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# Serendipia: migración como oportunidad

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## BARBARA HAGGH-HUGLO: MUSIC AND MIGRATION AS OPPORTUNITY: EXAMPLES FROM GHENT

### **Abstract:**

La historia de Gante y su música antes de 1559 estuvo marcada por procesos migratorios. Las dos abadías San Bavón y San Pedro fueron fundadas por el misionario migrante San Amand. Las comunidades gantesas emigraron en dirección sur durante la invasión de los vikingos en el siglo IX, una de ellas volvió con nuevas músicas de Laon; debido a la competencia durante el período de la restauración surgieron nuevos cánticos de veneraciones de santos. Al inicio del siglo XVI los monjes de la abadía benedictina de San Bavón se volvieron canónigos seculares y se mudaron a otra iglesia, la de San Juan en el centro de Gantes. En 1559 la iglesia de San Juan llegó a ser colegiata de San Bavón. Esta por su parte subió de rango y se la erigió como Catedral de San Bavón, como se la conoce hoy. Este proceso de migración y transformación cambió la música litúrgica de la comunidad de cánticos monásticos con polifonía paralela ocasional a una forma elaborada de polifonía mensural de compositores conocidos en toda Europa. Finalmente, la migración de Pedro de Gante y de sus acompañantes franciscanos a Nueva España (México) corresponde a la transferencia de técnicas de iluminación de manuscritos encontrados en el código Alamire del siglo XVI de Malinas y Amberes a Ciudad de México, donde se reencontraron en los himnarios de la Catedral de la Ciudad de México.

Ghent, located between Brussels and Bruges in what is now Belgium, was the most populous city north of Paris in the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It had been established with privileges and a town council by the late twelfth century at the location of the castle of the Counts of Flanders and of two very old and important Benedictine abbeys, St Bavo's and St Peter's, both founded between 650 and 659. The turbulent history of this major Flemish city offers several instructive examples of migration – of how the movements and new meetings of people, and of music, led to unsuspected opportunities that turned the trajectory of history in new directions. Although the meaning of the word 'migration' is neutral, because it simply implies movement from one place to another, often a distant place and

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<sup>1</sup> My more extended study of music in Ghent is forthcoming as a book, *Of Abbeys and Aldermen: Music in Ghent to 1559*, with the research made possible by a grant from the National Endowment from the Humanities. The populations of several medieval European cities are compared in Table 1.1 on p. 3 in Kisby, Fiona: Introduction, in: Fiona Kisby (Ed.), *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*. Cambridge. 2001.

often under natural forces, the migrations in and from Ghent were mostly forced, by war or social pressures; one resulted from the human fascination for foreign lands.

Ghent came into existence when the southwest French missionary Amand (d. 675) migrated to Flanders to introduce Christianity; he is credited with founding the two Ghent abbeys.<sup>2</sup> Initially, they followed the Irish Rule attributed to St Columba but from after his lifetime, which distributed the required psalm singing to vary according to the hours of daylight, unlike the better-known and more extensive Benedictine Rule that would be used in Ghent only after 900.<sup>3</sup> After Charlemagne's Synod in Aachen of 816-817, the Ghent abbeys did not adopt the Benedictine rule, but kept their status as two communities of canons, meaning that they practiced shorter night-time worship.<sup>4</sup>

The stability achieved under the Carolingian courts of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald, was disrupted by a series of Viking (or Norman) invasions in northwest France and the Low Countries between the mid-ninth and early tenth century. The canons of St Bavo's and St Peter's abbeys were forced to flee Ghent, which was destroyed in 851 and 879: the canons of St Bavo's went first to the strategic fortified hilltop town of Laon in northern France, and later to the old abbey at Nesle-la-Reposte also in northern France and to the east of Laon. During the Ghent monks' absence, they lived together with other displaced communities, which led to intellectual ferment of consequence. Then, on their return to Ghent before 937, and between 879 and 883 for the canons of St. Peter's Abbey, the process of laying claim to their former lands and history brought further significant change.<sup>5</sup>

When the monks of St Bavo's fled to Laon, they brought with them a copy of dozens of letters written by their lay abbot, Einhard (d. 841), better

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<sup>2</sup> As described in the vita of St. Amand: a tenth-century copy is Ghent, University Library, Ms. 224. Amand, bishop of Tongeren-Maastricht, was venerated as a saint in France and Belgium.

<sup>3</sup> The Rule of Pseudo-Columba translated into English by G.S.M. Walker can be read at the website "Corpus of Electronic Texts, Monk's Rules": <http://www.uce.ie/celt/published/T201052/>; the rule of St. Benedict is edited in Latin and translated into English by Timothy Fry: *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English*. Collegeville, MN. 1981.

<sup>4</sup> See Declercq, Georges: "Heiligen, lekenabten en hervormers. De Gentse abdijen van Sint-Pieters en Sint-Baafs tijdens de Eerste Middeleeuwen (7de-12de eeuw)," in: Georges Declercq (Ed.), *Ganda & Blandinium*, Ghent. 1997, 13-40, here 24.

<sup>5</sup> Declercq, "Heiligen, lekenabten," 27-28; Haggh, Barbara: "Sources for Plainchant and Ritual from Ghent and London: A Survey and Comparison," in: *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent, Nieuwe Reeks*, 50 (1996): 23-72, here 34-37.

known as Charlemagne's biographer,<sup>6</sup> which is the ninth-century manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), latin, 11379.<sup>7</sup> In Laon, model letters were added to it that are known as the "Laon Formulary" to specialists in Carolingian history. The manuscript also includes other miscellaneous material, such as, after an excerpt from the beginning of Virgil's *Aeneid*, an ecclesiastical text with admonitions to monks and canons on folio 26 verso. In the top margin of that folio, a scribe added a chant text with its musical notation written in the style of Laon, the Alleluia and verse *Laetabitur justus in Domino* (Ps 63:11: The righteous shall rejoice in the Lord).<sup>8</sup> Alleluias with verses like this one were sung at the Mass before the Gospel reading. First the alleluia was sung, a long melody; then the text verse; and finally, the alleluia was repeated.

