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The Aesthetics of Fragments: Reading Pastedowns in Context or, Late Medieval Bookbinders, Readers, and Their Choices

Abstract: Fragments become material and visual signifiers in their own right when worked into bindings as pastedowns. The potential of pastedowns – musical or otherwise – to create meanings in the perception of users attuned to such messages is investigated through four case studies. Understood emphatically as metatexts, pastedowns, by virtue of their material, visual and semantic qualities, not only may reflect binders' and patrons' aesthetic strategies and intentions but also have the potential to contribute in subtle ways to the construction of institutional or collective memories and identities.

Fragments of earlier or even contemporaneous manuscripts and prints are regularly encountered as material components of late medieval and early modern book bindings. Indeed, bindings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are widely recognised as exceptionally fertile grounds among fragment hunters. It is generally assumed that the voracious appetite for binding materials in late medieval and early modern Europe resulted from a significant increase in book production across the continent. Such growth went hand in hand with a rise in economic wealth and increased literacy rates, in combination with the introduction of paper as a comparatively low-cost writing surface and, in its wake, the arrival of the printing press. The Reformations of the sixteenth century are acknowledged as a further stimulus for the production of new books as well as the discarding or re-use of older, now obsolescent items. The impact of fifteenth-century Church reform on generating disused parchment was probably considerable too, even if has not yet been explored in similar detail as the impact of later Reformations.[1] All these developments combined made disused

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1 For some introductory literature, see Riley 2017 (with a focus on book production in England; in particular 9–11 on the importance of fifteenth-century bindings and 12–13 on the specifics of flyleaves and pastedowns). Gillespie 2011. Szirmai 1999, § 9: 'Gothic bindings', 173–284, in particular on endleaves 178. See also Mazal 1997.

parchment, sometimes also paper, the materials of first choice for the production of quire guards, flyleaves, and pastedowns.

It has been an unspoken premise of fragment studies that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century bookbinders inevitably made random or purely utilitarian choices when selecting the specific materials that they used in creating a binding for a particular volume. While the immediately visible features at the outside of bindings (spine and outside covers) have long been the objects of attentive scrutiny and classification, no such attention has been paid to the *internally* visible components of bindings (pastedowns, flyleaves and quire guards), nor to the availabilities and choices that might have influenced the selection of particular materials by a bookbinder or a patron when creating a specific binding, including the selection of a particular folio, or a section of it, for conversion into a pastedown.[2] This approach nullified much of the potential of perceiving any semantic or aesthetic links between a *codex tradens* and the fragments worked into its binding.

It may, however, be worthwhile to pause for a moment and consider some arguments that might militate against the automatism implicit in this established view. In craftsmanship, attention to detail is a consistent hallmark of quality work across the ages. This suggests that some kind of reflection on the part of bookbinders and their patrons must have taken place while choosing a specific piece of disused parchment for a binding. Criteria no doubt included both aesthetic and utilitarian considerations. In practice, decisions probably were almost always based on a combination of the two. Bookbinding historians seem to agree that, during the late medieval and early modern period, growing attention was paid to visual aspects of bindings – in particular, the decoration of front and rear covers, and of the spine – along with the invention and growing attractiveness of personal libraries.[3] Why, then, should we assume that at a cultural moment of increasing attention to books as aesthetic objects no care was ever – if not necessarily always – lavished on the aesthetic impression created by a book's inside covers? Quire guards, flyleaves and pastedowns *are* visible to the user, even if they may not catch the eye as rapidly or as firmly as other visual

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2 See, for example, Bosquet 1894; Schreiber 1932; Kyriss 1957; Helwig 1970; Mazal 1997; Szirmai 1999*; LGB*[II]; Lanoë/Grand 2008. See also the pertinent databases such as the *Einbanddatenbank* (<https://www.hist-einband.de> [accessed 30 Apr. 2020]).

3 See, for example, the discussion of the personal library of the Cologne patrician and professor at the University of Cologne, Peter Rinck (1429–1501), who had a personal stamp added to the outer front covers of many of his books. On the bindings of Rinck's books, see, most recently, Ottermann 2016, 541-45. Also Ottermann 2013, at 19–24. For a concise biography, see Schmid 2003.

elements of a binding, such as its outside. Therefore, neglecting the visual impact of these 'secondary' elements may cause us to overlook some of the messages embedded in the material, visual, and semantic attributes of such recycled components of late medieval books – messages conveyed primarily through an aesthetic language that coeval users might have been attuned to and relished, but that might require some effort to re-construct for present-day sensibilities.

Deborah McGrady recently explored how different ways of deploying organisational, visual and material elements such as metatexts (e.g. marginal glosses or tables of contents), illuminations, decorations in the page margins, and the spatial distribution of text within the page layout impact on the perception of a given text and, therefore, the reading experience.[4] McGrady's study concerns itself primarily with a small group of deluxe codices that transmit Guillaume de Machaut's *Voir Dit*, and the differences in the internal structure of their text-blocks. Particular importance in generating internal ecologies of a book lies with those whom she calls 'intermediary readers' – the craftsmen and, as applicable, the patrons interacting with them during the production process. They were the agents who jointly designed the material features of a manuscript. Even if bindings are not part of McGrady's study, her observations about the way in which material aspects of a book shape and channel perceptions can fruitfully be extended to the relationship between a book and its binding, including its pastedowns. If we allow ourselves 'to identify [a] manuscript as a cultural matrix that registers the voices of multiple creators ranging from authors and patrons to scribes and artists',[5] there is no reason to exclude bookbinders, patrons (individuals and institutions), and by extension fragments of other manuscripts or documents worked into bindings as pastedowns, from agency in the construction of meanings. A chronological gap between the production of a binding and the creation of the text-block it surrounds is no hindrance to this approach: a cultural analysis of the much later bindings of the manuscripts McGrady studied – or the awareness of the prolonged absence of a binding – would reveal a great deal about the history of these sources and the cultural appreciation they received in the course of their centuries-long biographies. In short, a close reading of *all* the materials worked into a codex including bindings and pastedowns, understanding them as an interconnected network of potential signifiers for readers attuned to their messages, is wont not only to provide evidence about the internal landscape created by binder and patron for a particular book but also to reveal previously overlooked details about the context

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4 McGrady 2006.

5 McGrady 2006, 80.

and place of the volume – when, where and why it was bound in a particular way, how it was valued, stored and used by its individual or institutional owner(s), and what was its role in the libraries that housed or house it.

As stated earlier, practical considerations such as size, state of preservation, and availability no doubt played a vital role when selecting a specific piece of discarded writing material for use as a pastedown in a particular binding. Yet, whatever the random elements in this decision-making process may have been, all visible components of a binding, once chosen, invariably send a message, intentional or not, inviting owners and users to reflect upon the tactile, visual, and semantic qualities of the materials used. Their sheer presence prompts aesthetic and semantic relations to the surrounding components of the book, and the physical, institutional, and intellectual environment that they were part of. This is all the more important in a culture where books were still relatively rare and considered highly precious items both as material objects and as carriers of ideas. Owners and users would return to their books over and over again, allowing them to savour, even meditate on physical features that today's readers are much more likely to miss or ignore – except, perhaps, in the case of so-called 'coffee table books'. Material details inevitably convey information about the institutional or private patrons involved, the owners who commissioned a binding, as well as the artisan(s) or workshop(s) that produced it. It therefore seems nothing more than plausible to assume that some attention from both a practical and an aesthetic perspective would usually have been paid to *all* components of a binding when it was designed, and that the choices made would – consciously or unconsciously – have been understood by patrons and craftsmen as signifiers conveying implicit messages to users. Then as now, the properties of material objects owned by a person or an institution inevitably communicate a great deal about that person's or institution's history and identity. An awareness of the presence of such messages in the make-up of a binding, and of their potential impact, among late medieval bookbinders and their patrons therefore would hardly be surprising.

