as flax and rags, the wastepaper visible in texts and archives reveals the importance of paper's afterlives within the early modern imagination and everyday experience: this, too, contained rhetorical depths. Returning to Sansom's terms, we might describe *wastepaper*, rather than paper more broadly, as an artefact which lacks a history because of its 'everyday usefulness' and how it disappears and reappears from view.[58]

Although book historians and literary scholars have long been aware of wastepaper as both material practice and commonplace, little attention has been paid to its copiousness and imaginative weight in early modern England. Scholarly reference to repurposing pages is typically limited to brief asides and falls into one of two contradictory categories: it is either assumed that paper in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was too precious a commodity to waste, and that references to mustard stoppers and privy paper should therefore be read as largely rhetorical; or that wasting paper was a mundane practice, and so does not warrant more than passing mention.[59] It has been elided with book destruction, and described elsewhere as a 'joke' or 'quaint fear'.[60] On other occasions, references to wastepaper are read as isolated instances, with the wider physical and literary context overlooked. Scholarship on Thomas Nashe, as we will see in Chapter 3, has a tendency to claim wastepaper as part of Nashe's 'singular' representation of material culture, giving the impression that repurposed pages are weird and wonderful things from the depths of Nashe's 'grotesque' imagination, rather than commonplace objects with a lengthy tropic history.

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[57] Mateo Alemán, *The Rogue* (London: [Eliot's Court Press and George Eld] for Edward Blount, 1623), 191.

[58] Sansom, *Paper,* xviii.

[59] I have encountered the assumption that England was too 'paper-short' to make wastepaper anything but a joke numerous times when presenting my research at conferences. See, for instance, Mark Kurlansky's description of how, in nineteenth-century England, 'old books *started turning up* at groceries and cheese shops, where their pages were used for wrapping' (my emphasis), *Paper: Paging Through History*, 238. Similarly, Lothar Müller's history of paper only mentions wastepaper in relation to the 'exponential growth of the literary market' in the late eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries, *White Magic*, 129-68.

[60] Rowan Watson, 'Some Non-Textual Uses of Books', in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 491; *The Owl's Almanac*, ed. by Neil Rhodes in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 1287 FN; Wes Folkerth, 'Pietro Aretino, Thomas Nashe, and Early Modern Rhetorics of Public Address', in *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, ed. by Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin (New York: Routledge, 2010), 74.

Book historians such as Nicholas Pickwoad and Neil R. Ker have described and catalogued fragments of medieval manuscripts in early modern books, though not the habitual wasting of unwanted printed and manuscript pages throughout the period.[61] A number of recent studies have considered waste practices in more depth, although these fall outside the period of this study: Hannah Ryley and Eric Kwakkel have demonstrated the 'sustainable practices' of parchment 'recycling' in the manuscript culture of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries, and William Noblett has traced the fate of stolen papers and the wastepaper trade in late eighteenth-century London.[62] Similarly, Paula McDowell has considered the development of the archival category of 'ephemera' alongside the emergence of daily newspapers and the Grub Street aesthetic in the early eighteenth century, and Kristian Jensen has described the 'reification' of the fifteenth-century book in revolutionary France.[63]

Sustained studies of literary reference to wastepaper similarly focus on later centuries. Ian Donaldson's lively essay on 'The Destruction of the Book' provides a wide-ranging overview of the 'apocalyptic yet bantering' trope from Horace to Byron, but argues that 'Augustan satire' is the primary site of wastepaper play.[64] Heather Tilley has traced the network of dust mounds, buried wills and the wastepaper trade in Charles Dickens' *Our Mutual Friend*, and Leah Price makes a case for the development of a 'rejection history' of books centred on the nineteenth century, replacing readership with 'handlership' and expanding our understanding of reading to encompass 'recycling'.[65]

There is, however, a lack of sustained attention to this 'rejection history' and the latter stages of 'handlership' during a period in which, as I will go on to demonstrate, wastepaper circulated widely. Margaret Spufford, in 1981, argued for the 'very real social need for lavatory paper', as well as the presence of 'twists of printed paper wrapped conically around spices and so circulating' in early modern England. With this brief hypothesis, Spufford is frequently cited

[61] Nicholas Pickwoad, 'The Use of Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts in the Construction and Covering of Bindings on Printed Books', in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, ed. by Linda L. Brownrigg and Margaret M. Smith (London: The Red Gull Press, 2000), 1-20; N. R. Ker, *Fragments of medieval manuscripts used as pastedowns in Oxford Bindings: with a survey of Oxford binding, c. 1515-1620* (Oxford: The Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1954; repr. 2004).

[62] Hannah Ryley, 'Waste not, want not: the sustainability of medieval manuscripts', *Green Letters* 19, no. 1 (2015): 63-73, and 'Sustainability and Recycling in Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts' (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 2016); for the work of Erik Kwakkel see blog entries such as 'X-Rays Expose a Hidden Medieval Library', *Medieval Books* (blog), December 18, 2015, https://medievalbooks.nl/category/fragments/; William Noblett, 'Cheese, Stolen Paper, and the London Book Trade, 1750-99', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 38, no. 3 (2014): 100-110.

[63] Paula McDowell, 'Of Grubs and Other Insects: Constructing the Categories of 'Ephemera' and 'Literature' in Eighteenth-Century British Writing', *Book History* 15 (2012): 48-70; Kristian Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book: Reshaping the Past, 1780-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011).

[64] Ian Donaldson, 'The Destruction of the Book', *Book History* 1, no. 1 (1998): 1-10.

[65] Heather Tilley, 'Waste Matters: Charles Dickens' *Our Mutual Friend* and Nineteenth-Century Book Recycling', in *Book Destruction from the Medieval to the Contemporary*, ed. by Adam Smyth and Gill Partington (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 152-171; Price, *How to Do Things with Books,* 7, 15, 256.

as the authority on wastepaper practices in the period.[66] David Cressy similarly describes how 'ephemeral publications' were 'used as draught excluders', pie- and box-linings, kindling for fires and tobacco, spice wrappers, and toilet paper, although his sources (a 1712 edition of *The Spectator*, the 1930 *Anatomy of Bibliomania*, and a citation of Spufford) are sparse.[67]

A small number of scholars writing after 'the material turn' have begun to gesture toward both the intellectual and the material valences of wastepaper. In her analysis of the ways in which paratexts framed early modern readers, Heidi Brayman Hackel outlines how 'base and scatological uses for printed paper were often recorded and imagined in the period', suggesting that this 'reflects both the practical value of recycled paper […] and the perceived vulnerability of a book'.[68] Leah Knight's study of the relationship between books and botany considers the organic ephemerality of repurposed manuscripts and printed waste, and Elizabeth Yale explores the influence that the dissolution of the monasteries had on those writing in the subsequent centuries.[69] Seventeenth-century naturalists, Yale argues, were haunted by the dispersal of thousands of manuscripts, seeing in it a reminder of the vulnerability of their own papers.[70]

Adam Smyth also gestures toward wastepaper tropes and practices: they appear at the fringes of his work on almanacs, in his work on 'book destruction', and in his consideration of cutting as creative process.[71] Despite expressing some doubt as to the material 'reality' of the 'rhetorical flourishes' regarding 'dying' almanacs, Smyth suggests an intriguing synergy between wasting and literary creativity.[72] A book made up of a 'pulled apart and reconstituted old book', he points out, is a striking embodiment of how literary scholars have characterised early modern composition 'as a process of patching together existing forms', of commonplacing and textual

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[66] Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981), 48-50. For such citations, see Femke Molekamp, 'Popular Reading and Writing', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, and Abigail Shinn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 63 and Gillian Lathey, *The Role of Translators in Children's Literature* (London: Routledge, 2010), 39.

[67] David Cressy, 'Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England', *The Journal of Library History* 21, no. 1 (1986): 93.

[68] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 81.

[69] Leah Knight, *Of Books and Botany in Early Modern England: Sixteenth Century Plants and Print Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 125.

[70] Elizabeth Yale, 'With Slips and Scraps: How Early Modern Naturalists Invented the Archive', *Book History* 12, no. 1 (2009): 1-36.

[71] Adam Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *ELR* 38, no. 2 (2008): 203; 'Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 127; 'Burning to Read: Ben Jonson's Library Fire of 1623', in *Book Destruction*, ed. by Smyth and Partington, 34-35; '"Rend and teare in peeces": textual fragmentation in seventeenth-century England', *Seventeenth Century* 19, no. 1 (2004): 36-52; '"Shreds of holinesse": George Herbert, Little Gidding, and Cutting Up Texts in Early Modern England', *ELR* 42, no. 3 (2012): 452-481.

[72] Smyth, 'Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity', 127.

recycling.[73] Furthermore, Smyth suggests that wastepaper enacts a kind of 'haunting', in which the book 'remember[s] its origins'.[74]

Wendy Wall also offers a suggestive take on the wastepaper trope in her reading of Ben Jonson's 'Inviting a Friend to Supper', focusing on the problematic lines, 'I'll profess no verses to repeat: | To this, if aught appear, which I know not of | That will the pastry, not my paper, show of'.[75] She outlines its 'conventional' interpretation (that the ink from a wastepaper wrapper has been imprinted on the surface of the pastry), but favours an alternative: that Jonson refers to 'food marked with writing by the cook', sugar paste, for instance, or marzipan poesies. In the process of dismissing wastepaper, Wall offers an insightful reading of it: it might be 'a form of liberating evanescence' or, alternatively, 'a degrading rejection of value'. What Jonson is *not* doing, which is, implicitly, what other authors do, is 'referenc[ing] the threat of the commercial print marketplace or bemoan[ing] the loss of authorial control with pretended humility'. She goes on to argue that the trope might also be a playful celebration of ephemerality, highlighting an alternative and significant form of circulation involving 'housewives who sell pastries and confections'.[76] In this thesis, and particularly in Chapter 1, I add to and interrogate Wall's taxonomy of insult, anxiety, and modesty topos, arguing that each manifestation of the trope is grounded in the temporality of the waste objects. Later, in Chapter 3, I explore in depth this celebration of wastepaper beyond an individual poem in the work of Thomas Nashe.

Rather than halting at the border between object and waste, treating its transformation as an end-point, this thesis dwells at length on the afterlife of used paper. If any consensus can be gleaned from the allusions and analyses examined in these pages, it is that wastepaper demonstrates the ephemerality and the vulnerability of books in early modern England, but also the durability and persistence of the 'wasted' or repurposed. I want to broaden ways of thinking about the ephemerality and vulnerability of an object that paradoxically endures, and to consider how exactly wastepaper, so full of ambiguities, might generate imaginative work and stand as a model for creative thought.

<u>Tearing the Present</u>

This thesis, then, participates in, but also responds to, the ongoing 'material turn' in literary and historical scholarship. Talking about talking about scissors, Adam Smyth weighs up

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[73] Smyth, 'Burning to Read', 34.
[74] Ibid., 34.
[75] Wendy Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern Kitchen* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2015), 153-154.
[76] Ibid., 156.

the 'two routes' that 'seem possible' to those who study the stuff of the past. The first is to turn to the archives, 'examining surviving examples' of the things in question, 'to touch, lift, hold, measure, turn over these extant objects, and deduce a cultural significance from their material form'.[77] The second is to turn to representations of the relevant objects: in literary texts, popular culture, and visual art. This raises the question: can these two approaches be reconciled? What is the relationship between extant stuff and figurative representations of stuff, between, as Smyth asks, 'a pair of sixteenth-century shears' and 'the story of Samson and Delilah?'[78] My thesis is stationed at the hinge between things and metaphors: between the fragments of wastepaper that, ubiquitous in early modern England, survive in archives and rare books libraries, and the wastepaper tropes and narratives that litter sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature. It is, I argue, impossible to consider one without the other, as the two collaborated to make meaning in the early modern imagination.

Keeping both object and metaphor in mind prevents wastepaper from becoming a static object or fetishistic curio, as critics of 'new materialism' or 'new antiquarianism' and its 'wunderkammer of objects' suggest it might.[79] This study does not take wastepaper '*out* of history', offering it as a 'freeze-frame of a historical moment', but nor does it suggest that wastepaper is the 'residua […] of a reassuring, synchronically conceived totality', or, to borrow Smyth's phrasing, that 'an entire culture was somehow embodied in [a] little scrap' of discarded paper.[80] It takes issue with Jonathan Gil Harris's mistrust of finding both the 'strange' and the 'everyday' in the same object: a fragment of manuscript, used as binding waste and enduring through the centuries, might be both striking and mundane to its various users.[81] In fact, as I will argue in Chapter 2, the history of waste fragments in the early modern period makes visible the development of antiquarian thought, and so the fetishization of waste pages and their reclassification as curios or historical artefacts, is part of their biography: one that endures until this day in the collecting and cataloguing practices of libraries and archives.

Wastepaper, then, is a 'thing-in-motion', with a biography available to its modern and early modern users. I borrow the framework set out by Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff, 'follow[ing] the things themselves' and seeking the meanings inscribed in 'their forms, their uses,

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[77] Adam Smyth, 'What we talk about when we talk about scissors', in *Ornamentalism: The Art of Renaissance Accessories*, ed. by Bella Mirabella (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 2011), 295.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Douglas Bruster, *Shakespeare and the Question of Culture: Early Modern Literature and the Cultural Turn* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 191-205; Jonathan Gil Harris, 'The New New Historicism's Wunderkammer of Objects', *European Journal of English Studies* 4, no. 2 (2000): 117.

[80] Harris, 'The New New Historicism's Wunderkammer of Objects', 115-16, 123; Smyth, 'What we talk about when we talk about scissors', 302.

[81] Harris, 'The New New Historicism's Wunderkammer of Objects', 113-14.

their trajectories'.[82] These can be found in individual objects and their material traces (their 'cultural biographies'), as well as in broader categories of things (their 'social history'): the latter manifests 'a larger historical ebb and flow' in the cultural and economic meanings of the object, and is shaped by the former.[83] Both the micro- and macrocosmic history of an object is visible in a culture's imaginative output: its tropes, texts, and metaphors. I pursue individual fragments of wastepaper, seeking their 'cultural biographies' in libraries and archives, alongside the complex web of wastepaper imagery that spreads through sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature. The latter reveals both the nature of individual encounters with wastepaper, and the broader understanding of wastepaper as a category of object. Text and object engage in a give and take of meaning: handling wastepaper determines its textual representation, and the textual representation of wastepaper frames the experience of handling wastepaper within a particular set of meanings.

I seek to understand these biographies because, I argue, that is what early moderns did, sensitive as they were to the 'itinerations' of wastepaper, its pre-lives as flax and rags and text, and its continued afterlife as waste.[84] Knowledge, as Tim Ingold argues, comes from the 'practical and sensuous engagements with our surroundings': early modern understandings of wastepaper stemmed from their participation in the 'movement and flow' of repurposed pages as they progressed along 'the currents of life'.[85] Wastepaper was, for its early modern users, a palimpsest of its various stages of transformation.

This thesis, then, is attentive to the folding, tearing, cutting, and pasting of waste fragments, and the ways in which these processes interacted with thought about wastepaper. Because wastepaper persisted through time, it was repeatedly turned over, handled, altered, and reinterpreted, and so, as the archaeologist Christopher Tilley argues is possible of all objects, accreted 'layers of metaphorical meaning like the rings of an onion'.[86] These layers of meaning form what Tilley calls 'solid' or 'concrete metaphors'. Owing to this growth of signification, wastepaper became a thing to think with, a fertile object that structured thought, perception, and action.[87] Wastepaper tropes were experienced alongside and engendered by what we might

[82] Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value', in *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), 5; Igor Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process', in *The social life of things*, ed. by Appadurai, 64-9.
[83] Appadurai, *The social life of things*, 34-36.
[84] Tim Ingold, *Making: Anthropology, archaeology, art, and architecture* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 45.
[85] Ibid., 5, 18-19.
[86] Christopher Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 266.
[87] Ibid., 262-70. Bill Brown, describes 'a thing to think with' as an 'allegorical object', a 'brief yet theatrical example of how objects mediate our sense of ourselves […] and our sense of others'. For Brown, 'thinking with things' means revealing an 'object culture', or, 'the objects through which a culture constitutes itself'. See 'Objects, Others, and Us (The Refabrication of Things)', *Critical Inquiry* 36, no. 2 (2010): 187-88. I would add to this the sense of 'thinking with things' outlined by the anthropologist Andreas Roepstorff. In a paper grounded

call wastepaper 'matterphors': things that, far from being inert or insignificant, structured a mode of thinking grounded in the kinaesthetics of discarded paper.[88]

All things have biographies and layers of meaning, but wastepaper, as its widespread invocations in early modern literature make clear, was particularly magnetic, attracting layers of meaning and generating wide-ranging imaginative thought throughout the period. The reason for this accumulation of meaning, I argue, is the capacity of wastepaper to both remember and remind its users of its past lives, and to prompt imaginings of its future use and further transformation. It conforms to the scholarly consensus regarding the nature of discarded things in the emerging field of waste studies: that waste is both an answer to and a question about 'materiality, time, and value'.[89]

It is important to approach waste theory with some caution: its theorists have a tendency to ignore historical difference, describing waste as 'not reducible to a particular historical moment', or confessing to a desire to 'bypass chronology' and allow waste artefacts and literary waste 'from different cultures, time periods, and genres' to 'cuddle up' with one another.[90] But contemporary waste invites narratives and anxieties distinct from those of the early moderns: our plastic persists, and we struggle to safely store the 'great mountains of castoff sludge from our nuclear adventures'.[91] Early modern waste, on the other hand, was organic and ephemeral, its castoff rags, parchment scraps, and paper often repurposed and reused.

With these provisos in mind, two useful tenets emerge from this field of scholarship: the first is that 'the history of waste [is] a constant battle with the unusable or a shifting index of value', and the second, that waste has a peculiar relationship to temporality.[92] To 'call something "waste",' Suzanne Raitt argues, 'is to invoke its history', gesturing 'back to the

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in both neuroscience and the object-based 'thought style' of archaeology, Roepstorff argues that objects 'work in very particular ways'. Rejecting the generalisations implicit in an overarching 'material culture', he outlines how individual objects transform into symbols and 'come to look almost like words'. We can, therefore, think with and communicate via objects, demonstrating that thought, far from being abstract, is 'embedded in material and social relations and objects'. See 'Things to Think With: Words and Objects as Material Symbols', *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences* 363, no. 1499 (2008): 2049-2054.

[88] The term 'matterphor' is borrowed from Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Stone: An Ecology of the Inhuman* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2015), 4.

[89] David M. Halperin, 'Out of Australia', in *Culture and Waste: The Creation and Destruction of Value*, ed. by Gay Hawkins and Stephen Muecke (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 4.

[90] Viney, *Waste*, 15; Susan Signe Morrison's *The Literature of Waste: Material Ecopoetics and Ethical Matter* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 7.

[91] Brian Thill, *Waste* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), 54-55.

[92] Valerie Allen, cited in Morrison, *Literature of Waste*, 8.

productive economies that generated [it]'.[93] Waste, as numerous critics argue, 'haunts' the present, and makes us dwell on the subject of time itself.[94]

The fluctuating worth of waste is laid out in Michael Thompson's ground-breaking *Rubbish Theory*, in which he argues that rubbish is socially defined as the necessary 'zero-degree' of value which in turn determines the valuation of other things. Thompson describes the two normative categories of objects: the 'transient', in which things decrease in value, eventually becoming rubbish, and the 'durable', in which things have permanent or increasing value and can, seemingly, never become rubbish.[95] Wastepaper fits within the 'covert' third category of thing, drawing attention to the possibility of an abrupt transformation of the transient into the durable: of a discarded object, such as a page of text turned wastepaper, to a salvaged relic or antiquarian curio. Once promoted to the 'durable', as John Frow argues, these objects 'kee[p] a kind of memory of that [previous] state, an awareness of the possibility to relapse into it', or the insecurity of the 'newly aestheticized object'. Extracted and highly valued fragments of binding waste, as we will see in Chapter 3, make visible the 'magical transmogrification of rubbish' as it oscillates between states of use and value.[96]

The metamorphosis of waste, then, is intertwined with its temporalizing effect: and so, as books and loose sheets decreased in economic value and entered into the trade of waste stuff, their figurative value in the early modern period underwent a radical shift. Wastepaper might signify, to a sensitive user, an even wider array of meanings than the text it bears. As scholars of waste agree, waste is 'a product of time': it makes visible processes of becoming and of ending, how time 'is always running matter down' into various states of damage, decay, decomposition, and fragmentation.[97] But waste narrates more than one type of temporality: in addition to underlining this entropic decay, waste destabilizes our experience and understanding of linear time. It erupts into the present, and 'stay[s] with us', as Gay Hawkins and Stephen Muecke argue, and, in the words of Michael Taussig, it inhabits an 'Other Time', evoking a 'dreamy, other-worldly feeling' because time is 'telescoped' in an object that seems to persist beyond its appointed juncture.[98]

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[93] Suzanne Raitt, 'Psychic Waste: Freud, Fechner, and the Principle of Constancy', in Hawkins and Muecke, *Culture and Waste*, 73.

[94] 'Haunting' recurs throughout Hawkins and Muecke, *Culture and Waste*, 4, 40, 46, 121; Morrison, *Literature of Waste*, 11; John Scanlan, *On Garbage* (London: Reaktion, 2005), 172; and Viney, *Waste*, 49.

[95] Michael Thompson, *Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value* (London: Pluto Press, 2017), esp. 26-29,

[96] John Frow, 'Invidious Distinction: Waste, Difference, and Classy Stuff', in Hawkins and Muecke, *Culture and Waste*, 35.

[97] Hawkins and Muecke, 'Introduction', xiv; Scanlan, *On Garbage*, 34.

[98] Hawkins and Muecke, 'Introduction', xiv; Michael Taussig, 'Miasma', in Hawkins and Muecke, *Culture and Waste*, 15.

Waste, then, enables us to see things differently, magnifying objects that seem at once temporally distant and palpably close, and bringing into view how they have come into being, their transformation, and their 'carrying on'.[99] William Viney, in his detailed analysis of this 'telescopic effect', argues that all objects progress through two states of 'material being'. Objects initially inhabit a 'use-time', in which we conceive of stuff as subsisting within the linear progression of time, with a beginning and an end and a diminishing potential as things gradually break down or wear away.[100] Once discarded, they then inhabit a 'waste-time'; not used up, but no longer in use, these objects are suspended in inaction. Faced with such an object, we are invited to consider its past functions and to speculate about its future disuse.

Wastepaper conforms to Viney's theory of 'waste-time', although with some important caveats. Binding waste, for instance, is a discarded object, but not a 'thing without use'. It has been laid aside, moving from its primary function (as text), to a secondary one (as binding), but is very much still in use. Despite this, Viney's characterization of the imaginative impact of waste is persuasive: binding waste is a remainder of the past that, when uncovered, interrupts the present. It is often visually distinct from the book that it binds: darker and more stained with dirt, bearing traces of a past life in its folds, stitch-marks, and annotations, or visibly 'out of date' text, such as an old almanac emblazoned with its year of publication, or a Catholic order of service circulating as a wrapper in post-Reformation England. Encountered decades or centuries later, these fragments linger, temporally out of joint.

The memory of these 'extrinsic' temporalities is encoded, to borrow the phrasing of Jonathan Gil Harris and Anna Neill, in the physical form of the waste object; these remainders 'rupture' and 'tear' the 'timeless apparition' of our present.[101] Harris expands on this argument in his 2009 *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare*: objects and materials in the early modern world, Harris argues, were often 'polytemporal', with elements surviving from older times and so 'collat[ing] many different moments'. These objects were, and still are, 'untimely matter', or palimpsests that 'cross temporal borders'. Encounters with these palimpsests provoked a range of cognition: in certain contexts, older elements might be superseded by the present, demonstrating that the past has been transcended or overcome, and that time moves inexorably forward; but these older elements might also explode into the present, enacting a 'living agency';

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[99] Ingold, *Making*, 45.
[100] Viney, *Waste*, 1, 6-14.
[101] Jonathan Gil Harris and Anna Neill, 'Hollywood's Pacific Junk: The Wreckage of Colonial History in *Six Days and Seven Night* and *Rapa Nui*', in Hawkins and Muecke, *Culture and Waste*, 87-92.

or they might offer a 'conjunction' of 'the combined activity of all its polychronic components'.[102]

Wastepaper is an example of an untimely object: it has the potential to trigger a range of responses and imaginings. It might demonstrate the progression of time and the supersession of the past by the present, an old book by a new one. But it might also provoke an unwelcome awareness of temporality, of the capacity for other books and other bodies to similarly turn to waste, or of the lingering on of things that should be dead and buried. Or, this rupturing of the present might be pleasurable: a user might find value in the past object, or the sense of the past, experiencing a thrill when uncovering an unexpected survival, an ephemeral fragment of something very nearly lost to time.

When encountering waste, as Viney argues, we are compelled 'to deal with th[e] gaps between what an object is, what its status as waste suggest it might have been and what it might yet be'.[103] We supplement its material shape, traces, marks, and absences with stories about its past, and we attempt to answer questions about its origins and coming into being, and about the historical, economic, and social contexts of its transformation into waste. We also shape narratives about its future: will it be used again, and if so in what capacity and by whom? Or will it finally waste away? We are surprised, after all, that it hasn't already. This is why wastepaper is so figuratively rich: it invites us to dig through its layers of use, to 'unravel' its thread of narrative and stretch out its 'telescopic' time, or, to borrow another metaphor, to unfold and explore the 'crumpl[ed]' archive.[104] In this, as my chapters show, waste paper figures frequently as a way to think about the passage of time, whether in considering literary immortality or universal entropy.

This thesis, then, performs two stages, or levels, of uncrumpling. On one level, I seek to outline the material history of wastepaper in early modern England, uncovering both the cultural biography of individual fragments of wastepaper and the social history of wastepaper as a category of object, as it is revealed in the Stationers' Company archives, in probate inventories, and in my extensive research into the holdings of a number of rare books libraries (detailed in my appendices). On another level, I outline the narratives and layers of meaning that early moderns folded around wastepaper, pursuing the multitude of wastepaper commonplaces and the more in-depth accounts of wastepaper encounters, as well as extended, figurative wastepaper play, in early modern literature. By keeping both the material and the literary traces of wastepaper in mind, I uncover the full scope of early modern encounters with

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[102] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2009), 1-25, 29-30, 91-94, 143-46.

[103] Viney, *Waste*, 11.

[104] Ibid.; Taussig 'Miasma', in Hawkins and Muecke, *Culture and Waste*, 15; Patricia Yaeger, 'Trash as Archive, Trash as Enlightenment', in Hawkins and Muecke, *Culture and Waste*, 114.

wastepaper, and how the kinaesthetic dimensions of wastepaper practices, as well as a widespread sensitivity to its life cycle, structured an understanding of and a response to time and matter in the early modern world.

The Crumpled Archive

Wastepaper is, by definition, largely ephemeral stuff: only a fraction of repurposed pages are extant, and those that survive do so primarily in the form of binding waste. Despite this, my surveys of the binding waste held in Bishop Cosin's Library at Durham Cathedral Library, founded in 1668; in the books printed or bound in early modern England held at the Henry E. Huntingon Library; and in David Drummond, 3rd Lord Madertie's library at Innerpeffray, founded ca. 1680, reveal the ubiquity of wastepaper in the period (see Appendices 1, 2, and 3).

As an example, more than 10% of David Drummond's books contain wastepaper, and the number may have been higher: the library has undergone several programmes of repair and rebinding since the mid-nineteenth century.[105] Because our libraries and archives are the product of centuries of selective collection and disposal, we are unable to know for certain what proportion of books contained wastepaper in the period, and whether particular genres were more likely to be wasted than others. But we can use binding waste to conjecture the nature and extent of early modern waste practices.

We can be certain, for instance, that all categories of books and loose sheets were used as wastepaper in the period: extant binding waste is made up of both paper and parchment, and manuscript and printed texts. 'Manuscript' encompasses both pre-dissolution administrative and monastic documents (missals, decretals, commentaries, theological treatises, etc.), and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents contemporary with the binding, including administrative and legal texts, such as deeds, writs, and inventories as well as notes, drafts and 'foul papers' (see Figs. 4 and 5). Often a single binding incorporated fragments from multiple manuscripts and printed texts, offering a hybrid of materials and times.

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[105] 46 of the 400 books that make up the 'Founder's Library' still contain wastepaper, see Appendix 3 and George Chamier, *The First Light: The Story of Innerpeffray Library* (Crieff: The Library of Innerpeffray, 2009), 65-67, 77, 87.

Fig. 4: Multiple sheets of printed wastepaper layered to form a board and wrapped in a parchment, manuscript service-book, with a parchment, manuscript Biblical commentary as a flyleaf, in the binding of Antoine de Chandieu's *De legitima vocatione pastorum ecclesiae reformatae* (Morges: Jean le Preux, 1583) and George Buchanan's *De iure regni apud Scotos* (Edinburgh: John Ross, 1579). This volume belonged to David Drummond, founder of Innerpeffray Library, but is held at Henry E. Huntington Library, 353529/30.
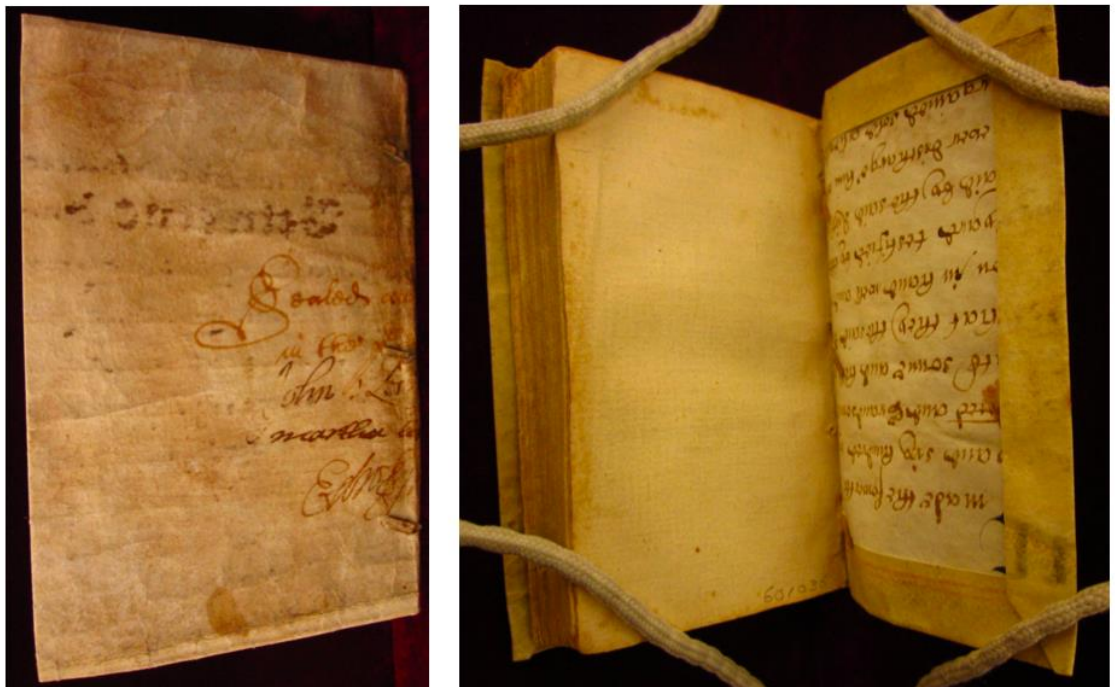
Fig. 5: A seventeenth-century legal document used as a wrapper for *The Essaies of Sr Francis Bacon Knight* (London: for Iohn Iaggard [i.e John Beale], 1613 [i.e. ca. 1617]), Henry E. Huntington Library, 601036.

The majority of types and genres of books are extant as binding waste, including almanacs, ballads, Bibles, jest-books, news books, plays, poems, proclamations and statutes, romances, sermons, and theological works. Religious texts outnumber the rest, but this does not necessarily mean that religious texts were more likely to be used as wastepaper, since religious books dominated the early modern book trade (see Fig. 6).[106] 'Literary' texts might also be overrepresented in extant binding waste: these fragments have frequently been prioritized, removed, and preserved by collectors since the late seventeenth century.[107] Larger format books do seem to have been wasted more frequently than smaller ones: folios and quartos were more useful than octavos and duodecimos for use as wrapping paper (see Fig. 7).
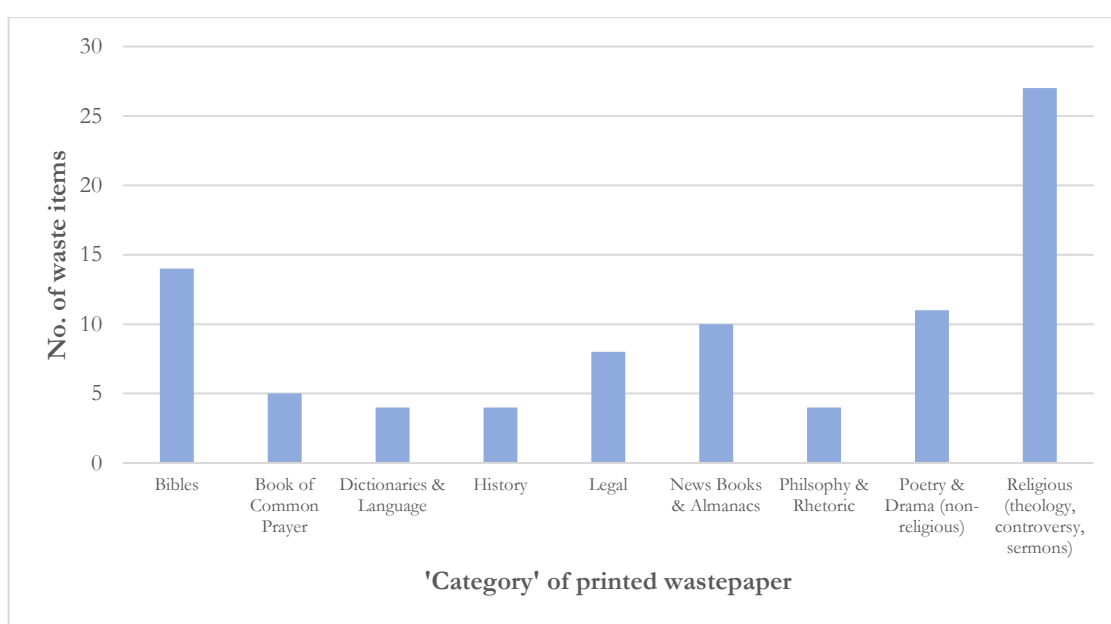
Fig. 6: 'Categories' of identifiable printed wastepaper in bindings dating from ca. 1536-1680 in Bishop Cosin's Library, Henry E. Huntington Library (printed in England), and Innerpeffray Library. See Appendices 1, 2, and 3.

The majority of printed binding waste was produced within five years of the book it binds (manuscript waste is rarely so easy to date), but wastepaper was often significantly older than the book it bound (see Fig. 8). It might pre-date the book, indicating that it had previously circulated as reading material, or had sat in a printer's, binder's or stationer's shop unsold before it was reused. It might also post-date the book, indicating that the book was either unbound for a number of years, or was rebound at a later date. The Huntington's Huth Fragments offer a snapshot of this practice: thirteen of the waste fragments come from a single 1546 edition of Cicero's *Rhetorica* (see Fig. 9). As all the fragments were printed in London and date from

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[106] Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt, and Alexandra Walsham, 'Religious Publishing in England, 1557-1640', in Barnard and McKenzie, *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4, 29.
[107] See, for instance, the large number of early sixteenth-century romances in the Huntington Library's Huth Fragments, and the John Bagford fragments at the British Library.

between 1549 and 1550, we can surmise that the *Rhetorica* was imported from the continent and bound in London in ca. 1550.[108]
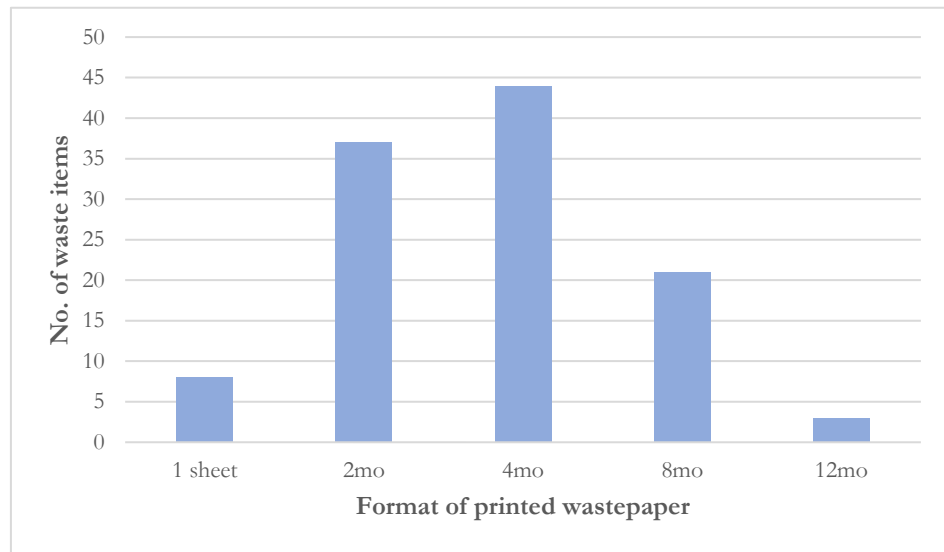
Fig. 7: Format of printed wastepaper, when identifiable, in bindings dating from ca. 1536-1680 in Bishop Cosin's Library, Henry E. Huntington Library (printed in England), and Innerpeffray Library. See Appendices 1, 2, and 3.
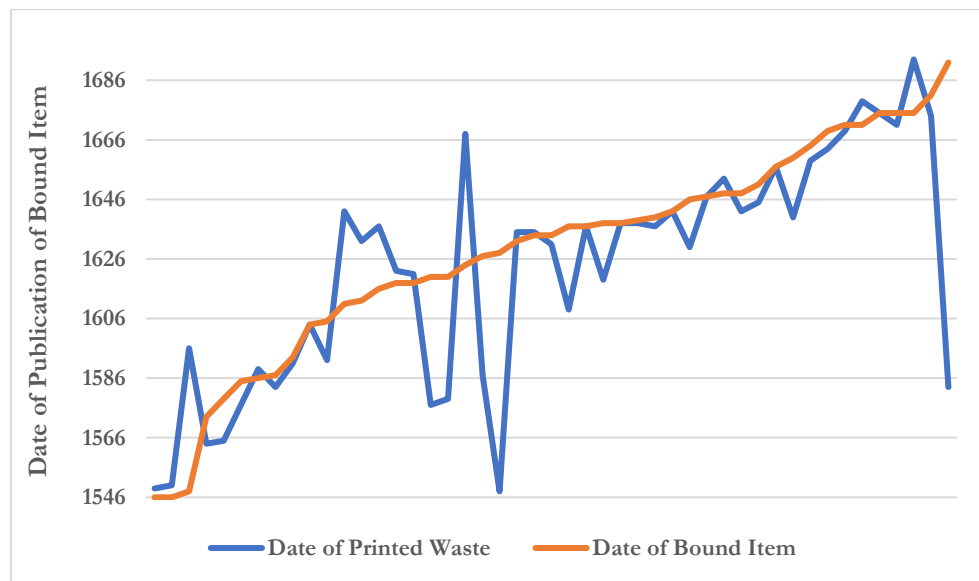
Fig. 8: Date of publication of printed wastepaper, in comparison to the date of publication of the bound item, in identifiable wastepaper in bindings dating from ca. 1536-1680 in Bishop Cosin's Library, Henry E. Huntington Library (printed in England), and Innerpeffray Library. See Appendices 1, 2, and 3.

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[108] 'Our Note-Book', *The Bookworm* (1894): 373-75.

Fig. 9: Fragments of *O Lord thy word is our sure touch stone* ([London: John Day and William Seres?, 1549?]); *Whippet you prestes and tourne you* ([London: S.N., 1549]); *Ballad on the defeat of the Devon and Cornwall rebels of 1548* ([London: S.N., 1549]); *The book of common praier and the administracion of the Sacramentes* (London: Richard Grafton, [1549]); and Ulrich Zwingli, *The ymage of both pastoures* ([London: T. Raynald for William Seris & Rycharde Kele, 1550]), removed from the binding of a lost 1546 edition of Cicero's *Rhetorica*, Henry. E. Huntington Library, 131401.

By supplementing these archival surveys with evidence from the Stationers' Company records, probate inventories, and the 1566 Privy Council *Ordinaunce* stipulating that 'forfayted' books should be 'made waste paper', we can begin to uncover a widespread trade in wastepaper in early modern England.[109] 'Selling and reprinting of books, waste paper, buying and delivering paper' were among the 'Duties of the Warehouse Keeper' listed by the Stationers' Company when it renamed and outlined the role in 1687.[110] The Company had strict rules regarding 'overplus bookes' and 'waste' from the English stock (categories of books for which the Company held lucrative patents, including prayer books, almanacs, primers, and schoolbooks): printers of the English stock were supplied with paper from the Company warehouse, but only paid in full when 'the number of copies and the waste overrun sheets were added and found to

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[109] *Ordinaunces*, broadside; Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 816-20.
[110] *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade, 1641-1700*, vol. 3, ed. by D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 25.

equal the paper' they had been issued.[111] If partners across multiple printing houses were working on the same text, 'wast' was divvied out between them 'to make vp those [sheets] that be vnperfect'.[112]

In 1602 the Stationers received £3 10s for forty reams of 'wast paper' at 21d a ream, and according to Cyprian Blagden, in 1663/4, the Company spent £1211 on paper for the English stock and made £8 profit from wastepaper. In 1664/5 £400 was spent and £60 recuperated and in 1665/6 £961 expenditure was balanced against £30 made from the sale of waste.[113] A large portion of these sales were probably internal: in 1592, the Company stipulated that the 'Cordinge quieres of the paper' given to English stock printers should be sold to the wealthiest of the partners, and the money 'thereof commyng' to be shared between them.[114] Binders, along with printers and booksellers, were members of the Stationers Company, suggesting that waste was used by members in their bindings.[115] This hints at a possible origin of Urquhart's cording quires, and also explains why there are records of the Company *buying* wastepaper: in 1621 Thomas Gubbin was paid 22d a ream 'for so many Reames of Accedences as the Company had of him being wast paper'.[116] These 'Accedences' were probably unsold schoolbooks from the English stock, returned, as instructed, to the Company, upon which Gubbins received his full payment.

Wastepaper was also sold by individuals: in 1661, Elizabeth Calvert's husband was imprisoned for printing a politically suspect book. She was instructed to 'make up all the waste sheets' of the book in question 'and send them to Secretary Nicholas'. She 'made them up', as requested, 'but', she claims, 'as they were not sent for, [she] sold them for waste paper'.[117] As well as providing a means of censoring illicit books, wastepaper practices also provided, it seems, those who produced illicit books with an excuse for concealing and destroying evidence.

The 1616 inventory of the York stationer John Foster lists, at 8s, a 'Baskett of Bookes' including some 'unperfect with waste paper'.[118] These might have been intended for use in Foster's own shop, but the 'bookes for waste paper' (valued at 2d in 1551), 'certayn olde broken

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[111] *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1576-1602, from Register B*, ed. by W. W. Greg and E. Boswell (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1930), x, 200.

[112] Ibid., lxvi, 16.

[113] Ibid., 86; Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960), 185, cited in Fleming, 'Damask Papers', 190. A rise from £8 to £60 might be explained by the increased popularity of damask papers.

[114] *Records of the Court*, ed. by Greg and Boswell, 48.

[115] Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1998), 201.

[116] *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602-1640*, ed. by William A. Jackson (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), 134.

[117] This brief insight into women working in the printing house provides a counter-narrative to the trope of maids wasting their masters' manuscripts. *Chronology and Calendar of Documents*, ed. by McKenzie and Bell, 472.

[118] *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade and John Foster's Inventory of 1616*, ed. by John Barnard and Maureen Bell (Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1994), 50.

bokes and trassh' (valued at 4d in 1558), and 'other wast bookes' (valued at 4d in 1605), listed in various Cambridge probate inventories would have entered the waste paper market after the death of their owners.[119] We should add to this elusive trade the wastepaper that, in his 1644 book on husbandry, Gabriel Plattes suggests thrifty householders should gather up and sell or repurpose. He explains:

> [W]aste paper of all sorts, either white, or brown, or written, or printed […] will make good passe-board, the white is worth three farthings a pound, and the other an half penny a pound to make brown passe-board good to cover books, and all other things where the colour is hidden in the work, and therefore worthy to be reserved, for in some houses it is of very considerable value.[120]

Although Plattes spent an inordinate amount of time contemplating practices of thrift and reuse, his knowledge of the value and variety of waste paper is representative of a wider sensitivity to the material, while his emphasis on the quantity accumulated in some thrifty (but presumably not wealthy) households, speaks again to the ubiquity of this material. Rags were not the only discarded things gathered, bought, and sold in the period.

Book historians have traditionally categorized binding waste as fitting within one of two types: 'printers' waste' includes 'proofsheets' or 'unused sheets' turned to waste, and 'binders'' and 'booksellers'' waste refers to sheets that have been removed from a book that circulated as reading material.[121] But this taxonomy does not do justice to the variety of fragments used as binding waste in early modern England: as Joseph Dane points out, these categories are nineteenth century ones, and stem from a bibliographic interest in typography and a desire to find printers' proofs and authorial 'foul papers'.[122] These terms do not take account of the multitude of manuscripts, both monastic and contemporary, wasted in the period, and draw an artificial line between printers', binders', and booksellers' shops, which were, after all, overlapping spaces. Furthermore, it is often impossible to tell whether a fragment of binding waste had been folded, cut, or stitched into book-form: they are usually too small, with larger sheets binding smaller books. Throughout this thesis, therefore, I refer to 'binding waste' as a broad category, and give details specific to the object in question.

Stationers' Company records do indicate the variety of ways in which a sheet of paper might have ended up as waste in the printing house: 'wast' was a technical term that referred to

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[119] Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 816-20.
[120] Gabriel Plattes, *The Profitable Intelligencer* ([London?]: for T.U., [1644]), A4r.
[121] See John Carter, *ABC for Book-Collectors* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1967), 204; Joseph Dane, *Blind Impressions: Methods and Mythologies in Book History* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2013), 156.
[122] Joseph Dane, *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method* (Toronto: Toronto UP, 2003), 61.

a surplus sheet, available to make up 'vnperfect' books. This is distinct from the 'overplus books' that remained unsold. Both were liable to become waste paper. In 1666, for instance, Francis Mawborne of York infringed upon the Company's monopoly over almanacs: he had printed thousands of them, and, as a result, the Company's own almanacs for 1666 went unsold, and were 'turnd only into wast paper'.[123] The Stationers' Company fined Mawborne a substantial amount to recuperate their losses. As we will see in Chapter 4, almanacs, relevant only for twelve months, turned rapidly out of date, and were prone to remaining unsold and becoming waste.

We can sometimes identify these 'wast' and 'overplus' sheets in libraries and archives: their lack of creases and stitch marks indicate that they have not been folded, stitched, or bound. The almanac, uncut and unfolded, that sits within the Huntington's 1622 *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seuenth* is one such surplus sheet (see Fig. 10). We can also assume that the waste within the Huntington's 1634 *Vigilius dormitans* never circulated as a text in its own right: it is the title page from an earlier 1631 edition of the very book it binds (see Fig. 11). Both editions were printed by Miles Flesher for Robert Milbourne, suggesting that either Flesher or Milbourne had surplus sheets available as waste for at least three years. We can hazard a guess that it was Flesher who made a habit of thrifty reuse: Bishop Cosin's copy of John Sym's *Lifes Preservative against Self-Killing*, printed by Flesher in 1637, is bound with guards that also come from Flesher's printing house, printed in the same year.[124]

Fig. 10: Detail of an unidentified almanac used as guards in Francis Bacon, *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seuenth* (London: W. Stansby for Matthew Lownes and William Barret, 1622), Henry E. Huntington Library, 601330.

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[123] *Chronology and Calendar of Documents*, ed. by McKenzie and Bell, 562.
[124] Durham Cathedral Library, Cosin O.3.17.
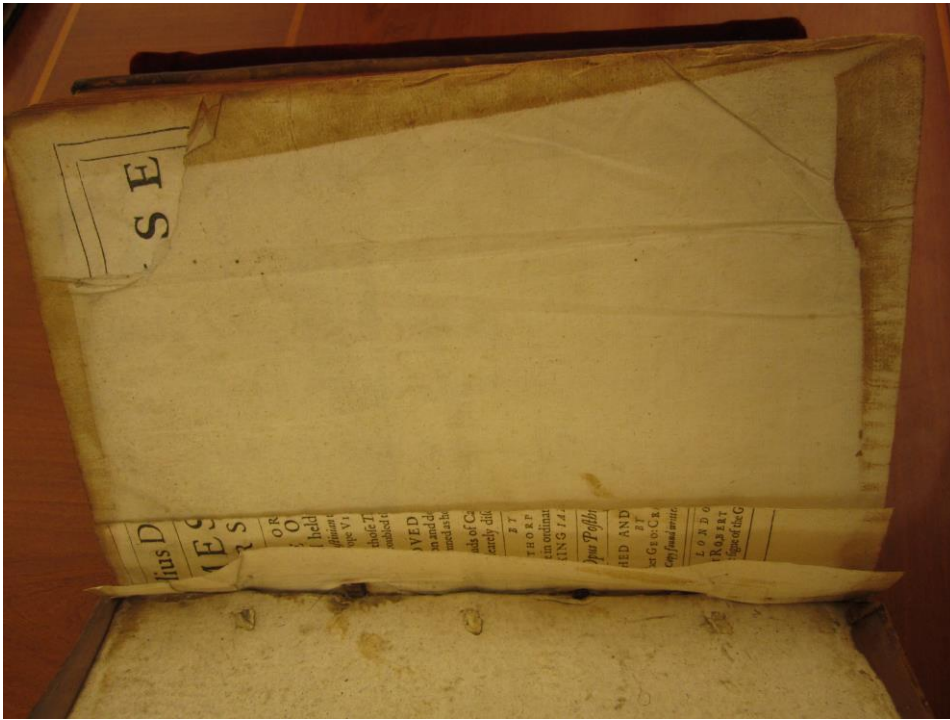
Fig. 11: Detail of the title page of Richard Crakanthorpe's *Vigilius dormitans* (London: M[iles] F[lesher] for Robert Mylbourne, 1631), used as a front guard in the 1634 edition of the same text, Henry E. Huntington Library, 28134.

'[V]nperfect' sheets were also used as wastepaper: a leaf that has been removed and tipped in at the rear of the Huntington's Jean-Louis Guez Balzac's 1638 *Nevv Epistles* was a cancellandum of folios A4r-v. The sharp crease and line of dirt at its centre indicate that it served as a guard (see Fig. 12). The Huntington Library also holds two sheets of an almanac that, unfolded and uncut, are immediately identifiable as 'vnperfect' (see Fig. 13). From *Dove 1629* and *Pond 1629* and removed from an unspecified binding, something has gone drastically wrong: the black form of the *Dove* has been misaligned on top of the red, and the *Pond* seems to have escaped the frisket and smeared across the form inked with red.[125] Perhaps the work of a particularly inexperienced printer in Cambridge, these sheets were folded in half and, judging by their folds and discolouration, used as endleaves, one pasted to the inside of the board and one remaining loose as a flyleaf.

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[125] See the 1983 correspondence between Thomas V. Lange, assistant curator at the Huntington Library, and Katharine A. Pantzer, librarian at the Houghton Library, held with the fragments at Henry E. Huntington Library 479511.
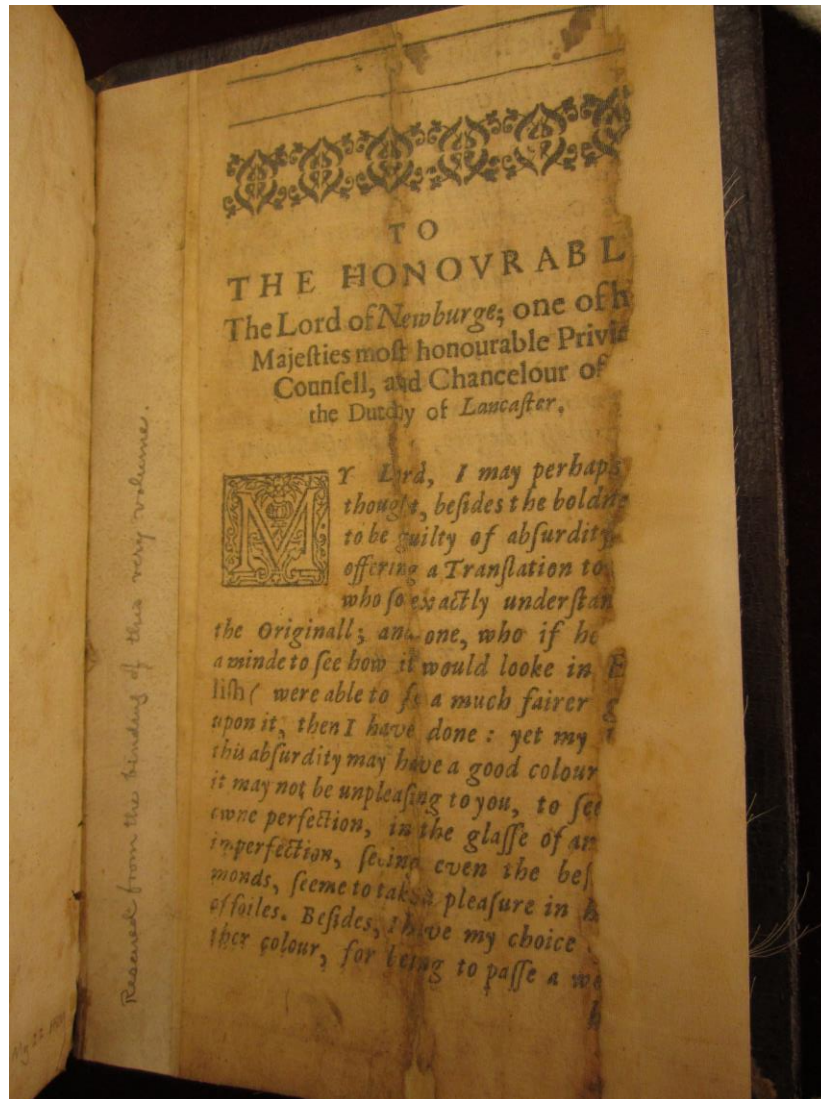
Fig. 12: A cancellandum leaf of Jean-Louis Guez Balzac, *Nevv Epistles*, trans. by Richard Baker (London: T. Cotes and [John Dawson] for Fra. Eglesfield, Iohn Crooke, and Rich. Serger, 1638), used as a guard 'and rescued from this very volume', in the words of the catalogue. Now silked and tipped in at the rear, Henry E. Huntington Library, 17475.

Printer's 'proofs' were also often repurposed. In 1651, for instance, the printer John Harris was questioned by the Committee for Plundered Ministers about *The Accuser Shamed*, a book he had printed for its author John Fry. He had received a 'Copy', but 'after they printed and corrected Books of that Nature, the Copies [were] thrown about for Waste Paper'. This was apparently standard practice, because 'unless the Copies they print be Matter of Controversy, and licensed, they preserve not the Copies; but Business of this Nature, as Pamphlets, they never keep'.[126]

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[126] *Chronology and Calendar of Documents*, ed. by McKenzie and Bell, 288-90.
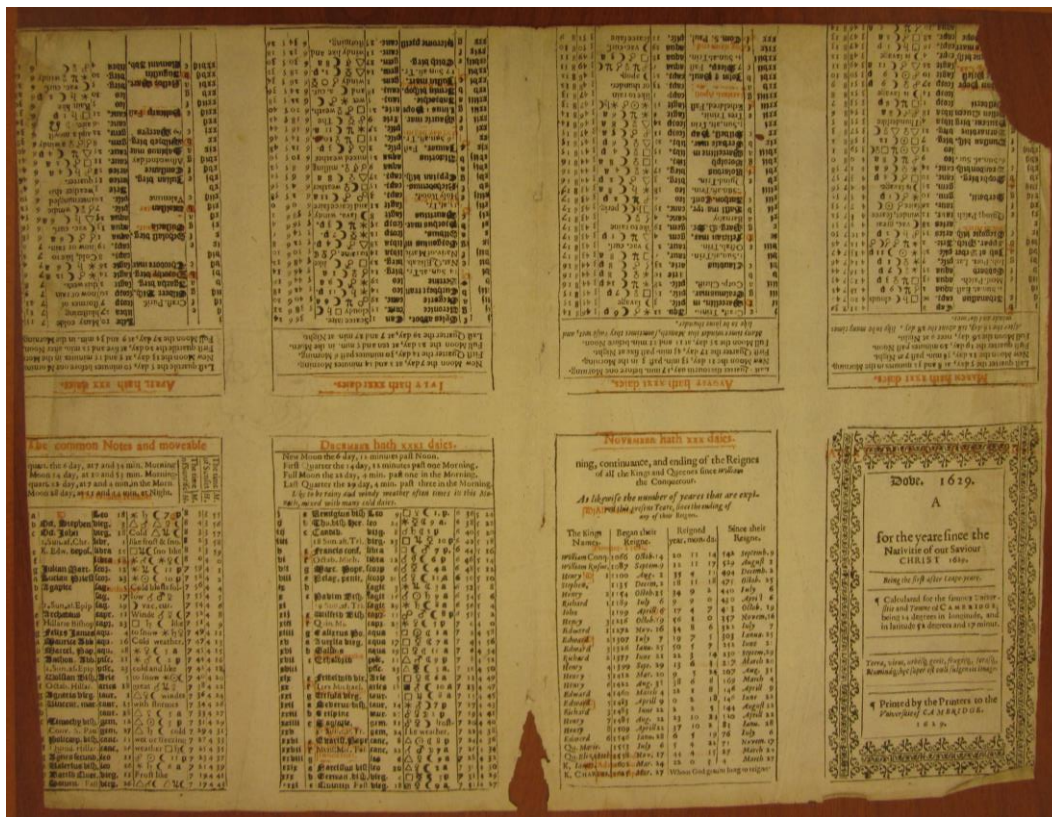
Fig. 13: Misprinted sheets of *Dove 1629* ([Cambridge]: the Printers to the Vniversitie of Cambridge, 1629) and *Pond 1629* ([Cambridge: the Printers to the University of Cambridge, 1629]), removed from an unidentified binding, Henry E. Huntington Library, 479511.

Such proofs, on occasion, survive in the archive: the Huntington's copy of Zacharias Ursinus' *Explicationum catecheticarum*, printed by Thomas Thomas in his Cambridge shop in 1587, has had a fragment of waste removed from its binding (see Fig. 14). This fragment is from Guillaume Morel's 1583 *Verborum cum Graecis Gallicisque conjunctorum*. The leaf has been annotated: the printer, Thomas Thomas, appears to have used Morel's dictionary as a source for his own *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae*, printed in 1587. He added his own annotations to the pages of Morel's dictionary and then used the leaf (or, presumably, leaves) as the 'copy' for his own work. After Thomas' dictionary was completed in 1587 the copy was repurposed within Thomas' own printing house, and used to bind a recently completed book.
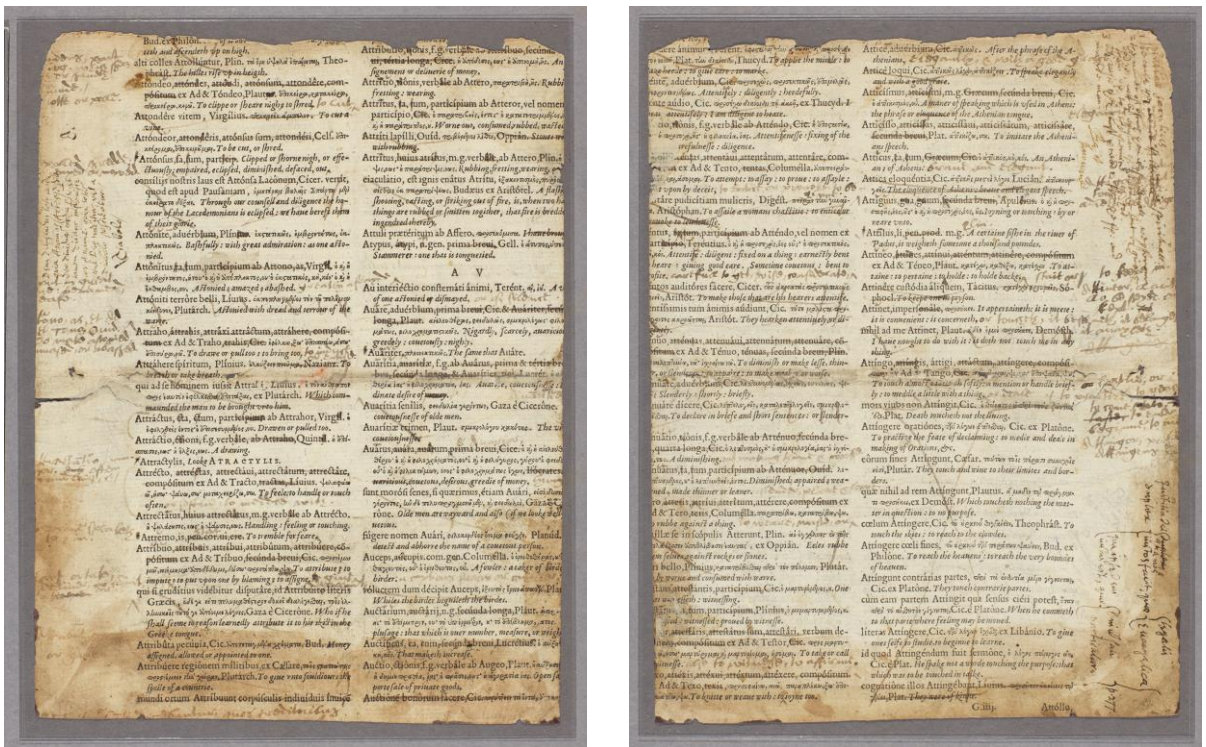
Fig. 14: Leaves from Guillame Morel, *Verborum cum Graecis Gallicisque conjunctorum* (Londini: Henrici Bynnemani for Richardi Huttoni, [1583]), marked up by Thomas Thomas and used as pastedowns or flyleaves in Zacharias Ursinus, *Explicationum catecheticarum* (Cantebrigiae: Thomae Thomasii, 1587), now removed, Henry E. Huntington Library, 89966 PF.

This might hint at the fate of other manuscripts, copies, and foul papers, the majority of which have not survived. Peter Beal, for instance, lists a number of leaves of 'proof corrections' found in bindings, including several pages of Shakespeare's First Folio, Ben Jonson, John Fletcher, George Chapman and Thomas Heywood, John Milton, Francis Bacon, and Robert Burton, as well as the 'Melbourne fragment of a Jacobean tragedy', used as a wrapper for a bundle of documents.[127] We catch glimpses through these fragments of the printing house

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[127] 'Proof corrections' and 'wrapping paper' in Beal, *Dictionary of Manuscript Terminology*.

environment described by Urquhart in his *Ekskybalauron*, with torn scraps of foul papers and printed sheets proliferating, and the compositor (and perhaps the composer) working in and amongst 'such dispersive scattredness'.

Binding waste, then, is the most visible form of extant wastepaper, but we should not assume that it was the most visible in the early modern period. Although many authors refer to books that are 'scarce worthy to be wast paper for the Binder to put before this to shelter it', or 'waste paper to defend this Book from the injury of its covers', far more refer, like Urquhart, to wastepaper as being employed by 'Apothecaries […] Glouers, Cookes, and Bakers', as well as being found in grocers' and chandlers' shops.[128] Dictionary definitions refer almost exclusively to wastepaper taking the form of 'wrappers' or 'cornets', suggesting that for every sheet of binding waste extant in our libraries and archives, there were numerous waste wrappers which do not survive. In addition to Higgins' 1585 dictionary entry, quoted in the *OED*, John Florio translates 'incartocciato' ('put into a paper bag or cornet') as 'rouled vp in a piece of waste paper' and 'catoccio' (a 'paper bag or cornet') as 'a piece of waste paper to put any thing in'.[129] Richard Perceval translates 'Stráça, as Papél de stráça', or *charta emporetica*, as 'waste paper to winde vp ware in, browne paper', and Philemon Holland translates 'Emporetica' as 'merchant Paper or shop-paper […] as wast Paper for sarplers [a coarse wrapper or sackcloth] to wrap and pack vp wares in: also for coffins or coronets to lap spice and fruits in'.[130] The 'wares' most frequently described as being rolled in wastepaper are spices, in particular pepper, but also food, gloves and tobacco, and wastepaper is often described as stopping mustard pots.[131] Wastepaper might also have provided 'cartridges' for gunpowder in a pinch, although actual cartridge paper, much thicker stuff, would have been preferred.[132]

In addition to these definitions and descriptions, wastepaper wrappers, 'cornets', and 'coffins' are represented in the still life paintings of Willem Claesz Heda and Pieter Claesz. These

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[128] *The Works of George Swinnock* (London: J.B. for Tho. Parkhurst, 1665), 504; Nathanael Culverwel, *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature* (London: T. R[atcliffe] and E. M[ottershed] for John Rothwell, 1652), A1v; William Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece* (London: [William Stansby, Miles Flesher, and another] for Francis Williams, 1626), 8; Henry Jeanes, *A Second Part of The Mixture of Scholasticall Divinity* (Oxford: H. Hall [and A. Lichfield] for Thomas Robinson, 1660), N1v; Wawrzyniec Goslicki, *The Sage Senator Delineated* (London: Ja: Cottrel for Sam. Speed, 1660), 207.

