Guillaume Du Fay

This volume explores the work of one of medieval music’s most important figures, and in so doing presents an extended panorama of musical life in Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. Guillaume Du Fay rose from obscure beginnings to become the most significant composer of the fifteenth century, a man courted by kings and popes, and this study of his life and career provides a detailed examination of his entire output, including a number of newly discovered works. As well as offering musical analysis, this volume investigates his close association with the cathedral of Cambrai, and explores how, at a time when music was becoming increasingly professionalised, Du Fay forged his own identity as ‘a composer’. This detailed biography will be highly valuable for those interested in the history of medieval and church music, as well as for scholars of Du Fay’s musical legacy.

Alejandro Enrique Planchart wide-ranging and distinguished career as composer, conductor, and scholar began in Caracas, Venezuela and took him via Yale and Harvard to the University of California, Santa Barbara, where he is now Emeritus Professor. In 1963 he founded an early music ensemble, Cappella Cordina, with whom he issued a pioneering series of recordings of medieval and Renaissance music. His book The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester won the Gustave O. Arlt Award in the Humanities in 1979. In 2006 he received the Howard Mayer Brown Award from Early Music America, and in 2013 he received the Medal of the City of Tours. He was also winner, in 2009, of the Arion Prize from the Cambridge Society for Early Music, for his work on Guillaume Du Fay, of which this book is the long-awaited summation.
Guillaume Du Fay
The Life and Works

Volume I: The Life

ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART
University of California, Santa Barbara
To Margaret Bent and Richard Sherr
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Acknowledgments

This is not a book I ever actually planned on writing. Its genesis owes a great deal to the charm and power of persuasion of the late Eric van Tassel, who in 1974 or thereabouts talked me into offering to write a book about Du Fay for Cambridge. At the time I told him that I believed that to write such a book properly could take twenty years, and yet he managed to convince me to make a foolish promise to Cambridge for a book in two or three years.

Even in those comments I was absolutely unrealistic. It took me thirty-five years to finish the book, and I am still not entirely sure that I have covered the ground in a way that remotely does justice to Du Fay and his music. By my own informal count it involved looking page by page into some fourteen million pages of documents, and every surviving manuscript with a work by Du Fay or possibly by Du Fay that came along. Still the length of time it took is mostly a function of my own lack of discipline, but also of the hard facts of my academic career. From 1976, when I started at the University of California, until my retirement in 2002, my teaching duties, except for an isolated term here and there, involved teaching the music of the Middle Ages up to ca. 1400, the music of the twentieth century, and toward my last years at the university, the music of the Classical era, but not the music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I also had under my charge a motet choir, a medieval ensemble, and a Baroque orchestra, and although I did perform a great deal of music of the fifteenth century, including all of Du Fay’s music over the years, I believe I owed it to my students in these ensembles to expose them to the performance of music from Beneventan and Gregorian chant to the music of Mozart and Haydn, with everything in between, so that they would go, after four or six years in these ensembles, with a living knowledge of the traditions of Western music from ca. 900 to 1800.

Still, the joy of discovery, putting together the bits and pieces that what Bonnie Blackburn and Laurie Stras call “the Archive Angel” put on my path, and the extraordinary beauty and power of the music of Du Fay and his contemporaries, particularly Ockeghem and Josquin, made the journey as enjoyable as life can be, and the fact that research, and in particular
performance, is never a solitary endeavor, put in my way a great number of people who illuminated not only my work, but my life. Coming to the end of this work, I want once again to thank Eric, whose sense of the beauty and the joy of this music was one of his most salient traits.

The people who have helped me along the way are legion, and even at the risk of forgetting a name after so many years, I would be remiss if I did not thank all whom I remember. At the start three people were particularly helpful and encouraging: the late canon of Cambrai, Edmond Dartus, who, like Du Fay, was head of the musical establishment of his cathedral and had an immense knowledge of the archival material in Cambrai and Lille, as well as an abiding love for the music of the Renaissance; Craig Wright, who shared with me many of his discoveries long before their publication; and David Fallows, whose knowledge of the music of the fifteenth century is probably unparalleled, and with whom I have had an incredibly stimulating dialogue for more than three decades. I know very few people who can get as infatuated with a work of fifteenth-century music as he does, and who can communicate that infatuation with as much artistic and intellectual insight as he.

