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**THE POETIC AND MUSICAL LEGACY OF  
HELOISE AND ABELARD:**

**AN ANTHOLOGY OF ESSAYS BY VARIOUS AUTHORS**

**Edited by**

**Marc Stewart**

**And**

**David Wulstan**

**A Joint Publication**



The Institute of Mediæval Music  
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The Institute of Mediæval Music  
1270 Lampman Crescent  
Ottawa, Canada  
K2C 1P8

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## Foreword

MICHAEL CLANCHY

**A**BELARD and Heloise were very concerned about their fame and their place in history. She had the temerity to invoke God as her witness that if the Emperor Augustus had offered to marry her, 'it would seem dearer to me and more honourable to be called your whore than his empress'.<sup>1</sup> He confessed: 'I now considered myself to be the one supreme philosopher in the world'.<sup>2</sup> Their hyperboles verge on absurdity. How could a convent girl of doubtful parentage have imagined that God thought her a match for the greatest of the Roman emperors? How could a master of dubious reputation, a *joculator* rather than a *doctor*,<sup>3</sup> think that he was the world's greatest philosopher? But this was not all wishful thinking, as Abelard and Heloise had enthusiastic admirers. In his epitaph for Abelard, Peter the Venerable likened him to all three Greek philosophers at once: he had been the Socrates of France, the great Plato of the West, 'our Aristotle'.<sup>4</sup> An epitaph for Heloise declares her to have been Abelard's equal 'in feeling, character and skill' and adds that she was 'without equal in her knowledge of all writings'.<sup>5</sup> This last comment looks like a riposte to Peter the Venerable's epitaph which had declared Abelard to be 'without an equal, without a better, the world's acknowledged prince of studies'.<sup>6</sup>

The epitaph for Heloise asserts that she had been Abelard's equal in sensibilities and his superior in learning. Because he is now so much better documented than she is (his main academic works survive, whereas she is known only through letters and charters), modern scholars have tended to see her as his intellectual and artistic dependant. Even her best biographer, Enid McLeod, takes this patriarchal line when she explains that Heloise's 'profoundly critical attitude' to texts was 'largely the result, no doubt, of Abelard's influence'.<sup>7</sup> As so often when a historian invokes the catch-all 'no doubt', McLeod means that she has no evidence. There is every doubt about who was responsible for Heloise's intellectual and artistic formation. All we know about her early education is that she had been at the convent of Argenteuil as a girl. Barbara Newman has surmised that 'Heloise came to Abelard with not only her mind but her imagination already well stocked'.<sup>8</sup> This is what Abelard himself implies. When he first met her, she was already 'most renowned in the whole kingdom'.<sup>9</sup> Betty Radice overlooked the superlative here ('in toto regno *nominatissima*') and her translation only says that Heloise's knowledge 'had won her renown throughout the realm'.<sup>10</sup> Possibly Radice assumed that Abelard was exaggerating and that his statement needed toning down to make it accord with patriarchal norms about the Middle Ages. But Peter the Venerable confirms Abelard's statement, as he too describes how he had heard of Heloise's precocious knowledge (perhaps when he was prior of Vezelay in Burgundy) and he uses the same phrase as Abelard to describe it: 'literary learning' (*litteratoria scientia*).<sup>11</sup> Peter adds that she had pursued 'a useful programme of learning the arts'.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'karius michi et dignius videretur tua dici meretrix quam illius imperatrix.' Letter II: Hicks, p.49, Radice, p.114, and see *LLL*, pp.29, 35, 55, 96-7, 112, 260. For short-title references, see p.ix, below.

<sup>2</sup> 'jam me solum in mundo superesse philosophum estimarem.'

<sup>3</sup> *Vita Gosuini*, p.442: see Clanchy, pp.18-19, 57.

<sup>4</sup> 'Gallorum Socrates, Plato maximus Hesperiarum, noster Aristoteles.' Epitaph, ed. C J Mews and C S F Burnett, in *Studia Monastica*, 27 (1985), p.65.

<sup>5</sup> 'Illa sua Petro par sensu, moribus, arte, scripturas omnes noverat absque pare.' Dronke, *MLREL*, pp.469-70, and see Dronke, *Testimonies*, p.49.

<sup>6</sup> 'aut par, aut melior, studiorum cognitus orbi princeps.' Epitaph, p.65.

<sup>7</sup> Enid McLeod, *Heloise: A Biography*. London, 1938, <sup>2</sup>1971, p.183.

<sup>8</sup> Barbara Newman, 'Authority, Authenticity and the Repression of Heloise', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 22 (1992), pp.121-58, at p.151.

<sup>9</sup> Letter I. Hicks, p.10.

<sup>10</sup> Radice, p.66.

<sup>11</sup> Letter 115, Constable, p.303. Abelard, Letter I, Hicks, p.10.

<sup>12</sup> 'utili discendarum artium proposito.' Letter 115. My translation differs from Radice's, p.277.

What were the 'arts' which had won Heloise such precocious fame? No known work of hers can be ascribed to the years before she met Abelard, yet she must have published widely to become so famous in literary circles. Who had encouraged her to write and publish? What exactly had she written: learned commentaries on classical authors? Latin poetry of her own? music to accompany her compositions? At present we are only beginning to answer these questions. From much later in Heloise's career, when she was Abbess of the convent of the Paraclete, Constant Mews has reedited the letter addressed to her by Hugh Metel. This begins with musical metaphors describing how her fame has 'sounded through the void ... resounding from you, it has thundered down on us' (literally *intonuit* – which in the Middle Ages usually meant 'intoned').<sup>13</sup> Hugh's point is that the sound has had to travel a long way because he was writing to her from Toul beyond the eastern boundary of the kingdom of France. Hugh asks: how has she surpassed the female sex? And he answers: 'by composing, by versifying, by renewing familiar words in a new combination'.<sup>14</sup> The distinctions he makes here between *dictandum*, *versificandum*, *nova junctura* and *nota verba novandum* are central to the new way of seeing Heloise which Mews has pioneered. His purpose in *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard* is not only to establish the authenticity of these letters, but to demonstrate that she too was a considerable author. Mews has placed the young Heloise for the first time in a convincing social setting.<sup>15</sup> His forthcoming book on the partnership of Abelard and Heloise, for the 'Great Medieval Thinkers' series,<sup>16</sup> will go further in reclaiming her as an intellectual and author.

When so little is known, it is right to come forward with path-breaking hypotheses which will stimulate further research; the numerous non-literate features of mediæval culture (its art, its oral literature, much of its music) can only be reconstructed by informed speculation and debate. In the case of Abelard and Heloise, Mews's book of 1999 has blazed a trail. He has been followed by a collection of essays edited by Bonnie Wheeler entitled *Listening to Heloise*, published in 2000, and now by the book which David Wulstan has put together here on the poetic and musical legacy of Heloise and Abelard. Although they were both exceptionally literate in Latin, their poetry and music remained embedded in oral culture, rather than in written record. Their voices and melodies are therefore difficult to recover from the anonymous compositions and fragments of writing which we now possess. Heloise's name precedes Abelard's in the title of this book because her achievements, in music in particular, have scarcely been considered hitherto. She had praised Abelard's 'gifts in composing and singing', but she had said nothing about her own.<sup>17</sup> This is characteristic of the stance she takes in these later letters to Abelard. The achievements and ideas are all ascribed to him, whereas in fact many of them may have originated from her. In poetry and music she may indeed have been his equal in 'feeling, character and skill'.<sup>18</sup>