Previous cataloguers of Paris, BnF, latin 11379 assigned this addition of *Laetabitur justus* to the eleventh century, yet its ink color and the script of the text is arguably that of the second scribe writing on the same page, the scribe of the admonition, which would date the chant entry to the early tenth century.<sup>9</sup> The musical notation was undeniably written in Laon, for it has the same features as the distinctive notation of two important notated mass manuscripts from this city, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 239 and 266, a gradual from the last quarter of the ninth century and a cantatorium fragment from the early tenth century.<sup>10</sup> Especially characteristic of this notation is the so-called 'Laon hook' used to represent single pitches, which is not found in any other music notation of this time. The hook is drawn from left to right – the scribe draws upward then downward then adds a

<sup>6</sup> Einhard was lay abbot of St Bavo's from 819-840 and lay abbot of St Peter's from 815-840. Recent English translations of his life of Charlemagne are Noble, Thomas F.X. (Trans.), in: Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: the Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer. University Park, PA. 2009; Ganz, David (Trans.), Two Lives of Charlemagne by Einhard, Notker Balbulus. London. 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Paris, BnF, latin 11379 can be viewed online, as can a description of it, at [www.gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001308b.r=latin%2011379?rk=21459;2](http://www.gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001308b.r=latin%2011379?rk=21459;2).

<sup>8</sup> On this chant and manuscript, see Haggh: "Sources for Plainchant," 37; Haggh, Barbara: "Musique et rituel à l'abbaye Saint-Bavon: Structure et développement du rituel, le chant, les livres du rite et les imprimés" in Bruno Bouckaert (Ed.): La cathédrale de Saint-Bavon de Gand [also in Dutch]. Ghent. 2000, 51-52; and Haggh, Barbara: "Towards a History of Chant in Northwest Europe: The Place of the Antiphoner," in : David Hiley (Ed.): Antiphonaria: Studien zu Quellen und Gesängen des mittelalterlichen Offiziums. Tutzing. 2009, 61-79, here 61-63; but my comments in this study supersede past conclusions.

<sup>9</sup> Also compare the rustic capital A of 'Alleluia' with that in the middle of folio 27 recto, where the admonition written by the same scribe continues.

<sup>10</sup> The two manuscripts are described in Meyer, Christian: Catalogue des manuscrits notés du Moyen Âge, Band IV. Collections du Nord-Pas-de-Calais et de Picardie, Band II. Turnhout. 2016, 159-161 and 180.

short upward flourish.<sup>11</sup> The musical notation in Ghent, University Library, Ms. 488, a twelfth-century compilation with notated saints' offices from Ghent, uses a sign for a single pitch that has a hook like the 'Laon hook,' only without the second turn upwards – an improvement, because it was faster to write.<sup>12</sup>

The text of the Alleluia verse *Laetabitur justus* was used in other chants, but none of these appear in manuscripts older than Paris, BnF, latin 11379.<sup>13</sup> That makes it possible that the copy of *Laetabitur* made in Laon dates from soon after the chant was composed, perhaps by a singer in Laon. Its wide later distribution in France rather than in Italy is noteworthy, because it would later be sung in many locations on feast days in the church calendar for a single martyr and especially the Roman martyr, Lawrence. This Alleluia is not found in the two manuscripts of Laon cited above, but could have reached Laon from other locations, given that monks and intellectuals from the abbeys of St Germain of Auxerre, St Denis in Paris, and elsewhere had sought refuge in Laon.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, one intellectual in Laon at that time, Heiric of Auxerre, could have brought the chant from the abbey of St Germain, whose crypt was dedicated in 859 to St Lawrence, as well as to Benedict, Martin, and Stephen; side chapels there were also dedicated to these saints.<sup>15</sup> In any case, the fact remains that a significant manuscript brought from Ghent by the escaping canons received a then new alleluia and verse *Laetabitur* written by a scribe from Laon, a chant not found in any surviving earlier chant manuscript.

Other evidence from Laon shows that individuals there were thinking about alleluias and verses on a grander scale.<sup>16</sup> The gradual Laon 239 is

<sup>11</sup> On the notation of Laon, see Cardine, Eugène: *Sémiologie grégorienne*. Solesmes. 1978; and Rankin, Susan: "On the Treatment of Pitch in Early Music Writing," *Early Music History* 30 (2011): 105-175.

<sup>12</sup> Ghent 488, folios 86 recto and 89 verso to 90 recto are reproduced in Bouckaert (Ed.): *La Cathédrale*, 56 and 53, and the entire manuscript is viewable online: <http://lib.ugent.be/viewer/archive.ugent.be%3AF829178E-7256-11E1-97A3-27703B7C8C91#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&r=0&z=-2139.1191%2C0%2C7625.2382%2C4611>.

<sup>13</sup> The other chants are the antiphons with CANTUS IDs 003560 and 003561; the responsories with CANTUS IDs 007063, 007064, and 601302, and a versicle with CANTUS ID 008119. See <http://www.cantusdatabase.org/>.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Robertson, Anne Walters: *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*. Oxford. 1991, 359-366.

