

# SOURCES FOR PLAINCHANT AND RITUAL FROM GHENT AND LONDON: A SURVEY AND COMPARISON

Barbara HAGGH

## Introduction

The history of chant was shaped not only by authority and tradition, but also by individual initiatives, folklore, error and circumstance, and this is most evident when composers, commissioners, copyists and singers of chant are studied alongside the music. In this respect cities, homes for diverse peoples and religious communities, provide an ideal framework for an investigation: Ghent and London are especially well suited not only because of their rich and relatively unstudied archives but also because they were the two most populous cities north of Paris in the late fifteenth century and represented the lively musical cultures of Flanders and England.

As the first stage of a project to study the chant and polyphony of Ghent and London in the later Middle Ages and the musicians shaping that repertory, manuscripts and fragments containing the rituals of the churches and abbeys of both cities were surveyed in order to establish what survives and to record preliminary impressions of the nature of the sources.<sup>1</sup> Early as well as later sources were studied, to permit as accurate a chronology of the introduction of new chant as possible. The later sources are an especially useful resource for the study of later medieval music, since they are more numerous than sources of polyphony, more representative of music in daily life and more revealing than archives in documenting musical practices. They also reflect most clearly the interaction between ecclesiastical authorities, patrons, founders, composers,

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the Leverhulme foundation for supporting my research within the project, 'Music in the North-European Metropolis: London and Ghent c. 1400-1520', directed by Andrew Wathey. For assistance in Ghent, I am indebted to Daniël Lievois for sharing his knowledge of the history of Ghent with me and for facilitating my research in numerous ways, to Georges Declercq for his considerable contribution to the first part of this essay, and to the staff of the Bijloke Museum, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Rijksarchief, Stadsarchief and Universiteitsbibliotheek in Ghent, the Openbare Bibliotheek and Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn in Bruges and the Diocesan Seminary Library in Tournai. An earlier version of this article, superseded here, was delivered as a paper at the seventh meeting of the International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus in Sopron, Hungary, thanks to travel assistance from the British Academy, and is in press as part of the proceedings (Budapest, forthcoming). For further information on musical terms or composers, see *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. SADIE, 20 vols., London, 1980.

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authors, individual scribes and owners and can show associations between churches and abbeys not necessarily evident from documentary sources.<sup>2</sup>

The principal objective here is not to survey book production or musical notation, which would require a separate study, but rather to consider what the sources reveal of local musical and devotional practices. The later sources are easier to analyze in this respect than the earlier sources, since they give fuller rubrics and can often be dated quite precisely. For this reason, more attention is given here to the earlier sources and to the gradual *Blandiniensis*, in particular, which is of unparalleled importance as the earliest surviving assembly of all of the sung mass proper texts. Given the restrictions of space and the number of manuscripts, only their most interesting features will be discussed here - further elaboration of the many important topics passed over quickly here will be found in the book proposed for the project.

Table One lists known manuscripts and fragments from Ghent and London.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Introductions to books prepared for ecclesiastical use include C. VOGEL, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, tr. and rev. by W. STOREY and N. RASMUSSEN, Washington, 1986 (early medieval books); A. HUGHES, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology*, Toronto, 1982 (later medieval books); and M. HUGLO, *Les livres de chant liturgiques*, Turnhout, 1988 (typology of books). On ecclesiastical ritual in general, see J. HARPER, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*, Oxford, 1991 (introductory) and D. HILEY, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford, 1993 (comprehensive) as well as numerous articles in *The New Grove Dictionary*, op.cit.

<sup>3</sup> The author would be most grateful for any information about manuscripts from Ghent and London not listed here (fuller descriptions will appear in the book in preparation). Evangeliaries, obituaries (except those with musical notation), martyrologies, and books of Hours are omitted here intentionally but will be discussed in the book. Also omitted but worth mentioning are two graduals prepared in 1504 by the Hieronymites in Ghent for the St Mary Magdalene *godshuis* in Bruges, which have complete kyriales and sequentiaries (including the lesser-known sequences *Alma cohors domini* for the Wednesday after Pentecost, *Cuius hodie celebremus* for Sts Agatha and Agnes, *De parente pestas* for the Transfiguration, and *Festum presens recolentes* for St Barbara), Bruges, Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn, Archives oSJ 211.I-II, in fo<sup>lj</sup>; also the late 12th-century psalter, Tournai, Cathedral Chapter Library, MS A 15, 12, once thought to be from Ghent but whose office of the dead has Matins responsories not found in any other sources from Ghent or elsewhere: *Credo quod, Qui lazarus, Domine quando veneris, Ne recorderis, Heu mihi, Peccante me, Libera me ... de viis, Requiem eternam, Libera me ... de morte* (cf. K. OTTOSEN, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*, Aarhus, 1993). Their calendars (the folios of several are mixed together) list St Eleutherius, the first bishop of Tournai, and St Austregisilus, bishop of Bourges. I thank canon Dumoulin and Jacques Pycke for making this psalter available to me. It is possible that some fragments once kept in Tournai and in Gothic notation are from Ghent, though further study is necessary. These are *Varia*, Archives de Famille, 1985/1, at the Algemeen Rijksarchief in Brussels. Some manuscripts from Ghent are discussed in M. J. BLOXAM, *A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Countries: Implications for Sacred Polyphony* (unpub. diss., Yale University, 1987), pp.21-33, who concentrates on noted books, breviaries and missals. No survey of manuscripts of ecclesiastical ritual from London has ever been published.

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A list of printed books from the two cities can be obtained from David Crawford, director of the project 'Renaissance Liturgical Imprints: A Census' at the University of Michigan or on the World Wide Web: <http://www.umich.edu/davidcr>.<sup>4</sup>

### Ghent: The Breve and Bland

Ghent begins the survey, because the oldest manuscripts of the two cities are documented there. They include 'le monument le plus précieux qui nous reste pour l'histoire de la messe', the gradual that is part of Brussels, Royal Library, MSS 10127-10144, a compilation copied c. 800 and in the library of the Abbey of St Peter in Ghent by 1200 according to Lowe and by the thirteenth century at the very latest following the date of copying of its *ex libris* (hereafter the compilation is 'Bland'),<sup>5</sup> as well as a no longer extant *antephona* in a book list from the Abbey of St Bavo's, the latter which has been dated between c.800 and 810-814.<sup>6</sup> St Peter's Abbey on the Blandin hill (*Mont Blandin, Blandijnberg*) is presently thought to be the oldest of the two Ghent abbeys, which both date from the seventh century. St Amand founded St Peter's between 629 and 639. St Bavo's dates from the second half of that century.<sup>7</sup> The booklist, the later history

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<sup>4</sup> Address: Prof. David Crawford, Director, Renaissance Liturgical Imprints: A Census (RELICS), 2053 School of Music, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109, USA

See E.A. LOWE, *Codices latini antiquiores*, 10, Oxford, 1963, no.1548. Lowe and the authors cited below agree on a 13th-century date for the *ex libris* on f. 3r. For what follows, I am greatly indebted to Georges Declercq, who commented extensively on three drafts and recommended bibliography. I also thank Michel Huglo and Marike Teeuwen for pointing me to further bibliography. The most recent edition of the gradual in Bland is R.-J. HESBERT (ed.), *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, Rome, 1935 (his comment on p. XVI cited). Also see P. JEFFERY, 'The Oldest Sources of the *Graduale*: A Preliminary Checklist of MSS Copied Before About 900 AD', in: *Journal of Musicology*, 2, 1983, pp.316-321 (esp. p.319); J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 1, Brussels, 1901, pp.191-194, no.363; H. PEILLON, 'L'antiphonaire de Pamelius', in: *Revue bénédictine*, 29, 1912, pp.411-437; M. ANDRIEU, *Les ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 1, Louvain, 1931, pp.91-96; M. HUGLO, 'Le Chant "Vieux-Romain"', in: *Sacris erudiri*, 6, 1954, pp.111-112, no.13; K. GAMBER, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2, Freiburg, 1968, pp.504-505; and J. FROGER, 'L'édition du graduel par Pamelius et le manuscrit "Blandiniensis" (Bruxelles, B.R.lat 10127-10144)', in: *Études grégoriennes*, 11, 1970, pp.175-180, which cite other studies.

Bischoff (1967) dates it c.800, Munding (1930) just before 813, and Verhulst (1971) closer to 800 but to 810/14 (citations in note 11).

On the two abbeys, see especially A. VERHULST and G. DECLERCQ, 'Early Medieval Ghent between two abbeys and the Counts' Castle', in: *Rural and Urban Aspects of Early Medieval Northwest Europe*, Aldershot, 1956, repr. 1992, no. XII, but also G. BERINGS and Ch. LEBBE, 'Abbaye de Saint-Bavon à Gand', in: *Monasticon belge 7: Province de Flandre Orientale*, 1, Liège, 1988, pp.11-67; G. BERINGS and Ch. VAN SIMAEY, 'Abbaye de Saint-Pierre au Mont-Blandin, à Gand', in: *ibid.*, pp.69-157; and J. DECAVELE, 'Gand', in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 19, ed. R. AUBERT, Paris, 1981, cols.1005-1058.

of Bland, which was probably not copied in Ghent but became part of the library of St Peter's, and the history of the two abbeys, among the oldest in the region, shows that the canons (the early religious men praying the *horae canonicae*) in Ghent must have been very much aware of, if not a part of, several changes that were furthered by the Carolingian court: the adaptation and establishment of a full set of texts and music for the entire church year, the development of musical notation and of a system of organizing melody into *toni* (modes), perhaps even the introduction of notation for the sung polyphony which surely preceded it.

Between 817 and 825, a rotulus from the Carolingian north arrived in Benediktbeuern and was scraped, trimmed and bound to become f.36 of a new manuscript compilation, now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 6333.<sup>8</sup> Copied on the rotulus by a German and probably Carolingian court official, between 800 and 811, was a three-part inventory, now known as the *Breve sancti Bavonis*, of the treasury (with books), property and rents belonging to St Bavo's Abbey.<sup>9</sup> The *Breve* is now thought to have been requested by the Carolingian chancery to aid them in developing a defense strategy against the Vikings (Charlemagne had visited Ghent in 811 to inspect shipyards).<sup>10</sup> The decipherable part of the list includes one or more Gospel books, one and perhaps more antiphoners, an unidentified rule, other books and an [*Janonis*:

...s euan[ge]/[i]a ..... antephona.... regula .I. Q.in//t(i) bibliotheca et  
[euan]gelica .....alis ..le....iar..et homiliarum et [ et uitas pat....canonis  
sunt in summa

That these books were at St Bavo's abbey has never been doubted, because the *Breve* lists a *sepulchro sancti bauonis* in two places.<sup>11</sup> (The only earlier reference

<sup>8</sup> See *Palimpsesttexte des Codex Latinus monacensis 6333 (Frisingensis 133, Cimelium 308)*, E. MUNDING and A. DOLD (eds.), *Texte und Arbeiten hg. durch die Erzabtei Beuron*, 15-18, Beuron, 1930, pp.7,12-13,191-196. Fol. 36r bears traces of the writing of the *Breve sancti Bavonis*. On the transmission of the rotulus to Benediktbeuern, see the more recent and comprehensive discussion by A. VERHULST, *Das Besitzverzeichnis der Genter Sankt-Bavo-Abtei von ca. 800 (Clm 6333)*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 5, 1971, pp.219-223.

<sup>9</sup> Georges Declercq points out that the verb *invenimus* [we find] in the inventory of the treasury gives evidence that the scribe was not from St Bavo's. The spelling *Babo* appearing in the *Breve* (as well as *Bavo*) was only used east of the Rhine and in southern Germany. See VERHULST, *Das Besitzverzeichnis*, pp.220-221.

<sup>10</sup> See R. MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge, 1989, pp.160-163, on Carolingian *missi* sent to report on the property of churches in their regions in 807 and 811-813.

<sup>11</sup> As transcribed by VERHULST in *Das Besitzverzeichnis*, pp.232-233, with further discussion pp.193-234 and see plates A-B preceding the article. The *Breve* is the oldest document listing an antiphoner in B. BISCHOFF (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse: Erster Teil, Von der Zeit Karls des Grossen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kirchengeschichte in München, 4, Munich, 1967, where it is transcribed and discussed on pp.36-38; also see the

to an antiphoner in such lists of books is from the abbey of Fontanelle, later St Wandrille, in Normandy, where an inventory was made upon order in 787: '... sacramentoria volumina III, ... psalterium cum canticis ac himnis ambrosianis ac terminis paschalibus volumen I, ...antiphonarium romanae aecclesiae volumen I'.) At this time, the word *antiphonarius* could refer to a book with material for mass and office, but was more often the equivalent of the modern *gradual*, that is, the book with mass proper texts or texts and chant.<sup>12</sup> The scribe of the *Breve* recognized this type of book, which demonstrates that it was known at the Carolingian court even before Abbot Helisachar's reforms of c.814.<sup>13</sup> Indeed,

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transcriptions of lines 22 and 23 of the *Breve* in *Palimpsesttexte*, MUNDING and DOLD (eds.), p.7 (but cf. pp.8,11-14,191-197, and the unnumbered facsimile of this palimpsest). For comparison, see *Corpus catalogorum Belgii: de middeleeuwse bibliotheekscatalogi der Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, v. 1: *Provincie West-Vlaanderen*, v. 2: *Provincies of Liège, Luxembourg and Namur*, ed. A. DEROLEZ et al., Brussels, 1966, 1994. Finally, see K. G. VAN ACKER, *De handschriften der vroegere St.-Baafslibrije*, in: *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, 14, 1960, pp.63-86 (especially p.63); *id.*, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der librije van de Sint-Baafsabdij te Gent*, *Bibliotheekgids* 35:3-4, Antwerp, 1959, pp.75-86; and A. E. VERHULST, *De Sint-Baafsabdij en haar grondbezit (VIe-XIVe eeuw)*, Brussels, 1958, pp.17-28. Important is P. SIFFRIN, *De sacramentariis Cod. lat. monacensis 6333 aliisque similibus Parisiensi, Sangallensi, Bruxellensi comparandis*, *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 45, 1931, pp.327-353, who discusses similarities between the sacramentaries in Bland and those in Munich 6333. The content of Munich 6333 is edited and discussed further in *Palimpsest-Studien II Alterthümliche Sakramentar- und Litanei-Fragmente im Cod. Lat. Monac. 6333*, A. DOLD (ed.), *Texte und Arbeiten hg. durch die Erzabtei Beuron*, 48, Beuron, 1957, and in B. BISCHOFF, *Die süddeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, I: Die Bayrischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden, 1960, pp.26-27,32-34.

<sup>12</sup> The inventory also lists gospel books, lectionaries, books of the Bible and others. See *Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis coenobii*, F. LOHIER and R.P.J. LAPORTE (eds.), Paris, 1936, pp.89-90. On early antiphoners, see M. HUGLO, *Antiphoner*, in: *The New Grove Dictionary*, 1, pp.482-483, and K. LEVY, *Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant*, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40:1, 1987, pp.1-30, esp. pp.5-7.