'Feeling' (*sensus*) is as important here as 'skill' (*ars*). Because the letters of Abelard and Heloise engage the feelings, through their hyperboles among other rhetorical devices, they have always provoked controversy and made their readers take sides in their disputes. The first publisher of the later letters, Jean de Meun, commented that some people said Heloise was mad.<sup>19</sup> In the letter she wrote to Abelard in reaction to his *Historia Calamitatum* she rings the changes on her emotions: pedantry, self-pity, anger, mockery, contempt, passionate love, joy, irredeemable loss – all these follow each other in quick succession. Her final words in this letter 'Vale unice' can be read in very different ways: reverently, as in Jean de Meun's translation 'Commending you to God, mine only'; romantically, as in the title of Antoine Audouard's novel *Adieu, mon unique*;<sup>20</sup> contemptuously, if her words are understood as 'Bye-bye, egotist'; or even vindictively, 'Wallow in your loneliness'.<sup>21</sup> Heloise's readers cannot avoid being drawn into her conflicting emotions and Abelard provoked similar reactions. According to St Bernard, he was 'dissimilar even from himself'.<sup>22</sup>

In my *Abelard: A Medieval Life* I have no separate chapter discussing him as a poet and musician. I should of course have attempted this, since I aim to explicate his life through the diverse roles he played as a master, lover, monk, and so

<sup>13</sup> Hugh Metel, Letter 16, my translation. See the text and translation by Mews, below, p.25, n.40.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> See LLL chapter 3, 'Paris, the schools and the politics of sex'.

<sup>16</sup> To be published by the Oxford University Press.

<sup>17</sup> 'dictandi videlicet et cantandi gratia.' Letter II, Hicks, p.57, and see Wulstan, below, p.3, n.9.

<sup>18</sup> See n.5 above.

<sup>19</sup> *Le Roman de la Rose*, lines 8781–3.

<sup>20</sup> Gallimard, Paris, 2000.

<sup>21</sup> Letter II, Hicks, p.53.

<sup>22</sup> 'sibi dissimilis est'. Bernard, Letter 193, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, 8 vols. Rome, 1957–77, vol. 8, p.44.

on. I mention his secular love-songs within the context of his being a courtly knight who could play the part of a 'jester and troubadour'.<sup>23</sup> But I did not attempt much more than this, beyond alluding to Hugh of St-Victor's theory of music.<sup>24</sup> I was certainly not aware that I needed to consider Heloise as a composer, as well as an intellectual and a rhetorician. As for Abelard, I found the surviving poetry in his own name (that is, his hymns and *planctus*) difficult to integrate into the scheme of my book, not least because so much work was still in progress when I was writing in the 1990s.

The work which David Wulstan has written and brought together here, and the publications which it will stimulate in its turn, should make it more possible for some future biographer of Abelard and Heloise to assess the importance of poetry and music in their lives. The subject will always be controversial, however, because many of the attributions of compositions to them must retain conjectural elements. Abelard was proud of his secular songs which (he boasts) were 'still repeated and sung in many regions, especially by those whom that manner of life amuses'.<sup>25</sup> Today's professor wants pompously to ask: which songs? which regions? which jongleurs were amused? But Abelard might have refused to answer such questions because he had purportedly turned his back on 'jesters and other singers of filth' when he became a monk and a hermit and the author of 'Christian Theology' (*Theologia Christiana*).<sup>26</sup> He never gave these secular songs an authorised written form for posterity, like his academic works and the hymns and devotional material which he composed for Heloise and her nuns. As an extraordinarily prolific and serious Christian writer and apologist, like the Church Fathers whom he most admired (Origen, Jerome, Augustine and Bede), Abelard wanted the world to believe that he and Heloise had put their scandalous past behind them and had been truly converted to religion.

But, as Abelard describes in *Historia Calamitatum*, he and Heloise could not shake off their scandalous reputations. Those 'new apostles' (or 'pseudo-apostles' as she called them),<sup>27</sup> St Norbert and St Bernard, 'went up and down the country (literally the 'world' – *mundus*), slandering me shamelessly in their preaching as much as they could'.<sup>28</sup> Later on, when Heloise was expelled from the convent of Argenteuil allegedly for notorious immorality, Abelard's detractors accused him of still being a slave to lust ('carnal concupiscence')<sup>29</sup> because he protected her. Among St Bernard's slanders at the time of the council of Sens in 1141 was the allegation that Abelard consorted with *muliercule* – silly 'little women', alluding perhaps to the former scandalous reputation of Heloise and her nuns.<sup>30</sup> Berengar of Poitiers counter-attacked by ridiculing Bernard and publishing Abelard's Confession of Faith (*Confessio fidei*) to Heloise within the context of his attack on Bernard. If he was a kinsman of Abelard, as Constant Mews and Brenda Cook suggest in this book,<sup>31</sup> this must have compounded the scandalous reputation of everybody concerned.

Because Abelard and Heloise have seemed so different in character to different people, even to those who knew them personally like St Bernard and Peter the Venerable, the works which are ascribed to them on grounds of appropriateness to their characters are bound to cause controversy. Could Abelard have really been the lascivious *papa scholasticus* (as David Wulstan suggests in this book),<sup>32</sup> or the model for the subversive 'Bishop Goliath' of the Goliardic poets (as Peter Walsh has suggested)?<sup>33</sup> Considering Bernard's treatment of Abelard, can we really believe that Heloise maintained good relations with him (as Constant Mews suggests)?<sup>34</sup> If she did seek protection from Bernard, was this because Peter the Venerable turned out to be a useless defender of Heloise and her nuns despite all his fine words? He seems to have done nothing to help Astralabe, as she requested. Certainly somebody introduced Cistercian practices into

<sup>23</sup> Clanchy, pp.131–5.

<sup>24</sup> Clanchy, p.31.

<sup>25</sup> 'frequentantur et decantantur regionibus, ab his maxime quos vita similis oblectat.' Letter I, Hicks p.12. Clanchy, p.133. Radice, p.68. David Luscombe, 'Peter Abelard and the Poets', in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: a Festschrift for Peter Dronke*. Leiden, 2001, p.155.

<sup>26</sup> *Theologia Christiana*, p.192: see Clanchy, pp.57, 134. See also Luscombe, 'Peter Abelard and the Poets', p.159.

<sup>27</sup> 'novos apostolos'. Letter I, Hicks, p.34, Radice p.93. 'pseudo-apostolorum'. Letter II, Hicks, pp.45–6, Radice, p.109.

<sup>28</sup> 'Hii predicando per mundum discurrentes et me impudenter quantum poterant corrodentes.' Letter I, Hicks, p.34, Radice, p.93.

<sup>29</sup> 'carnalis concupiscentiae'. Letter I, Hicks, p.37, Radice, p.98.

<sup>30</sup> Bernard, Letter 332, p.271.

<sup>31</sup> See below, pp.143–7.

<sup>32</sup> See below, pp.34–5.

<sup>33</sup> 'Goliath' and Goliardic Poetry', *Medium Aevum*, 52 (1983), pp.1–9.

<sup>34</sup> Below p.108 and LLL, pp.161, 176.



the convent of the Paraclete during the lifetime of Heloise,<sup>35</sup> but this need not have been Bernard. Brenda Cook suggests that Astralabe himself may have had a part in this, as he was a Cistercian abbot and he presumably had some interest in the convent of the Paraclete as Abelard's heir.<sup>36</sup> These are a few of the many new questions raised by this book. 'Assiduous, that is, frequent asking of questions', Abelard insists in his prologue to *Sic et Non*, 'is defined as the first key to wisdom'.<sup>37</sup> By this method, he believed, even beginners (his 'tender readers' as he called them) 'will be provoked into the greatest exertion in seeking out the truth and they will grow sharper by being inquisitive'.<sup>38</sup> 'Tender readers', sharpen your wits and read on!