Just like the outer covers of a book, pastedowns can tell us about the institution or the individual who commissioned the binding, about the workshop that made it, and about the cultural context of the place and time when and where the binding was produced. In other words, taking the insides of bindings seriously may lead us to a purloined place of dynamic, creative interaction between binders, owners, and users where touch, design, semantics, and the users' gaze jointly trigger, and influence, chains of meanings and associations. These intertextual and material sequences of perceptions and the associations resulting from them may differ every time a book is taken up by a user; they can

be controlled by the patron or the craftsman only to a limited extent, making it all the more seductive to use them consciously, carefully, and as clearly as possible. Admitting the potentialities inherent in such a dynamic approach, allowing meanings to ricochet between users and the material body of the book, may disturb familiar, comfortable fixities. Yet, this should not prevent us from attempting to trace and pursue some of these potentialities within their historical and cultural contexts.

A brief review of some of the technical aspects of creating bindings and in particular pastedowns, thus rehearsing some of the criteria that necessarily guided the selection of suitable binding materials, will be a useful point of departure for such considerations. Four case studies, all chronologically situated at a high-water mark of fragment production, the end of the fifteenth century, will illustrate some of the potential for semantic and aesthetic links between pastedowns and the contents of a *codex tradens*. This will lead to some concluding thoughts about the heuristic potential, but also the geographical, chronological, and sociological limits of the phenomena observed. I hope to show that the approach to the materiality of fragments proposed in this essay may refine our methodology by adding a new dimension to it – that of aesthetic experience, and invite us to read pastedowns as re-contextualised signifiers that have the ability to engender novel and different meanings in their new contexts. Adding this layer to the study of bindings and the role of fragments may elucidate aspects of late medieval and early modern books, as well as the book (sub-)cultures wherein they were embedded, that would otherwise remain undetected.

Technical aspects: bookbinders and their patrons – choices and constraints

Binders usually had a stock supply of binding materials in their workshops, enabling them to meet the various requirements associated with the full range of book types and book sizes that they might customarily come across. Surviving inventories include stamps, clasps, and leathers in various colours for the outside of the binding, wood (usually oak or pine) to be turned into cover plates, assorted tools for cutting, pasting and sewing such as knives, thread, needles, and glue, as well as stacks of – usually disused – parchment or, in some cases, paper.[6] A

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6 For some archaeological evidence concerning the period under consideration here, see Irás-Melis 1974. For an inventory of the bookbinder's workshop at the electoral court in Heidelberg

full inventory from Leipzig dated 18 November 1592, for example, includes *Ein und zwanzigk pfund alt Pergament vor 1* [fl]. *10 ½* [Groschen] ('21 pounds of old parchment valued at 1 fl. 10 ½ Groschen').[7] Indeed, various records of thefts (!) of scrap parchment illustrate that the material was of some monetary value and, at least for those in the book trade, a sought-after commodity. Such thefts are documented in Leipzig in 1536 and 1574, including one case (in 1574) of *etliche hundert bogen Pergament, aus alten Meßbüchern geschnitten* ('several hundred sheets of parchment cut from old Missals'). The thieves attempted to sell the merchandise conspicuously under the usual price, thereby arousing suspicion from the authorities.[8]

At a given moment, a binder may have been limited in his choices by a constrained supply – for example when a large, relatively homogeneous stack of parchment drawn from a single group of codices like the *alten Meßbüchern* had come in and needed to be processed, temporarily leading to a higher than usual ratio of bindings with pastedowns recycled from that supply. There is, however, no need to assume that a stack of 21 pounds of disused parchment was *entirely* homogeneous in provenance and appearance. Unlike the case of palimpsests, where typically a single or a very small number of source manuscripts of matching size and parchment quality was selected for recycling, the diverse sizes and contents of the materials arriving at a binder's shop both as books to be bound and as scrap to be recycled were by necessity somewhat random. Over time, a workshop active over several years or decades would therefore have accumulated in all likelihood a relatively varied assortment of disused parchments, offering patrons and buyers a range of options to match a book with potential pastedowns. Moreover, large codices like the Missals mentioned provided a rather impressive range of texts and potential visuals in themselves, in this case all drawn from the liturgy and in conformity to the codicological strictures typical of that particular book type but still with highly divergent options in terms of layout, appearances, and contents. This would have provided binders and patrons with a significant range of aesthetic choices to match potential pastedowns

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in 1550 (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 839), see Koch 1889; a partial reproduction of this source is included in Schlechter *et al*. 2003, catalogue nos. 4–5. For various inventories from sixteenth-century Leipzig, see Kirchhoff 1889.

7 Kirchhoff 1889, 165. Twenty-one Saxonian pounds are equivalent to approximately ten kilograms. 1 florin corresponded to 21 groschen, bringing the total value of the parchment to 1 ½ florins or 31 ½ groschen. The daily wage of a mason would have been around 3–3 ½ groschen. See <http://wiki-de.genealogy.net/Geld_und_Kaufkraft_ab_1450#Beispiele_von_Lebenshaltungs kosten_1552_Dresden> (accessed 6 Apr. 2020).

8 Kirchhoff 1889, 174–175, n. 6.

with the contents of the books they were working on, even if not each workshop or patron in every region or social setting might necessarily have been susceptible to such considerations. The presence of musical notation would have been an aesthetic category *kat'exochen* by default. Some patrons might have deemed it highly desirable, at least in certain situations, and others not; within the musical subset, there is also a significant difference in the aesthetic effect between a pastedown created from a manuscript of mensural polyphony or square chant notation and one generated from a folio containing staffless neumes, which are much more discrete visually, and resemble the workaday sources of pastedowns such as notarial documents, charters, or similar archival materials.

Once a piece of parchment had been chosen to serve as a pastedown, a practical aspect needed to be considered, that is, which side of a prospective pastedown would be left visible, and which one would be glued onto the wooden plates, thus rendered invisible. From an aesthetic point of view, pastedowns work in ways similar to a frame for a picture: they provide a visual and also a semantic context for the material that is contained in the book. Such contexts may invite interpretations; once placed, their presence cannot be erased. The content that would be made visible therefore was very plausibly factored into the decision whether to select a particular folio for conversion into a pastedown. Moreover, based on the adhesive qualities of parchment, the flesh side of a sheet would have been the preferred side to be glued onto the boards. From a purely technical point of view, then, we should expect the visible side of a given parchment pastedown consistently to be the hair side.[9] As we shall see, however, this was not always the case, providing internal evidence for intentionality on the part of the bookbinder when choosing a particular side of a disused folio to remain visible or not. Sometimes the two sides of the hides concerned can no longer be distinguished with certainty in their present state. When this happens, the question of adhesion must remain open from a technical point of view but the contents of the two sides of the pastedown can still be compared. The resulting 'frame' for a book might have looked quite different depending on the decisions made or avoided, thereby illuminating the choices that were available when the binding was created, and their consequences for the internal ecology of a book. In the case of a paper pastedown the question is moot by definition; since either side could have been turned into the invisible part from a purely technical point of view, the choice cannot have been made on functional criteria alone, and semantic and aesthetic factors therefore played a significant role.