<sup>13</sup> See note 9 above. On Abbot Helisachar's letter to archbishop Nidibrius describing the reforms, see K. LEVY, *Abbot Helisachar's Antiphoner*, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 48:2, 1995, pp.171-186. Unfortunately, it is not clear from Abbot Helisachar's letter or from Levy's discussion whether the corrections were copied into a single antiphoner containing material for both mass and office or into separate books, and this is crucial, because the letter, by Levy's interpretation, with which I agree, only refers to singers and melody with regard to the chant for the Night Office, which is fixed in a *magnum documentum* according to the end of the letter. By my reading, the only reference to the mass is a single phrase (LEVY, p.179, item 7), and the letter refers principally to the redaction of a full and authoritative book with texts and music for the Office. If this is the case - and this has profound implications for our understanding of the history of the Office - then Helisachar's letter still leaves us entirely in the dark about any neumatation of mass chant. And given that the Mass chants 'could scarcely disagree', at least as far as the texts are concerned, we are left wondering whether any neumatation would

the *Breve* is evidence that St Bavo's had its antiphoner before Einhard became lay abbot c. 814-815.<sup>14</sup>

The St Bavo antiphoner did not survive, but Bland came to be part of the library of St Peter's abbey by the thirteenth century. One might be tempted to equate Bland with the *[]anonis* listed in the *Breve sancti Bavonis* because it begins with a compilation of canon law, the *Vetus Gallica*, but its content, script, and Irish abbreviations argue against its having been copied in Ghent.<sup>15</sup> The Bland compilation was copied by one main scribe with assistants from Irish exemplars and includes an abridged sacramentary, but neither Bland's gradual nor the sacramentary share content with an Irish plenary missal used to bind a book at St Peter's in the tenth century (of course, the origin and later use of this missal

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have been necessary. On the manuscripts giving evidence of Helisachar's learning, interests and activities, which included the revision of the Carolingian antiphoner, see M. HUGLO, D'Helisachar B Abbon de Fleury, in : *Revue bénédictine*, 104, 1994, pp.204-230; *idem*, Trois livres manuscrits présentés par Helisachar, in : *Revue bénédictine*, 99, 1989, pp.272-285; also *idem*, Les remaniements de l'Antiphonaire grégorien du IXe siècle: Helisachar, Agobard, Amalraire, in : *Atti del XVII Convegno di Studi sul tema 'Culto cristiano e Politica imperiale carolingia, Todi, 9-12 ottobre 1977, Todi, 1979, pp.89-120, especially pp.96-102.*

<sup>14</sup> We do not know who was lay abbot after Winebold (794-809). See P. GRIERSON, The Early Abbots of St Bavo's in Ghent, in : *Revue bénédictine*, 49, 1937, pp.44-45.

<sup>15</sup> Bland was copied by a single main scribe with assistants according to HESBERT and dates from before the *Breve*. (LINDSAY claims that several scribes copied the manuscript since the abbreviations used differ, but the scribe(s) probably used exemplars of differing provenance. See *Paleographia Latina*, pt. 5, W. LINDSAY ed., St Andrews University Publications, 23, Oxford, 1927, pp.28-35, for discussion of the 'degenerate Irish' abbreviations in Bland and in another early manuscript from St Peter's, Leiden, University Library, MS Voss. lat. F 26.) Bland's gatherings do include missing pages, but are marked with consecutive letters, proof that the contents never changed order or were separated. Thus, Bland never began with anything but the *Vetus Gallica* (*Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, Die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des Fränkischen Gallien. Studien und Edition*, H. MORDEK (ed.), Berlin, 1975, pp.276-277 and *passim*). The front cover of its modern binding reads 'collectio canonum etc. IX saec.'; more importantly, the torn first folio has the text 'CANON'S' in a later, but medieval script, written vertically along the left margin; and the verso of the flyleaf also reads 'Capitulationes. Excarsum de canonis.' Since library catalogues list books by their incipits, Bland would very likely have been called a 'liber canonis', a reminder that other early antiphoners might well have hidden behind such descriptions in library catalogues. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 1603, in the library of St Amand in the fourteenth century and of later date than Bland (but from the ninth or tenth century) shares with Bland the *Vetus Gallica*, penitential of Theodore and *excarsus Cummeani*.

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is not known).<sup>16</sup> There is also no evidence in chronicles or among known names of canons for the presence of Irish priests at the Ghent abbeys around 800.<sup>17</sup> More important is an addition to f. 89v in Bland copied in the second half of the ninth century, certainly by 900. If this addition indeed pertains to Bland's owner and was not simply copied from another source out of curiosity, which seems unlikely given the content of the text, then Bland reached an apparent den of iniquity, subject to the bishop of Liège.<sup>18</sup>

Bland, f. 89v: De seruitio domni ep[iscop]i [et] archidiaconi  
 De una matrice aecl[esi]a mod[ium].i.de farrina  
 et sextarios.ii.de cruda.ad modium leodi  
 censi.Porcum unu[m].ualentem denarios.xii  
 Porcellu[m].i.ualente[m] d[e]n[a]r[ios].vi Pullos.iiii.optimos  
 Oua xx Caseos.ii.Vinu[m] sextarios vi. Sicera  
 aquearios.viii.Annona modios.x.Car[ra]da.i.  
 de feno.Altera carrada de stramine.De sale  
 sextariu[m].i.De cera den[a]r[ios].ii.Carradas.ii.  
 de ligna.De sapone. d[e]n[a]r[ium].i.Piper uncia[m].i.  
 Seruientes. et utensilia usque ad sufficienter  
 Propter tanta flagitia et tantas nequitias  
 inhonestas. p[ro]hibeo tibi ministeriu[n]di  
 ex autoritate d[e]i patris. et s[an]c[t]oru[m] canonu[m]  
 ut n[on] habeas licentia[m] missam caelebrandi  
 neq[ue] ullum officiu[m] ecclesiasticu[m] nisi  
 cantu[m] psalmoru[m] melodia usq[ue] ad  
 satisfacione[m].

Translation: On the service of the lords bishop and archdean. Following the matrix of the church: 1 muid of flour and 2 setiers of unbleached flour (measured by the muid of Liège). 1 pig worth 12 d. 1 piglet worth 6 d. 4 chickens, best quality. 20 eggs. 2 cheeses. 6 setiers wine. 8 ewers cider. 10 muids corn. 1 cartload hay. Another cartload straw. 1 setier of salt. 2 pennyworth of wax. 2 cartloads of wood. 1 pennyworth of soap. 1 ounce pepper. Servants [perhaps

<sup>16</sup> Bland has the introit *Vultum tuum* for the Circumcision; the Irish plenary missal has *Postquam consummati sunt*, then the other mass propers differ. Both share the introit for Epiphany, but then differ.

<sup>17</sup> The Irishman Celestine was abbot of both abbeys from 700 or 703 until he was deposed in 719, but died not long thereafter. See P. GRIERSON, *The Early Abbots of St Peter's of Ghent*, in : *Revue bénédictine*, 48, 1936, pp.144-145, and *idem*, *The Early Abbots of St Bavo's of Ghent*, *op.cit.*, p.61.

<sup>18</sup> I am most grateful to Georges Declercq for improving my transcription and to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for the translation and to Jean-Claude Hocquet for his opinion on the date of the script, the provenance of the text, and for identifying the meaning of 'matrice ecclesiae' in this context (communication of 30 October 1996).

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'serjeants' or fighting men] and provisions to sufficiency. On account of so many crimes and so many dishonourable wickednesses I forbid you service of God on the authority of God the Father and the holy canons, so that you shall not have licence to celebrate mass nor any ecclesiastical office save only the melody of the psalms until satisfaction.

There is insufficient evidence regarding the property of the two abbeys in this early period. St Bavo did own property in the diocese of Liège in the ninth century, in Chaumont-Gistoux and Meldert near Tienen (not known as a region populated by the Irish), which was confiscated by the crown at an unknown date and given c.988 by Otto III to the bishop of Liège.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, the content of Bland relates it to two manuscripts associated with Nivelles or its region and certainly not with West Flanders, the Rheinau gradual (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 30, c.795-800) and sacramentary of Padua, a later manuscript based on an earlier model (Padua, Biblioteca capitolare, Cod. D 47, copied 841-855). Michels argued that the latter came from for the abbey of Nivelles, citing a later addition on f.88r of proper material for the feast of Sts Quintin and Foillan, because their double cult was most prominent in Nivelles. (Others place the manuscript in the scriptorium of Lothar because of illuminated initials pointing to the region of Liège, Aachen or Cologne). The martyrology in the Rheinau 30 compilation lists the translation of St Gertrude of Nivelles and the Dormition of Sts Fursy and Foillan, the latter saints venerated at the abbeys of Fosses, Péronne, and Lagny, the former two abbeys near Nivelles, the latter abbey near Paris.

Hesbert associated Bland with Nivelles, because it shares with Rheinau 30 an otherwise unique second series of post-Pentecostal Sunday graduals. Rheinau 30, which was copied in Rhaetia however, also shares with Bland features of Irish Latinity and an appended sacramentary of the type *excarpsus* (abridged), including the same formula for the *missa pro infirmo* as Bland.<sup>20</sup> (Another manuscript of southern origin possibly related to these two is a fragment dated c.830 from Benediktbeuern, now Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Klos-

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<sup>19</sup> See A.E. VERHULST, *De Sint-Baafsabdij te Gent en haar grondbezit (VIIe-XIVe eeuw)*, Brussels, 1958, p.104.

<sup>20</sup> On Rheinau 30, see HESBERT, introduction in : *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, and *id.*, L'antiphonaire de Pamelius et les graduels des dimanches après la Pentecôte, in : *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 49, 1935, pp.348-59; also HÄNGGI and SCHÖNHERR, *Sacramentarium Rhenaugiense. Handschrift Rh 30 der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, Freiburg, 1970, Spicilegium Friburgense, 15, Fribourg, 1970. The older series in Bland, which does not follow the order of the psalms, is found in the graduals of Monza and Senlis; the new series, following psalmic order, is only found in Bland and Rheinau.

ter Holzen Kl. Lit. No. 104.<sup>21</sup>)

Bland's gradual shares different material with the (primitive Gregorian) sacramentary of Padua. According to Bourque, they both reflect seventh-century and not later Roman ritual and also the succession of Advent formularies and the number of formulas and stations between Septuagesima Sunday and Whitsunday. Bland differs in following the Gelasian system of Sundays after Pentecost not found in the sacramentary of Padua.<sup>22</sup>

Given the early state of the Roman ritual reflected in Bland and the sacramentary of Padua, which suggests transmission of their exemplars from Rome to England and then to the Continent,<sup>23</sup> and the strong Irish element in the Rheinau gradual as well as the Irish origin of Bland's exemplars and Irish abbreviations used by its scribes, an Irish colony seems the most likely place of origin for a manuscript like Bland, making Ghent a most unlikely candidate. Noteworthy, too, is the inclusion in the Bland compilation of an unidentified computus argumentum, which has as its closest counterpart a text in a manuscript probably from Péronne,

<sup>21</sup> See P. JEFFERY, Rome and Jerusalem: From Oral Tradition to Written Repertory, in : *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, G. Boone, ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1995, p. 240: 'The underlying tradition that served as the original basis for the Mont-Blandin text prior to conflation may have been related to a fragment in Munich'. The fragment agrees with Bland in having the gradual *Venite fili* in the *Omnes gentes* mass and the gradual *Gloria et honore* on the feast of St Menna, but differs in omitting texts that are present in Bland and in its selection of rubrics. The fragment also has isolated correspondences with the Rheinau and Compiègne graduals. See A. SCHRÖDER, Bruchstück eines Mess-Antiphonars aus dem neunten Jahrhundert, in : *Archiv für die Geschichte des Hochstifts Augsburg*, 6, 1929, pp.795-806, especially p.797-798.

<sup>22</sup> On the sacramentary of Padua, see E. BOURQUE, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains*, Vatican City, 1949, p. 301 and especially pp.357-360. The Padua sacramentary is from the Liège region according to Mohlberg and from Nivelles according to Michels. See K. MOHLBERG (ed.), *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber sacramentorum anni circuli der römischen Kirche (Cod. Pad. D. 47, fol 11r-100r)*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 11/12, Münster, 1927; Th. MICHELS, Entstehungszeit und Heimat des Codex D 47 der Kapitelsbibliothek zu Padua, in : *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 7, 1927, pp.24-37; and, most recently, M. METZGER, *Les sacramentaires*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 70, Turnhout, 1994.

<sup>23</sup> Bland's gradual contains originally Roman texts brought to northern Europe from the British Isles and not from Rome. See HESBERT, Introduction, in : *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*; cf. K. GAMBER, Die irischen Messlibelli als Zeugnis für die frühe römische Liturgie, in : *Römische Quartalschrift*, 62, 1967, pp.214 ff.; and *id.*, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2, p.495, on the transmission of the Roman antiphoner to England in the seventh and eighth centuries. The spelling in Bland's rubric, 'ANTFR' [=ANTIFONARIUM], points to an Italian exemplar, but cf. A. de VOGÜÉ, Le sens d'"antifana" et la longueur de l'office dans la 'Regula Magistri', in : *Revue bénédictine*, 71, 1961, pp.119-124, who discusses the word *antifana*, which occurs in early sources of the Benedictine Rule.

where the Irish St Foillan was venerated.

The computus texts in Bland include:

on ff.80-81v, an unidentified dialogue beginning mid-sentence:

... ostendam diximus supra anno presenti et ab incoacione solis anni [C]CCLXXXIII. Habent enim iuxta quaternarium [etc.] [Expl.] ... Interim tamen scito quod ea luna quod presenti anno est in XI kal. Ap[rilis] antequam XVIII transeat in eodem die nullatenus.<sup>24</sup>

on ff.81v-82r, two unidentified arguments:

Si vis scire qualiter in XVIII annis assis ad crescat, quem latini saltim lune vocant, scito primum [etc.] [Expl.] ... tam communium annorum quam embolismos dies sunt VI DCCCC XXXVI.

Si ergo vis invenire ut supra diximus incrementum lune qualiter in XVIII annis assem adimpleat partire per XVIII partem dies VI DCCCC XXXVI [etc.] [Expl.] ... Ergo adde istam medietatem puncti supra horas XI et dimidiam et punctum et dimidium et habebis in XVIII annis assem impletum

Arguments similar to the latter include, first, 'Si scire vuleris quomodo die lunaris qui dicitur saltus preparatur ...' (Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS lat. 50, second quarter, 9th c., f.153r); and second, 'Si nosse desideras qualiter in decem et novem annis ad crescat saltus lunae, tene decem et novem annorum ...' (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. 167, first quarter, 9th c., f.9r, a manuscript probably from PJonne, dated 836-848 in CONTRENI, *The Cathedral School*, note 37 below, p.88; also in Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 83/2, c.805, ff.68v-69r).

on ff.82v-84r, an excerpt from the *Acta Synodi Caesariae*, version III or 'B'<sup>25</sup>:

Post resurrectionem vel ascensionem [s?] domini salvatoris apostoli quomodo pascha deberent observare nihil ordinari potuerunt, [etc.] [Expl.] ...quando ergo fit intra illum litem ab XI [Kal.Apr.] qua in VII Kal. Maii dies dominicos et luna et illis octava sanctificata pascha nobis iussum [om est] celebrare.

None of the other manuscript sources of this text contain the incipits or explicits of the works adjacent to the *Acta Synodi* in Bland.

<sup>24</sup> Cf H. SILVESTRE, Notices et extraits des manuscrits 5413-22, 10098-105 et 10127-44 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, in : *Sacris erudiri*, 5, 1953, p.190). Dr. Wesley Stevens notes that similar language is used in for a different topic in the Argumentum de nativitate: Quaerenda est nativitas luna XIII ... (PL 90, 881).

<sup>25</sup> According to B. KRUSCH, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie. Der 84jährige Ostercyclus und seine Quellen*, Leipzig, 1880, pp.303-310. Early concordances are Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 103, ff. 190v-192r, c.800; British Library, Cotton Caligula, MS A XV, ff.80v-82v, second half eighth century; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS n.a.lat. 1615, ff.186v-187r, c.830; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 251, c.810, pp.14-16.

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on f. 84r, the heading and three words of the *Romana Computatio*, stated wrongly to be part of the Explicit of the *Acta Synodi* by Silvestre:

Romana computatio ita dicitur flexibus.

The *Romana Computatio* does not follow directly upon the *Acta Synodi* in any manuscripts checked by Wesley Stevens.<sup>26</sup>

At the same time, Bland's content - the *Vetus Gallica*, an extract from the penitential of Theodore, the *excarsus Cummiani*, Irish computus texts, ordines, the gradual, benedictions and masses for principal feasts and for selected Sundays of the Temporale, that is, an abridged sacramentary<sup>27</sup> - also the fact that it is a small manuscript in a slightly unpracticed Carolingian book hand not traceable to any major scriptorium, led Peillon to identify it as the vade-mecum of a wandering or rural priest, pointing away from large abbeys, such as that in Nivelles or those of Ghent. Perhaps one day a mother church in a wicked Irish community in the region where the *modius* of Liège was used will be identified.