## Introduction

Although my memory of cloudless Oxford summers in the sixties and seventies may play me false, I fondly recall our outdoor seminars concerning Heloise and Abelard. Even after I had met the late John Benton in California, I am glad to say that we still accepted the well-known letters as genuine. Two decades later, my enthusiasm for the subject was rekindled by Mews' convincing attribution of the earlier correspondence and its momentous implications in relation to the musical and literary output of Heloise and Abelard. New discoveries and interpretations have followed rapidly: the essays in this volume are but some of the first fruits of the harvest.

We should like to thank the Cambridge University Press, the publisher of *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, and its editor, Joseph Dyer, for kindly allowing portions of two articles, already published in that Journal (PMM, 11, 2002: Wulstan, pp. 1–23 and Mews, pp.25–35), to be reproduced here. On a less happy note, I regret to say that an article bearing the title 'Novi modulaminis melos', the same title as that published in PMM 11, was circulated without my prior knowledge or permission by the organisers (to use the word in a somewhat Clochemerle sense) of an Abelard conference at Nantes in 2001. This, but a wholly uncorrected draft, is full of errors and omissions, and should be ignored. Such discourtesies were not suffered by me alone, so readers should be warned that publications emanating from this conference were not necessarily circulated with the knowledge or blessing of their authors.

Each of the contributors in this volume has benefited from many suggestions and corrections of the others. This mutual help is hereby gratefully acknowledged and, in what follows, taken as read. I should personally like to thank my fellow contributors for their forbearance and for their readiness to make emendations as new materials became known to us. Thanks are also due to the following, who have saved us from numerous errors and have greatly helped to bring this project to fruition: Nicholas Bell, Nicole Crossley-Holland, Ted Evergates, Bill & Jane Flynn, Tony Jones, Telfryn Pritchard, Andy Starr and, most particularly, Philip Wulstan, without whose aquiline (not to say accipitral) proof-reading there would have been many more infelicities and errors in this book. Michael Clanchy has not only written the foreword, but has also guided our steps upon the way. Ian Phillips-Kerr of *Musicworks* processed the music examples. Ian Gulley kindly drew the map. I would particularly like to thank Guy Lanoë, of the CNRS, Paris, for generously supplying me with reproductions of various MSS at a crucial stage of my research. Finally, thanks are also due to Marc Stewart for agreeing to join me as co-editor when the volume threatened to overwhelm me.

DW

<sup>35</sup> Mews, citing Waddell, below, pp.20–2, 100, 108.

<sup>36</sup> Below, p.155.

<sup>37</sup> 'Haec quippe prima sapientiae clavis definitur, assidua scilicet seu frequens interrogatio.' *Sic et Non*, ed. Boyer and McKeon, p.103, and see Beryl Smalley, 'Prima Clavis Sapientiae: Augustine and Abelard', *Fritz Saxl Memorial Essays*, ed. D J Gordon. London, 1957, pp.93–100, reprinted in her *Studies in Medieval Thought and Learning from Abelard to Wyclif*. London, 1981, pp.1–8.

<sup>38</sup> 'quae teneros lectores ad maximum inquirendae veritatis exercitium provocent et acutiores ex inquisitione reddant.' *Sic et Non*, p.103.

Michael Clanchy is Professor Emeritus of Medieval History at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. He is the author of *Abelard: a Medieval Life* (see below), *From Memory to Written Record* (Oxford, 21993) and *England and its Rulers, 1066–1272* (Oxford, 21998).

Marc Stewart is a graduate of the University of Wales, Aberystwyth (French and Italian) and has taught English and French in universities in France and Wales. His research interests include the Gascon language in the later Middle Ages, mediæval language and literature in France and England, Computer Assisted Language Learning, translation theory and practice (mediæval and modern) and sociolinguistics.

## Short-title References

*Note:* The two series of letters between Heloise and Abelard are printed in Mews, *LLL* (see also Könsgen) and in Hicks (see also Monfrin, Muckle and Radice) respectively. Arabic numerals refer to the early, Parisian, correspondence according to the Könsgen-Mews numeration. Roman numerals refer to the *Historia Calamitatum* and the subsequent monastic correspondence, as seen in Hicks. As in *PL*, vol. 178, this numeration counts the *Historia* as I, Heloise's reply as II, and so on. The numeration of Radice follows that of Muckle and others in beginning with Heloise's reply.

Items of the *Carmina Burana*, identified CB, are numbered according to the Hilka, Schumann and Bischoff edition (see below, under CB).

Clanchy gives an excellent background to events and personalities and many of the other matters with which these articles are concerned. See also page 67, note 1, below.

*AH:* *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. Clemens Blume, Guido Dreves and others. 55 vols. Leipzig, 1886–1922. The references are to vol. 48 unless otherwise stated

*Anderson:* Gordon A Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*. Ottawa, 1978–, 10 vols. Thus 'Anderson M14' refers to Anderson's numeration in this series of volumes

*Benton:* John F Benton, *Culture, Power and Personality in Medieval France*, ed. Thomas N Bisson. London, 1991

*Buckley:* Ann Buckley, *A Study of Old French Lais and Descorts and Related Latin Song to c.1300*. 3 vols, Ph D diss, University of Cambridge (1990). To be published in a substantially revised version by the Pendragon Press, Hillsdale, NY

*Bulst:* Walther Bulst and M L Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii Aureliensis, Versus et Ludi*. ... Leiden, 1989

*CB:* *Carmina Burana*, ed. A Hilka, O Schumann and B Bischoff. Heidelberg, 1933–70. Vol. I, parts 1–3

*CBfacs:* *Carmina Burana: Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Clm 4660 and Clm 4660a*. Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 9. Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1967

*CCSL:* *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Continuatio Mediaevalis*. Turnhout, various dates

*Clanchy:* Michael Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*. Oxford, 1997

*CLS:* Cistercian Liturgy Series. Trappist, Kentucky

*Constable, Letters:* *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols, ed. Giles Constable. Cambridge, Mass, 1967 (of which volume 1 contains the letters themselves, referred to here simply by number)

*Daniel:* *The Play of Daniel*, ed. David Wulstan, Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society, Westhumble, Surrey, 2003

*Dronke, Intellectuals and Poets:* Peter Dronke, *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe*. Rome, 1992

Dronke, MLREL: Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric*. Oxford, 1968

Dronke, *Plays*: Peter Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*. Cambridge, 1994

Dronke, *Poetic Individuality*: Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages*. ... Oxford, 1970

Dronke, *Problemata*: Peter Dronke, 'Heloise's *Problemata* and Letters: some questions of form and content' and 'Heloise, Abelard, and some recent discussions', *Storia e Letteratura*, 183, pp.295-322, 323-42. Rome, 1992

Dronke, *Sources*: Peter Dronke, *Sources of Inspiration. Studies in Literary Transformation, 400-1500*. Rome, 1997

Dronke, *Testimonies*: Peter Dronke, *Abelard and Heloise in Medieval Testimonies*. Glasgow, 1979, reprinted in *Intellectuals and Poets*, pp.247-94. See also the articles printed on pp.295-342 of that volume

Gillingham: *Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin 1139*, ed. Bryan Gillingham. Facsimile, IMM, Ottawa, 1987

Gilson: Étienne Gilson, *Héloise et Abélard*. Paris, 1938, 1978; English version (trans. L K Shook), *Heloise and Abelard*. Michigan, 1960

Guenter: *Epistola S. Bernardi*. ..., ed. F J Guenter. *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, 24. American Institute of Musicology, 1974

Hicks: Eric Hicks, *La vie et les Epistres Pierres Abaelart et Heloys sa fame*. Paris, 1991. This has Jean de Meun's translation not only of the *Historia Calamitatum* and the subsequent letters (numbered in the traditional manner used here), but also Abelard's *Confessio 'Universis'* and Peter the Venerable's letter to Heloise (115, Constable). It also has parallel Latin texts for all of these items, together with Petrarch's *marginalia*. Letters VIII and X are not printed in Hicks. They are to be found in publications by T P McLaughlin (1956) and E R Smits (1983) mentioned later in the volume.