<sup>15</sup> See Musée d'art et d'histoire d'Auxerre: *Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre: Intellectuels et artistes dans l'Europe carolingienne, IXe-XIe siècles*. Auxerre. 1990, 37-44 on Heiric's presence there, and 121-198 on the crypt.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Hiley, David: "Post-Pentecost Alleluias in Medieval British Liturgies," in: Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Eds.): *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*. Oxford. 1993, 145-174.

distinct from earlier graduals, because it is the oldest manuscript to have a complete set of alleluia verse texts for the Sundays after Pentecost, all psalm texts. Of interest is that they follow the numerical order of the psalms in the Bible. That is not true for any surviving earlier sets of alleluia verses, which appear first around 800.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the ordered series of alleluia verses of Laon 239, is closest to the series of alleluia verses from both Ghent abbeys, among the known series in later manuscripts.<sup>18</sup>

The series in Laon 239 is also close to the series from the famous medieval French abbey of Cluny, some of whose monastic practices were later taken over when the Ghent abbeys adopted the Cluniac customary in 1117.<sup>19</sup> Yet because the Ghent and Cluny copies of the alleluia verses date from much later than Laon 239, we cannot know which series came first or where they originated. No other known series match the Laon series so closely. What all of these details mean is that the idea of ordering alleluia verses following the numbering of psalms could have originated in Laon in the late ninth century, perhaps the result of the meeting of different religious communities, and that the new series of alleluia verses could have been transferred to Ghent and/or to Cluny in Burgundy by refugees returning home from Laon.<sup>20</sup>

Further evidence that Laon may have played a role in ordering alleluia verses by number is the appearance of numerical ordering in the psalm tones for the antiphons of offices composed by an illustrious pupil of an individual present in Laon, Heiric of Auxerre, the composer and theorist, Hucbald of St Amand (circa 840-930). First, some context: when the Ghent canons arrived in Laon, it was home to numerous scholars, including expatriates. Among them were Martin of Laon, Jean Scot Eriugena, Manno of Auxerre, and Heiric of Auxerre, men known for their commentaries on treatises on the liberal arts, poetry, homilies, and hagiography, and for their influential students.<sup>21</sup> The numerical order of the psalm tones to office antiphons that is first found in Hucbald's chant was a procedure that would

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<sup>17</sup> See the list of alleluia in three of the six oldest graduals in Hesbert, René-Jean: *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*. Brussels. 1935. Reprinted in Rome. 1985, 198-201, and discussion in Hiley, "Post-Pentecost Alleluia," 148-153.

<sup>18</sup> Haggh: "Sources for Plainchant," 23-72.

<sup>19</sup> Declercq: "Heiligen, lekenabten," 38-40; Haggh: "Musique et rituel," 62; the tables comparing the alleluia lists in Haggh: "Sources for Plainchant," 67-68, and, for the Cluny list, Hiley: "Post-Pentecost Alleluia," 168.

<sup>20</sup> See Haggh, "The Place of the Antiphoner," 61-63.

<sup>21</sup> [21] Cf. Haggh: "Sources for Plainchant," 34-38. On these men in Laon, see Contreni, John: *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: its Manuscripts and Masters*. Munich. 1978.

be standard practice in the later Middle Ages and was already common by 1050.<sup>22</sup>

Did the numerical ordering of the alleluia verse texts perhaps devised in Laon lead Hucbald to think of this new and influential way of composing offices for saints? The argument can only be circumstantial, because Hucbald was not in Laon. While the Ghent monks were in Laon, Hucbald was at the Abbey of Saint-Amand, for which he would compose the offices in numerical order. He did study with Heiric after 872, perhaps at the court of Charles the Bald; then Hucbald was in Saint-Omer for ten years from 880-890 and then in Reims, along with Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908), but Hucbald returned to Saint-Amand at the end of his life.<sup>23</sup> In any case, the numerical order was introduced to the series of alleluia verses and later to the psalm tones by Hucbald both give evidence of attention to logical organization and to pedagogy – henceforth it would be easier for young singers to learn the alleluia verses to be sung and to choose the correct psalm tones for the chant of new saints’ offices. Thus, the alleluia added to the manuscript brought from Ghent and the similar alleluia verse series of Laon and Ghent suggest that the meetings of great minds in Laon had consequences: the transmission of new music and of new ways of ordering, teaching, and notating it, this last especially in Laon 239.

When migrants return home, time has passed and life has changed. New challenges must be faced. When peace returned, the Ghent canons went back to their abbeys devastated by Vikings. Now they had to reestablish their monastic life, confirm the status of their former homes as holy places by acquiring new saints’ relics in addition to those they had taken with them,<sup>24</sup> and reconstruct a history and associated documentation to lay claim to their property. Since the two Ghent abbeys were located so near to each other, a competition for priority resulted that became vicious and lasted for 150 years.

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<sup>22</sup> On the offices composed by Hucbald and his music theory, see Chartier, Yves: *L’oeuvre musicale d’Hucbald de Saint-Amand*. Saint-Laurent, Québec. 1995; Hiley, David: “The Antiphons Composed by Hucbald of Saint-Amand for the Feast of St Andrew,” *Études gregoriennes* 43 (2016): 103-119; Haggh-Huglo, Barbara: “The Model Antiphon Series *Primum quaerite* in Hucbald’s Office *In plateis* and in Other Post-Carolingian Chant: Theory Meets Practice,” in: Benjamin Brand and David J. Rothenberg (Eds.), *Music and Culture in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Liturgy, Sources, Symbolism*. Cambridge. 2016, 28-54.