### Bland's Arrival in Ghent

How the manuscript came to St Peter's Abbey is not known, but the neumes added to f.90r in Bland might yield further clues. Several manuscripts in the library of St Peter's abbey by the eleventh century also contain notation and the neumes are thought to have been added at the abbey in that century by Verhulst. Two manuscripts have neumatation for *Scande caeli*, the refrain to the chant of the muses welcoming Philology at the gates of heaven, in Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*; another two for a poem on the signs of the Zodiac, *Ad Boree partes*; and another for the antiphon *Magna vox* for the office of St Lambert attributed to bishop Stephen of Liège.<sup>28</sup> All of the manuscripts

<sup>26</sup>

I am most grateful to Professor Stevens, who is completing a catalogue of computus manuscripts, for searching for these concordances, and to Professor Dáibhí Cróinín for confirming that these texts and manuscripts have very close Irish connections. He notes that the phrase 'Si vis scire qualiter in XVIII annis assis ad crescat, quem latini saltim lune vocant' echoes a phrase encountered in Cummian's Paschal Letter of 633 (private communication, 3.5.1996). I thank Margaret Bent for bringing Dr. Cróinín's research to my attention.

<sup>27</sup>

The sacramentary of Bland is edited by C. COEBERGH and P. DE PUNIET (eds.): *Liber sacramentorum excarsus*. Cod. Bruxellensis 10127-10144, saec. VIII-IX, in: *Testimonia Orationis Christianae Antiquioris*, ed. P. SALMON, C. COEBERGH, P. DE PUNIET, *Corpus christianorum continuatio mediaevalis*, 47, Turnhout, 1977, pp.81-110, with a facsimile of Bland, f.125r.

<sup>28</sup>

On the manuscripts with neumes, see S. CORBIN, *The Neumes of the Martianus Capella Manuscripts*, in: *Essays on opera and English music in honor of Sir Jack Westrup*, F. STERNFELD et al. (eds.), Oxford, 1975, pp.1-7, who notes that the music of *Scande celi* was neither standardized nor well-known; J.-G. PRIAUX, *Deux manuscrits gantois de Martianus Capella*, in: *Scriptorium*, 13, 1959, pp.15-21 and Plate 4a of Vatican Reg. lat. 1987, f.1); *idem*, *Le commentaire de Martin de Laon sur l'oeuvre*

with neumes have been traced to the first known Ghent scriptorium, that established under the abbacy of Wichard (1034/5-1058) at St Peter's Abbey according to Verhulst. (Wichard's residence before he arrived in Ghent is not known.)<sup>29</sup> And therefore, comparison of all of the neumes might yield further insights into their interrelationships and the plausibility of Bland having had neumes added at St Peter's.<sup>30</sup>

### Vikings and Reforms in Laon: The Post-Pentecostal Alleluia Verses of Ghent

When the Vikings invaded Ghent, destroying St Bavo's in 851, the canons of the abbey fled with their relics and books, eventually to Laon, home of their later abbot, count Adalelm of Laon (d. 877 or 879), where they remained intermittently until around 930 (see Table Three).<sup>31</sup> Some canons stayed in Ghent, however, and some returned from Laon between 851 and 864, because an inventory of books dates from those years: it does not list an antiphoner, only *Aevangelia duo*.<sup>32</sup> In 879 the Vikings again devastated St Bavo's. At this time, more canons fled to Laon and eventually to Nesle-la-Reposte in Champagne.<sup>33</sup> It seems telling

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de Martianus Capella, in : *Latomus*, 12, 1953, pp.437-459; C. LEONARDI, Glosse Eriugeniane a Marziano Capella in un Codice Leidense, in : *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, Laon, 1977, pp.171-182; and J. CONTRENI, Three Carolingian Texts Attributed to Laon: Reconsiderations, in : *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 17:2, 1976, pp.797-813. Also A. VERHULST, L'Activité et la calligraphie du Scriptorium de Saint-Pierre-de-Mont-Blandin, in : *Scriptorium*, 11, 1957, pp.37-49 and Plate 8 (Paris BN lat. 1913A, f.1v).

<sup>29</sup> See VERHULST, L'Activité et la calligraphie, *op.cit.*

<sup>30</sup> PEILLON, L'antiphonaire de Pamelius, *op.cit.*, thinks the neumes in Bland are Anglo-Saxon (cf. S. RANKIN, Neumatic Notations in Anglo-Saxon England, in : *Musicologie médiévale: Notation et séquences*, ed. M. HUGLO, Paris, 1987, pp.129-144); VAN DEN GHEYN, *Catalogue, op.cit.*, considers them to be German. BANNISTER relates the neumes of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS 1987 to those of Laon and St Gall. As evidence of traffic between Laon and St Gall, see L. HEIMAN, The Rhythmic Value of the Final Descending Note after a Punctum in Neums of Codex 239 of the Library of Laon, *Études grégoriennes*, 13, 1972, pp.151-224, who demonstrates that the nuances in Laon 239 generally agree with those in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 359 and Einsiedeln, Benediktinerkloster, 121.

<sup>31</sup> See GRIERSON, The Early Abbots of St Peter's, pp.129-146, and *idem*, The Early Abbots of St Bavo's, pp.29-61. Adalelm, count of Laon, was lay abbot of St Bavo's from before 864 to after 877 and should not be confused with Adalelm schoolmaster. He was perhaps succeeded by Walcher, count of Laon, who died in 892, and perhaps then by Baldwin II, Count of Flanders, who died 10 September 918.

<sup>32</sup> Transcribed in BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, pp.38-39, from Ghent, St Bavo's Cathedral Archive, Evangeliary of St Livinus, early ninth c., ff.181r-181v (original document dating from after 851).

<sup>33</sup> See G. CHIREST, L'abbaye bénédictine de Nesle-la-Réposte, in : *Revue Mabillon*, 45, 1955, pp.148-160, especially pp.151-153 on the canons from Ghent; Nesle was a flourishing abbey under Louis the Pious.

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that one manuscript from St Bavo includes a notated sequence for St Vincent, who was not especially venerated in Ghent but was the patron saint of the Laon monastery founded c.580 where the Ghent canons are believed to have stayed for several years. The canons of St Bavo may have returned to Ghent in 920-930 and were definitely back before 937. The canons of St Peter's returned to Ghent between 879 and probably by 883, but their travels before this time are not known.

There is some evidence that the post-Pentecostal alleluia verses sung in Ghent were adopted by the canons when they came into contact with different ecclesiastical practices in Laon. First, similar mixtures of other rites or transitions are documented. In 851 a monk from St Denis was brought to Laon to teach at the abbey of St Vincent, with disastrous consequences, which included his own excommunication and a bitter feud between Charles the Bald and bishop Hincmar of Laon. Anne Robertson points to a late ninth-early tenth-century St Denis gradual, Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 118, which includes post-Pentecostal alleluia verses foreign to St Denis but present in the famous neumed gradual Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 239, dated c. 930 and representing the rite of Laon Cathedral. The combination of these two lists is so interesting, because they represent two quite separate traditions. The St Denis list is very similar to lists used in Corbie and Winchester; the Laon list resembles lists in books from Compiègne and, later, Notre Dame of Paris. Robertson concludes 'that the monks of Saint-Denis evidently made liturgical concessions to their temporary hosts during sojourns away from their home in Paris', admitting a lack of proof that Laon 118 belonged to the reformer or resulted from the spiritual association between the abbeys of Laon and St Denis established around 989.<sup>34</sup> Such musical exchanges seem self-evident since many expatriate communities came to Laon at this time, including canons from St Quentin and Pierrepont, the latter at the abbey of St Vincent from 886 to 895, as well as from Ghent. In this respect, it is worth signalling the correspondence between the post-Pentecostal Alleluia verses in manuscripts from Ghent and those of Laon 239. The lists from the two Ghent abbeys and a parish church subordinate to St Peter could all have been derived from the Laon list, although the lists from the two older abbeys are closer to it than that of the parish church of St James, which was established in

<sup>34</sup>

On post-Pentecostal Alleluia series, see M. HUGLO, *Les listes alléluïatiques dans les témoins du graduel grégorien*, in : *Speculum Musicae Artis, Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag*, H. BECKER and R. GERLACH (eds.), Munich 1970, pp.219-227. A facsimile of Laon 239 is *Le Codex 239 de la Bibliothèque de Laon*, A. MOCQUEREAU (ed.), Paléographie musicale, ser. 1:10, Solesmes, 1909-1912. On Laon 118 and Laon 239, see A. ROBERTSON, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, Oxford, 1991, pp.42-43,359-363 and *passim*.

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the eleventh century (see Table Two).<sup>35</sup> Did the canons of St Bavo's and later St Peter's adopt the series of post-Pentecostal alleluia verses of Laon as the result of their stay in and associations with Laon?

The Laon and St Denis lists depart significantly from the list in Bland's gradual, the latter which is not reflected by any later manuscripts but shares with Laon 239 the grouping of Alleluia verses at the end of the manuscript. It would seem then that the standardization of post-Pentecostal Alleluia verse lists in general postdated Bland and was perhaps a result of Carolingian-inspired reforms. That such reforms might have taken place in Laon specifically is suggested by the cantatorium fragment, Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 266. Its textual tradition aligns it with the gradual Rheinau 30, which is related to Bland, but its notation resembles that of Laon 239, which follows a different textual tradition, that of the gradual of Compiègne. Laon 266 may be documenting a transition.<sup>36</sup> That Laon 239's Alleluia verse list is indeed very similar to that in many later manuscripts does argue that the manuscript could represent an intended beginning of a new tradition.

Yet there is another possible explanation for the Ghent lists. Since these do not resemble those of Corbie and Winchester, establishments with which Ghent monks had contact in the time of the reforms of Gérard de Brogne and St Dunstan, discussed below, they probably date from either before those reforms, that is from the stay in Laon, or from afterwards. The Ghent lists do indeed also resemble closely those from Cluny and Tournai and may therefore have been adopted as the result of Cluniac reforms or even diocesan initiatives. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing, because apart from a twelfth-century missal fragment and a late-twelfth-early-thirteenth-century missal, both from St Bavo's, which have not been studied, other missals with Alleluia verses date from the thirteenth century and later.

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<sup>35</sup> See M. HUGLO, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 52, Turnhout, 1988, pp.104-105: the Laon list resembles most closely those of Tournai, Cluny, Cambrai, Amiens, Paris, Cologne and St Gall; the St Denis list is closest to those of ninth-century Paris, Corbie and Metz. A more detailed analysis of lists of post-Pentecostal alleluia verses is D. HILEY, Post-Pentecost Alleluias in Medieval British Liturgies, in: *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Centennial Essays*, Oxford, 1993, pp.145-174 (especially pp.151-153).

<sup>36</sup> On Laon 266, see J. HOURLIER, Trois fragments de Laon, *Études grégoriennes*, 22, 1988, pp.31-42; P. JEFFERY, An early cantatorium fragment related to Ms. Laon 239, *Scriptorium*, 36, 1982, pp.245-252, who notes that Rheinau 30 and Laon 266 both omit the tract *Laudate dominum* on Ember Saturday and have the gradual *Domine exaudi* for Good Friday, and considers the incomplete antiphoner, Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 490, a further witness to the same tradition. Cf J. FROGER, Le fragment de Lucques (fin du VIIIe siècle), *Études grégoriennes* 18, 1979, p.145-155.

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If there was a Laon influence on the ritual of St Bavo's, however, two individuals deserve consideration, the lay abbot Count Adalelm or his slightly younger contemporary, Adalelm schoolmaster, who was treasurer at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Laon, hence responsible for manuscripts, and, after 903, dean.<sup>37</sup> He was an especially important collector of books<sup>38</sup> and perhaps a musician, since one of the manuscripts in his possession contains early examples of musical notation.<sup>39</sup> That he was in direct contact with the Ghent canons in Laon is extremely likely, because he added the Laon Formulary, epistolary forms, to the letters of Einhard, the latter brought from Ghent by the canons. (Worth mentioning is the presence in the ninth-century Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 11379, which contains these letters, on f.26v, of a neumed *Alleluia. Letabitur justus* added in the eleventh century, a verse found neither in Laon 239 nor in Ghent missals and graduals nor in the graduals indexed by Hesbert.)<sup>40</sup> In any case, Adalelm schoolmaster would have been well aware of the musical developments then being recorded in writing in Laon: his predecessors as teachers in the city included John Scottus Eriugena (c.820-c.880), whose writings refer to polyphony;<sup>41</sup> Manno (843-?), teacher of bishop Stephen of Liège, composer or commissioner of several of the earliest offices in modal order;<sup>42</sup> and Heirc of Auxerre (880s), the teacher of Hucbald of St Amand.<sup>43</sup>

### Ghent: Reforms of Gérard de Brogne, St Dunstan's Visit, Egmond, Cluny

In 946, after the canons of St Bavo left Laon and returned to Ghent (before 937), an influential personality in their midst, Gérard de Brogne, introduced the

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<sup>37</sup> On Laon in the ninth century, see J. CONTRENI, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930. Its Manuscripts and Masters*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 29, Munich, 1978.

<sup>38</sup> Thirteen manuscripts have the ex-dono of Bernard, Adelelm's predecessor, and Adelelm; both were executors of the will of Charles the Bald. See CONTRENI, *The Cathedral School*, who has also identified Adalelm's script, pp.36-40, 100, 139-140, 152-164.

<sup>39</sup> On Adelelm's hymnary, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 455, see CONTRENI, *The Cathedral School*, pp.160-161, 169; on Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 107, listing *Adalo* and singers, see *id.*, pp.146-147, 162-163.

<sup>40</sup> The Formulary was finished by 892, see CONTRENI, *The Cathedral School*, pp.47, 74-75, 152-153, also *idem*, *Le formulaire de Laon. Source pour l'histoire de l'école de Laon au début du Xe siècle*, in: *Scriptorium*, 27, 1973, pp.21-29. On the manuscript, see P. GASNAULT, Un document comptable du IXe siècle provenant sans doute de Saint-Bavon de Gand, in: *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, séance du 25 novembre 1970*, pp.310-318 (esp. p. 313).

<sup>41</sup> See M. HUGLO, Les origines de l'organum vocal en France et en Italie d'après les données de l'ethnomusicologie et d'après les sources historiques, in: *Le polifonie primitiva in Friuli in Europa*, C. CORSI and P. PETROBELLI (eds.), Rome, 1989. *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 4, pp.355-365, especially p.360 on Jean Scot's 'organicum melos' and p.357 on Hucbald. Cf CONTRENI, *The Cathedral School*, ch. 7 on John Scot.

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Benedictine rule, installed a regular abbot, and ensured financial stability. Count Arnulf I as lay abbot of St Peter's also began to reform and restore that abbey by July 941, replacing the canons with Benedictine monks, restoring property which he had usurped and appointing Gérard de Brogne as regular abbot (Gérard served until 953 and died in 957).<sup>44</sup>

Gérard de Brogne's reforms are important for the history of chant on the Continent, because some elements, such as the use of Roman ritual *more canonicorum* and not *secundum regulam* [of St Benedict] for the *triduum sacrum*,<sup>45</sup> may have found their way into the *Regularis concordia*. The most likely transmitter would have been the great Anglo-Saxon reformer, St Dunstan, who was exiled at St Peter's in Ghent in 956-957 under abbot Womar (953/4-980), that is, just after Gérard's reforms.<sup>46</sup> St Dunstan (d.988), monk and abbot of Glastonbury, also learned about reforms at Fleury, which had adopted the Cluniac customary in 930. On returning to England, he became bishop of Worcester in 957 and of London in 958, later archbishop of Canterbury (960-988). His pupil Aethelwold, in Abingdon with monks from Glastonbury, sent a monk to Fleury and had monks from Corbie come to teach the rules of psalmody and chant. While Aethelwold was bishop of Winchester (from 963 to 984), a synod held in 960 with monks present from Ghent and Fleury formulated the *Regularis concordia*. In its introduction, the practices of Ghent and of Fleury are

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<sup>42</sup> CONTRENI, *The Cathedral School*, pp.137-138; A. AUDA, *Étienne de Liège. L'école musicale liégeoise du Xe siècle*, Brussels, 1923.

<sup>43</sup> On Hucbald, see CONTRENI, *The Cathedral School*, pp.42,135,142; On Heiric and Laon, see *ibid.* pp.72,77,145,151.

