### Article

# Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments<sup>\*</sup>

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In the broad spectrum of dimensions a manuscript's afterlife<sup>1</sup> can take on, the use of manuscript fragments as binding material was a very common case in the European Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Attempts to reconstruct dismembered manuscripts which were reused as binding fragments have often benefited from the systematic work of the bookbinder, who usually reused several pages of the same manuscript in various bookbindings of the same collection. Considering, however, that the majority of historic collections from the European Middle Ages are now widely dispersed, the reconstruction of historic libraries is usually the first step of a systematic search for binding fragments.

Attempts to virtually reunite widely distributed fragments or dispersed manuscript collections allow the state of a particular collection at a particular point of time to be shown,

<sup>1</sup> The terminology of an afterlife of a manuscript will here be used metaphorically as a category which comprises everything that happened to a manuscript after it lost its original function. For a recent article in which a religious connotation is attached to the term 'afterlife', see Heikkilä 2013, 172, who discusses 'The Afterlife and Resurrection' of a Parisian Lectionary in Medieval Finland. In musicological research, the afterlife of music manuscripts has only recently started to attract the attention it deserves; in her handbook article about thirteenth-century music manuscripts, Emma Dillon emphasises that 'the afterlife of manuscripts is also a lens through which to view other historical narratives' (Dillon 2011, 317).

manuscript cultures

and also the paths taken by manuscripts from one collection to another; they might also enable scholars to assign further dismembered fragments to these contexts. Projects like the Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland<sup>2</sup> and the Penn/ Cambridge Genizah Fragment Project<sup>3</sup> have developed tools for future research which address an interdisciplinary audience.

Musicological research on fragments, too, has shown increasing activity during recent decades and has benefited from major projects in which fragments have been catalogued; only a few random examples from different countries will be mentioned here. In the United Kingdom, Wathey, Bent and Craig-McFeely happily announced a decade ago that 'the number of manuscript leaves known from pre-Reformation Britain has expanded by over a third, with new finds frequently forcing the re-ordering of a repertory or an individual composer's output.<sup>24</sup>

In the course of major cataloguing projects in Scandinavia, like the MPO project (*Databas över medeltida pergamentomslag*) conducted by the National Archives of Stockholm, a number of important fragments containing musical notation were unearthed, among them the organum fragments S-Sr Fr 535<sup>5</sup> and the motet fragments S-Sr Fr 813 and S-Sr Fr 5786.<sup>6</sup> In Germany, Martin Staehelin initiated a research project and a series dedicated to fragmentary

<sup>\*</sup> This article is based on research undertaken in the context of the musicological subproject B03 ('Manuscript Culture and Chant Communities') in SFB 950 'Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe' directed by Prof Dr Oliver Huck and within the scope of the Centre for the Studies of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC). My research would not have been possible without the generous funding of the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), and with the help of various librarians in Cambridge, New Haven, Münster and Soest, who granted me access to all manuscripts and fragments relevant for this project. The research in progress was discussed in Hamburg ('Manuscripts in Motion', conference in November 2012, and 'The Second(ary) Life of Manuscripts', workshop in July 2013, both organised by the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (SFB 950), Southampton ('Cantum pulcriorem invenire: Music in Western Europe 1150-1350', conference in September 2013), Dresden ('Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung 2013', September 2013), Sheffield ('Sources of Identity: Makers, Owners and Users of Music Sources Before 1600', October 2013) and Berkeley ('The Material Middle Ages', 28 February and 1 March 2014). I should like to thank Oliver Huck, Stephen Jones and Miriam Wendling for their comments on this text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Austenfeld 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Lerner, Jerchower, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Wathey, Bent, and Craig-McFeely 2001, 228.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The library sigla are based on the standard system as established by RISM (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*) and will be explained in the list of manuscripts and fragments (Appendix A).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A comprehensive bibliography on this research project is found in Brunius 2013. For a first introduction to the organum and motet fragments see Björkvall, Brunius, and Wolodarski 1996; I should like to thank the MPO project team for providing me with an English translation of this article. I am currently preparing an extended study on the *organum* fragments, including a transcription based on new multi-spectral images of the fragments.

sources in 1999 and has recently published some concluding methodological observations, expressing the hope that similar projects will be undertaken in the future.<sup>7</sup> Feeling indebted to the previous projects, our recently completed has taken as its point of departure a survey of all fragmentary sources associated with the polyphonic repertoire of Notre Dame of Paris. After several new fragments transmitting this repertoire, written in the characteristic layout in square notation, had been found during recent decades, a systematic search for further binding fragments seemed overdue.