Huglo: Michel Huglo, 'Un nouveau prosaire nivernais', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 62 (1957), pp.3-30

JPMM: *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* (continued as PMM)

Könsgen: Ewald Könsgen, *Epistolae duorum amantium. Briefe Abelards und Heloises?* Leiden, 1974

LH: *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler. London, 2000

LLL: see Mews, below

Luscombe: David Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard*. Cambridge, 1969

Mews, LLL: Constant J Mews, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard*. New York, 1999

MGH; PAC VI: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol. vi, ed. K Strecker. Berlin, 1953

Ml Jb: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*

Monfrin: J Monfrin, *Abélard, Historia Calamitatum*. Paris, 1967. This volume also contains Heloise's reply (Letter II). Simply as a matter of convenience, the reader has instead been referred to Hicks' edition; but the importance of Monfrin's work will be evident to anyone who reads it.

MP: *Music from the Paraclete. Plays, hymns, sequences and secular lyrics by Heloise, Abelard and others from the 'School of Abelard'*, ed. David Wulstan. Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, Westhumble, Surrey, 2003

Muckle: a series of articles published by J T Muckle in *Mediaeval Studies*, 12 (1950), 15 (1953) and 17 (1955) gave the texts of the *Historia Calamitatum* and the subsequent letters. For convenience (not least because of the differing numeration adopted by Muckle) the reader is directed instead to the edition by Hicks.

OFF, OFF Ordinary: see Waddell, OFF, OFF Ordinary

PL: *Patrologiae: Series Latina*, ed. J P Migne. Vols 1-217. Paris, 1843-73

PMM: *Plainsong and Medieval Music*

Radice: Betty Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*. London, 1974

TEOC: David Wulstan, *The Emperor's Old Clothes*. Ottawa, 2001

Vecchi: Giuseppe Vecchi, *Poesia latina medievale*. Parma, 1952, 1958

Waddell, *Epithalamica*: Chrysogonus Waddell, 'Epithalamica: An Easter Sequence by Peter Abelard', *Musical Quarterly*, 55 (1986), pp.239-71

Waddell, *Institutiones*: Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Paraclete Statutes: Institutiones Nostrae*. CLS 20, 1987

Waddell, *Molesme Breviary*: Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Summer Season Molesme Breviary. I. Introduction and Commentary*. CLS 10, 1985

Waddell, OFF: Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Old French Paraclete Ordinary and the Paraclete Breviary. I. Introduction and Commentary*. CLS 3, 1985

Waddell, OFF Ordinary: Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Old French Paraclete Ordinary. II. Edition*. CLS 4, 1983

Waddell, *Paraclete Breviary*: Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Paraclete Breviary. Edition*. IIIa-c. CLS 5-7, 1983-85

Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal*: Chrysogonus Waddell, *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*. I: CLS 8, 1989; II: CLS 9, 1987

Waddell, *12th-cCistH*: Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Twelfth-century Cistercian Hymnal*, I and II: CLS 1 and 2, 1984

Weinrich: Lorenz Weinrich, 'Peter Abaelard as Musician', *Musical Quarterly*, 55 (1969), pp.468-74

Young, *Drama*: Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 volumes. Oxford, 1933

ZdA: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*

## Editorial conventions

**Text**: the sign for ellipsis (...) is editorial unless otherwise stated. Thus, titles of books or articles are shortened by this means, as are quotations. Translations of the lyrics given in the music examples are to be found on pp.157ff. Otherwise, translations are given when thought to be necessary, but not for items where Latin quotations bear solely upon questions of metric or vocabulary. For fuller texts and translations the reader is referred to *Music from the Paraclete*. Pronouns and the like are epicene, but in the case of scribes, where these are known (or likely) to be female, the appropriate sex is indicated; otherwise the assumption is that copyists were male. Note that *planctus* can denote both singular and plural.

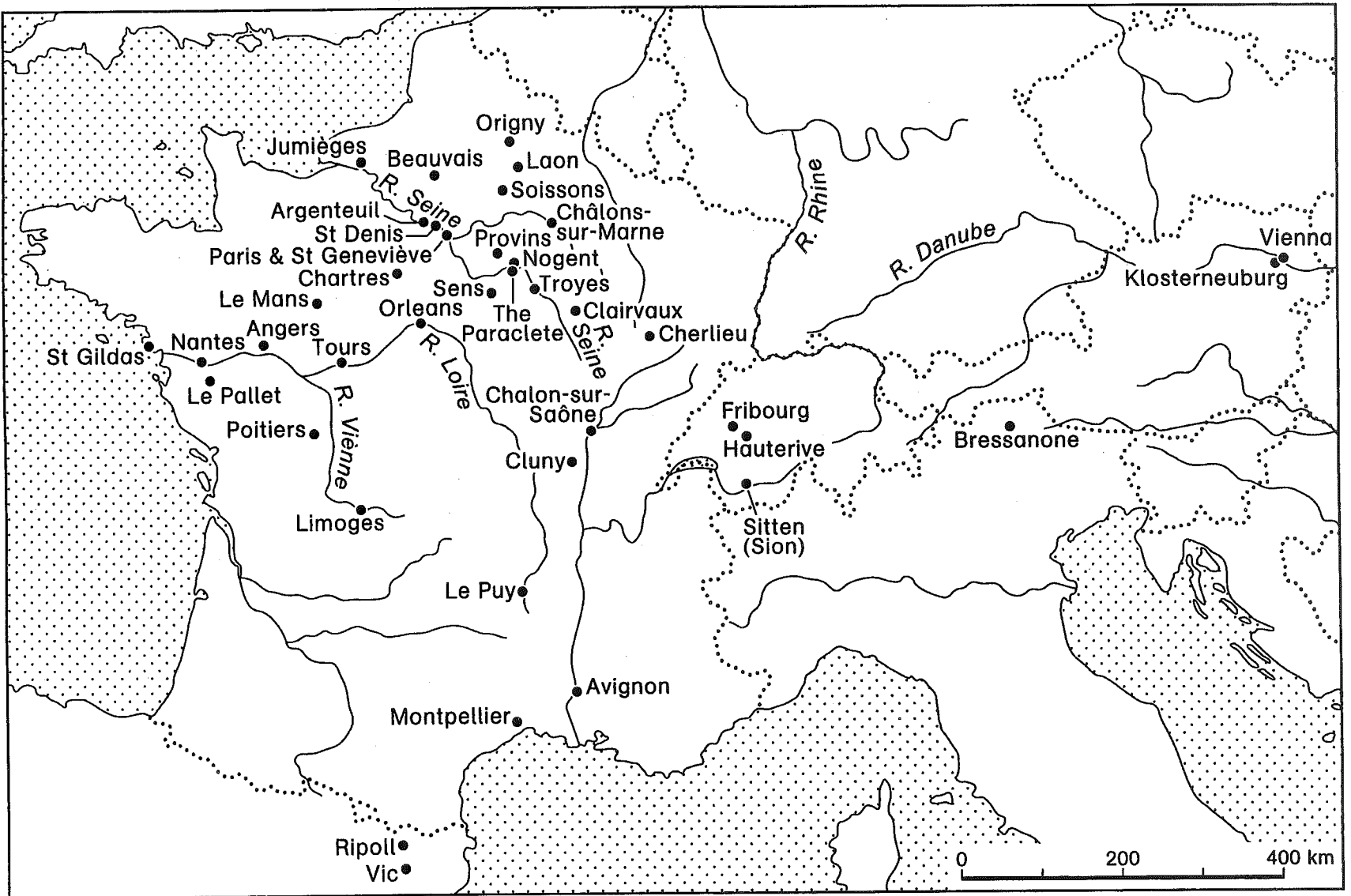
**Music:** the *e* over a repeat mark denotes that the passage is *in extenso* in the MS. A *tenuto* mark indicates a doubled note, the second of which is a liquescent if a sloping line is added. Short sloping lines denote liquescents treated as single notes, long sloping lines show those treated as two (upward sloping = *epiphonus*, downward = *cephalicus*). Ligatures are sometimes indicated by the conventional sign or by a slur, but more often than not they are simply implied by the underlay. The rhythms employed in the transcriptions are touched upon in chapter 1 and on p.157. Accidentals are employed according to the convention established in TEOC, e.g., a dotted accidental is implied by transposition, partial signature, or the like.