<sup>44</sup> For extensive bibliography on St Peter's abbey and the reforms of Gérard de Brogne, see *Monasticon belge* 7:1, p.\*84; on the reforms, see especially, A. DIERKENS, *Abbayes et chapêtres entre Sambre et Meuse (VIIe - XIe siècles)*, Beihefte der Francia, 14, Sigmaringen, 1985, pp.232-247, also D. MISONNE, Gérard de Brogne, in : *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 20, 1984, pp.727-730.

<sup>45</sup> See J. SEMMLER, Das Erbe der karolingischen Klosterreform im 10. Jahrhundert, in : *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, R. KOTTJE and H. MAURER (eds.), Sigmaringen, 1989, pp.59-63. The Council of Aachen of 816 prescribed the Benedictine cursus for all monks, but asked them to celebrate the *triduum sacrum iuxta ritum Romanae ecclesiae more canonicorum* and then Easter Sunday *secundum regulam*.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. D. HILEY, What St Dunstan Heard the Angels Sing: Notes on a Pre-Conquest Historia, in : *Laborare fratres in unum. Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, J. SZENDREI and D. HILEY (eds.), Spolia Berolinensia, 7, Hildesheim, 1995, pp.105-115.

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considered models.<sup>47</sup> These events may explain the presence of traces of Ghent abbey ritual in English manuscripts, such as an unidentified collect for Wulmar, a saint whose relic was brought from Boulogne to St Peter's Abbey under Gérard de Brogne. The collect is found in a secular breviary of Bath diocese, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat.liturg.C36.<sup>48</sup>

Other Ghent reforms may have been brought to the Dutch abbey of Egmond. Count Dirk II founded this Benedictine abbey around 950, bringing the first monks from St Bavo's in Ghent.<sup>49</sup> Two Ghent monks served as abbots of Egmond in the twelfth century: Walter (1129-1161) and Lambert (1180-1182). In 1130, the bishop of Utrecht had requested a monk from St Peter's to come to set matters in order at Egmond and at this time the library was increased and the Cluny *ordo* adopted.<sup>50</sup> The *ordo* of Cluny had been introduced at St Peter's on

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<sup>47</sup> Michel Huglo argues that the early tenth-century model for the Winchester Tropers was influenced by an archaic Corbie-St Denis group source, but that it is impossible to tell whether Corbie or St Denis was the closest model. (See M. HUGLO, Remarks on the Alleluia and Responsory Series in the Winchester Troper, *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, S. RANKIN and D. HILEY (eds.), Oxford, 1993, pp.47-58.) Also see M. HUGLO, Centres de composition des tropes et cercles de diffusion, in : *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, C. LEONARDI and E. MENESTO (eds.), Spoleto, 1990, pp.139-144. On the *Regularis concordia*, see T. SYMONS, *Regularis concordia: History and Derivation*, in : *Tenth Century Studies*, D. PARSONS (ed.), London and Chichester, 1975, pp.37-59; D. KNOWLES, *The Monastic Order in England. A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216*, Cambridge, 1950, pp.31-56; R. McKITTEK, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751-987*, London, 1983, p.252-254,285; and S. ROPER, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy*, New York, 1993, pp.26-29.

<sup>48</sup> See D. CHADD, An English Noted Breviary of c.1200, in : *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy. Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, S. RANKIN and D. HILEY (eds.), Oxford, 1993, pp.223-224: O.s.d.q. beato Wlmaro confessori tuo atque abbati eterne beatitudinis gloriam contulisti; da quesumus ut cuius sollempnia celebramus, eius meritis et precibus adiuuemur. On the translation, see N. HUYGHEBAERT, *Une translation de reliques à Gand en 944: Le Sermo de Adventu Sanctorum Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni in Blandinium*, Brussels, 1978, and, for a critical reexamination of the evidence, R.C. VAN CAENEGEM, The Sources of Flemish History in the *Liber Floridus*, in : *R.C. Van Caenegem. Law, History, the Low Countries and Europe*, L. MILIS et al. (eds.), London, 1994, p. 71-95, especially p. 82-87. St Bavo is mentioned in the text of an English poem: see F.J.E. RABY, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginning to the Close of the Middle Ages*, 2, Oxford, 1957, pp.128-130.

<sup>49</sup> See J. HOF, *De abdij van Egmond van de aanvang tot 1573*, Hollandse studiën, 5, The Hague-Haarlem, 1973, especially pp.215-222 on manuscripts of ritual.

<sup>50</sup> See G. DECLERCQ, Van 'renovatio ordinis' tot 'traditio romana'. De abdij van Egmond en de Vlaamse kloosterhervorming van de 12de eeuw', *Egmond tussen Kerk en wereld*, G.N.M. VIS (ed.), Hilversum, 1993, pp.163-181, especially p.175, note 45.

31 January 1117 by the local abbot Arnulf, the abbot of St Bertin and Bauduin VII, Count of Flanders; at that time, twelve monks were sent from St Bertin to Ghent.<sup>51</sup> Certainly, there are traces of saints venerated at the Ghent abbeys in manuscripts from Egmond and in other Dutch sources.<sup>52</sup> Also, the mostly later manuscripts from Ghent may include items of ritual from French abbeys visited by monks from St Peter's, such as Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Ouen in Rouen and Mont-Saint-Michel, but the manuscripts still need to be analyzed thoroughly.<sup>53</sup>

## Historiae

From the tenth to the twelfth century, the two abbeys of Ghent became enmeshed in a bitter struggle for dominance in which they sought to substantiate their antiquity and acquire precious and important relics. As a result, both abbeys experienced an unprecedented flowering of literary activity, including the falsification of charters and fabrication of saints' lives and miracles. New saints' devotions filled the abbeys' calendars as a result and music had to be composed for them.

The saints' offices almost certainly from the Ghent abbeys or commissioned by them are for those saints whose cults originated there - Sts Bavo, Livinus, Landoaldus, Landrada, Amalberga and Pharaïlde. Full texts survive for all of

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<sup>51</sup> D. CHADD, Abstract, in : *Programmheft: 39. Wolfenbütteler Symposion: Die Erschliessung der Quellen des mittelalterlichen liturgischen Gesangs, 25-29 March 1996*, notes that British Library, MS Add. 29253, a fourteenth-century breviary [from St Peter] and Harvard, Houghton Library, MS lat. 267 [from St Bavo] give evidence of the imposition of the Cluny *ordo*, except for the respond *Docebo te que ventura sunt* (CAO 6482), which is found in a Norman book from Bonne Nouvelle Saint-Ouen. On Cluniac reforms in Northern France and the Low Countries, see DECLERCQ, Van 'renovatio ordinis', pp.169-177 (with bibliography cited); E. SABBE, La réforme clunisienne dans la Flandre au début du XIIe siècle, in : *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 9, 1930, pp.121-138, and HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, Rome, 1960, v.5, p.10 and *passim*, where the Cluniac content of British Library, MS Add. 29253, from St Peter's Abbey<sub>52</sub> (14th c.) is identified.

Sts Ansbertus, Wulframnus, Gudualus, Amalberga and Wandregisilus are represented in the *ordo* of Egmond, and a calendar from the Benedictine convent of St Stephen in Oudwijk includes Sts Ansbertus, Gudualus and Amalberga. See A.M. ZIJLSTRA, Egmond Revisited. Swiss Elements in Dutch Chant Manuscripts, in : *Tijdschrift van de koninklijke vereniging voor Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis*, 45:1 (1995)<sub>53</sub>, pp.3-17.

Bruno Bouckaert is preparing an index of Ghent, University Library, MS 14, a 15th-century antiphoner from St Bavo's, for the project CANTUS, based at the Catholic University of America.

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these offices and complete chants for most of them.<sup>54</sup> Georges Declercq has located a text showing that Remigius of Mettlach was asked, surprisingly, by Stephen and his companion from St Peter's Abbey to compose the Matins chant for an office of St Bavo.<sup>55</sup>

Offices for St Amalberga (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5606) and for Sts Landoaldus and Livinus (Ghent, University Library, MS 488) in Lorraine neumes survive in their oldest manuscript sources as separate gatherings within

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<sup>54</sup> The fascinating history of the Ghent relics is told in O. HOLDER-EGGER, *Zu den Heiligengeschichten des Genter St. Bavoklosters*, in: *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet*, Hannover, 1886, pp.623-665. The texts of the office of St Bavo are edited in L. DE KESEL, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het St. Baafsofficie*, in: *Collationes Gandavenses*, 22, 1935, pp.29-47; the texts of the offices of Sts Landoaldus and Livinus (as found in Ghent, University Library, MS 488) are edited in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum in bibliothecis publicis Namurci, Gandae, Leodii et Montibus asservatorum*, *Subsidia hagiographica*, 25, Brussels, 1948, pp.162-167. Other edited office texts include: *Laudate, pueri, puerum* (St Livinus), in: *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 55 v., C. BLUME and G.M. DREVES (eds.), Leipzig, 1886-1922 (hereafter AH), 26, pp.253-256; *Levine martyr nos preclare* (St Livinus), AH 28, pp.307; *Proles Landrada procerum* (9 lessons only) (St Landrada), AH 18, pp.108-110; *Virgo clemens et benigna* (St Pharaïlde), AH 13, pp.215-217. Noted offices of Sts Landoaldus and Livinus are in Ghent, University Library, MS 488, ff.86r-93r; a noted office of St Amalberga is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5606, pp.158-172. A noted office of St Bavo survives in Ghent, University Library, MS 15, vol. 2, ff.267v-279v. Music for the office of St Pharaïlde does not survive in Ghent manuscripts, but I have not yet checked elsewhere. On the cult of St Livinus and the presence of chant from his office in Mattheus Pipelare's *Missa Sancti Livini*, see J. BLOXAM, In praise of spurious saints, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 44, 1991, pp.163-220, who discusses reforms made to the offices of Ghent saints after Trent on p.213.

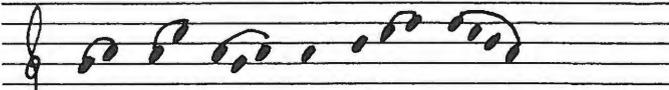
<sup>55</sup> The passage: 'Quidam [Remigius of Mettlach, a renowned teacher] itaque ex illis [of his pupils, the monks] sunt promoti, alii abbates sunt effecti. Fecit siquidem de proprio patrono Liutwino sermonem ad eiusdem patris legendum annuam festivitatem. Rogatus insuper a Stephano et eius socio, Blandiniensibus monachis, de sancto Bavone cantum composuit nocturnalem, quem illi ad propria reportabant gaudentes omni thesauro cariorem. Iussu etiam Eckberti episcopi de confessoribus Christi Euchario, Valerio, Materno dulci modulatione composuit historiam, cui de euangelio: *Designavit Dominus in illo die*, legendam annexit omeliam. Illi autem Remigio abbati Ottho imperator camenam misit gracilis avene munus ob suavitatem musice artis in illo iam probate'. ('Ex Miraculis S. Liutwini Auct. Monacho Mediolacensi', *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, Scriptores*, H.V. SAUERLAND (ed.), 15:2, p.1266, from Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 2002, ff.179r-190r, before 1095.) P. WAGNER, *Einführung in die gregorianische Melodien*, v. 1, Leipzig, 1895, p.314 incorrectly associates a Remigius of Milan with this passage. Suffrages with prose antiphons for Sts Eucharius, Valerius and Maternus, bishops of Trier are found in Cologne, Historisches Archiv, MS W 28, but no offices for these individuals possibly by Remigius have been identified (cf A. HUGHES, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, Toronto, 1994, who thinks the office for St Maternus edited in AH 28:21 is unlikely to be by Remigius.)

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compilations of saints' lives, evidence that such musical compositions were regarded even then as *historiae*. All of these offices can only be dated approximately at present; they must date from after the translations of the saints' relics, whose chronology is given in Table Three.

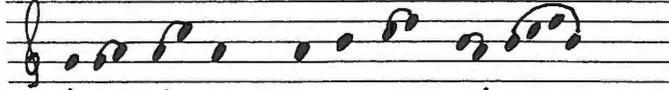
Characteristics of the music and poetry can suggest relative dates. With the exception of the office of St Pharaïlde, all of the Ghent offices followed the monastic cursus originally, having six antiphons and twelve lessons and responsories for Matins.<sup>56</sup> In offices reflecting an original state, successive chants have often been composed to musical formulas in numerical order. There were eight possible formulas, known then as *toni*; today, more often than not, as *modi*. That the Matins antiphons of the office of St Landoaldus follow the modes 1-8 then 1-4 argues that this office is in its original state. That the responsories are not in order after modes 1-6, returning to 1, 7-8, 1, 3 and 1, does not argue against this conclusion, since numerical order of mode among responsories was generally less strict.<sup>57</sup> In the St Landoaldus office, all responsories but numbers 8, 11 and 12 use standard musical formulas associated with responsory verses, an indication that this office is musically conservative and perhaps older. Striking are also the identical intonations of the first three chants of the office:

### First Vespers, Magnificat Antiphon



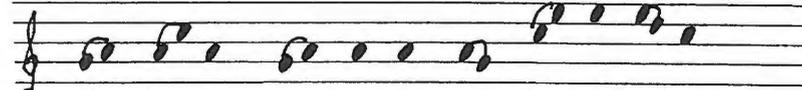
8 Rex re-gum et de-us . . .

### Matins, Invitatory



8 lubi-lemus una-nimes . . .

### Matins, Antiphon 1



8 Regnante Chris-to et Christianum . . .

### Example One

*Antiphons, Office of St Landoaldus, Ghent, University Library, MS 488, ff.86r-88v*

<sup>56</sup>

See the table in HARPER, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, pp.93-97.

<sup>57</sup>

See A. HUGHES, *Modal Order and Disorder*, in: *Musica Disciplina*, 37, 1983,

pp.29-51.

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the Vespers Magnificat antiphon, the invitatory antiphon and the first antiphon of the first nocturn, perhaps an indication that the office had to be created quickly, just like the Vita. If that was indeed the case, the office of St Landoaldus might be dated between 980 and 983 (see Table Three and Example One).

Well-known melodic formulae were taken over in other chants as intonations, but special features of the St Landoaldus office include chants exceeding the normal range for their *tonus*, repeated segments of melody, and infrequent melismas (short untexted melodic formulas) - those ending final responsories are relatively short. Many texts in the office for St Landoaldus are in hexameters; some are rhymed.

Considerably different is the office for St Livinus. It includes newly-composed responsory verses and its melodies are far more active, with many skips and spanning a wider range. This office surely originated in Ghent, but soon became known in other parts of Europe. An office in fifteenth-century Gothic notation following the secular *cursus*, that is, with nine antiphons, lessons and responsories for Matins, and in the Eastern European chant dialect, is part of a manuscript compilation that once belonged to the regular canons in Rudnicz but is now in the Prague University Library: MS III D 16 (ff.347r-352r).<sup>58</sup>

The texts of the mass for St Livinus were even printed in the *Missale Quinqueecclesiense* for PJs, Hungary (Venice, 1499), Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtára, RMK III 52 Inc 990 (ff.220r-v). The rubric preceding the mass relates that Nicolaus Henrici, bishop of Pécs (d.before 25 July 1360), brought relics of St Livinus along with the *historia* and mass to that city in 1351, perhaps to his own church of St Peter's.<sup>59</sup>

The offices of Sts Landrada and Pharaïlde are more recent than the others. Their most noticeable late characteristic is their rigorous adherence to metrical patterns.

<sup>58</sup>

I came across this office in Prague only a few days after the paper was presented on which this article is based. I am most grateful to Jana Novotná for making it possible for me to study a microfilm of the manuscript while the library was closed for repair and for providing photographs of the office. The manuscript is no. 28 in V. PLOCEK, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur*, 1, Prague, 1973, p.91. F.346v has the text of a collect for St Livinus.

<sup>59</sup> This was discovered by Janka Szendrei. The texts have the rubric: 'Anno Domini 1351 sunt portate huc ad quinque ecclesias reliquie beati Livini episcopi et martyris per venerabilem dominum Nicolaum episcopum Quinqueecclesiensis una cum hystoria et legenda cum missa completa de Flandria de civitate que vocatur Gandavum, vel vulgariter que dicitur Genth, et requiescit ibi in monasterio beati Bononis [sic; = Bavonis]: in abbatia sancti Benedicti. Cuius festum colitur in crastino sancti Martini episcopi et confessoris'. On 'Nicolaum episcopum', see GAMS, *Series episcoporum*, p.376.