[129] Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes*.

[130] Richard Perceval, *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (London: Edm. Bolifant, 1599); Pliny the Elder, *The Historie of the VVorld*, trans. by Philemon Holland (London: Adam Islip, 1634), 392-93.

[131] William Lilly, *Monarchy or No Monarchy in England* (London: for Humfrey Blunden, 1651), 68; Francis Anthony, *The Apologies, or Defence of a Verity Heretofore Published Concerning a Medicine Called Aurum Potabile* (London: Iohn Legett, 1616), 108. Mustard pots are referred to with particular frequency in Thomas Nashe, see Chapter 3.

[132] Mark Kurlansky describes how, during the American War of Independence, American soldiers used 'most of the 3000-copy press run of Saur's German Bible' to seal black powder in the firing chambers of their muskets and to encase the powder and bullets. *Paging Through History*, 220-21. It seems likely that early modern soldiers similarly repurposed paper, granting a material foundation for the common metaphor of pamphlets being 'paper bullets'.

'monochrome banquet' or 'breakfast' pieces, as they are known, frequently include either tobacco or pepper rolled in a sheet of wastepaper.[133] There is a pattern that emerges from these paintings: in them, pepper is neatly rolled in a cornet of black and red printed text, in columns and with a border (see Fig. 15). These are perhaps repurposed almanacs. In Willem Claesz Heda's tobacco paintings, such as *Still Life with Glasses and Tobacco* (1633, Rose-Marie and Eijk van Otterloo Collection) and *Tobacco Still Life* (1637, Los Angeles County Museum of Art), the black powder is at the centre of a roughly folded and crumpled page containing black text, perhaps a manuscript (see Fig. 16). This might indicate that tobacco and pepper were not sold in the same way, or that paper, to hand in the household, was used to dr[y] and inflame[e] […] Tobacco', rather than to package it.[134]

Fig. 15: Willem Claesz Heda. 1648. *Breakfast with a Lobster*. Oil on canvas. The Hermitage: St. Petersburg.

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[133] Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998), 219.

[134] Thomas Dekker, *Newes from Graues-End* (London: T[homas] C[reede] for Thomas Archer, 1604), B1r.

Fig. 16: Willem Claesz Heda. 1637. *Tobacco Still Life*. Oil on wood. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

At once visual tropes and literal renderings of wastepaper practices, the paper participates in the syntax of the paintings. It is often noted that Willem Claesz Heda 'delighted' in rendering light on monochrome glass and metal surfaces, but the surfaces are more varied than this, including bright yellow, stippled lemon-peel and glimpses of red ink on creased paper.[135] These 'breakfast pieces' are closely related to the mid seventeenth-century genre of *trompe l'oeil*, and the hyper-realism of their carefully positioned, and often paper, objects, as well as the older tradition of *vanitas*.[136] In addition to depicting the muted opulence of the dinner tables of the wealthy in the Dutch Golden Age, Claesz Heda's paintings share, with the *vanitas* tradition, a moral intent: they display 'interrupted' meals, and warn against gluttony and 'dissolute' behaviour.[137] The dissolution of the objects, in various states of imbalance and decay, invokes a precariousness, and is characterized by a pattern of broken exteriors and vulnerable, exposed interiors (see Fig. 17): broken shells and peeled skin reveal fleshy oysters and lemon pith, and a sliced, crusty loaf suggests bread gradually turning stale. Crumpled wastepaper is part of this language, a container far along its life cycle that spills out pepper or tobacco, as in Claesz

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[135] Kathryn Calley Galitz, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Masterpiece Paintings* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2016), 286.
[136] See, for instance, Samuel van Hoogstraten's 1666-78 *Trompe l'oeil* (oil on canvas, Staatliche Kunsthalle: Karlsruhe) and Heather Wolfe, 'Filing, seventeenth-century style', *The Collation* (blog), March 7, 2016, http://collation.folger.edu/2013/03/filing-seventeenth-century-style/.
[137] Galitz, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 286.

Heda's *Breakfast with a Lobster* (see Fig. 15; although the prone crustacean looks more crab than lobster), where the curve of the cornet mirrors the dismembered leg above it. Hyper-realistic in their reproduction of the table, but speaking of inevitable decay and mortality, these paintings represent a crucial part of the wastepaper trope that I will explore in the following chapters.

Fig. 17: Willem Claesz Heda. 1635. *Still Life with a Gilt Cup*. Oil on panel. Rijksmuseum: Amsterdam.

Wastepaper also survives in the linings of boxes, and as supports for textiles. Fragments from William Camden's appropriately named *Remaines, concerning Britian*, probably from the 1614 edition, survive in the lining of an early seventeenth-century, elm box (see Fig. 18), as well as calendars dated 1680 lining an oak box on a stand, both held at the Victoria and Albert Museum.[138] Sheets of a mid sixteenth-century romance line a box of deeds and accounts at the National Archives, and printed papers dated 1597 line a box of trenchers held at Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust.[139] Scraps of pattern books and receipts have been layered to form the embroidery support for a pair of gloves, made ca. 1600, held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Claire Canavan has uncovered how wastepaper was used to wind thread in the period.[140]

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[138] Victoria and Albert Museum, W.51-1926.
[139] National Archives, London, C108/314; Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust, Stratford-upon-Avon, SBT: 1992-4.
[140] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 28.220.7,.8. See Stefan Hanß, 'Zooming into History: An interview with Cristina Balloffet Carr on Examining Early Modern Textiles Under the Microscope', *Materialized*

Fig. 18: Fragments from William Camden's *Remaines, concerning Britain*, perhaps the 1614 edition (London: Iohn Legatt for Simon Waterson) lining an elm box made in Southwark, ca. 1600-1625. Victoria and Albert Museum W.17:1-1910.

Wastepaper was most likely used, as John Hall describes, to 'save the charge of brown paper' in a multitude of ways: both were cheap forms of a light, relatively durable material, good for folding and crumpling around other things, and are presented as almost synonymous in Perceval's dictionary entry.[141] The weight of evidence, including numerous recipes, suggests that waste pages were used in the kitchen as wrappers 'for Roast-meat' to prevent burning, and for lining 'pye-bottoms', as well as in medicines, and as scrap paper for writing.[142] Wastepaper would have been used by apothecaries, alchemists, and householders in the process of distillation, distilling vinegar, for instance, 'by means of a Cornet or horn of wast paper, moisten'd in water', or, as Robert Chamberlain suggests (and as we have already seen proposed by John Brinsley),

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[141] John Hall, *A Serious Epistle to Mr. William Prynne* (London: for John Place, 1649), 32.
[142] Ibid., 32.

using wastepaper as a material on which to write out mathematical calculations, or practice handwriting.[143]

The most notorious function of wastepaper, and that which is hardest to prove, is its use 'about *refusely occasions*', as '*bumm-fodder*', and for 'inferiour employments, and posteriour uses'.[144] According to William Cornwallis, who claims to keep 'printed Bawdery' in his 'priuy', this was the use 'that waste paper is most subiect too'.[145] Early modern writers revelled in the scatological potential of using old and unwanted books as toilet paper, and it is the wastepaper commonplace that has garnered the most attention from scholars over the centuries.

But wiping arses is only one of a multitude of uses wastepaper was put to, and forms only a fraction of the literary references to wastepaper. Thomas Nashe's epithet of wastepaper as a 'priuie token' is, then, a pertinent one: in addition to punning on the site of shitting, Nashe hints at the ways in which repurposed pages circulated between the lowliest and most everyday of spaces and the highest level of statecraft.[146] Wastepaper was a punishment levied out by the Privy Council, and a material under the remit of the city aldermen: a satirical attack on the Rump Parliament, for instance, claims that because 'the house ha[d] much wast-paper in store, more than the Alderman needed, they imploy'd it in writing Commissions'.[147] Although this is parody, wastepaper might contain important and illicit text, or transport privy and arcane information: the astrologer William Lilly, for instance, claims that a prophecy regarding Charles II in 1651 was 'found by chance in a wast Paper, wherein was wrapped a pair of gloves […] written in an old Saxon hand in red letters above threescore years agoe'.[148] Wastepaper was also privy in itself, concealed within a binding, surviving through the centuries to later tell its secrets. A 'token' that might be considered trivial and flimsy, these sheets might, to those privy to their peculiar language, serve as a meaningful sign or symbol. This thesis seeks to uncover these histories, secreted in the archives, as well as the meanings that early moderns found rolled up in sheets of wastepaper.

Chapter 1 traces the history of the wastepaper commonplace. It begins with its earliest instances in the poetry of Catullus, Horace, Persius, and Martial, before moving on to its reception in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The trope re-emerged at a historical

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[143] Moyse Charas, *The Royal Pharmacopoeia* (London: for John Starkey, 1678), 54; Robert Chamberlain, *Chamberlain's Arithmetick* (London: for John Clark, 1679), 58-59, 66.
[144] Samuel Fisher, *Rusticus ad academicos* (London: for Robert Wilson, 1660), 135; Alexander Brome, *Bumm-fodder, or VVaste-Paper Proper to Wipe the Nation's Rump With, or Your Own* (London: s.n., 1660); Urquhart, *Ekskybalauron*, 3.
[145] William Cornwallis, *Essayes* ([London]: [S. Stafford and R. Read] for Edmund Mattes, 1600-1601), I7r.
[146] Thomas Nashe, *The Vnfortunate Traueller* (London: Thomas Scarlet for Cuthbert Burby, 1594), A3v.
[147] Samuel Butler, *A Continuation of the Acts and Monuments of our Late Parliament* (London: s.n., 1659), 7.
[148] Lilly, *Monarchy or No Monarchy,* 68.

moment when books, paper, and wastepaper proliferated: the number of books in libraries and shops increased year on year, just as the imports of paper, ever-expanding, added to the imports of the previous years. Furthermore, books were becoming cheaper and smaller, and there was a growing sense of their flimsiness and ephemerality. At the same time, as we will see in more detail in Chapter 2, huge quantities of monastic manuscripts flooded the wastepaper market. It seemed increasingly unlikely, within this environment, that a new publication would endure.

The descriptions in Horace, Persius, and Martial of papyri providing togas for fish and wrappers for pepper chimed with an everyday material practice, as well as an overriding sense of textual vulnerability. The phrase '*Pipere & Scombris*' emerged as a shorthand for this practice, and the metaphor manifested itself most frequently as either a commonplace insult or modesty trope, grounded either in wish-fulfilment regarding another's book, or anxiety regarding one's own. The chapter concludes by attending to the underlying sentiment of these commonplaces: their concern with the survival of material and intellectual things in time. Offering a reading of John Donne's extended elegies on wastepaper, dissolution, and death, I argue that wastepaper provided a counter-narrative to Horace's perennial poetic monuments. Instead, it structured an eschatological narrative of entropy and decay, in which wastepaper emblematized the fragmentation of all things.

In Chapter 2, the focus shifts from the tropic history of wastepaper to its material presence in post-Reformation England. I begin by outlining the sudden influx of waste manuscripts in the decades following the dissolution of the monastic libraries, before offering two case studies that demonstrate an enduring alertness to the histories of waste, and how waste was received and interpreted in the period. The first is a reading of *The Laboryouse Journey & serche of John Leylande, for Englandes Antiquities*, heavily edited by John Bale and printed in 1549. Sensitive to the material histories of the fragments he sought to catalogue in binders' and stationers' shops, Bale's description of these objects demonstrates their bifurcating value in the decades after the dissolution, as well as their figurative potential: they become, for Bale, an emblem of his eschatological understanding of time.

The second case study considers the telescopic effect of waste in Aubrey's late seventeenth-century meditation on the fates of monastic manuscripts. These objects continued to tell stories of dissolution and Reformation, but, detached by a century and a half from these events, they provoked Aubrey to dwell on their relationship to history and to time more broadly. In addition to providing a snapshot of the decades in which waste manuscripts were perceived as both wrappers and as aesthetically valued artefacts, we witness Aubrey's self-reflexive appraisal of waste fragments as the props for his antiquarian thought: his sensitivity to the

palimpsestic effect of waste provides him with an emblem upon which to model his own 'brief life', a matterphor with which to demonstrate how he sought to shelter other fragments from the deluge of time.

Chapter 3 returns to the textual life of wastepaper, this time to focus on the corpus of an individual author who returned again and again to the subject of repurposing pages. Considering the importance of paper in Thomas Nashe's writing, rather than fixating, as the majority of scholarship has done, on the influence of print, this chapter looks to nuance our understanding of Nashe as an archetype of the prodigal writer. Many of Nashe's references to wastepaper are insults, aimed largely at his nemesis Gabriel Harvey, and a small number are modesty tropes directed toward aristocratic patrons; many more defy these categories, and instead celebrate the circulation of 'priuie tokens' and waste wrappers, which Nashe joyfully bequeaths to his readers. I argue that the logic behind this medley of wastepaper play can be found in Nashe's movements in the summer of 1593: most likely residing in the plague-ridden city of London, Nashe began to shape a peculiar poetics of composition and consumption in which ripping up and dispersing pages became a model for healthy creativity, godly living, and a cure for the plague.

The final chapter explores how almanacs were particularly prone to wasting because of their annual nature. Extant almanac fragments reveal how large numbers were discarded and repurposed after use, or sat unsold as 'overplus' in stationers' shops towards the end of the year. After reviewing the intellectual content of almanacs, and how, above all else, they taught early moderns that their bodies were interconnected with the environment, I argue that almanacs also generated meaning through their physical form: through what I call the kinaesthetics of almanac use and the highly visible life cycle of almanac waste. The language that accumulated around almanacs, describing them as 'greasy' and turning rapidly 'out of date', demonstrates how the textures of a much-handled page and the common practice of laying it aside collaborated with its calendar, its 'zodiac man', and its list of 'good and bad days', to structure the user's understanding of time and the world. They emphasised the cyclical nature of seasonal and organic time, as well as a linear, entropic temporality, and suggested the continuity between the user's own body and the organic matter of almanac, almanac waste, and the world.

Each of these chapters draws on waste objects that I have encountered in my archival research, either through systematic surveys of collections or through fortuitous discoveries. Considering these extant objects alongside the language of John Donne, John Bale, John Aubrey, Thomas Nashe, and an array of commonplaces, enables us to trace the layers of thought that grew up around wastepaper in the early modern period. These texts reveal how waste

structured an early modern understanding of the passage of time, and the fragmentation of things *in* time, as well as how waste narrated the fluctuating value of objects and their capacity to unexpectedly survive. Repurposed pages 'carry on' along their life cycle, progressing through the stages of flax, linen, and rags, transforming into paper, text, and then waste, before becoming (in some cases) historical artefacts 'rescued' from their waste fate, catalogued and valued in their own right.[149] We should seek, like our early modern counterparts, to become sensitive to the palimpsestic nature of the things around us, and their capacity to shape our thought. As this thesis demonstrates, the tendency of wastepaper to both fragment and to 'carry on' provided early modern thinkers and writers with a 'solid metaphor', a kinaesthetic emblem with which to negotiate history and the world, and their place within it.[150]

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[149] See, for instance, Sean Coughlan, '"Incredibly rare" William Caxton print discovered'. *BBC*, May 9, 2017, accessed May 9, 2017, www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-39846929.
[150] Ingold, *Making*, 45.

CHAPTER 1

PEPPER AND MACKEREL

In the 1636 printed miscellany *Fasciculus Florum*, the pseudonymous Lerimos Uthalmus offers up a dedication to 'the Great Patroness of the World, Good Acceptance'.[1] According to Uthalmus, potential patrons are 'frighted at the sight' of such prefaces, looking on them as they would a *'Lord haue Mercie upon us'*, the printed or handwritten document nailed by city officials to 'doore[s] in the time of the Plague'.[2] These entryways into books would often beg for cash, sending the addressee into 'a cold Sweat' as if invited to step inside a plague-ridden house. Uthalmus instead seeks the patronage of the general public: they have the final say because, if poorly received, a book 'dwindles and pines away, discarded and rejected like an old Fashion out of date, and neglected as a last yeares Almanack'.[3]

At the close of the preface, Uthalmus continues to imagine the afterlives of unwanted books in 'Ad Librum Suum' ('To His Book'), a poem subtitled *A Pipere & Scombris* ('Of Pepper and Mackerel').

> Go Little Book, abroad, thy self alone,
> Like *Sinon*, with thy hands behind thee bound,
> To bear the broken Iests of every one;
> […]
> From loathsome Lotions of Face-wringing-stools
> Fortune defend thee, and from Chandlers Shops,
> Pepper, and Sope, and stopping Mustard-pots.[4]

This volume and its prefatory materials are replete with classical references and literary tropes. Uthalmus follows the model of Ovid sending his 'little book' as a hopeful envoy to Rome, and compares it to Sinon, the willing Trojan captive in Virgil's *Aeneid*.[5] The 'little book' begot by *'Paper-Parents'* who send 'forth the Infants of their Brain into the open Ayr' is a longstanding trope of literary creation as childbirth (think, for instance, of the speaker in the opening of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, 'great with child to speak, and helpless in my throes').[6] And the title, *Fasciculus florum*, is a commonplace about commonplacing, gesturing toward Seneca's influential apiary model of reading: books should be approached as if by bees, with the best bits extracted

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[1] Levimos Uthalmus, *Fasciculus Florum* (London: A[ugustine] M[athewes], 1636), A3r-v.

[2] Mark Jenner, 'Plague on a page: *Lord have mercy upon us* in early modern London', *The Seventeenth Century* 27, no. 3 (2012): 255-286.

[3] Uthalmus, *Fasciculus Florum*, A4r.

[4] Ibid., A5v.

[5] See, for instance, John Geyssen 'Sending a book to the Palatine: Martial 1.70 and Ovid', *Mnemosyne* 52, no. 6 (1999): 718-738.

[6] Uthalmus, *Fasciculus Florum*, A3r; *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 153; see *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. by Douglas A. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) and Maria Ruvoldt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration: Metaphors of Sex, Sleep, and Dream* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 65-89.

and digested for later use.[7] But one other influential trope is in operation here, and its history has not been studied. The history of the wastepaper trope has yet to be told, and this chapter will trace its popularity among classical authors and its re-emergence and transformations in early modern England.

Fasciculus Florum consists of classical and contemporary epigrams and short verses, and features translations and adaptations of poets including Horace, Martial and Statius. These authors serve, along with Catullus and Persius, as the source for the early modern commonplace that this thesis interrogates: their '*Pipere & Scombris*' are, as we will see, shorthand for a wastepaper fate, with hot spices and greasy fish signalling that a book will turn from reading material to repurposed wrappers. Uthalmus does not quote a classical version of the trope *ad verbum*, but '*Pipere & Scombris*' developed into a familiar aphorism in seventeenth-century England. This pithy phrase condenses the varied descriptions of repurposed pages in classical texts into a concise motto and, alongside the epithet 'wastepaper', situates early modern mustard-stoppers and Chandlers' paper scraps within a rich rhetorical heritage. This chapter seeks to trace the tropic history of wastepaper, demonstrating how layers of meaning gathered around objects, and to outline the parameters of their use.

This chapter begins with the earliest instances of the wastepaper trope in Catullus (ca. 84–54 BCE) and Horace (65–8 BCE) before moving on to Persius (34-62 CE) and the frequent and various uses of the trope in Martial (ca. 40-104 CE). It traces the re-emergence of this figure in the sixteenth century, exploring how an exposure to these classical texts coincided with an increased awareness of the life cycle of books. The term 'wastepaper' was coined at a time when the humanist endeavour of editing and printing classical texts made literary descriptions of repurposing pages readily available. Far from a straightforward comment on practice, this trope provided a framework through which authors negotiated an array of literary concerns. Most frequently, authors used the wastepaper commonplace as either an insult, a frame through which to flatter an addressee, or to profess modesty – adapting the trope to fit within their mediation of controversial pamphleteering, patronage, and the print marketplace.

But every manifestation of the commonplace, I argue, is grounded in an overarching bibliographic narrative or 'bibliofiction', structured by the metaphorics of a book's ending and fragmentation. Any consideration of wastepaper is necessarily a consideration of the material and temporal dimensions of a text, and, as a result, the commonplace often serves as a foil or antithesis to the Horatian topos of 'literary immortality'. Wastepaper provides a means with

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[7] See, for instance, George Wood Pigman III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (1980): 1-32 and Randall L. Anderson, 'Metaphors of the Book as Garden in the English Renaissance', *The Yearbook of English Studies* (2003): 248-261.

which to ask: is a text more than a paper object, and can it endure? Concluding with a reading of John Donne's wastepaper poetry and paper carcasses, I argue that references to repurposed pages are always structured by a narrative of entropy and senescence. Grounded in the decay and dissolution of fragile paper objects, these tropes and metaphors in the early modern period are always imbued with the dominant Christian ideology of eschatology and the end of time.

Catullus, Horace, and 'Silly Paper'

Catullus' poetry is firmly embedded in the material contexts of its composition. In Carmen 1, Catullus describes giving his 'pretty new book | just now polished with dry pumice-stone' (*lepidum novum libellum | arido modo pumice expolitum*) to the author Cornelius.[8] The ninth line of the poem is corrupt, and scholars disagree as to whether Catullus pins his hopes of the book 'endur[ing] for year on year for more than one generation' (*plus uno maneat perenne saeclo*) on Cornelius' worldly patronage, or on his 'tutelary maiden' or muse (*patrona virgo*).[9] Regardless, Carmen 1 is concerned with the temporality of the book of poems: it is a freshly produced, organic object (a papyrus scroll) that has only a moment ago (*modo*) been rubbed and trimmed to prevent its plant fibres from fraying.[10] This description of newness draws attention to the life cycle of the object: thinking about the beginning of the book's biography leads the beholder to consider its inevitable end, whether more or less than a generation away.

The reader of Carmen 1 is made aware of their own role in the life cycle of Catullus' book: in writing his *Chronica*, Cornelius 'unfolded the whole of history in three rolls' (*omne aevum tribus explicare chartis*). Reading and writing a scroll means the repeated rolling and unrolling of a papyrus sheet: a poem in the middle of the book cannot be accessed without the entire scroll being opened. The book will not remain 'pretty' (*lepidum*) and 'new' (*novum*) for long, because, as Florence Dupont argues, 'the papyrus book is not made to be opened and read frequently.'[11] Papyrus is fragile and friable, becoming brittle when folded or excessively handled.[12] In Catullus' Rome, therefore, the act of reading verges on destruction and disintegration, a likelihood increased by the location of Carmen 1: as Denis Feeney argues, 'the emblematic first poem',

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[8] *Catullus*, ed. and trans. by G. P. Goold (London: Duckworth, 1983), 1. All references to and translations of Catullus will be taken from this edition.

[9] A. S. Gratwick, '*Vale, patrona virgo*: The text of Catullus 1.9', *Classical Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (2002): 305-320.

[10] See Lygdamus' 'and let the pumice-stone carefully shave off the white threads', *Corpus tibullianum III.1-6*, ed. by Fernando Navarro Antolín (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 116.

[11] Florence Dupont, 'The Corrupted Boy and the Crowned Poet: Or, the Material Reality and the Symbolic Status of the Literary Book at Rome', trans. by Holt N. Parker, in *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, ed. by William A. Johnson and Holt N. Parker, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 154.

[12] Patricia Roemer, 'The Papyrus Roll in Egypt, Greece, and Rome', in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 84-94.

sitting on the outer-edge of the roll, would have 'suffered disproportionately greater damage' than the poems deeper inside.[13]

These material, spatial and temporal concerns emerge again in Carmen 95. Catullus writes

> The *Smyrna* of my dear Cinna, finally published
> nine harvests and winters after it was begun,
> while the Hatrian half a million verses in a single
> *year has been belching forth, the disgusting fellow*,[14]
> the *Smyrna*, I say, will reach Satrachus' deep waters,
> the *Smyrna* will long be read till time grows old;
> but Volusius' *Annals* will die before crossing the Padua
> and many a time will furnish roomy coats for mackerel.
> Dear to my heart be the slender monument of my friend;
> but let the vulgar rejoice in their bloated Antimachus.

> *Smyrna mei Cinnae, nonam post denique messem*
> *quam coepta est nonamque edita post hiemem,*
> *milia cum interea quingenta Hatriensis in uno*
> *versiculorum anno putidus evomuit,*
> *Smyrna cavas Satrachi penitus mittetur ad undas,*
> *Smyrnam cana diu saecula pervoluent:*
> *at Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam*
> *et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas.*
> *parva mei mihi sint cordi monumenta sodalis:*
> *at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho.*

Catullus contrasts one good poet with three bad ones.[15] Cinna has taken nine long years to produce a short volume, the now lost 'miniature epic' *Smyrna*. This combination of poetic brevity and careful composition, according to Catullus, ensures wide circulation and material endurance. Hatriensis, however, has rapidly composed 'half a million' (*quingenta*) verses. Another bad book, Volusius' *Annals*, will not make it beyond the neighbourhood in which it was produced, staying within the bounds of Padua. Volusius's words do not follow the expected trajectory of a literary text: rather than being 'long read' (*diu* […] *pervoluent*), the *Annals* will be 'many a time' (*saepe*) put to other uses. They die (*morientur*) or are repurposed, spanning the circumference of a fish rather than crossing an ocean. Finally, Antimachus' works are described as 'bloated' or 'windy' (*tumido*). What all three bad poets have in common, Catullus implies, is that they write grossly overlong books. The amount of papyrus required for such large and carelessly composed texts makes a mass of waste material available. The papyrus of Hatriensis,

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[13] Denis Feeney, 'Representation and the Materiality of the Book in the Polymetrics', in *Catullus: Poems, Books, Readers*, ed. by Ian Du Quesnay and Tony Woodman (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), 37.

[14] The text is incomplete and this line has been interpolated.

[15] Joseph B. Solodow, 'On Catullus 95,' *Classical Philology* 82, no. 2 (1987): 141-145.

Volusius and Antimachus is organic, ephemeral stuff. Torn into multiple wrappers, each fragment of each scroll rapidly disintegrates. The sleek volumes of *Smyrna* will, by contrast, escape the effects of time, enduring till 'time grows old' (*cana* […] *saecula*) and acting as *monumenta*, preserving its subject and author in future acts of reading.

Horace sustains this binary of good poetry as enduring monument and bad poetry as ephemeral waste wrapper in his often-quoted Ode 3.30, in which he claims to have 'created a monument more lasting than bronze' (*exegi monumentum aere perennius*).[16] The capacity of his poetry to survive exceeds objects made of bronze, such as honorific statues, funerary plaques and tablets engraved with laws, as well as the stony structures of the pyramids.[17] These objects and things, made of durable materials, are designed to interrupt the boundary between life and death by reaching forward and backward in time. But as Horace makes clear, these memorials are still subject to the destructive forces of time and the elements. Bronze plaques, for instance, were particularly susceptible to overwriting and reuse.[18] Horace's verse, however, has transcended the material. The Ode does not go into detail, but this is presumably because of its iterability: as good poetry, it will be copied and recopied and will not perish along with the papyrus it is written on, and so will 'evade death' (*vitabit Libitinam*).

The same cannot be said, according to Horace, for bad poetry. In Epistle 2.1 Horace addresses Augustus and describes the state of contemporary literature. He makes a case for the equal value of poetry and the plastic arts: verses can display the character and mind of illustrious men just as clearly as a sculptor can show their features in bronze (*nec magis expressi voltus per aenea signa, | quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum | clarorum apparent*).[19] Only bad poetry, Horace says, takes on the negative capacity of sculpture to be manhandled and to decay. The final lines of the epistle read:

> Not for me attentions that are burdensome, and I want neither to be displayed anywhere in wax, with my features misshaped, nor to be praised in verses ill-wrought, lest I have to blush at the stupid gift, and then, along with my poet, outstretched in a closed chest, be carried into the street where they sell frankincense and perfumes and pepper and everything else that is wrapped in sheets of useless paper. (2.1 264-270)

> *Nil moror officium quod me gravat, ac neque ficto*
> *in peius voltu proponi cereus usquam*
> *nec prave factis decorari versibus opto,*

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[16] *Horace, Odes and Epode*, ed. and trans. by Niall Rudd (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2004), 3.30.

[17] Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996), 352.

[18] Jonathan Edmondson, 'Inscribing Roman Texts: *Officinae,* Layout and Carving Techniques', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, ed. by Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), 115.

[19] *Horace; Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1942), Ep. 2.1.248-50.

> *ne rubeam pingui donatus munere, et una*
> *cum scriptore meo, capsa porrectus operta,*
> *deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores*
> *et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis.*

A bad poet is like an unskilled sculptor who moulds misshapen wax portraits or death masks: the verses are badly made (*prave factis*). Enduring poetry, it seems, lacks this physicality. Whereas Horace's own poetry exceeds the ability of bronze to last, bad poems are ephemeral like wax, a substance with a tendency to lose its shape: soft when hot and brittle when cold. Horace might also hint at the wax surface of a writing tablet: the ease with the text on these tablets can be erased is a powerful emblem for the ease with which bad poetry is forgotten. The close of Epistle 2.1 suggests a funerary procession: the poet is carried through the street in a coffin-like case whilst, simultaneously, his poems are delivered in their box or bookcase to the shopkeepers. Because the poems are silly, trifling, and inept (*ineptis*) they will be used as scrap papyrus, *ineptis* or unsuited for any other purpose. The material is a metonym for the poetry: misshapen language has no value independent from the papyrus it is written on. Moulded clumsily like a bad poet's language or a sculptor's fragile wax, the papyrus is folded around small quantities of dry spices and herbs. After this passage through the grubby streets of Rome, it is implied, the bad poet and his poems will rapidly pass out of memory.

Togas for Fish in the 'Silver Age'

Repurposing papyrus, then, was a recognizable trope as early as the first century BCE. Even in the earliest extant references to repurposing books, wasted pages provided an object with which to negotiate the material and temporal dimensions of a text, as well as a pat insult. Papyrus wrappers became a go-to figure in the first century CE, a period of literary history sometimes referred to as the 'Silver Age': Persius, for instance, makes use of the now traditional trope in his scathing attack on contemporary literature and literary taste. Satire 1 is an imagined dialogue between Persius and an interlocutor, in which the unnamed speaker can empathize with a poet who desires enduring fame:

> Is there anyone who would disown the desire to earn the praise of the people? – or when he's produced compositions good enough for cedar oil, to leave behind him poetry which has nothing to fear from mackerels or incense?[20]
>
> *an erit qui velle recuset*

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[20] *Juvenal and Persius*, trans. by Susanna Morton Braund (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2004), I. 41-43. All future references and translations will be taken from this edition.

> *os populi meruisse et cedro digna locutus*
> *linquere nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus?*

For the speaker, literary reputation and longevity are understood through the handling of the poem as an object. Longevity is achieved through the application of cedar oil, a preservative and insect-repellent rubbed onto precious objects like books and wooden cases, and used in the embalming process.[21] Cedar oil and fish frequently appear alongside each other in texts that consider the survival and destruction of poetry: their shared oiliness provides an evocative diptych of the contrasting fates of literary works.

Unlike the interlocutor, Persius has no patience with poets who seek out fame and flattery. Waste papyrus, in Persius' satire, is one of many empty platitudes: what is the material effect, he asks, of reciting a dead poet's work?

> Are your poet's ashes not blissful now? Does the tombstone not rest more lightly on his bones now? The guests applaud: will violets not spring from those remains, from that tomb and from that blessed ash now? (I. 36-40)

> *nunc non cinis ille poetae*
> *felix? non levior cippus nunc inprimit ossa?*
> *laudant convivae: nunc non e minibus illis,*
> *nunc non e tumulo fortunataque favilla nascentur violae?*

Rereading and copying an old book of poems has as much effect on the author as does using it as waste papyrus: none at all. Persius deflates the rhetoric of 'divine poesy' (*dia poemata*, I. 31) by highlighting the entropic trajectory of both books and bodies.

Statius draws attention to this life cycle in a less stoical fashion in his 'Jesting Hendecasyllabics' (*Hendecasyllabi iocosi*). He describes how he has given a handsome new book of fresh papyrus (*novusque charta*) to his friend Plotius Grypus. In return, Grypus has given a book that is 'moth eaten and moldering, like the sheets that soak up Libyan olives or keep Nile incense or pepper or cook Byzantine tunny' (*tu rosum tineis situque putrem, | quales aut Libycis madent olivis | aut tus Niliacum piperve servant | aut Byzantiacos cocunt lacertos*).[22] This playful portrayal of a lop-sided gift-exchange draws attention to the organic trajectory at the centre of the trope: that which is good is 'fresh' (*novus*), like Catullus' *lepidum novum libellum*, and that which is bad is 'mouldering' (*putrem*). Somehow *more* material, rubbish poetry will become greasier and smellier than the good stuff. Assertions of endurance and monumentality are, however, equally undercut

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[21] Dioscorides (ca. 40-90 CE), for instance, describes how *cedria* is used in the preservation of the dead and as an insecticide. See Lorelei H. Corcoran and Marie Svoboda, *Herakleides* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010), 49.
[22]*Statius Silvae*, ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, with corrections by Christopher A. Parrot (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2015), 4.9 1-13.

by the visible life cycle of the book: beautiful books will also go mouldy, with transcendence an uncertain prospect at best. This uncertainty goes some way to explaining the complex and often contradictory descriptions of repurposing papyrus in the poetry of Martial.

Martial 3.50 is a jibe at a bad poet: it describes how Ligurinus invites friends to his house for dinner just so he can read his atrocious verses (*scelerata poemata*).[23] If he doesn't hand over his books to the mackerel-seller (*quod si non scombris scelerata poemata donas*), according to Martial, he will soon dine alone (*cenabis solus iam*). Wasted papyrus also appears in 6.61. This echoes the sentiment of Horace's Ode 3.30 and Catullus 95, describing how verses that are only 'clever' (*ingeniosa*) will fail to secure a poet long-lasting fame. They will become food for moths and bookworms (*tineas pascunt blattasque*) and be bought by cooks (*et redimunt soli carmina docta coci*). That which 'gives centuries to paper' (*donat saecula chartis*) is 'genius' (*genium*), a kind of tutelary spirit allotted at birth, which, like a muse, provides inspiration.[24] These two epigrams maintain the distinction between underwhelming poetry as ephemeral stuff and literary masterpieces as transcending their material context, a framework precariously poised on the taste buds of moths and bookworms.

In several other epigrams, however, the source of literary survival is located elsewhere. In 4.86 Martial bestows advice on his 'little book' (*libelle*): the best thing it can do is 'please' (*placeas*) Apollinaris. With his support, all 'Attic ears' (*auribus Atticis*) will approve. None will 'snort' or 'sneer' (*rhonchos*) at it, nor will it 'supply mackerel with "tiresome tunics"' (*scombris tunicas dabis molestas*), a reworking of Catullus' *tunicas* for *scombris* in Carmen 95. If it doesn't please Apollinaris it will end up, like the bad poetry of Horace's second epistle, in the saltfishmongers' shops (*salariorum* […] *scrinia*), 'fit for schoolboys to plough your backside' (*inversa pueris arande charta*). The now traditional reference to mackerel is embellished: an unprotected book will wrap saltfish and schoolboys will violate the back of the papyrus with their pens. They write on the *inversa* of the poem because only the recto of a papyrus scroll, where the strips ran horizontally, was considered fit to write on. If the reverse has been used, according to papyrologist Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, it is always 'an example of reuse'.[25] It is unclear if Martial refers to schoolboys practicing their penmanship on this waste space or market-sellers scribbling messy notes on papyrus scraps and wrappers: either way, it is an ignominious fate.

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[23] *Martial: Epigrams*, ed. and trans. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, vol. I-III (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1993). All future references and translations will be taken from this edition.

[24] 'Genius', in *The Classical Tradition*, ed. by Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2010).

[25] Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, 'Writing Materials in the Ancient World', in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. by Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 21.

This is a different sentiment to 6.61, in which a book's survival is determined externally, not by the quality or 'genius' of its verse but by the cultural weight of its patron. 3.2 suggests a similar course of action: Martial asks his little book to choose its own patron, describing it as an animate body that might 'fly to Faustinus' bosom' (*Faustini fugis in sinum?*). If it fails to gain a patron, it is at risk of wrapping sprats in the kitchen, or serving as a 'cowl' for incense or pepper (*ne nigram cito raptus in culinam | cordylas madida tegas papyro | vel turis piperisve sis cucullus*). With Faustinus' patronage, however, it will be preserved and beautified: it will be granted painted bosses and a purple cover (*pictis luxurieris umbilicis | et te purpura delicata velet*) and anointed with cedar oil (*cedro* […] *perunctus*) rather than the grease of sprats. This anthropomorphized object will strut about (*ambules*) fearlessly: it will become a clothed body rather than fragments that clothe other stuff, which not even the aptly named critic Probus will be able to penetrate (*illo vindice nec Probum timeto*).

In 4.86 and 3.2 the patron acts like a binding, cover, or book box (*scrinium*), protecting the volume from dispersal and disintegration. The cultural and economic influence of the patron is literalized in the form of expensive ornamentation and careful preservation, with the agency and skill of the poet obscured. This is a similar state of affairs to that described by Persius: both poets present a society that elides literary *genium* with worldly fame and luxury objects. In first century Rome, they suggest, it is more important who you know and who reads your work than what you write. Persius describes the inevitable death and decay of books and bodies in order to satirize the superficiality of this system. Martial, however, makes explicit his participation in it. He highlights the physical vulnerability of a text in order to flatter his patrons, claiming, obsequiously, that they hold supreme influence over the fate of his books.

This is not the limit of Martial's play with the idea of repurposing papyrus. 13.1 addresses the Muses and instructs them to 'waste some papyrus from the Nile' (*perdite Niliacas* […] *papyrus*). This is a modest gesture on Martial's part, albeit a playful one: the agency of composition is surrendered to the Muses, but his poems still turn out badly. Worth only as much as the papyrus they are written on, Martial will be worse off for it (*mea damna*). This isn't a radical claim: as we have seen, authors had reduced bad verse to the value of scrap pages for over a century, but Martial takes the unusual step of applying this insult to his own work. Rather than praising fresh, pretty books or seeking to write a *monumentum* worthy of cedar oil, Martial is content with the application of olives and fish fry. His verses are as ephemeral as the stuff on which he writes, and, in this epigram at least, Martial doesn't mind. He dwells at length on the life cycle of papyrus, drawing attention to its origin in a river-plant from the Nile and its potential afterlife as a waste wrapper: the poem is written so 'That tunny-fry may not lack a gown and

olives an overcoat, nor the uncleanly bookworm fear penurious hunger' (*Ne toga cordylis et paenula desit olivis | aut inopem metuat sordida blatta famem*). In a reversal of 3.2, the poems are bequeathed to anthropomorphized edibles that might otherwise catch a chill, as well as to starving bookworms, textual consumers in the most literal sense.

This is the first epigram of Martial's *Xenia*, a volume of two-line verses designed, like his *Apophoreta*, as light-hearted reading material for the Saturnalia. The titles of both volumes can be translated as 'gifts', and the little books pose as objects to be exchanged during the festival. It is contested as to whether 13.1 actually belongs to the *Xenia*: it is perhaps one or two fragments combined and transported from elsewhere in Martial's corpus, but, however makeshift, the verses use a Saturnalian setting to enliven the conventional trope of wasting papyrus.[26] The *Xenia* does not describe itself, like Martial 3.2, Catullus 1, and Statius 4.9, as a luxurious object or as a quasi-transcendental text. Tied to the 'tipsy' (*inebria*) time of year that demands 'new jests' (*novos* […] *sales*), the book of epigrams is a papyrus plaything that stands in for the nuts or dice of traditional Saturnalian pastime (*haec mihi charta nuces, haec est mihi charta fritillus*). Appropriately ephemeral, it is to be discarded when the holiday is over, or perhaps even torn up in the midst of it: Martial, in 13.3 tells his reader 'you can send these couplets to your guests instead of a gift' (*hac licet hospitibus pro munere disticha mittas*). Each two-line poem can be substituted for that which it describes. Rather than buying and giving 'incense' (*Tus*, 13.4), 'pepper' (*Piper*, 13.5), 'a small box of olives' (*Cistella Olivarum*, 13.36), or a range of fish (13.79-91), the reader might save money and offer a poem or poems instead, substituting word for thing. However unlikely this course of action actually was, Martial makes us imagine a reader who tears the book into fragments, making 'gift-tags' or little snippets that the recipient will, like a hungry bookworm, consume.[27] Even if the book remains whole the volume consummates the waste fate anticipated in its opening verses: it is a concrete joke in which the first epigram on the outer edge of the book-roll becomes a wrapper for food, encompassing the incense, pepper, olives, and fish within it.

It is not within the scope of this chapter to account fully for the frequent use of the waste papyrus trope in Martial's poetry or in the Roman Silver Age. Nonetheless, it is worth briefly considering a number of contributing factors because of their relevance to the reception of the trope in early modern England. Luke Roman offers a compelling argument for the prevalence of a 'metaliterary poetics' in the epigrams of Martial, arguing that in the first century poets began to respond to Horace's characterization of textuality. Whereas Horace imagines an

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[26] See, for instance, T.J. Leary's commentary in *Martial Book XIII, The Xenia* (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), 37.
[27] Leary, *The Xenia*, 17.

'integral' and 'immortal' work that exists as an abstracted or 'general entity', Martial offers a 'sub-literary' and 'post-classical aesthetics' grounded in the 'finite, monetary value' of books and the gritty ins and outs of the system of patronage. Martial's portrayal of books as individual, 'use-directed' objects is, Roman convincingly argues, a self-conscious parody of the 'monumental' understanding of literature that came before.[28]

I want to add to Roman's 'metaliterary poetics' an emphasis on the materials and mechanics of writing. In addition to turning inward and reflecting on the contemporary status and understanding of literature, Martial's poetry is 'metamaterial'. It is concerned with the technology of the book (how it is handled, whether it is a scroll or a codex), and with its life cycle (and that of its formative materials), particularly as it is manifested in waste wrappers and fragments. This is an instance of what Lindsay Ann Reid terms a 'bibliofiction', or a 'metaphorics of literary transmission'.[29] Reid, describing the reception of Ovid in the Renaissance, argues that writers conceived of literature as both fragile and mutable, as existing in individual objects and in 'multiple and materially indeterminate forms'. The model for this metaphorics of textual production and circulation is, for Reid, an Ovidian 'metamorphosis', with literature kept alive by its 'reiterat[ion] in successive forms'.[30]

Reid goes on to argue that recent scholarship has become overly fixated with the material life cycle of the book and that, instead, we should attend to the literary representations and the imagined fates of books.[31] But the bibliofictions in Martial, and in the wastepaper trope as it was received and transmitted in early modern England, are already '*over*-materialized'. The metaphorics of transmission and circulation is, in these instances, grounded in fragmentation, a specific form of metamorphosis: of text transformed into waste. 'Textual sensibilit[ies]' might go beyond 'bibliogenesis' and the reiteration of mutable works, centring instead on 'biblio-entropy', or a trajectory of dissolution and the decay of individual objects.[32]

Waste papyrus also provides Martial with a means of negotiating newly developing textual environments: it was in Martial's lifetime that the codex began to be widely adopted, although it did not supersede the scroll for several centuries.[33] Martial 1.2 is often cited as the earliest surviving description of a parchment codex: it describes how the buyer might carry the volume wherever they go because of its size and shape, 'that parchment compresses in small

[28] Luke Roman, 'The representation of literary materiality in Martial's Epigrams', *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001): 113-145.

[29] Lindsay Ann Reid, *Ovidian Bibliofictions and the Tudor Book: Metamorphosing Classical Heroines in Late Medieval and Renaissance England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 3, 7.

[30] Ibid., 6, 2.

[31] Ibid., 6.

[32] Ibids., 2-3.

[33] David Diringer, *The Book before Printing: Ancient, Medieval and Oriental* (New York: Dover, 1982), 165.

pages' (*quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis*), and instead of being restricted to bulky bookcases, 'one hand grasps *me*' (*me manus una capit*).[34]

In addition to its material features, Martial is sensitive to the different modes of reading made available by different formats: a book-roll encourages continuous, linear reading because it must be unrolled in its entirety to reach the latter parts of the text. In 4.89, the final epigram of the volume, Martial cries out to his book 'Whoa, there's enough, whoa now, little book! We have got to the bosses' (*Ohe, iam satis est, ohe, libelle, | iam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos*) as if the poems have rolled uncontrollably to the *umbilicos*, the rod fastened to the end of papyrus around which the scroll is wound.[35] Elsewhere, Martial characterizes the experience of reading a codex: 10.1 refers to the shape of the page, describing how 'My small pages quite often end with the end of a poem' (*terque quaterque mihi finitur carmine parva | pagina*). More finite than a scroll, the codex encourages the reader to dip in and out, randomly accessing passages at will and making the book as little as they like (*fac tibi me quam cupis ipse brevem*).

Papyrus wrappers are, therefore, an unexpected analogue of both the codex page and a book of epigrams: all are defined by their fragmentary nature. Martial highlights the shared characteristics of a book of epigrams and a torn-up papyrus sheet in his *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*: the poems can be read lineally and as a whole ('to the bosses'), or as couplets detachable from their wider context. 14.2 tells the reader 'You can finish this book at any place you choose. Every performance is completed in two lines' (*Quo vis cumque loco potes hunc finire labellum: | versibus explicitum est omne duobus opus*). This atomistic mode corresponds to the motion of tearing fragments from a book-roll, an analogy which, as we have seen, Martial invites the reader to materialize by gifting slips and scraps of the volume to friends at the Saturnalia. 10.1 draws a similar analogy, but with a codex page rather than a book-roll: instead of the do-it-yourself approach of the *Xenia*, the poems are already available as fragments, their endings often coinciding with the edges of the 'small pages' (*parva pagina*). This license to make the book as 'short' (*brevem*) as the reader pleases carries more than a hint of a possible waste fate.

It is difficult to find coherence in Martial's diverse play with the waste papyrus trope: it is a fate he predicts for bad poetry and one he seeks to avoid by courting patrons, as well as a fate he celebrates in the context of the Saturnalia. Waste papyrus, then, provides Martial with a surprisingly malleable framework within which to consider textual production and consumption more broadly. Throughout the epigrams, Martial uses the trope to negotiate the generic

[34] Leila Avrin, *Scribes, Scripts, and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (London: The British Library, 1991), 173; Rex Winsbury, *The Roman Book: Books, Publishing and Performance in Classical Rome* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 23-25.

[35] Diringer, *The Book before Printing,* 139-40.

complications of a book of epigrams and the formal novelty of the codex. Papyrus fragments become concrete metaphors for reading, turning and unwinding a page of short verses. This attention to the physical dimensions of poetry provides an alternative to Horace's monumental archetype: literature, Martial suggests, is a provisional thing. Whether or not this is willingly accepted (and this is by no means consistent throughout the epigrams), Martial makes clear that poetry is bound to the materials, technologies, and kinetics of the 'little book[s]' it is written in.

'As *Martial* merrily writes'

The practice of wasting books continued throughout the intervening centuries, but the wastepaper trope re-emerged with particular vigour and frequency towards the end of the sixteenth century. It no doubt arose, in part, because of the coincidence of a number of local factors: as we will see in more detail in Chapter 2, the decades following the dissolution of the monastic libraries made available unprecedented amounts of waste parchment, and the ever-increasing number of printed books provided slips and scraps in private homes as well as stationers' and merchants' shops. The growing visibility of waste paper and parchment was accompanied by a growing 'paper-literacy', shaped by the establishment of England's first paper mills in the 1580s. It is not, however, a coincidence that an early use of the term 'waste paper' can be found in Thomas Drant's 1567 translation of selections from Horace.[36] Post-dating the Privy Council's 1566 *Ordinaunce* directing wardens to destroy or make 'waste paper' the 'forfayted' books by only a year, these two texts suggest that the phrase had become common by the 1560s.[37]

It was not only because repurposed books were being encountered with increasing frequency that wastepaper entered the taxonomy of named objects. In the decades that printed and manuscript wastepaper were becoming everyday stuff, dominant currents in literary culture and education meant that the works of Catullus, Horace, Persius and Martial were widely read, and so the wastepaper trope became embedded in the literary imagination. In addition to Drant's 1566 and 1567 translations of Horace, Martial was translated in 1629 and Persius in 1616.[38] Martial was first printed in England in 1615 and Persius (alongside Horace and Juvenal) in 1574; both were used as school-texts, but continental editions of the above poets were commonly owned by students and scholars in England throughout the sixteenth century, in

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[36] *Horace his Arte of Poetrie, Pistles, and Satyrs*, trans. by Thomas Drant (London: Thomas Marshe, 1567), H1r.
[37] *Ordinaunces decreed for reformation of diuers disorders in pryntyng and vtteryng of Bookes* ([London: s.n., 1566]), broadside.
[38] *A Medicinable Morall, that is, the Two Bookes of Horace his Satyres*, trans. by Thomas Drant (London: Thomas Marshe, [1566]); *Selected Epigrams of Martial*, trans. by Thomas May (London: [Humphrey Lownes] for Thomas Walkley, 1629); *Aulus Persius Flaccus his Satires*, trans. by Barten Holyday (Oxford: Ioseph Barnes, 1616).

addition to the manuscript translations and versions that circulated privately.[39] In addition to bringing about the transmission, editing and printing of these classical works, Renaissance Humanism shaped their reception: the wastepaper trope was particularly ripe for commonplacing. Selected, gathered and digested from their original contexts, the metamaterial *sententiae* of Catullus, Horace, Martial and Persius were easily deployed in a number of early modern contexts.

The continuity between Roman and early modern repurposing practices meant that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century wastepaper could sustain the metaphor developed by these earlier poets. The experiential meanings already contained within wastepaper were now supplemented by the concerns explored by Catullus, Horace, Martial and Persius. These became embedded in and adapted to early modern thought to such an extent that reference to materials such as *Pipere & Scombris* or 'wastepaper', however brief or apparently marginal, became tightly coded vehicles for negotiating the literary culture of the period. The rest of this chapter will explore these culturally and materially specific negotiations. After considering a number of early modern translations and editions of the classical trope, I will outline how it was deployed in the context of controversial literature, of modesty and prefatory rhetoric, and in moments of textual self-reflexivity, when the author paused to consider the temporal and physical nature of the text. These relationships and concerns might, from the sixteenth century, be understood and experienced in the terms of another 'kind of thing' – wastepaper.[40]

'Nowe Papyrus is called Paper'

Classical references to repurposing books were reproduced in a range of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts. These included European (and later, English) editions of the Latin works, printed and manuscript commonplace books containing the poems in Latin or in translation, and pedagogical works. Drant's 1567 translation of Horace renders the verses *deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores | et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis* as 'wrytings which I thought | eternal' carried 'vnto the mercers | shoppes, wher francke incence is soulde, | And what

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[39] *M. Val. Martialis epigrammaton libri*, ed. by Thomas Farnaby (London: Felix Kingston for William Welby, 1615); *Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini* ([London]: [J. Kingston] for [Will]. Norton, 1574). On the use of editions of Martial in late sixteenth-century grammar schools, see *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. by Robert Krueger and Ruby Nemser (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), xxvi. John Tatham, an Oxford scholar, owned a copy of both Martial's *Epigrammata* and Persius' *Works*, each valued at 3d at his death in 1586. See the Folger Library's digitized 'Private Libraries in Renaissance England', https://plre.folger.edu/books.php and E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), 194, 436-38, 527-28, 610, 717.
[40] George Lakoff and Mark Jonson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1980), 5.

soeuer spycerie | in waste paper is roulde'.[41] Holyday's 1616 translation of Persius asks if 'there breath a man that can reiect | A gen'rall praise? and his owne lines neglect? | Lines worth immortall Cedars recompence, | Nere fearing new-sold Fish or Frankincense?'[42] Michel de Montaigne's *Essays*, first published in French in 1580, repeats Martial's *Ne toga cordyllis, ne penula desit olivis* (13.1) and Catullus' *Et laxas scombris saepe dabo tunicas* (95): describing, in Florio's 1603 translation, how his text might 'peradventure hinder the melting of some piece of butter in the market, or a Grocer from selling an ounce of pepper', the two instances of the trope are rendered as 'least Fish-fry should a fit gowne want, | Least cloakes should be for Olives scant', and 'To long-tail'd Mackrels often I, Will side-wide (paper) cotes apply'.[43]

Manuscript translations of selected poems from Martial include a small seventeenth-century quarto, British Library Add. MS 27343, identified as the work Sir John Heath (1614-1691).[44] This is a draft version of British Library Egerton MS 2982, although not all poems are in both volumes. 3.2, only present in the former, reveals the translator at work, weighing up certain synonyms (case/cover, dainty/fine) and syntactical choices:

> To whom wouldst bee presented? Booke?
> Quickly out for a Patron looke:
> Else to th'black kitchin damn'd; or oyld
> Thou'lt cover bee to mackrell broyld,
> Or Peppers case x<cover>x or some such spice.
> Fly to Faustinus, oh th'art wise.
> There drenchd in Cedars oyle, thy brow
> Sleekd with the Pumis-stone, mayst thou,
> x<And in fine>x In dainty purple cover putt
> With paynted bosses, proudly strutt.
> x<Swelling>x And swell with scarlett tytle: There
> not carping Probus x<critic censures>x you need feare.[45]

In the manuscript's rendering of 4.86, the poet tells his book that with Apollinaris' patronage:

> Detractors ieeres thou needst nott dread,
> Nor to bee apron to the Roast.
> If nott: Tis true, thou mayst bee tost
> Wast-paper; or, to th'shoppes, for ware;
> Or boyes, to scrabble on, and teere.[46]

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[41] *Horace*, trans. Drant, H1r.

[42] *Persius*, ed. Holyday, B4v.

[43] *The Essayes or Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne*, trans. by John Florio (London: Val. Sims for Edward Blount, 1603), 385.

[44] *Same-Sex Desire in Early Modern England: An Anthology of Literary Texts and Contexts*, ed. by Marie H. Loughlin (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2014), 244.

[45] British Library, Add. MS 27343, 21r.

[46] Ibid., 28r.

These varied translations make clear the ease with which a description of everyday life in classical Rome could be transposed to an early modern setting. Horace's *vendentem* become 'mercers shoppes', and the 'black' kitchens of both periods contain food wrapped in waste pages. Thomas Farnaby's 1615 edition of Martial, the first printed in England, makes this especially visible: epigram 3.2 is framed by dense, printed marginalia (see Fig. 19).[47] Glossing each line of the poem, this commentary situates Martial within his literary context: it points out that the opening of 3.2 is in *imitatio* of the opening of Catullus 1 (*Quod dono lepidum nouum libellum? etc.*); it directs the reader to Persius' first satire (*nec scombros metuentia carmina nec thus*); and, in the same marginal note, gives a neo-Latin paraphrase of the trope, *Ne damneris in culinam & aromatopolarum tabernas pro chartâ ineptâ, infelicis genii & fati* ('lest you be condemned to the kitchen & spice shops like silly paper, of unfortunate genius and fate'). This is something of a hotchpotch, borrowing Horace's *charta* […] *ineptis* but also incorporating the *culinam* of Martial 3.2, a space suggested by any reference to pages wrapping fish. The final clause has a hint of Martial 6.61 and its proclamation that a book needs *genium* to survive.
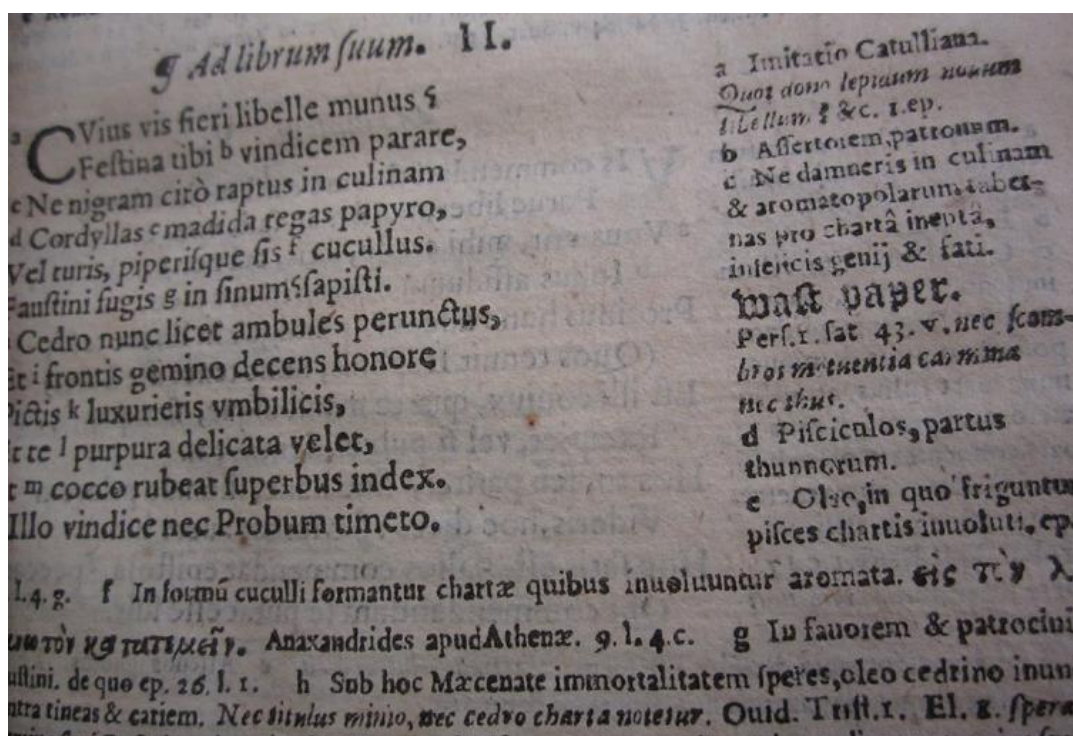
Fig. 19: Detail from *M. Val. Martialis epigrammaton libri*, ed. by Thomas Farnaby (London: Felix Kingston for William Welby, 1615), fol. 73, Cambridge University Library, Q*.13.12(F).

The marginal commentary also relocates the poem to an early modern context with ease: one note highlights the role of Faustinus as *Assertorem, patronum*, hinting at the relevance of the

[47] *Martialis*, ed. Farnaby, 73.

verses to contemporary systems of patronage. These lines, as we will see, were of particular interest to authors wishing to seek or address their own patron, 'maintainer[,] or defender'. *Cordyllas* is glossed as *Pisciculor, partus thunnorum* ('A little fish, the offspring of the tunny'), a fish more familiar to an early modern than a classical reader, and, most strikingly, wedged between references to Persius and Horace in particularly large, black letter, we find the words 'wast paper'.

This term leaps from the page not only because of its disproportionate size, but because it is the only vernacular term in a sea of Latin. This is unusual: Farnaby's commentaries are usually composed entirely in Latin, but he seems to have found it useful, perhaps irresistible, to render the process described in the poem in colloquial English. The cooking practice and the fate of books described by Martial is not just *like* an early modern practice: it is, the marginalia suggests, the same thing. Farnaby isn't alone in suggesting a continuity between the waste practices of early modern England and classical Rome: in his 1565 dictionary, Cooper references Martial 3.2 in his definition of *cucullus*, describing it in the present tense as 'a cornette of paper that Apothecaryes use'.[48] It was possible, therefore, for early modern editors and translators to render the process described by Catullus, Horace, Persius, and Martial in a concise and current phrase: for Drant, Horace's *chartis ineptis* is best understood as 'waste paper', rather than personified 'silly' or 'foolish' sheets.[49] Similarly, Sir John Heath removes reference to the *inversa* of the *charta* in Martial 4.86, instead describing the sheets as 'wast-paper' sent 'to th'shoppes, for ware' or for 'boyes, to scrabble on, and teere'.[50]

This does not, however, empty the trope of the meanings developed by these earlier poets: rather, it condenses them. The eye-catching phrase that sits in Farnaby's commentary, perhaps absorbed before the poem itself, informs the reader that this is a poem about 'wast paper'. It marks it out as relevant to anyone interested in this particular trope, directing them toward other early examples and making it easy to extract. The ambiguities and complexities of the trope are still available, but they are tightly coiled within this apparently mundane phrase.

Before we look at examples of this extraction, I want to briefly consider the relationship between classical Roman and early modern materials of writing. Across the centuries, books have been ripped up and wrapped around other stuff. The materials these books and wrappers are made from, however, have altered over time. Sometimes substances fall out of use, but are retained as a dead metaphors: the physical effect of rubbing organic stuff with cedar oil, for instance, is rendered a 'Prouerbe', with Persius' *cedro digna* becoming shorthand for 'thynges

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[48] '*Cucullus*' in Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (London: Henry Wykes, 1565).
[49] *Horace*, trans. Drant, H1r.
[50] British Library, Add. MS 27343, 28r.

worthye [of] perpetualle memory', or something that 'deserves immortality, [and] preserves itself and other things from corruption'.[51] Other materials found in the poems of Catullus, Persius and Martial are substituted for more recognizable stuff: in Sir John Heath's translation of 4.86, for instance, the book risks becoming 'apron to the Roast' rather than *tunicas* for mackerel, and, in 3.2, the pages wrap 'some such spice' rather than *turis*, or frankincense. Aprons and spices are everyday things, found in the kitchen and the street: although spices were expensive, frankincense would have been especially so, and perhaps brought with it unwanted religious connotations.[52]

In all early modern translations of and references to repurposed pages, *papyros* and *chartis* are translated, without comment, as 'paper'. This is no doubt partly to retain the tenor of the trope: common words are needed to make clear that poems are turned into common stuff. The absence of any dissonance between poems written on papyrus and poems written on paper is, however, because early moderns understood them to be two variants of the same material. This is partly because of the close etymological connection between the two words: Eliot's dictionary, for instance, describes how 'Nowe', in the sixteenth century, '*Papyrus* is called paper', and Philemon Holland's 1601 translation of Pliny's *Natural History* describes how 'the plant Papyrus […] consists specially in paper which is made thereof'.[53] John Gerarde's 1597 *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plants* distinguishes between paper made from the papyrus plant, that which he 'Englishe[s]' as the 'Paper Reed, or Paper plant', and 'the invention of paper made of linnen clouts'.[54] According to Gerarde the materials made from papyrus plants and from linen rags, although corporeally distinct, are subsumed within the broader category of 'paper'. This is because of the similarities in the production of the two materials, as well as the haptic similarities between their end-products: Thomas Newton's 1586 translation of *An Herbal for the Bible* describes how in the Nile

> there groweth a kinde of big Rush, called *Papyrus*, whereof in the old time they made paper, as they doe now in *Europe* of linnen clouts, chopped small and stieped in water, for that it serveth to the same use, purpose, and commoditie that the Paper in the old time did, retaineth still the same name.[55]

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[51] André Thevet, *The New Found VVorlde* (London: Henry Bynneman for Thomas Hacket, [1568]), 137; '*Cedro digna*' in Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae Eliotis librarie* ([Londini]: Thomas Berthelet, [1542]); Richard Harvey, *A Theologicall Discourse of the Lamb of God and his Enemies* (London: John Windet for W. P[onsonby], 1590), 172.

[52] Holly Crawford Pickett, 'The Idolatrous Nose: Incense on the Early Modern Stage', in *Religion and Drama in Early Modern England: The Performance of Religion on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. by Jane Hwang Degenhardt and Elizabeth Williamson (London: Routledge, 2011), 19-38.

[53] 'Papyrus' in Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae*; Pliny, *The Historie of the World*, trans. by Philemon Holland (Londini: G. B[ishop], 1601), 391.

[54] John Gerarde, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plants* (London: Adam Islip, Ioice Norton, and Richard Whitakers, 1633), 40.

[55] Levinus Lemnius, *An Herbal for the Bible*, trans. by Thomas Newton (London: Edmund Bollifant, 1587), 96.