The Notre Dame repertoire is among the most famous and most intensively studied repertoires of music history. A comprehensive account of all manuscripts and fragments available at the time was provided by Friedrich Ludwig in 1910.<sup>8</sup> Since these music manuscripts survive as (almost) complete codices and transmit the main repertoires of the time in the same characteristic manuscript organization, Ludwig considered the three music manuscripts I-Fl Plut. 29.1 (hereafter F), D-W Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (677) (hereafter W1) and D-W Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (1206) (hereafter W2) as the main Notre Dame sources.<sup>9</sup>

All of these manuscripts now in Florence and Wolfenbüttel have travelled; none of the Notre Dame manuscripts is at its original home anymore. Whereas, in the manuscript W1, an owner entry pointing to St Andrews Cathedral in Scotland is found,<sup>10</sup> the prior owners of the surviving main Notre Dame manuscripts F and W2 are subject to conjecture. Research holds that F and W2 were produced in Paris; the commissioners and first owners, however, are not known. Haggh and Huglo argued for the thirteenth-century French King Louis IX being a potential first owner of the precious music manuscript F; two centuries later, King Louis XI might have presented the manuscript as a diplomatic gift to the Medici family.<sup>11</sup> Taking the motet texts of W2 as a point of departure, Mary Wolinski

<sup>11</sup> Haggh and Huglo 2004.

has shown textual connections to the Low Countries<sup>12</sup> and has recently examined *Topics of Devotion in the Latin Motets*, which point to a Franciscan context of some motet texts.<sup>13</sup> Future research will have to show if these observations can be extrapolated to the manuscript's prior owners.

In her article 'Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found' from 1987, Rebecca Baltzer reviewed the available evidence on lost books which were likely to have contained the Notre Dame repertoire and traced hints on 17 lost manuscripts in France, England and Italy, ten of which were mentioned during the thirteenth and seven during the fourteenth century. Popes and kings were among the known owners, as well as some higher dignitaries and lesser known donors associated with St Paul's Cathedral in London.<sup>14</sup>

A comprehensive study of all fragments of the Notre Dame repertoire known today has provided new insights into the question of owners. The most recent discoveries relating to German-speaking medieval Europe have all highlighted the importance of Dominican convents in the transmission of the Notre Dame repertoire, or have, at the very least, pointed to Dominican bookbinders reusing fragments of the Notre Dame repertoire. In different sets of binding fragments now dispersed across various European and American libraries, remnants of at least five different Notre Dame manuscripts have emerged, pointing to Dominican libraries in Frankfurt am Main,<sup>15</sup> Wimpfen am Neckar,<sup>16</sup> Nuremberg,<sup>17</sup> Basle,<sup>18</sup> and

 $^{17}$  On the organum fragments D-Nst Inc. 304.  $2^\circ$  see Jacobsen 2006 and Flotzinger 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Staehelin 2012, 1–19. See also Staehelin 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ludwig 1910.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See list of manuscripts and fragments (Appendix A).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Staehelin 1995, fol. 64<sup>r</sup> (56<sup>r</sup>). On the origins of W1 see Everist 1990 and Roesner 1976. A recently completed Princeton dissertation again emphasises the role of the francophile Bishop Malveisin as an agent of transmission of the Notre Dame repertoire (Steiner 2013). For a survey of W1 in the context of Scottish music see Edwards 2000. For the latest research on the question of date and a literature review see Baltzer 2008.

<sup>12</sup> Wolinski 2008; Lievois and Wolinski 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Mary Wolinski, *Topics of Devotion in the Latin Motets of W2*, paper presented at the conference 'Cantum pulcriorem invenire: Music in Western Europe, 1150–1350', University of Southampton, 9–11 September 2013. I should like to thank Mary Wolinski for sharing her unpublished research with me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Baltzer 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> On the *conductus* fragments D-F Fragm. lat. VI. 41 see Staehelin 1987 and Maschke 2010. On the reconstruction of the Dominican library of Frankfurt see Powitz 1968 and Powitz 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> For musicological studies on the Wimpfen fragments (now D-DS 3471) see, for example, Ludwig 1923, 203–205; Gennrich 1958; Flotzinger 1970. On the history of the Dominican library of Wimpfen see Staub 1967 and Staub 1980. – Our project's attempt to look for further binding fragments which might contain parts of the dismembered music manuscript in incunables from Wimpfen now preserved in the University Library of Gießen (on which see Schüling 1966) did not lead to further discoveries. Nevertheless, I should like to thank Dr Olaf Schneider, Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, for supporting our project and for his helpful advice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> On the organum fragments CH-BU F.X. 37 see Arlt and Haas 1975. For