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9 See Szirmai 1999, 192 and 228; Fuchs *et al*. 2001; Rück 1991.

Case study 1: the front and rear pastedowns of Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243

Codex Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243 transmits a set of music fragments that survive as front and rear pastedowns, alongside thirty sewing guards, in the binding of a mid-fifteenth century manuscript copy of sermons by the Austin friar Jordan of Quedlinburg (*Iordanus de Quedlinburgo*, *c.*1300–*c.*1380).[10] The copy was probably prepared between 1450 and 1455 at the Carmelite convent in Boppard (Middle Rhine). An *ex libris* (f. 2v) shows that the volume was part of the working library of Heinrich of Montabaur *(Henricus de Montebuir de Boppardia),* a native of Boppard who studied at Cologne University (1439–1445) and later occupied positions as *informator* and *lector* within the Carmelite convents of Boppard, Trier and, by 1449, Mainz. Later in his life Heinrich of Montabaur returned to his home institution, explaining how the volume entered the Boppard Carmelites' library; his date of death remains unknown.[11] The volume retains its original, late fifteenth-century binding which can incontrovertibly be associated with the library of the Boppard convent. Via several intermediate steps the codex passed into the present-day ownership of the Görres-Gymnasium Koblenz. It is kept on permanent deposit among the holdings of the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz. The volume originated, circulated and was bound in an educated, university-trained milieu of mendicants, and can be situated within a geographical area limited by Cologne, the Middle Rhine and the Moselle regions.

The binding consists of two wooden plates (205 × 145 mm), covered with brown calf leather and decorated with a simple geometric pattern, a double rectangular frame that encloses four internal rectangles, each of which is subdivided by two diagonal lines resulting in a cross of St Andrew. The wooden plates are connected to the text-block by two pastedowns drawn from a music manuscript copied at an unknown location. The two folios contain four pieces of mensural polyphony that were indubitably composed within the orbit of early fourteenth-century motet culture assumed to be centred on Paris, but dissemi-

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10 See Kügle 2018 for a first assessment. A second publication is underway introducing the additional material discovered in the manuscript since 2018. Selected aspects of this additional material will be presented in what follows. For a recent account of Jordan of Quedlinburg's biography, influence, and reception, see Saak 2015, 4–12.

11 See Kügle 2018; Overgaauw 2002, 45, 229–231; Lickteig 1981, 67–69, 448, 511.

nated and cultivated also in England and the Low Countries, including the Liège and Cologne regions.

The visible side of the front pastedown (Fig. 1a) is an extensive fragment (about one quarter of the triplum, and the entire motetus and tenor) of the three-voice motet *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo / Tenor* in praise of the Virgin. The piece is transmitted in full in the rotulus Brussels, KBR 19606, a manuscript from the Liège area, probably Stavelot-Malmedy, and copied in 1335.[12] There are also two versions of the triplum text transmitted in two monastic manuscripts from the Lower Rhine area, Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek 521 (f. 192r) and 2653 (ff. 74v–75r). These two manuscripts both contain collections of rhymed prayers and were copied in the second half of the fifteenth century at the Cistercian abbey of Kamp (Darmstadt 521) and the Charterhouse at Wesel (Darmstadt 2653).[13] Koblenz provides important additional information about the source of the motet's tenor, which has a close match in a late medieval rhymed Office for St Catherine documented in Aachen and Utrecht.[14]

The visible side of the rear pastedown (Fig. 2a) shows an incomplete copy (the full triplum, and almost the entire duplum but not the tenor) of another motet *a 3*, *Firmissime / Adesto / Tenor*.[15] The motet survives complete, again, in KBR 19606 and is transmitted first in an interpolated version of the *Roman de Fauvel*, Paris, BnF, fr. 146. This manuscript has been studied extensively and is associated with aristocratic and clerical circles in Paris in the early reign of French King Philip V (r. 1317–1322).[16]

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12 On Brussels 19606, see, most recently, Kügle 2008, 145–185.

13 For Darmstadt 521, see Achten *et al.* 1972, 47–64. For Darmstadt 2653, the in-house catalogue entry by U. Spyra remains unpublished. The date 1459, found on f. 146v of Darmstadt 2653, seems to apply to that entry only.

14 The Koblenz copy of the tenor has the designation 'O Christi pietas'. This caption helped identify its source, the opening phrase of the third responsory for the third nocturn of Matins in a rhymed Office for St Catherine. Sources: Aachen, Domarchiv, Ms. G 20, fol. 342v (antiphoner from Aachen Dom = formerly collegiate church of St Mary); Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 406, fol. 236v (antiphoner from the collegiate church of St Mary in Utrecht). The closest match is provided by the Aachen source.

15 BnF fr. 146 gives 'Alleluya Benedictus et cetera' as the designation of the tenor. KBR 19606 has '[A]lleluya alleluya alleluya'. The pitches and rhythms are the same in both sources.

16 On fr. 146, see, most recently Bent/Wathey 1997; Dillon 2002; Marinescu 2014. For the latest discussion of the motet *Firmissime/Adesto*, see Zayaruznaya 2015. See also Robertson 1997; Vetter 1987.
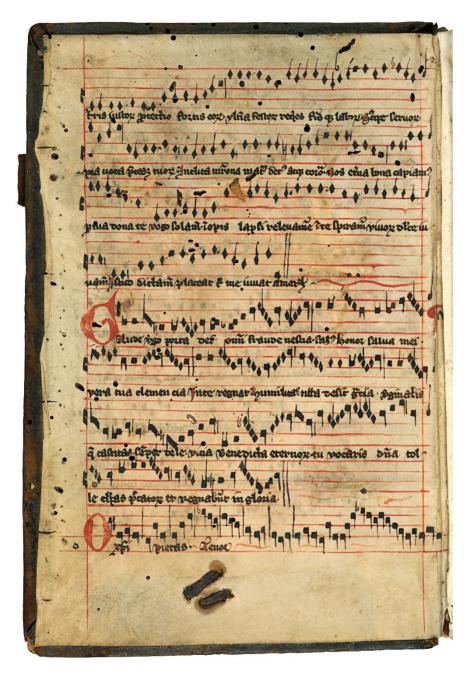
Fig. 1a: Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243, front pastedown; © Koblenz, Görres-Gymnasium.
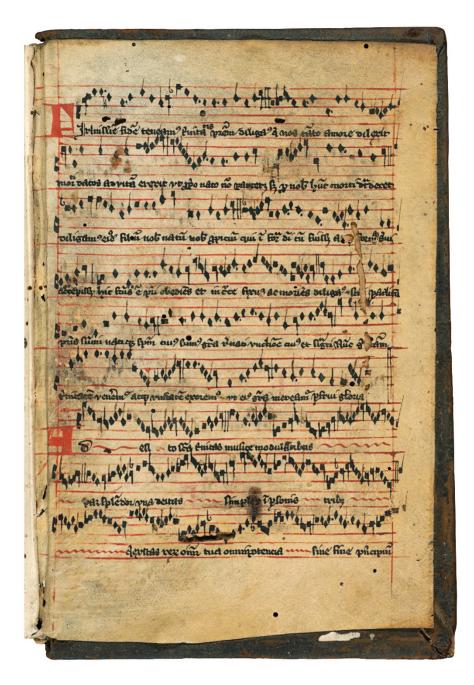
Fig. 2a: Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243, rear pastedown; © Koblenz, Görres-Gymnasium.