The list of people to whom I am deeply indebted in my study of Du Fay and his music, as I said before, is immense; it includes, in addition to those I have already mentioned, Allan Atlas, Giuliano di Bacco, Robert Bradley, Mitchell Brauner, Camilla Cavicchi, Liane Curtis, Jeffrey Dean, Kristine Forney, Sean Gallagher, Marco Gozzi, Marian Green, Barbara Haggh-Hugo, Catherine Jones, Tass Jones, Louise Litterick, Lewis Lockwood, Birgit Lodes, Laurenz Lütteken, Monique Maillard-Luppaert, John Nádas, William Prizer, Christopher Reynolds, Joshua Rifkin, Adalbert Roth, Jesse Rodin, Kiri Salonen, Brigide Schwarz, Pamela Starr, Peter Urquhart, Anne Walters Robertson, Flynn Warmington, Rob Wegman, and Anna Zayaruznaya. It also includes my colleagues and students from Yale, who sang much of this music with me, and those in Brandeis and the University of California at Santa Barbara. With them I had a chance to perform virtually all of the surviving music of Du Fay, and much of the repertory from his contemporaries and successors as well.

I am also deeply indebted to a large number of institutions who received me with great courtesy and provided an ideal working environment and many months of happy labor. These include Archief van het Bisdom Brugge, Archives Départementales de l’Aisne, Archives Départementales de Savoie, Archivio Capitolare di Ferrara, and Dr. Giovanni Sassu, Archivio di Stato di Bologna and its then director Dr. Giorgio Tamba, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio di Stato di Savoia and its then director...
Acknowledgments

Dr. Isa Ricci, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and its late prefect the Rev. Leonard Boyle (martyr), Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Bibliothèque Municipale de Besançon, Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the then conservateur of the music division, François Avril, Bibliothèque Universitaire et Cantonale de Lausanne, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Museo Medievale di Bologna and Dr. Giancarlo Benevolo, Palais des Beaux Arts de Lille and its then director Mme Florence Gombert.

Three institutions went beyond professional courtesy and treated me with uncommon kindness: the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, under Rev. Josef Metzler and with the always helpful suggestions of Father Charles Burns, and the employees of the banco, who often alerted me to volumes they assumed (always correctly) I would be requesting during my visits, but which were being prepared for restoration or filming, so that I could see them before they became temporarily unavailable; the Archives Départementales du Nord, particularly under the late René Robinet and Michel Vangheluwe, who made my work in Lille an absolute joy; and the Mediathèque Municipale de Cambrai, and particularly the head of the manuscript section, Mme Annie Fournier.

I am equally indebted to the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation for a fellowship in 1988–1989, which allowed me the time and peace of mind to do what amounted to "a second pass" of the entire archival material I had looked at in Rome and Cambrai between 1981 and 1987, a process that essentially closed virtually all the chronological gaps that were then in our view of Du Fay's life, and sent the work in the direction it ultimately took, which included the separate preparation of a new Opera Omnia.

Leofranc Holford-Strevens and Bonnie Blackburn provided me with constant and invaluable help in almost every aspect of writing this work: Bonnie read through and copy-edited the entire work and saved me from hundreds of errors and infelicities. Finally there are two people who have provided me with unending guidance and inspiration, not just in the research and writing of this work, but throughout my entire career as a student of the music of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Margaret Bent and Richard Sherr. They have been the stella maris (a double star at that) for my entire career, and to them this book is gratefully dedicated.
The Organization of the Cathedral of Cambrai

Chapter 4 presents a detailed structure of the structure, organization, and governance of the cathedral of Cambrai. Here, as a convenient reference, is a list of the different offices that have left traces in the written record, with a short description of their functions. These are listed in alphabetical order by the terms I use in this study to refer to them. In terms of income, virtually all of the offices listed here derived their income from three main categories: (1) rentals of houses and small plots owned specifically by the office, (2) sale of wheat from lands held by the office, and (3) sale of oats from lands held by the office. A few offices, specifically the chaplains, the fabric, and the wine, received a special gift from newly appointed chaplains (for the chaplain’s office) or canons (for the fabric and the wine) during the first year they were received to a benefice, and almost all offices received monies or property to support endowments, either as occasional gifts from patrons clerical and secular or legacies of the deceased.

Assize (later divided into “Grand Assize” and “Assize of Cambrésis.”)

The central financial office of the cathedral and the diocese, which oversaw the administration of all the lands and rents of the cathedral (although it did not include lands or property that officially belonged to another of the offices that occasionally owned such property).

Aumonse. The charitable arm of the cathedral chapter, which also paid half of the expenses of the clothing and support of the small vicars and the choristers, as well as dispensing alms to numerous people and organizations.

Bread. The office that supported the bakery of the chapter and all the purchase of materials for the making of bread and the distribution of bread to the members of the cathedral clergy, merged after 1419 with the office of wine.

Cellar. The office that administered the cathedral’s vineyard and collected its rents and produce and stored the wine. Canons could buy into the cellar’s holdings and receive a yearly sum from its profits.

Chaplains (great and small communities). The office that administered the finances of the community of chaplains, the functioning of the chaplaincies, and collection of the “taxes” on “foreign” chaplaincies.
The records of the great community are extensive; those of the small community are almost wholly lost.