Soest in Westphalia.<sup>19</sup> Our research project initially focused on these groups of fragments. Here a short summary of the results will be given, relating to the set of fragments reused at the Dominican convent of Soest in Westphalia.

After the discovery of further remnants of the Frankfurt conductus fragments (D-F Fragm. lat. VI. 41) in New York (US-NYcub N-66) two decades later than the initial Frankfurt findings.<sup>20</sup> the reconstruction of the Soest *conductus* fragments reads like another detective story which links fragments found at several libraries and archives. Taking the mirror-image offset on the wooden board of the manuscript D-MÜsa Mscr. VII Nr. 6115<sup>21</sup> (Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen Abteilung Westfalen) (see fig. 5) as a point of departure, I was able to assign five further leaves to this set of conductus fragments in Münster (University Library), Cambridge and New Haven (back flyleaves of D-MÜu 378 and D-MÜu 382, GB-Cssc 117\* [formerly pastedown and flyleaf of D-MÜsa Mscr. VII Nr. 6115], and US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59).22 The earliest verification of the history of destruction of this music manuscript dates from the fifteenth century, when a bookbinder of the Dominican convent of Soest reused several leaves of the thirteenth-century music manuscript as flyleaves and pastedowns in bindings of autographs of Jacob of Soest.23

Some of the flyleaves are still *in situ*, like the two new (re-)discoveries from the University Library of Münster (see figs. 1-4).<sup>24</sup> When their host volumes (D-MÜu 378 and D-MÜu 382) received modern bindings, the flyleaves were

not removed from these manuscripts; however, it is likely that, as in D-MÜsa Mscr. VII Nr. 6115, pastedowns from the same music manuscript might have also been attached to the original wooden boards of the bindings, which are now lost. In two other cases (relating to the manuscripts D-MÜu Hs 377 and D-MÜu Hs 379), traces of red staves offset on the last page of the host volume adjacent to the back flyleaf indicate that the respective back flyleaves from the same music manuscript must have been removed; the leaves are now lost.<sup>25</sup>

Another former flyleaf (now US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59) matching with the other fragments in terms of layout, script, decoration and repertoire, which must have been removed from another binding of a lost host manuscript from Soest,<sup>26</sup> was in private ownership before 2002 and was bought by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, in an auction from Maggs Brothers Ltd. (see figs. 10–11). In the process of production of the music manuscript under discussion here, the notation of the leaf now in the Beinecke Library was not inserted, but six double staves per page had already been provided.<sup>27</sup>

Both sets of fragments now in Münster and New Haven had already been known, but were not precisely catalogued.<sup>28</sup> Both the Beinecke Digital Collections and the catalogue of manuscripts of the University Library of Münster categorised them as hymnal fragments; as their texts are edited in *Analecta Hymnica*,<sup>29</sup> the very general umbrella term offered itself as

<sup>25</sup> See Maschke 2015, 113.

<sup>26</sup> The former host volume of the single leaf has not yet been identified, but its context of reuse points to the Dominican convent of Soest. Like on many other bindings produced for Soest, traces of rusted nails of a former metal sign are found on the fragment (see Michael 1990b, 27), as well as strong wormhole infestation (which is particularly well visible on the back flyleaf of D-MÜu 382 [see figs. 3–4]). The two manuscripts D-MÜu Hs 377 and D-MÜu Hs 379, from which the back flyleaves were removed, do not show a matching pattern of wormholes and rusty holes. Cp. Maschke 2015, 113–114.

<sup>28</sup> Overgaauw 1996, 109–110 and 116–117; Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Beinecke Digital Collections: http://brbl-dl. library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3736895 (last accessed: 17 October 2015).