An intabulated version of *Firmissime / Adesto / Tenor* survives in the so-called 'Robertsbridge fragment', London, British Library, Add. 28550 (ff. 43v–44r), associated with the Cistercian abbey of Robertsbridge (East Sussex).[17] A copy of the triplum text has come down to us in the aforementioned manuscript Darmstadt 521 (f. 228r), and the *Analecta Hymnica* list a (possibly spurious) concordance for the motetus text in MS '7977' of the Österreichische National-bibliothek in Vienna.[18]

Specialists at the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz recently unglued the two pastedowns sufficiently from their wooden plates to enable photography and identification of the pieces on the downward sides of the two pastedowns (the binding otherwise remains undisturbed). The obverse of the front pastedown contains the triplum of a previously unknown motet, *Aaron virga / Isayas ... / [Tenor]* (Fig. 1b).[19] Its subject is the miraculous flowering of Aaron's rod (Numbers 17, 16–26) and Isaiah's prophecy of the glorious reign of the Messiah who will spring like a flower from the Tree of Jesse (Isaiah 11, 1–10). Both passages were widely seen in late medieval theology as Old Testament pre-figurations of the birth of Christ through the Virgin. The text ends with a self-referential request for Divine intercession on behalf of those singing the motet. The setting was identified by a medieval copyist or user by the words 'de nativitate marie' added to the top margin of the folio.

The verso of the rear pastedown (Fig. 2b) shows an almost complete version of another motet known previously only from the Fauvel manuscript, *Orbis orbatus / Vos pastores adulteri / Fur non venit*.[20] Its subject are abuses and greed ascribed to higher-ranking members of the clergy. This topic, too, was identified by the same hand as the one found in the obverse of the front pastedown, this time with the words 'de prelatorum avaricia'.

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17 See Caldwell 1998 for a succinct overview of the state of research on the fragment at the end of the twentieth century. See also, more recently, Lewis 2000, and the observations by Zayaruznaya 2010, 50–54.

18 *AH*, 14. The manuscript unfortunately cannot be identified with any volume kept by the ÖNB at present under this or a related call number.

19 A full reconstruction will be offered in the forthcoming article about the Koblenz fragments mentioned earlier. The pastedown only contains the text *Aaron virga*. The binding strips of manuscript Best. 701 Nr. 243 contain parts of the adjacent folio with a fragment of the motetus text starting with 'Isayas ...'.

20 Only the beginning of the tenor survives in Koblenz. The copy in Paris, BnF, fr. 146 is complete.

Fig. 1b: Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243. The front pastedown's verso exposed;
© Koblenz, Görres-Gymnasium.

Fig. 2b: Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243. The rear pastedown's verso exposed; © Koblenz, Görres-Gymnasium.

The final two staves of the obverse are given to a French-texted piece in highly melismatic 'ars nova' notation, probably a rondeau. A palaeographic and codicological comparison shows that both pastedowns were extracted from the same manuscript, a collection of motets interspersed with copies of French-texted chansons added at the page bottom in a copying style cultivated in France and adjacent regions of north- and southwestern Europe in the fourteenth century.

Table 1: Inventory of Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243, front and rear pastedowns (RISM siglum: D-KBlha 701-243). [For other RISM library sigla, see Abbreviations, below.]

Front pastedown:			
... turris iustorum/ Gaude virgo/ O xpisti pietas.Tenor	3vv.	motet	B-Br 19606, recto (no. 5); D-DS 521, 192r (triplum text paraphr.); D-DS 2653, 74v–75r (triplum text paraphr.)
Aaron virga/Isayas .../ [Tenor]	3vv.	motet	'de nativitate Marie'
Rear pastedown:			
Firmissime/ Adesto/ ...	3vv.	motet	F-Pn fr. 146, 43r; B-Br 19606, recto (no. 4); GB-Lbl Add. 28550, 43v–44r (intabulation); D-DS 521, 228r (triplum text only) [olim A-Wn 7977 (motetus text)[21]]
Orbis orbatus/ Vos pastores adulteri/ Fur non venit	3vv.	motet	F-Pn fr. 146, 7r 'de prelatorum avaricia'
+ A ... grant/...	2 or 3vv.	rondeau (?)	

The visible sides of the front and rear pastedowns provide an appealing frame for Jordan of Quedlinburg's sermons, which cover the period from Advent to Palm Sunday. Carefully trimmed and placed on the front and rear covers in a way that achieves maximum legibility, both pastedowns are eyecatchers. Red stave lines and Lombard capitals are coupled with garlands of rhombic and rectangular *figurae* copied in pitch-black ink and interlaced by the tightly spaced lines of text.

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21 Listed in *AH*, 14.

The pastedowns come across as particularly alluring when put next to the visually bland writing-block of the codex proper. Positioned to match the direction of the text-block, the pastedowns, by their very difference in appearance, entice users to take a peek when picking up the book. Turning the front cover plate, their gaze is met by two Marian, prayer-like texts along with the words *O Christi pietas* at the page bottom. Although the triplum is actually incomplete, its text, a string of *epitheta ornantia* for the Virgin cast in Leonine hexameters, easily bears that truncation and can be enjoyed as a poem in its own right. It moves speedily to the customary address for protection found in so many motet texts of the period. The second text, *Gaude virgo,* follows the same rhetorical strategy: a string of panegyrics to the Virgin culminating in a prayer for intercession. These two prayers to the Virgin are complemented by the slightly enigmatic tenor caption *O Christi pietas.* That caption offers ample food for rumination on the miracle of Christ's incarnation, the relationship of Christ to his mother as laid down in Scripture and theological writings, and his willingness to act as a pious son towards his Father as well as his Virgin mother during his time on Earth. The front pastedown thus offers something like a poetic epigraph to the sermons that follow, in the form of two opening prayers to the Virgin and a Christological caption. Leafing or reading onward, and having come to the end of the codex, the rear pastedown presents a poem exhorting the reader to stay firm in the faith, followed by a second one invoking the support of the Holy Trinity. Both texts are prayers; re-positioned as the rear pastedown, they offer a post-script to the sermon collection and function as a spiritual send-off for the reader. Taken together, the two pastedowns can be understood as metatexts in relation to the main corpus of the book. They work semantically in a way that is similar to a gloss, commenting on and synthesising the main text. As pastedowns, they are materially adapted to the necessities of three-dimensional space, serving as components of a three-dimensional object, the book and its binding, but their function is similar to that of a two-dimensional gloss. Considering that the manuscript came into existence and was bound in and for a university-trained milieu of mendicants, such associations would hardly have been unfamiliar to the volume's intended users, enabling them to make the necessary associations without difficulty.