Fabric. The office that administered the liturgical functioning of the cathedral in all its aspects, and payed for all the expenses of the liturgy, including the daily distributions to those participating, the monies for wax and lighting, vestments, the copying and repair of books (including choirbooks), as well as paintings and glasswork for the cathedral.

Grand métier. The office that paid for most of the lay servants of the cathedral, gave the canons their stipend for each general meeting of the chapter they attended, and oversaw the gifts of wine and bread to visiting dignitaries and other guests honored by the chapter.

Great vicars. The office that administered all the endowed services in which the community of great vicars took part (largely all the services tout court, apart from the daily liturgy), dispensing the sums stipulated by the donors to each member taking part in the liturgy).

Small vicars. The office that appointed and dismissed all the small vicars of the cathedral, the choristers, and paid for half of their livery and for their daily distributions.

Wine. The office that administered the distribution of wine, and after 1439 of bread as well, to all the members of the cathedral clergy. Beginning in 1439, this distribution included the bread given to each small vicar for his service in the choir, which led to the office keeping a detailed account of which vicars were present on a daily basis.
A Note on Currency

The status of coinage in the fifteenth century, what the executors of Du Fay’s will call “monetary gold and silver” (or et argent monnoyer), was in constant flux, and most accounts were kept in theoretical “money of account,” whose relationship to actual money was often defined at the start of a given account and could vary from year to year.

In Cambrai and Burgundy it was the pound of Tours, divided into 20 sols, each divided into 12 deniers.

In the papal accounts it was the cameral florin, worth 20 soldi and 240 denari.

In Savoy it was the florin “parvus pondus,” divided into 20 grossi, each divided into 12 denari.

The relationship of these moneys to each other or to the actual coinage in each region was fluid and changeable throughout the fifteenth century.
# Abbreviations

## Manuscript Sigla

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<tr>
<td>Ao II 9</td>
<td>Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, MS II 9 (<em>olum A 1° D 19</em>). Complete color photographs available at <a href="http://www.diamm.ac.uk">http://www.diamm.ac.uk</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apt 16b</td>
<td>Apt, Basilique de Sainte-Anne, MS 16 bis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca 6</td>
<td>Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, MS 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca 29</td>
<td>Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, MS 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>Cape Town, The South African Library, MS Grey 3.b.12</td>
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| Ch 546 | Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 546. Facsimile: *Codex Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, MS 546*, xviib
List of Abbreviations  xix


CS 14  Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, MS 14. Choirbook copied in northern Italy or perhaps even in Rome, early 1470s

CS 15  Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, MS 15. Choirbook copied in Rome for the papal chapel, ca. 1491–1496

CS 49  Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, MS 49. Choirbook copied in Rome for the papal chapel, 1492–II 904


Ed  Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 5. 1. II 9. Choirbook copied by Robert Carver, ca. II 901–946, for the Royal Chapel of Scotland


EscB  El Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, MS IV.a.24

Fl 112b  Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Mag. XIX. 112bis

Fl 176  Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XIX. 176

Fl 178  Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XIX. 178


FR 2794  Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2794
List of Abbreviations

GSB  Great Saint Bernard Pass, Bibliothèque de l'Hospice, MS Fragment 8
Ivr 15  Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 15
Lab  Washington, Library of Congress, MS M2.1 L25 Case (Laborde Chansonnier)
Lei 1084  Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084, fols. 225v–231v. Music added to a mixed manuscript after ca. 1450
MAE  Mons, Archives de l'État
MC 871  Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, MS 871N
Mer 13b  Merseburg, Domstifsbibliothek, MS 13b (Bible concordance), guard folio
ModB  Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, a.X.1.11. Complete set of color photographs available in the Archive of Early and Medieval Music Manuscripts and Scores, www.diamm.ac.uk
ModD  Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, MS a.M.1.13 (olim Lat. 456)
List of Abbreviations

ModE Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, MS a.M.1.2 (olim Lat. 457)


MuEm Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 14274 (olim Mus. Ms. 3232a, olim Cim. 352 c). Facsimile: Der Mensuralcodex St. Emmeram. Facsimile der Handschrift Clm 14274 der Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, ed. Ian Rumbold and Peter Wright, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006)


Pix Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr., MS II 9123 (Pixérécourt Chansonnier)

Por Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, MS 714. Facsimile: Porto 714, um manuscrito precioso, ed. Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2001)
List of Abbreviations