Because both rags and rushes are macerated and soaked, and the materials produced are both written on and used to wrap things, they are classified as the same type of object. Our modern definition of paper as a sheet formed by 'the dispersion of cellulosic fibers that have been reduced to a pulp', rather than being, like papyrus, 'beaten […] and overlapped perpendicularly with other strips of cellulosic fibers', was not current in the early modern period.[56]

Originating in plant matter, early moderns might have imagined papyrus sheets as texturally similar to their own linen-based paper, its crisscrossed surface resembling the 'wove' of chain lines, and flecked with husks of papyrus rush. Furthermore, sheets made from linen rags and the papyri plant are fragile, friable and ephemeral, although to differing degrees: they are, therefore, distinct from parchment or *membrana*, a firmer and more enduring material. Under the heading 'Paper', Charles Hoole's translation of the *Orbus Pictus* (a picture book for children) describes how the 'ancients' used plants such as papyrus, and briefly explains how to make paper from 'Linnen-rags', before concluding: 'That which is to last long is written in *Parchment*'.[57]

Some early moderns were sensitive to the distinction between ancient and modern writing materials. The apothecary John Parkinson warned against eliding etymological and taxonomical similarity with material efficacy. Although ancient recipes recommend using the 'burnt ashes' of *charta* to 'stay running Ulcers, in any place of the body', readers should not make the mistake of using 'the ashes of our Paper, which is made of linnen cloutes, for the same purposes'. Because it is different stuff, it will have different results: if they use early modern paper as if it were papyrus, dabbing its ashes onto their ulcers, Parkinson writes, 'they erre grossely'.[58]

The wastepaper trope was, therefore, easily transported into English texts in the late sixteenth century. There was a surprising continuity between Roman and early modern waste materials and waste practices, with plant-based sheets frequently described as being wrapped around food and spices in both periods. Translated by a range of authors and glossed in editions such as Holyday's 1615 *Martialis*, the trope was highlighted as being particularly ripe for extraction and commonplacing within the literary context of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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[56] Ross Harvey and Martha R. Mahard, *The Preservation Management Handbook: A 21ˢᵗ-Century Guide for Libraries, Archives, and Museums* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 152.

[57] *Joh. Amos Commenius's Visible World*, trans. by Charles Hoole (London: for J. Kirton, 1659), 189.

[58] John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum* (London: Tho. Cotes, 1640), 1208.

‘For want to better imployment’: Wastepaper Insults

The rest of this chapter will consider the manner in which the wastepaper trope was deployed in early modern England. It was particularly suited to use as a slur in controversial literature, and so appeared with frequency in religious and political disputes: the trope allowed an author to show off classical learning while simultaneously providing the framework for a scurrilous and often scatological joke. Edmund Porter, for instance, took the time to translate Martial 3.2 at some length in his attack on the anonymous 1646 translation of John Crellius' *The Expiation of a Sinner*. He imagines that ‘the height’ of *The Expiation of a Sinner*'s ‘preferment will be as *Martial* merrily writes of his own Poems’:

> Make haste, and get a Patron, pretty-book,
> Before the Black guard, or the Master-Cook
> Snatch thee as waste-paper for his Kitchin,
> To put Spice, Sprats, Frankincense, or Pitch in.[59]

Rather than being read by learned divines, Porter suggests, *The Expiation* will be violently handled by either the ‘Master-Cook’ or the ‘Black guard’, a kitchen servant: these book users are only interested in its capacity to fold and wrap, serving as a ‘cornet’ or protecting food from the heat of the oven. Porter adds ‘Pitch’ to the list of substances Martial's book might wrap, transferring the blackness of Martial's kitchen (*nigram* […] *culinam*) onto both the kitchen servant and the paper: we imagine the dirty hands of the servant, sooty from the smoke of the kitchen, smearing the pages of the offensive book with spices, oils and bitumen.[60]

Most writers did not go to such scholarly and imaginative lengths to suggest that their enemies' books would end up as wastepaper: many were satisfied with a marginal note or brief quotation, suggesting that their target had written something so worthless that it would quickly be cast aside. Daniel Featley, for instance, issued a printed challenge to the Jesuit John Percy, claiming that Percy's most recent ‘Replyer’ in their lengthy dispute had not ‘reply[ed] one word to the defence of my proceeding’, and so ‘for want to better imployment, *Ne toga cordylis, & penula desit oliuis*’.[61] Percy's pages, the quotation from Martial 13.1 implies, have failed in their intended ‘imployment’: they do not fulfil the criteria of successful disputation. They will, therefore, find ‘imployment’ elsewhere, providing gowns for fish and overcoats for olives.

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[59] Edmund Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros* (London: for Humphrey Moseley, 1655), 12.

[60] Pitch, a sticky substance leftover from the distillation of wood-resin, was frequently used in early modern households as a kind of glue or sealant (see Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Dyalling* (London: for Joseph Moxon, [1668, i.e., 1678], 47) and as an ingredient in plasters and ‘glewysh ointme*n*t[s]’ (see Giovanni da Vigo, *The Most Excellent Works of Chirurgerye* ([London?]: Edwarde Whytchurch, 1543), 2G4v and Robert Barret, *The Perfect and Experienced Farrier* (London: T. Fawcet for Fr. Coles, 1660), 5).

[61] Daniel Featley, *The Grand Sacrilege of the Church of Rome* (London: Felix Kyngston for Robert Milbourne, 1630), 282.

Several decades earlier, the anonymous author of the 1599 *Master Broughtons Letters* accused the titular Hugh Broughton, a Hebrew scholar, of 'spoyl[ing] cleane paper with base imployments'. Like Percy's pages, Broughton's book will find alternative 'imployment'. Broughton's *Explication of the Article peri tou kateltbein eis haidou* (1599), on the descent of Christ into Hell, 'might be sent from the Printers presse to the Apothecaries shop, there to make cases for spices at the best, *Et piper & quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis*'.[62]

Horace's vague description of 'everything else that is wrapped in sheets of useless paper' is well-suited to use in an early modern context: it is flexible enough to encompass a range of contemporary uses not specified in earlier examples of the trope, like those listed by Robert Burton in the lengthy preface to *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), in which 'Democritus Junior' describes the symptoms of a 'scribling age'. His list of uses for 'putid [*putidus*, stinking, ill-savoured] papers', found in 'every close-stoole and jakes […] under pies, to lappe in spice, and keepe rostemeat from burning' is accompanied by the marginal note, *Et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis*. Burton aligns his catalogue of mundane stuff with a lengthy classical tradition, positing it as another manifestation of Horace's 'silly paper'.[63]

These insults formed part of the aesthetic of railing, reviling, and invective that Maria Teresa Micaela Prendergast has identified as characterizing a number of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century texts. As Prendergast argues, moralizing texts have a tendency toward rhetorical indulgence and are more often sensationalist and 'seductively scurrilous' than reformative or didactic.[64] Because scholarship has focused on individual controversies, the shared qualities of this 'anti-genre' have been overlooked: the wastepaper insult is one such shared quality frequently employed in 'railing' texts.[65] It equates the author's body with the author's book, and so imagines exacting a sort of textual violence.[66] But, in conforming to the tendency toward ferocity and linguistic excess, the wastepaper insult would have had the perverse effect of highlighting the vulnerability of the author's own book, along with their enemies'. Condemning the works of your rivals as badly written, illogical, or blasphemous in this 'scribling age', meant drawing attention to the life cycle of texts more broadly, and their progression along a trajectory that would eventually, it seemed, include transformation into waste. Democritus Junior voices a wider sense of crisis and cataclysmic change in the textual

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[62] Anon., *Master Broughtons Letters* (London: [F. Kingston for] John Wolfe, 1599), 11.

[63] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short for Henry Cripps, 1621), 8.

[64] Maria Teresa Micaela Prendergast, *Railing, Reviling, and Invective in English Literary Culture, 1588-1617: The Anti-poetics of Theater and Print* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 2-5.

[65] Ibid*.,* 10.

[66] See Jason Scott-Warren, 'Nashe's Stuff', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500-1640*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 205 and Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 97.

culture of the period as the number of books and paper sheets in circulation increased year on year, and books became increasingly brief, topical, and flimsy, sold unbound and often staying that way, or stitched within paper wrappers.[67] James Aske, for example, in his 1588 quarto describing 'the damned practizes' of 'the diuelish popes of Rome' and the Queen's speech at Tilbury, claims that 'the Booke-binders shops, and euery Printers presse are so cloyed and clogged with Bookes of these and such-like matters'. Gesturing toward an already familiar trope, he suggests that 'such-like' topical books are 'good for nothing (as they say) but to make wast-paper'.[68]

In addition to abusing an opponent, then, this trope captured the essence of a period in which thousands of pages, rapidly written and printed and turning out of date, seemed destined to become waste. It was, therefore, both a characteristic of controversial prose and a characterization of it. John Bramhall's use of the wastepaper trope, for instance, is framed as an insult, but also offers an insight into early modern classifications of books. Bramhall, a royalist bishop, accused the parliamentarian writer Henry Parker of failing to treat *His Majesties Ansvver to the Nineteen Propositions of Both Houses of Parliament* (1642) with sufficient respect: according to Bramhall, Parker terms this royal work 'Papers (that's his phrase) as if they were old Almanacks out of date, fit for nothing but to cover Mustard pots, *metuentia carmina scombros aut thus*'.[69] Parker's *Observations Upon Some of His Majesties Late Answers and Expresses* does not claim that the King's publication will, or should, be used to stop mustard pots, or that it will only be relevant for as long as an annual calendar; the reference to Persius and contemporary waste practices is entirely Bramhall's. Parker does, however, call *His Majesties Ansvver* 'papers', a word which seems innocuous enough to a modern reader but so incenses Bramhall.[70] Bramhall uses a curtailed version of Persius's 'poems that fear mackerels and incense' (the poems do *not* fear such stuff, in the original) to negotiate different ways of understanding the nature of a text: the description of the King's *Ansvver* as 'Papers' suggests that they are temporary, or 'putid', tending toward decay.

Elizabeth Yale has explored this expansive category of object, arguing that, in the seventeenth century,

> Papers typically included loose sheets, notes from experiments and observations, commonplace books, correspondence, and drafts of treatises. […] They could be classed

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[67] Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2013), 3-4.

[68] James Aske, *Elizabetha Triumphans* (London: Thomas Orwin for Thomas Gubbins and Thomas Newman, 1588), A3r-v. See Appendix 3, Innerpeffray P6 and J6 for news books used as wastepaper.

[69] John Bramhall, *The Serpent Salve* ([S.L: S.N], 1643), 105.

[70] Henry Parker, *Observations Upon Some of his Majestie Late Ansvvers and Expresses* ([London: s.n., 1642]), passim.

or stored with pamphlets, unbound books, and other loose printed material. 'Papers' could also refer to bound (though not printed) books.[71]

This taxonomy is unstable, but to describe a printed book as 'papers' is a coded insult: manuscript notes, letters and drafts were vulnerable things under threat of loss, dispersal, and destruction, as Yale's study of seventeenth-century scientific archives has made clear. Although 'papers' might be bound, the term suggests a textual object that sits at the opposite end of the scale to a weighty volume that is expected to endure, bound and shelved for future reading. Classifying an object as 'papers' means that it will be treated accordingly, and 'papers' are, Bramhall suggests, as short-lived as almanacs (a suggestion I will explore at length in Chapter 4), liable to be used as mustard-pot-stoppers and wrappers for fish and incense.

The Jesuit William Lacey also employed the wastepaper trope as a means of considering this textual taxonomy. His *Iudgment of an Uniuersity-Man Concerning M. William Chillingworth* (1639) is a response to Chillingworth's scandalously tolerant *The Religion of Protestants* (1638). Lacey describes the tendency of 'Protestant writers' to lazily term books written by Catholics as 'Popish Pamphlet[s]', and with this 'phrase of degradation', to consider the argument as good as won. '[H]ow many rhemes of paper', Lacey asks, 'may vindicate a Booke from the contempt of a Pamphlet?'. Chillingworth is responding to Edward Knott's *Mercy & Truth* ([Saint-Omer]: The English College Press, 1634), a volume more than five hundred pages long. Lacey highlights the superficiality of valuing a book by its length. In his opinion, 'a large volume *in folio*' can contain as little of worth as the shortest work, being 'a Pamphlet in substance', and the shortest works 'may contain the waight & worth of an ample volume'.

This sceptical consideration of the distinction between 'Pamphlet[s]' and 'volume[s]' concludes with Lacey's use of the wastepaper commonplace: Chillingworth's text is one such intellectually insubstantial but physically ample folio. It will only be considered 'usefull' by 'Glovers and Grossers', 'where they shall be valued according to there bulke, *Ad vicum vendentem thus & odores | Et piper, & quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis*'.[72] Lacey uses Horace to query the accepted nexus of value in early modern England: pamphlets are not worthless because they are small and of passing relevance, and volumes are not valuable because they are large and physically enduring. The assumption that pamphlets tend quickly to wastepaper and so are valued in terms of their raw materials is turned on its head: Chillingworth's volume is especially appealing to 'Glovers and Grossers' because of its 'ample' pages.

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[71] Elizabeth Yale, 'With Slips and Scraps: How Early Modern Naturalists Invented the Archive', *Book History* 12 (2009): 4.
[72] William Lacey, *The Iudgment of an Vniuersity-Man Concerning M. William Chillingvvorth his Late Pamphlet* ([Saint-Omer]: The English College Press, [1639]), 11.

As extant binding waste and Henry Fitzgeffrey's plea to his binder not to be bound 'in the *Folio*: or the *Quarto cut*' makes clear, books of 'the *Smallest size*' were indeed less likely to be 'eaten vnder *Pippin-pyes* | Or in th' *Apothicaryes* shop be seene | To wrapp Drugg's: or to drye *Tobacco* in' (see Fig. 7).[73] The wastepaper trope could, therefore, undermine the assumption that intellectual and physical insubstantiality went hand in hand. The idea that readers would waste their little pamphlet because they were unhappy with its textual contents is revealed as, at least in part, a rhetorical construction: practical considerations, such as the size and quantity of the paper in question, were much more important to early modern grocers, glovers, and cooks.

A brief glance at the insults in a number of controversial texts makes clear that claiming that a book might end up as wastepaper could signify a surprising range of things. As well as embellishing texts with intellectual insults, the classical trope offered a frame through which to consider the classification and the intellectual and material value of books, and to express anxiety regarding their growing number.

'If you list': Modest Wastepaper

A range of early modern authorial gestures are often grouped within the term 'modesty topoi': these include courtly 'sprezzatura' and the artful disavowal of literary skill in the works of poets such as Spenser, and negotiations of authorship and the 'stigma of print' by men and women in the literary marketplace.[74] Patricia Pender and Wendy Wall have explored the relationship of these gestures to women's writing in the early modern period, demonstrating the range of meanings available in typically overlooked tropes. Pender outlines the lengthy literary history of the rhetoric of modesty, arguing that although these tropes were 'already and obdurately conventional' and 'exhausted' in the early modern period, they 'do not all say the same thing'; and that rather than taking them at face value, we need to appreciate their 'literary' rhetorical value.[75] Wendy Wall has argued that the 'stigma of print' was a rhetorical framework for 'articulating' emerging conceptions of authorship and the commodification of the book: it was a means of negotiating the 'collision between manuscript and print practices' and 'aristocratic amateurism and the marketplace'.[76] Early modern writers frequently performed reluctance to enter into print, particularly in the prefatory epistles of their books.

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[73] Henry Fitzgeffrey, *Satyres: and Satyricall Epigrams* (London: Edw[arde] Allde for Miles Patrich, 1617), G4r.

[74] See, for instance, 'Topoi' in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: Toronto UP, 2003).

[75] Patricia Pender, *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 3, 11-12.

[76] Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993), 3-4.

Heidi Brayman Hackel has demonstrated that by the turn of the seventeenth century, these epistles followed a set of firmly-established conventions. They typically came as a pair: a dedication to a prospective patron and an address to a wider, anonymous readership. The former sought financial reward and protection, while the latter, Hackel argues, sought to shape a 'gentle' and carefully managed reader.[77] The tensions between these opposing requirements were negotiated through a range of tropes. For Michael Saenger, such 'front matter' is best understood as an early form of advertising, a clever marketing ploy that promoted the purchase of a book through 'inventive' and 'artistic methods' including, among others, the humility topos.[78] These conventional protestations of modesty and modes of prefatory rhetoric were frequently accompanied by descriptions of the wastepaper fate.

Lancelot Dawes offers an example of the hybrid modesty-wastepaper trope. In 1609, newly appointed as vicar of Barton Kirk, Dawes printed a sermon he had preached earlier that year. He dedicated the printed text to Henry Robinson, Bishop of Carlisle. The epistle is brief and pithy, written in delicately balanced, almost euphuistic prose. It begins: 'This Sermon was made for the Crosse, not intended for the Presse. I was by authoritie commanded the former, and by importunitie of many have at length consented to the latter'.[79] The dutiful composition of a sermon at a superior's request is contrasted with the voluntary, but begrudging, publication of the text: Dawes deflects any suspicion of worldly motives for entering into print. By 1699, a dictionary of 'canting' terms could define this 'Importunity of Friends' as 'the stale Excuse for coming out in Print, when Friends know nothing of the Matter'.[80] Apparently unwilling to publish his sermon, Dawes is modest about its potential for success in the literary marketplace and nonchalant about the fate of the objects that emerge from the press. The book is, in classical fashion, anthropomorphized:

> It may perchance heereafter complaine with the *Satyrist.*
> *Deferat in vitem vendentem thus, at odores,*
> *Et piper, et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis.*
> But that is no great disgrace in these daies, it shal have Store of company.[81]

Apparently Dawes doesn't care whether or not his sermons end up wrapping frankincense, perfume and pepper in the shops of London. Like Robert Burton a decade later, he suggests that the city is already full of waste pages. For Dawes, unlike Burton, the 'company' the

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[77] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), esp. 69-125.
[78] Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2006), 1-3, 55-57.
[79] Lancelot Dawes, *Gods Mercies and Ierusalems Miseries* (London: [John Windet] for Cle. Knight, 1609), A2r-v.
[80] 'Importunity of Friends', in B. E., *New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (London: for W. Hawes, P. Gilbourne and W. Davis, 1699).
[81] Dawes, *Gods Mercies*, A2r-v.

wastepaper keeps might not necessarily be 'putid': throughout the period religious writers complained that waste was 'the *common Destinie* that hangs over the *Most writings of this Kind*', a sure sign of an ungodly nation.[82] More than hyperbole, this may have been a response to the repurposed pages that circulated in the period: as we have seen, texts of a religious nature seem to have dominated the wastepaper trade (see Fig. 6).

Reference to 'the *Satyrist*' Horace, therefore, does a number of things in Dawes' short dedicatory epistle: with it, he displays appropriate decorum and modesty when publishing a religious work, as well as an ability to conform to the 'firmly established' conventions of entering into print. The classical trope is a frame through which Dawes showcases his wit and literary nous to an influential potential patron, the Bishop of Carlisle.

Joad Raymond has argued that, by the seventeenth century, the 'stigma of print' had mellowed into a 'different kind of stigma'.[83] Modesty topoi became a means to 'deny that [an author's] move to print was a sign of pride'. For the average writer, print was no longer considered a 'socially inferior' alternative to manuscript circulation. This shift may not have been so clear-cut; but as the trope began to be used with frequency, it became ripe for parody and creative play. In his 1615 *Defence of Trade*, Dudley Digges offers his book for use as wastepaper, but with a wink to the reader who is already over-familiar with this rhetoric of modesty. Digges' work is a response to *The Trades Increase*, a critique of 'eastern trade' printed earlier that year, and is framed as a letter from Digges to Sir Thomas Smythe, governor of the East India Company. It can therefore, like Dawes' sermon, claim not to have been 'intended' for print. In a 'Post-script to the Reader', Digges describes how he was 'So farre from the ambition of your [the readers'] acquaintance' and that both his own work and the work it responds to are 'a couple of Inke-wasting toies', to be repurposed '(if you list) *piperi & scombris*, that *Trades Increase* to packe up fish, and this *Defence of Trade* to wrappe up spice'.[84] Despite its brevity, Digges' use of the trope is multi-layered: the *Trades Increase* is largely concerned with England's herring trade, and Digges' *Defence of Trade* is concerned with the East India Company and the trade of pepper and spices.[85] This is, like Martial's *Xenia*, a concrete joke. The modesty-cum-wastepaper trope is a description of unusually appropriate wrappers for pepper and mackerel.

The wastepaper trope is often found in the prefatory epistles, postscripts, and printed marginalia of early modern books. These paratextual spaces are the site in which an author most

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[82] John Andrewes, *The Brazen Serpent* (London: G[eorge] P[urslowe] for Thomas Thorp, 1621), A4r.
[83] Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 57.
[84] Dudley Digges, *The Defence of Trade* (London: William Stansby for Iohn Barnes, 1615), I1r-v.
[85] Ian Barrow, *The East India Company, 1600–1858: A Short History with Documents* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2017), 32.

commonly considers the materials and practices of producing and consuming books, as well as being the most physically vulnerable sections of the object: like the beginning of a scroll, the first and last pages of the book were most likely to be damaged, hence the use of flyleaves in more expensive bindings, and the margins were often trimmed when a book was rebound. Digges' post-script, for instance, is a rather precariously-attached unpaginated folio at the end of *The Defence of Trade*. The material make-up of the book performs the vulnerability described within its paratexts.

Hackel has highlighted the importance of these textual apparatuses in 'signal[ling] concerns about interpretation and […] explicitly direct[ing] readers' experiences of a text'. She argues that references to 'base and scatological uses for printed paper' are part of this conventional attempt to prescribe a reader's interaction with the book: the preliminary material seeks to prescribe a 'gentle', rather than violent, reading and handling.[86] The wastepaper trope certainly reveals a cultural anxiety regarding uncontrollable readers and vulnerable books, but performing modesty as well as prescribing acceptable modes of use, it works to prescribe the actions of a very specific reader – the dedicatee.

Thomas Phillips' 1639 *Booke of Lamentations* contains two sermons, each with a different dedicatory epistle. Both are dominated by printed marginalia: one page contains 32 lines of notes surrounding 6 lines of centred text (see Fig. 20). Martial is a significant presence in both epistles. The first describes how 'books have a bounded; flying from the presse into the world', and how this particular 'little manual or *Enchiridon*' hopes to 'obtaine' Thomas Coventry's 'approbation', and to 'shroud himselfe under your [Coventry's] protection and patronage'.[87] The text is frequently interrupted by superscript letters that correspond to quotations, predominantly from Martial, in the margins: these include reference to epigrams 1.2, 1.3, 4.86 and, in the second dedication to 7.85, 3.2, 1.2 (again) and 2.1.[88]

Despite the variety of epigrams he draws upon, Phillips does not replicate Martial's playfulness and variety of tone: the portrayal of patronage in *The Booke of Lamentations* conforms to the framework laid out in Martial 3.2 (to Faustinus) and 4.86 (to Apollinaris). The 'little book' is instructed to fly to the *sinum* of a protector. If it fails to find shelter, it will end up serving as wrappers in black kitchens and merchants' shops. This earnest bid for patronage does, however, reveal the contemporary perception of a world brimming with 'putid papers' and ephemeral

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[86] Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*, 88, 80-81.

[87] Thomas Phillips, *Booke of Lamentations* (Cambridge: J. D[awson] for P[eter] Cole, 1639), A3r-4v. On the structures of patronage in the early modern period see *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. by Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981), especially Werner L. Gundersheimer, 'Patronage in the Renaissance: An Exploratory Approach', 3-24.

[88] Phillips, *Lamentations*, A3r-4v, G4r-5r.

little books. Phillips' duodecimo volume is one of many 'a bounding', and often unbound, texts that 'fl[y] from the presse into th[is] world'. The increased number of small, flimsy, or temporarily wrapped books meant that a patron in the seventeenth century could be fruitfully conceived of as a book binding. Phillips hopes that, like Faustinus and Apollinaris, Thomas Coventry will act as a 'shroud' – a fabric, leather, or wooden cover that might protect the book from destruction, dispersal and repurposing. One copy of *The Booke of Lamentations*, now at Cambridge University Library, contains a material *memento* of this potential fate: its flyleaves are trimmed pages torn from a dismembered 1631 school-text copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (see Fig. 21).

Fig. 20: Thomas Phillips, *Booke of Lamentations* (Cambridge: J. D[awson] for P[eter] Cole, 1639), sig. A3v-4r, British Library, 4379.a.47.
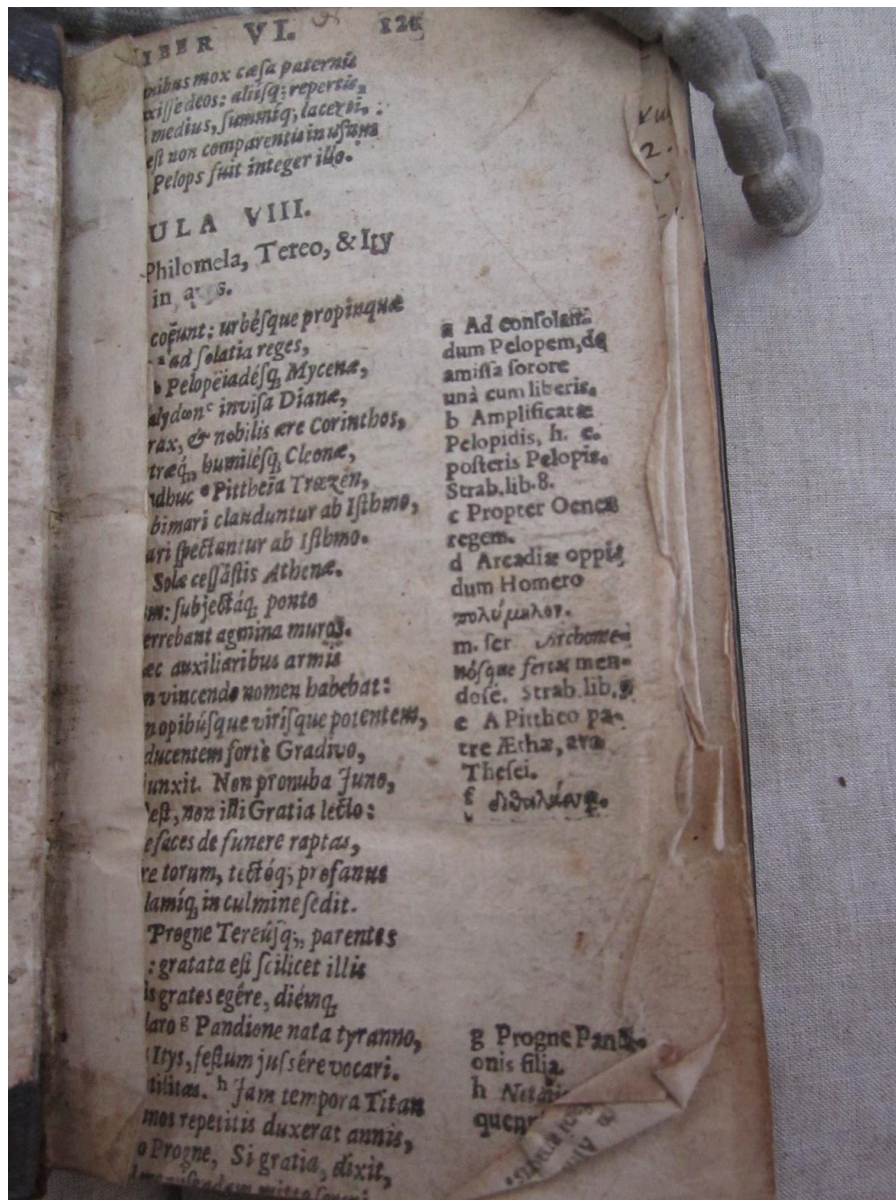
Fig. 21: *Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri XV* (Cambridge: *Ex Academiae celeberimmae typographeo*, 1631), fols. 121-22 and 143-144 as flyleaves in Thomas Phillips, *Book of Lamentations* (Cambridge: J. D[awson] for P[eter] Cole, 1639), Cambridge University Library, Syn 8.63.181.

Some dedications are more playful when it comes to the wastepaper trope: as we have already seen, the pseudonymous Uthalmus satirized the habit of addressing unknown patrons in the preface of *Fasciculus Florum*. According to Uthalmus, it is only 'Good Acceptance' in the literary marketplace that can prevent the fate of *Piperi & scombris*. As with its use in controversial literature, the deployment of the wastepaper commonplace in prefatory epistles demonstrates

its rhetorical currency in early modern England. Both printed in the late 1630s, Phillips' and Uthalmus' distinct approaches to prefatory epistles demonstrate the various models of patronage available in the early modern period.[89] Although it might seem 'exhausted' through frequent use, wastepaper was part of the 'system of rhetorical energies' that allowed authors to negotiate the pressures of traditional systems of patronage and of the print marketplace, and a vehicle through which to articulate anxieties over the vulnerability of books.[90]

'These are the only memorials that cannot die'

Wastepaper was also often referred to in a self-reflexive manner, when writers, again often in prefatory material, paused to consider questions of 'literary immortality': whether or not their text would endure, not just for a while, but for posterity. Wastepaper insults and modesty tropes are always grounded in concerns about textual survival: more precisely, they reflect the dependence of a text's material endurance on its author's literary, theological or polemical skill; the protection of a patron; or success in the marketplace. In some instances, these temporal concerns become more overt.

At times, the wastepaper trope is an assertion of literary skill. In his dedicatory verses for John Taylor's *The Sculler* (1612), Henry Taylor describes how his 'friend for names sake' will be 'enrol[d] [...] mongst those, | Whose Temples are begirt with Lawrell bowes'. Tongue firmly in cheek, Henry describes Taylor's verses as 'Less helpt with learning and more grac'd with wit' and so 'say[s] thus, | *Nec scombros metuentia, Carmina nec Thus*'.[91] Demonstrating his own 'learning', Henry Taylor playfully claims that John Taylor's witty but unlearned verses have nothing to fear from mackerels or incense, therefore granting their author enduring frame. This is not a unique use of Persius in the period. Several decades later, in the preface to his *Zootomia* (1654), Richard Whitlock mocks authors who 'dissemblingly decline' that they 'Aime at a goode Esteem'. Whitlock unashamedly confesses that he seeks 'Posterity' through his writing, and goes on to quote Persius in both the original and in Barten Holyday's 1616 translation, asking if 'there

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[89] Recent scholarship has worked to complicate the narrative of traditional systems of patronage as being replaced by the print marketplace in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Instead, the understanding of patronage 'expanded' as the period progressed. See David M. Bergeron, *Textual Patronage in English Drama, 1570-1640* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2006), 5, 12-13 and Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), esp. 69-86.
[90] Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements*, 3.
[91] Henry Taylor '*To my loving friend* John Taylor', in John Taylor, *The Sculler* (London: E[dwarde] A[llde] for [Nathaniel Butter], 1612), A3r.

breath a man that can reject | A general praise?', or the desire to have produced poetry 'Nere fearing new sold Fish, nor Frankincense[?]'[92]

There was a sense, in the period, that a poet might manage to create a work more enduring than any material thing, a *monumentum* after the model of Horace. Such assertions were often paired with reference to wastepaper, with repurposed pages standing in for the alternative, and successfully avoided, oblivion. John Webster, for instance, in his preface to the 1612 edition of *The White Devil* hints at his having achieved this monumental fate. After the play's notorious first performance in 'so dull a time of Winter' and 'so open and blacke a Theater', which lacked 'a full and understanding Auditory', Webster submits it to 'the generall view with this confidence. *Nec Rhoncos metues, maligniorum, | Nec Scombris tunicas, dabis molestas*' ('you will not fear the sneers of the ill-disposed nor supply mackerel with "tiresome tunics"', Martial 4.86).[93] Concluding the preface with a convoluted passage, Webster professes to 'rest silent in my owne worke', and instead praises contemporaries including Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare. But it is evidently as much to his own work, as to the work of the authors listed, that he affixes an epigraph from Martial: *non norunt, Haec monumenta mori* ('These are the only memorials that cannot die', Martial 10.2).[94]

According to Andrew Hui, Horace's 'immortality topos' structured a 'poetics of ruins' in Renaissance literature.[95] Confronted by the architectural detritus of Roman and monastic worlds, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers sought to craft 'more enduring artifact[s]', Hui argues.[96] A cultural 'yearning for timelessness' was expressed through Horace's aphorism, but also went beyond it in a 'bibliofiction' of metamorphosis and reiteration not unlike that outlined by Reid: Renaissance authors understood literary immortality to be grounded in 'mutability', in the multiplicity of texts that were reread, transformed, translated, and adapted.[97] This is perhaps what Webster meant when, via Martial, he described his (or his fellow dramatists') works as immortal *monumenta*. It is, Hui argues, what Shakespeare had in mind when he begins in the later Sonnets to describe textual rather than sexual reproduction. Shakespeare's 'solution' to the passage of time is no longer 'that this nameless beloved must have children', but that his poetry will endure as 'a living record of your memory'. Reworking the Horatian aphorism that neither 'marble, nor the gilded monuments | Of princes shall outlive this pow'rful

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[92] Richard Whitlock, *Zootomia* (London: Tho[mas] Roycroft for Humphrey Moseley, 1654), A7v-8r.
[93] John Webster, *The White Diuel* (London: N[icholas] O[kes] for Thomas Archer, 1612), A2r.
[94] Ibid., A2v.
[95] Andrew Hui, *The Poetics of Ruins in Renaissance Literature* (New York: Fordham UP, 2016), 31.
[96] Ibid., 2.
[97] Ibid., 3, 31, 227; Reid, *Ovidian Bibliofictions*, 2-6.

rhyme', Shakespeare developed an understanding of poetry as elastic and enduring, constantly evolving 'in the lived hermeneutic experience of the reader'.[98]

But, as we have seen, there were multiple bibliofictions or understandings of the life cycles of texts in the early modern period; and some were grounded in endings and entropy as well as genesis, or in alternative, more destructive modes of circulation. Wastepaper forms a sort of anti-*monumentum*, not just because it emblematizes that which does not survive, but because it brings into doubt the capacity of any text to survive. As often as writers toyed with the idea of immortality and the hope of posterity, writers deflated such hopes with the commonplace fate of a fragmented book.

John Weever, for instance, offers his *Epigrammes in the Oldest Cut, and Newest Fashion* (1599) as 'a few lines in this waste peece of paper' to a dedicatee, Robert Dalton.[99] This is, as we have seen, a familiar modesty trope, but later in the collection Weever elaborates further. He contrasts a series of writing materials with lofty conceits, his 'pen' with 'the wing of Fame', 'inke' with 'Gods immortall Nectar', expressing a seemingly unlikely desire to 'canonize' his dedicatee ('great *Houghtons* name') with these mundane objects. He hopes that his 'Muse could keep thee stil from death' and his 'waste paper could but lend thee breath', juxtaposing repurposed pages far along their life cycle with the ethereal vapour that represents both corporeal and spiritual life.[100]

Progressing from youthful Elizabethan wit to middle-aged antiquarian, John Weever's unusual career collecting and publishing the inscriptions of thousands of *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631) is encapsulated by wastepaper. Evidently taken with the stuff, he published a translation of Persius' first satire a year after his epigrams in 1600, refiguring the question about fame, cedar oil, mackerel and incense:

> Will there be any willing to refuse
> The peoples praise, when as his skilfull Muse
> Doth leave works worth the juice of Cedars tree,
> To after age, and all posteritie?
> And verse, not fearing Salters quick consume,
> Nor Pothecaries wrapping in perfume.[101]

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[98] Hui, *Poetics of Ruins*, 9-11; Shakespeare, 'Sonnet 55', quoted by Hui.

[99] John Weever, *Epigrammes in the Oldest Cut, and Newest Fashion* (London: V[alentine] [Simmes] for Thomas Bushell, 1599), B7r.

[100] Ibid., F6r; 'Breath' is synonymous with *spiritus*, meaning 'soul' and 'life' as well as 'air'. See, for instance, 'Breath', in John Withals, *A Short Dictionarie for Yonge Beginners* (London: John Kingstun for John Waley and Abraham Vele, 1556) and *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. by Christine Göttler and Wolfgang Neuber (Leiden: Brill, 2008), xv-xxv.

[101] John Weever, *Faunus and Melliflora* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1600), H1r.

Persius' three lines are doubled in length, with *cedro digna* expanded into a tautologous list including 'after age' and 'posteritie'. '[P]osteritie' and its polar opposite, the 'quick consum[ption]' of wastepaper practices, form the axis of Weever's poetic and antiquarian thought. The first chapter of his *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, printed thirty years later, celebrates the 'preheminence' of books and writings in their capacity to transfer anything 'to future posterities' before providing a catalogue of the immortality topos in Horace (*exegi monumentum aere perennius*, Ode 3.30) and Martial ('Deathlesse alone these monuments will stand', 10.2), among others.[102]

But his epigrams and epitaphs are always haunted by the inevitability of material decay: by the threat of the wastepaper fate, the dissolution of the monasteries a century earlier, and the urge to preserve the remnants of 'ancient' inscriptions, the majority of which have already been lost or wasted by violence and time. In the face of this preservative paradox, precariously balanced between loss and survival, it is no wonder that Weever's epigram is uncertain about its ability to 'lend' the addressee 'breath' or grant 'posteritie'.

The examples that Hui draws on to support his theory of mutable monumentality are, I suggest, exceptions rather than the rule. Although some writers referred to wastepaper as a fate successfully avoided, as something *not* to be feared, after Persius, many used it to express a dim view of textual survival. In fact, any reminder that poems might wrap fish and spices was in itself a reminder that all texts are materially and temporally bound, and that, like bronze and stone, paper is subject to deterioration and decay.

The '*Common Destinie*' of Waste

These anxieties arose with particular frequency in the religious texts of the period. As we have seen, works that 'railed' against theological and ecclesiastical error often used waste as an insult, but many sermons and devotional works refer to the '*common destinie*' of godly books more broadly.[103] As extant waste demonstrates, this was a response to waste practices, and the amount of religious wastepaper that would have been encountered in everyday life; but it also situates the life cycle of the book within a very particular framework. In these renderings of waste, a book follows a narrative trajectory that was foundational to early modern thought: it maps out the eschatological narrative of the decline and decay of the mundane world, and, according to many early modern thinkers, its imminent end.

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[102] John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Ilands Adjacent* (London: Thomas Harper to be sold by Laurence Sadler, 1631), 1.

[103] Andrewes, *The Brazen Serpent*, A4r.

William Vaughan's peculiar 1626 work, *The Golden Fleece*, is partly a romance inflected with classical myth, partly an anti-Catholic tract, and partly a celebration of the colonization of Newfoundland. In it, the character Sir William Alexander asks:

> Doe we not find by experience that the Bookes of many rare Divines lye on the Stationers hands, as it were moth-eaten, or inverted to base Offices, and solde for wast leaves to Apothecaries, to Glovers, Cookes, and Bakers […] what then shall become of my Bookes, which I have alreadie published to the World?[104]

Surveying a topsy-turvy urban environment in which books are 'inverted' from use to misuse, Alexander fears for the future of his own texts. His companion, Master Elveston, is more optimistic. He is certain that Alexander's '*Bookes* shall never bee put to such vile and servile uses; nor any lively monument, which issues from a well tempred braine'. But Alexander does not subscribe to this belief that books might be 'lively monument[s]'.

'Lively monuments' are described with relative frequency in the period: they might refer to 'the blessed sacrament', a reminder and a pledge of 'everlasting life'; to the 'thankfull hearts' of the godly as superior to earthly 'monument[s]'; or, in one Catholic tract of 1633, to the works of the Church Fathers.[105] They are organic things (blood, hearts, bodies, books), but they also bridge the divide between the material and the spiritual, and are inflected with 'aeternall life in heaven'.[106] Animated with breath or spirit, 'lively monuments' are often directly contrasted with Horace's 'Marble or Brasse'.[107] But for Alexander, his own and his contemporaries' books do not fit within this category: he is certain that there is no 'mysticall *Receit*' or remedy for ephemerality. Instead, drawing an odd analogy, he argues that '*Bookes*' have 'their Destinies as well as Common-wealths'. His books have a life cycle, but unlike the life cycle of the godly, this will not end in 'aeternall life'. The same goes, according to Alexander, for nations, and for all material things: 'Must not all things under the Sunne wax old, fraile, and faile at last? *Senescente mundo consenescunt omnia*', a misquotation of Roger Bacon's *senescente mundo consenescunt homines*, 'the world growing old, men grow old as well'.[108] In fact, good books are more likely to be turned to

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[104] William Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece* (London: William Stansby, Miles Flesher [and another] for Frances Williams, 1626), 8.

[105] William Chauncie, *The Rooting out of Romish Supremacie* (London: H. Middleton for John Perin, 1580), 6; Michael Renniger, *A Treatise Containing Two Parts* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1587), U1r; Lawrence Anderton, *The Progenie of Catholicks and Protestants* (Rouen: by the widow of Nicolas Courant, 1633), 6.

[106] 'To liue, liuely' is defined as 'To enjoy aeternall life in heaven' in Thomas Wilson, *A Christian Dictionarie* (London: W[illiam] Jaggard, 1612).

[107] Patrick Scot, *Omnibus & singulis* (London: William Stansby, 1619), A4r-v; Thomas Gataker, *The Spirituall Watch* (London: John Haviland for William Bladen, 1622), A3v.

[108] See *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 2, *Philosophical Works*, ed. by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011), 148.

wastepaper than ever before because, Alexander reasons, 'The neerer we are to the end of the world, the more childish and doting is the judgement of the wisest man'.[109]

A particularly striking instance of binding waste in Bishop Cosin's copy of George Ashwell's *Fides Apostolica* (1653) neatly encapsulates this nexus of ideas (see Fig. 22). The flyleaves are fragments from an early printed edition of the Vulgate: the fragment bound at the front is from the *Apocalipsis*, and that at the rear is from the *Actus apostolorum*, echoing the title of Cosin's volume. There is no record of Cosin's encounters with this item, so we can only wonder whether this reminder of the apocalypse framed his reading, as well as the text, and if he perceived the waste as, even for a moment, lingering and out of time, or as narrating the final stages in the life cycle of a text. This extant waste does, however, provide an emblem for the widespread metaphorics of wastepaper in the period, more 'biblioapocalypse' than 'bibliogenesis', and structured by the entropic trajectory of books.
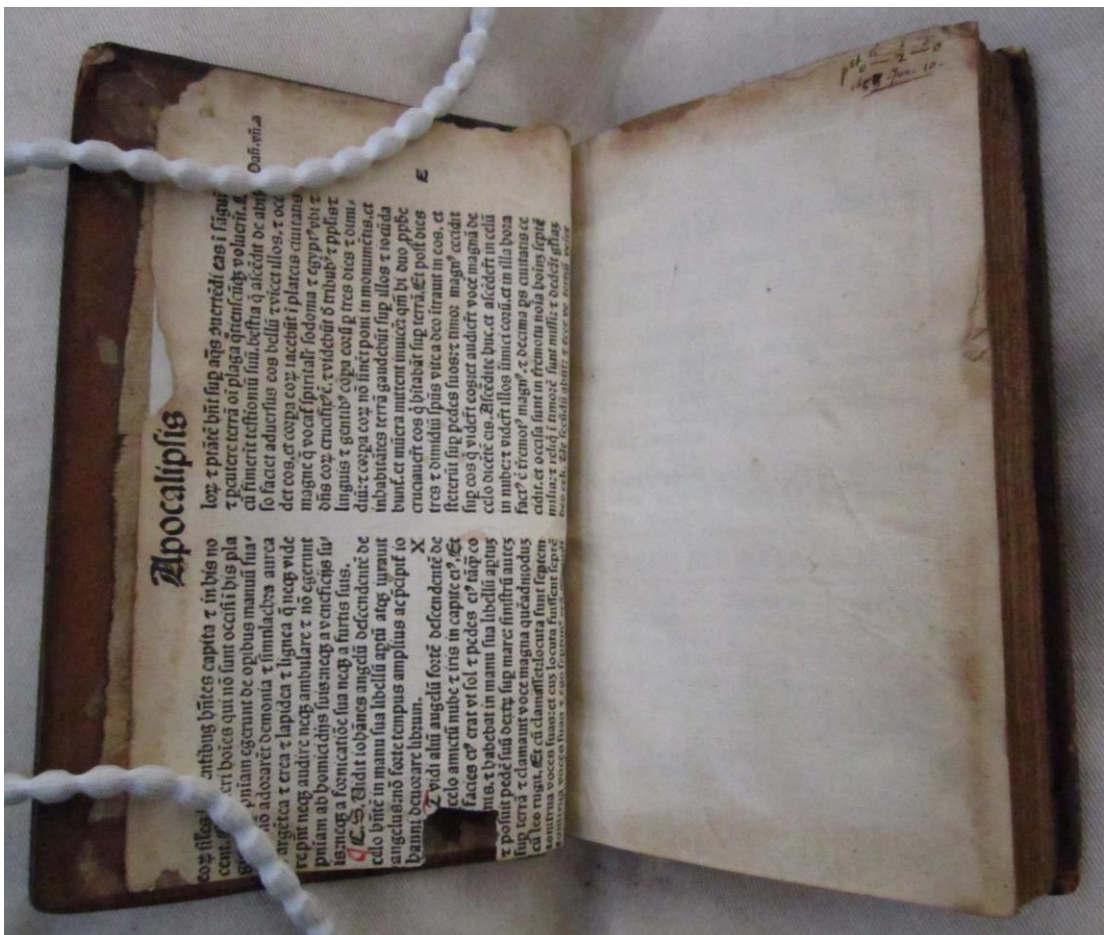
Fig. 22: Leaves from an early printed edition of the Vulgate used as endleaves in George Ashwell, *Fides Apostolica* (Oxford: Leon. Lichfield for Jo. Godwin and Ric. Davis, 1653), Durham Cathedral Library, Cosin K.5.40.

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[109] Vaughan, *Golden Fleece,* 9.

Wastepaper might, according to Alexander, map the trajectory of all matter in the world, and the world itself. Apocalyptic thought permeated the early modern imagination: sixteenth-century reformers such as John Foxe and John Bale mapped an eschatological framework onto the preceding centuries. Entering the earth's final stage, the papacy was viewed as the Antichrist and Judgement Day was understood to be imminent.[110] The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a slight distancing of the end of days: writing in 1593, John Napier calculated that it would fall between 1688 and 1700. The earthly manifestation of the Antichrist shifted in the seventeenth century from the pope to Laud, with Puritanism and apocalyptic chronologies coalescing in the form of millenarianism: the belief that the present day would usher in the 1000-year reign of the saints. Intertwined with revolution and the Civil War, this culminated in the Fifth Monarchist movement and a certainty that the year 1666 would be the beginning of the end.

I consider the relationship between wastepaper and the waxing and waning of the world in more depth in Chapter 2, in relation to John Bale and monastic waste fragments, and in Chapter 4 in relation to the understanding of the environment propagated by early modern almanacs. For now, I want to highlight how this fixation with the trajectory of all matter was inextricable from the wastepaper trope. Not all early modern poets share the 'metaphysical desire for immortality', which is, according to Hui, 'a nobler version of our basic survival instinct'.[111] Hui, though, overlooks the early modern aesthetic of repeated rumination over death and dissolution. This aesthetic is difficult for us to understand, but it was central to an early modern understanding of the world and an individual's place within it. Far from a despairing nihilism or Freudian *Thanatos*, contemplating the fragmentation and dissipation of matter was a legitimate and laudable devotional pastime: think, for instance, of mourning rings, burial shrouds, the *danse macabre*, and the endless texts and trinkets that invited viewers to dwell on their potentially imminent death.[112] Furthermore, it often manifested itself in passages of dark humour and literary play, and was often expressed, somewhat unexpectedly, through the celebration of repurposed pages.

I want to conclude with an example of this cataclysmic wastepaper play in the work of John Donne. Donne contributed 'Pangeyricke Verses' to the lengthy prefatory material of

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[110] For an overview of apocalyptic thought in the early modern period, see Bernard Capp, 'The Political Dimension of Apocalyptic Thought', in *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: patterns, antecedents, and repercussions*, ed. by C. A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1984), 93-124, and Warren Johnston, *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), 1-16.

[111] Hui, *Poetics of Ruin*, 51.

[112] On *memento mori*, see Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, c. 1500-c.1800* (London: The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1997), esp. 95-96

Thomas Coryate's 1611 *Coryats Crudities*. This 'copious rhapsodie of poems' filling over a hundred pages is 'often extremely rude and disrespectful to Coryate', as Andrew Hadfield points out, but also gives 'the impression that there has been something of a pact between [the] author and his circle'.[113] It is no surprise, then, that wastepaper makes an appearance within this coterie of homosocial jibes and academic ribbing: Hugo Holland, for instance, includes a Latin poem he claims had been intended for John Harington, but was perfectly well suited for Coryate. Holland adapts Persius' *nec scombros metuentia nec tus* into a paper-pyre of tobacco, pitch, and pepper that, when burnt, would mask the smell emerging from beneath Ajax's shield, or toilet cover.[114]

Donne's poem dwells on the subject of wastepaper at greater length. The central premise is, like many of the dedicatory poems, that the *Crudities* is excessively long, an 'Infinite worke, which doth so farre extend, | That none can study it to any end'.[115] Both impossible to finish and pointless to study, its seemingly endless supply of paper leaves will be repurposed rather than read. In a reworking of the themes familiar to us in the poetry of Catullus, Donne maps the geographical trajectory of Coryate's pages. Like Volusius' *Annals*, they do not go far, covering stuff rather than covering distance, and travelling as wrappers rather than reading material. Donne tells Coryat that 'thy leav's must embrace what comes from' both the East and West 'Indies', '[t]he Myrrhe, the Pepper, and the Frankinsence'. These exotic spices and perfumes 'magnifie' the leaves, ennobling them, but also have a microscopic effect. 'Magnifie[d]', the page is framed as if through a lens: a fragment with its textual detail cropped and highlighted. Distributed across London, Donne suggests, it might give the illusion of being enlarged.

Alternatively, the leaves might 'stoope | To neighbor wares', less glamorously wrapping the slightly less exotic 'vaste Tomes of Curran[t]s, and of Figs, | Of Medcinall, and Aromatique twigs', 'Convay[ing] these wares in parcels unto men'. Or they might

> stoope lower yet, and vent our wares,
> Home *manufactures*, to thicke popular faires,
> If *omnipregnant* their, upon warm stals
> They hatch all wares for which the buyer cals.

[113] Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (London: W[illiam] S[tansby for the author], 1611), C2r; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998), 60.
[114] Hugo Holland, '*Ad Janum Harringtonum Badensem*', in *Coryats Crudities,* E1v-2r. John Harington, in on the joke, also contributes to the 'Panegyricke Verses'.
[115] '*Incipit Joannes Donne*', in *Coryats Crudities*, D3r.

Ending their journey by wrapping unspecified common produce, 'thicke', 'warm', and gross stuff, perhaps hot and steaming pies, Donne concludes: 'Then thus thy leav's we justly may commend, | That they all kind of matter comprehend'.[116]

Donne puns throughout on the capacity of a page to transport both textual and physical contents. It is a 'tome' 'convay[ing]' both meaning and 'wares', 'curran[t]s' and words; full of all things and all topics (*omnipregnant*), it is a 'Universall Booke' that 'comprehend[s]' all 'matter', both through its digressive length and as a wrapper of exotic and homely goods. The 'Scattred […] Booke in peeces' takes on an almost talismanic power, like the fragments of Bible verses carried about or 'applied' to the body as medicinal spells throughout the period: 'Some shall wrap pils, and save a friends life so, | Some shall stop muskets, and so kill a foe'.[117] Wastepaper, Donne jests, has power over life and death.

Furthermore, *Coryats Crudities* will not be victim to the voracious 'Critiques of [the] age': they won't be able to 'find' it, because rather than sitting 'All in one bottome, in one Librarie, | Some leav's may paste strings there in other books'.[118] Spread throughout multiple libraries and the 'bottom' of many containers as binding waste and box-linings, Coryate's pages might still be read, albeit in dispersed and fragmentary fashion. Donne describes what must have been common in the period: the almost accidental absorption of words and phrases when glancing over a leaf of waste, how 'one may, which on another looks, | Pilfer, alas, a little wit from you, | But hardly much'. The microscopic effect of tearing up and wasting a book has no effect on the reading experience because, Donne concludes, 'As *Sybils* was, your booke is mysticall, | For every peece is as much worth as all'.[119] Each fragment is a synecdoche of the whole: in effect, both a single page and the entire book are worthless, containing very 'little wit'. The joke is that each leaf of the Sibylline Oracle's prophecy does not contain the whole: left to be scattered by the wind outside of the Oracle's cave, the prophecy is ephemeral, rapidly disintegrating into disjointed and nonsensical fragments.[120]

Wendy Wall is one of the few scholars to take note of this mock-encomium to wastepaper, and she argues that this 'proliferation and ennobling of matter […] does not seem

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[116] Ibid., D3v.
[117] Ibid. See Tanya Pollard, 'Spelling the Body', in *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. by Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garret A. Sullivan Jr. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 171-86.
[118] Donne in *Coryats Crudities*, D4r.
[119] Ibid., D4r.
[120] The Oracle is described in Book 6 of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Describing Lavinia's inscription in the sand, Shakespeare's Titus laments how 'the angry northern wind | Will blow these sands, like Sibyl's leaves, abroad, | And where's your lesson then?', *Titus Andronicus*, in *The Oxford Shakespeare: Complete Works*, 2nd ed., ed. by John Jowett et al (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 4.1.104-5.

ironic'.[121] Instead, Donne represents an alternative form of 'circulation': 'a significant mode of production' in which 'the housewives who sell pastries and confections at fairs' amplify the book 'in its reuse'. Wall is certainly right that there are hidden depths to this playful poem, and that 'we might be guided by Donne's other evocative poetic meditations on substantiality and meaning', although it is important not to overlook its humour.[122] It is, first and foremost, a witty elaboration of the conventional wastepaper insult. Furthermore, rather than being a celebration of domestic circulation, the poem is concerned primarily with disintegration: how easily a book can be scattered, entering into the organic life cycle of hot and steaming food, life-saving medicines, muskets and death. The poem reduces and diminishes Coryat's book, and the description of 'amplif[ication]' and 'magnifi[cation]' is certainly ironic.

In fact, this emphasis on disintegration participates in a deeper current in Donne's thought: his wider meditations on dust, dissolution, and death. His ode to wastepaper was printed in the same year, and by the same printer, as another poem that thinks deeply with paper: the 'Funerall Elegy' for Elizabeth Drury in *An Anatomy of the World, Wherein, by Occasion of the untimely death of Mistris Elizabeth Drury the frailty and decay of this whole world is represented*. Elizabeth Drury, who had died late in 1610, is described as being 'confine[d]' in a 'Tombe' or 'Marble chest'.[123] The mention of these stones leads Donne into an unfavourable comparison of 'Marble, Jeat, or Porphiry' with 'the Chrysolite of eyther eye, | Or with those Pearles, and Rubies which shee was'. Donne imagines all of the precious stones of 'the two Indies', like the wares encompassed by *Coryats Crudities*, accumulating in her tomb; but, he sighs, ''tis glas' anyway, cheap and fragile like all things in comparison with 'her materials'. This conventional Petrarchan conceit is shattered, however, when Donne dwells, even for a moment, on the fate of Elizabeth's 'material' form: his rhythm falters with the curtailed clause 'Yet shee's demolish'd'.

In a reworking of the Horatian immortality topos, Donne describes both bodies and 'tombs', the sepulchers or 'monuments of the dead' as being decayed and destroyed.[124] He briefly considers the potential of literature to outlast these corporeal and material monuments, asking:

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[121] Wendy Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern Kitchen* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2015), 156. Katrin Ettenhuber offers a reading of the poem in *Donne's Augustine: Renaissance Cultures of Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 48-49. She sensitively describes the poem's 'active drive toward self-fragmentation', but mistakenly describes the wastepaper as travelling *to* 'foreign lands', rather than wrapping wares imported *from* them.

[122] Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 156.

[123] John Donne, *An Anatomy of the World* (London: William Stansby for Samuel Macham, 1611), B7r.

[124] In its earliest usage, 'monument' referred to a tomb or sepulchre. They continued to be synonymous throughout the early modern period. See, for instance, 'Monument' in Robert Cawdry, *A Table Alphabeticall* (London: J[ames] R[oberts] for Edmund Weaver, 1604).

Can we keepe her then
In works of hands, or of the wits of men?
Can these memorials, ragges of paper, give
Life to that name, by which name they must live?
Sickly, alas, short-liv'd, aborted bee
Those Carkas verses, whose soule is not shee.
And can shee, who no longer would be shee,
Being such a Tabernacle, stoope to bee
In paper wrap't: Or, when she would not lie
In such a house, dwell in an Elegie?

Querying whether textual 'memorials' (a broader category of 'reminder' than a monument) might grant life, evading death like Horace's *monumentum*, Donne is deeply pessimistic: 'Elegie[s]', 'memorials', and 'verses' are 'ragges of paper'. Blurring the present state of paper with its previous life as worn out rags, Donne also looks forward to its material end. The poem will become, like its subject, a 'Carkas'. Donne hints at the wastepaper afterlife, suggesting that both the winding of the corpse in a burial shroud and the textual 'comprehe[nsion]' of the deceased in a poem only amount to matter 'wrap't' in paper. Donne dismisses Horace's poetic monument with a pun – ''tis no matter', because soon there will be no matter: 'we may well allow | Verse to live so long as the world will now'. Readers of early printed editions here take a breath as they turn the page, allowing this muted couplet to sink in: Donne 'allow[s]' that poetry might endure, but only so long as 'the world will'. This, we can assume, might not be very long at all, and we are made to imagine all books, bodies, and verses perishing alongside the terrestrial world.

The 'Funerall Elegie' does not end here. Donne goes on to describe how Elizabeth's 'grave shall restore | her greater, purer, firmer, then before', although this might be little comfort to her mourners at present.[125] This is, like the verses on *Coryats Crudities*, a poem about the disintegration of matter, and about why matter doesn't matter. Instead, 'The Funerall Elegie' describes the only type of stuff that will, after its dissolution, be pieced back together and endure: the corpses of the godly at the time of the Resurrection. Paper wrappers, in both 'The Funerall Elegie' and in *Coryats Crudities*, stand in for all other matter. They deflate the Horatian hope that verses might outlast physical monuments. Rather than being abstracted from their material manifestation in books, preserved in repeated acts of interpretation and adaptation, poetry is ephemeral because, within this eschatological framework, all things are ephemeral. Wastepaper is an emblem of this terminal state of things and manifests itself both in darkly

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[125] Donne, *An Anatomy of the World*, B7v.

funny celebrations of 'Scattred […] Booke in peeces' and in the mournfull 'Carkas[ses]' of paper elegies.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the rich rhetorical history of wastepaper as it was transported from classical Rome to early modern England. The material practice of repurposing pages coincided, in the mid-sixteenth century, with the reception of the poetry of Martial and Persius, and the enduring influence of Horace. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, English authors seized these wastepaper tropes, either from recent translations or Latin editions, and played with them, using them to mediate religious and political controversy, the patronage system, and the print marketplace. Far from being exhausted, stale, or straightforward, wastepaper tropes were flexible and capacious. Waste was an object and an emblem with which to articulate textual desires and anxieties, and to think about the relationship of corporeal and spiritual matter to time. Early modern writers were imaginative in their reuse of this classical heritage: the handling of millennia old narratives of textual mishandling became increasingly urgent, 'lively', and provocative in the face of multitudinous flimsy printed books, the crumbling ruins of the nation's past *monumenta*, and pressing concerns about the imminent end of the world. Glancing across a leaf of binding waste, an early modern might 'pilfer' a sense that wastepaper, although of decreasing material value, had 'as much worth as all' other stuff – which is, according to thinkers like Donne, none at all. 'Comprehend[ing]' or encompassing anything imaginable (frankincense, figs, medicines, pies, bullets, other books), the life cycle of wastepaper enabled onlookers to 'comprehend' the life cycle of 'all kinde[s] of matter'.[126] Paper fragments, when looked upon through the lens of the wastepaper trope, told the tendency of all things to dissolve and disintegrate.

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[126] Donne in *Coryats Crudities*, D3v-4r.

CHAPTER 2

BINDERS' SHOPS AND BUTTERFLIES

In his 2009 *Stuff*, the anthropologist Daniel Miller offers an influential account of the relationship between humans and things. Things, he writes, 'direct our footsteps, and are the landscapes of our imagination'.[1] Material culture is a frame for our thoughts and our behaviours: in sum, 'objects make people'. This chapter is about the relationship between the material and imaginative landscapes of post-dissolution England, and how repurposed monastic manuscripts, like ruined and reclaimed monastic buildings, shaped thought. Where Miller argues that objects are formative precisely because they are 'invisible and unremarked upon', or 'familiar and taken for granted', the fragments I explore were vividly present for the early moderns who encountered and imagined them.[2] Although manuscript waste may often have been unremarkable, and have gone largely unremarked, it was nonetheless a group of objects upon which significant thought was at times expended. The experience of monastic waste moved from a scarcely perceived prop at one extreme, to a thoughtfully apprehended object at the other.

This chapter is concerned with post-dissolution waste practices and, in particular, how that waste was received and interpreted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I offer case studies of two early modern antiquarians and their encounters with repurposed manuscripts. The first is a reading of *The Laboryouse Journey & Serche of John Leylande, for Englandes Antiquities*, heavily edited by John Bale and printed in 1549. I argue that Bale's experience of manuscript fragments in stationers' and binders' shops granted him a sensitivity to the material history of waste and its subsequent figurative value. Then, shifting my attention to the continued afterlives of monastic waste in the seventeenth century, I consider John Aubrey's account of his lifelong encounters with old manuscripts. Within *The Naturall History of Wiltshire* sits a uniquely bio-bibliographical 'Digression'. In it, Aubrey builds a series of bibliofictions, or 'biblio-biographies', from extant fragments. Mingling his experience of repurposed manuscripts with autobiography, local events, and a national history, Aubrey makes visible the imaginative work that might be done with waste.

Bale and Aubrey, I argue, were sensitive and responsive readers of waste: their writings demonstrate how waste fragments might structure an antiquarian and an archaeological understanding of the past and anticipation of the future. Whereas, for Bale, the tendency of the fragments toward loss and oblivion fitted within an eschatological narrative, it was their capacity to endure that afforded Aubrey food for thought. He understood waste as manifesting multiple

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[1] Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 53.
[2] Ibid., 50.

times and narrating, for those who took the time to read them, biographies of dissolution, ephemerality, and occasional survival.

<u>'Their Dyspersed Remnaunt'</u>

Old books were repurposed prior to the dissolution of the monastic libraries: scribes scraped clean the parchment surfaces of manuscripts, particularly administrative and legal texts, throughout the medieval period, readying them for the addition of new ink. Worn out and redundant books were cut up to bind new ones, and the bindings of extant incunabula reveal that particularly large numbers were wasted in the late fifteenth century, as old manuscripts were gradually replaced by printed texts.[3] The 'great cataclysm' that took place between 1536 and 1540 intensified these palimpsestic processes, and, a decade later, Edward VI's 1550 Act against Superstitious Books and Images led to a second wave of large-scale book destruction.[4] The seventeenth-century antiquarian Anthony Wood describes how Edward VI's Visitors ravaged Oxford's libraries, removing any book 'guilty' of 'red letters', 'controversial or scholastic Divinity', and 'Angles, or Mathematical Diagrams' condemning them as 'superstitious' and 'Popish' and so turning them to 'base' and 'servile uses'.[5] This dramatic influx of manuscripts into the wastepaper trade made the violence of the dissolution and the Reformation palpable, capturing the imaginations of readers and historians, and altering the parameters within which the processes of wasting and repurposing might be understood.

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[3] Hannah Ryley, 'Waste not, want not: the sustainability of medieval manuscripts', *Green Letters* 19, no. 1 (2015): 63-73; Nicholas Pickwoad, 'The Use of Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts in the Construction and Covering of Bindings on Printed Books', in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg and Margaret M. Smith (London: The Red Gull Press, 2000), 1-2.

[4] John Leland, *De uiris illustribus/On Famous Men*, ed. James P. Carley with Caroline Brett (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2010), civ. The foundational studies of the dissolution of the monasteries are David Knowles, *Bare Ruined Choirs: The Dissolution of the English Monasteries* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976) and Joyce Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (Fakenham: Allen and Unwin, 1971) although these works do not discuss the dispersal of the monastic libraries in detail. On the dissolution of the libraries see James P. Carley, 'Monastic collections and their dispersal', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* vol. 4, eds. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 339-47 and 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Salvaging of the Spoils', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and England,* vol. 1, eds. Elisabeth Leedham Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: UP, 2006), 265-91; Ronald Harold Fritze, '"Truth Hath Lacked Witnesse, Tyme Wanted Light": The Dispersal of the English Monastic Libraries and Protestant Efforts at Preservation, ca. 1535-1625', *The Journal of Library History* 18, no. 3 (1983): 274-91; Nigel Ramsay, '"The Manuscripts flew about like Butterflies": The Break-Up of English Libraries in the Sixteenth Century', in *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity*, ed. by James Raven (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 125-144; and C. E. Wright, 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Studies. Matthew Parker and his Circle: A Preliminary Study', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1, no. 3 (1951): 208-237.

[5] Anthony Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford,* vol. 2, ed. John Gutch (Oxford: Printed for the Editor, 1796), 106-110.