But is this hypothesis also in alignment with the technical requirements? As mentioned earlier, there is a preference for gluing the flesh sides of pastedowns onto the wooden plates while keeping the hair sides visible. Unfortunately, in their present state, hair and flesh sides of the two parchment sheets in the

Koblenz manuscript can no longer be distinguished.[22] The extent to which the hair-flesh criterion played a role in choosing the two surfaces that were kept visible therefore cannot be verified. We may, however, consider the alternatives that were available to the binder or the individual instructing him, once the two folios had been selected. Had the binder chosen to keep the current obverse sides of the two pastedowns visible, the volume would begin with a pastedown discussing the birth of the Virgin and ending with a setting denouncing the avarice of higher clergy. The difference in effect on the reader would be notable, bookending Jordan's sermons by two texts that strike a rather incongruous note with the content of the volume; they are either very specific (*Aaron virga*) or have no or at best an embarrassing relation to the main corpus (*Orbis orbatus / Vos pastores adulteri / Fur non venit*). However, in the absence of evidence about the distribution of hair and flesh sides, this scenario remains speculative; it may never have been on the table.

Another variant, however, can be rehearsed without adducing speculative evidence: the binder would, on purely technical grounds, certainly have had the option of placing the Trinity motet at the front of the book and the Marian motet at its end. The difference, using the exact same materials, might appear slight. However, as mentioned before, the collection of sermons begins with Advent and the Nativity of Christ, and ends with the first day of Holy Week, Palm Sunday. Opening with a motet about the faith and the Holy Trinity, and closing with a Marian motet supported by the exclamation *O Christi pietas* would certainly be possible. But it seems to invert cause (incarnation through Mary) and effect (redemption). Beginning with a motet about the Mother of God and ending with a piece about the faith and the Holy Trinity seems a considerably more elegant solution, all else being equal. It is in line with the cycle of the liturgical year leading from the Incarnation to the Passion, and positions the Mother of God as the beginning of a chain of events leading to the fulfilment of the salvific plan for humankind. Such a subtle aesthetic and theological fit between the framework of the codex – i.e. its modest binding and the two pastedowns – and the contents of the main corpus can be accounted for with difficulty if the creation of this binding is understood solely as the result of a random string of actions by an indifferent craftsman, or of sheer luck and blind coincidence. Deliberate human agency in selecting and placing the two pastedowns offers a rather more convincing explanation.

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22 I thank Dr Anja Ostrowitzki and restoration specialist Petra Schmitz of the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz for independently verifying this important detail on my behalf (personal communication by e-mail from Dr Ostrowitzki of 5 February 2020).

Case study 2: the front and rear pastedowns in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Lichtenthal 82

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Lichtenthal 82 is a miscellany copied in the mid-fifteenth century at the Cistercian female house of Lichtenthal in Baden. It contains a German version of Raymond of Capua's *vita* of St Catherine of Siena (*Legenda B. Catharinae Senensis*, ff. 2r–140v), followed by a German translation of the Legend of the 10,000 Martyrs (ff. 142r–157r), instructions on how to prepare for receiving communion (ff. 157v–160v), and an extensive gloss on the *Pater noster* (ff. 160v–202r), the latter two also in German.[23] Most of the book (ff. 2r–157r) was copied by Sister Regula (d. 1478), a prominent member of the nunnery active as a copyist and translator in Lichtenthal around 1450-70. Today, eleven codices in her hand survive.

The translations from Latin texts into German were prepared by Regula for her fellow nuns and intended for use during the customary readings at mealtimes as well as for individual study. Regula evidently was a highly educated woman and an intellectual leader. She might have come to Lichtenthal from the Cistercian house in Königsbrück near Hagenau/Haguenau (Alsace). Her objective was to spearhead and entrench the monastic reform which Lichtenthal underwent from 1440 onward.[24] The reform movement placed great importance on education, as attested at Lichtenthal by the intense copying and translating activities of Regula and her followers. Another hallmark of reform was a return to the austere monastic rules laid down by the order's founder, Bernard of Clairvaux. This obviously entailed a rejection of the more relaxed attitudes that had been introduced into Cistercian life in intervening centuries, and in particular during the thirteenth, fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, including the acquaintance with sophisticated mensural polyphony. In fact, Regula's identity at Lichtenthal appears to have been inextricably – and conspicuously – bound up with this return to an earlier, unadulterated form of Cistercian life. Her very name reveals that she must have seen herself as an instrument to ensure the persistence of reform at Lichtenthal, for her baptismal name was Margaretha, as revealed in a

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23 See the description in Heinzer 1987, 199–200. The entire manuscript is available online: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/titleinfo/1164591> (accessed 4 Apr. 2020).
24 See the section 'Zur Entwicklung der Lichtenthaler Bibliothek vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert' in Heinzer 1987, 36–44, and specifically on Sister Regula, 40–43.

Lichtenthal necrology which refers to her posthumously as 'Margaretha dicta Regula monialis'. Her adopted name, Regula, translates as 'the Rule'.[25]

Lichtenthal 82 survives with an original binding that was in all likelihood produced either at Herrenalb or at Lichtenthal in the late fifteenth century.[26] It consists of two wooden boards (215 × 150 mm) covered in now-faded red leather. The binding contained two pastedowns, one of which has been lost but can be partially reconstructed from its imprint left on the wooden board: it consisted, on the downward side, of a document copied during the tenure of Heinrich (IV) von Magstadt, Abbot of Herrenalb. Heinrich, who died in 1449, was the abbot of the nearby male house that formally acquired paternity of Lichtenthal from the more distant house in Maulbronn by the 1490s. However, Herrenalb had been involved in the reform process at Lichtenthal from the start.[27] No information is available about the upward, visible side of this pastedown. It may have contained similar material or may have been blank. The rear pastedown was detached from the wooden plate during the twentieth century because of its considerable interest to musicologists but its original placement can be securely established by the imprints on the rear plate. The fragment's former obverse contains a section of a polyphonic piece with the incipit *Fa fa mi fa / Ut re mi ut / [Tenor]*, which is dateable on stylistic grounds to the early fourteenth century, and celebrates the musical accomplishments of the nuns of the Cistercian house of Notre-Dame La Daurade in Cahors. The setting – which has two concordances, both incomplete, in fragments found in Troyes (on which more below) and at the royal monastery of Las Huelgas in Spain – identifies a certain John, cantor or singer in (or of) Liège, as one of the originators of the texts and/or the music.[28] The

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25 Heinzer 1987, 41. Concerning the role of polyphony, see also the recent discussion of Cistercian fragments from the Lake Constance region by Heinzer 2020, in particular 54–57 on Lichtenthal and the Lichtenthal 82 source.

26 On Lichtenthal bindings, see Heinzer 1987, 43–46. See in particular 46 for the unassuming bindings typical of the 'Reformphase' of the fifteenth century. For the binding of Lichtenthal 82, see Heinzer 1987, 200.

27 Krieg von Hochfelden 1836, 237; Pflüger 1958, 162. Maulbronn, at about 60 km distance from Lichtenthal, and Herrenalb, which is 20 km away, were jointly entrusted with overseeing reform at Lichtenthal. Maulbronn, being an acknowledged centre of reform at the time, formally assumed paternity at the outset. Herrenalb's greater geographical proximity eventually led to the formal transfer of paternity from Maulbronn to Herrenalb nearly two generations later. See Heinzer 1987, 38–40.