Poz Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka im. Adama Michiewicza, MS 7022
Rei Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. MS 6771 (Reina Codex). The third section of the manuscript, fols. 89–119, will be referred as Rei 3
Ricc 2794 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2794
RU 1411 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urbinate Latino 1411. Facsimile: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urbinate Latino 1411, intr. Adalbert Roth (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2006). The original introduction, which could not be published with the edition but supersedes that of Roth, is James Haar, Città del Vaticano, Ms Urbinas latinus 1411 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2006)
Str 222 Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS C.33 (olim 222), destroyed in the fire of August 1870, known from an extensive thematic index and selected diplomatic transcriptions made by Edmond de Coussemaker (now Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, MS 56286). Facsimile of Coussemaker’s copy: Le Manuscrit musical M 222 C 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg, XVe
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siècle, ed. Albert Vander Linden, Thesaurus musicus 2
(Brussels: Office International de Librairie, 1975)

Str 47 Prague, Památník Národního Písemnictví, Strahovská
Knihovna, MS D.G.IV.47

Tr 87 Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio,
MS 1374 (olim 87). Facsimile: Codex Tridentinus 87 [Rome:
Vivarelli e Gullà, 1970]. Complete color photographs available
at http://www1.trentinocultura.net

Tr 88 Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio,
MS 1375 (olim 88). Facsimile: Codex Tridentinus 88 [Rome:
Vivarelli e Gullà, 1970]. Complete color photographs available
at http://www1.trentinocultura.net

Tr 89 Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio,
MS 1376 (olim 89). Facsimile: Codex Tridentinus 89 [Rome:
Vivarelli e Gullà, 1970]. Complete color photographs available
at http://www1.trentinocultura.net

Tr 90 Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio,
MS 1377 (olim 90). Facsimile: Codex Tridentinus 90 [Rome:
Vivarelli e Gullà, 1970]. Complete color photographs available
at http://www1.trentinocultura.net

Tr 92 Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio,
MS 1379 (olim 92). Facsimile: Codex Tridentinus 92 [Rome:
Vivarelli e Gullà, 1970]. Complete color photographs available
at http://www1.trentinocultura.net

Tr 93 Trento, Archivio Diocesano, MS 93 (olim BL). Facsimile:
Codex Tridentinus 93 [Rome: Vivarelli e Gullà, 1970].
Complete color photographs available at http://www1.trenti-
nocultura.net

Tu J.II.9 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS J.II.9.
Facsimile: Il Codice J.II.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale
Universitaria, ed. Isabella Data and Karl Kügle (Lucca:
Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999)

Ven 145 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS it. IX. 145 (coll.
7554)

Ver 759 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLIX

Vie J094 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften-
und Inkunabelsammlung, MS 5094 (olim Jur. can. 49; IX.
C.8). Various fragments of text and some music, 15th century
List of Abbreviations

Other Abbreviations


ASV  Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano
     Arm = Armadio
     DC = Diversa Cameralia
     I&E = Introitus et Exitus
     LA = Libri Annatarum
     RL = Registra Lateranensia
     RS = Registra Supplicationum
     RV = Registra Vaticana

BAB  Bruges, Archief van het Bisdom

BAV  Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
     CS = Cappella Sistina
     SP = Archivio di San Pietro

BL  London, British Library

BNC  Florence, Biblioteca Nationale Centrale

BnF  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Bosse  Detlev Bosse, Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum “Gloria in excelsis deo,” Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Regensburg: Bosse, 1955)

BR  Bibliothèque royale

CAO  René-Jean Hesbert, Corpus antiphonalium officii, 6 vols. (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 7–12; Rome: Herder, 1963–1979)

CAS  Chambéry, Archives Départementales de Savoie
     Inv. = Inventaire

CBM  Cambrai, Mediathèque municipale

c.f.  cantus firmus

c.t.  contratenor

DACO  Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte d’Or

FAS  Florence, Archivio di Stato

fb  fauxbourdon

Grove Music Online  www.oxfordmusiconline.com
List of Abbreviations

GT
Graduale Triplex (Solesmes: Abbaye de Saint-Pierre, 1979)

LACV
Lausanne, Archives cantonales Vaudoises

LAA
Laon, Archives départementales de l’Aisne

LAN
Lille, Archives départementales du Nord

LBM
Lille, Bibliothèque municipale

LU
Liber Usualis missae et officii (Tournai: Declée, no. 780, 1954)

MAS
Modena, Archivio di Stato

Melnicki (Mel)
Margareta Melnicki, Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters, Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Regensburg: Bosse, 1954)

MGG1
Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Friedrich Blume, 17 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–86)

MGG2

MMMA
Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi

OO
Opera omnia

RAS
Rome, Archivio di Stato
Camerale = Fondo Camerale

Schildbach

Schlager

TAS
Turin, Archivio di Stato
Inv. = Inventario

Thannabaur (Than)

VP
Variae preces ex liturgia tum hodierna tum antiqua collectae aut usu receptae (Solesmes: Abbaye de Saint-Pierre, 1888; 5th edn. 1901)