By the mid-sixteenth century, all types of medieval manuscripts were vulnerable to becoming waste. These included service books, theological treatises, and historical chronicles, whether recent and relatively plain, or luxuriously illuminated twelfth-century texts, soon to be sought out by antiquarian collectors.[6] Additionally, an array of administrative documents and financial records, stored haphazardly around the monastery and rarely catalogued, entered the waste market, though this material has been largely neglected by book historians.[7]

Whatever their origins, these objects were now valued according to their bulk rather than their contents, and any attribution of historical or aesthetic worth was rare: in Anthony Wood's words, 'books were dog cheap, and whole libraries could be bought for an inconsiderable nothing'.[8] His account is based largely on the writing of John Bale who, in 1549, described 'a merchaunt man […] that bought the co[n]tentes of two noble lybraryes for .xl. [40] shyllynges pryce', which he has used 'in the stede of graye paper by the space of more than these. x. yeares, & yet he hath store enough for as many yeares to come'.[9] A decade later, in 1557, John Dee records purchasing a manuscript from the dispersed Duke Humfrey's Library at Oxford 'par le poys' (by the pound weight) and, in 1564, a Mr Seeres paid 24 shillings 'for old Parchment books weying cc [200] pounde'.[10]

It is impossible to quantify the number of manuscripts dismembered and destroyed during these decades. Few monastic catalogues survive from the period leading up to the dissolution, and Henry VIII's surveyors rarely included books within their inventories of monastic goods.[11] Neil Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* lists 5,200 library and service books

[6] For the chronological trends of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscript destruction see N. R. Ker, *Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1954; repr. 2004), ix-x.

[7] See Barbara Harvey, *The Obedientiaries of Westminster Abbey and their Financial Records, c. 1275-1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell, Press, 2002).

[8] Wood, *History and Antiquities*, 108.

[9] John Bale and John Leland, *The Laboryouse Journey & serche of John Leylande, for Englandes Antiquities* (London: S. Mierdman, 1549), B1v. All further references will be given parenthetically in the text.

[10] Dee's note, found within the volume itself, reads '*et a ceste heure voyre en L'an de notre seigneur 1557 a moy Jehan Dee Angloys: lequel ie achetay par le poys'*. This suggests that much of Duke Humfrey's collection, sold in bulk, found its way into binders' and stationers' shops. Fragments of manuscripts traceable to Humfrey's library have been found in other bindings: see A. C. de la Mare and Stanley Gillam, *Duke Humfrey's Library and the Divinity School, 1488-1988* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1988), 124; David Rundle, 'Habits of Manuscript Collecting: The Dispersals of the Library of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester', in *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections Since Antiquity*, ed. by James Raven (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 116; Ker, *Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts*, x.

[11] Carley, 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries', 256, 265. The catalogue of the house of Syon, compiled between ca. 1500 and ca. 1524, is the only extant and intact monastic library catalogue from these decades. It reveals the acts of incorporation and disposal that a major monastic library undertook between the introduction of print and the advent of the dissolution. By 1504, the collection was over 1300 volumes strong, but only 30 books of Syon providence have since been identified. As with most monastic collections, the exact fate of the collection is unclear. Christopher De Hamel suggests that because the extant books are predominantly 'from the middle of the alphabetical range of class-marks', they most likely sat mouldering in the abandoned library for a

extant from the eight hundred or more religious houses of England. Of these, 1,800 belonged to the secular cathedrals that remained relatively unscathed, leaving a total of 3,400 surviving books from the dissolved monasteries.[12] As Nigel Ramsay writes: '[t]hat tens, even hundreds, of thousands of library books and service-books were destroyed in the course of a few years is undeniable'.[13] Although these fragments are not as conspicuous as the crumbling stones of dissolved abbeys and monastery buildings, a visit to a rare books room reveals the fate of many of these manuscripts. Ker's *Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings* lists approximately 2,200 bindings that contain monastic waste. Large sheets of manuscript were trimmed, pasted, and stitched around the first and last quires of a book, to protect it from the friction of the cover (see Fig. 23). Alternatively, fragments from multiple manuscripts were cobbled together to form composite, waste leaves.[14] Manuscript pastedowns and endleaves were also used in books bound in Cambridge and at Canterbury Cathedral throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[15]

The university focus of Ker's study should not distract from the widespread use of monastic waste in stationers' shops and binderies across the country; although no other location offers so many manuscript pastedowns as Oxford, old books could be found dismembered and inserted into new books throughout the country and well into the seventeenth century. Manuscript waste was frequently used as a cheap or temporary wrapper (see Figs. 2, 4, 24); was laminated to form pasteboards (see Figs. 4 and 25); and was cut up to form guards or spine supports for a large number of bindings (see Figs. 26, 28, 29). Bale was right in estimating that his unnamed merchant would have 'store enough' of monastic waste for 'many yeares to come': the Huntington Library holds a late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth-century *sammelbände* wrapped in a twelfth century manuscript and a waste printed vellum flyleaf (see Fig. 27), and David Drummond, founder of Innerpeffray Library (ca. 1680), owned a 1654 folio bound with a medieval manuscript waste guard (see Fig. 28).

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number of years after the monastery's dissolution in 1539, with the outer edges of the book-cases falling victim to thieves, rodents, and the elements. See Vincent Gillespie, *Syon Abbey: Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues,* vol. 9 (London: The British Library, 2001) and Christopher de Hamel, *Syon Abbey: The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and their Peregrinations after the Reformation* (London: Roxburghe Club, 1991).

[12] N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964).

[13] Ramsay, '"The Manuscripts flew about like Butterflies"', 138.

[14] Pickwoad, 'The Use of Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts', 14-16.

[15] David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press,* vol. 1, *Printing and the Book Trade in Cambridge, 1534-1698* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 9; Rowan Watson, 'Medieval Manuscript Fragments', *Archives* 13, no. 61 (1988): 70.

Fig. 23: A medieval manuscript pastedown, now loose, in the binding of Desiderius Erasmus, *Apophthegmes*, trans. by Nicholas Udall (London: Richard Grafton, 1542), Henry E. Huntington Library, 59667.
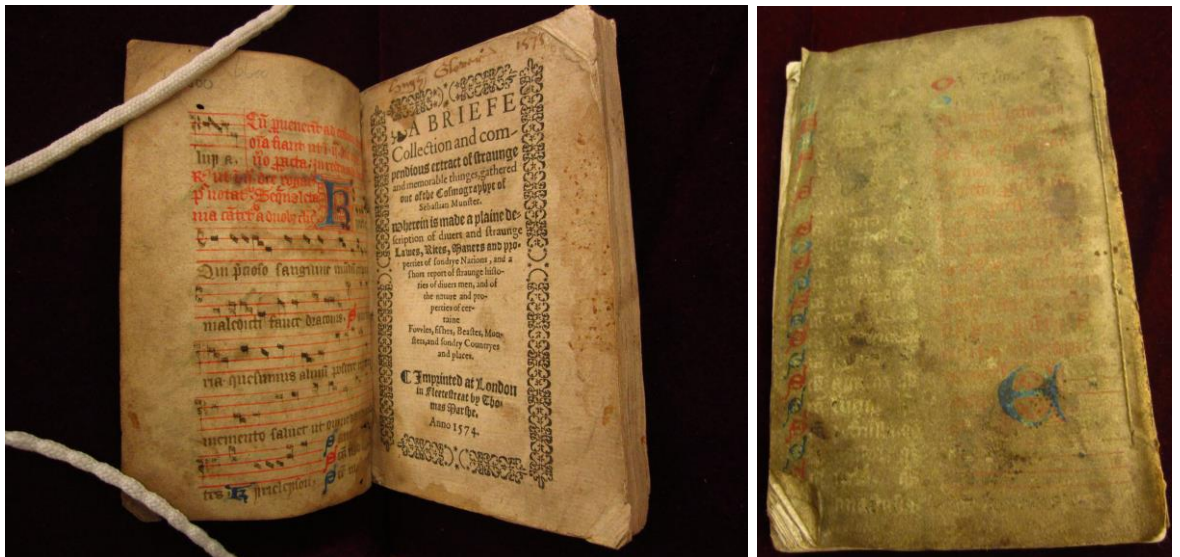
Fig. 24: Medieval manuscript service book wrapper of Sebastian Münster, *A Briefe Collection and Compendious Extract of Straunge and Memorable Things* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1574), Henry E. Huntington Library, 492913.
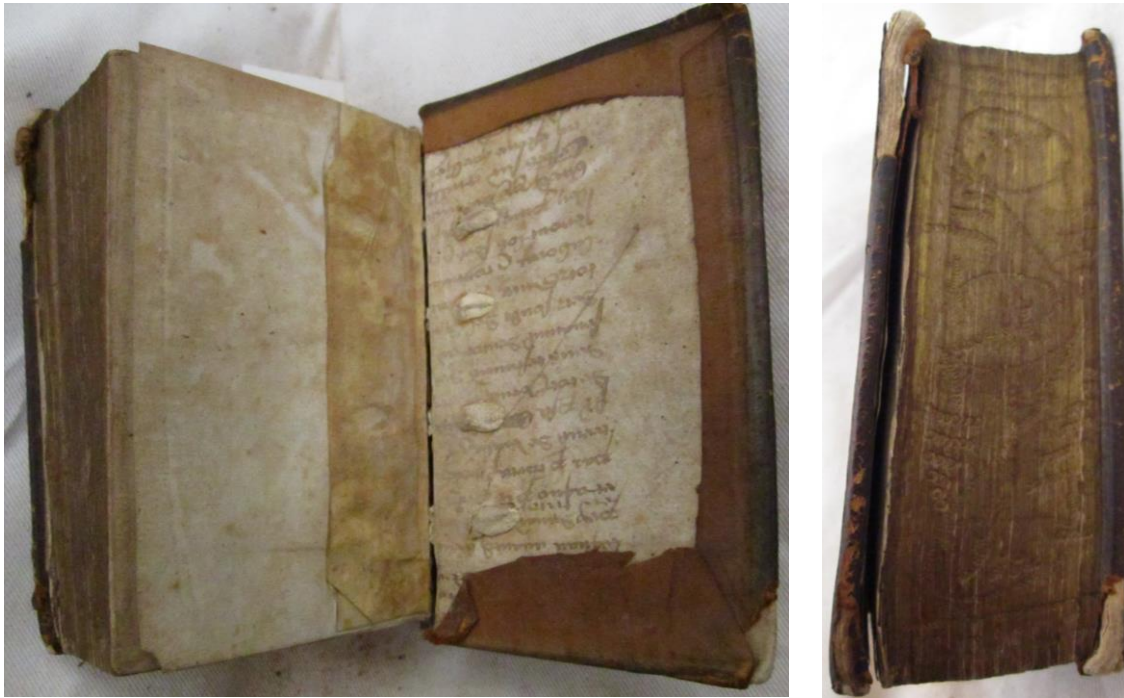
Fig. 25: Fifteenth-century paper manuscript layered to form the boards for the binding of Antonio Brucioli, *Il Nuouo Testamento di Giesu Christo* (Lyone: Philiberto Rolleto and Bartholomeo Freno, 1547), Durham Cathedral Library, Cosin B.5.25.

Fig. 26: A manuscript, parchment spine support probably removed from *Nicolai Gerbelij Phorcensis* ([Basel]: [s.n], [1550]), now slipped into the repaired binding, Innerpeffray Library, E3.

Fig. 27: Medieval manuscript wrapper and Sarum Missal printed on parchment used as a flyleaf in the binding of *A Compendious Treatise, of Nicholas Prepositas* (London: Iohn Wolfe for Edward White, 1588) and André Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preseruation of the Sight* (London: Felix Kingston for Raplh Iacson, 1599), Henry E. Huntington Library, 618583.
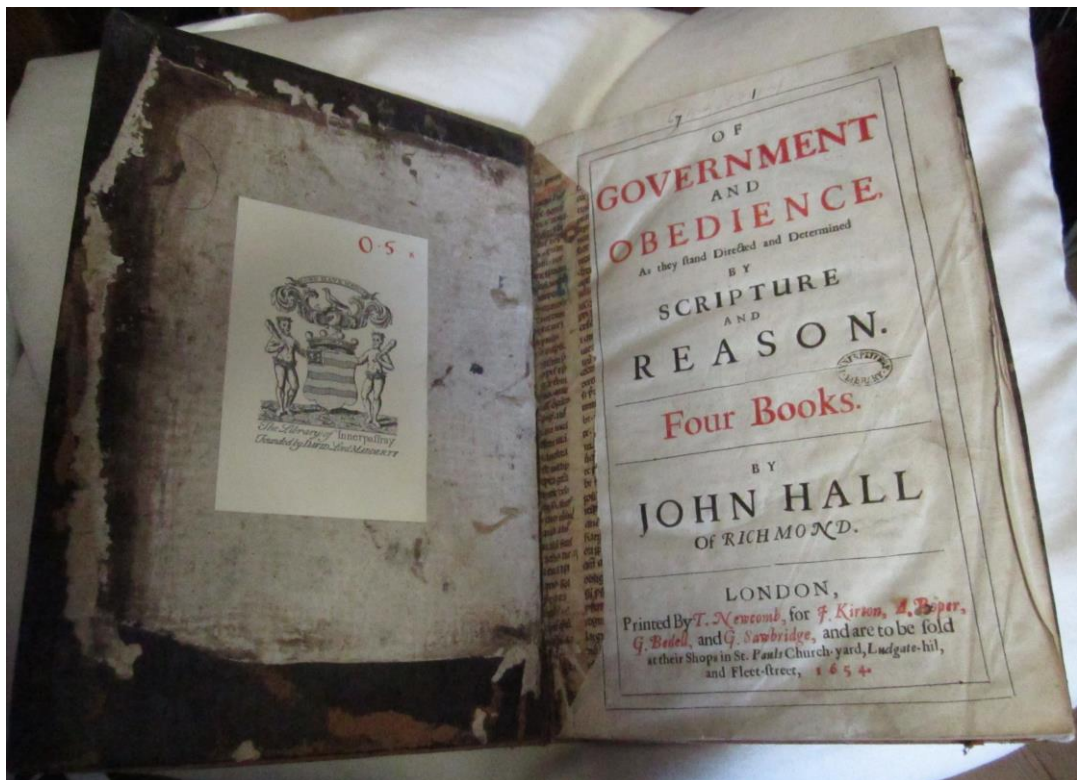
Fig. 28: Medieval manuscript guards in Joseph Hall, *Of Government and Obedience* (London: T. Newcomb for J. Kirton, A. Roper, G. Bedell, and G. Sawbridge, 1654), Innerpeffray Library, O5.

Wrappers and endleaves comprised of monastic waste became less common in new books towards the end of the sixteenth century. To conserve durable parchment waste, binders reserved scraps of old manuscripts for the spines of new books, the area of the binding most frequently flexed and so in need of reinforcement. This eking out of a dwindling supply manifests itself in the binding structures of several books, printed between 1608 and 1614, in Bishop Cosin's Library: these are striking hybrids, containing printed wastepaper guards in addition to a combination of twelfth-century and contemporary waste parchment manuscript spine supports (see Fig. 29).

Fig. 29: Left, strips of a fourteenth-century manuscript reinforcing printed pages of the Geneva Bible used as guards, in the binding of *The Works of the Very Learned J. Jewell* (London: [Eliot's Court Press for J. Norton], 1611), Durham Cathedral Library, Cosin K.2.14. Right, fragments of a twelfth-century liturgical manuscript and a seventeenth-century manuscript reinforcing printed pages of the Geneva Bible used as guards, in the binding of *Luciani Samosatenis philosophi opera omnia quae extant* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: P. Ludouicum Feburier, 1615), Durham Library Cosin W.1.10. Cosin W.1.11 also shares this binding structure.

My own surveys of wastepaper and parchment in English books at the Huntington Library, and in Bishop Cosin's Library and Innerpeffray Library have uncovered large quantities of monastic waste. Of the English books produced between 1540 and 1685 at the Huntington Library that contain binding waste, 28% include repurposed medieval manuscripts (see Appendix 2). Around 10% of the items bound with waste in Bishop Cosin's Library contain medieval manuscript waste (these were printed between 1543 and 1669, see Appendix 1), and around 18% of the items in Innerpeffray Library (printed between 1543 and 1681, see Appendix 3). These figures are particularly striking for Bishop Cosin's and Innerpeffray libraries, as both were founded in the late seventeenth century. These extant collections demonstrate that

monastic waste was regularly encountered by the readers of old books, even if it no longer circulated as loose slips and scraps.

Binding waste might give the impression that these fragments were static, stitched tightly within other books. This was, however, far from always the case: waste moved in and out of a variety of contexts and spaces. Richard Layton, a principle commissioner of the dissolution, told Cromwell that, on his return to New College Oxford, he had 'fownde all the gret quadrant court full of the leiffes of Dunce [the 13ᵗʰ century theologian Duns Scotus], the wynde blowyng them into evere corner'.[16] Duns Scotus' windy and worthless words are, for Layton, both rhetorically and literally lightweight: the manuscript's material qualities marry with its contents. He goes on to describe how a student, Mr Grenefelde, was found 'getheryng up part of the saide bowke leiffes (as he saide) therwith to make hym sewelles or blawnsherres [scarecrows or scaring sheets] to kepe the dere within the woode' in his home county of Buckinghamshire.[17]

No longer bound and chained within libraries, manuscripts moved beyond the highly literate and homosocial centres of monasteries and universities. John Bale, in an often-quoted passage, describes how

> A great nombre of the[m] whych purchased those superstycyouse mansyons, reserued of those lybraye bokes, some to serue theyre jakes [toilets], some to scoure theyr candelstyckes, & some to rubbe their bootes. Some they solde to the grossers and sope sellers, & some they sent over see to ye bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons (B1r).

Bale highlights the presence of a thriving wastepaper and parchment trade in sixteenth-century England, and its saturation after the dissolution of the monasteries: there was simply not enough demand for the amounts of waste made available in the 1530s and 1540s, and so 'some' was 'sent over see[s]'.[18] This is a source of shame and regret for Bale who, as we will see, had a vested interest in recovering documents of the nation's past. His description also outlines the nature of waste practices: the parchment fragments, like wastepaper, served 'base ends', but with some notable differences. Parchment is particularly strong for its weight and, as the conservator and bookbinder Nicholas Pickwoad observes, is durable and resistant: soft when wet, it can be moulded into any shape, hardening and retaining its form when dry. This meant that, as well as forming wrappers and flyleaves, parchment could be twisted to form tackets, laces, sewing supports, and end bands.[19] Its capacity to withstand more friction than paper meant that, as well

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[16] On the concerted wasting of the works of Duns Scotus, see Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2008), 88-90.

[17] Quoted in Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 327.

[18] Pickwoad, 'The Use of Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts', 2.

[19] Ibid., 1, 18.

as serving as toilet paper and wrappers for 'grossers' and 'sope sellers', monastic manuscripts were used as wipes and scourers, and were particularly valuable for binders.

Despite retaining legible text, these sheets of manuscript were no longer experienced primarily as textual objects. Instead, the old manuscripts participated in more practical forms of knowledge, or, to borrow Matthew C. Hunter's phrase, provoked a 'materialized intelligence'.[20] Those involved in the production and use of books had always been sensitive to the material capacities of parchment, but the dissolution dispersed this knowledge more widely. Furthermore, this 'parchment literacy' was no longer neutral: it had become imbued with social and religious meaning. Dismembered books prompted a series of 'generative […] imaginings' through their 'physical manipulation', as well as their cognitive apprehension.[21] The fragments were known haptically: for Mr Grenefelde, through their lightness, their capacity to be stitched together and shiver in a Buckinghamshire breeze; for other users described by Bale, through their pliability and relative durability, their capacity to wipe, rub, fold and wrap. We have no record of the 'imaginings' of many of these users, but their material knowledge of monastic waste would have been intermingled with a knowledge of the fragments' pre-histories. Earlier stages of the objects' life-cycles were simultaneously available alongside the present, forming palimpsests of multiple times.

Monastic waste, then, would have been apprehended in similar ways to the other remnants of the religious past in the post-Reformation landscape: the weathered ruins, repurposed altar stones, monumental brasses, plate, textiles, paintings, and statues that persisted in either presence or use.[22] Archaeologists and historians have long hypothesized the responses to these leftovers: David Stocker, in his influential 'Rubbish Recycled: a study of the re-use of stone in Lincolnshire', proposes three categories such incorporation might fall under.[23] The 'casual' refers to when old stuff is re-used because of its appropriate size, shape, and material capacities, such as when altars were turned into paving slabs; the 'functional' is when an object continues to serve its intended purpose, such as when a monastic building continues to stand,

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[20] Matthew C. Hunter, 'Picture, Object, Puzzle, Prompter: Devilish Cleverness in Restoration London', *Art History* 36, no. 3 (2013): 549.

[21] Ibid., 164.

[22] The performativity and partiality of iconoclasm has been explored in detail in recent scholarship, and the idea of a Protestant 'iconophobia' has been nuanced. See Margaret Aston's *England's Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images,* vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2010); and Alexandra Walsham, '"Like Fragments of a Shipwreck": Printed Images and Religious Antiquarianism in Early Modern England', in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation,* ed. Michael Hunter (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 87-109.

[23] David Stocker, 'Rubbish Recycled: a study of the re-use of stone in Lincolnshire', in *Stone Quarrying and Building in England AD 43-1525*, ed. by David Parsons (Chichester: Phillimore, 1990), 83-101.

but is secularized; the third, and the only that Stocker believes generates meaning, is the 'iconic', when an object is recontextualised in such a way as to suggest significance beyond practical use.

Within this schema, all wastepaper practices are 'casual': old books are used in the place of plain white or brown paper, fresh parchment, and fabric. But, as Sarah Tarlow has argued, within the 'heated symbolic environment' of post-Reformation England, the majority of pre-Reformation material culture might be read iconically. Sensitively describing iconoclasm as a stage in the life cycle of an object, Tarlow argues that, when trodden on as doorsteps, repurposed altars might 'articulat[e] a rejection' of a Catholic 'understanding of holiness'.[24] Monastic manuscripts, bound within Protestant volumes, might have articulated a similar renunciation of past devotional practice. These hybrid objects seem to have been relatively common: the Huntington Library, for instance, holds a 1550 funeral sermon preached by the Protestant martyr John Hooper bound within monastic flyleaves, and a copy of the Calvinist Theodore Bèze's *Confessio Christianae fidei* (1565) bound within fragments of a missal, with musical notation still visible (see Fig. 30).[25] Such objects might have supported emerging historiographical narratives, such as the partial erasure of multi-sensual Catholic worship by the Protestant religion of the book.[26] The symbolic potential of Catholic breviaries, missals, and commentaries used for 'base' and 'servile' ends, as food wrappers and toilet paper, is immediately apparent.

But, as Tarlow goes on to argue, fragments from the pre-Reformation past might also have provided a focal point for 'passive resistance'. Iconoclastic practices rarely obliterated their targets entirely; instead, they circumvented, concealed, translated, disguised, and transformed objects. In these altered forms, objects still communicated their 'older meanings', and were appropriated to fit within the 'spiritual way of being' of individuals and communities.[27] Like devotional objects hidden away under floorboards, monastic waste might have provided a link between the lost past and its anticipated restoration: often, complete prayers and portions of the liturgy were easily legible in waste sheets (see Fig. 24), and might have been read and even recited by the highly literate. Although there are no records of such resistant use, extant waste does bear witness to its thoughtful apprehension by later users: early moderns might trace the lines of illuminated text in the bindings of their books (see Fig. 2), and, as we will see when we

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[24] Sarah Tarlow, 'Reformation and Transformation: What happened to Catholic Things in a Protestant World?', in *The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480-1580*, ed. by David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), 115-17.

[25] The edition of Hooper is held at Henry E. Huntington Library, 438880.

[26] See James Kearney, *The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2009), esp. 8-40; Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), esp. 125-205.

[27] Tarlow, 'Reformation and Transformation', 118.

come to consider Aubrey's 'Digression', the sight of broken, monastic books might provoke sadness and a sense of loss, even when the viewer could not understand its textual content.[28]

Fig. 30: Fragments of a Catholic missal used as guards in Théodore Bèze, *Confessio Christianae fidei* (London: Richard Serll, 1565), Henry E. Huntington Library, 327725.

Stocker's 'iconic' reuse might, then, be usefully expanded with Jonathan Gil Harris' framework of responses to 'untimely matter': monastic waste might demonstrate the 'supersession' of the Catholic past, but it might also 'explode' into the present, taking precedence over its current use, either because of the user's confessional identity, or because of their desire to recuperate valuable, old books from their waste use. And for some, past and present might sit in conjunction, provoking a recognition of the distinct events and times manifested in waste.[29] The direction in which a waste palimpsest might point depended on what type of monastic manuscript it was (was it a missal or a chronicle, for instance, pointing to church

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[28] On remnants of the Catholic past and a sense of loss, see Margaret Aston, 'English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 231-55.

[29] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2009), esp. 29-30, 91-94, 143-46.

ceremony or to the national past), and on who was using it; and an individual user might fluctuate between each of these temporal modes. The rest of this chapter outlines two encounters, or series of encounters, with monastic waste recorded in the work of Bale, editing Leland, and in Aubrey. These writers attempted to make sense of waste fragments, and to fit them within their own narratives: Bale celebrated the supersession of popish books, but lamented the supersession of chronicles and histories, seeking to selectively 'revive' their past lives as texts. Aubrey, writing over a century later, surveyed the telescopic history of waste, dwelling on the extended life-cycle of the fragments. Their works demonstrate the capacious 'imaginings' that, for more than a century, were generated by monastic waste.

'The thynges dyssypated were dyuerse'

John Bale and John Leland's *The Laboryouse Journey* is shaped by monastic fragments. It sheds light on waste practices and the complex statuses of monastic waste in the mid-sixteenth century, as well as the layers of figurative meaning that might accrue around the fragments when, because of their tendency to 'decaye' and 'dyssypat[e]' and their presence in grocers' and stationers' shops, they frustrated attempts to collect, catalogue, and construct a Protestant narrative of the Reformation.

John Leland was a humanist scholar and author of Latin verses, 'personally loyal' to Henry VIII and eager to uncover the literary triumphs of the nation's past.[30] He sought out Anglo-Saxon manuscripts that might provide theological support and a historical precedent for Henry VIII's divorce and break with Rome. Leland travelled throughout England between 1533 and 1536, and again in 1541 and 1544 in the immediate aftermath of the dissolution.[31] He envisaged producing an immense body of work based on the natural sites and manmade artefacts he encountered on these 'itineraries', beginning with *De uiris illustribus* (a chronology of Britain's literature), derived from the manuscripts and manuscript fragments he had uncovered, as well as a history of Britain (in 50 volumes), a history of the islands neighbouring Britain, a topography of British place names, a history of British universities, and an ecclesiastical history. Instead, several weeks after Henry VIII's death in 1547, Leland was incapacitated. According to a friend, quoted by Bale, Leland had fallen into madness because 'he was vayne gloryouse, and that he had a poetycall wytt' (B4r). Leland did not recover and died in 1552. He left behind

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[30] Trevor Ross, *The Making of the English Literary Canon: From the Middle Ages to the Late Eighteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1998), 51-64; James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002, 7-33.
[31] This chronology is taken from Carley, *De uiris illustribus*, xxv-cxxxviii and John Chandler, *John Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1993), xii-xxiv.

some printed Latin verse, a mass of unedited manuscript material (*De uiris illustribus*), and a letter composed after his 1543 itineraries and perhaps presented to the King as a 'New Year's Gift' on January 1st 1544. It described his bibliographic achievements and outlined plans for the expansive projects listed above.

John Bale's friendship with Leland seems to have begun in 1533 when Bale, still a monk, travelled between the Carmelite and Austin houses compiling *Anglorum Heliades*, a bibliographic catalogue of the houses' monastic authors.[32] Both Leland and Bale, therefore, worked independently to record the nation's literary and religious history on the eve of the dissolution, halting their peregrinations as the lesser houses began to fall. This might have been to avoid suspicion of pro-Catholic and monastic sympathies, but this accusation was unlikely to have been levelled at Bale for long. It was around this time that he defected from the Carmelites, taking up the post of priest at Thorndon, Suffolk, and setting to work composing morality plays that allegorized Protestant reform. With the fall of Cromwell in 1539 and a backsliding, from Bale's perspective, to popish practices, Bale fled to the continent. He penned a range of polemical and bibliographic works, including his *Summarium* of British manuscripts. On receiving news of Leland's incapacitation in 1547, Bale hurried this catalogue into print. Returning to England at the accession of Edward VI, Bale began to edit Leland's incomplete *De uiris illustribus* whilst pursuing his own ambitious bibliographic work, assembling a list of the authors, titles and opening lines of all extant and noteworthy British books. The product was, eventually, his *Catalogus*, printed between 1557 and 1559.[33] This was his second itinerary, undertaken between 1548 and 1552 in the midst of Edward's iconoclastic reforms, and before a second period of exile during the reign of Mary I.

As with Leland's second journey, carried out after the dissolution, there was an increased sense of urgency: no longer just recording, Leland and Bale saw themselves as salvaging British history from the oblivion of mould, decay and wasted parchment. Both sought to produce what James P. Carley has termed 'bio-bibliographies', catalogues that outlined the history of Britain through its ancient writers. Both also saw the products and evidence of Britain's history slipping through their fingers, turned instead toward 'base ends': neither writer had the means to gather up and store every manuscript that they came across.[34] In the midst of this prolonged itinerary, in 1549, Bale printed and enlarged Leland's manuscript letter, a 'New Year's Gift'. This had

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[32] See Leslie P. Fairfield, *John Bale: Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1976); John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982); Carley, *De uiris illustribus*, cvii-cxii.

[33] Bale's notebooks are held at Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 64.

[34] Carley, *De uiris illustribus*, xxvii.

probably been sent to him a few years earlier by the humanist and reformer Sir John Cheke. Inserting a lengthy dedication, commentary, and conclusion as well as details of his own antiquarian labours, Bale retitled it *The Laboryouse Journey.*

This text contains two viewpoints of the dissolution: Leland, like his patron Henry VIII, remained religiously conservative, and, as a humanist, sought to recover old manuscripts primarily for their philological value. But Bale was a passionate reformer who celebrated the dissolution: he only wished its 'dyssypat[ion]' had been less 'diuerse' (A8r). He was happy for popish trash to be sold as waste, writing how

> Yf the byshop of Rome[']s lawes, decrees[,] decretals, extravagantes, cleme[n]tines and other suche dregges of the devyll […] and frutes of the bottomlesse pytte, had leaped out of our libraries, and so become coverynges for bokes […] we might wele haue ben therwith contented (G3r).

Such waste would represent the proper state of affairs, with the manuscripts' corrupt nature neatly aligning with a new usefulness. As we have seen, monastic waste binding Protestant books might offer an emblem of the Reformation. The Huntington Library holds a particularly pertinent manifestation of this supersession of the Catholic past: their 1560 edition of Bale's *The Acts of English Votaries* (first printed in Antwerp in 1546) is bound in fragments of a monastic service-book (see Fig. 31). A work that attacked the corrupt practices and institutions of the monasteries is 'guarded' by the remnants of those very institutions.

If only, Bale laments, efforts had been made to safeguard the 'liuelye memoryalles of our nacyion' (A7v), the '[m]oste olde and autentyck', and largely Anglo-Saxon, 'Chronycles' (C2v). These might provide ample evidence for 'the usurped autoryte of the Byshopp of Rome and hys complyces' (C5r), and, by demonstrating the chronological precedence of Protestantism, legitimize the young religion in the face of Catholic attacks on its novelty. England, as Leland's (sometimes erroneous) discoveries make clear, was in the process of returning to a purer, pre-Popish past, where, for instance, 'Kynge Athelstane' had 'the scriptures […] translated into the Saxonysh or Englyshe speche' (D2v). Although an ancient vernacular Bible was never actually recovered, Bale proclaims that Leland's labours uncovered both popish lies and English truths from the rubble of the dissolution. This narrative was not Bale's alone, but Bale was a key early proponent: Ronald Harold Fritze has outlined how a Protestant humanist approach to history led to the birth of antiquarianism and, in the work of Bale, a Protestant chronology and hagiography that would prove crucial to later reformers such as John

Foxe.[35] Scholars such as Leland, Bale, and Matthew Parker gathered newly accessible histories and Anglo-Saxon texts from the dispersed libraries, selecting from these the malleable material with which to write a patriotic history of Protestant renewal.
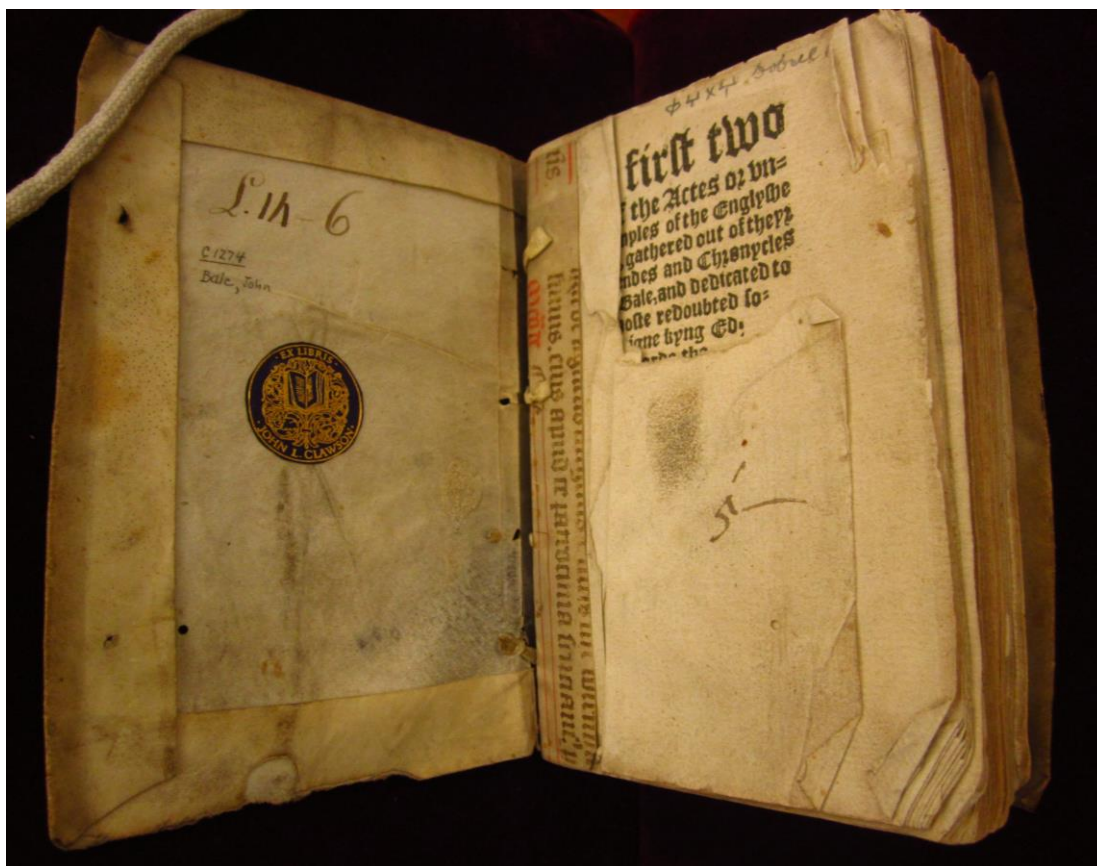
Fig. 31: Parchment fragments of a Catholic service used as guards in John Bale, *The First Two Partes of the Acts or Vnchaste Examples of the Englyshe Votaryes* (London: Iohn Tysdale, 1560), Henry E. Huntington Library, 12963.

The *Journey*, then offers a complex combination of Protestant triumph and an antiquarian sense of loss.[36] Bale situated Leland's bibliographic itineraries, and implicitly his own, within the dominant narratives of the Reformation. Leland, in his 'New Year's Gift', described how he had brought 'the monumentes of auncyent wryters […] out of deadly darkenesse to lyvelye lyght' (B8r), and Bale elaborated further: these books been 'tyed up in cheanes' (C3r), concealed, like the scriptures and the true faith, in 'uncertayne shadowes' and popish deceit (C6v). Leland's labours were, according to Bale, Christ-like, as he harrowed the

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[35] Fritze, '"Truth hath lacked witnesse"', 274-291. See also Phillip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 49-75 and Summit, *Memory's Library*, 101-35.

[36] On the relationship between the dissolution and the development of antiquarian thought, see Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010), 7-9; Aston, 'English Ruins and English History', 231-55; Elizabeth Yale, 'With Slips and Scraps: How Early Modern Naturalists Invented the Archive', *Book History* 12, no. 1 (2009): 1-36; and Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth-Century* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 2-19.

'deadly' dark spaces, dragging their contents into Protestant light. Leland 'wold clerely redeme them from dust and byrdfylynges' (C2v), granting the manuscripts salvation from a uniquely bibliographic kind of hell.

But this narrative is undermined by the lived experience of post-Reformation England: the dispersal of scripture and knowledge for the benefit of the nation was accompanied by a more literal 'scatter[ing], or spread[ing] abroad' of the pages of old manuscripts.[37] The *Journey*, rather than demonstrating Protestant supersession, makes visible the bifurcating value of waste in this historical moment. The majority of book-users in sixteenth-century England did not conform to Bale's taxonomy of monastic manuscripts, and instead valued both historical chronicles and Catholic service-books according to their material capacities and their weight. This was, according to Bale, a symptom of 'Auaryce': the greed of the waste practitioners made them as bad as the monks, 'bellygoddes', or gluttons (A8r), a slur more usually used in anti-Catholic polemic.[38] Just as Catholicism was perceived as avaricious, in the sale of indulgences and the doctrine of Purgatory, those who repurposed old books, according to Bale, sought only financial gain.

But the distinction between 'bellygoddes' who transform old books into waste, and the philologically and theologically driven antiquarians who sought to preserve a sub-section of them was not so clear-cut. In the mid-sixteenth-century, antiquarians like Leland, Bale, and Parker did not collect old manuscripts to keep them whole.[39] The volumes in Parker's library are notoriously composite: he glued and stitched leaves from Anglo-Saxon and medieval manuscripts into his own volumes according to his political and theological needs.[40] Similarly, Bale, in the *Journey*, describes a fantasy in which the 'notable Antiquyte[es]' should 'be stayed in time, and by the art of pryntynge be brought into a no[m]bre of coppyes' (B2r). Old manuscripts, then, were valued as vehicles for text, rather than as objects: once the textual content had been extracted, the parchment and ink became an empty shell, worth only as much as a 'bellygodde' was willing to pay for it. This process of de-accession and replacement was a

[37] 'Disperse' in Robert Cawdry, *A Table Alphabeticall* (London: I[ames] R[oberts] for Edmund Weauer, 1604), D2r.

[38] Elena Levy-Navarro, *The Culture of Obesity in Early and Late Modernity: Body Image in Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton, and Skelton* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 116.

[39] Kearney, *The Incarnate Text*, 136; Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, 14-17; Summit, *Memory's Library*, 109-10.

[40] Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2013), 41-50; Timothy Graham, 'Matthew Parker and His Manuscripts: A Study of an Elizabethan Library and Its Use', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland,* vol. 1, eds. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Weber (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006): 328.

continuation of scribal practice and is visible in the 'proof' sheets, surviving in bindings, from the shops of early printers such as Aldus Manutius and William Caxton.[41]

It was only a number of decades later that a sense of old manuscripts as historical artefacts, aesthetically as well as philologically valued, emerged.[42] The library of Sir Robert Cotton, for instance, indicates the complexity of antiquarian interactions with monastic manuscripts: he dismembered duplicate or unwanted works, inserting them as 'stuffing' or binding waste in other, partially disassembled books.[43] But this "cut and paste' approach' was often aesthetically driven, with fragments of highly illuminated works used as decorative borders, frontispieces and end-leaves in other manuscripts and printed books.[44] We begin to see a more consistent valuation of old manuscripts as unique objects, collected as both textual and physical records of the past, later in the seventeenth century, in the practices of antiquarians such as Anthony Wood, John Bagford, and, as we will see, John Aubrey.[45]

But for Bale, writing in the decades of the dissolution, there was a sense that texts might be extracted and abstracted, and therefore preserved indefinitely, by print. The belief that they would then be 'stayed […] in time', frozen and immutable, was a response to the fragmentation and decay of the manuscripts that Bale encountered throughout his itineraries. His description of the 'auncient Chronicles' as 'monumentes of lernynge' hints at an understanding of textuality that resembles Horace's enduring *monumentum*: often blurred with 'muniment', a legal document that preserved rights and privileges (from the Latin *mū nī mentum*, fortification), a monument might refer to either a written text or an object.[46] But the term is always laden with a particular set of temporal and material attributes, present in Horace's ode. It was, from its earliest uses, synonymous with 'tombe', and later, with 'Sepulchre, Statue, Pillar, or the like'.[47] Bale's use of the term might, then, be understood as expressive of a desire for old manuscripts to take on, or

[41] See Lotte Hellinga, *Texts in Transit: Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 108-111, 146-47, 420.

[42] Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), esp. 141-44. See also Vine, *In Defiance of Time*, 16-17.

[43] James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite, 'Sir Robert Cotton as Collector of Manuscripts and the Question of Dismemberment: British Library MSS Royal 13 D.I and Cotton Otho D. VIII', *The Library* 6, no. 2 (1992): 94-99.

[44] Michelle P. Brown, 'Sir Robert Cotton, Collector and Connoisseur?', in *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters, Essays in Honour of Jane Backhouse*, ed. by Michelle P. Brown and Scot McKendrick (London: The British Library, 1998), 291-98.

[45] On the malleability of early modern books more broadly see Knight, *Bound to Read* and Adam Smyth, '"Shreds of holinesse": George Herbert, Little Gidding, and Cutting Up Texts in Early Modern England', *ELR* 42, no. 3 (2012): 452-481.

[46] Andrew Hui, *The Poetics of Ruin in Renaissance Literature* (New York: Fordham UP, 2016), 195.

[47] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 218; Edward Phillips, *The New World of English Words* (London: E. Tyler or Nath. Brooke, 1658), CC4r.

even exceed, the fixity and hardiness of a stone effigy or a brass inscription, so that they might preserve and uphold his narrative of England's religious past.

The monastic waste of England's present, however, interrupts and explodes into the *Journey*: it undermines Bale's hopes for transcendent printed texts and a Protestant mythos upheld by complete and accessible Anglo-Saxon histories. Bale, unlike Parker, never actually edited and reproduced an Anglo-Saxon manuscript. His personal library, comprised largely of chronicles, was lost when he fled from Catholic priests in Ireland in 1553, just as Henry VIII's Royal Library, which included manuscripts gathered by Leland, was dispersed after the King's death.[48] The fate of these two libraries suggests the broader vagaries of monastic manuscripts after the dissolution, and demonstrates the vulnerability of paper and parchment objects in the sixteenth century. Bale's own textual output (the *Journey*, *Summarium*, and *Catalogus*) are, above all else, works about lost books and waste fragments.

Bale describes the experience of gathering the material for his *Catalogus*, a work that, like Leland's *De uiris illustribus* and his earlier *Summarium*, would be a list of 'the names of the[m]' who 'hath bene learned and who hath written from tyme to tyme in this realme' (C7v): in addition to seeking out works in the decaying monastic libraries, according to the *Journey*, Bale sought out fragments of manuscripts that had already been sold as waste, and set to work deciphering their textual content. He writes how,

> Among the stacyoners & boke bynders, I found many notable Antiquitees, of whom I wrote out the tytles, tymes, and begynnynges, that we myghte at the leaste shewe the names of them, though we have not as now, their whole works to shewe (G2v-3r).

He goes on to describe his broader experience of waste in Norfolk and Suffolk in the 1540s: how sheets were used, not only as pastedowns, flyleaves, guards, and limp-bindings, but also 'turned to the vse of their grossers, candelmakers[,] sope sellers, and other worldly occupyers', and other such 'office[s] of subjeccyon & vtter conte[m]pte' (G3r-v). These fragments can only produce fragmentary texts: the 'tytles, tymes, and begynnynges', not 'their whole works'. If only, Bale laments, 'ye had their whole workes in dede, as they were in substaunce & fashyon, whyche now for the more part are peryshed, ye shoulde have seane most wonders of all' (H5v).

These works, 'for the more part […] peryshed', were perhaps the leaves of manuscripts catalogued by Bale that are no longer extant, such as Frithegod of Canterbury's *De visione beatorum*, *Contemplationes*, or *Life of Ouen*, or Gerard of Nazareth's *De conversatione*.[49] Their fate

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[48] James P. Carley, 'The Royal Library under Henry VIII', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* vol. 3, eds. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 274-82; Honor McCusker, 'Books and Manuscripts Formerly in the Possession of John Bale', *The Library* 16, no. 2 (1935): 144-65.
[49] Michael Lapidge, 'Frithegod of Canterbury', *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988): 48-49; Andrew Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusaders States* (University Park: Pennsylvania UP, 1995), 18.

resembled that of the fragments of pre-Reformation manuscripts that have been removed from early modern bindings, either by late seventeenth-century antiquarians such as John Bagford, or later medievalists and rare books librarians. Bagford's fragments, held at the British Library, contain a fragment of a ninth-century manuscript of Justinus' *Epitome* which appears to have been trimmed and folded to form the wrapper for a thin booklet, and later bibliographers have discovered numerous other Anglo-Saxon treasures, including a fragment of a ninth-century Bible used as a stiffener in a semi-limp binding, and a fragment of the Metrical Psalms in the twelfth-century Eadwine Psalter.[50] We catch glimpses of these objects in Bale's *Journey*, in and amongst his idealized 'monumentes of lernynge', and, even in these brief passages, they manifest their extended life cycle and oscillating value. They make visible how they moved from monastic text to post-Reformation binding material, but how they might also be salvaged by later collectors and antiquarians.

The monastic waste described in the *Journey*, then, manifests its own history of use and shifting value, rather than its 'redem[ption] […] from dust and byrdfylynges' (C2v). But Bale does more than describe his frustrating encounters with these fragments: he is sensitive to the material biographies visible in waste. In addition to carrying the 'tytles, tymes, and begynnynges' of manuscripts that Bale wishes still survived, the waste fragments of the *Journey* possess figurative significance and provide Bale with a potent set of 'matterphors': Bale considered undiscerning waste practices, as we have already seen, as symptoms of avarice. Prioritizing 'belly ba[n]kettes & table tryu[m]phes' over 'the conservacyon of […] Antiquytees' (B1v-2r), these 'bellygoddes' leave their manuscripts to 'rotte in vyle corners, or drowne them in [their] jakes' (E7r). Found 'amonge wormes and dust' (E7r) in monastic libraries, rotting in private hands or privies, Bale's language highlights the organic nature of the manuscripts, and how, exposed to the elements, they have begun to decay: they are animal skin or pressed vegetable matter turned text turned waste, and are rubbed against the leather of 'boots' and the soap, spices and foodstuffs of the 'grosser's shop'. When turned to 'serve our jakes', they are rubbed instead against skin and excrement (B1r).

Bale describes how 'we abhorre & throwe fourth' our 'noble workes […] as most vyle, noysome matter', regarding them as little as 'y*e* parynges of our nayles' (E7v). By comparing discarded manuscripts with excremental, bodily off-cuts, Bale expresses his disgust at those who incorrectly value ancient texts; the phrase also suggests his sensitivity to the objects that he encountered in binders' and stationers' shops. Strips of parchment, cut up to form guards

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[50] Julia Crick, 'An Anglo-Saxon fragment of Justinus' *Epitome*', *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987): 181-96; Michelle P. Brown, 'A new fragment of a ninth-century English Bible', *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989): 33-43; Patrick P. O'Neill, 'Another Fragment of the Metrical Psalms in the Eadwine Psalter', *Notes and Queries* 233 (1988): 434-36.

perhaps reminded Bale of these bodily trimmings (see, for instance, Figs. 25 and 29). Parchment and fingernails, after all, share a distinctive, milky off-white colour, and both are easily ingrained with dirt. Both are stiff but flexible and might contain traces of other corporeal textures, such as hair, follicles and veins.

These material histories and organic textures are, at the conclusion of the *Journey*, used to colour another narrative frequently contained within Bale's works: he complains that whereas men of old laboured

> to holde thynges in remembraunce, whych otherwyse had most wretchedly peryshed. Our practyses now are […] to destroye their frutefull fou[n]dacyons. […] [W]e in these dayes are as prompte to plucke down (I mean the monumentes of lernynge) as though the worlde were now in hys lattre dottynge age, nygh drawynge to an end (E6v-7r).

The 'fou[n]dacyons' of early modern England and its 'remembraunce' of the past are unstable and under threat after the dispersal of the monastic libraries. They have been corroded because people find it hard to 'hold' fast onto godly 'thynges', and instead abject and expel them as waste. In this construction of history, the 'practyses' of 'pluck[ing]' and pulling apart books takes on an eschatological significance.

As Leslie P. Fairfield has argued, Bale subscribed loosely to a Lutheran religious chronology, espousing a 'general low-key pessimism', a 'sense of senescence and decay, of living at the 'latter end of the world''.[51] Bale's catalogues, including his editorial work on Leland's *De uiris illustribus*, worked to reveal the progression of the 'seven ages of the world', laid out at length in his *Image of Both Churches* (1545) through a chronology of British authors, from apostolic purity to the dawning of an enlightened age with the writings of Wycliffe. The present day was situated well into the sixth and penultimate age, with the seventh and last age fast approaching.[52] The waste 'remnaunt[s]' of monastic manuscripts, familiar to Bale through his search for England's antiquities in binders' shops, as well as more everyday encounters with the wrappers of food, spices, and soap, are employed to make this morbid historiography especially vivid. It seemed reasonable to think that the post-Reformation world was teetering on the brink of destruction: it was full of corruptible things that were, like waste sheets, 'nygh drawynge to an ende'.

Bale's relationship with monastic fragments was, the *Journey* makes clear, a vexed one: the wasting of popish 'dregges' was, from the perspective of a reformer such as Bale, a necessary effect of the Reformation, but his desire to collect and 'stay' a subsection of these 'dyssypated'

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[51] Fairfield, *John Bale*, 75-85.

[52] King, *English Reformation Literature*, 66-67; Fairfield, *John Bale*, 99-120.

manuscripts 'in time' produced two contradictory representations of the objects. They are at once textual monuments, fulfilling Bale's fantasy of reproduction and immutability, and organic objects, progressing along a material history 'in time', characterized by fluctuating assessments of value, and vulnerable to decay.

John Aubrey: Reading Wrack and Ruin

A number of Leland and Bale's near-contemporaries also gathered manuscripts from the dispersed monastic libraries, and an account of early modern encounters with binding waste might limit itself to this lineage of sixteenth-century antiquarians. One of the striking features of monastic waste is, however, its capacity to endure, and so a proper assessment of these objects should seek to account for their manifold afterlives, reaching into the seventeenth century, as well as into contemporary research libraries and collections.

As we have already seen, Anthony Wood read Bale's account of the fates of monastic books carefully and incorporated it into his history of the University of Oxford, a project he worked on from the late 1660s until his death in 1695. Wood was not alone in seeking out evidence of the distant past at this moment: the origins of English 'antiquarianism' are often traced back to the itineraries of Leland in the 1530s, but the nature of antiquarian thought and practice altered radically over the subsequent centuries. By the end of the seventeenth century, Daniel Woolf has argued, antiquarians no longer valued manuscripts, monuments, and inscriptions only for the philological or religious information they might provide.[53] No longer discarding the object after use, as Leland, Bale, and Parker often did, antiquarians now prized antiquities as objects in their own right. Although collection still necessitated selection and disposal, there was a growing emphasis on material preservation, and duplicates were often transferred between networks of scholars. Woolf emphasizes that this was the result of a changing understanding of time: old objects were no longer everyday 'fellow-travelers', the 'casual survivors' of the past. Instead, they were 'out of time': exotic curios, 'intruders on a mental landscape' directed toward innovation and discovery in empirical observation and natural philosophy.[54]

Monastic manuscript waste was one such time-traveler. These objects proved particularly compelling to John Aubrey, Wood's contemporary and collaborator (to put their

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[53] Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the* Past, esp. 141-44. See also Vine, *In Defiance of Time*, 16-17.

[54] Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past*, 12, 141. Woolf's understanding of objects has much in common with Harris' *Untimely Matter*.

relationship in rather generous terms). In fact, Aubrey, despite the chronological distance from which he wrote, was more sensitive to the multiple histories contained within waste manuscripts than any of his contemporaries or predecessors. These imaginative encounters are recorded in an unusual 'Digression' contained within the 1690-91 version of his *Natural History of Wiltshire*, begun in 1656 and copied at the request of the Royal Society.[55] This stands out because in it, old manuscripts are not simply textual sources, but neither are they precisely curios, artefacts out-of-time, warranting a place in the *Wunderkammer* of exotic things.[56] Aubrey views the fragments neither as a vehicle through which to straightforwardly access the past, nor as relics, as Woolf's argument might suggest, from a pre-modern time distinct from his own. Instead, Aubrey reads them as dynamic palimpsests that participate in his own world, but which also contain overlapping layers of history sedimented within their surfaces and folds. From these, he shapes a series of stories that incorporate the past into the present.

'Story-telling' and 'incorporating past into present' were key terms with which the archaeologists Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley worked to 're-construct' and theorize their discipline in the late 1980s.[57] They argued that archaeology records 'a world where experience exists as continuity and flow', and where 'meaning is established by constructing figurations out of successions of events': these narrations gather around the solid stuff of material culture, but objects are not in themselves 'locked' within a 'fixed and unchanging' past, and their meanings are not finite.

Shanks' and Tilley's argument would have made perfect sense to Aubrey, writing in the decades in which archaeological, as well as antiquarian, practice and thought, were changing.[58] His writings show a sensitivity to the temporal continuum inhabited by objects, and how this temporality is characterized by moments of rupture, conflict, and discontinuity. His narrative is not 'coherent' and 'consoling', with a beginning and an end.[59] Instead, he tells a story of his personal encounters with waste things that pre-date him, and will, in some cases, outlast him. He narrates how, over a century and a half, waste fragments moved from the category of transient 'rubbish' to 'durable' artefacts, newly inscribed with ever-increasing aesthetic and

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[55] Aubrey's 'Digression' is reproduced in Yale's 'Of Slips and Scraps', 1-2.

[56] Jonathan Gil Harris, 'The New New Historicism's Wunderkammer of Objects', *European Journal of English Studies* 4, no. 2 (2000): 117.

[57] Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 17-20.

[58] Vine, *In Defiance of Time*, 22-50.

[59] Shanks and Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology*, 19.

financial value.[60] But these fragments always, in Aubrey's 'Digression', remember their previous state and the precariousness of the present. Through them, Aubrey looks back across two centuries of bibliographic turmoil, but this past is neither straightforwardly linear, nor distinct from his present. Recollecting growing up in the decades in which monastic waste was still in widespread use, he structures a miniature biography; a local chronology; and a broader, national history grounded in the nature and shape of fragments in time.

Aubrey begins his narrative with the often-quoted phrase: '[i]n my grandfathers dayes, the Manuscripts flew about like Butterflies'.[61] These were the days of his maternal grandfather, Isaac Lyte (1576-1660), and this makes clear that, as late as the last quarter of the sixteenth century, monastic waste was perceived as ubiquitous, mobile, and ephemeral. At this time, 'All Musick bookes, Account bookes' and 'Copie bookes &c.' were, according to Aubrey's grandfather, 'covered with old Manuscripts. […] And the Glovers at Malmesbury made great Havock of them; and Gloves were wrapt up no doubt in many good pieces of Antiquity'.

Although by the second quarter of the seventeenth century the world no longer brimmed with fluttering fragments, monastic waste was a memorable participant in Aubrey's childhood. He recounts that in 1633, aged seven and a pupil of 'the Latin-Schoole at Yatton-Keynel', it was the 'fashion then […] to save the Forules of their Bookes with a false cover of Parchment sc{ilicet} old Manuscript'. Suggesting that the monastic waste was both a functional practice and a 'fashion' or custom, he credits his childhood self with an appreciation of and detailed attention to these objects. Although 'he was too young to understand' the textual content of the sheets, he 'was pleased with the Elegancy of the Writing and the coloured initiall Letters', perhaps tracing, as we know other readers did, the illuminated letters on the surfaces of their bindings. Aubrey recalls a sensual interaction with the manuscripts, which would prove to be a prominent antecedent for the antiquarian engagements of his adult life.[62]

The school that Aubrey next attended, in the nearby parish of 'Leigh-Delamer', undertook 'the like use of covering Bookes', but 'Blandford-Schoole' in Dorset, which he attended from the age of 12, did not. Although the schoolboys covered their books with 'old

[60] Michael Thompson, *Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value* (London: Pluto Press, 2017), 26-29; John Frow, 'Invidious Distinction: Waste, Difference, and Classy Stuff' in *Culture and Waste: The Creation and Destruction of Value*, ed. by Gay Hawkins and Stephen Muecke (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 35.

[61] Yale explains that, for Aubrey, 'manuscripts' are documents 'written on parchment or vellum before the advent of printing' and 'papers' are 'contemporary 'loose sheets, notes from experiments and observations', 'Of Slips and Scraps', 4.

[62] Kate Bennett, for instance, records how Aubrey removed a parchment 'Cover' (a ninth or tenth century text of Ecclesiasticus) from a contemporary astrological work, inserting it into his manuscript *Monumenta Britannica*. He sought to analyse the manuscript as part of his larger palaeographical project, 'John Aubrey and the Printed Book', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (2013): 94.

Parchments' such as 'Leases &c.', Aubrey 'never saw any thing of a Manuscript there'. This was because 'Here about were no Abbeys or Convents for Men'. The 'Digression', therefore, traces both the longevity and the geographical distribution of monastic waste. In parishes containing and bordering dissolved monasteries, ecclesiastical manuscripts were available for wasting long into the seventeenth century. Elsewhere, as we have seen, waste practices were founded on a more diffuse range of disposable, parchment texts, such as out of date deeds or old letters (see Fig. 5).

Aubrey's local environment brimmed with ecclesiastical estates, 'for within half a dozen miles of this place' were Malmesbury, Stanley, Monkton Farleigh, Bath, and Cirencester Abbeys, along with Bradenstoke Priory. Of these, only Malmesbury and Bath had been adapted for parish use. The others had been 'digged up', plundered for building materials and left to ruin. Stone ruins and malleable manuscript sheets were experientially interconnected, both manifesting, in the words of Margaret Aston, 'the gashes' and 'scars of earlier destruction', shaping, in her formulation, a nostalgic and historically driven 'sense of the past'.[63] Aubrey imaginatively reconstructs these scars, repopulating the library shelves and reading the absent wholes of potentially precious library books into the waste fragments encountered in his schooldays: 'it may be presumed the Library' of Malmesbury Abbey 'was as well furnished with choice Copies, as most Libraries of England', he writes, teasing himself with what-might-have-beens, conjecturing that 'perhaps in this Library we might have found a correct Plinys Naturall History'.

The 'Digression' moves on to delineate local personalities through their encounters with loose parchment pages. He describes the rector of Malmesbury, William Stump, great-grandson of a wealthy clothier who had purchased the site of the Abbey and its neighbouring lands after the dissolution. '[S]everall Manuscripts of the abbey' had passed down the generations of Stumps, surviving for more than a century, stowed away for special use. '[W]hen He brewed a barrel of speciall Ale', Aubrey recalls, 'his use was to stop the bung-hole (under the Clay) with a sheet of Manuscript: He sayd nothing did it so well which me thought did grieve me then to see'. Whereas the young Aubrey relished the luxurious (if faded) shapes and surfaces of waste sheets, Stump appreciated their capacity to mould and fold within a bung-hole whilst remaining relatively water-tight. Although this 'grieve[s]' the grown-up Aubrey, both engagements, ostensibly dissimilar, are rooted in the hapticity of waste.

Stump's sons, we learn, took after their father. In 1647, when Aubrey was 21 years old and civil wars had ravaged the landscape for several years, he returned to the rector's house 'out

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[63] Aston, 'English Ruins and English History', 243.

of curiosity to see his Manuscripts, whereof I had seen some in my Childhood'. They were, however, 'lost, and disperst: His sonns were Gunners, & Soldiers, and scoured their Gunnes with them'. This anecdote is indicative of Aubrey's fluctuation between different scales of storytelling. He intermittently expands from the autobiographical and local to the wider cultural histories contained within waste sheets. Aubrey's description of a secondary 'los[s] and dispers[al]' of manuscripts in the 1640s blurs the religious and political turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. 'Before the late warres', Aubrey writes, 'a World of rare Manuscripts perished here about'. At first glance, he seems to be referring to the relatively recent events of the Civil War, when ecclesiastical buildings and objects underwent a new wave of iconoclastic violence.[64] It is, after all, a critical commonplace to credit the Civil War with shaping Aubrey's antiquarian mindset, lending him an 'acute sense of […] impermanence'.[65] But for Aubrey, the chronology of destruction was not so clear-cut. Although Civil War iconoclasm was primarily directed at the early seventeenth-century 'innovations', in practice it was largely indiscriminate, with late medieval survivals destroyed alongside Laudian introductions. It is unlikely, however, that large numbers of monastic manuscripts survived outside of private hands in the 1640s.[66] Instead, it is probable that 'Before the late warres' refers to a much longer, more vaguely defined stretch of time, reaching backward across a century of dissolutions and reformations from the period of Civil War to the dissolution of the monasteries. Throughout these decades, the old parchment books comprised an inhabitable but gradually shrinking 'World', undergoing repeated acts of dispersal and dismemberment, until, following the violence of the Civil War, the stockpiles of available monastic waste finally dwindled.

The 'Digression' is a multitemporal text. Moving between descriptions of the days of grandfathers, great-grandfathers and his own experiences, Aubrey dips in and out of traditionally discrete events and periods of time. This multitemporality is grounded in the waste objects themselves. As Harris argues, we cannot 'separate time into a linear series of units'. Instead, 'objects collate many different moments'.[67] The manuscript fragments progress through and partially record the decades, accumulating traces and wearing away as they pass through diverse hands and spaces. The sheets' surface layers condense common historiography as they

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[64] Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 84-95.

[65] Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, 276.

[66] Julie Spraggon records several instances of the destruction of 'old books' during the Civil War, for instance, in Peterborough, Lichfield and Winchester in 1642 and 1646 when 'divers larg[e] p[ar]chm[e]nts' were used to make 'Kytes w[i]thall to flie in the Ayre'. These books, however, seem to have been administrative documents, such as charters and parish registers, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge; Boydell Press, 2003), 209, 235.

[67] Harris, *Untimely Matter*, 2-4.

offer up a palimpsest of several centuries, from 'medieval' composition, binding and storage, to dissolution and dispersal, to an indefinite period of fragmentation and wasting. This might include 'Reformation' violence, 'Elizabethan' manuscript butterflies, 'Carolean' school-book bindings, 'Civil War' gun-swabs, as well as 'Restoration' antiquarian practice, and anticipated future preservation or further reuse and disintegration. Far from providing a linear narrative that transitions from dispersal to collection, each fragment tells its own story: at times, this is of loss and ephemerality, at others, of unexpected endurance and survival.

Waste is most likely to endure when it is bound into other books. This category of reuse is particularly future-oriented, suggesting to the sensitive viewer further narratives of collection and archiving. Aubrey reads the same stories that are being told in rare books rooms today, describing how '[o]ne may also perceive by the binding of old Bookes, how the old Manuscripts went to wrack in those dayes'. Shifting to the present tense, Aubrey puns on the violence endured by the manuscripts, eliding the frame on which parchment was stretched with its namesake, the instrument of torture. This observation also echoes a motto, borrowed from Francis Bacon who in turn had borrowed it from the fifteenth-century Italian antiquary Flavio Biondo, that Aubrey employs frequently throughout his writing: *Tanquam tabula naufragii*, 'like planks from a shipwreck'.[68] According to Bacon, 'ANTIQVITIES, or Remnants of History, are, as was said, *tanquam Tabula Naufragii*; when industrious persons by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation out of Monume[n]ts, Names, Wordes, Proverbes, Traditions, Private Recordes, and Evidences, Fragments of stories, Passages of Bookes […] doe save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time'.[69] In this formulation of historical practice, remnants of the past are salvaged by heroic antiquarians who record textual and anecdotal fragments. The fragments are both the salvaged antiquity or object, and the vehicle through which Bacon's object, absent in the final clause, is 'save[d] and recover[ed]' from oblivion.

For Aubrey, binding waste is a type of fragment that can represent all other fragments, as well as a productive emblem of this process of historical salvage: even his own life can be conceived of as a fragment of waste. An instruction in his *Brief Lives*, written on the sheets that contain his short autobiography, describes how they are 'to be interponed [interposed] as a sheet of waste paper only in the binding of a book'.[70] Employing the commonplace modesty topos, Aubrey subordinates his own biography to the multitude of lives he has recorded. But, as we have discovered, far from playing an insignificant part, waste was an active participant in

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[68] Kelsey Jackson Williams, *The Antiquary: John Aubrey's Historical Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2016), 103.