Photo One

Prague, University Library, MS III D 16, f. 347v

End of Vespers and Matins, beginning with Antiphon 1: *Floruit egregius infans Livinus*

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Some antiphons and responsories from these Ghent offices were also sung during processions, at least at St Bavo's, but no other newly-composed processional chant has been identified.<sup>60</sup> The texts and chant for the masses held in honor of these local saints were not new, but borrowed from the *commune sanctorum*.<sup>61</sup>

### Later Chant

Of later date than most of the offices are hymns, sequences and alleluia verses for the same saints, listed in Table Four (some may not have originated in Ghent).

Some hymns derive their texts from other hymns. For example, a hymn for St Landrada has the text incipit *Pange lingua*; for St Livinus, *Hymnum canamus*. Most common are strophes of four eight-syllable lines. Sequences survive for Sts Livinus, Landrada and Pharaïlde, as do a small number of later medieval alleluia verses, perhaps from Ghent. One is a verse for St Barbara that was sung at St Bavo, where relics of the saint were deposited in 985 (Example Two).<sup>62</sup>

The image shows four staves of Gregorian chant notation. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are: Al-le- lu-ya. The second staff continues: Barba- ra vir- go pi-a splandens or- bis que lu-. The third staff includes two bracketed 'b' symbols above the notes, and the lyrics are: cer-na per tu-a presi-di- a pe- te no- bis regna. The fourth staff ends with a double bar line and the lyrics: su- perna.

### Example Two

*Alleluia Barbara virgo pia*, Ghent, University Library, MS 14, v.2, ff.14v-15r

Nearly all of these compositions appear only in the later sources and further analysis of their chant and of the *vitae* from which their texts were derived will be necessary to determine approximate dates for them. Nevertheless, their patterns of rhyme suggest that they postdate the offices and thus give evidence

<sup>60</sup> See Ghent, University Library, MS 184, with processional chant for Sts Landoaldus, Bavo and Macharius.

<sup>61</sup> The *commune sanctorum* includes chants shared by feasts for similar saints grouped in one part of a manuscript. Cross-references to these items appear elsewhere throughout manuscripts as a way of saving parchment or paper.

<sup>62</sup> The Alleluia and verse *Barbara virgo pia splandens* are in Ghent, University Library, MS 14, v. 2, ff.14v-15r.

of continued creativity at the two abbeys.

Later medieval manuscripts from Ghent show the increasing importance of votive services and commemorations and particularly of the office of the dead. St Bavo and St Peter shared a series of Matins responsories for the latter from Cluny and used in those French Benedictine monasteries which had introduced Cluniac reforms.<sup>63</sup> Full cycles of votive masses, none of which are for patron saints, are in the graduals of St Bavo and St James,<sup>64</sup> and Marian antiphons appear in the manuscripts as well, although the antiphoners from St Bavo give only three, omitting *Ave regina celorum*.<sup>65</sup> The antiphoners include a special commemoration for St Bavo to be sung during Advent, consisting of an antiphon for the saint and the Marian *prosa Inviolata, integra et casta es*.<sup>66</sup>

Of great interest are the complete kyriales surviving from the abbey of St Bavo and the parish church of St James.<sup>67</sup> These contain the chant for the Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, but here not *Ite missa est*) appropriate for solemnities of different rank and include many melodies not found elsewhere, perhaps because they are more complete than other kyriales, even assigning Ordinary cycles to the lowest-ranking feasts of three lessons. The kyriale of St Bavo in Ghent, University Library, MS 14, v.1-2, is unique in giving evidence of the rhythmicized and harmonized performance of selected Glorias and Credos. A two-part Gloria setting (v.2, f.153v-155r) assigns the chant to the upper voice and adds a lower contratenor in parallel motion except at cadences [Photo 2]. It is followed by a rhythmicized Credo with indications for performance

<sup>63</sup> Cf. OTTOSEN, *The Responsories*, pp.148-151 and his discussion, pp.285-289. The series is 1. *Credo quod*, 2. *Qui lazarum*, 3. *Domine, quando veneris*, 4. *Subvenite*, 5. *Heu mihi*, 6. *Ne recorderis*, 7. *Peccante me*, 8. *Domine, secundum actum*, 9. *Memento mei, Deus*. Ottosen discusses an office of the dead with an entirely different responsory series in manuscripts 'from St. Bavon' on pp.162, 295, 311, but the precise provenance of the five manuscripts he cites, all now in France, in my opinion is not known. St Bavo's cult extended beyond Ghent and far-removed churches were dedicated to him, and I have not yet seen Ottosen's manuscripts in person. His study did not incorporate any of the manuscripts presently in Ghent.

<sup>64</sup> The gradual of St James is called an antiphoner (=antiphonale missarum) in F. VERSTRAETEN, *Sint-Jacobskerk Gent, Inventaris van het kunstpatrimonium*, Ghent, 1973, p.153, no.646. Verstraeten also lists printed books of ritual from the sixteenth to eighteenth century, most following the use of Rome, but some of the diocese of Ghent.

<sup>65</sup> Ghent, University Library, MS 15, v.1, ff.349v ff. includes the *Alma, Salve*, and *Regina celi*; v.2., ff.332r ff. includes only the *Alma* and *Salve*.

<sup>66</sup> Ghent, University Library, MS 15, v.2, f.19v.

<sup>67</sup> A full discussion of the kyriales will appear in a separate study. The St James kyriale is in Ghent, St James', MS s.s., ff.197v-212r; the St Bavo kyriale is in Ghent, University Library, MS 14, v.1, ff.262v-277v, and in v.2, on ff.145r-159v (incomplete, lacking the Agnus Dei's).

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by a *chorus* and *organum* in alternation. Both share the rubric *De sanctis huius loci*. A different Credo setting (v.1, f.271v-274v), under the rubric *In vigilia nativitatibus domini, pasche et penthecostis*, is in four parts and is among the earliest surviving examples from the Low Countries of *falsobordone*: motion is largely parallel, with root position chords and repeated harmonic progressions [Photo 3].<sup>68</sup>

Also rhythmicized is the *Te Deum* added later to the main corpus of a contemporaneous antiphoner from St Bavo, Ghent, University Library, MS 15, v.1, on f.351r. The polyphonic Credo does show that harmonized singing was cultivated at St Bavo by 1500. That theory treatises known in the northern Low Countries and concerned with discant as well as chant were copied at St Bavo in 1504 precisely is further evidence of a new or possibly renewed interest in polyphony around the turn of the century.<sup>69</sup>

Rubrics in the St Bavo kyriale indicate that the polyphonic Credo was also to be performed by a *chorus* alternating with *organum*, perhaps singers and organist or intoners and the rest of the choir. Documents from Ghent do give evidence of scribes' fascination with longer chants, which were often performed by alternating performing forces. Named in most entries in the obituary of the parish church of St John are the invitatory antiphon *Circumdederunt* or its psalm *Venite exultemus*. The tract of the *Requiem* mass, *Sicut cervus*, is also named. It was sung by the choir, but the verses by four soloists. We do not know precisely how the antiphon *Clementissime* - also named frequently in the archives - was performed during

<sup>68</sup> The polyphonic Credo and Ghent, University Library, MS 14 are discussed in BLOXAM, *A Survey*, p.27; that the polyphony surrounding the Credo melody (Ghent, University Library, MS 14, v.1, ff.271v-274v) was added to the plainchant, which was copied c.1469, is evident not only from the style of the music, but also from the slightly different colors of ink used for chant and polyphony. On Credo settings in mensural notation, see A. GASTOUI, Comment on chantait le 'credo' en certaines églises, au XVe siècle, in: *Revue du chant grégorien*, 36, 1932, pp.48-49; T. MIAZGA, *Die Melodien des einstimmigen Credo der römischen-katholischen lateinischen Kirche*, Graz, 1976; R. SHERR, The performance of chant in the Renaissance and its interactions with polyphony, in: *Plain-song in the Age of Polyphony*, Cambridge, 1992, ed. Th. F. KELLY, pp.183-208. On *falsobordone* in manuscripts from Cambrai Cathedral, see C. WRIGHT, Performance Practices at the Cathedral of Cambrai 1475-1550, in: *The Musical Quarterly*, 64, 1978, pp.295-328.

<sup>69</sup> Ghent, University Library, MS 70 was copied in Ghent and became part of the library of Raphael de Marcatellis. See f.206r: 'Explicitus est liber Scriptus Gandavi per me M. Anthonium de aggere sancti martini 1504'. On the manuscript, see A. DEROLEZ, *The library of Raphael de Marcatellis, Abbot of St. Bavo's, Ghent, 1437-1508*, Ghent, 1979, pp.7-25, and especially pp.227-234. Also see Egidius Carlerius and Johannes Tinctoris, *On the Dignity and the Effects of Music*, trans. J. D. CULLINGTON, intro R. STROHM, King's College London Institute of Advanced Musical Studies Study Texts, No. 2, London, 1996. Daniël Lievois has identified the Jacobus Carlier named in the Tinctoris treatise as a *zangmeester* at the Church of Our Lady in Bruges in the 1450s.



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the procession to the grave after the Requiem, but it is long enough that alternatim performance would have been feasible if not desirable.<sup>70</sup> Other polyphony alternating with chant survives in a *vesperale* from the leper house in Ghent called Rijke Gasthuis.<sup>71</sup> The procession on Christmas Eve began with the plainchant responsory *Sanctificamini filii Israel* and antiphon *Bethleem non es minima*, with a doxology in two-part polyphony. Next, the plainchant responsory *Hodie et illuxit nobis* was followed by a three-part verse in two-part polyphony (notated consecutively) [Photo 4].

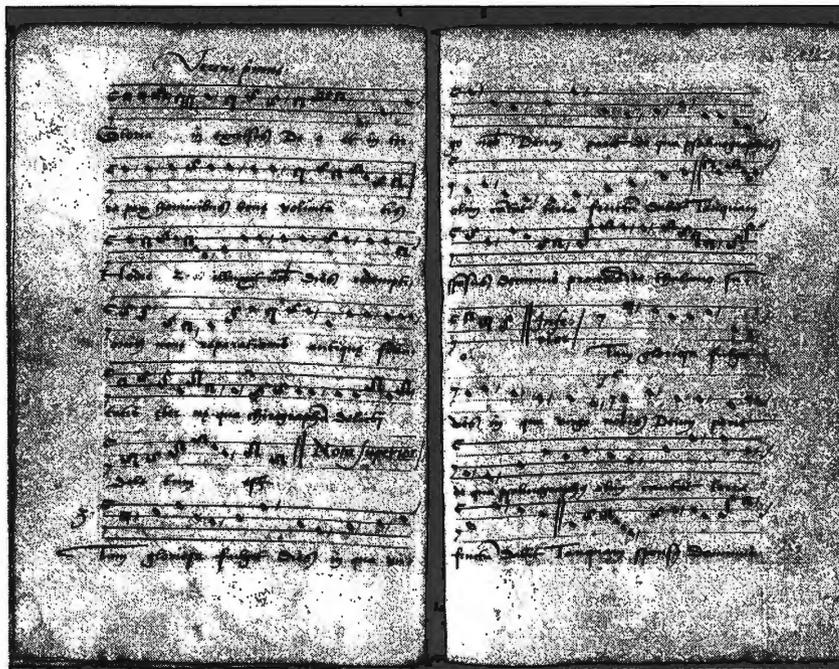


Photo Four

Brussels, Royal Library, MS 4826, f.89v-90r

Two-part Verse: *Tam gloriosa fulgit dies ... Tanquam sponsus*

<sup>70</sup> Ghent, University Library, MS 116, from 1302 with later additions, is edited in N. DE PAUW, *Obituarium Sancti Johannis: Nécrologe de l'église St-Jean (St-Bavon) à Gand, du XIIIe au XVIe siècle*, Brussels, 1889.

<sup>71</sup> See J. DECAVELE, *Lépreux ou Rijke Gasthuis, à Gand*, in : *Monasticon belge, 7: Province de Flandre Orientale*, Liège, 1977, pp.179-193.

After the Lauds antiphons, with the rubric *De Domina antiphona*, there followed a monophonic hymn with the rubric *Rhythmus, Magnum nomen domini Emanuel* (in triple meter and white mensural notation) and a two-voice hymn *Dies est letitie*, both well-known in the Low Countries, especially among communities of the Modern Devotion.<sup>72</sup> In Ghent, alternating performing forces seem to have fascinated scribes, listeners, composers and performers.

Contrasting with the so-called 'simple' polyphony, which we know was sung in Ghent, is the more complex originally French repertory copied into manuscripts now in Ghent, but probably brought with students from Paris.<sup>73</sup> These manuscript fragments bound books belonging to the women of Groenenbriel (Augustinian) and of Ter Haeghen (Cistercian). Finally, an early sixteenth-century fragment of unidentified provenance but now in Ghent contains the beginning of the Kyrie of Petrus de la Rue's *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria*. In 1509, de la Rue received a prebend at the collegiate church of St Pharaïlde with the support of Margaret of Austria, so the fragment may reflect this composer's association with Ghent.<sup>74</sup>

There is no polyphony or evidence for it in the kyriale from the parish church of St James, but unusually detailed instructions for bellringing, so essential in Flemish worship, do survive in the archives of that church and complement the kyriale (similar instructions survive from St Pharaïlde).<sup>75</sup> Only insignificant

<sup>72</sup> See R. RASCH, *De cantiones natalitiae en het kerkelijke muziekleven in de zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Koedijk, 1985, especially pp.6-10. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 4826, ff.88v-94r, discovered by and discussed in BLOXAM, *A Survey*, p.30, n.19. *Magnum nomen domini Emmanuel* is listed in U. CHEVALIER, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, 6 vols., Louvain and Brussels, 1892-1920, as no.11024.

<sup>73</sup> See R. STROHM, *The Ars Nova Fragments of Ghent*, in: *Tijdschrift van de vereniging voor Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis*, 34, 1984, pp.109-131, and further discussion in *id.*, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* Cambridge, 1993, pp.68,74-75,101. Facsimiles of the fragments are published in *An Anthology of Music Fragments from the Low Countries (Middle Ages - Renaissance)*, E. SCHREURS (ed.), Peer, 1995, pp.16-21.

<sup>74</sup> Ghent, Rijksarchief, Varia D 3360 B (facsimile in *An Anthology*, p.80). On de la Rue in Ghent, see J. ROBIJNS, *Pierre de la Rue (circa 1460-1518), een bibliographische studie*, Brussels, 1954, pp.27-28, and H. MECONI, *Free from the Crime of Venus: The Biography of Pierre De la Rue*, in: *Actas del XV congreso de la Sociedad internacional de musicologia "Culturas musicales del mediterraneo y sus ramificaciones"*, Madrid/3-10/IV/1992, *Revista de Musicologia*, 16:3, 1993, in press.

<sup>75</sup> Ghent, Archives of the Church of St James, MS 1232, ff.83v-84v, ordinances of 3 and 10 October 1429. Also see Ghent, Rijksarchief, St Pharaïlde, S 234, ff.102r-104v, an eighteenth-century copy: 'Reglement voor de klokluyders van Ste Pharaïldis tot Ste Nicolaes van elken dag wat zij moeten luyden, ende met wat klok, voor de mettenen, vespers, hoogmisse, diensten van het Capittel, getrokken uyt een zeer Oud boekken gegeven door d'heeren Pastor ende kerkmeesters aen de luyders, om hun daer naer te reguleren'.

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chant fragments remain from the other parish churches, so archives will have to be used to reconstruct what happened there.

The manuscripts from Ghent give some evidence for the transmission of music. Traces of the rites of the abbeys are found in books from the secular churches. Such cross-contamination is especially apparent in the few surviving manuscripts from the collegiate church of St Pharaïlde, first mentioned in 1073, but originally the castle chapel of the counts of Flanders. Its ordinal of c. 1400 includes material for Sts Macharius, Landoaldus, Amalberga, Bavo, and Livinus, the saints of both abbeys.<sup>76</sup> Its patron, St Pharaïlde, is represented in some books from the two abbeys. She appears in a thirteenth-century litany of a St Bavo book, but not in the thirteenth-century missal from St Peter (indeed in the breviary of 1393). St Pharaïlde is also represented in the gradual from St James, along with saints known especially in Tournai, but, curiously, all of the saints from the two Ghent abbeys were left out. Yet the post-Pentecostal alleluia verses of St James are very similar to and appear to be derived from those of the two abbeys (see Table Two above).