### Chronology

Dates in bold type are certain or reasonably so (many are discussed in the following pages); others are likely to be correct within a year or so, but dates and statements with a question mark are more speculative.

- 1079 Abelard born at Le Pallet
- 1090×1097 Heloise born (c.1095–7?)
- 1101 A in Paris
- 1102 A founds a school at the royal manor of Melun
- 1104 A moves to Corbeil
- 1105 A at Le Pallet 'resting'
- 1108 A at Paris, then returns to Le Pallet 'exhausted from study'
- 1109–10 A in Melun and Mont-Ste-Geneviève
- 1112 A's parents become monastics
- 1113 A at Laon (1112–13)
- 1113 <August: A returns to Paris. H at Paris
- 1114–16? H at Fulbert's house. Early letters and songs
- 1116–17 H taken to Le Pallet; birth of Astralabe
- 1117–18 Clandestine marriage of H and A; H takes refuge at Argenteuil; A's castration; H takes the veil; A becomes a monk at St-Denis
- c.1120 Berengar of Poitiers born
- 1121 April. Council of Soissons. A briefly imprisoned at the Abbey of St-Médard; returns to St-Denis. Begins writing hymns?
- 1121–26 A flees from St-Denis; escapes to St-Ayoul (1121–2); founds hermitage and school near Nogent-sur-Seine, later named the Paraclete
- 1127 A goes to St-Gildas. **15 March 1127/8** A in Nantes on business as Abbot of St-Gildas. Meeting with 11-yr-old son?

- 1129 Argenteuil community expelled by Suger; A gives the Paraclete to H and some of the nuns
- c.1131–2 *Historia Calamitatum?* Delivery of Book I of Paraclete Hymnal?
- >1133 A escapes from St-Gildas to Mont-Ste-Geneviève, Paris (though remains absentee Abbot of St-Gildas until his death). Later correspondence with H
- c.1133– Ralph of Beauvais at A's school. Otto of Freising perhaps on its periphery? Book II of Paraclete Hymnal?
- 1136 John of Salisbury at Mont-Ste-Geneviève; Book III of Paraclete Hymnal; A begins *planctus*?
- 1137 A leaves Mont-Ste-Geneviève late in the year, but returns before 1139
- 1140 Beauvais Play of Daniel first compiled?
- 1141 Council of Sens. A retreats to Cluny
- 1142 **21 April.** A's death at St-Marcel-sur-Saône
- 1143 Peter the Venerable writes to H
- 1144 Peter the Venerable brings A's body to Paraclete for reburial on 16 November. H's attempt to secure prebend for Astralabe. His influence on Paraclete liturgy (<1147)
- 1145 A's brother, Canon Porcar (Porcharius) of Nantes, renounces his prebend and becomes a Cistercian monk at Buzai, just outside Nantes. Astralabe becomes a Canon of Nantes Cathedral
- >c.1145 Death of Berengar of Poitiers
- 1157–8 Astralabe renounces his prebend at Nantes and becomes a Cistercian monk at Cherlieu, Haute-Saône, a communicable distance from the Paraclete.
- 1160 Beauvais Play of Daniel, final version?
- 1162 >**11 November.** Astralabe appointed Abbot of Hauterive (nr Fribourg), a daughter house of Cherlieu
- 1163–64 Death of Heloise (**16 May**)
- 1164 **5 August.** Death of Abbot Astralabe (his death is commemorated on 30 October in the Necrology of the Paraclete)

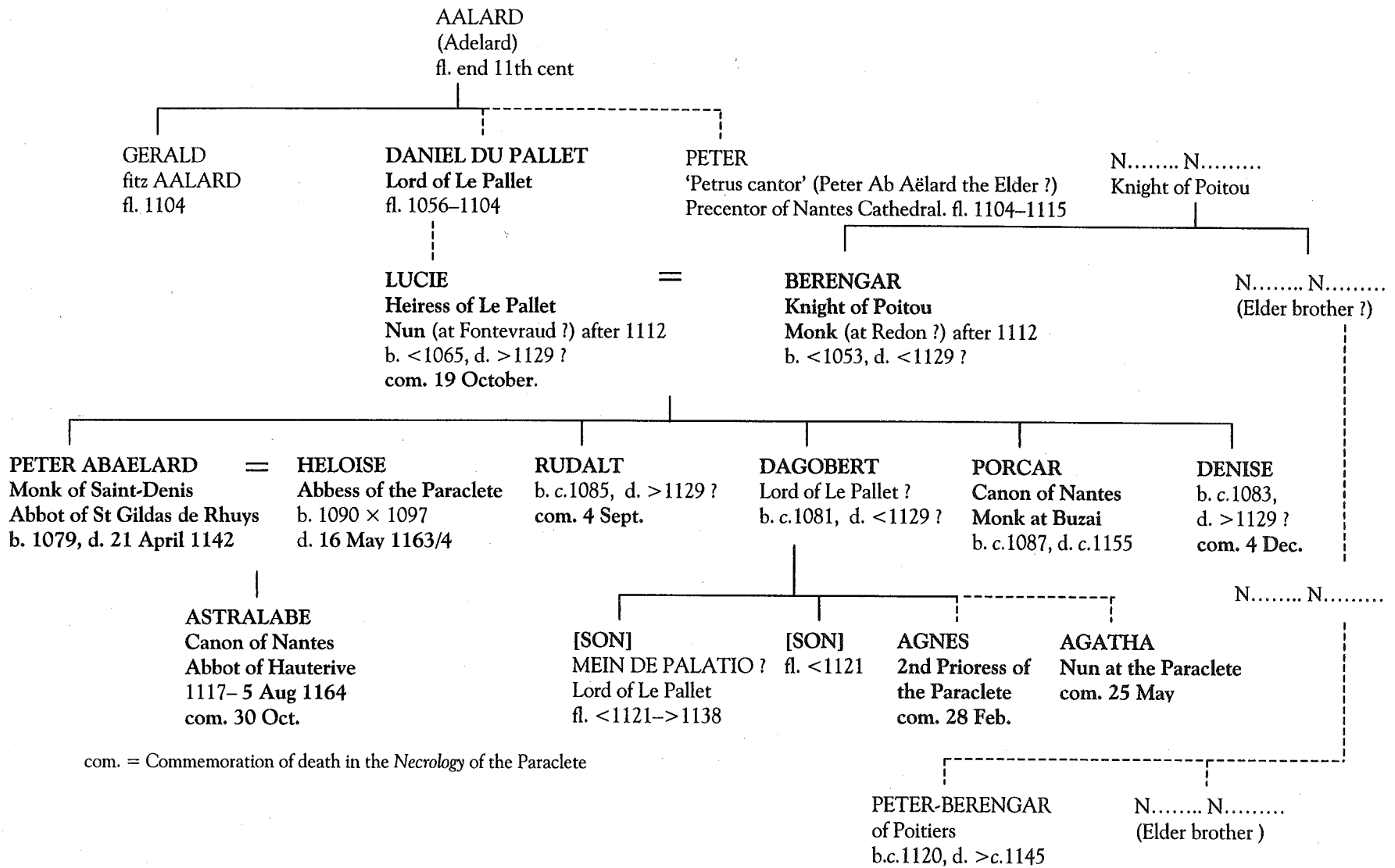


Map showing places mentioned in this book

The dotted boundary lines are those of modern countries, inserted for reference purposes