[69] *The tvvoo bookes of Francis Bacon* (London: Thomas Purfoot and Thomas Creed, 1605), CC3r.

[70] John Aubrey, *Brief Lives with An Apparatus for the Lives of our English Mathematical Writers*, 2 vols, ed. by Kate Bennett (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), 1:429.

Aubrey's life. This self-effacing gesture is a concrete metaphor, or 'matterphor': binding waste is preservative stuff, protecting a book's vulnerable pages from friction and oblivion. This role can be striking, for instance, when wastepaper or parchment binds a chronicle or history book: the Huntington's copy of Polydore Vergil's *De Inventoribus Rerum*, a history of inventions, beginnings, and creations, is bound with an illuminated manuscript that might manifest, to a sensitive user, a series of religious and historical endings (see Fig. 32). What is even more striking is the text's colophon: it describes how the book, bound in monastic waste, was 'Imprinted […] VVithin the precinct of the late dissolued house of the Grey Friars', by Richard Grafton, eight years after the event. This object, then, carries traces of multiple times, and manifests the ways in which past events have shaped its production and its material parts. But the waste, like the Greyfriars' house, also endures alongside the 'present' (the book of beginnings) that it encompasses, and it provides a vehicle and a 'guard' for its continued preservation in the future.

Fig. 32: Fragments of an illuminated manuscript used as guards, with leaves of Matthew's Gospel as flyleaves, in the binding of Polydore Vergil, *De inventoribus rerum* (London: VVithin the precincte of the late dissolued house of the Grey Friars, by Richard Grafton [1546]), Durham Library, Cosin 69747.

Aubrey's own biography, his rhetorical gesture suggests, follows the pattern of a protective wrapper: although apparently humble and peripheral, waste ensures that other things, names, and stories survive. This is exactly what Aubrey sought to do. Characteristically humble,

Aubrey described himself as a 'wheatstone', only useful for sharpening the wit of others, and his works as 'only Umbrages' and 'ruines'.[71] But it was Aubrey and his scattered papers that, like fragments and waste sheets, shored up the past against the 'deluge of time'.

Binding waste can be more than the vehicle for survival: it is often the object that is prized for having survived. As Kate Bennett suggests, the note might in fact be a literal instruction, as Aubrey stored valuable manuscript sheets and papers within his books.[72] In his 1658 *Hydriotaphia, or Urne-Buriall* Aubrey's contemporary and correspondent Thomas Browne describes how 'Time, which antiquates Antiquities, hath an art to make dust of all things'.[73] Meditating on a group of Roman burial urns, recently uncovered in Norfolk and mistakenly identified as Anglo-Saxon in origin, Browne elegiacally describes how 'Time [...] hath yet spared these minor Monuments'. These containers, full of dust and 'humane fragments', survive whereas funeral monuments, made of stone and brass, do not.[74] He continues: 'In vain we hope to be known by open and visible conservatories, when to be unknown was the means of their continuation and obscurity their protection'.[75] In another reworking of the Horatian topos of monumentality, Browne deflates the 'perpetuity' offered by 'bare Inscriptions' and 'Aenigmaticall Epithetes', mostly rubbed away by time and 'studied by Antiquaries'. Both texts and material monuments are fleeting, and 'duration [...] maketh Pyramids pillars of snow, and all that's past a moment'.[76]

The contents of books, like the contents of Browne's urns, often survive *because* they are hidden and obscure. Apparently trivial and unimportant, monastic waste might unexpectedly endure because it has been pasted or stitched into a binding: they are, in Aubrey's imagination, like the flotsam of a shipwreck. Borrowing again from Bacon, they are 'as planes and lighter things': they 'swimme, and are preserved, where the more weighty since are lost. [...] In like manner is it with matters of Antiquitie'.[77] It is in this way that waste fragments might become the only, and therefore most important, survivals of a lost past.

Furthermore, the fragments are not as silent as Browne's account might imply. Browne's 'sad and sepulchral Pitchers [...] have no joyful voices', and instead sit 'silently expressing old mortality, the ruines of forgotten times', 'only' telling 'how long in this corruptible frame, some

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[71] Aubrey, *Brief Lives,* 1:433-34.
[72] Ibid., 1:393-94.
[73] Thomas Browne, *Hydriotaphia, urne-buriall* (London: for Hen. Brome, 1658), 24.
[74] Ibid., 3.
[75] Ibid., 24.
[76] Ibid., 73-75.
[77] Aubrey, *Brief Lives,* 2:761.

parts may be uncorrupted'.[78] But muteness and lack of legible text does not preclude narrative or meaningfulness: mortality, ruin, and corruption are in themselves trajectories frequently traced in the early modern period, as we have seen in the work of Bale. Furthermore, Aubrey's 'minor Monuments' are not, like Browne's, from a 'forgotten time'. Instead, they are things with which Aubrey shapes a palimpsestic narrative of the last century and a half, partly from the objects themselves, partly from personal and recorded memories of them, and with which he fashions his own antiquarian identity. Waste fragments are, for Aubrey, more than a source of historical knowledge or an exotic curio to collect and display: they structure a sensitive understanding of how objects manifest multiple moments, and provide a model through which to conceive of one's own relationship to the passage of time and the remnants it leaves behind.

Conclusion

Situating the descriptions of dispersed and repurposed manuscripts in *The Laboryouse Journey* and Aubrey's 'Digression' side by side does more than demonstrate the longevity of monastic waste. It also makes clear that the widespread handling of parchment waste provoked a series of generative imaginings across the period. These were grounded in the ways in which waste fragments recorded historical moments and processes in their surfaces and layers, and how these material records of time can be used to prop up certain narratives. These narratives are always, we should remember, accompanied by their concrete counterparts. Where Bale's narrative of a triumphant recovery of knowledge and nationhood falters in the face of the fragments, an eschatological account of corporeal corruption and entropy emerges in its place. Aubrey, separated from the dissolution by more than a century, is not as deeply invested in the period's religious and political agendas as Bale, and so did not work to overwrite the fragmentary nature of the dispersed manuscripts. Instead, he meditates on them, in a metamaterial turn, as representatives of the relationship between objects and time more generally: how they might serve as emblems for antiquarian practice, or the identity of an antiquarian, and how they might salvage objects that were, in certain moments, both ephemeral and enduring. However dissimilar their interpretive frameworks, these two texts demonstrate that waste fragments were both commonplace and meaningful: whether bound in books or fluttering like butterflies through the early modern landscape, monastic waste provoked serious imaginative work during and after the dissolution.

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[78] Browne, *Hydriotaphia*, A2r-v.

CHAPTER 3

NASHE'S PAPER: 'WASTFULLY DISPERST'

Thomas Nashe was captivated by wastepaper: no other literature of the period is so imbued with this transformative substance. Throughout Nashe's writings, books are described as on the brink of being disassembled and repurposed. These tropes are most thickly clustered in his attacks on other authors: on '*Segnior Penry*' (the pseudonymous Martin Marprelate) and his 'last waste paper'; on the 'crazed quaterzayns' and bad verses 'bequeath[ed] […] to the Chaundlers'; and, most commonly of all, on the pamphlets of the Harvey brothers.[1] Gabriel Harvey's books are imagined as wrapping 'tow' and 'Sope', 'massacred' as 'Chandlers merchandize', 'wrapp[ing] the excrements of huswiuerie', and, by 'manie cholericke Cookes […] dismembred' and 'thrust […] piping hot into the ouen vnder the bottomes of dowsets [a pastry case filled with custard or meat]'. These cooks 'impiously prickt the torne sheetes of it for basting paper', wrapping them around 'the outsides of Geese and roasting Beefe, to keepe them from burning'.[2] Richard Harvey's book is torn apart by Nashe, who 'could not refraine, but bequeath it to the Priuie, leafe by leafe as [he] read it'.[3] On occasion, Nashe deploys the wastepaper trope modestly in dedications to patrons, such as Henry Wriothsley, Earl of Southampton, or Elizabeth Carey, daughter of Sir George Carey.[4] Nashe also, in his most extended and intriguing references to the material, bequeaths his own books as gifts for the reader to play with and repurpose at will.

At first glance, this seems like a chaotic miscellany of references to wastepaper, deployed haphazardly depending on the context. But, on closer inspection, the trajectory of Nashe's wastepaper play reveals a complex and extended negotiation of literary production. This chapter argues that in Nashe's writing, wastepaper is the foundation for a peculiar poetics of composition and consumption. This poetics hinges on the plague-ridden summer of 1593, when London brimmed with sheets of loose paper and infectious air. How a book is handled in the latter stages of its life cycle (how its pages are folded, opened, and dispersed) comes, for Nashe, to structure a morally virtuous and materially prodigal textual encounter. This chapter pushes Nashe's paperiness to the forefront, bringing Nashe's attention to the potential wasting of paper and the imaginative potential of wastepaper to bear on the influential critical evaluation of Nashe as an archetype of the prodigal writer.

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[1] Thomas Nashe, *An Almond for a Parrat* ([London?]: [Eliot's Court Press?], [1590]), E3v; Nashe's 'Preface' to Philip Sidney, *Syr P.S. His Astrophel and Stella* (London: [John Charlewood] for Thomas Newman, 1591), A3v.

[2] Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse* (London: Abell Ieffes for Iohn Busbie, 1592), D4v; Thomas Nashe, *Strange Newes* ([London]: [J. Danter], 1592), B4v, G3v; Thomas Nashe, *Haue VVith You to Saffron-VValden* (London: Iohn Danter, 1596), C1r.

[3] Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse,* E1v.

[4] Nashe, *The Vnfortunate Traueller* (London: Thomas Scarlet for Cuthbert Burby, 1594), A2v; Thomas Nashe, *Christs Teares Ouer Ierusalem* (London: Iames Roberts to be sold by Andrew Wise, 1593), *2r. References are to this edition, unless stated otherwise.

I begin by emphasising the importance of paper in Nashe's career, seeking to revise the critical consensus that Nashe is, above all else, concerned with print. From this revised starting point, I move on to consider how the literary and economic discourses of the late sixteenth century impacted on Nashe's understanding of the materials and products of writing: in particular, the Martin Marprelate controversy and anxieties surrounding the importation of foreign goods inflected Nashe's approach to both waste and paper. Then, after considering the interconnectedness of paper and plague in London in the summer of 1593, I outline how *The Vnfortunate Traueller* and *Christs Teares Ouer Ierusalem* offer the reader a concoction of literary and medical theory in which ripping up books provides an unexpected curative for plague. The chapter concludes with a comparison of Gabriel Harvey's and Nashe's kinaesthetics of composition, as rendered in Nashe's writing: Harvey's apparent attempts to 'pickle' and preserve his untimely texts have unfavourable results; in contrast, Nashe surrenders his work to 'wastful dispers[al]' and ephemerality, in productive and generative ways.

Paper, Print, and Nashe Scholarship

A number of scholars have touched upon Nashe's fixation with repurposed pages, but these tend to be brief asides in studies otherwise concerned with the 'physicality' of Nashe's style or his concern with 'the degradation of the marketplace'.[5] They do not dwell at any length on the details of contemporary wastepaper practices or the wider literary context of the trope. This often leads to misunderstandings and generalisations: *how* and *why* does Nashe's use of the wastepaper trope 'shamelessly draw attention to the potential debasement of printed text'?[6] Is there nothing more to the repurposing of pages than a 'scatalogical descent' or a 'demeaning passage through material reality'. Is Nashe's wastepaper straightforwardly symptomatic of the disturbing copiousness of printed books?[7]

Jason Scott-Warren's deft introduction to 'Nashe's Stuff' provides a useful frame through which to think about wastepaper in more detail: pages participate in Nashe's 'ever-proliferating and often absurdly incoherent assemblages' and, like clothing, are central to his 'dialectic of poverty and recycling' and what Nashe presents as the 'fundamental mouldiness' of

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[5] See, for instance, Chloe Chen, 'Pamphlets and Body-Related Metaphors in Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* and *Strange Newes*', *Literature Compass* 3, no. 2 (2006): 110. Chen confuses wasting paper ('the threat that the book will degrade into raw material') with a reversion to 'old, plain paper'; Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 96.

[6] Georgia Brown, *Redefining Elizabethan Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 53.

[7] Brown, *Redefining Elizabethan Literature*, 55; Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, 96.

literary creativity.[8] On closer inspection, however, wastepaper emerges as more than stuff 'which matters because it is matter, rather than because it is any kind of matter': rather than being one element in a homogenous mass of 'failures and also-rans', wastepaper provides Nashe with a unique vehicle through which to conceptualize literary production. For Nashe, early modern acts and etymologies of waste conjoin with the life cycle of a book's pages to stimulate a highly developed poetics of paper.

My reading of Nashe's works takes issue with the assumption that Nashe is 'a creature of print', doggedly writing about and bound by the opportunities and limitations of this not-so-new technology.[9] This is a mantle Nashe takes on at times, situating himself explicitly within or close to the printing house and the neighbourhood of St. Paul's; these affiliations are, however, too often taken at face value or overstated. Julian Yates' reading of *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, for instance, argues that the preface 'to the dapper Mounsier Pages of the Court' is a product of Nashe's 'engagement with print'.[10] I will discuss Yate's reading of this preface in more detail below, but I want now to suggest that *The Vnfortunate Traueller* is not simply concerned with making visible 'the absent labor of the print shop', which, according to Yates, was not yet 'naturalized as a transparent medium' in Nashe's England.[11] Yates's reading does not convincingly demonstrate the relationship between the text and the printing house. Instead, he offers tangential parallels: Jack Wilton, 'resting his identity' upon Surrey is '*like* the print shop's beater or puller', 'subsumed into the identity of the Master-Printer'; the 'summer banqueting house' and mechanized garden in Rome are '*like* the printed page' because of their two-dimensionality and 'geometry that works "farre off" rather than up close' (my emphasis).[12] Although print is a concern within *The Vnfortunate Traueller* and its preface, it is not all-encompassing. Yates seeks an underlying narrative centered around print technology because he assumes one will be found there: because, after all, 'critics have long remarked that Nashe's idiosyncrasies are an effect of print'.[13]

To avoid these interpretive pitfalls, we need to keep in mind Nashe's engagement with manuscript, not least in his manuscript compositions, including *The Choise of Valentines Or the Merie Ballad of Nash His Dildo* (1590-2?). Many others of Nashe's manuscripts may be lost or

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[8] Jason Scott-Warren, 'Nashe's Stuff', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500-1640* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 204-218.

[9] Julian Yates, *Error, Misuse, Failure: Object Lessons from the English Renaissance* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2003), 103; David J. Baker, *On Demand: Writing for the Market in Early Modern England* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2010), 36; Jonathan V. Crewe, *Unredeemed Rhetoric: Thomas Nashe and the Scandal of Authorship* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1982), 70.

[10] Yates, *Error, Misuse, Failure*, 116.

[11] Ibid., 106-109, 103.

[12] Ibid., 122, 129.

[13] Ibid., 103.

unidentified. As early as 1592, Nashe bragged that he has 'written in all sorts of humors priuately […] more than any yoong man of [his] age in England', and, in *Haue VVith You to Saffron-VValden* he hints at the production of youthful '*baudie* rimes' and verses set to music, 'amorous *Villanellas* and *Quipassas*' for 'new-fangled *Galiardos*, and *Senior Fantasticos*' – men who follow new Italianate fashions.[14] Nashe's mouthpiece, 'Piers Respondent', describes how for 'three yeres' prior to the publication of *Haue VVith You*, Nashe has 'got nothing by Printing'.[15] This 1593-1596 hiatus presents a problem for scholars who claim that Nashe was an author bound imaginatively, if not financially, to the printing press.[16]

We should add to these 'priuate' poems pamphlets that circulated in manuscript prior to printing. Probably composed in the winter of 1592-3, *The Terrors of the Night* was, its author claims, 'wrested' from him and 'progressed from one scriueners shop to another' before it was entered into the Stationers' Register on June 30, 1593; *Haue VVith You*, he tells us, was 'abroad with his Keeper' for a 'quarter of this yeare' as a manuscript, seeking support from authors such as Lyly in its attack on Gabriel Harvey.[17] These may be versions of the trope in which authors insisted upon their reluctance to print, but the cumulative picture is of a lively awareness of the scriveners' trade. Nashe's approach to manuscripts was mercenary: he circulated handwritten copies but also highlighted their flaws in print when it suited him. Nashe describes the manuscript of Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, for instance, as 'spred abroade in written Coppies', having 'gathered much corruption', prior to the unlicensed edition to which Nashe contributed in 1591.[18] Furthermore, lengthy periods spent at the houses of patrons such as Sir George Carey and in the literary circles of London would have given Nashe access to a range of manuscript compositions: this exchange of papers, ideas and 'amorous' poems was no doubt the inspiration for (or target of) the parodic 'extemporall Dittie[s]' and assaulting 'rimes' spoken by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and his page and printed in *The Vnfortunate Traueller*.[19]

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[14] Nashe, *Strange Newes*, K3r; *Haue VVith You*, V1v, E4v. The Villanella is a part-song form imported from Italy in the sixteenth century. A Quipassa (also Chi or Che Passa) is an 'antic' setting for instruments and a dance that resembled the Galliard. See Julia Craig-McFeely, 'English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes, 1530-1630' (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1994) http://www.ramesescats.co.uk/thesis/.

[15] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, T4v. A number of Nashe's works were printed in 1594, but were largely composed the previous year. See pp. 160-61 below.

[16] Katherine Duncan-Jones describes how 'Thomas Nashe was known to his contemporaries as a prolific writer in manuscript as well as in print', arguing that '[i]t should not be doubted' that Nashe had written 'a work or works in manuscript' for his patrons the Carey family. See 'Thomas Nashe and William Cotton: Parallel Letters, Parallel Lives', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 19, no. 1 (2016): 1 and '*Christs Teares*, Nashe's "Forsaken Extremities"', *The Review of English Studies* 49, no. 194 (1998): 178-79.

[17] Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night* (London: Iohn Danter for William Iones, 1594), A2v. For details of the publication history of *Terrors*, see *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. by Ronald B. McKerrow and rev. by F.P. Wilson, 5 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958), 4:197; Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, E4r.

[18] Nashe, 'Preface' to Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, A2v-A3r.

[19] Nashe, *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, F4v; G4r.

We can also be certain that Nashe composed letters. Only one letter is known to survive in Nashe's hand, but these ephemeral objects shaped Nashe's approach to a wider range of textual objects: both *An Almond for a Parrat* and *Strange Newes* are described as 'intercept[ed] […] letters' and 'papers'. The vulnerability and vagaries of these imaginary pages provide Nashe with an analogue for the fate of Gabriel Harvey's book: it goes '*priuilie to victuall the Low Countries*', serving as toilet paper, or is 'deliuered to Megge Curtis in Shorditch to stop mustard pots'.[20] Old letters were, as Nashe playfully suggests, not likely to survive. Although, unlike more durable parchment documents, letters are not extant in a large number of book bindings, it seems likely that they were often turned to waste: David Drummond's edition of William Guild's *An Answer To a Popish Pamphlet* (1656) contains a pastedown and flyleaves from a contemporary manuscript which perhaps includes a rough draft of a letter (see Fig. 33).

Nashe's involvement in the early modern theatre would also have exposed him to a range of paper objects unfamiliar to us today: the 'scurvy *Prologue*' most likely brought on stage by Will Sommers as part-prop, part-script in *Summers Last Will and Testament* is one of many loose sheets that circulated along with actor's parts and songs during a play's performance and rehearsal.[21] Furthermore, although we can attribute few surviving plays, scenes or speeches to Nashe with any certainty, we can be sure that Nashe was involved in the production of the messy, piecemeal 'foul papers' that, scholars are increasingly recognising, typified the period's collaborative play scripts.[22]

I do not want to suggest that print was not important to Nashe. The technology of print and the marketplace that evolved alongside it are at stake in Nashe's writing: the majority of the wastepaper he describes is, after all, taken from unsold and unwanted printed books. I want instead to widen our focus, positioning print as one of many paper-based processes that shaped Nashe's thinking. For Nashe, books and texts are not just printed things: printed texts sit alongside private and quasi-private manuscripts, loose notes and letters. Nashe is unusually alert to the multiple modes and life cycles of these papers, returning again and again to their shared basis in organic matter and tendency toward waste, dispersal and decay.

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[20] Nashe, *Almond*, A4v; *Strange Newes*, B4v. This surviving letter, addressed to William Cotton after the death of his patron Henry Carey, is transcribed and reproduced in facsimile in McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 4:192-96 and frontispiece. On the materials and materialized thought of epistolary culture, see James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

[21] Thomas Nashe, *A Pleasant Comedie, called Summers Last Will and Testament* (London: Simon Stafford for Walter Burre, 1600), B1v. See Alan Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), esp. 39-74.

[22] See Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Page to Stage* (London: Routledge, 2004), 137-142 for detail on the surviving manuscript fragment of *Sir Thomas More* and on parts more generally. In addition to *Summers Last Will and Testament* (1592), Nashe collaborated with Ben Jonson on the lost *Isle of Dogs* (1597), and is credited on the 1594 title page of *The Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage*. He is often cited as a contributor to *The First Part of King Henry VI* (1592).
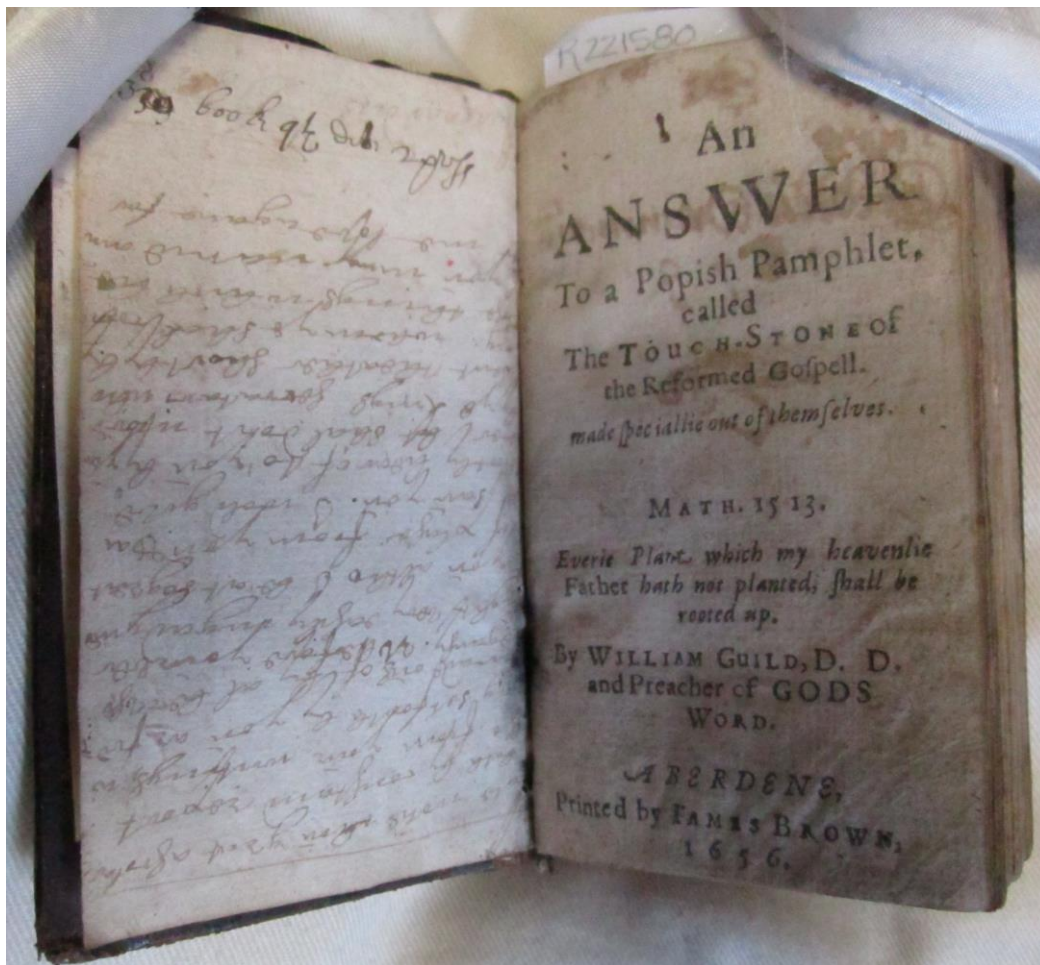
Fig. 33: Seventeenth-century manuscript used as a pastedown and flyleaves in William Guild, *An Answer To a Popish Pamphlet called The Touch-Stone of the Reformed Gospell* (Aberdene: James Brown, 1656), bearing fragments of phrases such as 'is ye desaird yt give you by letter …' and 'report | so from your writings, is set forth by you', Innerpeffray, H10.

Discourses of Waste in Late Sixteenth-Century England

We can conclude, then, that Nashe's life, like Nashe's London, was full of paper objects. But paper was not neutral stuff in late sixteenth-century England: Nashe's manuscripts, letters, and printed books were already situated within a number of emergent and prevailing discourses. Two of these, I want to argue, were particularly important to Nashe's paper thought. The Martin Marprelate tracts suggested new ways of thinking about the materials of writing, while white paper was coloured by contemporary anxieties surrounding the consumption and importation of foreign goods. These literary and economic concerns shaped Nashe's understanding of paper as both an object to be wasted, and a waste object to be used.

The Martin Marprelate tracts radically altered the terms of religious debate and the sense of what printed objects should and could be in the late 1580s.[23] This textual guerrilla warfare, waged by a Puritan collective pseudonymously known as Martin Marprelate, forced the religious authorities to reconsider how best to address and engage readers. Were large, scholarly tomes really the best vehicle? Or might small, chatty, salacious, and rapidly produced pamphlets better capture the imagination of the reader? After a brief flirtation with meeting Martin on his own terms in pamphlets, jigs, and interludes, to which Nashe contributed the slightly belated *An Almond for a Parrat* in 1590, the religious establishment concluded that no such popular site for religious debate should exist. In November 1589, the authorities' patronage of the scurrilous response to the Martin Marprelate tracts drew to a close.[24]

The enduring influence of the controversy on the work of Nashe has been widely noted. The 'spontaneously conversational (or, on occasion, ranting) brilliance' of Martin's prose style is credited with enlivening Nashe's own syntax and textual voice, transforming the young author of the stilted and conventional *Anatomie of Absurditie* (1590) into the creator of vivid personas, such as the part-preacher, part-clown Pierce Penilesse.[25] As Neil Rhodes argues, Nashe's involvement in the controversy allowed him to 'practice new writing strategies' with the backing of the establishment.[26] In addition to oral techniques such as jokes, anecdotes, idioms, ballads, and may-games, borrowed from 'popular culture', Nashe found in Martin the source for an imaginative and flexible take on the conventions of print: the margins of his pages, for instance, became a space for interruption and play, rather than the site of scholarly glosses and citations.

I want to add to this list another strategy that Nashe borrowed from the Marprelate tracts: an emphasis on the physical dimensions of the book, and a fixation upon the quantity and quality of the materials of writing. In the 1588 epistle, Martin highlights the immense size and weight of John Bridges' *Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England for Ecclesiastical Matters* (1587), the textual manifestation of what the Puritan controversialists saw as 'popish' in the Church of England. 'The Epistle & the preface' of Bridges' work is sarcastically described as being 'not aboue 8. sheets of paper and very little vnder 7.', and the book as a

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[23] See *The Martin Marprelate Tracts, A Modernized and Annotated Edition*, ed. by Joseph L. Black (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), esp. lvi-cxii.
[24] Patrick Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 81-82; Joseph Black, 'The Rhetoric of Reaction: The Martin Marprelate Tracts (1588-89), Anti-Martinism, and the Uses of Print in Early Modern England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997): 707-725.
[25] Travis L. Summersgill, 'The Influence of the Marprelate Controversy Upon the Style of Thomas Nashe', *Studies in Philology* 48, no. 2 (1951): 160; Nashe, *Haue with you*, F1v.
[26] Neil Rhodes, 'On Speech, Print, and New Media: Thomas Nashe and Marshall McLuhan', *Oral Tradition* 24, no. 2 (2009), doi:10.1353/ort.0.0036; Jesse M. Lander, 'Martin Marprelate and the Fugitive Text', *Reformation* 7 (2002): 135-185.

whole adds up to 'an hundred threescore and twelue sheets of good Demie paper'.[27] This bulk becomes ridiculous: Bridges 'daube[s]' so much 'paper' that his text is 'very briefely comprehended in a portable booke if your horse be not too weake'. Demy paper was one of the largest paper sizes (c.380 x 500mm), with pot paper being the smallest (c.305 by 400mm).[28] Although the terms refer to the size rather than quality of the sheet, Martin suggests that Bridges' over-large book consumes too many large, expensive, and good quality sheets. Martin's own texts, however, are appropriately small, brief and extremely portable: hurriedly produced as the group of authors and printers moved between safe houses, they waste neither large sheets of good paper or hours in the printing house. In fact, all are printed on bad quality paper, and the quality of printing noticeably declines in the later tracts (see Fig. 34).[29] These material contexts are transformed within the text into material virtues and become part of Martin's nimble and potent persona.
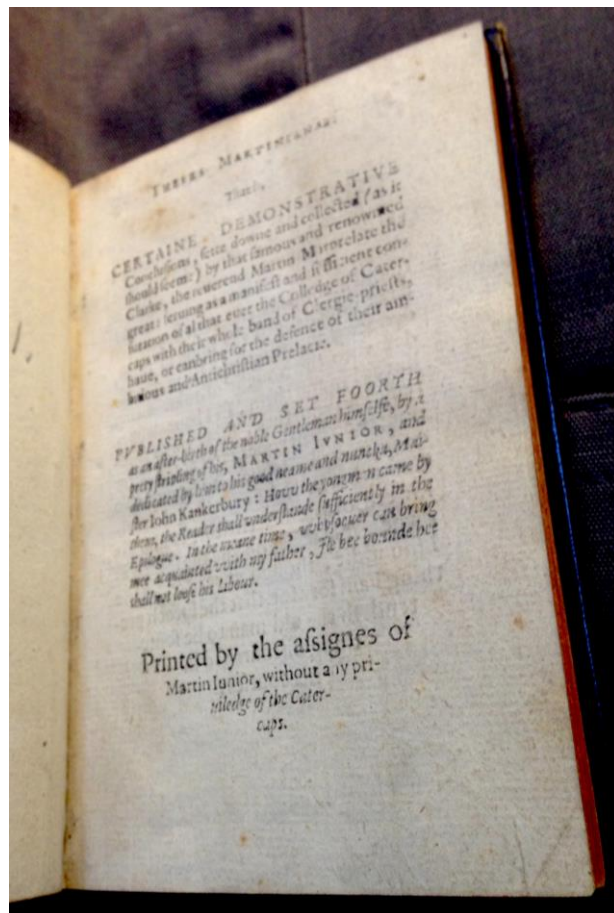
Fig. 34: Title page of *Theses Martinianae* ([Wolston, Warks]: [John Hodgkins], 1589), British Library, C.36.b.21.

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[27] Martin Marprelate, *Oh Read Ouer D. Iohn Bridges* ([Fawsley, Northants.]: [Robert Waldegrave, 1588]), B1r.

[28] Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), 25.

[29] Cyndia Susan Clegg, 'The Authority and Subversiveness of Print in Early-Modern Europe', in *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. by Leslie Howsam (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015), 135.

Nashe characterizes his relationship with Gabriel Harvey in very similar terms. In the second edition of *Christs teares*, Nashe describes Harvey's 1593 *Pierces Supererogation* as '[s]ixe and thirtie sheets of mustard-pot paper' lately 'published against me'.[30] 'Sixe and thirtie' is a good approximation of the length of Harvey's work: by comparison Nashe's longest work, *Christs Teares*, is twenty-three sheets long. *Strange Newes*, the text to which Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation* responded, is only eleven sheets. Nashe, like Martin, highlights the length of an opponent's book with comic precision. But whereas Bridges wastes good demy paper, Harvey's paper is retroactively defined by its projected waste fate: it is 'mustard-pot paper', a class dreamt up by Nashe that puns on 'pot paper', the most common category of paper for early modern English manuscripts and printed books.

Pot was not any worse in quality than other classes of white paper, but, as the smallest, it was the cheapest. It also came to be associated, primarily through word play, with 'pot-poets': bad writers who were inspired by or paid in alcohol, whose 'invention as the Barrell, ebs and flowes at the mercy of the piggot' and 'the Printer maintaines […] in Ale.'[31] Katharine A. Craik has argued that John Taylor worked to ennoble this maligned category of paper and poetry: Taylor describes a topsy-turvy world in which cheap paper is made from noble rags, 'the torne shirt of a Lords or Kings', although this satirical inversion of the mechanics of papermaking perhaps indicates a less than straightforward defense of the stuff.[32] Pot paper continued to be associated with scurrilous verse and boozy authorship throughout the period: in *The Nice Valour*, Middleton's Lepet complains that his book has been printed 'upon pot-paper […] | Which had been proper for some drunken pamphlet'.[33] Nashe, therefore, casts aspersions on Harvey's literary ability, social status, and respectability whilst projecting the future fate of his book: the class of paper it is printed on melds with the function the paper will eventually fulfill, 'wip[ing]' the 'mouthe[s]' of 'Chandlers Mustard pots', as Nashe writes elsewhere in *Pierce Penilesse*.[34] Multiple points in the life cycle of a page condense in one loaded phrase: the paper is already, in the moment of publication, the waste object it will become.

A few years later, in 1596, Nashe again borrowed from Martin. *Haue VVith You* is another assault on *Pierces Supererogation*. Keeping up the pretense that their pamphlet war is in

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[30] Thomas Nashe, *Christs Teares Ouer Ierusalem* (London: [James Roberts and R. Field] for Andrew VVise, 1594), **1r.

[31] John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie* (London: William Stansby for Edward Blount, 1628), E9r-v.

[32] Katharine Craik, 'John Taylor's Pot-Poetry', *The Seventeenth Century* 20, no. 2 (2003): 185-203.

[33] *The Nice Valour: Or, The Passionate Mad-man*, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works,* ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 4.1.245. In this edition, 'pot paper' has been inaccurately glossed as 'poor quality paper'.

[34] Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, D3r.

fact an exchange of letters, Nashe imagines a scene in which the reader receives Harvey's 'packet of Epistling, as bigge as a Packe of Woollen cloth, or stack of salt-fish'. The reader addresses the carrier: 'didn't thou bring it by wayne [a large wagon], or on horse-backe?' The carrier replies: 'By wayne sir, & it hath crackt me three axeltrees', to which the reader responds, '*Heauie* newes, *heauie* newes, take them againe, I will never open them'.[35] Whereas Bridges' bulky text weighs down a horse, Harvey's breaks the wheels of a horse-drawn wagon; just as Bridges 'daubs' tremendous quantities of paper, Harvey is elsewhere described as 'a lumpish leaden heeld dawber' whose lengthy texts are made heavy by an excess of paper, poorly applied ink, and a ponderous style.[36]

Martin Marprelate, then, supplied Nashe with a number of physical insults he deployed throughout his career. The model of a quick-witted, nimble, and spontaneous writer skillfully disassembling the over-long and materially wasteful work of a stuffy and conventional elder was influential for Nashe, even though the similarity between his and Martin's texts was entirely rhetorical: Nashe's books, unlike Martin's, are skillfully printed and on good paper (see Fig. 35).
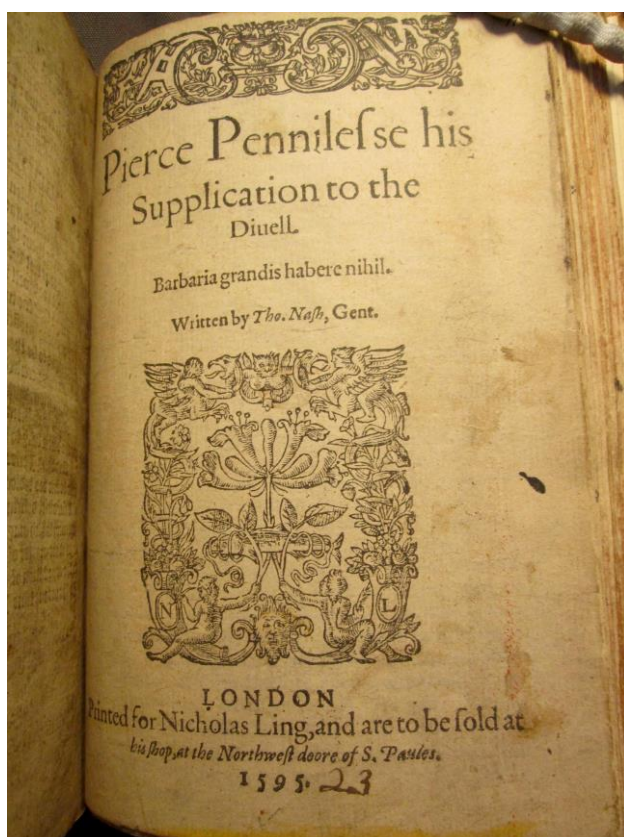
Fig. 35: Title page of Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Diuell* (London: T[homas] C[reede] for Nicholas Ling, 1595), British Library, 96.b.15.(11.).

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[35] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, F1r-v.
[36] Nashe, *Strange Newes*, K4r

Nashe does add an extra dimension to Martin's preoccupation with the number and quality of a book's pages: he portrays the book as an object that progresses through a life cycle, moving from pot paper to mustard-pot paper. The paper that Nashe describes or draws attention to is always under threat of being torn up and turned to base ends; but this trajectory is rarely straightforward or linear. The books he describes are often categorized as wastepaper even as they are in the process of being written or read: Martin's most recent pamphlet is described, in *An Almond for a Parrat*, as his 'last waste paper', and badly written books are labelled, in both the moment of composition and consumption, as 'waste paper […] wel[l] viewed' or 'walk[ing] abroad in each seruing mans pocket'.[37] This temporal telescoping is a persistent feature of Nashe's references to wastepaper. Found in his earliest works, the temporally muddled insult is grounded in two interrelated ideas: it assumes that bad books are pre-destined to become waste, and so can be pre-emptively labelled as such. Secondly, it condenses wasteful acts, like those described by Martin, with the waste objects they so often become.

Nashe frequently refers to the excessive consumption of writing materials, satirizing authors guilty of verbosity and wastage throughout his works: in the *Anatomie*, Nashe describes how certain writers 'dispense of so much paper', using 'whole quires' in 'pretending […] to anatomize abuses'; Martin Marprelate 'the pistle-monger' covers 'whole reames of paper' with ink, plodding through 'ten cart loade[s]' of the stuff, and is the 'death of ten thousand pound of candels' in the process.[38] Nashe, of course, does the exact same thing: he asks, 'should I spend my yncke' and 'waste my paper?' and claims that his printed attacks on Gabriel Harvey will 'make a dearth of paper in Pater-noster-rowe'.[39] The notorious pamphlet war between the two 'drink[s] some inck' and 'prodigally dispend[s] manie Pages, that might haue been better employd'.[40] The reader is left with the sense that *all* writing, or at least the sort of writing that Nashe participates in, wastes paper and ink. This frequent return to the consumption of the materials of writing might explain why Nashe is so fixated with the transformations and trajectories of wastepaper.

The 'prodigal dispen[sation]' of material resources was a pressing concern in late sixteenth-century England: from the middle of the century, there were growing anxieties regarding English trade.[41] For a number of decades, England had been exporting its raw

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[37] Nashe, *Almond*, B1v, D2r; Nashe, *Anatomie*, B2r; Thomas Nashe, 'To the Gentlemen Students of Both Universities', in Robert Greene, *Menaphon* (London: Valintine Simmes for Nicholas Ling, 1599), **2r.
[38] Nashe, *Anatomie*, A2v.
[39] Nashe, *Anatomie*, A4r; Nashe, *Strange Newes*, I4r;
[40] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, I2r.
[41] See Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), esp. 8-9.

materials and importing luxury wares made from the very same stuff: one pertinent example is the exportation of rags and the importation of expensive French or Italian white paper.[42] This meant a loss of work for English craftsmen and an emptying of English coffers. The government sought to protect national interests, making, for instance, the consumption of fish and the wearing of locally produced wool compulsory at certain times and for certain sectors of the population. Monopolies and patents were granted to projects that sought to maximize production and profit from the dregs and offcuts of other industries: trimmings of English leather would no longer, it was hoped, be sold abroad and re-imported as expensive Spanish gloves.[43]

Lorna Hutson, in her influential *Nashe in Context*, argues that this protective economic policy shaped the literature that was produced in the period. She describes how sermons and moralistic pamphlets moved from attacking avarice and greed to emphasising the moral duty of appropriate consumption and thrift. The English people were encouraged to purchase, wear out and use up stuff, but only English stuff. The vexed space between consuming and not consuming too much coloured literary discourse: Hutson, influenced by Richard Helgerson, argues that by the 1570s and 80s authors had begun to fashion their careers around a trajectory of prodigality.[44] George Gascoigne and, a little later, Nashe's close friend and literary ally Robert Greene, demonstrated the market value of this approach: light and amorous poetry and prose was relegated to youthful indiscretion, painted as either a dress rehearsal for later, more serious work, or as a past to be repented of. English literature was, like wool, leather, fish and labour, a natural resource that should not be wasted: it should educate and improve its readers, rather than distract them and promote idleness.

Nashe's work, according to Hutson, can be situated within (and wilfully without) this discourse of utility: Nashe performatively 'squanders' his literary resources, resisting 'absorption to' any 'productive end'. Deploying an older system of 'popular festive' imagery in the mode of Breughel and Rabelais, the books, bodies and things in Nashe's texts 'resist being absorbed and exploited as productive resources' and are instead conceived as 'existing in a vital, mutually generative relationship, capable of disintegration and decay'.[45] For Hutson, Nashe's use of the

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[42] Mark Bland describes how, in the early seventeenth century, 98% of England's white paper was imported (*Early Printed Books*, 25). See also John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 583-601.

[43] The 1581 *A Compendious or Briefe Examination of Certayne Ordinary Complaints* (London: Thomas Marshe) describes how European goods were made 'out of our own commodities', 'of our fells they make Spanish skins, gloves and girdles […] of our broken linen cloth and rags, paper both white and brown', quoted in Lorna Hutson, *Nashe in Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 21.

[44] Hutson, *Nashe in Context*, esp. 1-37; Richard Helgerson, *The Elizabethan Prodigals* (Oakland: California UP, 1976), esp. 44-57, 79-104.

[45] Hutson, *Nashe in Context*, 8, 83.

wastepaper trope is representative of this 'squander[ing]': his pages 'refuse from the outset to be serviceable' and are instead 'offered by their author as waste paper to be consumed in various idle forms of wrapping and packaging'.[46]

The outline of Hutson's argument is persuasive: Nashe is suspicious of excessive thrift and, as we will go on to see, celebrates the organic processes of 'disintegration and decay' throughout his work. Wastepaper is central to this disintegrative urge, but not as an object that exemplifies his wilful wasting and parodies the contemporary Protestant humanist urge for productivity. Far from useless, unserviceable or idle, wastepaper is positive and productive stuff in Nashe's imagination. Moreover, it complicates the binary that Hutson draws between a past centered around 'a web of organic life' and a proto-capitalist present grounded in the rhythms of glut, scarcity, expenditure and thrift.[47] Wastepaper participates in both organic and economic cycles: it is plant-based matter, made from flax turned to linen rags and pulped into paper, and is often described by Nashe as gross, corporeal stuff. But this organic material has economic value: in *Pierce Penilesse* Nashe playfully suggests that John Windet, the printer of Richard Harvey's *A Theologicall Discourse of the Lamb of God and his Enemies* (1590), 'get a priuiledge betimes […] forbidding all other to sell waste paper but himself'.[48] This might seem like no more than a joke to a modern reader, but it would have had serious undertones in a society where discarded stuff such as rags were a sought-after commodity: Richard Tottell was refused a monopoly on English rags in 1585, but in 1589 John Spilman gained the exclusive right to collect rags in England for his paper mill. This was renewed for another fourteen years in 1597.[49]

Rather than presuming that a chasm runs between the pre-modern, festive rhythms of the past and the proto-capitalist early modern present, we should think more deeply about the valences of 'waste' at the time, and how it complicates Hutson's binary: the relationship between practices of thrift, prodigality, and reuse were far from straightforward. There was an overriding anxiety regarding squandering domestic resources, but, at the same time, waste was a resource that a number of agriculturists and innovators believed might be usefully employed. Ayeesha Mukherjee has persuasively argued that the 1590s was an epoch of 'dearth science', in which projectors, scientists and householders grappled with both the organic and the economic potential of waste products and practices of reuse.[50] Hugh Platt, Mukherjee argues, sought to transform 'penury into plenty' by using leftover materials such as sawdust, parchment shreds

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[46] Ibid., 33.
[47] Ibid*.,* 18.
[48] Nashe, *Pierce Peniliesse*, E1v.
[49] Bidwell, 'French Paper', 584-85.
[50] Ayesha Mukherjee, *Penury into Plenty: Dearth and the Making of Knowledge in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2015), esp. 71-88.

and 'waste soap ashes' for productive ends, such as fertilizer or preservatives. The preface to Nashe's 1594 *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, addressed 'to the dapper Mounsier Pages of Court', can be usefully considered in light of this 'dearth science'. In it, Nashe launches into an unprecedented celebration of repurposed paper, framing it as a message from Jack Wilton to his fellow Pages: after a polite greeting, he 'bequeath[s] for wast paper here amongst you certaine pages of his misfortunes', in other words, the copy of *The Vnfortunate Traueller* that the reader is holding.

Relegated to the status of waste object, Nashe's book still brims, like Platt's waste soap ashes, with organic and economic potential: a multitude of specific waste uses are prescribed and proscribed:

> In any case keep them preciously as a *Priuie* token of his good will towards you. If there be some better than other, he craues you would honor them in their death so much, as to drie and kindle *Tobacco* with them: for a need hee permits you to wrap veluet pantofles in them also, so they be not woe begone at the heeles, or weather-beaten like a blacke head with graye haires, or mangie at the toes like an ape about the mouth. But as you loue good fellowship and ames ace [a double ace, the lowest throw of the dice, meaning 'bad luck'], rather turne them to stop mustard-pots, than the Grocers should haue one patch of them to wrap mace in: a strong hot costly spice it is, which above all things hee hates. To anie vse about meate or drinke put them too and spare not, for they cannot doo their Countrey better seruice. Printers are madde whoresons, allow them some of them for napkins.[51]

This preface, although highly original, can be situated within the centuries old tradition of 'mock-testaments'. In her analysis of Isabella Whitney's mid-sixteenth century 'Wyll and Testament', Jill Phillips Ingram outlines the history of this genre and its development within the religious and economic climate of early modern England.[52] Influenced by Menippean confession and Lucianic dialogues of the dead, these were festive pageants in which a figure would symbolically dismember themselves and bequeath their body for carnivalesque consumption. They were originally a celebration of the seasonal calendar of renewal but, after the Reformation, Catholic institutions became a target of rather than the source for these displays, and they tended more toward satire and social commentary. The speaker was typically a marginalized and socially

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[51] Nashe, *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, A3v. It is worth noting that, although like no other early modern text, excluding perhaps Donne's dedicatory poem in *Coryats Crudities* (1611), Nashe's preface shares the themes and festive tones of Martial 13.1 (see pp. 99-100 and p. 72 above). In the opening epigram to his *Xenia*, Martial bequeaths his verses as wastepaper to wrap food and feed worms and invokes Saturnalian gambling and play. Martial's epigrams were widely read in early modern grammar schools, and Nashe quotes Martial elsewhere. See *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. by Robert Krueger and Ruby Nemser (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), xxvi and McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 4:206, 4:414, 4:472.

[52] Jill Phillips Ingram, *Idioms of Self-Interest: Credit, Identity, and Property in English Renaissance Literature* (London: Routledge, 2006), 82-90.

impotent figure that bequeathed a variety of worthless things, highlighting, in particular, their physical deterioration.

Nashe's preface is in dialogue with these past and present concerns. He imagines the festive funeral of a bookish body: the pages of *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, which form papery doubles for the Page Jack Wilton whose body is frequently on the verge of dissection and death within the text. His gifts are also carnivalesque ('about meate and drinke', gambling, and play) and on the brink of disintegration and decay. But unlike Whitney's catalogue of diverse material goods, Nashe's preface only offers one object. This object is, however, extremely generative: it disintegrates into a multitude of sheets, all of which are able to serve numerous functions.

Nashe, then, highlights the unexpected value and the manifold uses of wastepaper. Not quite 'freely' given, this wastepaper is part of a gift-exchange. The reader, granted the persona of a 'dapper Mounsier Pag[e]' of 'the Court', enters into a contract: in a reworking of the system of patronage, after 'perusing [...] this Pamphlet', the reader simultaneously disassembles the text and is obliged to defend the text against 'dispraise', with violence if necessary.[53] As well as repurposing the volume, they are to 'sweare' on it; to use it as a surface for 'play[ing] with false dice'; not to 'refuse it for a pawne in the times of famine and necessitie'; not to say the name of the text 'within fortie foote of an ale-house', unless 'the taverne is honorable'; and to 'put off their hats' and 'make a low leg' when passing by any 'Stationers' in which 'their grand printed Capitano is there entombed'.[54] Nashe situates the book and its patrons within a London subculture of knaves, rogues and wastrels, fighting, cheating and drinking, and living on the brink of indigence, with nothing stored up for times of dearth.

The wastepaper, Nashe suggests, proves particularly useful for a fellow 'dapper' Page down on his luck: those living on the edge of solvency might eke economic and organic value out of an object typically undervalued or discarded. Wastepaper, then, has a surprising amount in common with Platt's 'waste soap ashes', the discards from the process of boiling soap. According to Platt, these ashes can be strewn over artichokes, or sewn into the ground after grain to destroy weeds, worms, and rushes, and to 'enrich' any pasture: devoured by 'lean' and

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[53] Patronage has been the primary focus of much Nashe scholarship. Critics such as Hutson have argued that Nashe threw off the shackles of the socially conservative patronage system, replacing it with the burgeoning print marketplace (*Nashe in Context*, esp. 131-151, 175-196). This is supported by the chronology of Nashe's dedications: the first edition of *The Vnfortunate Traueller* contains a dedication to the Earl of Southampton, but in the second, only the preface 'To the dapper Mounsiers' remains (see McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 4:255). No text printed after *The Vnfortunate Traueller* is dedicated to a social superior. This is not, however, conclusive proof that Nashe rejected the traditional systems of patronage, particularly because of the little we know about his activities between 1594-1596. In fact, Nashe arrived at the Carey's household in 1594, suggesting a continued participation in the system at this time. I am inclined to agree with Georgia Brown that this scholarly narrative tells us more about our own bias toward the free market and our sense of patronage as archaic 'enslavement' than Nashe's attitude, *Redefining Elizabethan Literature*, 59-60.
[54] Nashe, *The Vnfortunate Traueller* (1594), A4r.

'hungry' ground, this waste stuff remedies famine.[55] Nashe's wastepaper is, in an analogous act, scattered for the benefit of lean and hungry city-dwellers. It might enrich them financially, 'pawne[d] in the times of famine and necessitie' in a process not dissimilar to Gabriel Platte's (an early seventeenth-century 'dearth scientist', not a relation of Hugh Platt's) instruction to gather printed and manuscript wastepaper to sell for 'passeboard'.[56] Perhaps the impoverished Page will sell the pages directly to the grocer who will stop mustard pots with them, or wrap food; or to the printer who will use them as 'napkins', either for wiping up food and drink or as tympan-sheets, protecting the paper ready for impressing 'from being dirtied by anything on the bed of the press beyond the margins of the pages'.[57] Nashe licenses the reader to repair their fashionable shoes, or pantofles, with his pages: patching up the slippers' battered heels and toes, wastepaper might have provided an ineffective but cheap layer of waterproofing or insulation for the wet and wintery months.[58] In fact, as we have seen, the slippers might already contain a wastepaper or pasteboard lining, making such reuse likely.[59] The wastepaper, then, is imagined as directly or indirectly providing sustenance and succor to an impoverished gallant in Nashe's London, helping to maintain a performance of modishness by repairing fashionable footwear and wrapping and kindling tobacco, as well as providing the means with which to purchase a few pennies-worth of food and drink.

The preface is, then, an urban version of contemporary agricultural treatises that sought plenty in little, and usefulness in the unwanted by-products of local industries: from the produce of St. Paul's as well as the soap-boilers. It is not quite a panegyric to wastepaper: its tone is playful and parodic and the 'dapper Mounsiers' are frivolous and only just subsist. But, at the same time, it is a description of very real wastepaper practices and the potential value of wastepaper.

How, then, within such playfulness, do we make sense of the preface's hierarchy of waste uses: repairing old shoes is 'permit[ted]' and use as printer's napkins is 'allow[ed]'; use as toilet paper, or '*Priuie* tokens', is suggested via the commonplace pun, and drying and kindling

[55] Hugh Plat[t], *Sundrie Nevv and Artificiall Remedies Against Famine* ([London]: P[eter] S[hort], 1596), C1r; *The Nevv and Admirable Arte of Setting of Corne* (London: P. Short, 1601), D1r; and *The Second Part of the Garden of Eden* (London: for William Leak, [1659]), 108.

[56] Gabriel Plattes, *The Profitable Intelligencer* ([London?]: for T.U., [1644]), A4r.

[57] McKerrow suggests this reading of printers' napkins in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 4:256. See Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1972), 129.

[58] There is some confusion as to what sort of shoe a 'pantofle' is: perhaps a floppy slipper, or a heeled, cork clog or 'mule'. Either way, they were considered impractical, ostentatious, and effeminate. Also a slang term for the vagina, this is perhaps current within the vicious masculinity of the *The Vnfortunate Traueller*. It also allows an unpleasant but compelling reading of the 'blacke head with graye haires' and the 'mangi[ness]' of 'an ape about the mouth'. See Mary Bly, *Queer Virgins and Virgin Queens on the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), 66; Pat Poppy, 'Pantofles and the origins of slippers and mules', *Costume Historian* (blog), November 1, 2013, http://costumehistorian.blogspot.co.uk/2013/11/pantofles-and-origins-of-slippers-and.html.

[59] For the use of wastepaper in the lining of clothes, see p. 55 above.

tobacco constitutes an 'honor[able] […] death'. '[A]nie use about meate or drinke' is favoured above all: this, in fact, is the best 'service' the pages might perform for their 'Countrey'. The only use ruled out is wrapping 'mace', a 'strong hot costly' spice that Jack Wilton hates 'above all things'. He suggests that the pages use them to 'stop mustard-pots' instead.

At first glance, it seems that Nashe does favour the organic rhythms that, in Hutson's reading of Nashe's work, demonstrate a persistent loyalty to the pre-modern, festive mode of life. '[M]eate', 'drinke', gambling, and taverns imbue the preface with a sense of the carnivalesque: rubbing underfoot, against arses, mouths, and hands, or inhaled along with tobacco, wastepaper enters into the organic cycles of consumption and excretion. But, at the same time, these 'organic' practices depend on the economic rhythms of pawning and thrift: they are either exchanged for a small sum or stave off the need to purchase something new, be it slippers or fresh paper for wrapping. This is not, then, a celebration of corporeal modes of circulation at the expense of the monetary. But neither is it a celebration of thrift: the rakish Pages practice reuse so as to continue to consume and spend. The bequeathal and dispersal of *The Vnfortunate Traueller*'s pages is at once thrifty and prodigal.

It is possible to instead read the preface as a celebration of domestic use and reuse, and a condemnation of the importation of foreign goods: repurposing pages about meat and drink provide a 'service' to the nation, recalling the moral weight contemporary economic texts placed on patriotic consumption. Furthermore, the much maligned 'mace' is a foreign spice. But, again, it is more complex than this: honorable tobacco is also foreign stuff, and pantofles were exotic objects, often associated with Spanish or Italian fashion.[60]

So how does mace differ from the other substances listed in the preface: the velvet slippers, imported tobacco, meat, drink, or mustard? The hatred of mace is often glossed as a reference to the staff carried by magistrates in early modern England, and Nashe is certainly gesturing toward these figures of authority.[61] Jack Wilton, Nashe suggests, playfully liberates his fellow knaves from the city's jurisdiction, licensing, instead, the misrule traditionally seen in the city on May Day and Shrovetide.[62] But there are further valences to the exclusion of this spice. It is, for instance, central to Julian Yates' reading of *The Vnfortunate Traueller*. He argues, in a

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[60] See Sandra Bell, 'The Subject of Smoke: Tobacco and Early Modern England', in *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*, ed. by Helen Ostovich, Mary V. Silcox, and Graham Roebuck (Newark: Delaware UP, 2008), 153-169; Thomas Thomas defines *Tynhenicum sandalium* as 'A kind of slipper or pantofles peculiar to the Italian & Spanyards having a verye high sole, or thicke corke', *Thomae Thomasii Dictionarium* (Cambridge: Iohannis Legati at the shop of R. Bankworth, [1596]).

[61] See, for instance, *Thomas Nashe: The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, ed. by J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 253.

[62] Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion, and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 119-20.

series of interpretive leaps touched on above, that the preface 'anticipates the style of narrative that results from [Nashe's] engagement with print'.[63]

Yates sets up a binary between bound books that circulate safely and tell linear narratives, and loose pages that, insufficiently covered, act like uncovered privies. Like John Harington's fecal *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, the source of a series of puns in Nashe's letter to William Cotton (mistakenly referred to by Yates as Thomas Cotton), loose pages permit 'flows of matter' between human and nonhuman things: 'bodily waste, paper, money' and 'readers'.[64] Mace is the sort of stuff that highlights this flow of matter: it penetrates and consumes the pages described in the preface, 'ruptur[ing] the seal that ensures a clear separation between text and world'. Mace is, according to Yates, 'what Bruno Latour has called an "immutable and combinable mobile", a device that places the human body in new relations with time and space': these moments of disruption and seepage prevent the movements of the human and nonhuman agents involved in the production, circulation and consumption of a text from disappearing from view. Mace makes visible, in other words, 'the absent labor of the print shop'.[65]

But as well as grounding his argument in the assumption that Nashe is always preoccupied with print, Yates misrepresents the frequency with which loose pages appear in early modern England: books, for instance, were not typically sold as 'unbound pages' in stationers' shops. Although they were often 'uncovered', lacking a firm, leather binding, they were usually stitched into book-blocks and often had temporary flimsy paper or limp vellum wrappers. Books were only usually unstitched at the earliest stage of its life cycle, and in its afterlife as sheets of wastepaper.[66]

Furthermore, mace does not 'penetrate and consume' paper any more or less than the other substances catalogued in the preface. Mace does not 'deform boundaries' or create 'new narratives and new bodily configurations' any more than tobacco, meat, drink, and excrement do.[67] In fact, all of this stuff seeps into and is inhaled or absorbed by the bodies in the preface. Mace was in fact understood as being almost physically identical, in humoral terms, to Jack Wilton's preferred substitute, mustard: both are hot and dry, and are recommended as curatives for overly phlegmatic bodies.[68]

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[63] Yates, *Error, Misuse, Failure*, 116.
[64] Ibid., 105-106.
[65] Ibid., 106-109, 103.
[66] Ibid., 105-107; Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2013), 4.
[67] Yates, *Error, Misuse, Failure*, 120.
[68] Joannes de Mediolano describes mustard as having the power to 'purge the braine' and 'add unto the stomacke force and heat', *The English Mans Doctor* (London: William Stansby for the Widow Helme, 1617), B7r. Tobias Venner describes mace, in similar terms, as 'hot and dry' and 'somewhat astringent', 'strengthen[ing] the

So, if mace is foreign, just like tobacco and pantofles, and is 'hot' and penetrative, just like mustard, why is it proscribed by the preface? Nashe in fact supplies the answer: it is 'strong hot [and] costly', and, because mustard is also strong and hot, the last must be the problem.[69] Growing only on the Spice Islands of modern day Maluku, the Portuguese held a monopoly over the trade of cloves, nutmeg and mace.[70] The prices of pepper and spices were driven even higher in the 1590s by Dutch entry into the East Indian trade, causing gluts in the European market. The Dutch gained control of the islands in 1605, with their merchants reputedly liming nutmeg seeds to render them infertile and prevent the spread of the spice. Mace was not, therefore, part of the hand-to-mouth world described by the preface: although courtiers, and perhaps even the middling classes by the turn of the seventeenth century, would have had access to the costly spice, Pages would not.[71]

Furthermore, a Page did not need to ostentatiously consume mace, as they might tobacco or velvet pantofles, to be considered dapper. Mace is an unnecessary luxury by Jack Wilton's estimation, and might be substituted by something comparably hot but considerably cheaper, just as old but fashionable shoes could be patched up with wastepaper in times of 'necessitie'. Mustard, in fact, fits nicely within Nashe's urban version of Platt's 'dearth science': one of the 'commonest home-grown flavourings', mustard grew in abundance throughout England in gardens, fields, waysides, and on riverbanks.[72] Using mustard meant using that which was useful, plentiful and close to hand. In fact, as Joan Thirsk notes, there were a number of complaints against 'the use of spices in place of home-grown plants' throughout the period.[73] In 1633, James Hart lamented that 'outlandish' ingredients were used instead of England's own 'excellent aromatical simples', especially because they 'often arrived rotten, worm-eaten and lacking in virtue' after their long journey.[74] Mace, then, sits in opposition to the prosaic and the often overlooked: the mustard seeds, soap ashes and wastepaper of early modern England.

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stomacke' and 'comfort[ing] the braine', *Via recta ad vitam longam* (London: Edward Griffin for Richard Moore, 1620), 107.

[69] Buying for a banquet in 1570, Lord Leicester paid 9s. 2d for 11.5 ounces of cloves and mace. Prices only began to fall in the seventeenth century. Mustard cost 'only twopence three-farthings a pound' at the time, and was exported early in the seventeenth century. See Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 315, 317.

[70] Ronald Findlay, 'The Emergence of the World Economy', in *Contemporary Economic Issues: Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of the International Economic Association, Tunis*, vol. 3, ed. by Daniel Cohen (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1998), 116-17; Ken Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002), 45-46.

[71] Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 151.

[72] Ibid., 73, 150-51, 315. In the 1630s, a group of poor women in Oxfordshire, accused of stealing grain, claimed they were 'only gathering mustard'. Quoted in Steve Hindle, *On the Parish?: The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England, c. 1550-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 42.

[73] Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 317.

[74] Quoted in Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 317.

Whereas, in the preface, mustard and wastepaper figure as thrifty substitutions that enable the Pages to live prodigally, mace is offensively expensive and entirely useless.

The preface addressed 'to the dapper Mounsier Pages of Court', then, offers the reader guidance for living a dapper life in times of dearth, and, with its bequeathed pages, the materials with which to do so. The indigent urban life that Nashe describes shares the conceptual frame of contemporary agricultural or 'dearth' science: both celebrate the undervalued worth of waste, and work to uncover its multiple, potential uses. Nashe's wastepaper, however, inhabits a peculiar space between thrift and prodigality: prodigally bequeathed by the author, it is employed thriftily, but only to help the dapper Pages continue to live and consume prodigally.

Plague and Paper in the Summer of 1593

But how does the preface to *The Vnfortunate Traueller* fit within Nashe's other references to repurposed pages? It offers something entirely unlike the wastepaper described in conventional insults or modesty tropes: these are undesirable things, and depend on the assumption that a writer does not want their book to end up as waste. A brief timeline of Nashe's wastepaper play might be useful here, and offer an explanation as to why, in 1594, Nashe published an extended account of how best to tear up and reuse his books.

As we have seen, the wastepaper insult is present in Nashe's earliest works, in his 1589 *Anatomie of Absurditie* and preface to Robert Greene's *Menaphon*, and appears in almost every text printed thereafter.[75] The suggestion that Nashe's own books might end up as wastepaper emerges slightly later. In *Strange Newes* (1592), Nashe's first full-length attack on Gabriel Harvey, Nashe lays down a wager: if Harvey 'get[s] any thing by the bargaine' of their exchange, 'lette what soeuer I write hence-forward bee condemned to wrappe bombast in'.[76] 'Bombast' is already a literalizing trope: it refers to empty, puffed-up and turgid language that metaphorically resembles bombast (cotton, flaxen or woollen stuffing), like the Marlovian 'swelling bombast of a bragging blanke verse' which Nashe refers to in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon*.[77] In this 1592 use, Nashe further literalizes the trope: if his future works are full of puffed up language, implicitly resembling Harvey's, they will become wastepaper wrappers (already made of flax), stuffed with stuffing. Alluding to the practice of using layers of wastepaper as a lining in clothing,

[75] *Lenten Stuffe* is the only printed text attributable to Nashe with certainty that does not contain any reference to wastepaper. It does, however, offer a catalogue of 'wast authors' who, like Nashe, write mock-encomiums to bizarre and worthless materials and 'bebangeth poore paper', (London: [Thomas Judson and Valentine Simmes] for N[icholas] L[ing] and C[uthbert] B[urby], 1599), E1r.
[76] Nashe, *Strange Newes*, B4v.
[77] Nashe's 'Preface' to Greene's *Menaphon*, A2r.

as well as velvet shoes, Nashe's multi-layered wordplay has violent intent: to 'bombast' also meant to 'flog' and 'beat soundly'.[78] Even in hypothetical defeat, Nashe's hints that his future works will continue their campaign of violence against Harvey.