The remaining manuscripts of ecclesiastical ritual from Ghent were used by the multitude of religious orders and communities that chose to settle in and around the city. Among these books are two with hymns. The antiphoner of the Cistercian abbey of Oost-Eeklo contains a complete cycle of fully-notated (and well-known) hymns. A seventeenth-century fragment from an Augustinian house includes music incipits of hymns introduced and sung by that order in particular.<sup>77</sup>

The manuscripts from Ghent described above and most others listed in Table One reflect the rituals of regular or secular communities, but one surviving manuscript was prepared for a specific chapel foundation. This is a missal copied in 1483 for the chapel of Sts Vinciana and Landrada in St Bavo's, which was founded by abbot Guillaume II of Bossuut (d. 1460). The missal includes only the readings for the mass and gives no music incipits, but covers all Sundays and main festivals of the church year and has a supplement with full masses for the Marian feasts and feast of the relics of St Bavo's and many votive masses. The

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<sup>76</sup> Ghent, University Library, MS 567, pp.137-323.

<sup>77</sup> Ghent, Rijkarchief, Augustijnen, reeks 44, no.60. The hymns are *Nunc sancte nobis*, *Rector potens verax* (both ferial), *Largire clarum vespere* (St Augustine), *Dive celestis patrie* (St John of St Facondo = Juan de Sahagún), *Ite matris ossa* (Translation of St Monica), *Te ferant lingue* (St Monica), *Presulum sidus rutilansque* (St Simplicianus), *Te canunt omnes Nicolae* (St Nicolas of Tolentino), *In cola abrupte* (St Guillaume), *Christe sanctorum decus* (St Gabriel), *Dum predo hesperias* (St Augustine), *Urbs alma summo iudice* (St Nicolas of Tolentino), *Magister orbis maxime* (St Augustine). All of these hymns are listed in CHEVALIER, *Repertorium hymnologicum*.

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litany of the mass for the dead lists St Pharaïlde as well as the saints of St Bavo but no saints of St Peter's abbey.<sup>78</sup>

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Different in nature and number are the sources from London, of which only those at the British Library and some at the Bodleian Library have been studied in detail thus far. Whereas there is abundant evidence for local composition and for rituals changing from church to church in Ghent, London and indeed most of England sang more or less the same chant, certainly by the fifteenth century. This was the chant of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury which gradually replaced other local rites between the thirteenth century and the Reformation. Unique to the Sarum rite were its chant for the Ordinary of the mass and a number of festive processions held before Mass and at Evensong.

The ecclesiastical history of London also has little in common with that of Ghent. London's earliest foundation became a Cathedral, it had only one prominent abbey and its nearly 100 parish churches outnumbered those in Ghent by far. Also unlike Ghent, London was a diocesan see early on. When Pope Gregory I sent Augustine to England in 597, he sought to establish London to serve as a diocesan see, and as a result, in the seventh century, Ethelbert, King of Kent, founded what would later become St Paul's Cathedral. In the next centuries, London suffered more than did Ghent from Norman and Viking invasions. Its only important Benedictine abbey, the new abbey of Westminster, was founded in 1065 when Edward the Confessor appointed Eadwine as its first abbot, although an earlier abbey had existed since the eighth century; the present edifice was begun in the thirteenth century. London also had its hospitals and convents.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup>

London, British Library, MS Add. 17440, copied in 1483. See the note on f.2r: 'Desen mesboec behoert te sinte baefs ten nieuwen autare onder de orghelen die her willem van bossuut abdt dede maken ende fondeerde oft ordineerde eewelijc en erfelijc een daghelijcse messe ter eeren van den santen daer af vanden lichame hier int tclooster rustende sijn'. A similar manuscript is Tournai, Diocesan Seminary, MS 23, a missal prepared in the fourteenth century for a member of the Amman family, but the location where it was used has not yet been determined. On Guillaume de Bossuut, see A. VAN LOKEREN, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bavon et de la crypte de Saint-Jean à Gand*, Gand, 1855, pp.142,150.

<sup>79</sup>

See N. TEMPERLEY et al., London, in : *The New Grove Dictionary*, 11, pp.142-146. A fuller discussion of the history of the plainchant repertory of this city is in preparation. Historical studies of ecclesiastical life in London include T. BAKER, *Medieval London*, London, 1970; *The Church in London, 1375-1392*, A. McHARDY (ed.), London Record Society, 13, London, 1977; C.N.L.BROOKE and G. KEIR, *London, 800-1216, the shaping of a city*, London, 1975, ch. 6; C.M.BARRON, The parish fraternities of Medieval London, in : *The church in pre-Reformation Society*, C.M.BARRON and C. HARPER-BILL (eds.), Woodbridge, 1985; *Parish, Church, and People: local studies in lay religion, 1350-1750*, S.J. Wright (ed.), Hutchinson, 1988; W.K. Jordan, *The Charities of London, 1480-1660*, London, 1960.

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Missals, a book with some offices and a coronation ordo survive from Westminster abbey, where, since William the Conqueror's coronation in 1066, English monarchs have been crowned, married and buried by tradition, as well as numerous book lists from earlier times.<sup>80</sup> Relics of St Botolph were housed at the abbey.<sup>81</sup>

From St Paul's Cathedral we have only psalters and a secular antiphoner fragment with parts of offices of St Vincent and the Conversion of Paul, but manuscript fragments now in Aberdeen, the only London sources to contain organum, give evidence that the church knew Notre Dame polyphony,<sup>82</sup> which is corroborated by references in a book list of 1255 to a book of organum belonging to William de Fauconberg, treasurer of St Paul's, and, in a 1295 list, to three more books of organum belonging to three different individuals.<sup>83</sup> St Paul's used its own unique rite until 1414 when the Sarum rite was introduced, but later local material from the church is found in London, British Library, MS Add. 5810, a compilation with copies made in 1782 from a small book from the time of King Edward IV (d. 1483). That book included a 'Manual for Clergy of the diocese of London' with collects for local saints and a 'Short Manual for St Paul's Cathedral London', with offices for St Erkenwald and Sts Peter and Paul as well as collects for St Wenefrede and the Translation of St Erkenwald.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> See J. A. ROBINSON and M. R. JAMES, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*, Cambridge, 1909, especially chapter 1: On the Making and Keeping of Books in Westminster Abbey, A.D. 1160-1660. A list of sequences sung at Westminster Abbey c. 1375 is published in *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, *Analecta liturgica*, 2:2, E. MISSET and W. WEALE, eds., Lille and Bruges, 1892, pp.176-182. On music at Westminster Abbey, see, most recently, F. KISBY, *The Early Tudor Royal Household Chapel in London, 1485-1547*, diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996, ch.6, and *id.*, Music and Musicians of early Tudor Westminster, in: *Early Music*, 23:2, 1995, pp.223-240.

<sup>81</sup> See J. BERGSAGEL, Liturgical Relations between England and Scandinavia: as seen in Selected Musical Fragments from the 12th and 13th Centuries, in: *Föredrag och diskussionsinlägg från Nordiskt Kollokvium*, 3, Helsinki, 1976, pp.11-26, who discovered chant for St Botolph in the Riksarkiv Stockholm and in London, British Library, MS Add. 34388.

<sup>82</sup> Discussed in G. CHEW, Studies and Reports. A Magnus Liber Organi Fragment at Aberdeen, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31, 1978:2, pp.326-343, especially 340-342. Chew proposes that fragments containing the Magnus Liber and part of an antiphoner once belonged to St Paul's; a facsimile of the antiphoner fragment is in *ibid.*, pp.328-329.

<sup>83</sup> See R. BALTZER, How Long was Notre-Dame Organum Performed?, in: *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. B. GILLINGHAM and P. MERKLEY, Ottawa, 1990, pp.118-143, especially p. 130, and *ead.*, Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found, in: *The Journal of Musicology*, 5, 1987, pp.380-399.

<sup>84</sup> See London, British Library, MS 5810, pp.198-199 (Manual) and pp.200-202 (Short Manual).

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Books survive from more London parishes than Ghent parishes, but mostly kalendars and missals lacking notation. The only completely notated book is the noted breviary from the church of St Mary Axe or from St Andrew's, Undershaft, which follows the Sarum use; the breviary has detailed rubrics and deserves further study. Many of the parish missals include the names of owners, donors, or confraternity members and were most likely prepared for use in private chapels or by chantry priests.

The remaining London manuscripts represent Augustinian, Brigittine, Carmelite, Carthusian and Dominican communities. The strangest of these books in its present form is a Carmelite missal which was reconstructed and rebound in 1951 from thousands of tiny fragments consisting mostly of illuminated initials.<sup>85</sup> The layout of the original manuscript was already unusual, since chant incipits are included only for items of the mass ordinary: the *Ite missa est* and *Benedicamus domino* are especially well represented. It should be possible to reconstruct part of this Carmelite kyriale from these incipits.

### Ghent and London: The Sixteenth Century

The sixteenth century brought turmoil to London and Ghent, but books of ecclesiastical ritual were printed in both cities during this time and do survive.<sup>86</sup> London is represented by portable breviaries known as *portiforia* and by missals following the Sarum use, which were reprinted every five years or so throughout the century. Only a few books were printed in Ghent, all after the iconoclasts passed through. They include a 1572 breviary and *officia propria* of St Bavo, which had become a secular chapter and then a Cathedral in the meanwhile.<sup>87</sup> Editions of a *Liber ecclesiarum Gandavensis* were printed in 1576, 1586 and 1595.

One other undated Ghent imprint merits attention, because it contains chant for two celebrations founded by private benefactors in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Mandatum or footwashing ceremony of Maundy Thursday and the office of the dead, printed together with a special antiphon always requested for funeral processions in Ghent, *Clementissime*. Its title, *Manualis Monast[eri] Blandiniensis. Pars II.<sup>A</sup> in qua continentur Mandatum Novum item Ordo ad sepeliendum defunctos. Item Clementissime, et antiphona ad*

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<sup>85</sup> London, British Library, MSS Add. 29704, 29705, 44892. Cf. M. RICKERT, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, London, 1942, and *ead.*, *Textual synopsis and concordance of numbers of fragments of the reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, London, 1950.

<sup>86</sup> A complete list is available from RELICS (see note 4).

<sup>87</sup> Before 12 May 1559, when Ghent became the see of its own diocese, it belonged to the diocese of Tournai with Bruges and Lille.

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*susceptionem Novitiorum*] reflects exactly the texts of the charters of foundation, which highlight the Mandatum ceremony, the *ordo* for burying the dead and *Clementissime*, two unrelated services that were never found successively in other books of the use of this church. The print also includes antiphons for the ceremony of receiving novices.<sup>88</sup> Apart from the antiphon *Clementissime*, which is infrequently documented in the Low Countries, the rites for the two foundations are not in themselves unusual. The Ghent Mandatum antiphons do not include the 'Caput' melisma, as the untexted notes concluding the antiphon *Venit ad Petrum* have become known in musicological scholarship (this melisma is the plainchant upon which the Ghent composer Jacob Obrecht based his *Missa Caput*.)<sup>89</sup> The presence of the Mandatum not only in records from the two abbeys but also from two parish churches subordinate to St Peter's abbey, St John's and St James, is interesting as is the lack of evidence for the celebration of the Mandatum at St Pharaïlde, a collegiate church largely independent from the abbeys.<sup>90</sup> Its celebration at the parish churches probably reflects the emphasis placed on this devotion by the Benedictine order.<sup>91</sup>

### Conclusions

The 76 manuscripts from Ghent surveyed here constitute one of the most important collections of such sources in the Low Countries, not only because

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<sup>88</sup> Compare the texts describing foundations excerpted in DE PAUW, *Nécrologe* with the print Ghent, University Library, 3096(1), which includes *Clementissime Domine qui pro nostra miseria* on pp.68-73. This chant had a different function as the final versicle after the responsory *Libera me ... de morte* in a ritual of Sens printed in 1500 (OTTOSEN, *The Responsories*, p.305), and is found also in the Lucca antiphoner (*Antiphonaire monastique, XIIe siècle: Codex 601 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Lucques*, PalJographie musicale, 9, Tournai, 1906, p.59). It was requested for many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century obits described in Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte d'Or, G 1167, a sixteenth-century obituary of the Sainte-Chapelle of Dijon. Michel Huglo informs me that *Clementissime* is found in most Cistercian and Dominican rituals, but is indeed rare in the north.

<sup>89</sup> The most recent discussion of the mass is in R. C. WEGMAN, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht*, Oxford, 1994, pp.265-267 and *passim*; also see M. BUKOFZER, *Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study*, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, New York, 1950, pp.217-310. The most recent edition of the mass is in the *New Obrecht Edition*, 2, T. NOBLITT (ed.), Utrecht, 1984. Also see D. LIEVOIS and R. WEGMAN, De componist Jacob Obrecht (c.1457-1505) was inderdaad een Gentenaar, in : *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, 1993, pp.101-125.

<sup>90</sup> The Mandatum antiphons were added at the end of the gradual of St James, Ghent, St James', MS s.s. in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Also see the ordinal of St Pharaïlde from c.1400, Ghent, Rijksarchief, St Veerle 3.

<sup>91</sup> On the history of the Mandatum and the role of the Benedictines, see T. SCHÄFER, *Die Fusswaschung im monastischen Brauchtum und in der lateinischen Liturgie*, Texte und Arbeiten hg. durch die Erzabtei Beuron, 47, Beuron, 1956.

some manuscripts are very early and many include musical notation, but also because the full range of religious establishments and book types are represented. Especially rare and important are the ordinal of St Pharaïlde, which joins a small number of similar books from collegiate churches in the Low Countries,<sup>92</sup> and the gradual with kyriale from the church of St James, which permits an unusual look at a parish church's musical repertory. By contrast, only very few manuscripts of ritual survive from Antwerp and Liège, slightly fewer from Brussels than from Ghent, and only Bruges and Utrecht are well represented. The number of known surviving sources from London is small in comparison to Ghent but does not take into account the vast number of uncatalogued fragments in the Public Record Office and elsewhere in England. Moreover, the uniformity of English ritual brought about by the imposition of the Use of Sarum has surely discouraged the kind of research into local English practices that would lead to the discovery or identification of other London manuscripts.

The types and numbers of sources from Ghent and London reflect changing devotional and intellectual concerns. The earliest sources - the *Breve sancti Bavonis*, the flyleaves from a plenary missal, and the eleventh-century manuscripts with neumes, give evidence of Carolingian and post-Carolingian attempts to order their world and record it in writing. At this time standardized music for mass and office was introduced (cf the *antiphona* in the *Breve*, which reached Ghent before Einhard's lay abbacy) and musical notation developed, which does at first appear often only with selected texts or in margins, as in the Ghent manuscripts. The oldest known 'antiphoner', the gradual of Bland, was not copied in Ghent, however.

In Ghent, most changes and new additions to the basic plainchant repertory introduced by the Carolingians came in the years before 1300, when the abbeys reformed their repertories to suit monastic ideals, first under Gérard de Brogne and then with the imposition of the Cluniac customary. Traces of the Cluniac rite remain in the selection of texts and music for the feasts of the Temporale, the Office of the Dead, and perhaps the series of post-Pentecostal Alleluia verses (which may also date back to the stay of the canons of St Bavo in Laon). Traces of De Brogne's reforms have not been securely identified yet. At the same time, local coloring was given the Ghent repertory when several *historiae* were composed in or for the Ghent abbeys in honor of the saints whose relics were brought (or created) in Ghent. There is no similar evidence for the composition of chant from the other secular and regular communities in Ghent.

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<sup>92</sup> See, for example, *Les ordinaires des collégiales Saint-Pierre à Louvain et Saints-Pierre-et-Paul à Anderlecht d'après les manuscrits du XIVe siècle*, ed. P. LEFÈVRE, Louvain, 1960, and *Liber ordinarius Sancte Marie Traiectensis*, ed. K. VELLEKOOP, Utrecht, 1996.