FAMILY TREE OF PETER ABELARD

NB: Names, dates and relationships in **BOLD** are reasonably established: other names, dates and relationships are conjectural, particularly the hypothetical relationship between Peter Abelard and his over-enthusiastic disciple, Peter-Berengar of Poitiers. The variant spellings of Aa/clard in the sources reflect different ways of expressing the shewa half-vowel



com. = Commemoration of death in the *Necrology* of the Paraclete

## Abelard's Paraclete Hymnal and its Rhythms

DAVID WULSTAN

ONLY a heart of stone could fail to be touched by the story of Heloise and Abelard. Many of us with romantic souls have gone further, and have read rather more into the extant documents than can possibly be justified; and there have been lurid films and trashy novels (I do not mean such books as Helen Waddell's *Peter Abelard*) that have gone well beyond the bounds of probability. On the scholarly side, there has been a good deal of caution, not to say scepticism. Some writers, notably John Benton,<sup>1</sup> have been reluctant to accept the correspondence following upon what is generally known as the *Historia Calamitatum* as being a genuine exchange between the two erstwhile lovers. Even the authenticity of the *Historia Calamitatum* itself has been questioned. It is true that the *Historia*, which Abelard couched as a 'letter to a friend' and might be thought to set the matter straight, does nothing of the sort. Yet, although it raises more questions than it answers, some of what he writes can be seen as a deliberate obfuscation of his real feelings and thoughts.

Otherwise, most of the supposed inconsistencies of the correspondence are the inconsistencies of human nature. As both Gilson and Dronke have shown,<sup>2</sup> the arguments against authenticity have only in part to do with textual problems, which are comparatively few and explicable; these have more to do with the reluctance of critics to countenance that Heloise remained a reluctant nun, or to accept her own description of herself as hypocritical and unrepenting in her sexual love for Abelard. For his part, Abelard was under no such illusions: in his late poem to their son Astralabe, he quotes 'what she often says to me' about being unrepentant of the 'delight beyond measure, the memory of which brings relief'.<sup>3</sup> Nor could she accept that his love for her could die, even by the horrible act of Abelard's castration. She was probably right. Several things that Abelard says in the *Historia Calamitatum* do not ring true: for example, his arrogation of blame for the cold seduction of his pupil is hardly corroborated by the letters of Heloise; this and various supposed violations seem contrived to build a farrago of supposed guilt which he must expiate by his retreat into monasticism and distancing himself from his former lover.

In his letters to her, he never flinches from this lofty position, constructing and maintaining an emotional moat between the two of them that he thought for the best. For her part, Heloise never ceased to express passionate feelings; the sensuous imagery of the Song of Songs was something she could not discard. In her Letter VI she refers to Abelard's unpaid intellectual debts to her and berates him for the apparent extinguishing of his love for her (Hicks, pp.95-96, Radice, p.167). She seems to find it difficult to believe that his love could have grown cold; indeed, this is answered obliquely in Letter VII when Abelard voices the sentiment that 'many waters cannot quench love'. Even though she may successfully have dissembled to the world in general, her true feelings, as expressed in her letters, may have been widely known in certain circles, according to Clanchy (p.157).

Two poems from Fleury printed by Dronke mention Heloise's taking the veil (c.1118) and were probably written within ten years of that time. This means that they come either from the years when Abelard had his school at the Paraclete (c.1122-6), or when he was subsequently at St-Gildas (1127) in the period before he gave the Paraclete to Heloise (1129). One of the two authors condemns Abelard for consigning a warm-blooded young woman to a nunnery and abandoning her, unfulfilled; the other, though supporting Heloise as guiltless, takes Abelard's part, too: he was brought low by a supreme betrayal. Constant Mews has argued that these contrasting views are part of a verse

<sup>1</sup> Benton pp.417-86, and see pp.487-512.

<sup>2</sup> For the earlier controversies, see Gilson; for the later, see Dronke, *Testimonies*, pp.247-94: see also the articles printed on pp.295-342 of that volume. The lack of early sources for the letters would hardly surprise a biblical critic: the old adage *posteriores non deteriores* applies as much to mediæval texts as to classical.

<sup>3</sup> See Dronke, *Testimonies*, p.15 and the Latin text on p.45 (for a new edition of the *Carmen ad Astralabium*, see p.35, n.4, below). She also mentions libidinous fantasies (*obscenarum voluptatum phantasmata*) that come to her, even in the solemnity of the Mass, in Letter IV, for which the original Latin may be seen in Hicks, pp.61-9. English translation, Radice, p.133.



repartee between a nun and a monk, the latter apparently called Robert.<sup>4</sup> This Robert might have been one of Abelard's pupils: the exchange of poems voices sentiments, and sometimes phraseology, that are close to (but not identical with) those of the *Historia Calamitatum* which may have circulated in 1132 or thereabouts; it suggests that Abelard's version of events was open to question. Similarly, the implication in the *Historia* that after his castration Abelard had put love-songs and jests behind him, does not square with one or more poems apparently emanating from his Paraclete School, discussed in chapter 3. These do not portray the broken shell of a man.

The extant sources of the *Historia* and the subsequent correspondence (one MS of which was owned, avidly read, and annotated by Petrarch) seem to stem from a corpus made by Heloise herself, in which the letters had been collected and ordered. Whatever 'touching up' there might have been, if any, must have been very light: the stark contrast of attitude between the two correspondents could not be more plain. The subterfuge of the *Historia* being merely a 'letter to a friend' is belied by the opening of Heloise's reply (Letter II): Dronke has argued that the *nostre ami* and *vox homis* of Jean de Meun's French version, implies that she had been sent a copy of the *Historia*.<sup>5</sup>

Petrarch's annotations show that he was aware of what lay behind the epistolary mask. He recognises Heloise's steadfast gentleness and sweetness, also commenting on the most loving and elegant expression (*amicissime et eleganter*) he finds in her letters. He sees the self-torment unsuccessfully hidden in Peter's words (*compunctus es, Petre*) and shows great insight into why Peter insisted that they should retreat from the world and each other.<sup>6</sup> Jean de Meun, too, was aware of the undertones of the correspondence: there are copious asides in his French version – 'now Heloise is arguing against herself' and 'still she loved him as one beside herself' (*Encore l'amoit elle comme forsenee!*). When Abelard continues to laud her supposed sanctity, and she implores him to stop, Jean adds: 'Note: never did a woman speak with greater wisdom'.

Much has been read into Heloise's complaints concerning Abelard's lack of communication. He may have avoided direct correspondence at first, but something must have passed between the two of them, both before and after she came to the Paraclete. Her request for a Hymnal and her views on hymnody must have reached him through a go-between, and some early hymns might have been sent in reply. When she bemoans not having 'seen' him (which in the literal sense she must have, on occasions such as the handing over of the Paraclete), she doubtless means that she has not spoken to him alone and in private.

Lately, the stagnant controversy concerning authenticity has been stirred again by Constant Mews: the startling revelations of his new book have breathed fresh air into the fuddle.<sup>7</sup> He has argued that another series of letters published in 1974, but which has attracted comparatively little attention, represents an earlier correspondence between Heloise and Abelard, dating from when the two lovers were together in Paris, before the physical Calamity. In my view he has argued convincingly that this series of one hundred and thirteen letters, known through a partial copy made at Clairvaux in the late fifteenth century by Johannes de Vepria, is a genuine record of this correspondence.<sup>8</sup>

Leaving aside the profoundly moving quality of this testimony, several things flow from these letters, of which two must suffice for the moment. First, it is clear that Heloise's reputation as a literary figure and (as we shall see later) composer, often thought to be an exaggeration of Hugh Metel or Peter the Venerable, is confirmed. Second, the early Paris letters (c.1114–16) confirm the genuineness of those written after Abelard's castration; these, the *Historia* series of letters, must date from after c.1132, Heloise having been at the Paraclete for some three years or so.