Nashe offers a similarly brazen use of the wastepaper trope in the preface of *Terrors,* printed in 1594 but probably written in 1593.[79] At the close of his prefatory letter to the 'Master or Goodman Reader', Nashe writes that those readers who, 'like wanton Whelpes […] slauer and betouse euerie paper they meete' might 'stop mustard pots with my leaues if they will', using them 'to their owne will whatsoeuer'.[80] This refers to 'Momus' and 'Zoylus', the 'anti-models' of the gentle reader often imagined as being 'physically monstrous', with long teeth and claws.[81] Nashe materializes the metaphorical 'betous[ing]' of meaning into the act of tearing up and repurposing pages.

Nashe refers to wastepaper again in *Terrors*, although far more generously: the reader, who has almost completed the book, is told 'it is yours as freely as anie wast paper that euer you had in your liues'.[82] This resembles a more conventional use of the trope, like when R. Cottington tells his reader to 'lay' his 'smal Treatise' by 'as a bundle of waste paper' if it fails to please, or when Francis Osborne claims that 'the losse will not be great to the buyer, nor the shame much to me', should his work 'prove *waste paper*'.[83] These claims modestly devalue the book that, according to Nashe, is 'no bigger than an old Praeface' and 'speedily botcht vp and compyled': it is framed as a gift for the reader ('freely' given), worth only as much as scrap paper unless valued by them.[84] In these two contrasting references to repurposing his books, Nashe highlights the power that the reader holds over the text as an object, but the references also mark a growing tendency in Nashe's works: although the reader is at liberty to do 'their owne will whatsoeuer', Nashe, from 1593 onwards, highlights the potential of his works to be turned to wastepaper, and their potential usefulness as wastepaper.

Christs Teares (1593) and *The Vnfortunate Traueller* (1594) contain Nashe's most original and imaginative renderings of wastepaper as an object and a practice. In addition to the preface to 'the dapper Mounsier Pages of Court' explored above, the first edition of *The Vnfortunate*

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[78] 'Bombast', *OED*. See also Samuel Rid's *Martin Mark-all,* which describes how 'the beadle will bumbast you' (London: [John Windet] for Iohn Budge and Richard Bonian, 1610), E3v.
[79] See McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 4:196-97.
[80] Nashe, *Terrors*, A4r.
[81] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 123-24.
[82] Nashe, *Terrors*, G4v.
[83] R. Cottington, *A True Historicall Discourse of Muley Hamets* (London: Thomas Purfoot for Clement Night, 1609), A2r; Francis Osborne, *A Miscellany of Sundry Essayes, Paradoxes and Problematicall discourses, Letters and Characters* (London: John Grismond, 1659), A6r.
[84] Nashe, *Terrors*, G4v.

Traueller contains a relatively conventional modesty trope: Nashe addresses his potential patron, Henry Wriothsley, Earl of Southampton, claiming that '[v]nrepriueably perisheth that booke whatsoeuer to wastepaper, which on the diamond rocke of your iudgement disasterly chanceth to be shipwrackt'.[85] His book is described as a ship careering towards the cliff of Wriothsley's literary taste. If Wriothsley dislikes *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, the ship-cum-book will shatter into paper flotsam available to be used as wastepaper. If he chooses to act as its patron, it will remain whole. This was initially printed alongside the preface to 'the dapper Mounsiers Pages of the Court', despite the disparity in tone, but was removed from the second edition printed later in 1594. McKerrow suggests that it was intentionally omitted, probably because 'Nashe had a patron who was not on good terms with Southampton'.[86]

The preface of *Christs Teares* also humbly suggests that Nashe's work is a worthless gift, given in exchange for a patron's protection. In the dedication to Lady Elizabeth Carey, Nashe writes:

> Loe, for an oblation to the ritch burnish shrine of your vertue, a handfull of *Ierusalems* mummianizd earth, (in a few sheetes of wast paper enwrapped,) I heere (humiliate) offer vp at your feete.[87]

This version of the modesty trope is like no other: Nashe elaborates on the conventional suggestion that one's own work is almost worthless, adding grotesque detail and describing his book as an earthy, fleshy concoction, wrapped in already repurposed sheets.

Why, then, do these imaginative reconfigurations of the wastepaper trope cluster within the texts Nashe drafted and completed in 1593? The answer can be found within Nashe's movements during these months. 1592-4 were extremely busy years for Nashe, and we can be certain of his whereabouts for at least some of this time: in the winter of 1592, Nashe was a guest at Archbishop Whitgift's Croydon Palace, where the Archbishop's household sheltered from the plague which ravaged London until late in 1593.[88] In October of that year, Nashe's *Summers Last Will and Testament* was performed in the palace, most likely by a group of children and a professional clown, Toy. This was also where Nashe composed *Strange Newes*. By early 1593, Nashe was at Conington Manor in Huntingdonshire with Robert Cotton, a friend and later a renowned antiquarian. Here Nashe drafted the first manuscript version of *Terrors*, which he heavily edited and published in 1594.

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[85] Nashe, *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, A2v.

[86] McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 4:255.

[87] Nashe, *Christs Teares*, *2r.

[88] Charles Nicholl, *A Cup of News: The Life of Thomas Nashe* (London: Routledge, 1984), esp. 135-80. 'The Thomas Nashe Project' has created an interactive tool recording Nashe's known movements. See 'Mapping Thomas Nashe, from Lowestoft to London', https://research.ncl.ac.uk/thethomasnasheproject/mappingnashe/.

We are not certain where Nashe went after his stay at Conington Manor in the summer of 1593, but, continuing his rapid rate of composition, Nashe completed both *The Vnfortunate Traueller* and *Christs Teares*. According to its colophon, *The Vnfortunate Traueller* was completed on June 27, 1593. It was entered into the Stationers' Register on September 17, 1593 but not printed until the following year.[89] *Christs Teares* was entered into the Stationers' Register nine days before *The Vnfortunate Traueller* on September 8, 1593, and was either circulating in print or in manuscript by September 16, 1593 when Gabriel Harvey claims to have completed *A Newv Letter of Notable Contents*, a response to *Christs Teares*.[90]

We can hazard a guess that Nashe was in London at this time: these two texts are, after all, largely concerned with cities during the time of plague. In addition to fleeing from the sweating sickness that infects London, Jack Wilton travels to a Rome that, like contemporary London, is infected with plague. *Christs Teares* parallels London with Jerusalem, laying the blame for the plague firmly on its inhabitants: in the first edition, at the climax of the text, Nashe addresses the city as 'the seeded Garden of sinne', describing Londoners as no better than lawyers and usurers whose wealth 'shall rust and canker, being wet & dewed with Orphans teares'.[91] Excised from the second edition, it seems that Gabriel Harvey drew this audacious and embittered passage to the attention of the city officials.[92] Nashe, in the autumn of 1593, found himself in a prison cell, perhaps in Newgate, during a time of plague. He was rescued and brought to the Isle of Wight by the Carey family, in response to his 'oblation', or dedication, of a 'handfull of *Ierusalems* mummianizd earth'. He then, at Carisbrooke Castle, set to work redrafting *Terrors*, dedicating it to the Careys' daughter, Elizabeth.

Critics have struggled to reconcile *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, described by one critic, somewhat strangely, as 'the sunniest of all his writings', with 'the longest and least readable of Nashe's works', *Christs Teares*.[93] The latter is, it has been hypothesized, either a 'hoax' or evidence of psychological 'crack-up'.[94] Philip Schwyzer has argued that there is a 'deeper affinity' between these 'two texts', claiming that they form a 'bi-textual beast', 'cooperating to such an extent' that 'one could hardly exist without the other'.[95] Although it is unlikely that Nashe composed the two texts as a symbiotic pairing with mutually dependent meanings, as Schwyzer suggests, it is clear that they were composed in broadly similar circumstances, perhaps even in tandem, in the

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[89] Chiaki Hanabusa, 'Notes on the Second Edition of Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller*', *Notes and Queries* 56 (2009): 556-9.
[90] McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 4:212.
[91] Nashe, *Christs Teares*, X3r.
[92] Duncan-Jones, '*Christs Teares*, Nashe's "Forsaken Extremities"', 167-80.
[93] Nicholl, *Cup of News*, 154, 167.
[94] Crewe, *Unredeemed Rhetoric*, 59; Nicholl, *Cup of News*, 166-80.
[95] Philip Scwhyzer, 'Summer Fruit and Autumn Leaves: Thomas Nashe in 1593', *ELR* 24, no. 3 (1994): 584.

plague-ridden summer of 1593. It is not, then, a coincidence that these two texts and, to a lesser extent, *Terrors*, share a network of imagery concerned with the material contexts of producing and consuming texts.

Now at the mid-point of his career, Nashe had lived in London for four or five years. The city, 'covered in texts', would have been structurally embedded in his imagination, but, in 1593, loose pages became imbued with new and pressing valences.[96] Weekly Bills of Mortality began to circulate alongside stitched pamphlets, manuscripts, title pages and ballads: this emerging genre translated diseased corpses into paper objects. The early history of these bills is not well documented: plague deaths had been recorded for official purposes since early in the sixteenth century and a printed annual Bill of Mortality survives from 1582.[97] Mark Jenner describes how the printing press had been co-opted into civic responses to the plague since the 1570s, with sheets that read 'Lord Have Mercy Upon Us' nailed to the doors of infected houses, and, in 1583, bills were printed that listed infected locations in the city. Stephen Greenberg states that '[t]he first printed weekly bills for London are a series beginning in July of 1603', but John Wolfe (the same printer who entered *The Vnfortunate Traueller* into the Stationers' Register in June 1593) was granted license to print '*the billes, briefes, notes and larges gyven out for the sicknes weekely*' from 1593 until his death in 1601.[98] These 'Indices of the sicknesse' were, in 1593, edited or contributed to in some way by Wolfe's lodger, Gabriel Harvey.[99]

Nashe describes this collaboration in detail in *Haue VVith You*, printed several years later in 1596. He claims that 'in the ragingest furie of the last Plague', 'when there dyde above 600. a week in London', Harvey lay 'inck-squittring and printing against' him 'at *Wolfes* in *Powles Church-yard*'. In addition to producing 'empassion[ed]' and 'fiery' pamphlets, Harvey 'did for [Wolfe] that eloquent *post-script* for the Plague Bills'.[100] None of Wolfe's bills survive so we are unable to verify Nashe's claims, but Nashe was no doubt familiar with these documents. In fact, the estimate of 'above 600' deaths per week in the height of the 1593 outbreak matches the

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[96] Tiffany Stern, '"On each Wall and Corner Poast": Playbills, Title-pages, and advertising in Early Modern London', *ELR* 36, no. 1 (2006): 87.

[97] Erin Sullivan, 'Physical and Spiritual Illness: Narrative Appropriations of the Bills of Mortality', in *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England*, ed. by Rebeccao Totaro and Ernest B. Gilman (London: Routledge, 2011), 77-79.

[98] Stephen Greenberg, 'Plague, the Printing Press, and Public Health in Seventeenth-Century London', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (2004): 512; Mark S. R Jenner, 'Plague on a Page: *Lord Have Mercy Upon Us* in Early Modern London', *The Seventeenth Century* 27:3 (2012): 255-86; Cornelius Walford, 'Early bills of mortality', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 7 (1878): 212-248. In his *Natural and political observations mentioned in a following index, and made upon the bills of mortality*, John Graunt writes that 'There were *Bills* before, *viz.* for the years 1592, -93, -94. but so interrupted since, that I could not depend upon the sufficiencie of them, rather relying upon those Accompts which have been kept since, in order, as to all the uses I shall make of them', (London: Tho: Roycrose for John Martin, James Allestry and Tho: Dicas, 1662), 1.

[99] Gabriel Harvey, *A Nevv Letter of Notable Contents* (London: Iohn Wolfe, 1593), A2r.

[100] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, N4v-O1r.

figures given in the 1665 broadsheet *The four great years of the plague, viz. 1593. 1603. 1625. and 1636* (London: Peter Cole), in which the average number of plague deaths per week between July and September is recorded as being 616. Both Nashe and the compiler of this broadsheet may have had access to Wolfe's now lost Bills of Mortality.

Nashe's description of an author immersed in an inky world of manuscripts and printed texts, reading Plague Bills and counting the dead whilst 'lying in the hell mouth of infection' is vivid: perhaps, like Harvey, Nashe was 'cloystred' and 'barricadoed vp' in London, unable to open his windows because the 'fat manured earth' beneath was 'the burial place of fiue parishes', blasting gusts of damp, plaguey air upwards 'at his casements'.[101] Or perhaps Nashe simply dreamt up such a scene. Regardless, corpse-manured earth and loose sheets of paper were Nashe's imaginative habitat for the summer of 1593.

We should keep this newly emerging and highly ephemeral genre of plague bills in mind as we approach the wastepaper within *The Vnfortunate Traueller* and *Christs Teares*. Pinned to doors and bought for a penny, these paper objects gave a new shape to the disease, the city, and the dead. As Mark Jenner argues, we should move beyond language-based 'narratives' of plague and 'embrace a more capacious sense of the visual and the graphic' offered by the woodcuts, 'tables' and typography of the Bills of Mortality and 'Lord Have Mercy Upon Us' broadsheets.[102] We should add to these visual encounters the sense of the haptic and kinetic: the experience of handling loose and fragile pages that, enumerating the dead, were inseparable from the city's accumulating corpses and diseased spaces. This plaguey 'paperscape' of 1593, then, is the setting for Nashe's extended renderings of repurposed pages in *The Vnfortunate Traueller* and *Christs Teares*.

'A handful of *Ierusalems* mummianizd earth'

Relatively little critical attention has been paid to *Christs Teares*, and Nashe's description of the text as an 'oblation' of 'mummianzd earth' wrapped in 'a few sheetes of wast paper' has gone wholly unexplored. But as well as being a striking example of Nashe's grotesque lyricism, this short passage serves as an emblem for the diseased and deeply religious framework of *Christs Teares*, and for Nashe's poetics of wastepaper more broadly.

In this image, Nashe portrays the book as a medicine that might be encountered in high-end grocers' and apothecaries' shops, the sort of object Donne playfully describes as waste

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[101] Ibid., N4v.
[102] Jenner, 'Plague on a Page', 261, 277.

sheets 'wrap[ping] pils' to 'save a friends life' in *Coryats Crudities*.[103] It is a waste wrapper stuffed with 'mummy', an expensive substance later glossed by Nashe as 'mans flesh long buried and broiled in the burning sands of Arabia […] as Ierusalems earth manured with mans flesh'.[104] Mummy, according to Louise Noble, might refer to an exotic ingredient imported from abroad, as well as a local product derived from the flesh of exhumed corpses and freshly executed criminals. Human corpses were listed, along with human bone, urine, and excrement, as an ingredient in a range of early modern medicines, although mummy was always an extremely exclusive substance.[105] It is immediately clear that *Christs Teares* inhabits an entirely different social and economic world to *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, one in which paper wraps costly medicine rather than mustard and pantofles. The dedications are, after all, directed at socially distinct patrons. But wastepaper is an appropriate gift for both Lady Elizabeth Carey and the 'dapper Mounsier Pages' and, in *Christs Teares,* it contains a plague cure.

As Massimiliano Morini argues, the image of 'eating good medicines in wooden boxes' was a conventional figure for translation in Renaissance England.[106] Morini argues that this figure adheres to the 'medieval' hierarchy between sound and sense, 'with no suggestion that the latter can be more valuable than the former, the outside better than the inside'. In this formulation, the casing is unimportant: the internal 'sense' moves between boxes, or languages, but always means the same thing. But Nashe's use of the trope is not this simple, and the wastepaper exterior is crucial to the meaning of the passage. As Lucy Razzall argues, the early modern fixation with containers is a consequence of the imaginative work that their surfaces and three-dimensionality might prompt. Rather than straightforwardly enclosing or revealing, wrappers, caskets and cases collaborate with their contents to make meaning: it is both the consumption of the medicinal contents, and the motions of unfolding its waste wrapper, that are meaningful for Nashe.[107] It is this kinaesthetics of unwrapping that, we will go on to see, proves central to Nashe's rendering of wastepaper, plague, and text in 1593.

'Mummianizd' is an accurate description of *Christs Teares*: it gives an account of the destruction of Jerusalem in AD70, when so many of the city's inhabitants died that, according to Nashe, their corpses, 'serue[d] to mende High-wayes' and 'turne[d] standing Quagmyres to

[103] Nashe, *Christs Teares*, *2r; '*Incipit Joannes Donne*', in Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (London: W[illiam] S[tansby] for the author, 1611), D3v. See p. 100 above.
[104] Nashe, *Christs Teares* (1594), *3r.
[105] Louise Noble, *Medical Cannibalism in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1-3; Karen Raber, *Animal Bodies, Renaissance Culture* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2013), 104; Wendy Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern Kitchen* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2015), 176.
[106] Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 47-51.
[107] Lucy Razzall, 'Containers and Containment in Early Modern England' (Ph.D. diss, University of Cambridge, 2012), 20-21.

firme ground'.[108] In addition to providing the textual equivalent of a stretch of earth 'ramd full of […] corses' and the 'fat manured earth' beneath Harvey's window in London, *Christs Teares* claims to have the same effect on its readers as a portion of mummy: it offers a scathing attack on the sinfulness of contemporary London that, Nashe hopes, will 'peirce unawares into the marrow and reynes of' his readers, leading them to repentance and prayer and moving God to cleanse London of the plague.[109]

But waste is more than the wrapper for these medicinal contents: it is also inextricable from the 'mummianizd' cure. Waste objects, waste spaces and acts of wasting permeate the text. Just as composition consumes paper and ink, writing *Christs Teares* consumes the author's body. Composition is a 'bodie-wasting industry', and even language is a limited resource, a 'huge word-dearthing taske'.[110] Writing, radically, as Christ in the first-person, Nashe describes how seeing Jerusalem laid waste has 'wasted myne eye-bals well-neere to pinnes-heads with weeping', but that 'mine eyes more would I wast, so I might waste and wash away thy wickednesse'.[111] The multiple valences of waste condense into one event: the violent wasting of Jerusalem provokes body-wasting grief, but waste might also provide a cure, washing it away. Wickedness might itself waste away or, in a complex entanglement of waste things and acts, be itself destroyed and laid waste.

The second part of *Christs Teares* is a description of the sinfulness of contemporary London that has so angered God. Nashe progresses through a hierarchy of wickedness, ranging from ambition, avarice, pride and vain-glory, to atheism, discontent, and 'Gorgeous attyre'. Despite this wide-ranging sinfulness, one theme persists: it becomes clear that miserliness is more than just one sin within a catalogue of sins. It in the most heinous, and has caused the current outbreak of plague. Nashe addresses the people of London:

> You Vsurers and Engrossers of Corne, by your hoording vp of gold and graine, tyll it is mould, rusty, Moath-eaten, and almost infects the ayre with the stinche, you haue taught God to hoord up your iniquities and transgressions, tyll mouldinesse, putrifaction and mustinesse, enforceth hym to open them: and being opened, they so poison the ayre with theyr ill sauour, that from them proceedeth this perrilsome contagion.[112]

Hoarding causes the growth of mould and rust, which 'almost' creates infection, but the plague is caused by the act, rather than the material effect, of hoarding. As Peter Stallybrass argues, in an economy without banking, 'hoarding tends to bring social *dis*credit': it is 'both miserly and

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[108] Nashe, *Christs Teares*, G2r.
[109] Ibid., A1v.
[110] Ibid., L3v, H4r.
[111] Ibid., D1r.
[112] Ibid., X2v.

pointless', with stored gold and grain doing nothing as it sits in storage. Instead, 'conspicuous consumption, by sharing the wealth around, brings credit'.[113] But Nashe goes further, suggesting that hoarding brings far worse than discredit: it teaches God to hoard London's sins. These, like the gold and grain, begin to decay and rot, and are eventually released into the atmosphere as air-borne contagion and miasma.[114]

Nashe continues: if 'couetise[ness]' is 'enlarged out of durance', and London's misers release their gold and grain into a cycle of consumption, 'the infected ayre will vncongeale, and the wombes of the contagious Clowdes will be clensed'.[115] If enclosure and tight-fistedness cause disease, opening, expansion and dispersal cleanse it: the clouds are imagined as semi-solid objects, congealed, but with the potential to be purified by prodigality and expenditure.

It has often been noted that this model of diseased parsimony and healthy prodigality is a constant throughout Nashe's work.[116] *Pierce Penilesse*, for instance, lambasts the figures of Greedinesse and his wife Dame Niggardize. They wear repurposed pots, pans, parchment and paper and collect nose drippings for candle wax. Living in 'emptiness and vastity', the only object plentiful in their house is 'vnfortunate gold'.[117] Zachary, the papal physician in *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, is described as 'Dame Niggardize['s] sole heyre and executor: he 'moulds vp a Manna' from bread crumbs and distils 'coole allom water' from his 'rheumatique eyes', 'temper[ing] […] perfect Mithridate [an expensive medicine]' from spiders, and mixing together 'a preseruation against the plague' from the 'wormes and moathes' he picks from between the pages of his books.[118] The plague in Jack Wilton's Rome has the same root cause as the plague in Nashe's London: 'The clouds like a number of cormorants, that keepe their corne till it stinke and is mustie, kept in their stinking exhalations, till they had almost stifled all Romes inhabitants'.[119]

Similarly, in *Summers Last Will and Testament*, the masque-like figures of Summer, Ver, Autumn, Winter, and Christmas perform a pageant that vacillates between miserliness and prodigality: whereas Ver lives by the mantra, 'This world is transitory, it was made of nothing, and it must to nothing […] wee must helpe to consume it to nothing', Christmas has 'dambd

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[113] Peter Stallybrass, 'The Value of Culture and the Disavowal of Things', in *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. by Henry S. Turner (London: Routledge, 2002), 284.

[114] Miasma theory was capacious enough to find the cause of the plague in both providence and in corrupted air. See Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2004), 112-13.

[115] Nashe, *Christs Teares*, Y1r.

[116] See, in particular Hutson, *Nashe in Context*, 72-98 and Neil Rhodes, *Elizabethan Grotesque* (London: Routledge, 1980), 62-86. On the representation of usurers and misers in early modern literature more generally, see David Hawkes, *The Culture of Usury in Renaissance England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 132-36.

[117] Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, B1r-v.

[118] Nashe, *The Vnfortunate Traueller*, M2v.

[119] Ibid., K2r, M2v.

vp all' his 'chimnies' and offers no hospitality, so that the 'guts' of the poor are no 'wider then they should be'.[120] This anti-model seems to teach the dying king, Summer, a lesson: he commands that the nobility 'keepe high dayes and solemne festivals' and to let 'breathe thy rusty gold'.[121] Holding gold and corn close, Nashe makes clear throughout his works, breeds sin, mould, rust, and infection.

Just as miserliness is a prevalent theme throughout Nashe's works, an ethos of dispersal runs throughout *Christs Teares* and *The Vnfortunate Traueller*. Whereas miserliness appears in a series of types (Greediness, Niggardize, Zachary, Christmas), dispersal and prodigality has a more diffuse presence in the voices and actions of Jack Wilton, Christ, and the 'dapper Mounsier Pages of the Court'. It manifests itself most explicitly in his 1593 wastepaper play which teaches, through its model of opening, unwrapping, tearing, and consuming, how to live virtuously and curatively: the kinaesthetics of wastepaper is a blueprint for non-miserliness, for dispersing that which is held close (gold, corn, or other material goods), and the consequent cleansing and 'vncongeal[ing]' of London's miasmic mould, rust, and infection.

More than 'a monument of bad taste', 'more pathological than devotional', *Christs Teares* is part of the morbid prodigality and virtuous unthrift that underpins much of Nashe's work.[122] *Christs Teares* glosses this prodigality with a paraphrase of Psalm 112: '*A good man is mercifull and lendeth, hee giueth, he disperseth, he distributeth to the poore*'. All Londoners' mantra must be to 'disperse' because, Nashe continues, 'if wee should not gyue, Death wold take from vs'.[123] This fixation with mortality and decomposition climaxes in Nashe's meditation on 'our costly skinne-cases'. This disturbing synonym for the body and its outer-shell suggests that, as humans, we resemble boxes, cases, or wrappers: the image recalls the handful of 'mummianzd earth' wrapped in 'a few sheetes of wast paper', but inverts it. The gross, bodily stuff (the skin) is now the wrapping, not the contents. Crucially, although we think that, like 'the case or couer of any thing', our skin will 'keep vs from consuming to dust', it actually 'weare[s] away with continuance, euen as Time doth weare and fore-welke [wilt, fade] vs'. Nashe meditates on the ephemerality and temporal trajectory of all cases, covers, and wrappers: they 'wither', 'wanze [wane, waste away]', 'decay' and will, eventually, 'rott' in the grave.[124] These skin-cases, like the wastepaper wrapper, serve as emblems for the tendency of all things to wear away. Dwelling on these emblems, we learn

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[120] Nashe, *Summers Last Will and Testament*, B4v, H2r; see Jessica Rosenberg, 'A Digression to Hospitality: Thrift and Christmastime in Shakespeare and the Literature of Husbandry', in *Shakespeare and Hospitality: Ethics, Politics, and Exchange*, ed. by David B. Goldstein and Julia Reinhard Lupton (London: Routledge, 2016), 39-66.

[121] Nashe, *Summers Last Will and Testament*, H3r-v.

[122] G. R. Hibbard, *Thomas Nashe: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), 123; Nicholl, *A Cup of News*, 69.

[123] Nashe, *Christs Teares*, N2v.

[124] Ibid., T1v.

from their disintegration: we are reminded of the need to open up and disperse our material goods, gold, corn, chests, and wrappers, releasing these 'congested […] refulgent masses of substaunce' into a cycle of consumption and use.[125]

Nashe's model of virtuous living, then, might be paraphrased, in Ver's mantra, 'This world is transitory, it was made of nothing, and it must to nothing […] wee must helpe to consume it to nothing'. 'Help[ing] to consume' takes on a paradoxically profitable meaning: consuming and wasting leads to dispersal and distribution and, as a consequence, the cleansing of sin and disease. In *The Vnforunate Traueller*, the reader is imagined as kindling, wiping, wearing and wrapping the pages, wasting them through integration with food, drink and excrement. In *Christs Teares*, the text, rather than food, spices or tobacco, is the organic matter, the corpse-manured earth wrapped in wastepaper: the reader is invited to unwrap this already decaying book-body hybrid and consume its contents. This act of opening is healthy and restorative: dissipation and dispersal 'vncongeale[s]' and 'clense[s]' sin and potentially moulding stuff. This is Nashe's wastepaper economy of authorship: he is not a miser who clings on to his text, seeking permanence, posterity, and wholeness. Instead, he embraces the organic cycle of welking, wanzing and dispersal. He releases his pages into the world fully aware that, like the soul and its 'skinne-case', they will fall apart.

Pickling Wastepaper for Posterity

Despite this development of a prodigal poetics of bequeathal, the summer of 1593 does not mark a U-turn in Nashe's negotiations of wastepaper. *Haue VVith You*, published after a lengthy absence from print in 1596, is a response to *Pierces Supererogation*. It contains the largest number of discrete references to wastepaper in any of Nashe's surviving works, and these all describe the projected fate of Gabriel Harvey's books. Many are repetitions of insults found in *Pierce Penilesse* and *Strange Newes*: *Pierces Supererogation* will end up 'spittled' in Chandlers' shops, wrapping spices or smeared with excrement in privies.[126] Other references are less literal: Harvey has, for instance, 'proclaimed open warres a fresh in a whole *Alexandrian* Library of waste paper', producing a prodigious amount of pages that will prove ephemeral, although they are to be burnt by cooks and housewives, rather than Caesar.[127]

How, then, do these conventional, albeit creative, insults sit alongside the healthy and generative bequeathal of wastepaper in *Christs Teares* and *The Vnfortunate Traueller*? Nashe's

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[125] Ibid., Y1r-v.
[126] Nashe, *Have VVith You*, C1r, E2v, F1v, F2r, L3v, T3v.
[127] Ibid., F2r.

wastepaper insults are always concerned with the temporality of the text in question: the timeline of certain books is telescoped, with their present state coloured by their anticipated afterlife as wastepaper. It is perhaps this sense of timeliness, or rather, untimeliness, that enables us to make sense of Nashe's wastepaper. All objects are, as Gil Harris argues, 'untimely': paper, like clothing, playhouses, and city walls, 'collate[s] many different moments'.[128] When we realise that an object is a 'time traveller', shrouded in anachronism, we are struck by the 'hybrid assemblage' of time and begin to reconceive our understanding of the relationship between past, present, and future.[129] But wastepaper is an especially powerful prompt for such temporal re-imagining, and Nashe's wastepaper imagery is sensitive to this polychronicity: the books he describes are often at once text and waste, consumed as literature and, in the same moment, dispersed as repurposed paper. This compressed biography of the book buttresses Nashe's poetics of prodigality and dispersal.

Nashe's fixation with wastepaper is a symptom of his fixation with the biography of stuff, of its stages of use, and of how quickly things rot, decay, and disintegrate. Paper, the fragile framework for Nashe's imagination, and its textual contents, progress along an entropic trajectory. Books are, therefore, frequently described as paper containers for gross, corporeal matter, much like a handful of 'mummianizd' earth wrapped in old pages, even as they are offered to the reader. Books, for Nashe, begin to decay from the moment of composition. That which differentiates the good from the bad, the books that 'leape like a cup of neat wine new powred out' from those that contain '[s]ome superficial slime of poison', is how far they have progressed along this timeline of putrefaction.[130] Of course, some books are rotten from the very start: Harvey's prose, for instance, will always '[s]quirt' from his 'inkehorne' as 'congeal[ed]' and 'clodderd garbage'.[131] But even the 'neat wine new powred out' will go stale, and Nashe is aware that his own books will eventually rot.

Nashe's solution is, again, grounded in the kineaesthetics of wastepaper: that which is perishable should be consumed quickly and dispersed so that it continues to move along its organic life cycle. This is encapsulated in a passage we have already touched upon. When the Carrier who transports Harvey's '*heauie newes*' begs Nashe to take the epistle off of his hands because it has already broken the axles of his cart, he suggests a rather unorthodox way that the pages might be repurposed: Nashe could 'make mud walls with them, mend high ways, or damme vp quagmires with them'.[132] This recalls, almost word for word, the 'withered dead-

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[128] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2009), 4.
[129] Ibid., 7.
[130] Nashe, *Strange Newes*, H4r.
[131] Ibid., H4r.
[132] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, F1r.

bodies' of *Christs Teares* that 'serue to mende High-waies […] and turne standing Quagmyres to firme ground'.[133] Books and bodies serve the same function as both return to boggy earth. They are, after all, materially analogous: Nashe describes how, once he has opened the letters, or, 'this *Gargantuan* bag-pudding', he finds 'nothing in it, but dog-tripes, swines liuers, oxe galls, and sheepes guts'.[134]

This catalogue is a mishmash of edible and inedible innards: tripe is offal prepared as food, but dogs were not food, and, believed to carry disease, were exterminated in times of plague.[135] This might also be a play on the proverb 'To scorn a thing as a dog scorns a tripe', suggesting Nashe's disgust at the contents of Harvey's book.[136] Liver was considered a 'noble' organ that refined food into blood, and pigs' livers were considered to be a nutritious foodstuff.[137] Ox-gall was no doubt less tasty, but this bile, obtained from the liver, was a common ingredient in an array of early modern medicines.[138] The guts are the 'belly' or the 'intestines', sometimes more precisely 'arsegutte' or the 'greate gutte, by the whyche ordure passeth'.[139] The strings of musical instruments were made from the guts of sheep, and they were also 'cleansed and blown up' as envelopes 'to receive puddings'.[140] Harvey's opened pudding-book is, therefore, something of a mixed bag: some bits are useful and tasty, others are useless and foul.

This passage gestures toward the nativity of Rabelais' Gargantua, in which the giant's mother, Gargamelle and a party of revellers 'did eate a huge deale of tripes' ('mangea grand planté de tripe').[141] They did so because otherwise, 'in a very short while they would have stunk', or begun to turn, 'which had been an undecent thing' ('en ce que possible n'estoit longuement les réserver, car ells feussent pourrie. Ce que sembloit indécent'). This 'shitten stuff' ('matière fécale') was swiftly consumed to save it from rotting and, as a result, Gargamelle 'began to be a little unweil in her lower parts' ('commença se porter mal du bas'). The midwives arrive and, groping about, pull out 'a certaine filthy stuffe' ('assez de maulvais goust') that, despite

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[133] Nashe, *Christs Teares*, G2r.

[134] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, F1r.

[135] Mark S. R. Jenner, 'The Great Dog Massacre', in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. by William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997), 44-61.

[136] John Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (Cambridge: John Hayes for W. Morden, 1678), 288.

[137] A. W., *A Book of Cookrye* (London: Edward Allde, 1591), 11-14.

[138] William Langham, *The Garden of Health* (London: [By the deputies of Christopher Barker], 1597), in which more than fifteen recipes require ox-gall.

[139] 'Gutte', in Richard Huloet, *Abecedarium anglico latinum* (London: [S. Mierdan] ex officina Gulielmi Riddel, [1552]).

[140] Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts and Serpents* (London: E. Cotes for G. Sawbridge, T. Williams, and T. Johnson, [1658]), 630; 'Tharm' in Ray, *A Collection of English VVords*.

[141] This translation is taken from Thomas Urquhart's celebrated translation of *The first book of the workes of Mr. Francis Rabelais Doctor in Physick* (London: Richard Baddeley, 1653), 22-23; François Rabelais, *Oeuvres completes*, ed. by Jacques Boulenger (Paris: Gallimard, 1955), 14-15.

resembling a child, is semi-digested tripe that had 'slipt out' of 'her *straight intrall* [entrail], which you call the bum-gut' ('mais c'estoit le fondement qui luy escapoit, à la mollification du droict intestine (lequel vous appellez le bouyau cullier').[142]

We do not know for certain whether Nashe read *Gargantua et Pantagruel* but, as Anne Prescott argues, a 'Rabelaisian energy field' permeated the literary circles that Nashe moved in.[143] Ben Jonson, Nashe's co-author of the lost *Isle of Dogs*, owned and annotated a copy of Rabelais' *Oeuvres*, and, despite condemning Rabelais and Nashe in one breath in his printed works, Gabriel Harvey's marginalia reveal a deep respect for the 'merry' French author.[144] Whether or not Nashe was familiar with the exact wording of the passage or only its outline, Nashe draws on Rabelais' confusion of 'shitten' animal organs, human foodstuff, and human excrement. *Pierces Supererogation* is a monstrous birth: a '*Gargantuan* bag-pudding' that, once opened and consumed, will expel a gross blend of excrement and food. But there is more to this than scatology. Nashe is concerned with the temporality of Rabelais' narrative: Harvey's text, like tripe pudding in a sheep-gut lining, is potentially untimely. If eaten at the right time, it could be wholesome and tasty. But it goes off quickly and, if rotten, it is gross and harmful.

This sense that books are corporeal things that, if they aren't consumed in time, will 'st[i]nk' 'in a very short while', emerges in Nashe's earliest works. In his 1589 *Anatomie of Absurditie*, he describes how certain authors use the 'Presse' and 'Paules Churchyard' as dumping grounds for their rapidly decomposing compositions. Here, a reader might find 'waste paper […] fraught with nought els saue dogge daies effects', or, *Pierce Penilesse* tells the reader, will be 'plucke[d] […] by the sleeue at euerie third step' and shown 'purgations and vomits wrapt vppe in wast paper' by a 'scuruie peddling Poet'.[145]

These pages and their stuffing are precariously balanced between the medicinal and the excremental. The paper wrapper might carry a precious plague cure but might also be a flimsy barrier 'fraught' with disease, having absorbed the noxious miasma of its rotting contents. The 'dogge daies effects' refer to the hottest weeks of the year, when the Dog Star was thought to

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[142] Urquhart, *Rabelais*, 30-31; Rabelais, *Oeuvres*, 22-23.

[143] Anne Lake Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998), viii, 53-55, 196-206; In *Almond*, Nashe describes how in dedicating his work to the soul of the deceased clown Tarlton, he is 'imitating herein that merry man Rablays, who dedicated most of his workes to the soule of the old Queene of Nauarre many yeares after her death' (A2v), and the description of 'suck[ing] figges out of an asses fundament' in *Haue VVith You* (G2r) is perhaps a reference to the fate of the islanders of Rabelais' Pope-Figland. See *Pantagruel's voyage to the oracle of the bottle being the fourth and fifth books of the works of Francis Rabelais*, trans. by Peter Anthony Motteux (London: for Richard Baldwin, 1694), 172-76.

[144] Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais*, 196-206.

[145] Nashe, *Anatomie*, B2r; *Pierce Penilesse*, I2r.

suck disease from the earth and spread it through the air.[146] Like clothes and bedding, loose sheets and letters were perceived as especially prone to carrying infection: they were, after all, made from rags. John Taylor the Water Poet describes how, during the 1625 outbreak '*London letters little better sped, | They would not be receiv'd (much lesse be read) | But cast into the fire and burnt with speed*', and a 1665 plague-tract lists 'a Letter received from an infected person' as a likely cause of contagion.[147]

Pierce Penilesse's 'purgations and vomits wrapt vppe in wast paper' might have a similar effect on their consumers: 'purgation' and 'vomits' refer to both a purgative medicine prescribed by a physician, and the bodily matter ('the spewynge') that has been purged.[148] According to Nashe, jig-writers and 'newsmongers' fill their pages with such stuff, as well as proverbially worthless 'goose gyblets' and 'stinking garbage' passed off as fresh and vendible.[149] This gross matter is dangerous: Nashe advises 'Booksellers and Stationers' to 'let not your shops be infected' with such 'dunghill papers', because they threaten to release an 'ill aire' or 'raise a damp' that might penetrate the bodies of those perusing the contents of their stalls.[150] Empty bodies, fasting because of poverty or confessional identity, were believed to be particularly vulnerable to diseased air.[151]

The fact that these books lie 'dead and never selling' exacerbates the problem.[152] As they sit unopened, putrefying within their wrappers, they become increasingly hazardous, like the misers' purses and the 'clodderd' clouds of *Christs Teares* and *The Vnfortunate Traueller*. Gabriel Harvey, as is so often the case, is Nashe's negative archetype: the Harvey portrayed by Nashe in *Strange Newes* and *Haue VVith You* hoards his putrid texts, seeking, above all else, literary perpetuity. He is 'a forestaller of the market of fame' and 'an ingrosser of glorie', buying up and storing abstract ideals like commodities.[153] Forestallers and engrossers are, like misers, the villains of Nashe's England: they buy 'Corne, Cattell, or other Marchaundize', even 'dead victuals', and hoard them. Triggering scarcity and dearth, they drive the price up and sell 'at a

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[146] According to *Summers Last Will and Testament*, these days are 'infectious fosterers | Of meteors from carrion that arise, | And putrified bodies of dead men', D4r. See Charles Whitney, 'Dekker's and Middleton's Plague Pamphlets as Environmental Literature', in Totaro and Gilman, *Representing the Plague*, 206.

[147] John Taylor, *The Fearefull Summer* (Oxford: John Lichfield and William Turner, 1625), B1r-v; *The Shutting Up Infected Houses* ([London: s.n], 1665), 14. See also Kathleen Miller, *The Literary Culture of Plague in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 2.

[148] See '*Purgamentum*', the 'Filth coming of any thing that is clensed, purging, clensing: also a purgation or cleare discharge', in Thomas, *Dictionarium*, and 'A vomyt or a spewynge' in John Stanbridge, *Uocabula magistri sta[n]brigi primu[m]* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1510).

[149] R. W. Dent, *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index* (Berkeley: California UP, 1981), xiii.

[150] Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, I2r.

[151] Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in Early Modern Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 286.

[152] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, T3v.

[153] Nashe, *Strange Newes*, B2r.

more high and deere price in prejudice and hurt of the common wealth and people'.[154] Seeking to hold things close, as we have seen, can have serious consequences.

Nashe's Harvey fails to understand that books, like all organic bodies, will decay. He thinks he can hoard them without them rotting or moldering, and reveals a misplaced faith in the endurance of print. In *Haue VVith You*, Importuno, the Italianate, buffoonish Harvey figure, claims that *Pierces Supererogation* 'is an attainder that will sticke by [Nashe] for euer'. Even though it sells badly, 'while Printing lasts, thy disgrace may last, & the Printer (whose Copie it is) may leaue thy infamie in Legacie to his heyres, and his heyres to their next heyres, successiuely to the thirteenth and fourteenth generation'.[155] Importuno imagines the printer seeking a monopoly on insulting Nashe, so none but 'the lineall offspring of their race' may print them '*in sempiternum*'. Nashe parodies contemporary privileges, lumping Harvey's text in with the high-grossing books protected by patents, such as Bibles, almanacs and grammars.[156] The idea of textual permanence, of enduring 'for euer' and '*in sempiternum*' is rendered ridiculous by the image of a monarchical genealogy of printers, passing on their insult-based monopoly like a birthright.

Nashe scoffs at this fantasy of durability, ironically terming it 'the immortality of the Print'.[157] Importuno's imagined future is as distant as 'three years after the building vp the top of Powles steeple', a proverbially Sisyphean task in late sixteenth-century England.[158] According to Nashe, Harvey's book will be found 'in no other mans handes', but only sitting in Harvey's 'owne Deske […] after his death'.[159] Harvey's book will not endure beyond him: almost its entire print run will be wasted, lost, forgotten, or destroyed.

But the Harvey of *Haue VVith You* has other schemes with which to seek fame and textual endurance. Seeking to interrupt the natural rhythms of composition and consumption, Nashe goes on to describe how 'Anie time this 17. yere my aduersary *Frigius Pedagogus* [a nickname for Harvey: impotent or feeble pedant] hath laid waste paper in pickle, and publisht some rags of treatise against Master Lilly and mee'. These '[h]aue lyne by him' unsold since there was a frost fair on the Thames.[160] Nashe's maths is a little off: Harvey first work was printed in

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[154] Eric Kerridge, 'Early Modern English Markets', in *The Market in History*, ed. by A. J. H. Latham and B. L. Anderson (London: Routledge, 2016), 130; 'Ingrosser' in Henry Cockeram, *The English Dictionarie* (London: [Eliot's Court Press] for Edmund Weauer, 1623); 'Forestaller' in William Rastell, *An Exposition of Certaine Difficult and Obscure Wordes* (London: Richard Tottell, 1579).

[155] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, E1v.

[156] David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press,* vol. 1, *Printing and the Book Trade in Cambridge 1534-1698* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 154.

[157] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, E3v.

[158] Ibid., E4r. The steeple had been destroyed by lightning in 1561. It was repaired, apparently poorly, in 1620. For other literary references to the steeple see Cyrus Hoy, *Introduction, Notes, and Commentaries to texts in 'The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker'*, vol. 4, ed. by Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980), 164.

[159] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, E1v.

[160] Ibid., E2v.

1575, twenty-one years earlier, but his first work attacking Nashe and Lyly was printed only four years prior to *Haue VVith You*, in 1592. The Thames had frozen over in 1595, one year before *Haue VVith You* was written and two years after *Pierces Supererogation* was printed, and three decades earlier, in 1565.[161]

But this is deliberate: the distortion of the passage of time is in keeping with the issues at stake in the passage. Harvey, according to Nashe, is fixated with escaping the effects of time. Appropriately, the date of composition is fixed to the 'great frost' on the Thames, a moment when the course of its waters were stopped in time. Seeking to halt the trajectory of his own books, Harvey's method of preservation is 'pickl[ing]', rather than freezing.[162] But Nashe, in a characteristically telescopic image, describes Harvey's books as at once rags, recalling its pre-life, and as wastepaper, suggesting its expected afterlife. Whereas the Harvey concocted by Nashe believes he can stop his books disintegrating and decaying by placing them in a salty brine, Nashe sees their entire life cycle palimpsestically in every page.

Pickle is a pun that refers to many things: it suggests that, by insulting Lyly and Nashe, Harvey is getting himself into a pickle.[163] It is also a reference to Greene's death, who, according to Harvey, died 'of a surfett of pickle herringe and rhenish wine'.[164] Nashe returns the insult, suggesting that it is Harvey who enjoys pickle and its traditional accompaniment, alcohol.[165] 'Pickle-Herring' was also a 'stock clown' on the Elizabethan stage: Harvey is, by implication, similarly clownish.[166] But Nashe, in this moment, is most concerned with Harvey's unnatural approach to time. In fact, this image can be read as a debased reworking of contemporary negotiations of material and poetic endurance. Wendy Wall, in her compelling study of the overlapping culinary and literary spaces of early modern England, argues that in his Sonnets, Shakespeare gestures towards the contemporary 'modish interest' in distillation: the distillation of the essence of a rose, for instance, made an ephemeral and health-giving ingredient available

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[161] Helen Hackett, *A Short History of English Renaissance Drama* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 49.

[162] According to John Aubrey, Francis Bacon similarly considered the preservative potential of extreme cold, apparently catching pneumonia and dying after an experiment in which he tried to discover if 'flesh might not be preserved in snow, as in salt', *Brief Lives*, ed. by John Buchanan-Brown (London: Penguin, 2000), 29-30. Pickling was common practice in the sixteenth century: Thomas Hill, for instance, in his 1577 *The Gardeners Labyrinth* instructs his readers to place their cucumbers 'in a proper pickle, made of water and Salt' or 'vyneger and Mustarde Seede', which will 'preserve the[m] [...] a long tyme' (London: Henry Bynneman, 1577), 141-42.

[163] See, for instance, John Foxe's 'And in thys pickle lyeth man by nature, that is, all we that be *Adams* children', in *A Sermon of Christ Crucified* (London: Iohn Daye, 1570), 9,

[164] Gabriel Harvey, *Foure Letters, and Certaine Sonnets* (London: Iohn Wolfe, 1592), 5.

[165] M. A. Katritzky, "'A Plague o' These Pickle Herring": From London Drinkers to European Stage Clown', in *Renaissance Shakespeare: Shakespeare Renaissances*, ed. by Martin Procházka et al (Newark: Delaware UP, 2014), 159-168.

[166] Jennifer C. Vaught, *Carnival and Literature in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2012), 31.

all year round, a 'chemical' process that Shakespeare 'injected' into a number of his poems.[167] This delicate metaphor spiced up 'the conventional claim that poetry could serve as a tool in a war against time'.

Nashe, however, is sceptical about such 'monumental and grand ambitions'.[168] Attempting to preserve a book is very different to distilling rosewater. Distillation is the rarefication of food into blood and spirit, a process performed naturally by a healthy body, and it can also be performed artificially by heating a solid material so that it turns into a vapour, before its 'essence' is captured as a liquid.[169] Harvey's dropping of his ageing pages into brine has no such metamorphic effect. While preservation was a crucial element of food preparation in early modern England, enabling resources to be stored up for winter, Lent, or times of dearth, distillation was a more exclusive pursuit, performed by alchemists and wealthier housewives who sought to produce valuable liquids, medicines and perfumes.[170]

Pickling, salting, and smoking were the methods of preservation more commonly encountered in Nashe's London, and Nashe evidently had little faith in their capacity to successfully stay the putrefaction of food. Nashe often describes rotting herrings, and they provide the centre-piece for his final printed work, *Lenten Stuffe* (1599). Towards the end of this mock-encomium, we follow the journey of three smoked but 'stale' herring from Great Yarmouth to Rome.[171] The reader who opens Harvey's 'waste paper in pickle' might, like the unfortunate papists who cook up the Englishman's fish, which had been 'endu*n*geond in his pocket a tweluemonth', be in for a nasty surprise. Harvey, like so many hawkers harangued in pamphlets in the period, is guilty of disguising his 'naughti', stale 'wares'. Unwrapped and consumed, this 'bad fish or flesh' threatens the bodies of its users, perhaps even with 'Plague or Pestilence'.[172]

The Harvey of *Haue VVith You*, then, is the archetype of a miserly writer, foolishly hoarding his rotten stuff in the mistaken belief that print will preserve them and 'forestall' his fame. Nashe, however, knows better. Every poet, he suggests in *Strange Newes*, should live, at

[167] Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 186-190; Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 48; Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 2011), 44-45, 48-58.
[168] Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 190.
[169] See 'Distillation' and 'Alchimy' in *A Physical Dictionary* (London: G. Dawson for Iohn Garfield, 1657); 'Alchemy', in John Bullokar, *An English Expositor* (London: Iohn Legatt, 1616); 'Alchemy' and 'Quintessence' in Thomas Blount, *Glossographia* (London: Thomas Newcomb to be sold by Humphrey Moseley, 1656).
[170] Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 28-29, 42, 50-52. As Holly Dugan notes, it 'may take upward of five hundred pounds of roses to produce one pound of rosewater', *The Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 50.
[171] Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe*, 53-56.
[172] Johann von Ewich, *The Duetie of a Faithfull and Wise Magistrate*, trans. by John Stockwood (London: Thomas Dawson, 1583), 17. See also Richard Hakluyt's description of the 'Muscovians' who 'eat the pickle of Hearring and other stinking fish', *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation* (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker, 1599[-1600]), 241.

least for a little while, 'in vnthrifts consistory'.[173] Admitting to having sung '*George Gascoignes*
Counter-tenor', in other words, to have spent time in the 'Counter' or debtor's prison, this
instruction to live unthriftily also underpins Nashe's wider poetics: poets need to learn to
disperse, consume, and live prodigally – to live, like the 'dapper Mounsiers' of *The Vnfortunate
Traueller*, a hand-to-mouth existence. It is better to eat hot mustard, fresh from English soil,
than to spice your food with a pinch of mace, stale and worm-eaten from its long journey
overseas.

Nashe, then, does not distill, smoke, salt, or pickle his works. Instead, like the
disintegrating meats and paper sheets of the kitchen, dismembered and thrust in the oven,
Nashe's works demonstrate the decay of all organic things. Far from being hemmed in by print
technology and the print marketplace, Nashe parodies it with the threat of wastepaper. He writes
with the mortality of all bodies in mind, rather than 'the immortality of the Print'. Libraries will,
like '*Alexandria*', be lost and books should, for their readers' own benefit, be quickly consumed
and dispersed as wastepaper. He takes, in *Haue VVith You*, a cheerfully morbid approach: rather
than 'vrging of posteritie and after ages whose cradle makers are not yet begot', he claims not
to believe that 'there is anie thing so eternall and permanent, that consumes and dies not'.[174] He
is unconcerned, therefore, as to whether, at some point in the distant future, the ancestors of
Harvey's printer John Wolfe 'baffull and infamize' his name. Nashe, according to Nashe, will
by then be 'in heauen, & shall never feele it' because, as his 1593 writings demonstrate, the most
virtuous way to live is prodigally and wastefully, leaving a trail of wastepaper in your wake.

Conclusion

Wastepaper is, then, a potent and metamorphic emblem of Nashe's prodigal poetics.
Paper, as much as, or perhaps even more than print, shaped Nashe's imagination. Surrounded
by manuscripts, epistles, pamphlets, and Bills of Mortality, Nashe's understanding of
appropriate composition and consumption came to be structured by the life cycle and material
capacities of paper. The repurposing of paper serves as a model of how to subsist as an 'vnthrift'
in late sixteenth-century London, providing a how-to-guide for both the 'dapper Mounsier
pages' and for the city's sinners in the time of plague. The emblem condenses into an
unexpected and untimely object the dangers of hoarding and the curative nature of dispersal.
This binary of miserly closure and healthy release, unwrapping, ripping, and scattering is a

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[173] Nashe, *Terrors*, C1v; *Strange Newes*, I1r.
[174] Nashe, *Haue VVith You*, G1r, E4r.

pattern that underpins much of Nashe's work: reimagining a conventional insult and modesty trope, Nashe outlines how best to write and read books, and how best to live and die. Nashe suggests that, to live well, we should always keep in mind the entropic trajectory of paper as it moves from rags, to text, to waste.

CHAPTER 4

ALMANACS, WASTEPAPER, AND 'SUCH OTHER MOULDY STUFF'

An apology must be made that these notes contain little or no technical or critical bibliography, but they are only intended to show that the Almanack was a very human book.

Eustace Bosanquet, 'English Seventeenth-Century Almanacks'.[1]

Weatherwise, the star-crossed suitor in Thomas Middleton's 1611 *No Wit/No Help Like a Woman's; Or, The Almanac*, is introduced with a peculiar phrase: he is a man made up 'of masty lumps of almanac stuff | Kned with May-Butter', which will be 'spoil[ed] […] in the baking'.[2] Weatherwise's body is a strange concoction of 'mast' (the acorns and chestnuts that pigs eat) and paper (the pages of an almanac): he is 'stuff', either fabric or fodder, that will be packed into a pie and overcooked in the oven.[3] Middleton condenses common kitchen practice into a gross confusion: rather than lining a pie tin with paper (in this case, an unwanted almanac), the paper makes up the greasy, buttery filling.[4] The almanac is many things at once: organic, vegetable matter ('mast' or flax), which will soon rot or 'spoil'; woven linen rags pulped and pressed to form sheets; reading material; and waste.

Middleton, in this image, collates the life cycle of an almanac into one object, as well as anthropomorphizing it through the figure of Weatherwise. Or, perhaps Weatherwise is better understood as being bibliomorphized: he shares the corporeal qualities of an almanac, an object he later more literally inhabits when he wears 'a coat made like an almanac' in the wedding masque.[5] This image, although bizarre, is representative of a nexus of ideas that grew up around almanacs in early modern England: the everyday experience of their greasiness, their ephemerality, and their tendency to be turned into wastepaper made almanacs a potent emblem for the unwanted, the discarded, and the 'out of date'. Almanacs, this chapter argues, offered a heightened articulation of the life cycle of wastepaper. Only relevant for a single year, these little books were among the most likely to be repurposed in the period, and, as a result, this

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[1] 'English Seventeenth-Century Almanacks', *Library* 4, no. 10 (1930): 397.

[2] *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's; Or, The Almanac*, ed. by John Jowett, in *Thomas Middleton, The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 1.118-20.

[3] 'Mast' in John Withals, *A Shorte Dictionarie for Yonge Beginners* (London: John Kingstun for John Waley and Abraham Vele, 1556) and Richard Hogarth, *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* (London: E. Holt and W. Horton to be sold by Randall Taylor, 1689). 'Stuff', 'materials for filling a pie' I.1.i., *OED*, the 'material for making garments' or 'woven material of any kind', 5.a., *OED*.

[4] Middleton refers to putting old almanacs 'under pie crust' elsewhere in his 1618 *The Owl's Almanac*, ed. by Neil Rhodes, in *Thomas Middleton, The Collected Works*, ed. by Taylor and Lavagnino, 1169-70. See p. 212 below. Wendy Wall and Elizabeth Yale touch upon the often explicitly gendered process of paper 'becoming casings for greasy pies', see Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2015), 153-156 and Yale, *Sociable Knowledge: Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2015), 217-18. 'May-butter' was a common cure-all, made by setting a lump of butter out in the sun for the month of May until it became 'exceeding soveraigne and medicinable for wounds, straines, aches, and such like grievances', and, presumably, rancid. See Gervase Markham, *The English House-VVife* (London: Nicholas Okes for Iohn Harison, 1631), 199.

[5] *No Wit/Help*, 9.62, stage direction.

subcategory of waste condensed the wider narratives of temporality and decay contained within waste objects. These stories were communicated by an almanac's textual matter (its calendars, computations, and astrological instruments), but also by its physical make-up: how it became increasingly greasy and worn with use, and the manner in which it was handled once its year was up.

I begin by outlining the development and format of almanacs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, before suggesting that almanacs, as texts and as waste fragments, invoked and helped to create multiple senses of time, ranging from the biblical and the geological to the cyclical and the entropic. I then consider how the paper of an almanac manifested the shared matter of microcosm and macrocosm, making palpable the synonymy of decaying books, bodies, and world.

The Stuff of Almanacs

The first English reference to an almanac, according to the *OED*, is in a text of ca. 1392. These early almanacs were permanent astrological tables intended for scholarly use and, along with the religious calendars found in Bibles and prayer books, were the pre-cursors of the early modern almanac. Intended to last for generations, Biblical calendars were unable to specify the dates of moveable feasts.[6] The small printed, paper almanacs that developed in the early sixteenth century partially filled this gap.[7] The earliest were translations from European editions, but almanacs by English authors dominated the market from the 1550s onward.

The word's etymology is obscure, but early modern philologists trace the almanac's linguistic roots to the Arabic 'manā k' or 'manah', meaning 'calendar' or 'sundial'.[8] Almanac

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[6] Alison A. Chapman, 'Marking Time: Astrology, Almanacs, and English Protestantism', *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2007): 1276-278.

[7] On the history of the almanac see Cyprian Bladgen, 'The Distribution of Almanacks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century,' *Studies in Bibliography* 11 (1958): 107-116; Eustace Bosanquet, *English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications, A Bibliographical History to the year 1600* (London, the Bibliographical Society at the Chiswick Press: 1917); Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500-1800* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979); Alison Chapman, 'Almanacs', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature,* vol. 1, ed. by David Scott Kastan (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), 26-30; Neil Rhodes 'Articulate Networks: The Self, the Book and the World', in *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*, ed. by Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (London, Routledge: 2000), 181-93; R. C. Simmons, 'ABCs, almanacs, ballads, chapbooks, popular piety and textbooks' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge UP: 2000), 504-13; Adam Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *ELR* 38, no. 2 (2008): 200-244 and 'Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten, Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 125-133; and Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 294-300.

[8] An almanac might in fact be to do with camels' knees. The *OED* adds another possible etymological root in 'munā k', the verbal noun 'to make (a camel) kneel; it functions as a noun of action (i.e. "halt at the end of a day's

technology moved westward in the ninth and tenth centuries, along with the occult knowledge transmitted by astrological, Aristotelian, medical, and mathematical texts, the first paper imports, and the germs of the paper-making trade.[9] Early modern etymologists also offered a local alternative, suggesting that the term 'almanac' developed from the Saxon 'All-moon-heeds' or 'All-moon-oughts', wooden sticks that were notched to record the lunar cycle.[10] This uncertain genealogy reveals the hybridity of almanacs in early modern England. The books oscillated between the foreign and the familiar, combining hints of a murky and mystical 'astral magic' with a wealth of domestic information, enabling the negotiation of phenomena ranging from coughs to comets.

Almanacs ranged in size and price: there were cheap sheets to paste on walls and, from the 1560s, more expensive versions with pre-printed blank tables for use as account books and diaries ('blanks', as opposed to the regular 'sorts'). Usually pocket-sized, either little octavos or duodecimos of between two and six sheets, they cost one or two pence in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Annual almanacs were printed in December ready for January of the following year. They were structured according to the Julian calendar, although the legal year (beginning on March 25) was represented in the 'foure Tearmes of Law', and the lunar and liturgical cycles were incorporated within the calendar. Later almanacs often included the 'forraigne' or Gregorian 'computation' alongside the 'Old', English 'accompt'.[11] A range of perpetual almanacs also existed: these covered several decades, or, ambitiously, 'for ever'.[12] Two of these, *Erra Pater* and *The Kalendar of Shepherds*, were frequently reprinted in the period and were aimed at a less educated readership. But little, yearly books were the most popular, and the trade was a lucrative and fiercely guarded one, making up a large portion of the Stationer's Company's profits. In the 1660s, 400,000 almanacs were sold annually, meaning that one in three families purchased a new one every year.[13]

Almanacs typically had two parts: a calendar and a prognostication, each with a separate title page and signatures but printed and stitched together in one thin volume. The genre was a

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travel") and a noun of place (i.e. "stopping place").' This develops into the geographical term 'climate', a compartmentalizing of the earth's surface into latitudes, each with its corresponding celestial region.

[9] Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001), 203-226.

[10] Thomas Blount, in his *Glossographia* (London: Tho. Newcomb to be sold by Humphrey Moseley, 1656), writes: '*Almanack* (Hebr. *Almanahh*) a Prognostication or Kalender. But *Verstegan* derives it from the Germans; they used (says he) to engrave upon certain squared sticks about a foot in length, the courses of the Moons of the whole year, whereby they could always certainly tell when the New and Full Moons should happen, as also their Festival days; and such a carved stick they called an *Al-mon-aght*, that is to say, *Al-mon heed*, to wit, the regard or observation of all the Moons, and hence is derived the name *Almanack*. *Verstegan* p. 46, 47'.

[11] For instance, *Pond 1610* ([London: For the Company of Stationers, 1610]), A3v.

[12] *Pronostication for euer, of Erra Pater* ([London]: Robert Wyer, [ca. 1552]).

[13] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, 23.

conservative one: there are few variations in this structure across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the first, or 'calendar', part, most followed the general pattern of a 'contentes' page with instructions for use and key information (e.g. the golden number and dominical letter for the year); the legal terms; brief rules of thumb regarding 'Physick' and husbandry (typically with a key of symbols for the 'good' and 'bad' days outlined in the calendar); an 'Anatomicall' or 'Zodiac Man'; and an increasingly expanded chronology of history, or 'Computation of Time', counting down from the Creation to the present year. This was followed by a month-by-month (often page-by-page) calendar, containing information for each day, with columns including saints' days, moveable feasts and notable anniversaries; the exact minute of sunrise, sunset and the length of the day; the sign and degree of the moon at noon; a symbol specifying 'good' and 'bad' days for prescribed activities (usually, when best and worst to let blood, bathe, cut hair, sow seeds, and so on); and the phases of the moon through the course of the month. Users often added notes to the blank spaces within this calendar.

The contents of the second, or 'Prognostication', part of the almanac overlapped with and expanded the contents of the first. It outlined the year's anticipated eclipses of the sun and moon and detailed the 'disposicion' of the '4. parts' of the year, describing each season's zodiacal movements and the accompanying alterations in weather, disease, plenty and dearth. This was typically followed by an expansion on the 'disposicion' of each month of the year, containing an even more detailed weather forecast (sometimes down to the minute) and advice regarding health and husbandry. By the turn of the seventeenth century a range of additional information had accumulated around the calendar and prognostication, including a list of England's fairs; a description of the distances between major cities and the nation's highways; tables of weights, measures, tides and interest rates; and a list of English kings.

Not all almanacs contained all of the above information, and their structure could vary. Some almanacs had particular specialisms, and were calculated according to the meridian of certain cities, aimed at certain professions (merchants, seamen, doctors and lawyers, among others), or contained an especially large amount of medical or agricultural material. A number of almanac authors were, according to their title pages, 'practitioner[s] in phisick and chirurgerie' (Securis, Dade, Farmer and Alleyn, for instance), and Thomas Johnson's almanacs present expansive instructions regarding husbandry. Some almanacs, such as those compiled by Daniel Browne or John Ryckes, were particularly devout, and other compilers, including Leonard Digges and Gabriel Frende in his 'friendly Almanacke', described themselves as 'mathematicians'.

The work of scholars including Bernard Capp, Ann Geneva, and Patrick Curry has demonstrated the socio-economic breadth of astrologers, almanac compilers and readers: the calendars and prognostications were often written by university men, such as the brothers John and Richard Harvey, graduates of the University of Cambridge, and the mathematician Leonard Digges.[14] Others, including Edward Pond and William Lilly, were self-educated astrologers.[15] Almanac readers ranged as high in status as royalty, although the majority of surviving books belonged to yeomen, husbandmen and artisans.[16] Educated and non-sceptical use is visible in the margins and blank spaces of many extant almanacs, including cryptic, astrological calculations (for instance, in the Bodleian Library's *Pond 1629*, Rawl. Alm. 83 (1)), and large numbers, as Adam Smyth has demonstrated, contain daily records, bearing witness to the early modern practice of 'life-writing'.[17]

Despite this broad spectrum of use, there remains an assumption that almanac readers were predominantly rural and uneducated. Maureen Perkins, for instance, states that 'the more astrological the content of an almanac, the more plebeian its intended audience', despite the fact that *all* almanac content was 'astrological' in the period: the term was synonymous with 'astronomie', and encompassed anything concerned with the 'knowledge of the stars'.[18] This assumption is a symptom of the gradual relegation of almanacs and their astrological contents to the realm of superstition and rural tradition in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[19] But this does not diminish the vibrancy of almanacs as a locus of thought in the century and a half prior to this eventual decline: they were quite probably the 'most popular books in the early

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[14] Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989), 23-40; Ann Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth-Century Mind: William Lilly and the Language of the Stars* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995), 55-71.