<sup>29</sup> Dreves 1895.

a recent study on the history of the Dominican library of Basle see Dolbeau 2011a and 2011b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> For a first description of the *conductus* fragments D-MÜsa Mscr. VII Nr. 6115 see Eickermann 1974. On the reconstruction of the historic collection of the Dominican library of Soest see Michael 1990a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> For a description of D-F Fragm. lat. VI. 41 see Staehelin 1987. On the *conductus* fragments in US-NYcub N-66 and their connection to D-F Fragm. lat. VI. 41 see Maschke 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> First described by Norbert Eickermann in 1974.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For a first announcement of my research see Maschke 2013. Dominique Gatté drew attention to a hymnal fragment that the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, had made available online as part of the Beinecke Digital Collections (US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59): http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3736895 (last accessed: 17 October 2015). – My cordial thanks to Dominique Gatté for generously sharing this link with the Ars Antiqua group on Facebook in September 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> For a discussion of these autographs see Overgaauw 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The *incipits* of the *conductus* fragments will be provided together with the images in Appendix B. The numbers assigned to them are based on

Anderson's catalogue of 'Notre-Dame and Related Conductus' (Anderson 1972 and Anderson 1975).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The phenomenon that staves have remained empty is found throughout all of the Notre-Dame sources. Interestingly, *Omni pene curie* (I34) has remained without notation both in W2 and in US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59, and in both sources, the same order of pieces is found: *Omni pene curie* follows *Regnum Dei vim patitur* (H33). However, why *Regnum Dei vim patitur* is fully notated in W2, whereas the notation in US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59 is missing, is an open question.

a working hypothesis. More precisely, however, the twopart musical settings belong to the genre of the polyphonic *conductus*, one of the main genres of the Notre Dame repertoire.

Another set of *conductus* fragments discovered in Cambridge during the 1990s (GB-Cssc 117\*), which can now be assigned to the Soest *conductus* fragments, was known, too (see figs. 6–9).<sup>30</sup> However, its particular connection to the wooden board of the binding of manuscript D-MÜsa Mscr. VII Nr. 6115 has heretofore been overlooked. The two trimmed leaves are in fact the very pastedown and flyleaf which were removed from their host volume during the nineteenth century and of which only the mirror-image offset now in Münster has remained. During the 1850s, the two parchment leaves were reused a second time as a wrapper of a Book of Hours, which was sold in several auctions during the twentieth century and which was finally acquired by Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.<sup>31</sup>

Therefore, up to now, five single leaves from the thirteenth-century music manuscript – reused once or twice in four different host volumes now in four different libraries and archives – have come to be known, one of them in two different representations as pastedown (now in Cambridge, see figs. 6–7) and mirror-image offset (now in Münster, see fig. 5).<sup>32</sup> A detailed discussion of the reconstructed source itself as well as the afterlife of its individual leaves was published elsewhere;<sup>33</sup> a facsimile of all leaves known by now is provided here (see Appendix B, figs. 1–11).

In addition to this, while working in the Beinecke Library in March 2014, I checked two further single leaves taken from manuscripts transmitting ancient and theological works for connections to the same context of reuse in bookbindings of the Dominican convent of Soest. One of

<sup>31</sup> Everist 1994.

them, the fragment US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.60, bought together with the music fragment now US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59, suggested a potential connection to the fragment D-SO Fragm. 119, formerly a binding fragment in the Codex D-SO Cod. 36 and now preserved separately in the Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek Soest.<sup>34</sup> Both fragments transmit parts of the *Dialogi* by Sulpicius Severus. However, as the scribal hands differ, it cannot be said with certainty whether the two leaves originally came from the same manuscript or from two different copies of the same work.<sup>35</sup>

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Contrary to this, Krämer's and Michael's shared assumption that the fragment of English origin now US-NHub Beinecke MS 516, might once have been part of the historic collection of the Dominican convent of Soest,<sup>36</sup> could be confirmed by the owner entry 'liber iste est fratris reyneri de capella / orate pro eo' in the margin which is also found in other manuscripts from Soest.<sup>37</sup> The fragment contains Pope Gregory I's Moralia in Job and is written in 'a graceful, firm, precise English uncial hand very similar to, if not identical with, that of the Codex Amiatinus'.<sup>38</sup> A connection to the binding fragment in the Soest codex D-SO Cod. 25/3 containing Pope Gregory I's Dialogi in Ezechielem can be ruled out, as this fragment is written in a minuscule script (according to Bernd Michael a twelfth-century Romanesque book script).<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, its host volume does not come from the library of the Dominicans, but from the Ratsbibliothek of Soest.