<sup>4</sup> LLL, pp.107–9.

<sup>5</sup> Dronke, *Testimonies*, pp.33–4. See also Clanchy, pp.251–2.

<sup>6</sup> Petrarch's comments are taken from Dronke, *Testimonies* pp.56–7, in which see pp.28–9 for the quotations in the next paragraph. See also Hicks, which has Jean's text together with the Latin originals and Petrarch's *marginalia*.

<sup>7</sup> Mews, LLL, summarised in LH, pp.32–58. Much of the circumstantial detail – dates and so on – is contained in this volume, as are full references to editions and so forth mentioned here in passing. The *editio princeps* by Könsgen raised the question of authorship. Mews' ascription rests on the distinctively Abelardian vocabulary found in the correspondence.

<sup>8</sup> Johannes, who might have had access to copies of the original correspondence, marked several omissions: he undoubtedly cut some passages that he thought of insufficient literary merit, but others he appears to have seen fit to expurgate when they became too explicit, though the implications of passages such as those seen in Letter 26 seems to have escaped him. The first of Heloise's later letters (II: Hicks, p.58) refers to the many letters that Abelard wrote containing references to *turpes olim voluptates*.

The possibility that Heloise might have had literary gifts comparable to those of Abelard is portentous, as is the realisation that some of her music survives, as will be seen in a later chapter. As to Abelard himself, we now have some knowledge of his love songs, 'both metrical and rhythmic', which, as Heloise said in one of the later letters to him, had 'words and music of such beauty that your name remained continually on everyone's lips, melodies so sweet that even the unlettered did not forget you'.<sup>9</sup> Until very recently these songs appeared to have perished as though they had never been. Abelard's musical monuments had seemed to consist of the tune to one of his hymns, a Latin *planctus* (possibly another, though this is disputed) and one or more Latin sequences.

### The Rhythms of Abelard's Hymns and *planctus*

The deeply personal 'O quanta qualia' has autobiographical undertones not immediately obvious to the modern reader. It is justly famous as one of the greatest hymns of the Middle Ages, though its familiar English translation by J M Neale, 'O what their joys and their glory must be', is not in Abelard's original rhythmic pattern. Consequently, Neale's version cannot be sung to the tune attached to 'O quanta qualia' that Vecchi found in three hymnals from Rheinau, one of which is in diastematic notation, allowing the neums of the others to be interpreted.<sup>10</sup> He assumed this melody to have been composed by Abelard himself. More recently, Weinrich<sup>11</sup> endorsed Vecchi's opinion, and printed two transcribable sources of the *planctus* 'Dolorum solatium': it is evident that these display essentially the same melodic lines as the *campo aperto* neums in the source from which several of Abelard's *planctus* had long been known. Another of these, the *Planctus Virginum Israel super Filia Jepte Galadite*, was thought by Spanke<sup>12</sup> and others to be a direct relation of Li Lais des Puceles, whose music is in a readable source. Weinrich demurs, and thinks that the music of the *Planctus Virginum* is not recoverable. Finally, Fr Chrysogonus Waddell has found two sources of the sequence 'Epithalamica', in readable notation,<sup>13</sup> which he declared to be by Abelard, along with 'Virgines caste' and 'De profundis clamavi': he identified the connexion between these three sequences (which come together uniquely in the Nevers MS) and the Paraclete liturgy, where they were all sung on various occasions in the church's year.<sup>14</sup> All of these attributions, if sound, would bring the count of transcribable Abelardian pieces of music to something like half a dozen.

The hymn 'O quanta qualia', for Saturday Vespers, comes from the second cycle of great hymns that Abelard wrote for Heloise in his Paraclete Hymnal. The Preface to Book I of the Hymnal uses the second person singular in such a way that it is clear that Heloise has requested new hymns for various reasons. They both apparently agreed that the hymn repertory was unsatisfactory in many ways, including the manner in which the words of the

<sup>9</sup> '...amatoria [MS amatori] metro vel ritmo composita reliquisti carmina, que pre nimia suavitate tam dictaminis quam cantus sepius frequentata, tuum in ore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant, ut illiteratos etiam melodie dulcedo tui non sineret immemores esse ...' Letter II: see Hicks, p.51, Radice, p.115. This passage continues to the effect that on account of these songs other women sighed for love of him; they also envied her, due to the fame of their affair. Petrarch's marginal comment to this is 'just like a woman!' (*muliebriter*) – Hicks, p.51, footnote. The technical difference between 'metric' (which applies to the poems in LLL) and 'rhythmic' (which applies to Abelard's hymns, songs, and most of the other lyrics instanced in these chapters), is discussed in TEOC, pp.173ff.

<sup>10</sup> Vecchi, p.182 (and see n.40 below).

<sup>11</sup> Weinrich, p.302. (For sources, see n.33 below).

<sup>12</sup> Hans Spanke, 'Sequenz und Lai', *Studi Medievali*, n.s. 9 (1938), pp.12–68, especially pp.25ff.

<sup>13</sup> Waddell, *Epithalamica*, pp.239–71. The final section 'Hec dies' which he has adapted from the later le Puy version, is entirely spurious, and is not found in the 12th-cent Nevers MS (BNF n a lat. 3126 f.90v–91v, described by Huglo, pp.3–30). See Dronke, *Sources*, p.380.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, and see Waddell, *OFP Ordinary*, p.183, which claims that the sequence 'Eya, karissimi' is also by Abelard. It does not appear in the Nevers MS that contains 'Epithalamica', 'Virgines caste' and 'De profundis'. The accented rhymes rule out such an ascription, as does its tune, 'Mane prima sabbati'. No other sequence-type compositions ascribed to Abelard make use of pre-existing chants, and his *planctus* (n.33) do not seem to be designed for a liturgical context (i.e. according to the established usage of the place) or as a 'paraliturgical' addition to that usage. Nevertheless, the appearance of 'Dolorum solatium' in Nevers might indicate that it was used in this fashion for a time. The random ascription of the *Planctus Cigni* to Abelard, claimed in the sleeve note to a recent recording, is also without foundation.

hymnodists, not least those of Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, Prudentius and others, were ill-matched to their tunes, for the 'inequality of the syllables is frequently so great that they scarcely fit the melody of the song'.<sup>15</sup> What did this mean? If we imagine that the tunes were sung as plainchant, then an extra syllable here or there would hardly matter, and interruptions of the regular accent pattern of the lines would not be troublesome.

The early Cistercians, whose liturgical practices and observances were a major influence on those of the Paraclete, insisted on retaining only the hymns of Ambrose (or those they thought to be by him) together with the 'Ambrosian' melodies that they found in a Metz Hymnal.<sup>16</sup> So they admitted

Déus, créator ómniùm  
políque réctor, véstièns

which is a genuine Ambrosian hymn, thrice attested by no less an authority than St Augustine. It can be seen that the initial accent of the line wobbles between the first and second syllables; and there are other problems, even at line-end, in this hymn and elsewhere (here and throughout the acute accents represent the linguistic stresses, the grave accents indicating the so-called 'alternating accent'). The second line of Ambrose's 'Intende qui regis Israel' is:

súper chérubín qui sédes

which, to run with the general rhythm of such lines as

políque réctor véstièns

would have to be rendered

supér cherúbín qui sédes

which would result in hopeless clash (anacalasis) between the beat and the linguistic accents. This problem is as nothing when the whole stanza is considered. As originally written, the hymn begins biblically, thus

Intende, qui regis<sup>is</sup> Israel  
super cherubin qui sedes  
appar<sup>e</sup> Ephrem cor<sup>am</sup> excita  
potentiam tu<sup>am</sup> et veni.