[15] John Harvey was active between 1583 and 1589, and Richard's only astrological work was printed in 1583. Both brothers notoriously predicted a series of apocalyptic upheavals as a consequence of the 1593 conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. These did not emerge, as Nashe delights in reminding his readers in *Pierce Penilesse* (London: Abell Ieffes for Iohn Busbie, 1592), E1r. Leonard Digges was active between 1555 and 1559, but was reprinted frequently in the seventeenth century. Edward Pond died in 1629 but his name continued to be printed on the title pages of almanacs until 1709 (a common practice), and William Lilly was prolific between 1642 and his death in 1681.

[16] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, 60 and Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 379.

[17] Adam Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing', 200-244. The V&A's copy of *Pond 1610* ([London: for the Company of Stationers, 1610]), Dyce 7707, contains a series of underlinings and annotations that indicate attentive use. The British Library's copy of *Allestree 1639* contains the signature 'Herman ye Earl of Arundalls Secretary', see Fig. 37.

[18] Maureen Perkins, *Visions of the Future: Almanacs, Time, and Cultural Change, 1775-1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 3; 'Astronomie, astrologie' in Edward Coote, *The English Schoole-Master* (London: B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, and George Purslowe, 1630).

[19] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 355-57.

modern period', and almost certainly the most frequently purchased.[20] This continued until the 1670s, the final decade of the 'golden age' of the almanac.[21]

There is also a risk of taking the satirical representation of almanacs and almanac readers in much early modern literature too much at face value: in addition to Middleton's Weatherwise, there are foolish almanac readers in the works of Ben Jonson (Sordido in *Every Man out of his Humour*) and William Rowley (Cuddy Banks in *The Witch of Edmonton*), and a Doctor Almanac appears in both Jonson's *The Staple of Newes* and Middleton's *The Masque of Heroes*. Almanacs also make fleeting appearances in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Bottom: 'A calendar, a calendar! Look in the almanac – find out moonshine, find out moonshine!') and a number of works by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher (*Philaster, The Chances*, and *A Wife for a Month*, to name a few).[22] Mock-almanacs and prognostications were popular in the period, published by writers such as the pseudonymous Adam Foulweather (sometimes identified as Thomas Nashe), Thomas Dekker, and Middleton.[23] But parody and scepticism do not preclude serious almanac use, either by the wider public or the author in question: just as Ben Jonson's farcical portrayal of alchemy and astrology in *The Alchemist* does not mean that he rejected all such science, those who lampooned naïve almanac readers shared with them a fundamental understanding of the world, one that was communicated primarily through almanacs.[24] Jonson, as Margaret Healy points out, seems to know an awful lot about the science he derides and Middleton regularly purchased and read almanacs throughout his career, in particular, *Bretnor*, *Dade*, and *Neve*.[25]

In fact, few English almanacs espoused the much maligned strain of 'judicial' astrology after the mid-sixteenth century: this practice, described in *Dove 1634* as forecasting 'the disturbances of States, the translation of kingdomes, together with the success of such and such warres, the telling of fortunes, the finding of things lost and the like', was largely limited

[20] William Eamon, 'Astrology and Society', in *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance*, ed. by Brendan Dooley (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 163.

[21] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, 24.

[22] *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in *The Oxford Shakespeare: Complete Works*, 2nd ed., ed. by John Jowett et al (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), III.1.48-49.

[23] Adam Foulweather, *A VVonderfull, Strange and Miraculous, Astrologicall Prognostication* (London: [Thomas Scarlet], 1591); Thomas Dekker, *The Rauens Almanacke* (London: E[dward] Allde and another for Thomas Archer, 1609); Thomas Middleton, *The Owles Almanacke* (London: E.G. for Lawrence Lisle, 1619). See also F. P. Wilson's 'Some English Mock-Prognostications', *The Library* 4, no. 19 (1938): 6-43.

[24] Margaret Healy, 'Alchemy, Magic, and the Sciences', in *Ben Jonson In Context*, ed. by Julie Sanders (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 322; Eamon, 'Astrology and Society', 190.

[25] Healy, 'Alchemy, Magic, and the Sciences', 325; Middleton quotes directly from *Bretnor 1611*, *Dade 1611*, and *Neve 1611* in *No Wit/No Help Like a Woman's; Or, The Almanac*. He also quotes from *Bretnor 1618* in *The Owles Almanacke* and *Bretnor 1619* in *The Masque of Heroes*. See David George, 'Weather-Wise's Almanac and the Date of Middleton's *No Wit No Help Like a Woman's*', *Notes and Queries* 13.8 (1966): 297-301 and *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*, ed. by Lowell E. Johnson (Lincoln: Nebraska UP, 1976), xii.

to continental publications.[26] This is not to say that such divination was entirely discredited: some almanacs taught how to cast 'nativities', 'horoscopes' and determine 'elections' (the most auspicious time to perform a particular action, such as marriage or travel). Such 'forecasting', in fact, seems to have been part of the professional astrologer's stock in trade.[27] Furthermore, exceptional celestial events, such as major eclipses and comets, were widely believed to presage momentous and unfortunate events throughout the period. But English almanac compilers were careful to avoid dangerously political subjects: the influence of the heavens on the state of kings and kingdoms only became an acceptable topic during the Civil War.[28]

The majority of English almanacs skirted carefully around the edges of 'judicial' astrology: as Thomas Blount summarized in 1656, 'Astrology is a Science which tels the Reasons of the Stars and Planets motions'. It

> professeth to discover the influence and domination of the superior Globe over the inferior, and therefore may be tearmed a kind of natural divination, so long as it keeps it self in due limits, and arrogates not too much to its certainty; into which excess if it once break forth, it can then be no longer called natural Divination, but superstitious and wicked; for the Stars may incline, but not impose a necessity in particular things.[29]

This science of celestial 'influence and domination' was a remarkably capacious one, repeatedly modified rather than rejected by a surprising array of practitioners, including Tycho Brahe, Johanes Kepler and Francis Bacon.[30] Grounded in the universal belief that 'all thynges happenynge on the erthe dependeth on natural causes of the bodyes aboue folowynge', the 'natural' astrology of early modern almanacs taught how the movements of the planets and the stars altered the air and, in turn, influenced the humoral make-up of all mundane bodies, whether human, animal, or vegetable.[31] So, by 'knowynge the disposicion of the celestial bodies, by the which all ementate [emanant/created] bodyes be ruled', the compilers and readers of almanacs believed that one might 'prognosticat[e] […] thynges to come, as mutacions of the ayre, pestilencis, & al other infirmities […] which depende on the heavens, as second causes of God'.[32] Knowing what alterations in weather, health, and humoral balance to expect, almanac

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[26] *Dove. 1634* ([Cambridge]: Printers to the Vniversity of Cambridge, [1634]), C3r-C4r; Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, 16-17; Curry, *Prophecy and Power*, 8-10.

[27] Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997), 132.

[28] Chapman, 'Almanacs', 28.

[29] 'Astrology' in Blount, *Glossographia*.

[30] Darrel H. Rutkin, 'Astrology', in *The Cambridge History of Science*, ed. by Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 548-552.

[31] George Seyfridt, [*Almanake and pronostication for the yeare of our lorde MCCCC, and XXXVII*] (Antwerp: Widow of C. Ruremond?, [1537]), 1 sheet.

[32] Antonius de Montulmo, *An almanacke and prognostication for the yere of our Lord God D.CCCCC.LV.* [*sic*] (London: Thomas Marche, [1555]), A2r-A2v.

readers were better informed when best to undertake any number of activities. These ranged from the medical to the agricultural, including when best to pare nails or cut hair, to let blood, chop down trees, or sow, pick, and preserve particular crops.

There have been several sensitive studies of early modern almanac use in recent literary scholarship: rather than accepting that almanacs are predominantly the 'butt of jokes', reduced to a series of 'catchphrases', Abigail Shinn argues that the little books underpin the agricultural rhythms of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar*.[33] More than a 'poetic device', Shinn argues, the almanac framework demonstrates the very real 'link between the weather and Colin [Clout's] state of mind', grounded in 'the universal link between microcosm and macrocosm', and the 'shared astrological compulsion as man and his environment both incline towards the path plotted for them by the stars'.[34] Similarly, Katherine Walker argues that almanacs offered their readers 'a heterogeneous understanding of the environment', intermingling 'popular and scientific discourses' and providing a 'valuable means for interpreting the cosmos'.[35] Cuddy Banks, the 'stock comic' almanac reader of *The Witch of Edmonton*, is empowered by his popular reading material: he is able to control the relationship between his body and the cosmos, closing it off against malicious influence by using his insight into the influence of 'seasonal time'.[36]

I want, like Walker and Shinn, to take almanacs seriously. As Walker writes, although much work has been done on 'their circulation and medical content […] literary studies has yet to explore how prognostications and ephemeral texts influence our understanding of the early modern notion of the environment'.[37] But I want to insert into these compelling demonstrations of the interconnectedness of the almanac, the almanac reader and the world a heightened sense of the almanac as object: as a paper device that invited particular modes of handling, and that would have been apprehended differently at various points in its life cycle. This trajectory of haptic encounters, I argue, along with its intellectual contents, shaped the early modern understanding of both the human body and the environment.

Almanacs prescribe a particularly heightened form of engagement with the page and the book. Julian Yates, in a reading of Middleton's mock-prognostication *The Owl's Almanac*, gives a spurious account of how an 'almanac appears […] to absolve its users of reading anything, of

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[33] Eamon, 'Astrology and Society', 190; Abigail Shinn, '"Extraordinary discourses of vnnecessarie matter": Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar* and the Almanac Tradition', in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England,* ed. by Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Ashgate, Farnham, 2009), 137-49.
[34] Shinn, 'Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar*', 144.
[35] Katherine Walker, 'Early Modern Almanacs and the Witch of Edmonton', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 18, no. 1 (2015): 5.
[36] James Knowles' 'Introduction' to *The Masque of Heroes* in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Taylor and Lavagnino, 1320; Walker, 'Early Modern Almanacs', 1-25.
[37] Walker, 'Early Modern Almanacs', 3.

being exposed to the vagaries of language – just buy a copy every year, scroll through the data until you find what you need. Fill in the "blank"'.[38] As well as underestimating the level of agency present in *any* act of reading (whether digital 'scroll[ing]' or analogue page turning), Yates misunderstands the mechanics particular to almanac use. The woodcuts, diagrams, and tables of an almanac, rather than being 'scroll[ed]' through and mindlessly 'fill[ed] in', invite the reader to insert their own experiences into the text and, simultaneously, to understand their place in the world. The early modern reader might better understand their own body by projecting it onto the 'zodiac man' and its map of corporeal/celestial relations, or by recording everyday information in the blank spaces of a calendar. Some almanacs included do-it-yourself tables and diagrams, advising readers how they might track the celestial movements or forecast the weather for themselves. The readers of *Dove 1634* might look out for 'Clouds with golden edges' (a sign of fair weather), or '[t]he extraordinary chattering of the Pie' (signalling rain), and act accordingly.[39]

A number of almanacs offered an even more hands-on experience: *White 1638*, for instance, includes a double-sided 'briefe and easie Kalender for this Yeere 1638. which being cut out, is fit to be placed *into any Booke of Accompts, Table-booke, or* other, conteyning the whole Almanacke, in a short method' (see Fig. 36). Inviting disassembly, almanacs often suggested that their readers cut and paste their pages onto walls and into other books. Others, such as *Allestree 1639*, contained astrological instruments (see Fig. 37). More than a template, these pages were integral components of the 'Geometricall Instrument' itself. With *Allestree*'s table and instrument, the reader is told, one can discern 'the true declination of the Sunne' and 'what a clocke it is'.[40] All they need do is 'cut out' the instrument 'as it is Printed', pasting it onto 'a smooth square little board that will not skellow', or warp (wood or brass are recommended), and pierce 'two little holes' for the sun to shine through before adding a silken thread, lead plummet and moveable pearl to 'get the houre of the day' and, as an added bonus, 'the height of any thing standing Perpendicular'.

These instruments resemble the volvelles found in more upmarket astrological publications, as well as the flaps that lift up, like skin, to reveal the innards of the bodies depicted in anatomical texts (see Fig. 38). As Helen Smith argues, these technologies make use of the capacity of paper 'to fold, crease, slice and bow', as well as to be easily pierced, pasted, and

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[38] Julian Yates, 'Thomas Middleton's Shelf Life', in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*, ed. by Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 26.

[39] *Dove 1634*, C4r.

[40] *Allestree 1639* (London: T. Cotes for the Company of Stationers, [1639]), C6v-7v.

spun.[41] These haptic qualities provided mathematicians and astrologers a tool with which to 'materialis[e] problems' and perform calculations, and, in the case of almanacs, to measure time. Almanac readers were far from passive or naïve: either digesting an almanac's astrological information, or manipulating its pages to make their own astrological instruments, almanac readers learnt about the timings and rhythms of the external world, and how to accommodate their own experiences within it, sometimes in markedly physical ways.
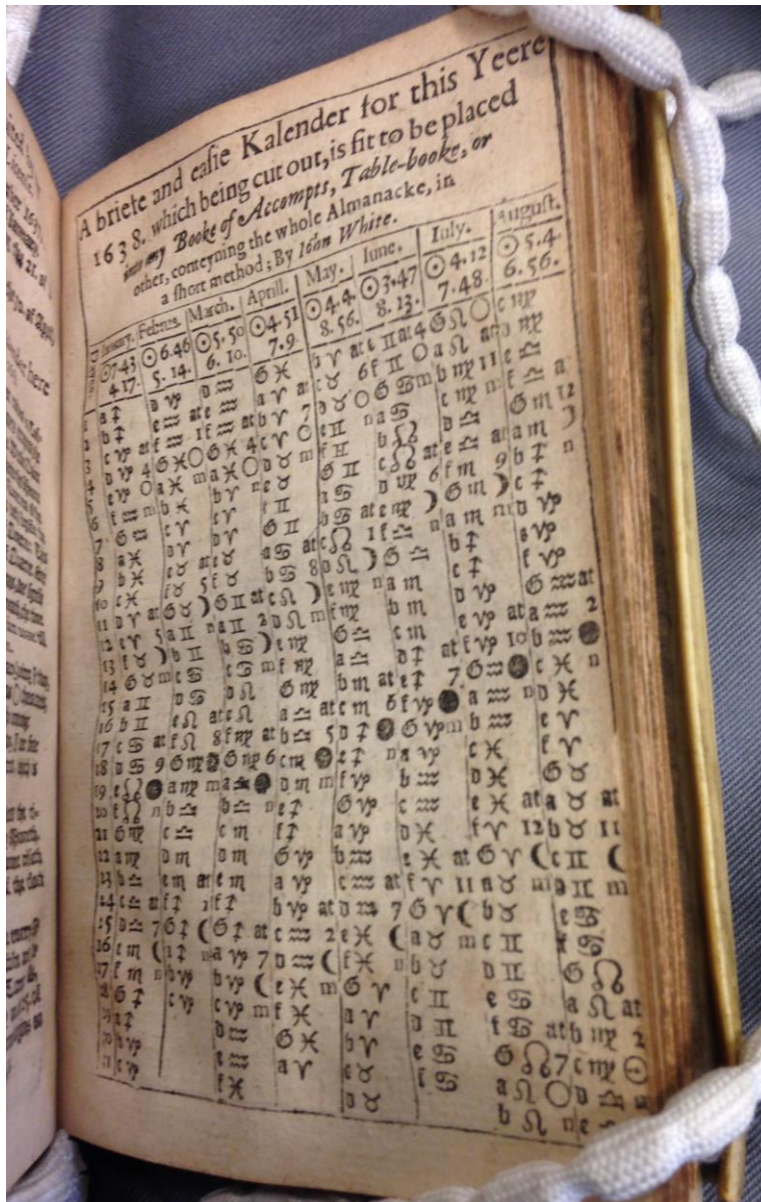
Fig. 36: 'A briefe and easie Kalender for this Yeere 1638. which being cut out, is fit to be placed *into any Booke of Accompts, Table-booke, or* other, conteyning the whole Almanacke, in a short method', in *White 1638* (London: by F.K. for the Company of Stationers, [1638]), sig. C4r-v, Lambeth Palace Library, **YY51.Z71638.

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[41] Helen Smith, '"A unique instance of art": The proliferating surfaces of early modern paper', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017): para. 39-43.

This Instrument serveth exactly with quicke speed to get the houre of the day throughout the yeare for ever, it is of excellent use for Schollers, Gentlemen, Architectors, for Military affaires, to get the Hypothenusal line, for Sales-men, Carpenters, Masons: and to get the height of any thing standing Perpendicular.

Right shadow

Contrary shadow

Nov.	Dec.
D.m.	D.m.
17.35	23. 7
0, 51	11
18, 7	15
0, 25	19
0. 38	23
0. 54	25
19. 8	27
0. 23	29
0. 37	31
0. 51	33
20. 4	31
0. 17	31
0. 30	31
0. 42	30
0. 54	28
21. 6	26
17	23
27	20
38	17
47	13
57	8
22. 6	4
14	22.59
23	53
30	46
38	39
44	32
51	25
57	17
.2	8
	22. 0

Thele

The declaration and use of the aforesaid Table of the Declination of the Sun, and the Geometricall Instrument with Examples.

By this Instrument, being cut out as it is Printed, and pasted upon a smooth square little board that will not skellow, with two sights upon the upper edge of the wood or brasse, with two little holes in the middest of them of an equall height, that the Sun beames pierce thorow both the Sights at one time, a Plummet of lead with a small silke thread with a fine little pearle to move up and

Fig. 37: 'This Instrument serveth exactly with quicke speed to get the hour of the day throughout the yeare for ever', in *Allestree 1639* (London: T. Cotes, for the Company of Stationers, [1639]), sig. C7r. Stab-stitched with parchment wrapper and a tie at front only, so it might be folded lengthways, hence the heavy crease down the centre, British Library, C.194.a.337.

Fig. 38: Detail of volvelles in Peter Apian, *Cosmographia* (Antverpiae: Arnoldi Coninx [typis Joan. Withagii], 1584), fols. 25 and 189. Many of the instruments in this volume are reinforced with printed Latin wastepaper, Durham Cathedral Library, SB0045.

Turning pages, filling in blanks, cutting, pasting, piercing, and twisting paper, then, constitute key aspects of early modern almanac use. These actions are distinct from, but in many ways resemble, the ways in which almanacs were used after the expiry of their calendar year: as wrappers and twists of waste. If interactive tables and cut-and-paste instruments characterize the 'book' or 'text' stage of an almanac's life cycle, tearing, cutting, and pasting continue to characterize its use in its afterlife. The rest of this chapter is concerned with the relationship between these two life stages – almanac as text and almanac as waste – and how the paperiness of both made the little books a potent emblem for the passage of time and the decay of mundane matter.

<u>Almanac Time</u>

Almanacs were often turned to wastepaper in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, perhaps more frequently than any other type of text. Many do survive intact: as Adam Smyth has demonstrated, the blank spaces of more upmarket almanacs were often filled with day-to-day records and reminders of personal, commercial, political and astrological events, perhaps

later to be copied into more formal documents.[42] Tucked away in boxes or on shelves, these have made their way into our libraries and archives. But the majority of these little books, both with and without 'blanks', do not survive. Only a small fraction of the hundreds of thousands of almanacs printed every year are now extant.[43] Lauren Kassell describes how 160 almanac makers were in operation in England before 1600, printing approximately 600 different titles. Thousands of new almanacs circulated every year, and these numbers increased further in the seventeenth century. Despite this, for example, only three almanacs are extant from 1587.[44]

This is partly because survival is typically inverse to use, with the most frequently encountered objects wearing away through excessive handling. Almanacs were little and cheap, carried about the body and regularly consulted throughout the year, and so rapidly deteriorated beyond use. But thousands of almanacs were also discarded and repurposed every year: almanacs would have been encountered in the form of waste fragments perhaps as frequently as they were encountered in the form of little, stitched books. These fragments are also visible in our archives and libraries: some have been removed from bindings, others still sit as flyleaves, pastedowns and guards. As Bosanquet quite beautifully puts it, information regarding early almanacs must be 'obtained, in most cases, from unique and tattered copies or from veritable fragments, some of which are not more than two inches square'.[45]

Binders would have acquired almanac waste in one of two ways: as we have seen, there was a trade in small quantities of wastepaper, collected to turn into 'passe-board' and perhaps also sold to grocers, chandlers, and binders.[46] Individual users of almanacs, then, might have sold or repurposed their own old calendars at the end of the year. It seems more likely that these were employed as pie-linings and mustard-pot stoppers within the user's own household, but some extant binding fragments do bear traces of earlier use as text, prior to their transformation into waste. The Huntington Library's title page of Adrian Velthoven's *The p[ro]nostication of maister Adrian* […] *For the yere of our lorde. M.D.xx.* (London: Richard Pynson, [1519?]), for instance, seems to have been used as both an almanac and as binding waste (see Fig. 39). The only surviving fragment of this early almanac, acquired in the 1927 Huth sale from the collection of the antiquarian John Fenn (1739-1794), was used as either a flyleaf or a pastedown in an unknown binding. The discolouration at the top and bottom of the leaf might be remnants of paste, but could also indicate contact with a leather cover folded over the book's front board.

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[42] Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing', 203-206.
[43] Bosanquet, *English Printed Almanacks*, 364; Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, 66.
[44] Lauren Kassell, 'Almanacs and Prognostications', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture,* vol. 1, *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011): 436.
[45] Bosanquet, *English Printed Almanacks*, viii.
[46] See p. 46 above.

It has been carefully repaired with a smaller fragment of contemporary printed waste, perhaps by 'Thomas Edwarde the true owner of thys Book', before it was repurposed.

Fig. 39: Recto and verso of the title page of Adrian Velthoven, *The p[ro]nostication of maister Adrian* […] *For the yere of our lorde. M.D.xx.* (London: Richard Pynson, [1519?]), Henry E. Huntington Library, 131401:17.

The British Library contains a large number of almanac fragments, many of which were extracted by late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collectors. Many of the British Library's fragments were collected by the notorious 'shoemaker' and 'wicked old biblioclast' John Bagford (1650-1716).[47] Although Bagford, like Fenn, is often portrayed as a villain of bibliographic history, he frequently salvaged fragments of wastepaper, rather than, as is widely assumed, cutting up whole books.[48] He describes how he pored over 'ould fragments of paper at *th*e endes of oulde Bookes'. Some of these were purchased from auctions or observed in libraries, and other 'title pages', 'Grate Letters', 'devis[e]s', and 'headpeces' were gifted to him from the 'Wast fragments of ould writinges' collected by his friend, the bookseller Christopher Bateman.[49]

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[47] William Blades, *The Enemies of Books* (London: E. Eliot Stock, 1888), 118.

[48] Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530-1930) and their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 69.

[49] Quoted in Margaret Nickson, 'Bagford and Sloane', *The British Library Journal* 9, no. 1 (1983): 52-53.

It is often easy to identify the fragments in Bagford's collection that circulated as binding waste: they are heavily discoloured or worn along a central fold, most likely having served as guards or flyleaves, or bear traces of paste or the marks from covers along their edges (see Figs. 40 and 41). Many also bear provenance inscriptions in earlier hands, although it is difficult to tell whether these relate to the almanacs or the volumes they bound. More often than not, the fragments, not extant elsewhere, had survived for a century and a half *because* they had been used as binding waste. The title pages of later, seventeenth-century almanacs in Bagford's collection are usually more neatly trimmed and do not bear marks of having served as binding waste: perhaps Bagford had his choice of these more recent almanacs, out of date and not yet used as wastepaper, sitting in stationers' shops.
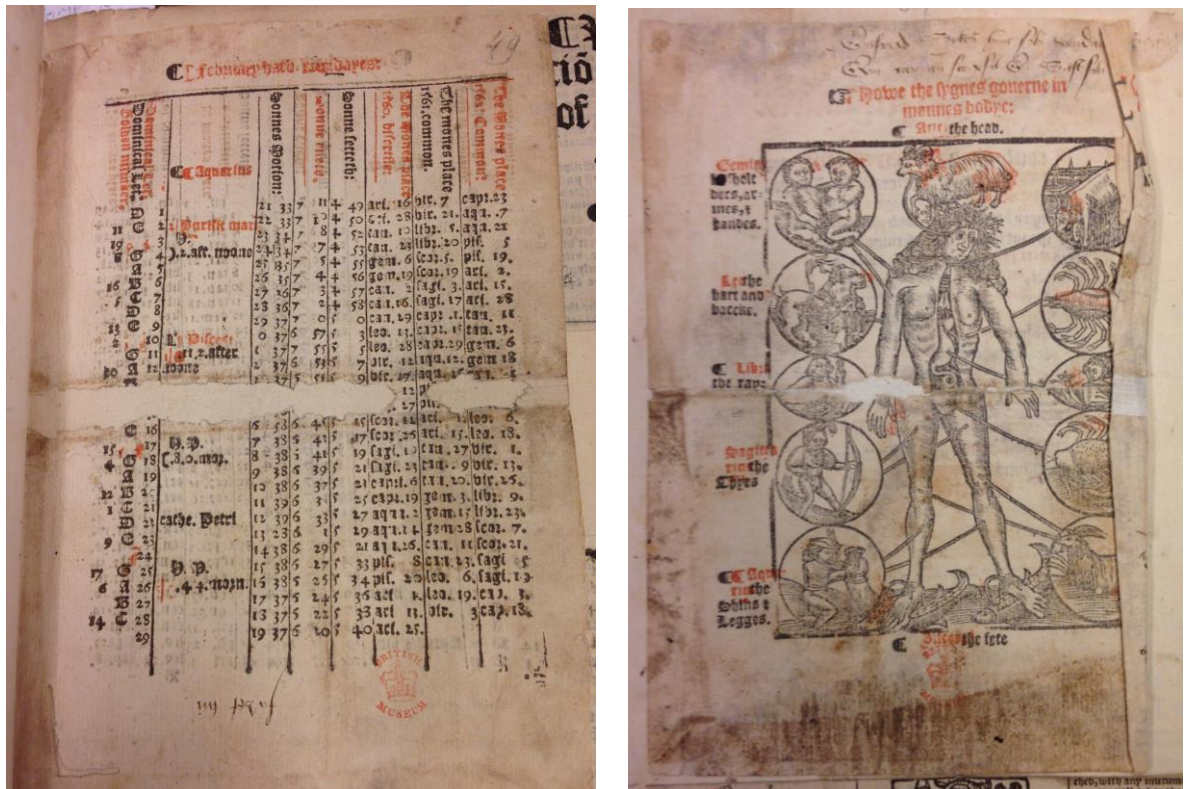
Fig. 40: Fragments of almanacs removed from unidentified bindings by John Bagford, British Library, Harley 5937, items 49 and 54.

The majority of almanac binding waste would have been printers' 'overplus', returned to the Stationer's Company with the rest of the excess paper from the English Stock, before being sold on to binders.[50] We know that print runs of seventeenth-century almanacs were in excess of tens of thousands, and multiple editions were printed every year: any left unsold by

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[50] See p. 44-47 above.

the winter months would have become waste.[51] There was a particular risk of the market being flooded by unlicensed almanacs, at a considerable loss to the Stationer's Company. In 1637 Mr Stansby was punished for printing 'the Midleborough Psalmes and Almanacks' without license. He was fined £10 to cover the 'Paper made waste' and the subsequent 'Losse' to the Company.[52] And, as we have seen, in 1666, Francis Mawborne of York printed four thousand almanacs, as well as an unspecified number of sheet almanacs, without a license. As a result, the Company's own almanacs for 1666 went unsold and were 'turnd only into wast paper'.[53] Mawborne, like Stansby, was fined heavily to recuperate these losses.

Fig. 41: Fragment of Jaspar Laet, *The pronosticacion calculed by mayster Iaspar Laet* […] *M.D.xxxiij.* ([Antwerp?: s.n., 1533]), removed from an unidentified binding by John Bagford, British Library, Harley 5937, item 50.

It is not always so easy to identify whether a fragment of binding waste has been bought and read: often, such fragments have been trimmed too heavily to make out folds, stitching, and signs of prior use. It is difficult to tell, for instance, if the almanac guards at the rear of John Wilkins' *The Discovery of a VVorld in the Moone* (1638) ever circulated (see Fig. 42): it was folded, and has been roughly cut along what would have been the gutter of the almanac. A small hole along its edge perhaps suggests it was torn from a stitched booklet. The almanac used as guards

[51] Kassell, 'Almanacs and Prognostications', 436; Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, 44.
[52] *Records of the Court of the Stationers Company, 1602 to 1640*, ed. by William. A Jackson (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), 281.
[53] *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade, 1641-1700*, vol. 3, ed. by D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 562.

in Francis Bacon's 1622 *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seuenth*, held at the Huntington, has been folded but not cut, so we can be relatively certain that it is printer's overplus (see Fig. 43). An almanac for 1635, used as guards in a 1634 copy of *Gasparis Scioppii caesarii*, held at Durham Library, was not even folded before it was repurposed (see Fig. 44). We can easily decipher the history of a sheet of an almanac for 1595, removed from an unidentified binding and held at the British Library (see Fig. 45): the two vertical lines of dirt through the centre of the sheet, and the tear on the right, upper side, indicate that it was wrapped around the spine of a relatively thick volume, with its outer-edges most likely visible between the boards and the book's first and last pages. The sheet has been folded but not cut, so was likely printer's overplus.
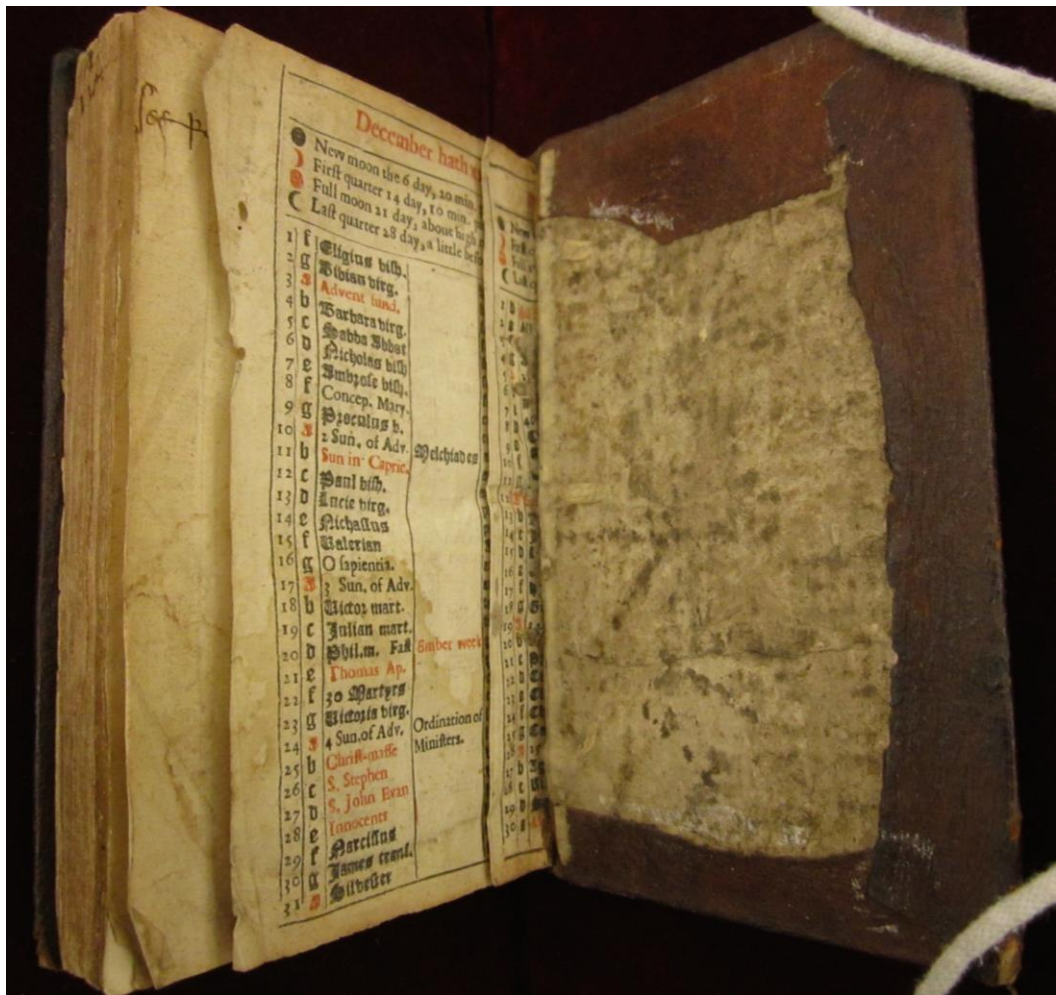
Fig. 42: Fragments of an almanac used as endleaves in John Wilkins, *The Discovery of a VVorld in the Moone* (London: E[dward] G[riffin] for Michael Sparke and Edward Forrest, 1638), Henry E. Huntington Library, 600935.
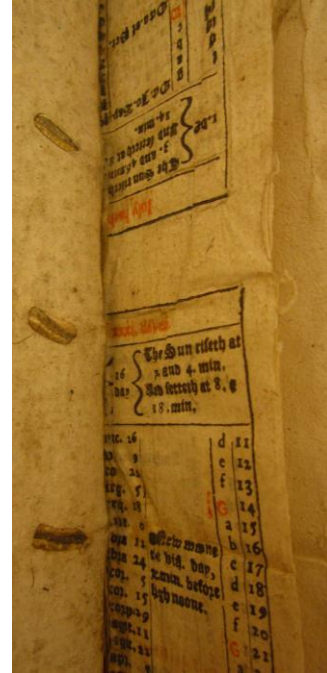
Fig. 43: Uncut almanac used as guards in Francis Bacon, *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seuenth* (London: W. Stansby for Matthew Lownes, and William Barret, 1622), Henry E. Huntington Library, 601300.
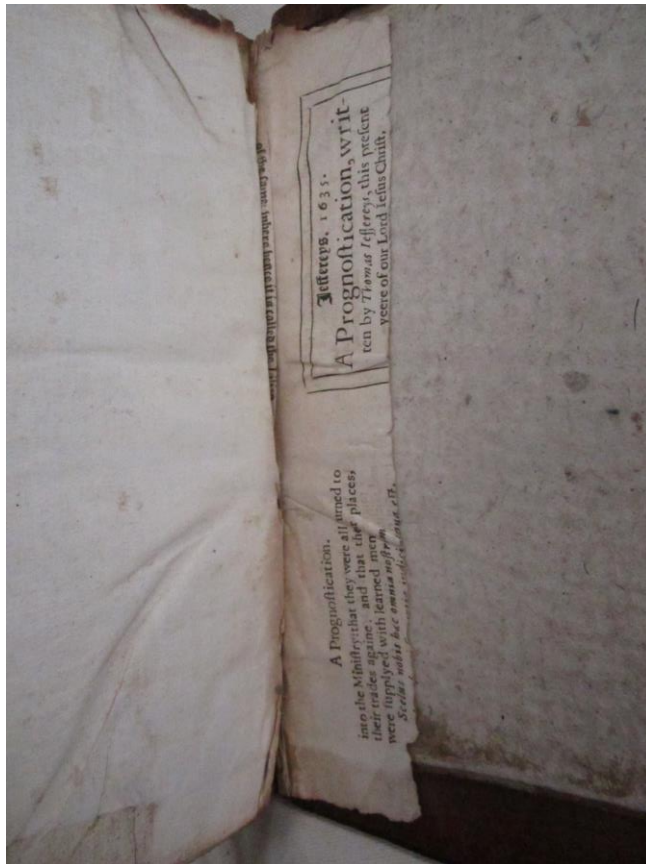
Fig. 44: Uncut and unfolded fragment of *Jeffereys 1635* (London: William Stansby [and John Norton] for the Company of Stationers, 1635) used as guards in Kaspar Schoppe, *Gasparis Scioppii caesarii & regii consiliarii Astrologia ecclesiastica* ([Germany?]: ex officiana Sangeorgiana, 1634), Durham Cathedral Library, Bamburgh L.5.19/1.
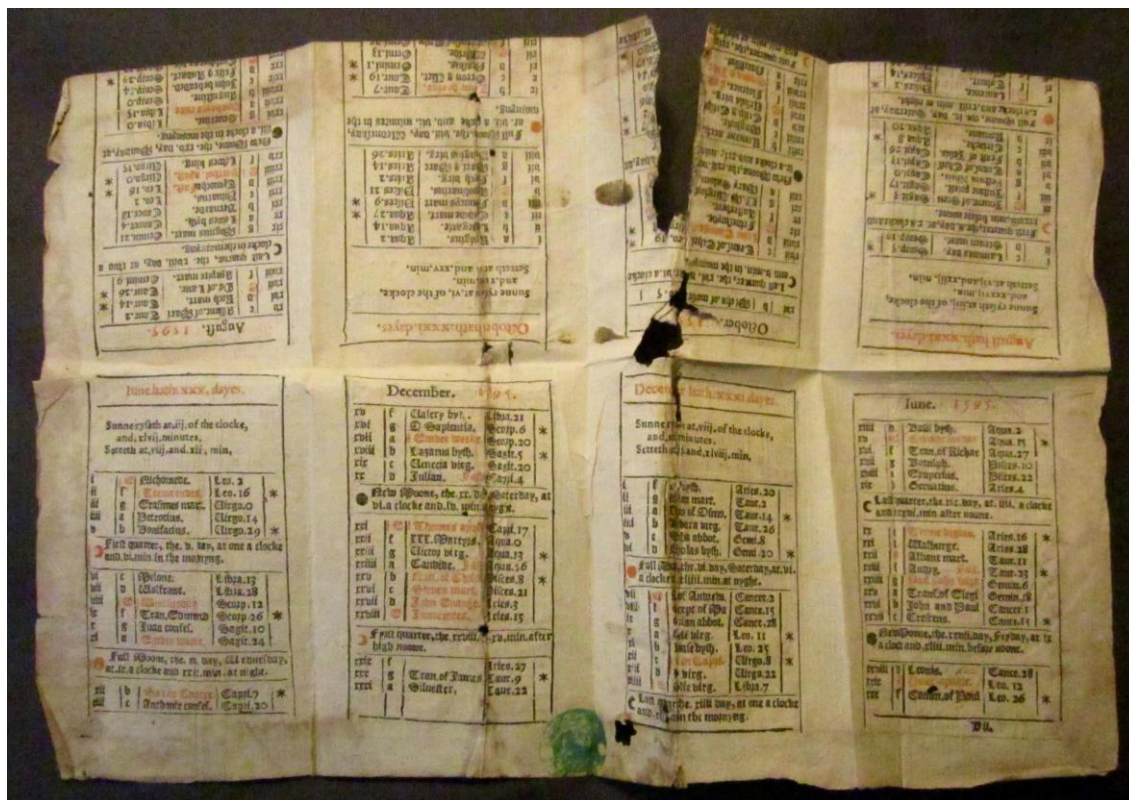
Fig. 45: Sheet of an almanac for 1595, removed from an unidentified binding and held at the British Library, C.123.a.11.

All wastepaper tells stories about the life cycle of texts, either as loose sheets or stitched books, and, as we have seen, early moderns were especially alert to these biographies. Almanac wastepaper is a significant sub-category of wastepaper, not just because of the frequency with which almanacs became waste, but because almanacs measure, through their calendars and computations, the condensed time of their own biography. If all wastepaper has the potential to make its user dwell on the passage of time, almanac waste almost demands it. This is reflected in the language that accumulated around almanacs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: keeping imaginative company with wastepaper, they became a by-word for the unwanted and the ephemeral. It became commonplace to described a discarded thing as having been 'laid aside as an Almanacke out of date', or 'like an old Almanack laid aside as useless'.[54] This phrase, 'out of date', was coined in the late sixteenth century: the first use cited by the *OED* is in 1589, but there is an earlier use, in Richard Hakluyt's *Diuers Voyages*, in 1582.[55] In Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* (1592)*,* Dame Niggardize is described as wearing an outfit of offcuts, trimmings and

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[54] William Troughton, *Saints in England Under a Cloud* (London: Mathew Simmons for Hannah Allen, 1648), *5v; *Bradshaw's ghost* ([London: s.n.], 1659), 11.

[55] Richard Hakluyt, *Diuers Voyages Touching the Discouerie of America* (London: [Thomas Dawson] for Thomas VVoodcocke, 1582), ¶1r.

repurposed things, including 'an apron made of Almanackes out of date' and, in the same year, in *Greenes Groatsworth of VVit*, a 'country author' describes how literary tastes have changed and his 'Almanack is out of date'.[56] This phrase solidified into an aphoristic simile, 'like an Almanacke out of date', early in the seventeenth century.[57]

Out of date and laid aside, almanacs were often employed to add texture to the conventional wastepaper trope: if a book 'seeme[d] of lesse use than an old Almanack', it would most likely be 'ma[d]e wast paper'.[58] For Francis Howgill, a sub-par book would, within a year, 'hang up with old Almanacks or sell for waste Paper', and for George Whitehead, the works that attacked his Quaker brethren would 'in a short time […] be out of Date, and but as wast Paper, or an old Almanack'.[59] If the contents of a book were of passing relevance, or were treated as such, they were 'like old Almanacks out of date, fit for nothing but to cover Mustard pots'.[60]

Almanacs, then, were a potent combination of an object that would, after a year, probably become waste, and a text that outlined the 'dispocision' of that very same year, enabling the reader to prepare for and track its days, months, and seasons. Joseph Andrewes, writing in 1621, plays with this dually material and textual measuring of time: once his sermon 'hath burdened the *Stationers Stall* the 12. part of the date of *an Almanack*', he pessimistically suggests, 'it may serve well enough for waste *Paper*'.[61] The shelf-life of his sermon is measured by both the calendar of an almanac, and by the almanac's own shelf-life.

Alison Chapman, in her study of almanacs and English Protestantism, briefly alludes to how the ephemerality of almanacs shaped an early modern understanding of time: the decreasing cost of books, along with their annual nature, she argues, 'made textual calendars more disposable', and so 'time itself came to seem more temporary'.[62] Chapman goes on to

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[56] Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, B1r; *Greenes, Groats-VVorth of Witte* (London: [J. Wolfe and J. Danter] for William Wright, 1592), E1r. Authorship of this text, printed shortly after Greene's death, is uncertain.

[57] After the use of the phrase in Nashe and in *Greenes, Groats-VVorth of Witte* in 1592, there is a gap until 1609, when Lancelot Dawes describes how godly behaviour is 'like an Almanacke out of date', *Gods Mercies and Ierusalem's Miseries* (London: [John Windet] for Cle. Knight, 1609), H7v. The simile is frequently used in the 1640s, only declining in use towards the end of the century. This correlates with Capp's 'golden age' of almanacs between 1640 and 1670. I realise that there are many potential pitfalls to using an EEBO keyword search as evidence for textual trends, not least because not all of the texts are available as searchable documents. This 'thin' research does, however, give a quick overview of the linguistic landscape of the period. See Lucy Munro, 'O Read me for I am of Great Antiquity': Old Books and Elizabethan Popularity', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 59.

[58] Lewes Roberts, *The Merchants Mappe of Commerce* (London: R. O[ulton, Eliot's Court Press?], Thomas Harper, and Felix Kingston] for Ralph Mabb, 1638), 1.

[59] Francis Howgill, *The Mouth of the Pit Stopped* (London: for Thomas Simmons, 1659), 6; George Whitehead, *The He-Goats Horn Broken* (London: for Robert Wilson, 1660), 32.

[60] John Bramhall, *The Serpent Salve* ([S.I.: s.n.], 1643), 105.

[61] John Andrewes, *The Brazen Serpent* (London: G[eorge] P[urslowe] for Thomas Thorp., 1621), A4r.

[62] Chapman, 'Marking Time', 1270.

highlight the late sixteenth-century fixation with the 'new' and the novel in book titles, a necessary companion, perhaps, of the fixation with the 'out of date'. More than simply 'temporary' or ephemeral, however, almanacs were peculiarly time-bound: few things, in early modern England, had such a specific expiry date. Usually, objects were worn, used, or read until they wore out or, if esculent, until they rotted or perished. Few other objects, especially ones handled so frequently, became irrelevant or went out of date at such a specific moment. Furthermore, few objects wore their transitoriness on their sleeve quite like an almanac. Their year of relevance was emblazoned across the top of a sheet almanac, and every page of the 'sorts', and the year usually appeared twice on the calendar and prognostication title pages (for instance: *Browne, 1621 a new almanacke, and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God, 1621*) and across the running header of each page, as well as numerous times within the body of the text (see Figs. 39, 41, 44, 45, 46, and 47).

Fig. 46: Jaspar Laet, *Almynack and pronostication of the yere of oure lord, M. CCCCC, and, XXX.* (Antwerpe: Cristofel of Ruremunde [1530]), removed from an unidentified binding by John Bagford, Harley 5937, item 34.

Almanacs offered multiple versions of time, some of which were 'temporary', and others not. Some were cyclical, like the minutes, hours, days, and months of the calendar year, as well as their slight variations in the legal terms and the Gregorian 'accompt'. There was also the passage of the seasons, or four parts of the year, and the celestial cycles of the sun, moon, and stars. But some were entropic: the computation or chronology from creation to the present year, for instance, suggested a linear sense of time in which the world, and perhaps even the heavens, were gradually ageing. Whether or not the heavens were ageing, or could age, was a complex and contentious topic rarely dealt with explicitly in almanacs, but universal entropy was, at the same time, their overarching frame of reference. Victor Harris sets out a timeline of this 'controversy over disorder and decay in the universe', arguing that, between 1570 and 1630 astrological texts demonstrated a growing concern with the corruption of nature.[63] It was almost universally accepted that the world was decaying, but dominant religious and scientific thought held that the heavens were made of a fifth element, a 'quintessence', that was not subject to such decay.[64] A number of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century astrologers and natural philosophers, however, began to query the nature of celestial matter: when Tycho Brahe discovered a new star in 1572, he furthered the sense that, in addition to the material world, the heavenly spheres were wearing out.[65] *'The signes and revolutions of the heaven, are changed and remooved from the olde accustomed places'*, astrologers noted, and the sun and the pole star had declined by a number of degrees.[66] Rainbows, perhaps, were fainter, and the comet of 1577 suggested that the substance of the heavens was beginning to alter.

This is, as we have seen, part of the eschatological narrative propagated by reformers such as Bale: because of the Fall, an event recorded in all 'computations of time', time has become 'the generall rust of the world, which weareth, eateth, consumeth, and perforateth all thynges'.[67] An extremely devout early almanac, a translation of Otto Brunfels' prognostication for 1536, highlights the incongruity of its own cyclical calendar and this wider sense of decline: astronomers 'teche to descryve | devyde or discerne one tyme from an other | and to obserue

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[63] Victor Harris, *All Coherence Gone: A Study of the Seventeenth Century Controversy Over Disorder and Decay in the Universe* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1966), esp. 86-172.

[64] Harris, *All Coherence Gone*, 77; Kathleen Crowther, 'The Scientific Revolution', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750,* vol. 2, *Cultures & Power*, ed. by Hamish Scott (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), 65.

[65] Herschel C. Baker, *The Wars of Truth: Studies in the Decay of Christian Humanism in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2006), 72; Harris, *All Coherence Gone*, 137-38.

[66] Robert Pond, *A Newe Treatise of the Right Reckoning of Yeares* (Edinburgh: Robert Walde-graue, 1599), 2, quoted in Harris, *All Coherence Gone*, 115.

[67] John Banister, *The Historie of Man* (London: Iohn Day, [to be sold by R. Day], 1578), B2r, quoted in Harris, *All Coherence Gone*, 104.

dayes | monethes | & yeres | of this tyme yt contynually decayeth'.[68] While attempting to live according to the rhythms set out by the celestial bodies, this almanac suggests, we should keep in mind the gradual senescence of the world.

Regardless of a readers' opinion as to the rate of decay of the celestial spheres, the 'computation of time' counted down, somewhat ominously, to the present year, and the '12. part of the date of an *Almanack'* marked the passing of that year in the life-cycle of the world, the book, and its user. The little books were, as Capp suggests, *memento mori*, reminding their user that, in the words of an anonymous writer, 'every year thy almanac thou buyest | Th'art one year nearer to the year thou diest'.[69] This sense of a senescent trajectory would only have been underscored when almanac fragments peeked from the binding of another book, be it a treatise on the potential presence of a world within the moon (Fig. 42), or Bacon's history of a long dead King (Fig. 43).

What, for instance, might the Royalist Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, have dwelt upon when he caught glimpses of an almanac for 1638 in the binding of his edition of Spelman's 1639 *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones* (see Fig. 47)? This seems to have been another overplus almanac, folded, perhaps stitched, but uncut. The fragments were removed from the binding when the volume was repaired in 1961, but we can reconstruct how the torn sheet would have appeared as guards (see Fig. 48). Cosin might have made out snippets of the 'Chronologie or Computation of yeeres to this present yeare. 1638', the running header 'White. 1638' across alternate pages, the disposition of the months and seasons, and a list of Kings in the gutter of the folio. King Charles' reign, beginning in 1625 was, according to *White 1638*, '[a]fter which, writing 14-yeares'. Out of date by 1639, this was a strikingly untimely object: its dated chronology may have taken on additional significance by 1642, or with the execution of the King in 1649. Cosin was by this point in exile with few possessions but his books. The fragments might also have triggered happier thoughts in 1660 with the return of Prince Charles, as well as Dr. Cosin, to England, and the restoration of the royalist rhythms that structured the majority of early modern almanacs.

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[68] Otto Brunfels, *A very true pronosticacio[n], with a kalender* […] *for the yere of our lorde M. CCCCC. Xxxvj* (London: Ioh[a]n Byddell, 1536), B3r.

[69] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press,* 147, 285; *An Almanac But for One Day* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1671), quoted in Capp, 147.

Fig. 47: Fragments of *White 1638* (London: F.K. for the Company of Stationers, 1638) used as guards in Henry Spelman, *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutione* (Londini: Richardus Badger for Ph. Stephani, & Ch. Meredith, and Aureo Leone [1639]), now removed, silked and slipped loose into the binding, Durham Cathedral Library, Cosin O.3.6.

Fig. 48: A reconstruction of the portions of *White 1638* that would have been visible as guards in Spelman, *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones*. The dotted line indicates where the fold would have been. Durham Cathedral Library, Cosin O.3.6.

Such encounters with specific almanac fragments have, unfortunately, gone unrecorded, and so are left to our imaginations and encounters with binding waste in the archives. But we can be certain that almanac waste shaped the early modern imagination: commonplace references to almanacs, and things that were treated or behaved like almanacs, 'laid aside' and 'out of date', turned to or 'as' wastepaper, reveal that such fragments triggered broader

considerations of the disposable and the ephemeral. In a 1682 devotional treatise, Samuel Stoddon offered a particularly striking instance of this metaphor to describe the fleetingness of contemporary fashions: they are ephemeral, 'like *Almanacks* or *Insects* [which] must change their shapes, and expire with the year'.[70] Both almanacs and insects, in Stoddon's formulation, progress through a series of stages in their life cycle: they metamorphose, from larvae to butterfly, for instance, or from book to waste fragment. This 'chang[ing] shape' provided a wide range of early modern writers with a concrete metaphor or 'matterphor' with which to grasp and represent the inexorable progression of time.[71]

Almanac Bodies

The wasting of an out of date almanac, then, might demarcate a linear sense of time, one that conforms to the rigid structure of a monthly calendar and the addition of another year to the computation of time. But there was more to the kinaesthetic experience of an almanac than laying it aside at the close of the year: how it was handled and how it felt to the touch, as reading material and then as waste, also contributed to the articulation of time. As we have seen, early moderns were already sensitive to the multiple times of a book: its pre-history as flax and rags, and its capacity to become waste. These multiple times were even more explicit when a page was encountered as wastepaper: these objects are, in Jonathan Gil Harris's words, 'polytemporal', and might strike their user as untimely, either interrupting the present or demonstrating the supersession of the past.[72]

But almanac waste narrated an even broader array of temporalities, and these were not always straightforwardly linear. The disposal of an old almanac, after all, typically meant the buying of a new one, and the seasonal, celestial, and organic rhythms described within its pages, alongside its papery matter, told narratives of waxing as well as waning, and decay and decomposition followed by regrowth. As Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have argued, these alternative understandings of time

> mirror the sensation, familiar to everyone, of time folding over on itself, the doubling of the fabric of experience that creates continuity and flow; creates meaning where there was none; creates and encourages the desire to start over, to renew, to reform, to recover.

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[70] Samuel Stoddon, *An Essay on a Question Relating to Divine Worship* (London: Anne Maxwell and Robert Roberts for the author, 1682), 2.

[71] Christopher Tilly, *Metaphor and Material Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 264-66; Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Stone: An Ecology of the Inhuman* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2015), 4.

[72] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2009), 1-25.

This multidirectional temporality is generated, Nagel and Wood argue, by artworks which, like Harris' 'untimely matter', possess a 'plural temporality'.[73] They point towards either mystical or mundane origins, and they 'linger', 're-present[ing]' their content again and again 'for successive recipients'.[74] Almanac waste, although not an artwork, is an artefact that similarly points in many directions. These 'polychronic' objects, the rest of this chapter argues, generated a specific set of meanings through their folds and their visible biography: they situated their users within the multidirectional rhythms of the world, and made palpable the fate of the human body, mapping celestial influence with the zodiac man, the 'dispocisions' of the seasons and months, and the stipulation of good and bad days. But they also taught their users, through the textures of their surfaces and folds, how they were interconnected with the matter of the world: almanacs made clear that paper and human bodies, made of the same organic stuff, wear out and fall apart.

Almanacs and bodies were closely related in early modern thought. They were the basis, for instance, of a popular joke, told by Thomas Dekker in his 1607 *Iests to Make You Merie*:

> A Gentlewoman comming to one that stood at a window reading a booke, Sir (sayd she) I would I were your booke, (because she loued the Gentleman,) So would I quoth he, I wish you were. But what booke would you haue me to bee (sayd the other) if I were to be so? Mary, an Almanacke (quoth the Gentleman) because I would change euery yeare.[75]

Middleton reworks this joke in *No Wit/No Help* ('When wives are like almanacs, we may have every year a new one. Then I'll bestow my money on 'em; in the mean time, I'll give 'em over and ne'er trouble my almanac about 'em'), and in *An/The Old Law*, when the clown tells his wife, 'Go, go thy ways, thou old almanac – at the twenty-eight day of December e'en almost out-of-date!'.[76] An ageing woman, according to the clown, is like an almanac on the cusp of irrelevance, and he hopes to lay her aside. For Dekker's gentleman, almanacs signify a rapid cycle of consumption and disposal: if only, he wishes, women were more like almanacs.

Almanacs, then, were comparable to the sorts of bodies that, in early modern England, were considered disposable. But, in addition to these misogynistic asides in plays and jest-books, descriptions of almanacs reveal a broader sense of the proximity of almanacs and their users. Weatherwise's 'masty lumps of almanac stuff | Kned with May-Butter' are a symptom of a wider fixation upon the textures and trajectories of the cheap and ephemeral little books, and

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[73] Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 9.
[74] Ibid., 13.
[75] Thomas Dekker, *Jests to Make you Merie* (London: N[icholas] O[kes] for Nathaniell Butler, 1607), 8.
[76] *No Wit/No Help,* 9.539-542; *An/The Old Law*, ed. by Jeffrey Masten, in *Thomas Middleton, The Collected Works*, ed. by Taylor and Lavagnino, IV.1.149-150.

the qualities they shared with human skin and corporeal matter. Thomas Nash (a young contemporary of, not Thomas Nashe), for instance, compliments clothes that are not 'greasy, and like an *Almanacke* out of date', and Dryden's translation of Juvenal, published towards the end of the seventeenth century, describes a superstitious woman, 'By whom a greasie Almanack is born | With often handling, like chaft Amber, worn'.[77] The pages of the woman's prognostication are threadbare from over-handling, gaining a greasy sheen as if she has repeatedly rubbed its pages as she has her amber amulet. Almanacs were among the most handled objects in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; large quantities, not just those owned by the excessively superstitious, would have been thoroughly polished, soiled and stained by the natural greases left behind by human skin.[78]

Early modern paper fresh from the mill was oilier than its modern day, wood-based equivalent. The old paper that we handle in archives and libraries has undergone centuries of shifting environmental conditions, and has changed in colour and texture.[79] Pages would have retained, for a while at least, some of the greasiness of the flax plant: flammable and absorbent, its fibres often served as wicks for candles, as well as for a range of medicinal uses. These included, with the addition of ample 'hogges grease', plasters and poultices for wounded cattle and horses, or (even less glamorously) ointments for haemorrhoids and piles.[80] Early modern housewives and husbandmen would have been familiar with the texture of flax in all its forms.

Papermakers usually added glue to paper's raw, flaxy surface, to prevent ink from blotting and soaking through its fibres. Homemade ink was mixed with water, and so writing paper was always treated with this glutinous stuff, or 'size'.[81] Because printers' ink was oil-based, paper destined for the printing house was not always sized, particularly by the late seventeenth

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[77] Thomas Nash, *Quaternio* (London: Iohn Davvson, 1633), 260; *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis*, trans. by John Dryden (London: for Jacob Tonson, 1693), 118.

[78] Kathryn M. Rudy has quantified this process in her analysis of late medieval prayer books. Using a 'densitometer', a non-intrusive instrument that measures the darkness of a reflecting surface, Rudy has traced patterns of use over time. She argues that the accumulation of dirt in specific areas reveals the most intensely used sections of a manuscript, and might also indicate the unique way in which an individual held their codex, 'Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2, no. 1-2 (2010), http://www.jhna.org/index.php/past-issues/volume-2-issue-1-2/129-dirty-books.

[79] High humidity makes paper mouldy and stained; light and high temperatures turn it brittle and dark; contact with other wood dries out, darkens and stains paper. See Konstanze Bachmann, *Conservation Concerns: A Guide for Collectors and Curators* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1992).

[80] Thomas Blundeville, *The Fower Chiefyst Offices Belongyng to Horsemanshippe* (London: VVyllyam Seres, 1566), passim; Lazare Rivière, *The Practice of Physic* (London: Peter Cole, 1655), 317.

[81] Ettliche K.D., *A Booke of Secrets* (London: Adam Islip for Edward White, 1596), A3r-v.

century.[82] 'Size' was made from boiled animal skins, leather and occasionally, after the dissolution of the monasteries, the parchment of medieval manuscripts.[83]

The surface of any book was, therefore, a site at which vegetable oils, animal fat, dirt, and the greases of human skin accumulated. These corpulent qualities were particularly palpable in an almanac because, to borrow the words of Bosanquet, it was 'a very human book': it came, perhaps more frequently than any other, into contact with human skin, and it taught its user about the vegetable and animal bodies that oozed these oils. Medical and domestic treatises demonstrate the array of things from which oils were distilled in the period, ranging from nutmegs, cinnamon, flowers, and wax, to 'Hartes horne', 'Mans excrements', 'Oyle of the Skull of a man', and mummy.[84] In addition to a familiarity with these diverse types of grease, many recipes call for paper cornets in the process of distillation, or for the distilled liquids to be stored in paper-lined containers.[85] The human, an almanac reader would have been quite certain, was only one body in a world of vital things, all of which were reducible to fat and grease.

Todd A. Borlik has argued that almanacs rooted their readers in a 'biological and cosmic cycle', an 'animistic' and 'vitalistic' world in which 'objects' are not 'bandied about by external forces' but 'possess an innate tendency for motion that amounts to a quasi-agency'.[86] Although I would hesitate to describe, with Borlik, almanacs as 'ecological texts', concerned with the 'responsible and efficient use of natural resources', they certainly articulate, as Walker argues, 'a narrative of human experience more interactive than typically recognized by early modern scholars of the body and environment'.[87]

Within the ecology of an almanac, human and nonhuman bodies are closely related: made up of contiguous matter, all earthly things are influenced by the celestial bodies above, which in turn have their own 'dispocisions' and 'temperaments'. Almanacs teach how to negotiate this world, listing the 'goode dayes of Sympathie touching mans complexion and body', when to let blood, eat heavy foods, bathe or have sex so as to avoid dangerous astrological

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[82] Tim Barrett describes the process in detail, explaining that '[t]here was typically more gelatin in historical European papers than any other ingredient other than the cellulose fiber itself', and that 'old well-worn rags' needed to be sized to obtain 'a supple, pliant, yet durable and long-lasting paper'. See 'Sizing' in 'Paper Through Time: Non-Destructive Analysis of 14th Through 19th Century Papers'. The University of Iowa, 2012, http://paper.lib.uiowa.edu/european.php#sizing.

[83] For the boiling of old manuscripts to make size, see Yale, *Sociable Knowledge*, 216.

[84] *The True and Perfect Order to Distill Oyles* ([Londini: Thomae Bertheleti, 1589, i.e. 1575?]); *The First Part of the Key of Philosophie*, trans. by John Hester ([London]: Richard Day, [1580]), D4r; John French, *The Art of Distillation* (London: Richard Cotes to be sold by Thomas Williams, 1651); James Cook, *Mellificium chirurgiae* (London: for Samuel Cartwright, [1648]), 467-69.

[85] Smith, '"A unique instance of art"', para. 4; Elaine Leong, 'Papering the Household: Paper, Recipes, and Everyday Technologies' (paper presented at the Centre for Renaissance and Early Modern Studies seminar series, York, April 27, 2017).

[86] Todd A. Borlik, *Ecocriticism and Early Modern English Literature* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 13, 118.

[87] Ibid., 117; Walker, 'Early Modern Almanacs', 2.

influences.[88] Certain bodies, both human and nonhuman, should not come into contact at certain times: 'No part of man's body ought to be touched with any chirurgical instrument', John Securis tells his readers, 'when the sunne or moone […] is in the same signe that ruleth that part of manne's body'.[89] The same rules apply to the human, the animal, and the vegetable: if it is a good day for shearing your sheep, it is also a safe day to cut your hair; similarly, the pores of both the earth and the body open and close with the passing of the seasons, so that 'the humors begin to moove', according to *Johnson 1604*, in the warmth of April.[90] At this time, the human body is 'very apt to be purged', and plants begin to grow.

In the words of the sixteenth-century astrologer, Anthony Ascham, the 'Moone' and 'the elemente of the fyre' convey light and 'lyvely heate' into air and water. This passes into the earth ('whiche is the mother and matter of all the other thinges') through its open 'pores' in the summer months, so that herbs and plants 'beginneth to sprynge and appere sensible'.[91] The sensibility of these plants is ambiguous: either they are 'sensible' of their environment, reacting to the celestial influences of fire, air, and water, or they are 'easily felt' or 'perceived' by their human counterparts, perhaps 'causynge sence or understandyng' in them.[92] The latter takes precedence in most almanacs: coterminous with the human, and sharing the same celestial rhythms, 'senceless thinges, as be deuoyd | of Reason and Art | Can thus at large foretell to us | What falleth to our part'.[93] The nonhuman serves as a forecast for the human: we can read, in plants as well as in clouds, rainbows, and eclipses, the weather and the 'mutations of the air'. We can also find in them narratives of waning, wasting, and wearing out: one almanac compiler asks, in a passage underlined by an early reader, 'Do wee not beholde the Flowers of the Fielde, how they change with the Sunne and Moone?'[94] Our own bodies, it is implicit, 'change' along similar lines, a point made stronger by the biblical resonances of 'flowers of the field'.[95] Autumn, another almanac has it, 'fitly resemble[s] declining age', and, another reminds its reader, just 'as Autumn steals the sappe from Tree and Flower, | So Death comes creeping neerer every houre'.[96]

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[88] *Dade 1604* (London: Iames Roberts, [1604]), B4r.

[89] John Securis, *1574. An Almanacke and Prognostication* (London: Richarde Watkins and Iames Robertes, 1574), A2r.

[90] *Johnson 1604* (London: E. Allde for the Company of Stationers, [1604]), B6r.

[91] Anthony Ascham, *A Litell Treatyse of Astrouomy [sic]* (London: Wyllyam Powell, 1550), A5r-v.

[92] 'Sensible' in Robert Cawdry, *A Table Alphabeticall* (London: I[ames] R[oberts] for Edmund Weauer, 1604) and Robert Huloet, *Abcedarium anglico latinum* (London: [S. Mierdman] ex officina Gulielmi Riddel, [1552]).

[93] *Hopton. 1606* (London: [W. White] for the Company of Stationers, [1606]), C8r.

[94] *Pond. 1610*, C3v, National Art Library, Dyce 25.B.6.

[95] Matthew 6:28.

[96] *White 1634* (London: William Stansby [and A. Mathewes], for the Company of Stationers, [1634]), B3v; *Perkins 1634* (London: For the Company of Stationers, [1634]), B2v.

In addition to being polished by greasy hands, then, almanacs were little, 'sensible', vegetable bodies that foretold their readers' fates: persistently imagined as rotting and stale, as well as old and greasy, the language that accumulated around almanacs demonstrates that they were perceived as analogous to the human, as the human was understood to be analogous to the wider world of living and non-living things. Both, it becomes clear, were understood to be prone to decay and decomposition: according to Dekker, in his 1609 *Guls Horne-Booke*, many readers follow 'moth-eaten fashion' and 'mouldy custom'. He claims to have a much more discerning nose, and to 'have smelt out the musty sheetes of an old Almanacke'.[97] Christopher Love laments that 'Bibles are like old Almanacks moulding in corners', and Francis Howgill describes how a false title page on a book is an attempt to prolong the shelf-life of the text: the author hopes that the 'Book might not grow old nor stick upon th[e] hands, as such other mouldy stuff hath done'.[98] It will, however, 'hang up with old Almanacks or sell for waste Paper', despite this cunning sales ploy.