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In London as in Ghent, small private psalters, missals and breviaries were produced in increasing number after beginning in the late thirteenth century, a reflection of a new emphasis on private devotion. The Ghent manuscripts of this kind reflect the spread of the cults of the saints of the two abbeys to other ecclesiastical establishments.

The large choir antiphoners and graduals from Ghent date from the fifteenth-century and later, by which time *cotidianen* (choirs of professional singers) were founded in the Ghent parishes. A similar emphasis on the daily office and mass is documented in the abbeys. Most interesting is the 'simple' polyphony in the late fifteenth-century St Bavo gradual, which has no counterpart from St Peter's Abbey, but corresponds in its 'simplicity' to the two-part polyphony in the sixteenth-century *Vesperale* from the Rijke Gasthuis. That polyphony circulated in communities influenced by the Modern Devotion.

In Ghent, the fifteenth century represents a period of transition from the abbeys' feted medieval past, when they made the most substantial contributions to the plainchant repertory, to the turbulent present of the sixteenth century, when the new collegiate church of St Bavo and its competitor, the old collegiate of St Pharaïlde stood alongside the churches of neighboring cities in cultivating the composition and performance of the most advanced sacred polyphony. This is reflected not so much by the gradual and processional described above or by the scrap with music by De La Rue in Ghent, but especially in the archives.

The above is only a beginning and much more research remains to be accomplished. A first priority should be the analysis of the musical notation in manuscripts from Ghent. Captioned as Messine, Lorraine or Gothic, none of these adequately describes the nuances unique to each music scribe and perhaps distinctive for the city or region. Another urgent need is the edition of the saints' offices and analysis of the kyriales.

Efforts should also be directed to tracing Ghent practices in English, Dutch and French sources, and identifying outside practices in the ritual of Ghent. Similarly, a polyphonic repertory from Ghent may well survive in manuscripts copied and kept outside of the city.

In this respect, it is worth remembering that often unusual or significant features of individual sources, ranging from Bland to the Mandatum print, are only revealed by the study of contemporaneous archives, which reflect the reality corresponding to the ideal presented in the books. The archives record actual celebrations, detail the activities of performers and scribes, document foundations, list the contents of private and communal libraries and may contain handwriting by manuscript copyists, thereby revealing their identity. Where archives survive, they should be studied alongside the manuscripts; a more comprehensive understanding of music in late medieval cities is sure to result.

## Samenvatting

De 76 handschriften hier opgenomen uit Gent vormen een van de voornaamste verzamelingen in de Lage Landen. Ze zijn belangrijk omdat ze bijzonder vroeg te dateren vallen en omdat vele ervan muzieknnotatie bevatten. Bovendien bieden ze een volledig overzicht van alle types van geestelijke instellingen en van hun boeken. Bijzonder zeldzaam en merkwaardig zijn het ordinale van Sint-Veerle, dat een mooie aanvulling biedt van de beperkte reeks van dergelijke boeken uit de collegiale kerken in de Lage Landen, en het graduale annex kyriale van Sint-Jacobs, dat een uitzonderlijk inzicht biedt in het muziekrepertorium van een parochiekerk. In tegenstelling met Gent bleven er voor Antwerpen en Liège slechts een beperkt aantal liturgische handschriften bewaard en ook voor Brussel zijn er iets minder overgebleven. Enkel Brugge en Utrecht zijn uitstekend vertegenwoordigd. Voor London is het aantal bekende bronnen gering te noemen in vergelijking met Gent. Ze dienen evenwel aangevuld met een aanzienlijke groep niet gecatalogiseerde fragmenten in het Public Record Office en op andere plaatsen in Engeland. Het uniform maken van de Engelse ritus door het verplicht invoeren van deze van Sarum had bovendien tot gevolg dat studies aangaande lokale muzikale praktijken in Engeland ontmoedigd werden. Nochtans zou dit soort van onderzoek het ongetwijfeld mogelijk maken tal van Londense manuscripten aan het licht te brengen of nader te identificeren.

In het voorkomen van de types van bronnen uit Gent en London en in hun aantal worden zekere wijzigingen weerspiegeld in de devotie en in de intellectuele inzichten. De oudste bronnen, namelijk het Breve sancti Bavonis, de losse bladzijden uit een missale plenarium en de elfde-eeuwse handschriften met neumennotatie, illustreren Karolingische en post-Karolingische pogingen om de toenmalige wereld te organiseren en om dit op schrift te stellen. In die tijd werd er de muziek voor mis- en koordiensten gestandaardiseerd (zie bijvoorbeeld de *antiphona* in het Breve, die Gent bereikt hadden vooraleer Einhard er leke-abt werd). Tevens werd er een muzieknnotatie ontwikkeld die voor het eerst te voorschijn treedt bij welbepaalde teksten of in het kantwit, een verschijnsel dat eveneens kan vastgesteld worden in de Gentse manuscripten. In dit verband valt evenwel op te merken dat het oudst bekende antifonarium, het zogenaamde graduale in het handschrift Bland, niet in Gent gekopieerd werd.

Wat Gent betreft kwamen de meeste wijzigingen en nieuwe toevoegingen aan het oorspronkelijk door de Karolingers ingevoerde repertorium van gregoriaans tot stand in de jaren vóór 1300. De abdijen pasten toen hun repertorium aan de monastieke idealen aan, voor het eerst onder Gérard de Brogne en daarna ingevolge het opleggen van de gewoonte van Cluny. De sporen van het ritus van Cluny kunnen gevonden worden in de keuze van teksten en muziek voor de feesten van het temporale, voor het dodenofficie en misschien ook in de rangorde van de alleluia-verzen voor de tijd na Pinksteren, zij het dat deze rangorde ook kan teruggaan tot het verblijf van de kanunniken van Sint-Bavo in Laon. Sporen

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van de hervormingen van Gérard de Brogne werden echter nog niet teruggevonden. Tegelijkertijd werden er een lokale kleur verleend aan het Gentse repertorium door diverse historiae die tot stand kwamen in of voor de Gentse abdijen ter ere van de heiligen wier relieken naar Gent overgebracht (of aldaar gecreëerd) werden. Voor de andere seculiere en reguliere gemeenschappen in Gent bestaan er geen gelijkaardige aanwijzingen voor het tot stand brengen van gregoriaans.

Na de late 13de eeuw werden er zowel in London als in Gent in toenemende mate kleine psalters, missalen en breviaria voor persoonlijk gebruik geproduceerd. Dit weerspiegelt het sterker beklemtonen van de individuele devotie. De Gentse handschriften van dit type tonen duidelijk aan dat de heiligencultus van de beide abdijen zich uitbreidde tot de andere kerkelijke instellingen.

De grote Gentse antifonaria en graduales voor gebruik in het koor dagtekenen uit de 15de eeuw en later. In die tijd werden de cotidianen (koren van professionele zangers) in de Gentse parochiekerken gesticht. Ook in de abdijen zijn er aanwijzingen voor een toenemende aandacht voor het dagelijks officie en voor de misdiensten. Bijzonder interessant is de zogenaamde 'eenvoudige' polyfonie in het laat-15de-eeuwse graduale van Sint-Baafs, een verschijnsel dat niet bekend is voor Sint-Pieters, maar dat anderzijds volkomen in overstemming is met de 'eenvoud' van de tweestemmige polyfonie in het 16de-eeuwse Vesperale van het Rijke Gasthuis. Dit soort polyfonie kwam voor in gemeenschappen die beïnvloed werden door de beweging van de Moderne Devotie.

In Gent kan de 15de eeuw beschouwd worden als een overgangperiode tussen enerzijds de middeleeuwse bloeiperiode van de grote abdijen, die uiterst belangrijke bijdragen geleverd hadden tot het repertorium van het gregoriaans, en anderzijds de turbulente actualiteit van de 16de eeuw. De nieuw gestichte collegiale kerk van Sint-Baafs en zijn directe concurrent, de aloude collegiale van Sint-Veerle, volgden samen met de kerken van naburige steden de nieuwe trend bij het componeren en uitvoeren van de meest vooruitstrevende vormen van gewijde polyfonie. Dit blijkt evenwel eerder uit de archiefgegevens dan uit de hierboven beschreven graduales en processionales of uit het Gentse fragment met muziek van De la Rue.

Deze bedenkingen zijn slechts als een eerste benadering te beschouwen omdat er nog heel wat onderzoek dient te gebeuren. De prioriteit dient eerst en vooral gelegd te worden bij de analyse van de muzieknotatie in de Gentse manuscripten. Hoewel deze omschreven wordt als behorend tot het type van Metz, van Lorreinen of nog als gotisch, beantwoordt geen enkele van deze typering op adequate wijze aan de nuances die eigen zijn aan elke individuele scriptor van muziek en die wellicht specifiek zijn voor de stad of voor haar omgeving. Verder bestaat er een dringende behoefte aan de uitgave van de officies der heiligen en aan een analyse van de kyriales. Er zou bovendien moeten gepoogd worden de Gentse muziekpraktijk na te speuren in Engelse, Nederlandse en Franse bronnen

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en omgekeerd ook invloeden van buitenaf te ontdekken in het Gentse ritueel. Het valt zeker niet uit te sluiten dat een polyfonisch repertorium uit Gent te vinden is in handschriften die elders gekopieerd en bewaard bleven.

In dit verband dient er eveneens aan herinnerd te worden dat vaak het ongewone of het significante van individuele bronnen, gaande van Bland tot het gedrukte Mandatum, enkel te voorschijn treden dank zij de studie van archiefbronnen uit die tijd. Deze weerspiegelen immers de realiteit die beantwoordde aan het ideaal dat in de boeken gesuggereerd wordt. In de archieven vindt men meer. Ze bieden lijsten van privé- en gemeentelijke bibliotheken en kunnen aan de hand van het handschrift waarin ze gesteld werden de identiteit verraden van kopiisten van manuscripten. Waar men het geluk heeft dat er archief bewaard bleef, moet dit tegelijk met de muziekhandschriften bestudeerd worden. Dit zal zeker leiden tot meer diepgaande inzichten betreffende de muziek in de laatmiddeleeuwse steden.

# POLYPHONY IN GHENT AND LONDON

## Table One

### SOURCES FROM GHENT AND LONDON WITH MUSIC AND RITUAL<sup>1</sup>

#### GHENT

##### Augustinians

###### St Agnes

Missal, 17th c., Ghent, Rijksarchief, St Agnes, 20

###### Groenenbriel

Late 14th-c. sacred and secular polyphony, fragment, in fol., Ghent, Rijksarchief, Groenenbriel, 133

Processional, 18th c., 16<sup>o</sup>, Brussels, Royal Library, MS II 2042

###### Unidentified community

Ceremonial, 16th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 191

Hymns, 17th c., 12<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, Rijksarchief, Augustijnen, 44 nr.60

##### Benedictines

###### St Peter's Abbey

Gradual, c.800 (at St Peter's by 1200-1300), 8<sup>o</sup>, first line neumed  
Brussels, Royal Library, MS 10127-10144, ff.90v-115r

Poem *Ad Boree partes* with first verse neumed, 11th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Oxford,  
Bodleian Library, D'Orville, MS 145, f.56r

*Scande celi* neumed in Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et  
Mercurii*, book II, 117, 11th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Leiden, University Library, B.P.L.,  
MS 88

*Ad Boree partes* and *Scande celi* neumed, 11th c., 4<sup>o</sup>, Vatican City,  
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1987, f.1r-v<sup>2</sup>

Antiphon *Magna vox laude sonora* in messine neumes, from the office of  
St Lambert by Stephen of Liège, added in 11th c. to 9th-c. manuscript of  
the *Confessions* of St Augustine, 4<sup>o</sup>, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS  
lat. 1913A, f. 1v

Plenary missal (two flyleaves) copied by an Irish continental scribe (at St  
Peter's in 11th c.), 10-11th c., now 26.5 x 6.5 mm., Vatican City,  
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 3325<sup>3</sup>

Lectionary, before 1200, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. G 44

Miscellanea with hymns and prayers, 12th c., small fol. Ghent, University  
Library, MS 246, 92r ff.

Ritual with added sequence for St Vincent of Saragossa, *Precelsa seclis  
excolitur* (edited in AH 7, 226; AH 53, 359) in heightened but adiaSTEMATIC  
neumes on, 12-14th c., in 4<sup>o</sup>, Brussels, Royal Library, MSS 1505-1506,  
f.1v (12-13th c.)

Psalter leaf with bottom trimmed, 12th c., in fol., Ghent, University

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- Library, MS 3799, no. 4 (perhaps from St Peter's)  
Noted hymns and office of St Amalberga, early 13th c., 4<sup>o</sup>, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5606, pp.155-172  
Missal, c.1275-1285, 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, Bijloke Museum, MS 60-1  
Missal, 1323-1325, 4<sup>o</sup>, Tournai, Diocesan Seminary Library, MS 23  
Psalter, 13-14th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, London, British Library, MS Add. 30029  
Psalter, 2 v., c.1320-1330, 16<sup>o</sup>, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 5-6  
Ceremonial, 1322, 12<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 233  
Breviary, 6 v., 1373, 4<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 3381  
Breviary, early 14th c., 4<sup>o</sup>, London, British Library, MS Add. 29253  
Ceremonial with noted prefaces and Requiem mass, 14th c., 4<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 296  
Noted psalter (15th-c. leaf in-fol. used as binding), Brussels, Royal Library, MS II 1160  
Diurnal, 16th c., 4<sup>o</sup>, Brussels, Royal Library, MS II 1689  
Processional, 16th c., 12<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 188

### St Bavo's Abbey

- Missal fragment, 12th c., Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 686, f.I  
Noted offices of Sts Landoaldus and Livinus, late 12th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 488  
Noted missal, late 12th-13th c., in fol., London, British Library, MS Add. 16949  
Breviary, early 13th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 293  
Unidentified office (of St Margarita?) with space left for notation, which was not filled in, 13th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 147, f.132  
Breviary, 14th c., Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS lat. 267  
Missal (fragments), 14-15th c., 4<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 3088  
Gradual with kyriale, 2 v., with polyphonic Gloria and Credo added to existing chant, 1452-1474, in fol., Ghent, University Library, MS 14 (*not* for both sides of choir: v.1 Temporale, v.2 Sanctorale)  
Psalter, 1469, 12<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 73  
Antiphoner, 2 v., 1471-1481, in fol., Ghent, University Library, MS 15 (for both sides of choir)  
Missal of Bossuut chapel, 1483, 8<sup>o</sup>, London, British Library, MS Add. 17440  
Missal, 15th c., Toronto, Collection Bergendal, MS 65  
Obituary, Benedictine Rule, and monophonic scribblings in white mensural notation becoming round, 15-16th c., Ghent, Rijksarchief, Bisdom Sint-Baafs, R 20bis, p.7  
Music theory treatises, 1504, in fol., Ghent, University Library, MS 70  
Processional, 1539-1559, 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 184  
Processional (18th c.), 2 antiphoners, 2 graduals, directorium chori, copied ad Andreas Guyard, 1658-1660, Bruges, Groot Seminarie, MS 394

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Processional, 1831 (after older model), 8<sup>o</sup>, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College, Houghton Library, MS lat. 310<sup>4</sup>

Het Rijke Gasthuis (no known rule but under jurisdiction of St Bavo's)  
Vesperale, c.1550, with Christmas polyphony, 8<sup>o</sup>, Brussels, Royal Library, MS 4826  
Ceremonial, 1661, 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 2428  
Ceremonial, 17th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 1670

### Cellites or Alexians

*Missale parvum*, 15th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, London, British Library, MS Egerton 2602

### Cistercians

#### Abbey of Oost-Eeklo

Antiphoner with hymns, 1498, in fol., Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, MS s.s.