28 For additional information on all sources for this piece, including a thorough description of their codicological structure and their content, as well as images, see Catalunya 2017. The self-identification *pro me vestroque cantore Leodiensi Iohanne* allows a number of translations (and

fragment's formerly invisible obverse also contains a portion of a Marian motet, *Flos vernalis,* occupying the lower four systems out of a total of seven. *Flos vernalis* is also found in the Koblenz fragments, where it can be partially reconstructed from the binding strips inside the text-block. It also survives in a highly fragmentary state in a set of binding strips in manuscript Oxford, All Souls 56. Last but not least, the motet survives complete but in intabulated form in the fragment London, British Library, Add. 28550 (ff. 43v-44r). All these sources exhibit various types of links to the Cistercian order.[29]

The originally visible, upward side of the rear pastedown contains three voices in mensural notation that have yet to be explored in detail:

1. the final section of a part carrying the text *...-a mundi / et tibi virginitas / inviolata manet*, presumably set at least in part in Latin heptasyllabic verse and ending in a large melisma on the word *manet* (first system);
2. an almost complete voice beginning with the words *[Av]e sidus lux dierum* and ending on the words *... ad eterna gaudia* (systems 2–6; the notes and syllables missing were lost due to trimming);
3. the opening section of a voice with the words *Maria sidus lux dierum* beginning in the middle of system 6 and continuing into system 7.

While the many interesting questions arising from these three voices will need to be addressed in a separate study, it is clear that the three voices on the front side of the pastedown set Marian texts, just like *Flos vernalis* on the obverse. They are also notated in a form of mensural notation typical of complex polyphony of the early decades of the fourteenth century, featuring the characteristic chains of multiple semibreves. Occasionally, semibreves are supplied with downward stems (*semibrevis maior*). In general, the settings on the upward side of the rear

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therefore possibilities of interpretation) which cannot be discussed in detail in the context of this essay.

29 For a recent discussion of the Oxford binding strips, see Kügle 2016. The various sources of *Flos vernalis* are currently being investigated by Cristina Alís Raurich in the context of her ongoing study of the Robertsbridge fragment. See her 'The *flores* of *Flos vernalis*: Robertsbridge Codex, Lichtenthal Codex, and the creation of intabulation in the 14th century' (paper delivered at the Annual Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Basel, 3–6 July 2019). For the reconstruction of *Flos vernalis* in Koblenz, see the forthcoming publication on the Koblenz fragments prepared by this author. The role played by the Cistercian order in the dissemination of this cluster of pieces will need to be explored elsewhere.

pastedown correspond in their notational development to the style identified for *Fa fa mi fa* by Catalunya, but will no doubt benefit from further study.[30]

The rear pastedown provides a testimony of a remarkable musical tradition associated with Cistercian houses across much of Europe in the fourteenth century, involving complex polyphony. Given the strong likelihood that the binding was produced either in Herrenalb or in Lichtenthal using disused parchments from both houses, the cultivation of complex polyphony in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century seems to have reached Alsace and the right bank of the Upper Rhine river (via the paternity of Neuburg to both Königsbrück and Lichtenthal) in a dissemination pattern that appears to have been powered by a network within the Cistercian order.[31] For present purposes, however, our attention must now return to some of the material aspects of the Lichtenthal fragment, and its potential role in the internal landscape of Sister Regula's book.

The Lichtenthal fragment was cut quite crudely, almost aggressively. This can be seen from the crooked contours of its present outer margin. All former (original) margins and all clefs at the beginning of stave lines were trimmed, leaving a surface that was cut directly from the core of the original sheet. In its present state, the fragment consists of a beige surface covered with lines of text and music copied in a yellowish-brown faded ink. A bit of colour is added by the red ink of the stave lines and by one smudged red and blue initial *M* at the text line *Maria sidus lux dierum*. The preparation of this sheet suggests that – unlike the Koblenz case – there was no concern to preserve any aspects of the source manuscript intact for reading or rumination. Rather, the exact opposite seems to have been the case; removing the outer margins makes a reconstruction of the original text challenging indeed. There are no apparent reasons why this approach might have been justified on technical grounds.

The pastedown was placed into the binding upside down. This may at first be taken as evidence supporting the assumption of carelessness as a matter of course when recycling disused parchment into bindings. The level of carelessness displayed here, however, seems extreme to the point of negligence. There is no apparent technical reason why the fragment needed to be turned upside

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30 See Catalunya 2017, 91–97. For general information on early fourteenth-century notational systems, see the recent discussion in Desmond 2018.

31 The Las Huelgas source is associated with another Cistercian female foundation, Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas in Burgos, a lavishly endowed royal foundation closely aligned with the ruling house of Castile. The Troyes source was discovered among the fifteenth-century manuscripts that were owned by the male Cistercian house of Clairvaux. – For a somewhat less sanguine view of the cultivation of complex polyphonic singing in the style of the fragment at Lichtenthal, see Heinzer 2020, 54–57.

down; it could just as well have been glued onto the wooden cover in the direction of reading. Might the upside-down placement of the polyphonic fragment therefore have been caused by other motives, and be deliberate? Could there be a symbolic charge to such a gesture? Turning things upside down had a clear meaning to late medieval Europeans: it is a form of conscious rejection. The move is classically used in heraldry: a reversed shield (the technical term in heraldry is *abatement* or *rebatement*) signifies either the death or the dishonour of its carrier. Recent research suggests that this aristocratic custom was widely recognised across late medieval European societies, including non-noble strata.[32] As a foundation of marchioness Irmengard von Baden (*c*.1200–1260), implemented in 1245 shortly after the death of her husband, Margrave Heinrich V von Baden (r. 1190–1243), and as the burial site of the house of Baden, moreover, there are additional grounds to assume that such aristocratic conventions would have been sufficiently familiar to the nuns of Lichtenthal in the late fifteenth century for their meaning to be understood. Placing the musical pastedown upside down therefore can be interpreted as a symbolic act – a ringing endorsement by the binder or those instructing her or him of reform, and of Regula's work. Framing Regula's monumental translation of the *vita* of Catherine of Siena, another strong-willed and austerity-minded nun and intellectual leader, and therefore most certainly a role model for the Lichtenthal community, the folio represents a material validation of the rejection of the old, decadent ways of Cistercian life by the post-reform Lichtenthal community. That refutation is made visible in this visual postlude to the codex through choosing what appears as a calculatedly disheveled chunk of parchment extracted from a disused manuscript of complex polyphony to serve as the rear pastedown.