<sup>23</sup> Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Personenteil (2003), s.v. “Hucbald von Saint-Amand” by Karl-Werner Gumpel.

<sup>24</sup> The Europe-wide competition for relics in the early Middle Ages was first discussed at length in Geary, Patrick: *Furta sacra*. Princeton. 1978.



Before the competition took hold, the Ghent abbeys adopted the Benedictine Rule, like most others in northwest Europe, and made other reforms to their religious life, which did not affect music and liturgy, however. Gerard de Brogne reformed the abbey of St Peter in 941 and of St Bavo in 946. St Peter's abbey was reformed again by Dunstan, who had come to Ghent from England and would stay from 956-957. The reformed monks from Ghent and monks from Fleury were then sent to Winchester in England to meet with those English Benedictines who would issue the *Regularis concordia* in 970, the Rule that would define Benedictine worship in England.<sup>25</sup>

After this, the Ghent abbeys began to maneuver to show that they were each older and more powerful than their neighbor. They rewrote their histories to prove their greater antiquity in more than 200 falsified charters, whose close study by nineteenth-century scholars established the discipline of diplomatics, the study of charters or 'diplomas'.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, the abbeys campaigned to acquire as many saints' relics as possible, and if enough actual saints could not be found, others were invented by their clever hagiographers. An example of a fictitious saint is the medieval patron saint of Ghent, Livinus.<sup>27</sup>

For each saint, a Life (*Vita*) was written, preferably with accounts of miracles they had produced. Then, events that would be memorialized in the liturgy were staged: formal transfers of the relics, called 'translations,' and formal raisings of the relics that could be seen by the people, called 'elevations'.<sup>28</sup> In consequence, texts and chants had to be composed for the yearly liturgical celebrations memorializing these events, and especially for the heavenly *natalis*, the main saint's feast remembering the day of his or her death.

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<sup>25</sup> Haggh: "Musique et rituel," 61-62; Haggh: "Sources for Plainchant," 37-40; Declercq: 32-35; Symons, Thomas (Ed.): *Regularis concordia angliae nationis monachorum sanctimonialiumque*. London. 1953.

<sup>26</sup> The most recent confrontation with the problems these charters pose is Declercq, Georges: "A New Method for the Dating and Identification of Forgeries? The Deeds Methodology Applied to a Forged Charter," in Michael Gervers (Ed.): *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*. Woodbridge. 2000, 123-136.

<sup>27</sup> The cult of St Livinus and music composed for him is discussed in Bloxam, Mary Jennifer: "In Praise of Spurious Saints," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991): 163-220; Haggh, Barbara: "An Office in Prague for St Livinus of Ghent" in Jan Bata and others (Eds.): *Littera nigro scripta manet*. Prague. 2009, 21-30; and Haggh-Huglo, Barbara: "The Genre of the *Historia*: Its History and Historiography," in Ann Buckley (Ed.): *Letetur Hibernia*. Turnhout. 2017, in press.

<sup>28</sup> A repertory of the hagiographical texts associated with these events and of saints' *vitas* is Society of Bollandists: *Bibliotheca hagiographica liturgica*. Brussels. 1949.

This repertory of chant for Ghent saints that was composed in the tenth to twelfth centuries is considerable, and most of it survives. Although this chant lacks any dates or attributions in the manuscripts, the hagiography for the saints and the paleography and codicology of the manuscripts allows dates to be established. The saints' offices almost certainly from the Ghent abbeys or commissioned by them are for Sts Bavo, Livinus, Landoaldus, Landrada, Amalberga, and Pharaïlde. The offices for these saints consist of newly composed chant for First Vespers, Matins, Lauds, and Second Vespers, which adds up to about thirty chants that are in the genres of antiphon, responsory, and hymn. Only one composer's name is known, however: Remigius of Mettlach was asked by monks from St Peter's abbey to compose the matins chant for a new office for St Bavo.<sup>29</sup>

Two such local saints' offices written in the same manuscript, Ghent, University Library, 488, can be viewed online and are reproduced in print, those for the *natalis* of St Livinus and the *natalis* of St Landoaldus, both saints of St Bavo's abbey. The neumes on the staff lines represent specific pitches and can be transcribed into modern notation. The earlier Laon notation had provided a visual approximation of pitch but lacked the lines permitting a certain transcription. The antiphons and responsories of these saints' offices have newly composed melodies and share musical features with later chant: short scale passages, a range of an octave, some repeated melodies, and typical newer cadences.<sup>30</sup>

In the fifteenth century, the office and mass for St Livinus, the fictitious saint of Ghent, migrated to central Europe, likely with travelling clergymen. The Livinus office is found in a manuscript from the Praemonstratensian Abbey of Roudnicz near Prague.<sup>31</sup> The musical notation is that of central Europe, and the melodies transferred from Ghent also reflect a central European musical dialect – all of the B flat pitches written in Ghent 488 were raised to C natural.<sup>32</sup> The mass for Livinus made its way to Pécs in Hungary, the result of an initiative by a bishop.<sup>33</sup> But no central European saints' devotions found their way to Ghent.

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<sup>29</sup> On the saints' offices composed as a result of the competition between the two Ghent abbeys, see Haggh: "Musique et rituel," 52-61, and Haggh: "Sources for Plainchant," 40-45.

<sup>30</sup> On this chant, see Haggh-Huglo: "The Genre of the Historia."

<sup>31</sup> The home abbey of the Praemonstratensian Order was in Prémontré near Laon, and the Praemonstratensian Abbey of Drongen in Ghent dates from the twelfth century. See Haggh: "Sources for Plainchant," 43-44, especially the plate on p. 44 (image of Prague, University Library, Ms. III D 16, folio 347 verso).