<sup>36</sup> Michael 1990a, 27, and Krämer 1989, 729. For a hypothesis on the scriptorium in which this manuscript might have been copied see Lutz 1973.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> First described by Everist 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> When the former pastedown and flyleaf of D-MÜsa Mscr. VII Nr. 6115 were stuck together as a wrapper of the *Book of Hours* now GB-Cssc 117, the stave containing the lower voice 'verba celica dum verbum conci-[pit]' from the *conductus Iam vetus littera* (H24), now fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, was glued on the last available stave of *Dei sapientia* (J06), fol. 2<sup>v</sup>. After the two leaves were removed from each other during the 1990s, the mirror image offset of one stave on the other has remained visible (see fig. 7). Thus, again, one stave is available in two representations; in this case, however, the legibility of the original stave is better than its mirror and the mirror does not contain any important additional information, whereas the mirror image representing the pastedown now GB-Cssc 117\* is of much better legibility than the remnants of the pastedown itself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See Maschke 2015, Chapter 3 (87–131).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> A description of D-SO Fragm. 119 and its former host volume, Cod. 36, is found in Michael 1990b, 225–231 and 261.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> The dating of the two fragments, too, differs slightly. Whereas Michael roughly suggests a twelth-century date for D-SO Fragm. 119 (Michael 1990b, 227 and 261), the Beinecke library proposes an earlier date for US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.60 (ca. 1075–1100). A preliminary catalogue description of US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.60 is found online at: http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3736896 (last accessed: 17 October 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> On the characteristic owner entries of Reynerus de Capella see Michael 1990a, 16. Catalogue descriptions of US-NHub Beinecke MS 516 are found online at: http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3592142 and http:// hdl.handle.net/10079/bibid/9651478 (last accessed: 17 October 2015). It is not clear where Reynerus de Capella acquired this book. As Lutz 1973 has shown, the manuscript was produced in an English scriptorium (probably in Bede's monastery) between 700 and 750 and later came to the Soest convent, a thirteenth-century foundation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Lutz 1973, 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> For a description of the fragment see Michael 1990b, 165. The host volume contains a fourteenth-century copy of the first part of the *Sachsenspiegel* (*Survey of Saxon Law*), described ibid., 166.

Thus, two of the fragments now in the Beinecke Library, US-NHub Beinecke MS 516 and US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59, must formerly have been part of the collection of the Soest Dominicans and later have come into private ownership. These unknown private owners sold the fragments in auctions, and the Beinecke library purchased them in 1972 (MS 516) and 2002 (MS 712.59). After the dissolution of the Dominican library of Soest during the nineteenth century, various occasions are documented in which manuscripts and fragments changed owners.<sup>40</sup> One of the most recent cases, however, is particularly striking: in 1969, the Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek Soest donated an unknown number of fragments to American exchange students.<sup>41</sup> It is, thus, not impossible that the unknown private owners who later sold the fragments were once among the young exchange students who visited Westphalia in 1969 and who benefited from a keeper of the archives who generously gave away cultural heritage. Further fragments might still be in private ownership and might one day be assigned to this collection by way of owner entries, matching wormhole patterns or other characteristic traces of reuse.

As this case study from Soest shows, the interplay between systematic research and chance finds has played a major role in the rediscovery of further leaves of this dismembered music manuscript. Without Bernd Michael's reconstruction of the historic book collections of the Soest Dominicans, the systematic search for further binding fragments in books which were scattered to several different and widely separated libraries after the secularisation would not have been possible in a short period of time. The few remaining complete thirteenth-century manuscripts and thirteenth-century fragments from the Dominican convent of Soest could be used to reconstruct the intellectual life of the convent since its foundations during the 1230s. The importance of precise cataloguing has become clear, too. Whereas nineteenth-century catalogues rarely mention binding fragments at all, the most recent catalogue projects have started to include them systematically and will thus facilitate future research on fragments. As for Germany, the German Research Foundation (DFG) first published guidelines as to the cataloguing of manuscripts in 1963; the current guidelines, last edited in 1992, stipulate that all fragments in bindings have to be included into the descriptions and that links to fragments which once belonged to a certain host volume, but are now preserved separately, are to be given.<sup>44</sup>

Considering that further factors remain beyond our control, such as the unknown number of fragments in private ownership which might one day be bequeathed to libraries or sold in auctions, the search for remnants of dismembered manuscripts might seem like a bottomless pit. However, the more precise the catalogue descriptions are, and the more the growing number of digital collections enable the global access to manuscripts and fragments, the better these research tools enable scholars of all disciplines to discover connections between scattered fragments and to trace the journeys of dismembered manuscripts.