Another detail adds to this reading: the binder – as mentioned earlier, in all likelihood a nun of Lichtenthal or, alternatively, a monk affiliated with Herrenalb – chose the hair side, containing the *Fa fa mi fa* setting, as the obverse of the pastedown. From a technical point of view, the flesh side with the Marian texts should have been glued *onto* the plate and therefore been rendered invisible. In the finished binding, the visible side of the pastedown still displayed complex polyphony. But the visible texts more closely resemble the established liturgy than the freely composed texts of *Fa fa mi fa* and *Flos vernalis*: *Maria sidus*

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32 For a recent study of the use of coats of arms in medieval visual culture and in urban spaces to indicate contempt or protest, arguing the ubiquity of these visual cues among all layers of society, see Meer 2019 (including copious additional bibliography). Concerning rebatement symbolising the death of the owner of a shield, see Boytsov 2016, in particular 156 for the history of the custom.

lux dierum is a variant of *Ave sidus lux dierum*, the incipit of a (monophonic) sequence for the Assumption. Conversely, *Fa fa mi fa* unabashedly celebrates Cistercian nuns singing complex polyphony, a practice that stands in stark conflict with Cistercian rule (if not historical practice).[33] Was this text then deemed to be of such transgressive quality that it was thought safer to take the extra step, and conceal it from future Lichtenthal nuns' eyes?[34]

Case study 3: the front and rear pastedowns in Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques Chirac (*olim*: Bibliothèque municipale), Ms. 1949

A very different attitude towards a discarded manuscript of sophisticated polyphony emerges from a binding associated with unreformed male Cistercian circles during the same period. Manuscript 1949 of the Médiathèque Jacques Chirac (*olim*: Bibliothèque municipale) contains two flyleaves cut from a single, fourteenth-century rotulus. The visible side of the front pastedown transmits the very end of the triplum and the tenor of yet another motet previously known from the aforementioned manuscripts Paris, BnF, fr. 146, and Brussels, KBR, 19606, *Super cathedram / Presidentes / Ruina*. This is followed by a partial copy of the *Fa fa mi fa* setting. The visible side of the rear pastedown consists of another large chunk of *Fa fa mi fa*. Each pastedown measures approximately 210 by 140 mm. Both sheets are still *in situ*. Their obverses are therefore not known at present, but appear to contain fragments of several more three-voice motets.[35] Troyes 1949 formerly belonged to the library of Clairvaux. Clairvaux did not undergo reform in the fifteenth century but instead developed a strong scholarly bent, maintaining

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33 On the tensions between the Cistercian rule and the cultivation of polyphony among Cistercians in the fourteenth century, see also Leitmeir 2007.

34 Mention should be made that the binding of Lichtenthal 34 (a *Breviarium cisterciense* copied in the first half of the fourteenth century, with later additions extending into the fifteenth century) also contains mensurally notated music in the form of a Gloria which was chosen to serve as the rear pastedown. The history of this manuscript and of its binding seems to differ from that of Lichtenthal 82, however, and will need to be explored elsewhere. See Heinzer 1987, 123–26; Catalunya 2017, 99–100. – Catalunya once more notes some tantalising musical similarities between the Gloria in this fragment and similar repertory in Las Huelgas.

35 See the discussion in Catalunya 2017, 91–97 (full inventory at 93) and 115–121 (photographs).

lively connections with the Collège St. Bernard and, by extension, the University of Paris and humanist circles associated with it.

The Troyes codex begins with a manuscript copy of the *Parthenice Mariana* by the Spanish-Italian Carmelite poet and reformer, Baptista Mantuanus (1447–1516). It also contains texts by the prominent French humanist and leader of the Trinitarian order, Robert Gaguin (1433-1501), and by Antonio Geraldini, an Italian humanist and poet active in Spain (1447/49-1488).[36] The main corpus is copied in an Italian humanist hand. Pen trials and *ex libris* annotations in the book's flyleaves point to one Sulpice Lagarle as the first known user of the volume. He appears to have been a Cistercian and was in possession of the volume prior to its being integrated into the Clairvaux library. The binding is of unknown origin. However, a connection with Cistercian circles in the orbit of the University of Paris seems likely.

Again, the Troyes pastedowns stand out visually. Owing to the conventions applicable to mensural notation, text and music are copied in black ink, staves in red. The source manuscript also included marginal decorations in red and blue, and several fleuronné initials. The binder, his supervisor, or his patron(s) evidently were attracted to the source manuscript by these decorative qualities. They made sure to preserve three fleuronné capitals intact when trimming the folio that was to serve as the front pastedown, sacrificing instead text and musical notation at the opposite margin. The binder also placed the texts and music at a 90-degree angle to the text-block. This oblong format de-emphasises the semantic relevance of the texts and the musical notation while drawing attention to the visual splendour afforded the user by the opulent patterns formed by (vertical) stave lines, note heads, text, and coloured initials. The Troyes manuscript therefore provides an example of a set of musical pastedowns chosen primarily for their flamboyant aesthetic qualities, presumably with the intention to frame a similarly lavish set of neo-Latin poetic texts.

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36 According to the online catalogue of the Médiathèque Jacques Chirac, <https://portail. mediatheque.grand-troyes.fr/iguana/www.main.cls?surl=search&p=*#recordId=2.2291&srch Db=2> (accessed 27 Apr. 2020). See also the discussion and further references provided in Catalunya 2017. On the text by Mantuanus, see Wiener 2003. On Robert Gaguin, see Collard 2012. On Antonio Geraldini, see Früh 2005.

Case study 4: the pastedowns in Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, Ink 2276

The fourth and final example moves away briefly from musical materials in order to explore if and how other kinds of pastedowns might have been deployed to create potential semantic links between pastedowns and their host volume. Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, Ink 2276 is a printed edition of Pietro de' Crescenzi's *Ruralia commoda*, produced in Strasbourg in 1486 by the print shop of Georg Husner. The *Ruralia commoda* is the only medieval treatise on agriculture, written by Pietro de' Crescenzi in the early 1300s following a successful career in Bologna and other towns in Italy.[37] The text was widely disseminated and translated in late medieval and early modern Europe and survives in copious printed and manuscript versions, including many copies coming from monastic libraries. The copy preserved in the Gutenberg Museum reached Mainz through the Carmelite order, who kept significant houses in Cologne, Mainz as well as Boppard (see above). A recent study of the library of the Mainz Carmel demonstrated that Ink 2276 reached the Gutenberg Museum via the Mainz convent, but originally was purchased and bound for the library of the Cologne house.[38] The volume retains its original binding which consists of two wooden boards with paper pastedowns at both the front and rear inside cover.

The front pastedown, which has been lost but can be reconstructed through its mirror imprint, consisted of a publishing announcement (*Bücheranzeige*) in Latin and German issued by the Augsburg printer Günther Zainer (active from 1468, d. 1478) and dating to after 1474. Another copy of the same announcement has been removed from Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, Ink 509.[39] The rear pastedown consists of the top half of a broadside (*Einblattdruck*) produced by Peter Schöffer in Mainz. This broadside, dated 1489–1490, contains a German version of a papal bull published by Innocent VIII on 11 December 1488 announcing the indulgences offered in connection with the upcoming Jubilee year of 1500, as well

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37 For further information, including a modern edition and a translation into German, see Vollmann 2007–2008. See also the earlier edition by Richter/Richter-Bergmeier 1995–2001. Also Toubert 1984, <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-de-crescenzi_(Dizionario-Biografico)> (accessed 5 Apr. 2020). For a recent exploration of the cultural and historical context of the *Ruralia commoda* and Pietro's biography, see McAvoy *et al.* 2019, in particular 486–490.
38 See Ottermann 2016, 258–263.
39 See Ottermann 2016, 530–531. On Günther Zainer, see Künast 1997 and the relevant contributions in Gier/Janota 1997.

as a call to take up the Cross in an anticipated campaign against the Turks.[40] The choice of disused broadsides for pastedowns has barely been noticed as a phenomenon in the study of late medieval and early modern bindings; for our purpose it will suffice simply to note this as a possibility next to the more familiar use of disused parchment. From an aesthetic point of view, the combination of broadsides with a printed text-block may have created a slightly more homogeneous visual appearance, but the continued prevalence of parchment for use in pastedowns suggests that the inclusion in the binding of Ink 2276 was more a matter of convenience and perhaps cost than anything else. Nor may it seem particularly surprising to find an advertisement for theological literature worked into a binding that was being prepared for a monastic order.[41] There is, however, more to say about the choice of the papal bull *cum* indulgence that was used to create the rear pastedown.