<sup>32</sup> On the problem of B flat in medieval music, see Pesce, Dolores: "B-Flat: Transposition or Transformation?" *The Journal of Musicology* 4/3 (1985-1986): 330-349.

<sup>33</sup> Haggh: "Sources for Plainchant and Ritual," 43.

Thus far, we have seen how a migration forced by war led to exchanges among expatriate communities that produced new numerical ordering in the mass and later the office. We observed how the return from a migration led to competition between the two Ghent abbeys that forced them to produce copious writings and a large number of musical compositions, opportunities for anonymous monks to develop literary and musical proficiency and for their audiences to participate in the cultural recreation of the abbeys' identities.

Another forced migration took place in the sixteenth century within the city of Ghent and over a greater length of time, a migration brought on by social pressures. This was the very unusual transformation of the community of monks at St Bavo's Abbey into a chapter of secular canons, meaning that the men abandoned their monastic vows, notably that of poverty and their Benedictine Rule. This transformation became a migration when the monks were forced to move from St Bavo's abbey to the wealthy parish church in the center of Ghent that was the church of that city's council, St John's.<sup>34</sup> The church of St John's also changed: it was renamed after St Bavo, Ghent's oldest saint, and elevated to the rank of cathedral in 1559.<sup>35</sup>

Seen in retrospect, this long and complicated process would seem to be a brilliant way to eliminate the longstanding competition between the two abbeys and place Ghent on the ecclesiastical map as a diocesan see: now St Peter's would be the only Benedictine monastery in the city, and Ghent would have a wealthy and strong cathedral church bearing the name of the city's oldest saint. (Keep in mind that the church of the counts of Flanders, St Veerle, did not even figure in this plan, because due to damage from flooding in the fifteenth century it was by then very poor; it would be dismantled entirely in 1581.<sup>36</sup>)

The metamorphosis of the monastic community of St Bavo into the chapter of St Bavo can be considered a meeting of two developments that took place throughout the Middle Ages: first, the tendency to secularize in monasteries, which was manifested in periodic reforms establishing new

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<sup>34</sup> Discussed especially in Roegiers, Jan: "Saint-Bavon: Abbaye, Chapitre, Cathédrale (1536-1657)," in: Bouckaert (Ed.), *La Cathédrale*, 106-139 and 231-232; Bouckaert, Bruno: "Het muziekleven in de Gentse abdijen tussen 1500 en 1797," in Declercq (Ed.): *Ganda & Blandinium*, 168-170; Schreurs, Eugene: "Cathédrales et collégiales: centres de culture musicale en Flandre (du bas moyen âge a environ 1650)," in: Bouckaert (Ed.): *La Cathédrale*, 140-147 and 232-233; and Van de Wiele, Johan: "De Sint-Baafsabdij afgeschaft en gesloopt, de Sint-Pietersabdij een ruïne," in Declercq (Ed.): *Ganda & Blandinium*, 73-84.

<sup>35</sup> Roegiers, "Saint-Bavon," 118-119.

<sup>36</sup> Roegiers, "Saint-Bavon," 109.

Orders or applying Rules in a new way internally, and second, the conservative efforts at collegiate churches and cathedrals to ensure that a complete daily office and a mass would be celebrated (as in monasteries). In the fifteenth century, the latter was accomplished with the establishment of *cotidianen* or 'daily singers' and with private foundations supporting the (daily) 'seven Hours' (of the office). *Cotidianen* and seven Hours foundations begin and increase in number throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

Even so, there remained a difference between monastic and cathedral liturgy and music: in a monastery, the cantor directed the divine service but there was no difference in rank between the monks even if individual monks were chosen to sing certain chants. The services were longer in the monasteries, especially Matins, with its twelve antiphons, lessons, and responsories.<sup>38</sup> There were some side chapels in monastery churches, but fewer than in cathedrals. In cathedrals, a bishop presided at high feasts and the dean at other ceremonies. The canons, normally priests, were often replaced or complemented by vicars, often not priests. To these singers of chant a singing master and choirboys not found in the monasteries were added. Finally, in cathedrals private foundations required many masses, some with polyphony, to be performed in a larger number of side chapels.<sup>39</sup> So when the community of St Bavo's abbey moved to St Johns' church, the monks had to join forces with the existing secular community and also adapt to the new musical requirements, which included accomplishing private foundations for side chapels that required the singing of elaborate polyphonic music.

To understand this complex transformation and migration, the chronology of known facts is important and must precede discussion of the opportunities that arose and those that would become a reality.<sup>40</sup> The request to Emperor Charles V to secularize the monks of St Bavo into a

<sup>37</sup> Haggh, Barbara: "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350-1500," Ph.D. diss: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988, 240-241 (cf. 232-248); Haggh, Barbara: "Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music," *Acta musicologica* 68 (1996): 87-128; Haggh, Barbara: "The Aldermen's Registers as Sources for the History of Music in Ghent" in Christine Ballman and Henri Vanhulst (Eds.), *La la la ... Maître Henri: Mélanges de musicologie offerts à Henri Vanhulst*. Turnhout. 2009, 27-54; Starr, Pamela: "Rome as the Centre of the Universe: Papal Grace and Music Patronage," *Early Music History* 11 (1991): 234-238.

<sup>38</sup> On the Office and Mass in monasteries and cathedrals, see Harper, John: *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, 73-126; and Hughes, Andrew: *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology*. Toronto. 1982, 50-99.

<sup>39</sup> Haggh: "The Aldermen's Registers," 49-50.