#### Abbey of Ter Haeghen

Fragment with secular polyphony, 14th c., in fol., Ghent, Rijksarchief, Varia D 3360 A

Kyrie (fragment) of La Rue, *Missa Ave Sanctissima*, in fol., Ghent, Rijksarchief, Varia D 3360 B

Gradual, 1741, 8<sup>o</sup>, Brussels, Royal Library, MS II 2465

#### Bijloke

Antiphoner, c.1600, in fol., Ghent, University Library, MS 791

#### Doornzele

Office of the Dead, 1767, 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 927

#### Baudeloo

Missal, 15-16th c., in fol., Ghent, University Library, MS 74

Ceremonial, 1654, 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 194

Gradual, 1687, in fol., Ghent, University Library, MS 133

### Convent of St Barbara in Jerusalem, called Joris Vrancx

Ritual and prayers, 18th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, University Library, MS 2429

### Praemonstratensians

#### Drongen Abbey

Missal, 1524, 4<sup>o</sup>, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS n.a. lat. 1906

### Secular Churches

#### Collegiate Church of St Pharaïlde

Psalter of Count of Flanders, Guy de Dampierre, 13th c., 16<sup>o</sup>, Brussels, Royal Library, MS 10607

Ordinal, c.1400, 8<sup>o</sup>, Ghent, Rijksarchief, St Pharaïlde, 3

Ordinal of St Pharaïlde by I.B. de Castillion, 1741, 4<sup>o</sup>, Brussels,

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Royal Library, MS 18127

Office of St Pharaïlde, 18th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, London, British Library, MS Add. 16954, pp.305-311

Parish Church of St James

Gradual with Kyriale and sequences, 1466-1468, in fol., Ghent, Parish Church of St James, MS s.s.

Parish Church of St Nicholas?

Flyleaf [=1r] with chant notation, 13th c., Ghent, Stadsarchief, St Nicholas, 54

### Ghent or Region

Kalendar, 13th c., Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 4082

Psalter, 13th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Copenhagen, Det kongelige bibliotek, MS Ny. kgl. Saml. 41

Psalter, mid 13th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, MS 8

Psalter, c.1255-1265, 8<sup>o</sup>, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS liturg 396

Psalter, third quarter 13th c., 12<sup>o</sup>, Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, MS 335

Psalter, third quarter 13th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Brussels, Royal Library, MSS 5163-5164

Psalter, third quarter 13th c., 12<sup>o</sup>, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C 940

Psalter, last third 13th c., 12<sup>o</sup>, Brussels, Royal Library, MS IV 137

Missal, 1366, in fol., The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 A 14

Breviary of Louis de Mâle and Marguerite of Brabant with noted hymns, c.1360-1367, in fol., Brussels, Royal Library, MS 9427

Psalter, 15th c., 8<sup>o</sup>, Brussels, Royal Library, MS 5143

Antiphoner folio, c.1500, Ghent, Stadsarchief, Vrij schippers, 38

Ghent, University Library, 147, f.132r: space between lines left for chant ranges between 2.4 (bottom two lines) and 2.65 cm (most)

### LONDON<sup>5</sup>

#### London Diocese

Manual with collects and offices, 1782, 8<sup>o</sup>, London, British Library, Add. MS 5810, ff.198r-202r

#### Augustinians

Priory of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate

Calendar, end 12th c., Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 252/2

Other Austin Friars

Psalter, mid 15th c., Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 11438

#### Benedictines

Westminster Abbey (formerly St Peter's)

Psalter with office of the dead, 12th c., London, British Library, MS

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Royal 2 A. xxii

'Litlington Missal', 1383-1384, London, Westminster Abbey, MS 37  
*Liber regalis* with coronation ordo, end 14th c., London, Westminster  
Abbey, MS 38

Kalendar, offices, memorials, 15th c., 16<sup>o</sup>, Oxford, Bodleian Library,  
MS Rawl. liturg. G.10

### Brigittines

Abbey of St Saviour, Syon

Breviary, 15th c., Syon Abbey (Devon), MS 3

Offices, 15th c., Syon Abbey, MS 6

Processional, end 15th c., Syon Abbey, MS 1

### Carmelites in London?

Ordinal, 14th c., Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 89 (*olim* B 3.8)

### Carmelites

Missal (reconstructed from fragments), 3 v., noted mass ordinary incipits,  
end 14th c., in fol., London, British Library, Add. MS 29704, 29705;  
oblong 4<sup>o</sup>: 44892

Missal fragments, end 14th c., Glasgow, University Library, MS Euing 26

Missal fragments, end 14th c., London Private Collection 2

### Charterhouse

Psalter, 13th c., Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 10434

Missal, 14th c., New Haven, Yale University Library, MS 286

Gradual, 15th c., in fol., London, British Library, MS Egerton 3267

Breviary, 15th c., Blackburn, Museum and Art Gallery, 091.21195

### Dominicans

Glossed Lectionary, 13th c., in fol., London, British Library, MS Royal 3  
E.viii

### Convent of Friars of the Holy Cross

Manuale sacerdotum, 16th c., Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.1.7

### St Paul's Cathedral

Fragment of January sanctorale from an antiphoner, perhaps from St Paul's,  
among Aberdeen, University Library, MS 2379/1 fragment

Psalter, 12-13th c., London, St Paul's Cathedral, MS 1

Glossed Psalter, 13th c., London, St Paul's Cathedral, MS 2

Kalendar, 15th c., Cambridge, Downing College, Bowtell collection, MS s.s.

Sarum missal, 14th c., London, British Library, MS Harley 2787

### Parish Church subordinate to St Paul's, later Writtle in Essex

Kalendar fragment, 13th c., Liverpool, Cathedral, MS 51

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- All Hallows the Great Parish Church  
Martyrology, 13th c., Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 194, pp.217-332
- St Botolph without Aldersgate Parish Church?  
Missal, early 15th c., London, Guildhall, MS 515  
Missal, 15th c., Oxford, Christ Church, MS lat. 87
- St Lawrence Jewry Parish Church  
Missal, before 1435, in fol., London, British Library, MS Arundel 109
- St Margaret's Parish Church, Lothbury  
Missal, 14th c., Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd 1.15
- St Mary Axe or St Andrew's, Undershaft  
Noted breviary, end 14th-early 15th c., in fol., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 948
- St Mary's Parish Church, Aldermanbury  
Lectionary with noted lessons for Christmas, before 1508, 4<sup>o</sup>, London, British Library, MSS Royal 2 B.xii and xiii
- St Sepulchre, Holborn  
Processional, 14th c., 12<sup>o</sup>, London, British Library, MS Harley 2942
- Donated to Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary, near Cripplegate  
Lessons and responsories for St Mary Magdalene, early 12th c., in fol., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. 113
- London  
Psalter, 13th c., Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS 1247 (olim O iv.16)  
Psalter, first quarter 15th c., in fol., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 45  
Missal, 14-15th c., Minehead, Parish Church of St Michael, MS s.s.  
Kalendar, c.1410, in fol., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 362  
Kalendar, after 1444, 12<sup>o</sup>, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden supra 95  
Kalendar, 1465, 12<sup>o</sup>, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 623  
Kalendar, 15th c., Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS 402 (olim B xvi.41)  
Psalter with Kalendar, mid 15th c., 4<sup>o</sup>, London, British Library, MS Royal 2 B.x
- Also see:  
London, British Library, Add. MS 44920, C.A. Gordon, 'Manuscript Missals: The English Uses', 1936, typescript  
London, British Library, Add. MS 44921, C.A. Gordon, 'The English Uses: Alleluia Verses after Pentecost', 1936, notebook

POLYPHONY IN GHENT AND LONDON

Table Two

POST-PENTECOSTAL ALLELUIA VERSES<sup>1</sup>

	Laon, Cathedral	Ghent, St Bavo's	Ghent, St Peter's	Ghent, St James (under St Peter)
Psalm	Laon, Bib.Mun.,239	Ghent, Univ.Lib.,14,v.1	Ghent, Bijloke,60-1	Ghent, St James,s.s.
7.12	1. Deus iudex iustus	1. same	1. same	1. same
17	2. Diligam te domine	2. same	2. same	2. same
18	3. <i>Celi enarrant</i>			
20	4. Domine in virtute	3. same	3. same	3. same
30	5. In te domine	4. same	4. same	4. same
58	6. Omnes gentes (replaced by <i>Eripe me</i> )	5. same 6. <i>Eripe me</i>	5. same	5. same
64.2	7. Te decet hymnus	6. same	6. same	
77	8. Attendite	7. same	7. same	7. same
80	9. Exultate deo	8. same	8. same	
87	10. Domine deus	9. same	9. same	8. same
89	11. Domine refugium	10. same	10. same	9. same
94.1	12. Venite	11. same	11. same	
94.3	13. Quoniam deus	12. same	12. same	10. same
104	14. Confitemini	13. same	13. same	11. same
107	15. Paratum cor meum	14. same	14. same	12. same
110	16. Redemptionem	15. <i>Benedicam dominus</i>	15. <i>Benedicam dominus</i>	13. Redemptionem
113.11	17. Qui timent	16. same	16. same	14. same
116	18. Laudate dominum	17. same	17. same	15. <i>Dextera dei</i>
124	19. Qui confidunt			16. same
117	20. Dextera dei			
129	21. De profundis	18. same	18. same	17. same
137.1	22. Confitebor tibi	19. <i>Confitemini</i>	19. <i>Dextera dei</i>	18. Confitebor tibi
145	23. Lauda anima mea	20. same 21. Qui sanat 22. <i>Eripe me</i> 23. Qui posuit	20. same 21. same 22. same 23. same	19. same 20. same 21. same 22. Verbo domini 23. Qui posuit

Ghent, Univ. Lib. 14, v. 1, also has, as marginalia, a second, later series of post-Pentecostal alleluia verses. The script dates from after 1540, but how much after has not been determined. In 1536 the Benedictine community at St Bavo, for which the

<sup>1</sup> The temporale in Ghent, University Library, MS 14, v.1, assigns a second alleluia and verse *Replebimur in bonis* to Sunday 6 after Pentecost.

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manuscript was prepared originally, ceased to exist. It became a secular chapter and moved, in 1540, to what was formerly the parish church of St John. In 1559, the new St Bavo's became a cathedral. The new series is 1. *Verba mea auribus*, 2. *Domine deus*, 3. *Deus iudex*, 4. *Deus qui sedes*, 5. *Domine in virtute*, 6. *In te domine speravi*, 7. *Omnes gentes*, 8. *Magnus dominus*, 9. *Eripe me*, 10. *Te decet*, 11. *Exultate deo*, 12. *Domine deus salutis*, 13. *Domine refugium factus es*, 14. *Venite exultemus*, 15. *Quoniam deus*, 16. *Cantate dominum*, 17. *Domine exaudi orationem*, 18. *Timebunt gentes*, 19. *not indicated*, 20. *Paratum cor meum*, 21. *In exitu Israel*, 22. *Qui timent dominum*, 23. *De profundis*.

POLYPHONY IN GHENT AND LONDON

Table Three  
CHRONOLOGY OF GHENT<sup>2</sup>

811	Charlemagne visits Ghent to inspect shipyards, later granting St Bavo immunity
c.813	St Bavo destroyed by fire
815	Documents from St Peter name Einhard as lay abbot
819	Einhard lay abbot of St Bavo; visits Ghent in 827, Spring 830, 7 September 839 and is otherwise replaced by the priest Liuthard and his <i>vicedomus</i> Erembert
c.825	<i>Vita Bavonis</i> by monk from St Bavo
828	Einhard has relics of Sts Peter and Marcellinus brought to St Bavo
840	Death of Einhard
851	St Bavo sacked by the Danes
864	Translation of St Amalberga to St Peter; at this time the lay abbot of St Bavo is Count Adalelm of Laon (half-brother or brother-in-law of Robert the Strong)
879	Danes winter in St Bavo
879-930s	St Bavo uninhabited; canons flee to Laon first, then to Nesle-la-Reposte (Champagne), bringing their relics, treasury and books
918	St Peter established as burial place for the counts of Flanders
before 937	Relics of St Bavo deposited in castle chapel by the community from St Bavo
941	Reforms of Gerard de Brogne at St Peter
944	Translation of relics of Sts Wandregisilius, Ansbertus and Vulframnus from St Wandrille, Boulogne, to St Peter
946	Translation of relics of St Bavo to St Bavo and de Brogne's reforms
956-957	St Dunstan sheltered at St Peter
mid 10th c.	Monks of St Bavo establish Egmond Abbey
964	St Peter receives property at Lewisham and Greenwich
975	Elevation of relics of St Florbert at St Peter (again in 1049, 1077)
980	Translation of relics of Sts Landoaldus, Amantius, Julianus, Vinciana, Adeltrud, Landrada to St Bavo
982	Elevation of relics of Sts Landoaldus and Landrada at St Bavo
983	<i>Adventus S. Landoaldi</i> by monk from St Bavo
985	Translation of relics of Sts Barbara and Pancrace from Rome to St Bavo
beg. 11th c.	Life of St Dunstan (not music) by monk Adelard of St Peter at request of archbishop of Canterbury
1007	Translation of relics of Sts Livinus and Brice from Villa Holthem to St Bavo
1010	Elevation of relics of St Bavo at St Bavo

<sup>2</sup>

This chronology is based on publications cited in note 4 and corrections kindly communicated to me by Georges Declercq.

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- 1014 Short Life of St Macarius by monk from St Bavo  
before 1050 Life of St Amalberga by monk from St Peter  
c. 1050 Elevation and Life of St Livinus by monk at St Bavo  
1067 Elevation of relics of St Macharius at St Bavo  
1067 Longer Life of St Macharius by monk from St Bavo  
1073-1088 Life of St Bertulphus by monk at St Peter  
1073 Elevation of relics of St Pharaïlde at castle chapel  
1086 Elevation of relics of St Amalberga at St Peter  
c.1090 Life of St Bavo by Thierry of St Truiden  
1132-1138 Life of St Gudwalus by monk from St Peter  
1171 Elevation of St Livinus at St Bavo

POLYPHONY IN GHENT AND LONDON

Table Four

HYMNS AND SEQUENCES FOR GHENT SAINTS EDITED  
IN *ANALECTA HYMNICA*

HYMNS

<i>Agnum sponsum virgineum</i>	St Amalberga, Vespers	AH 12, 82
<i>Audite, Christi milites</i>	St Bavo	AH 23, 131-132
<i>Christi virgo egregia</i>	St Pharaïlde	AH 12, 219
<i>Claris psallendo vocibus</i>	St Amalberga, Matins	AH 12, 83
<i>Gaude, martyr, flos Livine</i>	St Livinus	AH 29, 111
<i>Gaude, mundum quod sprevisisti</i>	St Bavo	AH 29, 98
<i>Gratulemur in honore</i>	St Landrada	AH 12, 152
<i>Hymnum canamus glorie</i>	St Livinus	AH 12, 156
<i>Hymnum fideles populi</i>	St Macharius	AH 12, 157
<i>O Livine, martyr Dei</i>	St Livinus	AH 29, 159
<i>Pange, lingua, gloriose</i>	St Landrada	AH 12, 152

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<i>Bavonem patronem laudat</i>	St Bavo	AH 40, 149
<i>Gratulemur in honore</i>	St Landrada	AH 37, 206
<i>Felici conubio</i>	St Pharaïlde	AH 37, 246
<i>Landrade virginum chorus</i>	St Landrada	AH 37, 205
<i>Sollemni vos induite</i>	St Livinus	AH 44, 190-191
<i>Tuum mundo toti, Bavo</i>	St Bavo	AH 9, 120-121

Items Listed in Chevalier, *Repertorium*

<i>Amans Bavo concordiae</i>	St Bavo	no. 974
<i>Bavonem meritis tollat</i>	St Bavo	no. 2320
<i>Wandregisile regiis</i>	St Wandregisilius (relics at St Peter's)	no. 34807

Non-Indexed Compositions in Ghent Manuscripts:  
Brussels, Royal Library, MS 1505-1506 (from St Peter's)

SEQUENCE

<i>Precelsa seclis excolitur</i>	St Vincent
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BARBARA HAGGH

Ghent, University Library, MS 14, 2 vols. (St Bavo), and  
Ghent, Parish Church of St James, MS s.s. (St James)

ALLELUIA VERSES

<i>Barbara virgo pia</i>	St Barbara	St Bavo
<i>Ecce vere Israhel</i>	St Eligius	St Bavo
<i>Nobilis atque pia</i>	Conception	St James
<i>Salve mater Anna</i>	St Anne	St James

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<i>De parente pestas</i>	Transfiguration	St James
<i>Hanc tituli domine</i>	Sts Fabian and Sebastian	St James
<i>Martyres egregii</i>	St Vincent	St James