Virtual reunifications of both the dismembered Notre Dame manuscript presented in facsimile here and the collection of the Soest Dominicans as a whole would be a helpful tool for future research. The framework for this, however, has yet to be developed in a broader international context.<sup>42</sup> Not all of the libraries have the capacity or policy to digitise all of the related manuscripts, which would be the first step in this process. Anne Marie Austenfeld has recently outlined the main goals of virtual reunification projects, which 'offer the various owner libraries a chance to work together while not feeling pressured to give up control of materials they have come to cherish as their own.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See Michael 1990a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> According to Gerhard Köhn, this must have happened when the position of the head of the archives was vacant ('während der Vakanz in der Leiterstelle im September 1969', Gerhard Köhn, preface of Michael 1990b, 8-9). According to the personal information of the late Siegfried E. Fuchs, Soest, the students were hosted at the Aldegrever Gymnasium at Soest while attending German classes with the Goethe Institute; the majority of them studied at the University of Marburg later. The Fuchs family hosted one of these students in 1969 and made him return the fragment to the archive. I should like to thank Siegfried E. Fuchs and Marianne Fuchs, Soest, for providing testimony regarding this case when I visited Soest in May 2014. Further research could try to find out a list of these American students in order to hunt for fragments now in private ownership.

<sup>42</sup> Austenfeld 2010, 153.

<sup>43</sup> Austenfeld 2010, 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft 1992, 11. Incunables are subject to different cataloguing systems; as the traditional printed incunable catalogues do not include any information on binding fragments, scholars usually have to check for fragments on site. New policies of cataloguing would be worth discussing.

### **APPENDIX A**

List of manuscripts and fragments cited:

RISM Sigla <sup>45</sup>	Full reference
CH-Bu F.X. 37	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragmentensammlung, F.X. 37
D-DS Hs 3471	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Hs 3471
D-F Fragm. lat. VI. 41	Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg der Johann Wolfgang Goethe- Universität, Fragm. lat. VI. 41
D-MÜsa Mscr. VII Nr. 6115	Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Westfalen, Mscr. VII Nr. 6115
D-MÜu Hs 377	Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs 377
D-MÜu Hs 378	Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs 378
D-MÜu Hs 379	Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs 379
D-MÜu Hs 382	Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs 382
D-Nst Inc. 304. 2°	Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Inc. 304. 2°
D-SO Cod. 25/3	Soest, Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 25/3
D-SO Fragm. 119	Soest, Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. 119
D-W Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (677)	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (677)
D-W Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (1206)	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (1206)
GB-Cssc 117*	Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, Ms 117*
I-FI Plut. 29.1	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1
S-Sr Fr 535	Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr 535
S-Sr Fr 813 and S-Sr Fr 5786	Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr 813 and Fr 5786
US-NHub Beinecke MS 516	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 516
US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 712.59
US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.60	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 712.60
US-NYcub N-66	New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, N-66

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The RISM Sigla are found at: Société Internationale de Musicologie et l'Association Internationale des Bibliothèques, Archives et Centres de Documentation Musicaux (ed.) (1999), *RISM-Bibliothekssigel: Gesamtverzeichnis,* München.

## **APPENDIX B**

ur aue m maby = paradoli cronica re liguar artor une lig TC 111 : mtt mlimna cume tacob manus cancellans than ha h ferpens inpalo pari mojiles ozando bel D

Fig. 1: Through-composed two-part conductus 0 crux ave spes unica (H4), beginning (D-MÜu Hs 378, fol. \*2').

Fig. 2: *O crux ave spes unica* (H4), continuation (D-MÜu Hs 378, fol. \*2<sup>v</sup>).

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Fig. 3: Through-composed two-part conductus Puer nobis est natus (H25), end of second and beginning of third stanza (D-MÜu Hs 378, fol. \*2').

Fig. 4: End of two-part conductus *Puer nobis est natus* (H25), and beginning of through-composed *conductus Naturas Deus regulis* (C7), here in a two-part version (D-MÜu Hs 378, fol. \*2<sup>v</sup>).