<sup>40</sup> See the bibliography cited in note 34.

chapter of canons came in June 1535 from the new abbot of St Bavo's, Lucas Munich, even though his predecessor first had the idea. Munich's request was no surprise, because previous abbots were frequently absent: his predecessor, Abbot Marcatellis, had preferred to live in Bruges, mingle with the intelligentsia, and collect books.<sup>41</sup> Munich argued to the Emperor that Ghent had no chapter sufficiently prestigious for the most populous city of Flanders, which instead had two Benedictine abbeys. On 24 July 1536, the secularization was officially approved by the Emperor and by a bull of Pope Paul III, although the bull was only delivered to Ghent in September. The bull stipulated that the secular chapter of the former monks would be led by a provost and have four dignitaries, like all collegiate churches and cathedrals, and 24 canons: abbot Munich would be the first provost but would also keep his title of abbot for the rest of his life. The prior of the abbey would become the new dean, the former provost would become the cantor; the treasurer would keep his title, and another former provost would become the scholaster. Twelve canonicates would be assigned by the provost and twelve by Emperor Charles V. In the future the Emperor would choose the provost and the chapter the four dignitaries. The new chapter kept the former rights and privileges of the abbey. Emperor Charles V approved the bull on 18 October 1536. Then on 31 July 1537, the abbot and monks formally recognized the transformation, took off their monastic habits, and accepted the new chapter statutes prepared by abbot Munich. The new canons would participate in daily worship as before, but could now own property. Also in 1537 construction began on a house for the choirboys.

Further changes followed the revolt of the citizens of Ghent against Emperor Charles V in 1539, to which he replied by sending his army into the city on 14 February 1540. Now he also began to think of moving the monks, who were still at St Bavo's abbey, to the parish church of St. John's in the center of the city, not the idea of the former abbot. The Emperor's plan was to rebuild the old abbey of St Bavo as a citadel, from which his soldiers could observe potential rebellions in Ghent. Thus, on 29 April 1540, it was officially decided to move the monks, demolition of the township around St Bavo's abbey began, and the bishop of Tournai desacralized the abbey church. On 11 May a cardinal legate transformed the parish church of St John into the collegiate church of St Bavo; a procession the next day brought the saints' relics from the abbey to the renamed church, and the first stone of the new fortress was placed. By the end of June, the abbey church and most houses of the township of St Bavo were destroyed; the living quarters of the abbey would become part of the citadel, which was completed in 1545 and housed 2500 soldiers.

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<sup>41</sup> Haggh: "Musique et rituel," 78, 81-82.

The former monks of St Bavo and the secular priests serving St John's, two distinct communities totaling eighty men and twenty other persons, were now forced to live and pray together. A proclamation made by Emperor Charles V on 30 January 1542 prescribed the relationship between the new chapter and the old clergy: the chapter would have priority in determining the liturgy. At the same time, the new St Bavo's church needed further construction: its nave was completed by 1559, and spaces were found to house the provost, canons, and for holding chapter meetings.

On 20 May 1545, an ordinance of Lucas Munich regulated the service of chaplains, vicars, and singers, but it would take decades to put the regulations into effect. Then on 12 May 1559 the church of St John was renamed St Bavo and raised from the rank of collegiate church to cathedral, to belong to the archdiocese of Mechelen. This transformation was prepared by the project to redistribute the dioceses of the Low Countries at sessions of the Council of Trent in 1551 and 1552. The bull of Pope Pius IV of 7 August 1561 officially made the chapter of St Bavo a cathedral chapter, but a bishop was only appointed on 6 July 1567; he was installed on 1 September 1568 in Leuven, and made his solemn Entry into Ghent on 8 September. Thus it took more than thirty years for the transformation and migration to be completed.

For the history of music, this migration is particularly interesting, because the unusual change of monks to canons forced a dramatic change in liturgical music.<sup>42</sup> Monks sang Gregorian chant as a choir, almost always without polyphonic music, that is, without music in several parts. Monks also emphasized the daily performance of the full liturgical office and weekly recitation of the entire psalter. With few exceptions, each day was no different from the previous day. The first recto of Ghent, University Library, Ms. 14.1, the first volume of a two-volume gradual of the old St Bavo's abbey, a book containing the chant sung during the mass, shows its abbot, Jacob of Brussels, in the miniature.<sup>43</sup> This was the music sung by the monks before their transfer.

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<sup>42</sup> On the consequences of the migration for music, see the articles by Bruno Bouckaert and Eugene Schreurs cited in note 34 above.

<sup>43</sup> This manuscript is not viewable online. See the reproduction on p. 157 in Bouckaert, Bruno: "La vie musicale à Saint-Bavon: le développement d'un ensemble musical professionnel après 1536," in: Bouckaert (Ed.): *La Cathédrale. On the manuscripts with music in the two Benedictine abbeys including this one*, see Hagghe, Barbara: "Muziek in de handschriften van de Sint-Pieters- en de Sint-Baafsabdij, in: Declercq (Ed.), Ganda & Blandinium, 161-167.