In 1489, the Apostolic Protonotary, later (from 1493) Cardinal Raymond Peraudi (1435–1505) arrived at the Carmelite provincial synod, which was being held in Mainz, and took up lodgings in the Carmelite convent. Like the Carmelites, French-born Peraudi was a member of a mendicant order, the Augustinian Hermits. He was without doubt the most influential Church diplomat active in the Holy Roman Empire in the late 1480s; his contacts to Emperor Frederick III (r. 1440–1493) were outstanding. Peraudi was the main promoter of the new trade in indulgences within the Empire which was to become one of the triggers for the Lutheran Reformation. He developed a highly efficient method to push his agenda, employing the game-changing new medium of his time, the printing press, with the utmost skill. A considerable reputation preceded him.[42] Peraudi's decision to associate himself with the Carmelites during his visit to Mainz – where he was formally to proclaim the promulgation of a new indulgence related to the planned crusade against the Turks and the preparation for the jubilee year 1500 – can therefore not be overestimated: it conferred unprecedented prestige upon the order through its being chosen as the logistical base and central point of an event which was to be of vital importance for the cause of the Church, and the promotion of the indulgence within the Empire.[43]

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40 On Peter Schöffer, see Schneider 2003.

41 On Günther Zainer's oeuvre as a pioneer of printing in Augsburg, see, recently, Fujii 2007. Also of interest, albeit tangentially, may be the recent study on Günther's younger brother Johann who set up a print shop of his own in Ulm. See Bolton 2016. See also Geldner 1968–1970.

42 On this aspect of Peraudi's activities, see Hamm 1996.

43 For these events, see Kühne 2015; also Kühne 2014. Housley 2006. For a concise biography of Peraudi, see Springer 2002.

The use of the two broadsides as pastedowns for the agronomic treatise of Pietro de' Crescenzi therefore highlights the political and religious position of the Cologne Carmel in the time around 1500 in a very interesting way. The treatise was certainly a standard work, but it should not be overlooked that by the late fifteenth century the Rhenish Carmelites had amassed significant amounts of agricultural terrain that they needed to manage. The purchase of the *Ruralia commoda* was therefore far from indulging a purely academic interest. Rather, it was probably acquired also to serve as a reference work, providing guidance when important decisions concerning the exploitation of the estate amassed by the order needed to be taken. Meanwhile, the frame provided for the volume by the book advertisement from Augsburg and the indulgence promulgated by the papal legate in the Carmel at Mainz recalled the prestigious position that the order had acquired in the social fabric of the land. The Cologne Carmel, the establishment which had originally acquired the volume, and for which the binding was prepared, was the oldest and most important Carmelite house in the western regions of the Empire, and one of the order's traditional educational hubs. With the two paper sheets incorporated into its binding, any Carmelite who would pass through the Cologne house and pick up the copy of the *Ruralia commoda* would have had the opportunity to let himself be reminded of the achievements of his order toward the end of the fifteenth century.

Conclusions

As stated at the outset, bindings have long been recognised as important elements in determining a book's provenance and historic importance. However, the scrutiny of bindings remained so far almost exclusively focused on their outside appearance. Extending our focus to the insides of bindings and, in particular, to front and rear pastedowns has allowed us to capture some additional meanings that are encoded in the materiality of bindings. When choosing such components, binders and their patrons by necessity created new signifiers and new contexts in their own right. Their decisions involved which discarded piece of material to select for conversion into a pastedown, how exactly to trim it, how to position it with regard to the text-block, and which side of the pastedown to conceal or reveal to the eyes of future users. Such choices can fully be accounted for only if we acknowledge that they are inevitably a product of 'intermediary reading' – of practical and aesthetic considerations combined. The degree to which aesthetic considerations influenced practical matters no doubt varied; its relevance for a particular binding can be assessed only on a case-by-case basis.

Besides a careful analysis of the material and codicological parameters, a suitable tool is the evaluation of alternative scenarios: what would the binding look like, and what impression would it make on the reader if the pastedowns were placed differently, e.g., with the current front and rear pastedown reversed, the current obverse of a pastedown used as its visible side, or if the parchment had been placed side-wise?

The four case studies illustrated how pastedowns can be arranged in ways designed to invite the reader's gaze (Koblenz), to discourage reading, even admonish (Lichtenthal), to emphasise the decorative aspects of a pastedown (Troyes), or to create a form of institutional memory (Mainz). Pastedowns extracted from manuscripts containing late medieval polyphony perforce occupied a special place due to their relative scarcity and their lively visual appearance. Musical pastedowns therefore are exceptional, and it may be useful, especially for musicologists engaged in the history of polyphony, to bear that special quality in mind. But pastedowns of all kinds share the ability to tell us about the history of their patrons, the workshops, and the institutions involved in their design. Together with the other components of a binding and the text-block that they enclose, pastedowns therefore should be considered part and parcel of an aesthetic ensemble where each element has its own qualities and therefore its idiosyncratic potential for signification. In such a landscape, material, visual, and semantic aspects dynamically interact with each other. Together they form the internal ecology of a codex and generate a cascade of culturally and historically specific messages and meanings that goes far beyond the information contained in sheer words, images, and noteheads.

The phenomena discussed in this essay may have been confined to a relatively narrow window chronologically – the end of the fifteenth century – and to a particular ecclesiastic milieu characterised by a strong affinity to learning, a sophisticated theological awareness, and a distinct corporate or institutional identity. Such sensibilities have long been a part of monastic cultures, and are reflected in the reading habits associated with them. They encouraged readers attuned to these cultures to look at things carefully, and repeatedly, and to expect, and find, connections to be made between them. It is in the context of such a cultural habitus that the pastedowns examined in this essay make most sense. Binders or patrons who saw – and reacted to – the affordances provided them by the materials that came to their hands engaged in a form of reading when creating a new binding and choosing pastedowns for it. In doing so, they created paratexts that became integral to the information incorporated into that book, and could be activated by any future reader-user. Treating them with similar attention to other material facets of manuscripts and early printed books will

enable cultural historians to recover some of the heightened sense of awareness to detail typical of our forebears; once again, if looked at closely and undogmatically, fragments enable us to access memories and meanings of centuries past long ago.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AH	Guido Maria Dreves (ed.), *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 4: *Hymni inediti. Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Leipzig: Fues, 1888.
LGB[II]	Severin Corsten (ed.), *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens: zweite, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage*, 9 vols, Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1987–2016.

RISM library sigla (Table 1):

A-Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
B-Br	Brussels, KBR
D-DS	Darmstadt, Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
GB-Lbl	London, British Library

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