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Fig. 5: Mirror-image of a removed pastedown on the wooden board of D-MÜsa Mscr. VII Nr. 6115, containing the end of the two-part *conductus Genitus divinitus* (125) and the beginning of the two-part *conductus Dei sapientia* (J06). The removed pastedown is now in Cambridge (see figs. 6 and 7).



Fig. 7: End of two-part *conductus Genitus divinitus* (125) and beginning of *Dei sapientia* (J06), GB-Cssc 117\*, fol.2<sup>v</sup>. The undermost stave of *Dei sapientia* is superimposed by the mirror-image offset of the uppermost available stave of *lam vetus littera* (H24) (GB-Cssc 117\*, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>., see fig. 8). This leaf once formed the pastedown that was removed from D-MÜsa Mscr. VII Nr. 6115 (see fig. 5) during the nineteenth century. Before its use in a low-cost wrapper, it was trimmed; the upper part is lost.

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Fig. 8: End of through-composed two-part conductus lam vetus littera (H24); beginning of two-part conductus Fulget in propatulo (H17) (GB-Cssc 117\*, fol. 1').

Fig. 9: Through-composed two-part conductus Fulget in propatulo (H17), end of the second and beginning of the third stanza (GB-Cssc 117\*, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>).

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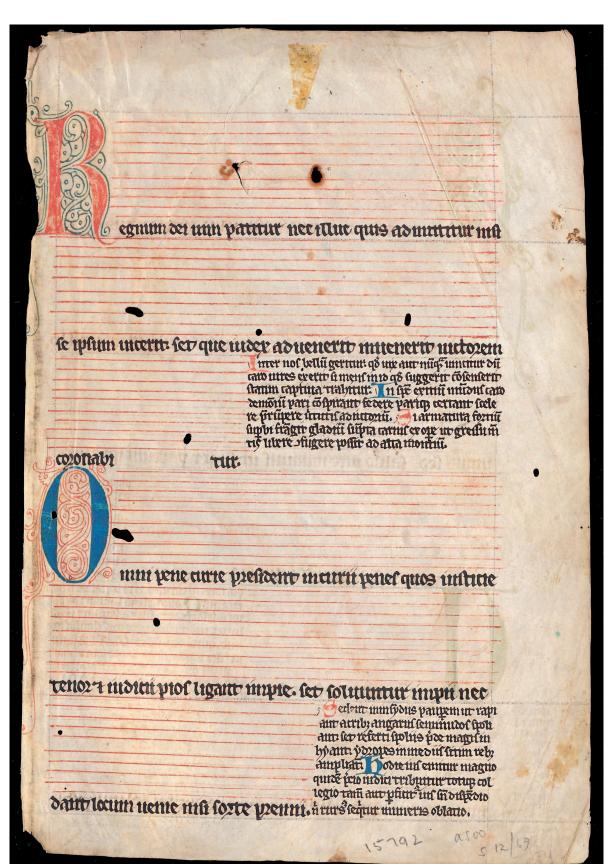


Fig. 10: Strophic two-part *conductus Regnum Dei vim patitur* (H33) and two-part *conductus Omni pene curie* (I34). Notation was not inserted (US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59, recto).

Fig. 11: Strophic two-part *conductus Ex creata non creatus* (I14) and two-part *conductus Ut non ponam os in celum* (I5). Notation was not inserted (US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59, verso).

ecreata non creatus nala nobis el diguanis qui pio 0 novis humanatus nate culit effe natur forman mount ho 0 uning fed faluo une munnut ur fie per pattum unginis pulatur uer su pa mil mtarnanut nu be carring pathag que les friper uns Rann outures at humannas. o timia ret nout Teris poli crimini dun rea Tits. rafpar effectaou partias. illefamanens ænaf arminin partias. illefamanens ænaf arminin ruannis otto uolens falmant defola tot öfolartrarne fülfra fendart nie ab boner maarhart, ungnit daufuf gre into, qui oauto fe ær folo i qua nam ta fillo uniannt putlegio folto puart. Anute infolmingelti jurif odo ærte bone, marri meðu mar neftis fe ma ne spanefir ungo fa puerpa, mína no ponam of mælum clauxes unfecta वें ग्रामां क erhata. elle na muous तिं त्वार्थ mintertum muno whun que pretenoun der zehum polt ho

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