A manuscript compilation of music theory, Ghent, University Library, Ms. 70, illustrates what would have been studied and taught by monks<sup>44</sup> – abbeys typically had large libraries and rooms for study, which were not characteristic of cathedrals.<sup>45</sup> This compilation includes a conspectus of treatises on medieval music though not on mensural notation. Included are treatises on counterpoint (discant and motets), by Johannes de Muris, on plainchant by Iohannes de Velle (Velle being a tiny village near Antwerp), and the English *Quattuor principalia*, also the *Dialogus de musica* and texts by Guido of Arezzo, Johannes Tinctoris, Gilles Carlier, and others. Ghent 70, folio 56 verso shows derived by dividing (here the four strings) of a ‘monochord’. This was done by stopping them with a movable bridge.<sup>46</sup>

The same St Bavo gradual, Ghent 14.1, includes a Credo in chant on folios 271 verso to 274 verso that was expanded into four-part parallel polyphony, the only written evidence of polyphony from St Bavo’s Abbey and a conservative monastic style of singing.<sup>47</sup> It is not the complex polyphony that was sung in the collegiate and parish churches of Ghent. Otherwise at St Bavo’s, one might occasionally hear organ music or on exceptionally important saints’ feast days, the playing of shawms and trumpets.<sup>48</sup>

By contrast, the new cathedral of St Bavo’s needed singers able to sing complex polyphony, like the works of the Ghent composers including Jacob Obrecht and Alexander Agricola or later, of the leading composer at the court of Emperor Charles V, Cornelius Canis.<sup>49</sup> Needed were choral

<sup>44</sup> Ghent, University Library, 70, is described in Meyer, Christian (Ed.): *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, vol. B III/6, Munich. 2003, 129-131. It can be viewed online at <http://lib.ugent.be/viewer/archive.ugent.be/%3A6F503288-3DC9-11E1-8041-DA663B7C8C91#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&r=0&cz=-2197.4021%2C-222.2222%2C7349.8042%2C4444.4444>.

<sup>45</sup> Medieval lists of the contents of the libraries of the two Ghent abbeys are published in Derolez, Albert, and others (Eds.): *Corpus catalogorum Belgii*, vol. 3, Brussels. 1999, 48-98 and 111-115.

<sup>46</sup> This folio is reproduced in Bouckaert (Ed.): *La Cathédrale*, 163. Medieval texts on the division of the monochord are edited in Meyer, Christian (Ed.): *Mensura monochordi. La division du monocorde (IXe-XVe siècles)*. Paris. 1996.

<sup>47</sup> On this composition, see Haggh, Barbara: “Simple Polyphony from Ghent: Representative or Exceptional?” in Giulio Cattin and F. Alberto Gallo (Eds.): *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*. Venezia. 2002, 99-117, here 99-100, 106-110; Haggh: “Sources for Plainchant,” 46-48; and the reproduction in Haggh: “Musique et liturgie,” p. 83.

<sup>48</sup> Haggh: “Musique et rituel,” 78.

<sup>49</sup> On these composers, see Wegman, Rob C.: “Bordon and Obrecht at Ghent: Discoveries and Revisions,” *Revue belge de musicologie* 51 (1997): 23-62; Wegman, Rob C.: *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht*. Oxford. 1994; Wegman, Rob C.: “*Pater meus agricola est*: The Early Years of Alexander Agricola,” *Early Music* 34 (2006):

vicars and choirboys, as well as a singing master and succentor, the former to teach boys and the latter to teach the singers of chant. Even the cathedral called upon instrumentalists occasionally. Since the fifteenth century, the Ghent town trumpeters had met in the parish church of St John's in their own chapel of St Andrew and St Lazarus, whose ceiling still shows angels with trumpets that had been painted on it in the fifteenth century.<sup>50</sup>

An unusual document, Ghent, Rijksarchief, Fonds St Baafs and Bisdom, K 10594, dated circa 1536/37, describes the research that was accomplished by the musicians planning the new organization at what would become the collegiate church of St Bavo's. Probably written by a singing-master, the anonymous author recommends ideal groups of musicians based on comparison of those employed in the churches of Arras, Cambrai, Lille, Tournai, and Bruges.<sup>51</sup> The document emphasizes the numbers of different categories of musicians: the singing-master taught polyphony and lived in a house with a group of twelve to sixteen choirboys; the adult singers included singers and vicars, but the singers responsible for the polyphony had the higher salary; the vicars were to sing the daily office and have good voices. Migrating freelance singers are mentioned and were numerous, but they had the lowest status. The document recommends that vicars be hired from Lille, Tournai, or Cambrai, who, given their experience, could teach the Ghent singers to sing well and follow the accents of the text. Accentuation would have been a problem, because throughout northern France and Flanders singers were employed whose native languages were either French or Flemish, meaning that Latin would have been sung at the same time by singers with different native languages and preferences for pronunciation.

Account books and other documents show that the musicians of the new cathedral of Ghennt were distinguished and numerous. They included the composer and singer Cornelius Canis and the organist Rogier Pathie,<sup>52</sup> who became part of the new chapter. The autonomous administration responsible for the daily offices and masses called the *cotidiane*, which had existed since 1359, now had two vicars leading the choir of singers, some

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375-389; Rudolf, Homer: "The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis." PhD diss., Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1977.

<sup>50</sup> See the illustration of the chapel ceiling in Wegman: *Born for the Muses*, 55.

<sup>51</sup> Bouckaert: "La vie musicale," in Bouckaert (Ed.): *La Cathédrale*, 148-189 and 233-235.

<sup>52</sup> Grove Music Online, s.v. "Pathie, Roger" by Frank Dobbins. An organ was at St. Bavo's abbey since the early fourteenth century; by 1540 there were several organs at the collegiate church of St. Bavo's, formerly St John's. In 1541 there was a table for an organ and a positive as well as a large organ, which was destroyed and rebuilt by 1595 and replaced in 1653-1655. See Bouckaert: "La vie musicale," 188-189, on the organ and organists at the church.



who had been recruited from the courts of Vienna, Prague, and Innsbruck, chaplains assigned to side altars joining the ten to sixteen vicars, between six and twelve choirboys, a carillon player, organist, singers of epistles and gospels, a succentor, and singing master. Vicar composers included men like Severin Cornet from whom 140 works survive, though he was only in Ghent for seven months.<sup>53</sup> The new organization of the musicians continued into the eighteenth century.