'Must' and 'mould' might refer to the growth that develops on rotting food and textiles; to 'moulder' is the process of decaying, of crumbling to dust. Mould also refers to the earth, most frequently in terms of clods of soil, or humus, but also to 'this earthly mould', or the world itself.[99] Almanacs, therefore, are imagined as constantly tending toward originative matter. They decompose into the muddle of organic mush that makes up the earth's surface, perhaps participating in the growth of more 'almanac stuff', nourishing the flax and hemp that might become linen, rags, and more paper sheets.

The 'mould' of an old almanac might also remind its user of their own matter, and how this is continuous with the 'earthly mould'. The 1535 Coverdale Bible contains the apocryphal verse 'Thou maydest Adam of the moulde of the earth' (Tobit 8:6). This shared mouldiness of man and world is made clear by the etymology of 'human'. The Latin for 'mould', or earth, is 'humus', which shares the root of 'homo', or human, meaning 'of the earth'.[100] A 1570 text glosses 1 Corinthians 15:47, 'The first man is of the earth earthly', explaining that this alludes 't[o] the originall word Adam, which signifyeth earth or clay, whereof he was made, like as also among the Latines man is called *Homo* of *Humus*, which signifyeth the earth'.[101] Man is, therefore,

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[97] Thomas Dekker, *The Guls Horn-Booke* (London: [Nicholas Okes] for R. S[ergier?], 1609), 1.
[98] Christopher Love, *The Dejected Soules Cure* (London, John Rothwell: 1657) 134; Howgill, *The Mouth of the Pit Stopped*, 6.
[99] See, for instance, Robert Allott, *Englands Parnassus* (London: for N.L., C.B., and T. Hayes, 1600), 275.
[100] 'Mold' in Peter Levens, *Manipulus vocabulorum* (London: Henrie Bynneman for Iohn Waley, 1570) and Anglicus Galfridus, *Incipit liber q[ui] dicitur Promptorium parvulorum siue clericorum* (London: Richard Pynson for Frederic Egmondt and Petrus Post pascha, 1499).
[101] David Chytraeus, *A Postil or Orderly Disposing of Certeine Epistles*, trans. by Arthur Golding (London: Henry Bynneman for Lucas Harrison and George Bishop, 1570), 161.

made out of the selfsame mould as an almanac. Both originate in earth, or mould, or dust, and both will return to it, as George Sandys has it in his paraphrase of Job 19:26: 'Though wormes devoure me, though I turne to mold'.[102]

There is, therefore a disturbing, even uncanny, similarity between the pliable and greasy surfaces of almanacs and their readers, and between the corpulent, oily matter of paper and skin. Thomas Middleton, as we have already seen, was sensitive to the shared foundation of vegetable and animal bodies. In addition to Weatherwise's 'almanac stuff' and the ageing wives discarded like almanacs, Middleton offers the life cycle of almanacs, when turned to wastepaper, as a measure for the human. His almanacs, like the mouldering and out of date almanacs that are scattered across early modern texts and everyday experience, forecast the fate of the readers' body. His mock *Owl's Almanac*, as Neil Rhodes has demonstrated, is heavily influenced by Nashe.[103] Middleton, I want to suggest, was particularly sensitive to Nashe's wastepaper play, and perhaps, in particular, the description of Dame Niggardize and her 'apron made of Almanackes out of date'. In his mock-almanac, Middleton offers a 'general calendar for the common motion of the moon in all the months of the year'.[104] The 'Last quarter' of the moon is described as corresponding to 'thieves at Newgate two or three days after the sessions. With sick persons when the bell rings out for them. With my almanac when 'tis put under pie-crust'.[105] The waning of this celestial body, for Middleton, arrives in tandem with a series of mundane endings, or nearly-endings: with the not-quite-corpse of a sentenced criminal, awaiting hanging, and the just-turned-corpse of the recently sick, for whom the bell now tolls. The 'death' of Middleton's own almanac is mentioned in the same breath as these quasi-corpses, and all three mark the moment of transition between a thing that is quick and a thing that is dead or disposed of.

The *Owl's Almanac*, turned to pie-linings, is, like Weatherwise's gross papery pie-filling, a hotchpotch of human and almanac matter. Both human and almanac bodies, Middleton suggests, will turn out of date, becoming corpses and wastepaper, mouldering and decomposing into originative 'stuff'. Middleton's almanac is, like the battered clothes and shoes he goes on to describe, 'an excellent memento (make but use of it) of your mortality'.[106] It marks out an entropic time, making palpable, with its greasy and decaying surfaces, how the matter of 'the

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[102] George Sandys, *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (London: [John Legatt] to be sold by [Andrew Hebb], 1638), 26.
[103] *The Owl's Almanac*, ed. by Neil Rhodes, 1272.
[104] Ibid., 1159-60.
[105] Ibid., 1167-70.
[106] Ibid., 2317-2322.

world is out at the elbows'.[107] It reminds its user of their own mortality, not just because it marks the passage of the year, but because they are comprised of the same greasy fibres.

Conclusion

We should be wary of overlooking almanacs, discarding them as out of date pseudo-science or the unsophisticated reading material of country folk. Their fragmentary presence in the archive should not be confused with a 'cultural invisibility' in the centuries in which they circulated.[108] Although they were everyday, familiar things, they were far from 'unremarked upon' or 'taken for granted'.[109] Instead, the language of the out of date, the old, the greasy, and the mouldering accumulated around them, demonstrating their vibrancy within the early modern imagination: these insults, tropes, and, particularly in the case of Thomas Middleton, extended metaphorical play, reveal a fixation with the tendency of almanacs to be turned to wastepaper. Folding, cutting, tearing, and pasting these sheets after the year's end, and handling their surfaces until they became greasy to the touch, granted an almanac user a familiar object with which to visualize the passage of time, as well as a continuity between their own corporeal matter and the decaying matter of the world. We can, then, describe almanacs as mundane, not in the post-nineteenth century sense of the word, as 'prosaic, dull, humdrum; lacking [in] interest or excitement', but within the compass of its older meaning, from the French 'mondain'. They are 'earthly' and 'cosmic' bodies, 'belonging to the world', and teaching other, more human, bodies how to belong to it too.[110]

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[107] Ibid., 1708.
[108] Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing', 202.
[109] Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 50.
[110] 'Mundane', in Henry Cockeram, *The English Dictionarie* (London: [Eliot's Court Press] for Edmund Weauer, 1623) and Edward Phillips, *The New World of English Words* (London: E. Tyler for Nath. Brooke, 1658).

CONCLUSION

Let us imagine, for a moment, a relatively normal day in the life of an early modern city-dweller: a housewife, perhaps, of comfortable means. I suggest a housewife, not only because the pages of this thesis have been dominated by male writers, but because wastepaper would have been encountered by men and women across the social scale: by elite women in their books, and by servants in shops and in kitchens.

The housewife begins the day by reading a sermon. An old favourite, the suggestion in its opening pages that it will probably be turned to wastepaper raises a wry smile. She does, as she lays it aside, dwell on its parchment wrapper: an old breviary. An earlier reader has traced its illuminated letters with spidery lines of black ink.[1] Later, she visits the grocer's shop. She buys a few sheets of paper, some flax, and a cornet of pepper. Glancing at the wrapper, she sees lines of red intermixed with the black, and the words 'Frende. 1593' along its fore edge: it is autumn, and this year's almanacs, unsold in the stationers' shops, are already circulating as waste.

Back at home, she sets to work on a pie. Seasoning the meat, she regrets not buying a twist of mace, but it is too expensive, and the pepper, along with the herbs she has gathered from the garden, will do the job. After tipping the mixture into the pastry coffin, she reaches over to take the top sheet from a stack of unwanted papers gathered in the corner. An old letter, she is reminded of the paper she bought from the grocer's shop that morning and the letter she needs to finish, and lays the sheet under the pie. After a pause, she takes another waste sheet and covers the top of the pie to stop it from scorching, as it did last time.[2]

Whether quite this series of events ever happened we cannot know, but we can be certain that wastepaper was common stuff in early modern England. References to wastepaper are neither wholly rhetorical nor a symptom of a paper-short environment. Waste practices were part of an economy of thrift and frugality, but also demonstrate the plenitude of paper in the period. Letters, deeds, almanacs, poetry, drama, sermons, Bibles, controversial texts, and medieval manuscripts circulated in manifold forms: in addition to whole books and loose sheets, they were often encountered as binding waste, grocery wrappers, tobacco-lighters, stoppers for mustard pots, linings for boxes, pies, and textiles, and as toilet paper.

More than a source for a throwaway joke, these fragments were a scaffold for thought. It is now widely acknowledged that we are shaped by our material surroundings. Things, as Daniel Miller writes, 'direct our footsteps and are the landscapes of our imagination, as well as the cultural environment to which we adapt'.[3] They construct our '*habitus*' and our 'second-nature'. Wastepaper was, in early modern England, an important facet of this landscape:

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[1] See, for instance, Fig. 2.

[2] *A Booke of Cookerie* ([London: E. Allde, 1597]), 18.

[3] Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 53.

wastepaper sheets and scraps were 'clever object[s]' that prompted varied and generative thought through their textures, their parameters of use (how they were torn, cut, folded, and pasted), and their manifest life cycle (the material traces of having moved from flax to rags to text to waste).[4]

But wastepaper did not do this humbly or invisibly: this thesis has demonstrated that early moderns were sensitive to a particular set of meanings encoded within repurposed pages, and that these were made manifest in a range of religious, historical, and literary texts. As Christopher Tilley writes, 'structures of bodily experience work their way up into abstract meanings'. They are part of an 'embodied imagination'; metaphor is made up of the shifting interactions of things, language, and thought.[5] The embodied experience of handling wastepaper, in this historical moment, collaborated with a re-emerging classical trope and a longstanding concern with literary immortality and textual preservation. Above all else, wastepaper structured a thing-based way of thinking and telling, grounded in its kinaesthetic and biographical contexts: whether encountered as an object in everyday life or as a carefully worked textual passage, wastepaper was a material emblem, a solid metaphor, for the passage of time and the passage of things through time.

Wastepaper, then, offered multi-layered narratives that we, like our early modern counterparts, should learn to read: a waste fragment tells its own individual biography, how it was once a text, either read and discarded or unread and surplus, and has been repurposed. Those examples that survive to tell their stories are, more often than not, binding waste: trimmed and pasted into another book, some speak of extraction, collection, and archiving, and others sit partially concealed as guards, pasteboards, and flyleaves. These fragments also tell broader cultural and historical narratives: of the rhythms of the printing house, the dissolution of the monasteries, an understanding of the relationship between microcosm and macrocosm, and the development of antiquarian practice.

We can tell from the insults, tropes, poems, and meditations on and about wastepaper that, in the early modern period, these narratives were often emblematic of the failed and the lost. They manifested superseded texts and devotional practices, as well as past years and partially erased ways of life. But the past contained within wastepaper might also erupt into the present, triggering nostalgia, or a desire to recuperate that which had been lost. The past and the present might also co-exist, serving, perhaps above all else, as a *memento mori*, a reminder of the eventual senescence and decay of all organic things. Our imagined housewife, as she glances

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[4] Matthew C. Hunter, 'Picture, Object, Puzzle, Prompter: Devilish Cleverness in Restoration London', *Art History* 36, no. 3 (2013): 550.

[5] Christopher Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 35.

over her kitchen table, might notice the cornet of almanac wastepaper sitting alongside her pie, wrapped in greasy letters, and oozing its meaty innards; stale bread; a worm-eaten apple; emptied shells; and a half-peeled orange that resembles, to an unnerving degree, partly-pared flesh. Such a scene, which brings to mind the *vanitas* or 'breakfast' paintings that depict laid tables in a state of disarray, might remind our housewife that she, like her kitchen-stuff, will waste away (see Fig. 49).

Fig. 49: Pieter Claesz. 1627. *Still Life with a Turkey Pie*. Oil on panel. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.

As well as being emblems of ephemerality, these fragments were also survivors, flotsam of the shipwreck of time. Their untimeliness might transform into an aura: these fragments were (and are) often fetishized, and that which was valued as a text before being turned to waste, is revalued as a historical object, becoming all the more valuable because it is so fragile, and its survival so unexpected. This stage of the life cycle of wastepaper began in the early modern period and is ongoing. Further research might pursue the life cycle of these fragments through the intervening centuries: in addition to tracing wastepaper tropes as they altered in Grub Street, with the rise of cheap, domestic white paper, or with the invention of wood-pulp paper in the nineteenth century, such a history might consider how waste fragments have been extracted and collected, re-cut, re-pasted, and catalogued by bibliophiles, librarians, and archivists, and how these collections constitute another narrative of history and time.

In following these life-cycles, we must guard against the trap of fetishizing the objects of the past. They do not fit within Jonathan Gil Harris' maligned *Wunderkammen*, frozen in time and divorced from their historical and cultural contexts.[6] Instead, they are conspicuous examples of what he terms 'untimely matter', palimpsests of diverse moments of imaginative and practical use, reuse, and disuse.[7] They made and make the past palpable, for their early modern and modern users, and over the centuries they have developed additional layers, folds, and accretions of dirt, use, and meaning. So long as we remember that things shape our imaginations and, along with language, make metaphors, we will be able to peel back these layers and understand their stories, as well as adding new ones.

'Waste', then, has not always meant 'refuse': the wholly discarded; the useless and the used-up; the 'unserviceable', and 'unsaleable' stuff left behind after a process of manufacture or use.[8] In a world where very little went to waste, and even dangerous printed texts and Catholic heresy were wrapped around food and other books rather than being destroyed, waste had economic value and was suited to a range of uses. The continuing biographies of these objects, as they progressed between stages of use, led to an accumulation of figurative value.

In the developed world, our waste is disposed of and removed from our homes and our cities. We assume that we will not meet it again, although we are aware that, more often than not, it will sit for centuries in landfills or float in the ocean, and perhaps, every now and again, wash up on distant beaches. This waste is the prop for modern narratives, of environmental contamination, and of the Anthropocene. But, in the early modern world, that which was 'laid aside' and discarded did not disappear from view. Instead, early moderns lived *with* their waste: made of organic stuff, often rapidly disintegrating, but also persisting, it cohabited with the human and so, in these centuries, constituted physically and imaginatively useful matter.

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[6] Jonathan Gil Harris, 'The New New Historicism's Wunderkammer of Objects', *European Journal of English Studies* 4, no. 2 (2000): 117.

[7] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2009).

[8] 'Waste', III.11.a, *OED*.

APPENDICES

The information contained in the appendices is taken from my surveys of the binding waste of three libraries:

1. Bishop Cosin's Library at Durham Cathedral Library, founded in 1668 and collected largely when he was a student at Cambridge (1610-1616); librarian and secretary of John Overall, Bishop of Norwich (1617-19); holding various ecclesiastical positions in Greatham and Durham (1624-34); Dean of Peterhouse College, Cambridge (1635-44); in exile with Henrietta Maria's court in France (1644-1660); and as Bishop of Durham until his death (1660-1672). Of the founder's ca. 5000 volumes, a minimum of 73 items still contain wastepaper.

2. The binding waste in texts or bindings produced in England, or of English provenance, between 1500 and 1700 in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Founded in 1919 by a wealthy bibliophile, the Huntington's Francis Bacon Foundation Arensberg Collection of 'Baconia' contains a particularly large amount of wastepaper and repurposed parchment. The box of 'Huth Fragments' (items with call number beginning either '131401' or 'Huth') contains many fragments of early printed title pages, engravings, and typography, a large number of which have been removed from unidentified bindings. These were collected by John Fenn (1739-94), bought by Alfred H. Huth in the late nineteenth century, and purchased by the Huntington at the Huth Sale in 1927.

3. The personal collection of David Drummond, 3rd Lord Madertie (1611-94) at Innerpeffray Library, Perthshire. The founder's library contains approximately 400 books, some of which were inherited from his forebears. Founded as a public library ca. 1680 for the use of 'young students', the books have been rebound and repaired multiple times in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. More than 10% (46 of 400) of the founder's books still contain wastepaper.

Although these surveys do not provide a large enough sample size to draw definitive conclusions about the exact nature of early modern waste practices, they do suggest patterns of use, as well as the scope of repurposing and how such practices altered over time. The bias of antiquarian collectors and bibliophiles between the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries towards early print and texts related to William Shakespeare and Francis Bacon, manifest in the

Huntington Library, is complemented by the smaller, personal libraries of a Scottish nobleman, David Drummond, and a Royalist bishop, John Cosin.

Because of the size of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Bishop Cosin's Library I have located binding waste primarily using library catalogues, but at Innerpeffray I was able to examine the bindings of the entire collection. I have relied on library catalogues to date medieval waste and have described it as 'pre-Reformation waste' when no reliable information was available. It is difficult to identify a large proportion of waste because of the size of the fragments, which are often largely obscured in the bindings. EEBO has enabled me to identify printed, English language wastepaper, but identifying Latin, Dutch, and French texts has proved more difficult. When waste has been removed from a binding, I have suggested how it featured (as either a guard, spine support, pastedown, flyleaf, boards or wrapper) according to its marks, folds, and tears, followed by a question mark. For descriptions of these binding structures see Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of Manuscript Terminology, 1450-2000* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).

These appendices are intended to provide a brief overview of the binding waste in these collections, and the means with which to locate each of the items, rather than a comprehensive description.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF THE BINDING WASTE IN BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY (FOUNDED 1668), DURHAM CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SORTED BY CALL NUMBER

Call Number	Material	Format	Binding Structure	Waste Item	Bound Item
Cosin A.3.24	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	15th century liturgical manuscript	Benedictus Pererius, *In Genesim* (Cologne: Antonium Hierat, 1601)
Cosin A.4.2	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	1596 legal manuscript	Giovanni Diodati, *Pious and learned annotations upon the Holy Bible* (London: Miles Flesher for Nicholas Fussall, 1648)
Cosin A.4.5	Paper	Printed	Guards	165-, printed blank writ from the Sheriff of Hertfordshire to a bailiff	*Sancti Thomae Aquinatus Doctoris Angelicii* (Paris: Johannem Henault, 1657)
Cosin AA.3.28	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1548)	Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: [John Lichfield] for Henry Cripps, 1628)
Cosin B.4.21	Paper	Printed	Guards	John Cotton, *Gods promise to his plantation* (London: William Iones for John Bellamy, 1630)	Johann Crell, *The expiation of a sinner* (London: Tho. Harper to be sold by Charles Greene, 1646)
Cosin B.5.21	Paper	Manuscript	Pastedown	16th/17th century Latin manuscript	Francisco de Ribera, *In epistolam ad Hebraeos commentarii* (Cologne: Arnoldi Mylij, 1600)
Cosin B.5.25	Paper	Manuscript	Boards	15th century manuscript	Antonio Brucioli, *Il Nuouo Testamento di Giesu Christo* (Lyone: Philiberto Rolleto and Bartholomeo Freno, 1547)
Cosin BB.1.28	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	17th century English sermon	*[D. Iuuenalis Satyrarum libri V]* ([Hanouiae: Danielem ac Dauidem Aubrios & Clementem Schlechium, 1619])
Cosin BB.5.50	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	16th/17th century Latin manuscript	Joseph Glanvill, *A blow at modern sadducism in some philosophical considerations about witchcraft* (London: E. Cotes for James Collins, 1668)
Cosin BB.5.57	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	Early 16th century Latin Canon Law	*Provinciale vetus provincia Cantuariensis, cum selectioribus Lindwodi annotationibus* (Oxford: Hen. Hall for Ri. Davis, 1664)
Cosin BB.6.27	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	17th century Latin biblical commentary	Meric Casaubon, *De nupera Homeri editione Lugduno-Batavica, Hackiana* (London: Tho. Roycroft for Joh. Shirley, 1659)
Cosin BB.7.15	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf	Lambert Daneau, *A treatise, touching Antichrist* (London: Thomas Orwin for Iohn Porter and Thomas Gubbin, 1589)	*Pindari, Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia. Caeterorum octo lyricorum carmina* ([Geneva]: Henricum Stephanum, 1586)

Cosin BB.7.19	Paper	Manuscript	Flyleaf	17th manuscript in English, Latin, and Greek, including theological notes	*Hugonis Grotij et aliorum de omni genere studiorum recte instituendo dissertationes* (Lugduni: Isaaci Commelini and Wilhelmi Christinai, 1637)
Cosin BB.7.2	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	William Guild, *The throne of David, or An exposition of the second of Samuell* (Oxford: William Hall for Rob. Blagrave, 1659)	Jean-Louis Guez Balzac, *Aristippe, ou de la cour. par Mr. de Balzac* (Amsterdam: Daniel Elzevier, 1664)
Cosin BB.7.20	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	14th/15th century Latin breviary	*Catullus. Tibullus. Propertius* (Paris: Simonis Colinaei, 1543)
Cosin BB.7.3	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	John Price, *Some few and short considerations on the present distempers* ([London: s.n., 1642)	David Jenkins, *The works of that grave and learned lawyer Iudge Ienkins, prisoner in Newgate upon divers statutes, concerning the liberty, and freedome of the subject* (London: for I. Gyles, 1648)
Cosin BB.7.7	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	17th century index from printed Latin work on Grotius	*R.P. Famiani Stradae ... Eloquentia bipartita* (Oxford: Guil. Hall for Rich. Davis, 1662)
Cosin C.1.3	Paper	Printed	Guards?	16th/17th century English metrical psalms	*Thomæ Bradvvardini Archiepiscopi olim Cantuariensis* (London: ex officina Nortoniana, apud Ioannem Bilium, [1618])
Cosin C.2.12	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th/17th century French text	*Sermons preached by that reverend and learned divine Richard Clerke* (London: T. Cotes for Thomas Alchorn, 1637)
Cosin C.3.6/1	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	16th century Latin controversial text	Richard Senhouse, *Foure sermons preached at the court vpon seuerall occasions* (London: [Humphrey Lownes] for R. Dawlman, 1627)
Cosin D.1.1	Paper	Printed	Guards	John White, *White 1638 a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1638* (London: F.K. for the Company of Stationers, 1638)	Henry Spelman, *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones, in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici* (London: Richard Badger for Ph. Stephani and Ch. Meredith, 1639)
Cosin D.3.8/1	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	13th century Latin manuscript	*Triō dion ... Epimelō s ... diorthō then para ... Nikē phorou tou paschaleō s* ((([Venice]: [Anton Pinelli], [1620])
Cosin D.5.11	Paper	Printed	Boards	16th/17th century English legal text, including directions for shipping	*Regula sancti patris Benedicti, cum declarationibus & constitutionibus congregationis Montis Casini* (Paris: apud Ambrosium & Hieronymum Drouart, 1604).
Cosin E.3.25	Paper	Printed	Guards	17th century English statutes	*Theophylaktou Archiepiskopou Boulgarias Exē gē sis tō n Epistolō n tou Hagiou Paulou* (London: Robert Barker and John Bill, [1636])

Cosin I.3.32/1	Paper	Printed	Guards	Early 17th English legal text-book	Martin Thomas, *A traictise declaryng and plainly prouyng, that the pretensed marriage of priestes, and professed persones, is no mariage* (London: Robert Caly, 1554)
Cosin I.5.6	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf	Nicholas Breton, *I pray you be not angry: for I will make you merry* (London: W.W. for William Iones, 1605)	Bartholomäus Keckermann, *Systema s.s. theologiae, tribus libris adornatum* (Hanouiae: Guilielmum Antonium, 1602)
Cosin K.1.21	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	17th century Latin legal manuscript	Hugh Davis, *De jure uniformitatis ecclesiastic* (London: S. Simmons for T. Helder, 1669)
Cosin K.1.25	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	Jean Calvin, *In viginti prima Ezechielis capita prælectiones* (Genève: François Perrin, 1565)	Peter Baro, *Petri Baronis Stempani, sacrae theologiae in academia cantabrigiensi doctoris ac professoris* (London: John Day, 1579)
Cosin K.2.14	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Guards and spine support	Early 17th century Geneva Bible reinforced with 14th century Latin manuscript	*The works of the very learned J. Jewell* (London: [Eliot's Court Press for J. Norton], 1611).
Cosin K.5.14/1	Paper	Manuscript	Pastedown	16th/17th century Latin manuscript with verses	Samuel Collins, *Increpatio Andreæ Eudæmono-Iohannis Iesuitæ, de infami Parallelo, et, renouata assertio Torturæ Torti, pro clarissimo domino atque antistite Eliensi* ([Cambridge]: Cantrellus Legge, [1612])
Cosin K.5.37/1	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	Two early 16th century Latin texts, one rhetoric one canon law	*Pro Tortura torti, contra Martinum Becanum Iesuitam, responsio Roberti Burhilli Angli* (London: Robert Baker, 1611)
Cosin K.5.40	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	15th/16th century Latin Vulgate	George Ashwell, *Fides Apostolica or A discourse asserting the received authors and authority of the Apostles Creed* (Oxford: Leon. Lichfield for Jo. Godwin, and Ric. Davis, 1653)
Cosin K.5.5	Paper	Printed	Guards	17th century Bible	Heinrich Alting, *Theologia elenctica nova* (Amstelodami: apud Joannem Janssonium, 1654)
Cosin L.2.23	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards?	Two sets of fragments: a 15th century breviary and 17th century royal writs	*Les reports de Edvvard Coke L'attorney generall le Roigne* (London: Adam Islip for Thomae Wight, 1600)
Cosin L.3.19	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	17th century English legal manuscript	*The second part of the Reports of Sir George Croke Kt* (London: for A. Roper, T. Collins, F. Tyton, J. Place, J. Starkey and T. Bassett, 1669).
Cosin L.4.28	Paper	Printed	Guards	Jules-César Scaliger, *Exotericarum*	William West, *The First Part of Simboleography* (London: The

				exercitationum liber XV (Frankfurt am Main: Claude de Marne and Johann Aubry, 1592)	Company of Stationers, 1605)
Cosin N.1.15	Parchment	Manuscript	Spine support	17th century English legal manuscript	Andrew Willet, *Synopsis papismi, that is, A generall vievv of papistrie* (London: Felix Kyngston for Thomas Man, to be sold by Henry Fetherston, 1614)
Cosin N.1.21	Paper	Print	Flyleaf	Thomas Becon, *The worckes of Thomas Becon whiche he hath hitherto made and published* (London: Iohn Day, [1564])	*The Whole workes of W. Tyndall, John frith, and Doct. Barnes, three worthy Martyrs* (London: Iohn Day, 1573)
Cosin N.1.9	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	14th century manuscript biblical commentary	*De republica ecclesiastica libri X. Auctore Marco Antonio de Dominis Archiepiscopo Spalatensi* (Londini: Ex officina Nortoniana apud Io: Billium, [1617])
Cosin N.2.8	Paper	Printed	Guards?	16th century Latin theological manuscript	*Summa colloquii Iohannis Rainoldi cum Iohanne Harto de capite & fide ecclesiæ* (London: Iohannes Norton, 1611)
Cosin N.5.33	Paper	Printed	Guards	Thomas Cranley, *Amanda: or, The reformed whore* (London: John Norton, 1635)	Roger Puttock, *A reioynder unto William Malone's reply to the first article* (Dublin: William Bladen for the Company of Stationers, 1632)
Cosin N.5.6	Paper	Printed	Guards	17th century English legal text	William Nicholson, *A plain, but full exposition of the catechism of the Church of England* (London: Nathanael Webb and William Grantham, 1661)
Cosin O.3.17	Paper	Printed	Guards	Richard Heylyn, *Antidotum Lincolniense* (London: [Miles Flesher and R. Bishop] for John Clark, 1637)	John Sym, *Lifes preservative against self-killing. Or, An useful treatise concerning life and self-murder* (London: M. Flesher for R. Dawlman, and L. Fawne, 1637)
Cosin O.3.6	Paper	Printed	Guards	17th century Latin legal text	John Weemes, *The christian synagogue* (London: I. D[awson] for Iohn Bellamie, 1623)
Cosin O.3.8/1	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th century English Bible	Caspar van Baerle, *Epistola ecclesiastarum, quos in Belgio Remonstrantes vocant, ad exterarum ecclesiarum reformatos doctores* ((Lugduni Batauorum: Ioannes Patius, 1617)
Cosin O.5.13	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf and guard	16th century edition of Virgil's *Georgics*	John Wilkins, *A discourse concerning the gift of prayer* (London: Thomas Ratcliffe and Edward Mottershed, 1651)
Cosin O.5.17	Paper	Manuscript	Pastedown and	16th/17th century English petition	Joseph Hall, *Contemplations vpon the principall passages of the holy*

			flyleaf		*story,* vol. 4 (London: Edward Griffin for Henry Fetherstone, 1618)
Cosin O.5.18	Paper	Manuscript	Pastedown and flyleaf	16th/17th century English petition	Joseph Hall, *Contemplations vpon the principall passages of the holy story*, vol. 7 (London: J. Hauiland for H. Fetherstone, 1623)
Cosin P.4.21	Paper	Printed	Guards?	Early 16th century French text	Aelfric, *Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon Tongue* (London: E[dward] G[riffin] and [John Haviland] for Francis Eglesfield, 1638).
Cosin Q.6.12	Paper	Printed	Guards	1561 Great Bible	Petreius Theodorus, *Bibliotheca Cartusiana, siue, illustrium sacri Cartusiensis Ordinis scriptorum catalogus* (Coloniae: Antonium Hieratum, 1609)
Cosin R.2.26	Paper	Printed	Guards	17th century *Book of Common Prayer*	Edward Herbert, *The life and raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (London: E. G[riffin II and others] for Thomas Whitaker, 1649)
Cosin R.3.16	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Two 16/17th century English legal manuscripts, one mentions Sir John Leke	Richard Crakanthorpe, *Vigilius dormitans* (London: M[iles] Flesher for Robert Mylbourne, 1631)
Cosin R.3.4	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	16/17th Latin medical texts, perhaps by Avicenna	Appianus of Alexandria, *Appianou Alexandreō s Rō maikō n Keltichē* (Lutetiae: Caroli Stephani, 1551)
Cosin R.5.34	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	12th century Latin missal	John Caius, *De antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiæ libri duo* (London: Mense Augusto for Henricum Bynneman, [1568])
Cosin S.3.6	Paper	Printed	Guards	1561 English Bible	*Illustris Academia Lugd-Bataua* (Lugd-Bat.: apud Andream Cloucquium, 1613).
Cosin T.3.14	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th century Latin mathematical text	William Sanderson, *A compleat history of the lives and reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland* (London: Humphrey Moseley, Richard Tomlins, and George Sawbridge, 1656)
Cosin T.3.22	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th/17th century Book of Common Prayer	Eusebius, *The auncient ecclesiastical histories of the first six hundred yeares after Christ* (London: Richard Field, 1607)
Cosin T.4.33	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	16th century Latin Canon Law	*Q. Enni[i], poetae cum primis censendi* (Lugduni Batavorum: eIoannis Paetsij, & Ludovici Elzevirij. [Typis Ioannis Balduini], 1595)
Cosin T.5.60	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	16th century Latin text	Francis Bacon, *Francisci de Verulamio historia naturalis et*

					experimentalis de ventis (Lugd. Batav.: Franciscos Hegerum et Hackium, 1638)
Cosin W.1.10	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Guards and spine support	1561 English Bible, contemporary legal manuscript, and 12/13th century manuscript	*Loukianou Samosateō s philosophou ta sō zomena* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: P. Ludouicum Feburier, 1615)
Cosin W.1.11	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Guards and spine support	1561 English Bible, contemporary legal manuscript, and 12/13th century manuscript	*Philostrati Lemnij opera quae exstant* (Parisiis: Marcum Orry, 1608)
Cosin W.3.15	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	16th century Latin writ	*Anton. Possevini Mantuani societ. Iesu Apparatus sacer ad scriptores veteris & Novi Testamenti* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Ioannem Gymnicum, 1608)
Cosin W.3.17	Paper	Printed	Guards	Perhaps from Ralph Brooke, *A catalogue and succession of the kings, princes, dukes, marquesses, earles, and viscounts of this realme of England* (London: William Jaggard, 1619), and 1568 Bishop's Bible	Phillipe Commynes, *The historie of Philip de Commines Knight* (London: Ar. Hatfield, 1601)
Cosin W.3.27	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th/17th century English Bible	Ben Jonson, *Workes* (London: W. Stansby, 1616)
Cosin W.5.11	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Wrapper and flyleaf	16th century parchment manuscript and 16th/17th century text with engraving of a garden	*Diticha Catonis* (Parisiis: Gabrielem Buon, 1584)
Cosin W.5.26	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	17th century Latin legal manuscript	*Isocratis orationes tres* (Cambridge: Thom. Buck. & Rog. Daniel, 1638)
Cosin W.5.49	Paper	Printed	Guards?	Early 16th century edition of Euripides	Ralph Winterton, *Poetæ minores Græci* (Cantabrigiæ: Apud Thom. & Joan. Buck, & Roger. Daniel, [1635])
Cosin X.5.46	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	16th/17th century French manuscript wrapper	*Philippi Garneri Aurelianensis* (Parisiis: Adrianum Bacot, 1625)
Cosin X.6.23/1	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	16th century Latin Canon Law	*Disertissimi viri Rogeri Aschami Angli* (Londini: Henrici Middleton for Francisco Coldocko, 1578)
Cosin Y.2.26	Paper	Printed	Guards?	17th century English text	Richard Perceval, *A dictionary in Spanish and English* (London: Iohn Hauiland for Edward Blount, 1623)

Cosin Y.4.8	Paper	Printed	Guards?	17th century English text	William Somner, *The antiquities of Canterbury* (London: I[ohn] L[egat] for Richard Thrale, 1640)
Cosin Y.5.11	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	Richard Bernard, *The fabulous foundation of the popedome* (Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short for William Spier, 1619) and 17th century Latin text	Johann Amos Comenius, *Janua linguarum reserata: or a seed-plot of all languages and sciences* (London: R. Young to be sold by T. Slater, 1638)
Cosin Y.5.25	Paper	Printed	Guards	Early 16th century Latin hymnary	*Merici Casauboni, Is.F. De quatuor linguis commentationis, pars prior* (Londini: J. Flesher, 1650)

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF THE BINDING WASTE IN ENGLISH TEXTS, ENGLISH BINDINGS, AND BOOKS OF ENGLISH PROVENANCE PRODUCED BETWEEN 1500 AND 1700 IN THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, SORTED BY CALL NUMBER

Call Number	Material	Format	Binding Structure	Waste Item	Bound Item
12963	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Pre-reformation service book	John Bale, *The first two partes of the Actes or vnchaste examples of the Englyshe votaryes* (London: Iohn Tysdale, 1560)
13101.v1	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	15th century manuscript of St Anselm, 'Cur Deus homo', 'De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis', and 'De libero arbitrio'	Thomas Morley, *Canzonets. Or Little short songs to three voyces* ([London]: Tho: Est, [1593])
17475	Paper	Printed	Guards?	Jean-Louis Guez Balzac, *Nevv epistles of Mounsieur de Balzac,* translated b. Richard Baker (London: T. Cotes [and John Dawson] for Fra: Eglesfield, Iohn Crooke, and Rich. Serger, 1638)	Jean-Louis Guez Balzac, *Nevv epistles of Mounsieur de Balzac,* translated b. Richard Baker (London: T. Cotes [and John Dawson] for Fra: Eglesfield, Iohn Crooke, and Rich. Serger, 1638)
20458	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Pre-reformation manuscript	*La liuer des assises & plees del corone moues* (Londini: Richardi Totelli, [1561])
23540	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Pre-reformation manuscript	Matthew Paris, *Elegans, illustris, et facilis rerum, præsertim Britannicarum* ([London: Richard Jugge], 1567)
27911	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	17th century English legal document	Arthur Dent, *The opening of heauen gates* (London: [Eliot's Court Press] for Iohn Wright, 1624)
28134	Paper	Printed	Guards	Richard Crakanthorpe, *Vigilius dormitans. Romes seer overseene* (London: M[iles] F[lesher] for Robert Mylbourne, 1631)	Richard Crakanthorpe, *Vigilius dormitans. Romes seer overseene* (London: M[iles] F[lesher] for Robert Mylbourne, 1637)
30688	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf	John Davies, [*O Vtinam. 1 For Queene Elizabeths securitie, 2 for hir subiects prosperitie*] ([London: R. Yardley and P[eter] Short for I. Pennie, 1591])	John Udall, *A commentarie vpon the Lamentations of Ieremy* (London: Widdow Orwin for Thomas Man, 1593)
31485	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	Liturgical manuscript	Thomas Heath, *A manifest and apparent confutation of an astrological discourse* ([London]: Robert Walde-graue, [1583])
39458	Paper	Printed	Guard	*Mr. VVilliam Shakespeares comedies, histories, and tragedies* (London: Tho. Cotes for Richard Hawkins [, John Smethwick, Robert Allot, William Aspley, and Richard Meighen], 1632)	Nicolas Clénard, *N. Clenardi Græcæ linguæ institutiones* (Londini: [Felix Kingston] and Ioh. Norton, 1612)

49035	Parchment	Manuscript	Pastedown	Pre-reformation Psalms and commentary	Ovid, *The .xv. bookes of P. Ouidius Naso*, trans. by Arthur Golding (London: Willyam Seres, [1567])
51749	Parchment	Manuscript	Flyleaves?	Pre-reformation manuscript	Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, *The historie of Iudith in forme of a poeme*, trans. by Tho. Hudson (Edinburgh: Thomas Vautroullier, 1584)
53931	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Guards? and pastedown	Pre-reformation manuscript and 15th/early 16th century printed Bible	Thomas Elyot, *Castell of helthe* ([London: Thomas Marshe, [1561?]])
56674	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf?	Anon., [*The history of the excellent knight Generides*] ([London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1506?])	Removed from a 1506-11 *Sarum Missal*
59667	Parchment	Manuscript	Pastedown?	Pre-reformation manuscript	Desiderius Erasmus, *Apophthegmes*, trans. by Nicholas Udall ([London]: Ricardi Grafton, 1542)
60030	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	Patrick Scot, *A table-booke for princes* (London: B.A., to be sold by Robert Swaine, 1622)	Edward Coke, *Fasciculus florum* (London: G. Eld, 1618)
60363	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Pastedown and flyleaf	14th century Canon Law and fragments of an early, printed edition of Ankwyll's 'Compendium totius grammaticae'	John Borough, *Pupilla oculi o[mn]ibus* ([London: Wolfgang Hopyl, Paris] [by H. Jacobi, 24 June 1510])
60618	Paper	Printed	Guards	*Sacro-sanctum Novum Testamentum* (Londini: Valentinus Simsius, [1604])	*Sacro-sanctum Novum Testamentum* (Londini: Valentinus Simsius, [1604])
60944	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	16th century English manuscript	Robert Dallington, *A method for trauell* (London: Thomas Creede, [1605?])
61236	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper and guard	16th century English manuscript wrapper and pre-reformation guard	*The familiar epistles of Sir Antony of Gueuara* (London: [Henrie Middelton] for Raufe Newbery, [1574])
62374	Parchment	Manuscript	Cover	Unidentifiable manuscript painted black	*Certaine select dialogues of Lucian* (Oxford: William Turner, 1634)
69583	Paper	Printed	Pastedown (perhaps not waste)	City of London, [*Bill of Mortality*] *From the [blank] to the [blank] 1621* ([London: s.n., 1621])	John Stow, *The suruay of London* (London: George Purslowe, 1618).
69747	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Guards and pastedown	Pre-reformation manuscript and 16th century Matthew's Gospel	*An abridgement of the notable woorke of Polidore*, ed. by Thomas Langley (London: Richarde Grafton, [1546])

80526	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	16th century manuscript of a Latin humanist text	Georg Agricola, *De re metallica* (Paris: Jérôme de Gourmont, 1541)
89095	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves?	Anthony Fitzherbet, *The office of shirifes* ([London: T. Marsh?, 1577])	Removed from a 1585 edition of Lipsius *Opera omnia*
89966	Paper	Printed and manuscript	Pastedown	Pre-reformation manuscript and remnants of 89966PF, removed from binding	Zacharias Ursinus, *Explicationum catecheticarum* (Cantebrigiae: Thomae Thomasii, 1587)
89966PF	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	Guillaume Morel, *Verborum Latinorum* (Londini: Henrici Bynnemani for Richardi Huttoni, [1583])	Zacharias Ursinus, *Explicationum catecheticarum* (Cantebrigiae: Thomae Thomasii, 1587)
98524	Parchment	Manuscript	Pastedowns	Two pre-reformation manuscripts	John Case, *Speculum moralium quaestionum in vniversam ethicen Aristotelis* (Oxoniæ: Iosephi Barnesii, 1585)
123584	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf	17th century Latin ecclesiastical history	John Davies, *Discoverie of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued* (Dublin: Samuel Dancer, 1664)
131401:2	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf?	[*Aesop's Fables*] ([London: Printed by Richard Pynson?, 1525?])	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:6	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf?	Anon., [*Sir Tryamour*] ([London: Printed by Richard Pynson, 1503?])	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:7	Paper	Printed	Pastedown or flyleaf	Anon., [*Gesta Romanorum*] ([London: Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, ca. 1525])	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:8	Paper	Printed	Pastedown or flyleaf	Anon., [*The history of the excellent knight Generides*] ([London: Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1506?])	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:8a	Paper	Printed	Guards?	Anon., [*The passion of Christ*] ([London Richard Pynson, ca. 1503])	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:9	Paper	Printed	Pastedown or flyleaf	Anon., [*A lytell treatyse for to lerne Englysshe and Frensshe*] ([Antwerp: Printed by Christoffel van Ruremund, ca. 1530])	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:11	Paper	Printed	Pastedown or flyleaf	Anon., [*Enterlude of detraction, light judgment, verity, and justice*] ([London: s.n., ca. 1550])	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:12	Paper	Printed	Pastedown or flyleaf	Anon., [*Jacob and his twelve sons*] ([London: Printed by John Scot, ca. 1530])	Removed from unidentified binding

131401:13	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf?	John Lydgate, *Lyf of our lady* ([London: Robert Redman, [1531])	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:17	Paper	Printed	Pastedown?	Adrian Velthoven, *The p[ro]nostication of maister Adrian ... For the yere of our lorde. M.D.xx.* ([London: Richard Pynson, 1520])	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:18	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf	Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *De ritu nuptiarum et dispensatione* (Londini: Ioannis Cawodi, 1553)	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:20	Paper	Printed	Guards	William Basse, *Great Brittaines sunnes-set, bewailed with a shower of teares* (Oxford: Ioseph Barnes, 1613)	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:24	Paper	Printed	Pastedown or flyleaf	Ulrich Zwingli, *The ymage of both pastoures* ([London: [T. Raynald for] William Seris & Rycharde Kele, [1550])	Removed from Cicero, *Rhetorica* (Venice: Paul Mautius, 1546)
131401:31	Paper	Printed	Pastedown?	*An almanack for the yere. M. D. lxiij. Composed by M. Michael Nostradamus* ([London: S.N.], [1563])	Removed from unidentified binding
131401:51a	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves?	Anon., *O Lord thy word is our sure touch stone* ([London: Printed by John Day and William Seres?, 1549?])	Removed from Cicero, *Rhetorica* (Venice: Paul Mautius, 1546)
131401:51b	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves?	Anon., [*Whippet you prestes and tourne you*] ([London: S.n., 1549?])	Removed from Cicero, *Rhetorica* (Venice: Paul Mautius, 1546)
131401:53	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves?	Anon., [*Ballad on the defeat of the Devon and Cornwall rebels of 1548*] ([London: S.n., 1549])	Removed from Cicero, *Rhetorica* (Venice: Paul Mautius, 1546)
145923	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf?	James I, *By the King. As often as vve call to minde the most ioyfull and iust recognition made by the whole body of our realme* (London: Robert Barker, 1604)	Removed from unidentified binding
195255	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf?	John Colet, [*De nominibus heteroclitis.*] ([London]: VVinandum de VVorde, [1534?])	Removed from unidentified binding
216340	Paper and	Printed and	Guards, pastedown, and	16th century manuscript and Anon., *An*	*The Psalmes of Dauid and others. With M. Iohn Caluins commentaries*

	parchment	manuscript	flyleaves	*aunswere to the proclamation of the rebels in the north. 1569* (London: Willyam Seres, [1569])	([London: Thomas East and Henry Middelton for Lucas Harison, and George Byshop], [1571])
327725	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Pre-reformation service-book	Théodore de Bèze, *A briefe and piththie [sic] summe of the christian faith,* trans. by R.F. (London: Richard Serll, 1565?)
353529/30	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Wrapper, boards, and flyleaf	Pre-reformation service-book wrapper, pre-reformation manuscript pastedown, and boards comprised of printed Latin religious text	Antoine de Chandieu, *De legitima vocatione pastorum ecclesiæ reformatæ* (Morges: Jean Le Preux, 1583) and George Buchanan, *De iure regni apud Scotos, dialogus* ([Edinburgh: Printed by John Ross], 1579)
354205	Parchment	Manuscript	Pastedown	16th century French manuscript	Pierre Charon, *Of wisdome three bookes,* trans. by Samson Lennard (London: [Eliot's Court Press] for Edward Blount & Will: Aspley, [1615?])
357218	Paper and parchment	Manuscript	Guards and pastedown?	Pre-reformation manuscript and Wycliff's translation of the gospels, now removed	Eusebius Caesariensis, *Hystoria ecclesiastica* (Lyon: Benoît Bonyn sumptibus Jacques Giunta, 1526)
358158	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Pre-reformation manuscript	*Pia et catholica Christiani hominis institutio* (Londini: Thomam Bertheletum, [1544])
430480	Parchment	Printed	Guards	New River Company, [*Indenture for a lease of supply of water by pipe.*] [London: s.n., ca. 1640].	Matthew Wren, *Increpatio Barjesu* (Londini: Jacobi Flesheri for Cornelium Bee, [1660])
438880	Parchment	Manuscript	Flyleaves	Pre-reformation manuscript	John Hooper, *A funeral oratio[n], made the. xiiii. daye of Ianuary* ([London: Thomas Raynalde, [1550])
438894	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	David Lloyd, *The legend of Captain Jones* (London: for E. Okes and Francis Haley, 1671)	William Cave, *Primitive Christianity* (London: by J.M. for Richard Chiswell, 1675)
445230	Paper	Printed	Pastedowns or boards	William Penn, *No cross, no crown*, (London 1668 or 1669), and Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth* (London: 1679 or 1680)	John Newton, *An introduction to the art of rhetorick* (London: E.T. and R.H. for Thomas Passenger, 1671)
474078	Parchment	Manuscript	Pastedown	Pre-reformation manuscript	R. González de Montes, *A discouery and playne declaration of sundry subtill practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne* (London: Iohn Day, 1569)
479511	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf	Two sheets of almanac: *Dove 1629* (Cambridge: the Printers to the Vniversitie	Removed from unidentified binding or bindings

				of Cambridge, 1629) and *Pond 1629* (Cambridge: the Printers to the University of Cambridge, 1629),	
487000:0393	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	17th century French legal text	Jacques Rohault, *Jacobi Rohaulti Physica* (Londini: Jacobi Knapton, 1697)
489653	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf	John Foxe, *Actes and Monument*s ([London: Iohn Daye, 1583])	J.S., *A description of France in its several governments* (London: Tho. Minors, 1692)
492404	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Guards and spine supports?	17th century legal manuscript and 1663 bond to the customs office for importing grain	Hugh Davis, *De jure uniformitatis ecclesiastica* (London: S. Simmons, to be sold by T. Helder, 1669)
492913	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	Pre-reformation service book with 'Sancta Maria' visible	Sebastian Münster, *A briefe collection and compendious extract of straunge and memorable thinges* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1574)
496955	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	16th century Latin manuscript, perhaps legal document	Anthony Fitzherbert, *La nouuelle natura breuiu[m]* (Londini: Richardi Tottelli, 1567 [i.e. 1576])
497470	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	Tocsain, *Le tocsain contre les massacreurs et auteurs des confusions en France* (Reims: Jean Martin, [either 1577 or 1579])	Eustachius a Sancto Paulo, *Summa philosophiae quadripartita* (Coloniae: Haeredum Lazari Zetzneri, [1620])
497484	Paper	Printed	Guards	17th century Latin religious text	Edward Hayward, *The sizes and lengths of riggings for all the states ships and frigats* (London: Peter Cole, 1655)
497638	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf?	*Sarum Missal* [Paris?: Jean Petit?, ca. 1520?]	Removed from unidentified binding
498783	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Pre-reformation manuscript	Friedrich Beurhaus, *In P. Rami, Regii professoris Clariss* (Londini: Henrici Bynneman, [1581])
600204	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf	England and Wales, *Parliament, Die Veneris, 16. Maii. 1645* ([London: for Edward Husbands, 1645])	Fulke Greville, *The life of the renowned Sr Philip Sidney* (London: for Henry Seile, [1652, i.e. 1651])
600443	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	16th/17th century administrative manuscript	Giovanni Francesco Biondi, *Eromena, or, Love and revenge*, trans. by James Hayward (London: Richard Badger, 1632)
600683	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	16th century Latin text, inc. Cicero	John Jewel, *A defense of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande* (London: Henry VVykes, 1571)
600731	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	17th century legal manuscript	John Philipot, *The catalogue of the chancellors of England* (London: Tho. Cotes, sold by Andrew Crooke, 1636)

	600913	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf	17th century medical advert, 'The Most Approved and Experimented Powder…'	Thomas Walkington, *The optick glasse of humors* (London: G. Dawson, sold by Edward Man, 1664)
	600935	Paper	Printed and manuscript	Pastedown and flyleaf	16th/17th century manuscript and unidentified almanac	John Wilkins, *The discovery of a vvorld in the moone* (London: E[dward]. G[riffin] for Michael Sparke and Edward Forrest, 1638)
	601036	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	17th century legal document	*The essaies of Sr Francis Bacon Knight* (London: Iohn Iaggard [i.e. John Beale], 1613. [i.e. ca. 1617])
601122-26		Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	16th/17th century administrative manuscript	Sammelbande including Francis Bacon, *The elements of the common lavves of England* (London: [Robert Young for] I. More, 1630)
	601330	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th/17th century almanac, unidentified	Francis Bacon, *The historie of the raigne of King Henry the Seuenth* (London: W. Stansby for Matthew Lownes, and William Barret, 1622)
	601356	Parchment	Manuscript	Wrapper	16th/17th century legal document	Francis Bacon, *Sylua syluarum* (London: by I[ohn] H[aviland and Augustine Mathewes] for William Lee, 1628 [i.e. 1629])
	601476	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and flyleaf	Raphael Holinshed, *The first and second volumes of Chronicles* ([London]: [Henry Denham], [1587])	George Hakewill, *Apologie of the power and providence of God in the government of the world* (Oxford: Iohn Lichfield and William Turner, 1627)
	601486	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	16th/17th century Latin, religious text	Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in four bookes* (London: [W.W.] for Henry Seile, [1652])
	601609	Paper	Printed	Wrapper	Church of England, *The book of common prayer* (London: Charles Bill, [1693])	William Churchill, *Divi Britannici* (London: Tho. Roycroft, sold by Francis Eglesfield, [1675])
	606193	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Pastedowns and guards	Pre-reformation manuscript and 16th century printed, English legal text	Desiderius Erasmus, *De copia verborum* (Londini [i.e. Antwerp?]: Sibertus Roedius, 1556)
	606786	Parchment	Manuscript	Guard	Pre-reformation manuscript	John Jewel, *Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae* (Londini: Reginaldum VVolfium., [1562])
	606936	Paper and parchment	Printed and manuscript	Pastedowns and guards	16th/17th century legal document and *Catena Græcorum patrum in beatum Iob* (Londini: Ex typographio regio, [1637])	*Matthæi Paris monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia major* (Londini: Richardus Hodgkinson [and Miles Flesher], 1640)
	611671	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	16th century Latin legal text	Francesco Guicciardini, *The historie of Guicciardin*, trans. by Geffray Fenton (London: Richard Field, 1599)

611937	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Two manuscripts, largely concealed	Jean Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion,* trans by Thomas Norton (ILondon: Anne Griffin for Ioyce Norton, and R. Whitaker, 1634)
618583	Parchment	Printed and manuscript	Wrapper and flyleaf	12th century English manuscript and printed, 15th/16th century Sarum Missal	*Prepositas his practise, a vvorke very necessary to be vsed for the better preseruation of the health of man* (London: Iohn Wolfe for Edward White, 1588) and André Du Laurens, *A discourse of the preseruation of the sight*, trans. by Richard Surphlet (London: Felix Kingston for Ralph Iacson, 1599)
618596	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	16th century Latin legal text	Jean Riolan, *Opuscula anatomica nova* (Londini: Milonis Flesher, [1649])
618723	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	17th century Latin ecclesiastical history	Thomas Gibson, *The anatomy of humane bodies epitomized* (London: T.W. for Awnsham and John Churchill, 1694)
624301	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th/17th century printed text, obscured by folds	John Rastell, *An exposition of certaine difficult and obscure wordes, and termes of the lawes of this realme* ([London: Richarde Tottell, 1579])
633441	Paper	Printed	Pastedown	16th/17th century edition of Aristotle's *Topics*	Johannes Piscator, *Analysis logica evangelii secundum Marcum* (Londini: Richardi Field, 1595)
633443	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	16th/17th century Latin text on alchemy	Gijsbrecht ab Isendoorn, *Cursus logicus systematicus & agonisticus* (Oxonii: Gulielmi Hall for Rob. Blagrave, 1658)
HM 163	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Pre-reformation theological manuscript	*Prayers*, based on the Protestant numeration of the Psalms (16th century manuscript)
HM 46105	Parchment	Manuscript	Pastedowns?	13th century decretal	Removed from an unidentified binding
HM 923	Parchment	Manuscript	Flyleaves	13th century gradual	Early 14th century book of stautes, in a 17th century binding
Huth 30	Paper	Printed	Pastedown or flyleaf	Fragment of a French text, 'La maiestie Imperiale'	Removed from an unidentified binding
Huth 35	Paper	Printed	Pastedown or flyleaf	Fragment of New Testament	Removed from an unidentified binding
Huth Misc 50	Paper	Printed	Pastedown or flyleaf	*The booke of the common prayer* (London: Richard Grafton, [1549])])	Removed from Cicero, *Rhetorica* (Venice: Paul Mautius, 1546)

APPENDIX 3

LIST OF THE BINDING WASTE IN DAVID DRUMMOND'S LIBRARY (FOUNDED ca. 1680), INNERPEFFRAY LIBRARY, PERTHSHIRE, SORTED BY CALL NUMBER

Call Number	Material	Format	Binding Structure	Waste Item	Bound Item
A6	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	17th century English legal manuscript	Francis Bacon, *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry The Seuenth* (London: W. Stansby for Matthew Lownes, and William Barret)
A10	Paper	Printed	Flyleaf	16th/17th century index to a Latin text	*Instrumentum Pacis Ab utriusque partis Plenipotenti A Riis, Caesareis, & Regiis Suecicis, Osnabrugis* (Londini: Guil. Du-gard, 1648) and *Instrumentum Pacis, A Sacrae Caesareae Et Sacrae Christianissimae Majestatis Majestatis* (London: Guil. Du-Gard, 1648)
AB9	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	15th/16th century Latin text on rhetoric	*Institvtio Christianae Religionis, Iohanne Calvino Avthore* (Genevæ: LePreux , 1606)
B8	Paper	Manuscript	Flyleaves	17th century English inventory	Pierre du Molin, *A learned treatise of traditions*, trans. By G. C. (London: Aug. Mathewes for Humphrey Robinson, 1632)
B8	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	William Annand, *Dualitas* (Edinburgh: George Swintoun and James Glen)	Matthew Poole, *A Dialogue Between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant* (Edinburgh: the Heir of Andrew Anderson, 1681)
B10	Paper	Printed	Guards	Early 16th century edition of Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* printed by either William Caxton or Wynkyn de Worde	James Ussher, *An Answer to A Challenge Made by a Iesuite in Ireland* (London: R. Young for the Partners of the Irish Stocke, 1631)
B11	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	Antoine Le Metel D'Ouville, *Comedie, L'Esprit Folet* (Paris: 1642)	Faustus Socinus, *De Auctoritate S. Scripturae* (Steinfurti: Theoph Caesar, 1611)
E3	Parchment	Manuscript	Spine support	Pre-reformation Latin manuscript	*Nicolai Gerbelij Phorcensis, pro declaratione picturae siue descriptionis Graeciae Sophiani* (Basel [S.l.] [s.n.] [1550])
E4	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	16th/17th century French manuscript	Pierre Boaistuau, *L'Histoire De Chelidonivs Tigurinvs Svr L'Institution des Princes Chrestiens* (Paris: Pour I. Longis & R. le Mangnier, 1559)
E4	Paper	Printed	Pastedown?	16th /17th century Dutch manuscript	Sammelbande including William Beerman, *Sorrow upon Sorrow* (London: for Francis Smith, 1674); Anon., *The Holy Fast of Lent* (London: [s.n.], 1677); Thomas Cole, *The Old Apostolical Way of Preaching* (London: for Thomas Cockeril,

					1676)
E8	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards and spine support	Pre-reformation Latin manuscript	Jean Carion, *Les Chroniqves De Iean Carion Philosophe* (Paris: Vincent Sertenas, 1551)
E9	Paper	Printed and manuscript	Flyleaves	Two 16th/17th century Greek and Latin manuscripts	William Crashaw, *Romish forgeries and falsifications* (Londini : [Excudebat Richardus Field] impensis Matthæi Lownes, 1606)
E10	Paper	Printed	Guards	Christopher Dow, *Innovations unjustly charged upon the present church and state* (London: Printed by M[iles] F[lesher] for John Clark, [1637]) and 17th century text, perhaps an almanac	John Huarte, *Examen de Ingenios* (London: Adam Islip for Thomas Adams, 1616)
F1	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	16th Latin dictionary	Herman Croeser, *Plutarch Chaeronei Ethica, Sive Moralia, Opera quae extant, omnia* (Basilae: Apud Thomam Guarinum, 1573)
F1	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	16th Latin dictionary	Herman Croeser, *Plutarch Chaeronei, Gravissimi et Philosophi et Historici* (Basilae: Apud Thomam Guarinum, 1573)
F2	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	16th century Latin manuscript	*Dictionariolum latino, graeco, gallicum* (Parisiis: Franciscum Gueffier, via D. Ioannis Lateranensis, 1607)
F2	Paper	Print	Flyleaves	17th century Scottish legal text: *Regiam Majestatem Scotiæ veteres leges et constitutiones* (Edinburgi: Excudebat Thomas Finlason, 1609)	William Prynne, *A breviate of the prelates intollerable usurpations* ([Amsterdam: Printed by J.F. Stam], 1637)
F4	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	15th/16th century Latin manuscript	*L'arithmetique de Simon Steuin de Bruges* (A Leyde: De l'imprimerie de Christophe Plantin, 1585)
F6	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	Ramón Llull, *Ars magna*, perhaps the 1596 Frankfurt edition	George Mackenzie, *Religio Stoici* (London: for George Sawbridge, 1663)
F9	Paper	Manuscript	Guards and flyleaves	17th century Latin manuscript	*Histoire Romaine de Lvcivs Annaevs Florvs* (Lyon: Anthoine Chard, 1628)
G8	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and boards	James Durham, *A practical exposition of the X. Commandements* (London: for Dorman Newman, 1675)	John Leslie, *De Origine Moribus & rebus gestis Scotorum Libri Decem* (Romae [Amsterdam?]: in Aedibus Populi Romani, 1675)

G9	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves and boards	17th century Book of Psalms	D. Petri A Sancto Joseph Fuliensi, *Idea Philosophiae Naturalis, Sev Physica* (Parisiis: Georgium Iosse, 1654)
G10	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	16th/17th century Greek manuscript	*D. Bernardi Abbatis Claraevallensis Doctoris Ecclesiae melliflui expositio in Cantica Canticorum* (Lugduni: Ex Officina Iunctarum, 1588)
G10	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and boards	16th century Sarum Missal	François Le Rées, *Tertia Pars Summae Philosophicae Quae Est Physica* (Parisiis: Petri Guillemot, 1660)
G10	Paper	Printed	Pastedown and boards	16th century Sarum Missal	François Le Rées, *Pars Quarta Philosophiae Authore Francisco Le Rees Domfrontano* (Parisiis: Petri Guillemot, 1660)
H5	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Two 15th/16th century Latin manuscripts	John Selden, *Titles of Honor* (London: William Stansby, 1631)
H9	Paper	Manuscript	Pastedown and flyleaf	17th century Latin manuscript on astrology	*Quinti Sereni Samonici De Medicina Praecepta Saluberrima* (Amstelodami, Petrum van den Berge, 1662)
H10	Paper	Manuscript	Pastedown and flyleaf	17th century manuscript in Latin and English, perhaps draft of a letter	William Guild, *An Answer To a Popish Pamphlet called The Touch-Stone of the Reformed Gospell* (Aberdene: James Brown, 1656)
I8	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	16th/17th century Latin manuscript	*Davidis Paeri Theologi Archipalatini* (Oxoniae: Johannes Lichfield, 1631)
I9	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th/17th century Latin text	*Ioh. Cameronis Myrothecium Evangelicum* (Genevae: Petrum Aubertum, 1632)
I10	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Two pre-reformation Latin manuscripts	Benedictus Aretius, *Examen Theologicvm, Brevi et Perspicva Methodo Conscriptvm* (Morgiis: Iohannes le Preux, 1584)
I10	Paper	Manuscript	Guards	16th/17th century English manuscript on religious subject	Anon., *An Answere to A Sermon Preached the 17 of April Anno D. 1608* ([Amsterdam]: [by Jodocus Hondius and Giles Thorp], 1609)
J6	Paper	Printed	Guards	England and Wales, *Divers papers from the army* (London: for Hanna Allen, 1647)	Thomas May, *The History of the Parliament of England* (London: Moses Bell for George Thomason, 1647)
J8	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th/17th century edition of Cicero *De natura decorum*	Pietro Alagona, *Totivs Ivris Canonici Compendivm* (Lvgdvni: Iacobi Cardon & Petri Cauellat, 1623)
J9	Paper	Printed	Guards	1668 Bible, Authorized	Daniel Fealty, *The Romish Fisher Cavght and Held in His owne Net* (London: H.L. for Robert Milbourne, 1624)

K5	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	Two 15th/16th century manuscripts, one French, one Latin	Gabriel Du Préau, *Histoire De L'Estat et Svcces* (Paris: Chez Iaques Keruer, 1583)
K6	Paper	Printed	Guards	17th century English text	Walter Balcanquhall, *A large declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland* (London: Robert Young, 1639)
L6	Paper	Printed	Board	16th/17th century Geneva Bible	John de Serres, *A General Inventorie of the History of France* (London: George Eld, 1607)
L6	Paper	Printed	Flyleaves	Thomas Taylor, *The works of that faithful servant of Jesus Christ, Dr. Thom. Taylor* (London: T.R. & E.M. for John Bartlet the elder and John Bartlet the younger, 1653)	Arrigo Caterino Davila, *The Historie of the Civill Warres of France* (London: R. Raworth, 1648)
O5	Parchmetn	Manuscript	Guards	Pre-reformation Latin mansucript	John Hall, *Of Government and Obedience as they stand directed and determined by scripture and reason* (London: T. Newcomb, 1654)
O6	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th/17th century Latin text	John Davenant, *Praelectiones de Duobus in Theologia Controversis Capitibus* (Cantabrigiae: Ex Academiae celeberrimae typographeo, 1631)
O6	Paper	Printed	Guards?	Augustine, *The Citie of God: with the learned comments of Io. Lod. Vives,* probably ([London]: George Eld, 1610)	Augustine, *The Citie of God: with the learned comments of Io. Lod. Vives* ([London]: George Eld, 1610)
O7	Paper	Printed	Guards	16th/17th century *Book of Common Prayer*	*Johan. Piscatoris Commentarii in Omnes Libros Novi Testamenti* (Herbonae Nassoviorum: [s.n.] 1621)
OP10	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	16th century Latin manuscript?	*L. Coelii Lactantii Firmiani Divinarum Institutionum Libri Septem* (Lugduni: Apud Seb. Gryphium, 1543)
P3	Parchment	Manuscript	Guards	17th century English legal manuscript	*The Workes of William Gouge, in Two Volumes* (London: John Beale for John Grismond, 1627)
P6	Paper	Printed	Guards	*Occurrences from Ireland from the 2. of April, to the 22.* (London: for Henry Twyford, 1642)	Daniel Rogers, *Naaman the Syrian his Disease and Cure* (London: Thomas Harper for Philip Nevil, 1642)

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