The migration of the monks of the abbey to the collegiate church and later cathedral of St Bavo can be followed in surviving manuscripts and books.<sup>54</sup> Some of the old chant books of St Bavo's abbey continued to be used for centuries, as can be seen on folio 267 verso of Ghent, University Library, Ms. 15.1 (the original layer dating from 1471-1481), which shows marginal notes added after the monks became canons, as well as a chant that was scraped and replaced by another.<sup>55</sup>

Books destined for the new church of St Bavo's include two manuscript processions, now Ghent University Library, MSS 184 and 188, which still have chants for the saints of the old abbey, however. After the Council of Trent, even though the revised Roman books were introduced in Ghent, the local saints' feasts were kept and printed in Ghent in 1572 and reprinted in 1661 and 1805; other books 'of the churches of Ghent' were published in Ghent in 1576, 1586, and 1595.<sup>56</sup> The new Cathedral also had a considerable collection of music books with polyphony and instrumental music.<sup>57</sup>

Books provide evidence for the last migration to be discussed here. In the 1520s, Fray Pedro de Gante or Pedro de Mura (ca. 1480–1572) from Ghent, a relative of Charles V, migrated to Mexico as a Franciscan missionary with two others, the first Christian missionaries to the New World. They were the first men from Europe to establish schools in the New World, which followed the model of the Brothers of the Common

<sup>53</sup> Grove Music Online, s.v. "Cornet, Séverin" by Donna G. Cardamone/Kristine Forney; Bouckaert, "La vie musicale," 184-185.

<sup>54</sup> Bouckaert assumes that the library of St Bavo's abbey was brought to St John's, but this seems doubtful, because monastic libraries were usually substantial. On the libraries of the two Benedictine abbeys of Ghent before 1500, see Derolez, Albert: *Scriptorium en bibliotheek tijdens de middeleeuwen*, in Declercq (Ed.): Ganda & Blandinium, 147-160. The liturgical manuscripts were transferred.

<sup>55</sup> Ghent 15.1-2 can be seen online at <http://lib.ugent.be/viewer/archive.ugent.be/%3A68EC210C-57A7-11E1-8E7D-C6B23B7C8C91#c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&r=0&z=-585.6829%2C0%2C10203.3657%2C6170>; and a reproduction of folio 267 verso is published on p. 76 in Haggh: "Musique et rituel."

<sup>56</sup> Haggh: "Musique et rituel," 85.

<sup>57</sup> Bouckaert, Bruno, and Els Vercammen: *Inventaris van de muziekcollectie van de Gentse Sint-Baafskathedraal*. Ghent. 2005.

Life who were active in Ghent. Da Gante was taught by the Spanish musician Juan de Anchieta and knew members of the Croy family that had patronized the composer Josquin des Prez.<sup>58</sup> Da Gante's associations with the court of Charles V, Emperor not only in Europe but later of Mexico, or New Spain, are important, because of the choirbooks prepared by the Burgundian-Habsburg predecessors, which influenced those in use by the singers of the Emperor. A connection can be seen between the 51 Burgundian-Habsburg choirbooks prepared at the workshop of the music scribe Petrus Alamire between 1495 and 1530 and the choirbooks of Mexico City Cathedral from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.<sup>59</sup> One finds the same kind of black interlacing and *trompe-l'oeil* perspective in the decorations of these two groups of manuscripts. What is different is the size of these manuscripts: the Mexico City choirbooks are twice the size of the Alamire books. In Cuernavaca south of Mexico City, where Da Gante and his companions established a Franciscan church and schools, the Cathedral library today contains service books including one with texts for the mass of the elevation and translation of St Bavo, the first of the 'Festa Augusti' on folio clxvij recto in an appendix inserted in a printed book without a shelf number, *Missae Propriae Sanctorum in Ecclesia Mexicana celebrandae* (Mechlin: P. J. Hanicq, 1851). There is no evidence that this feast was celebrated in Cuernavaca however, only that Cuernavaca Cathedral kept this book from the homeland of Pedro de Gante in its library.

I have shown here that each of the discussed migrations – from Ghent to Laon, from Laon and Nesle-la-Reposte back to Ghent, from the abbey of St Bavo to the cathedral of St Bavo, and from Ghent to Mexico – provided opportunities for the development and transmission of culture, including music. The numerical order of the alleluia verses and office psalm tones as well as the musical notation practiced in Laon helped singers to fix a large repertory of music in their minds and to transmit it. The new chant for saints of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was a means of protecting and also increasing the prestige of the two abbeys, as was the new musical establishment of the sixteenth century at the cathedral of St Bavo, which was organized for the more frequent singing of polyphony. Finally, the new and much larger choirbooks of Mexico City Cathedral borrowed but improved in their own way on the methods of producing manuscripts that had been practiced in the Low Countries. Thus, migrations, even those resulting from hardship, led to changes, some dramatic, which ultimately

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<sup>58</sup> Grove Music Online, s.v. "Roman Catholic Church Music, VI.3.ii" by Joseph Dyer.

<sup>59</sup> Kellman, Herbert, and others (Eds.): *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire : Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500-1535*. Ghent. 1999; the website of the project to inventory and digitize the Libros de coro of Mexico City Cathedral is <http://musicat.unam.mx/nuevo/libros-creditos.html>.

proved to be positive for the migrants and the communities of which they became a part.

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