Hear, O thou that rulest Israel  
thou that sittest upon the cherubim  
show thyself before Ephraim  
stir up thy strength and come.

where the superscript syllables have to be missed out or sneaked into the tune by stealth, as they were in later sources, which seem thereby to indicate a loss of rhythmic integrity.<sup>17</sup> The rest of the hymn is regular, so the simple solution to the syllabic chaos was to scrap the first stanza and start at the second, 'Veni redemptor omnium'. This is

<sup>15</sup> '...tanta est frequenter inequalitas sillabarum, ut vix cantici melodiam recipiant': Preface to Book I of the Paraclete Hymnal. See AH 48, p.143; also Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* I, pp.47-8. For a translation of the Prefaces, see Mews, p.30ff, below.

<sup>16</sup> See Chrysogonus Waddell, 'Peter Abelard as Creator of Liturgical Texts' *Petrus Abaelardus (1097-1142), Person, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. R Thomas. Trier, 1980, pp.267-80. See also Waddell, *OFP Ordinary*. It is the early Cistercian hymnal used before 1147 that appears to be the source of the complaints of Heloise and Abelard in the preface to the Paraclete Hymnal.

<sup>17</sup> The repeated note for the supernumerary resolved syllable at 'Intende qui regis', together with extra notes (repeated or non-ligated) at *appare Ephrem* and *coram excita* are given in the Milanese MS Biblioteca Trivulziana 347, f.204: see Bruno Stäblein (ed.), *Hymnen I. ... Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, i. Kassel, 1956 - hereafter 'Stäblein', mel. 14<sub>1</sub>, p.8. The only apocopation indicated is at *tu<sup>am</sup> et*: even this has separate notes in the 12th-cent Milanese source London, BL Add 34209, f.29, as it does in the 12th- or 13th-cent German Cistercian version quoted by Stäblein, mel. 14<sub>2</sub>, p.30. As discussed in TEOC, these separate notes in such sources indicate that the tempo had slackened, and that the rhythm discussed below was being (or had been) lost. For the Paraclete version see Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* II, p.194 and the tune in Waddell, *12th-cCistH*, II, p.71. Compare with Ps.79 (Latin = 80 Heb):1-3, whose phraseology is very close.

how the hymn soon became known,<sup>18</sup> except by the Milanese (who jealously preserved the Ambrosian heritage) and the conservative Cistercians.

The rejection of this first stanza seems to imply that these hymns were sung in triple time, as described by Augustine in connexion with 'Deus creator omnium' (for translations, see p.157):

...tempora duodecim ubinam esse arbitreris (*De Musica* VI, ii, 2; and see also VI, ix, 23)

...Deus creator omnium: versus iste octo syllabarum brevis et longis alternat syllabis. Quattuor itaque breves: prima, tertia, quinta, septima; simplae sunt ad quattuor longas: secundam, quartam, sextam, octavam. Hae singulae ad illas singulas duplum habent temporis (*Conf.* XI, xxvii, 35).

In the *Confessions*, St Augustine speaks of the even-numbered short syllables and the odd numbered long syllables, eight in all; in *De Musica* he describes these as amounting to twelve *tempora*. Of course, *versus* refers to the chosen line, and not to the stanza or indeed the hymn as a whole. Most of the other lines are not such a convenient demonstration of alternating longs and shorts.<sup>19</sup> But it is hard to suppose that Augustine was unaware of this, suppressing the fact that such a rhythm would ride roughshod over the fourth line of this very stanza, as elsewhere in this hymn. In *De musica* (VI, ii and xvii) Augustine uses the word 'number' in connexion with 'Deus creator', having already pointed out that *numerus* is the Latin equivalent of the Greek *rhythmos*, which is contrasted with metre (III, i). This being so, and bearing in mind that the later understanding of the 'Ambrosian' stanza was rhythmic, we may readily assume that this alternating pattern of *tempora* applies to this hymn (and indeed to the Ambrosian corpus as a whole).<sup>20</sup>

Ex.1.1



As may be seen, the accents of the text are ridden over by the rhythm of the tune, as are Ambrose's quantities in the last line. This triplet-time performance of hymns attested in various later sources<sup>21</sup> might have been prevalent in Northern France at the time of Abelard. Let us reject this notion for the moment, and assume the role of Devil's Advocate. The phrase 'ut vix melodiam recipiant' could, after all, mean the supernumerary syllables in 'Intende qui regis'. But if so, why did he not mention this hymn specifically? The other hymns in the Cistercian repertory have few such problems of furtive syllables. Elision is comparatively uncommon; and would it matter anyway if the tunes were chanted (a recitative can have as many syllables as it likes)? If, on the other hand, Abelard is reporting that Heloise cavils at chaotic accent patterns, the same argument applies: recitative can accommodate prose with its shifting accents, even if an aria prefers regular accents.

<sup>18</sup> See A S Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*. Cambridge, 1922, p.52; and see Stäblein, mel. 14<sub>3</sub>, p.81, for the same tune as it appears in another 12th-cent French source from Nevers (Paris, BNF n a lat. 1235).

<sup>19</sup> because the hymn is cast in 'metrical' form, i.e. in quantitative metre: this means that his lines often observe the 'dipodic law', whereby two longs take the place of a short-long segment, as may be seen in the scansion marked at the end of Ex.1.1, where it is contradicted by the presumed rhythm.

<sup>20</sup> The same point is made by Svövérfy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnedichtung...* Berlin, 1964, vol. 1, p.63: *Er* [sc. Ambrose] *bewahrte jedoch das metrische* [i.e. quantitative] *Verssystem in voller Reinheit*. For this hymn see Stäblein, No. 8<sub>1</sub>, p.5.

<sup>21</sup> The survival of triplet rhythm in French hymns etc. is seen in the Mazarine version of 'Mittit ad virginem' mentioned in connexion with n.51; see also the chants to Dufay's 'Conditor alme' and 'Vexilla regis' in Gareth Curtis, *The Office Hymns of Guillaume Dufay*. PMMS, London, 1992 - and see also the English setting of 'Conditor' in Oxford Bodleian Laud MS lat.95, where the polyphony follows the same rhythm. I use the term 'triplet time' to denote the kind of rhythm seen in Ex.1.1, which, if regarded as being in  $\frac{3}{8}$  would be 'simple triple' in modern parlance, though the  $\frac{6}{8}$  version would be reckoned as 'compound duple'.

So the conclusion that some form of regular rhythm was envisaged by Abelard is inescapable. This seems to be confirmed by the lack of elision<sup>22</sup> in his hymns, so a phrase such as *cor<sup>am</sup> excita* would be ruled out; and to make the scansion even clearer, he avoids hiatus for the most part. Thus, *patri et* would be excluded and *patri et* (separate syllables) would be avoided. Regular rhythm is easier to sustain if there are no such difficulties, for then words and music fit together more easily.

Nevertheless, the occasional supernumerary syllable is a comparatively minor problem when hymns are sung rhythmically: much more vexatious is the difficulty of accent-clash (anacalasis) which can result from an unaccented syllable colliding with the beat, and vice versa. In the stanza of 'Deus creator' printed above, the main clashes are at *deús*, *diém* and *noctém* (all should be accented on the first syllable). Such anacalasis is perhaps tolerable, but at the line-ends (as in *sedés* and *vení* in 'Intende qui regis') it seems crude: here, in truth, *vix cantici melodiam recipiant*. It seems likely that this phrase reported by Abelard was intended to inveigh against anacalasis of this kind more than syllabic irregularity, although he avoided both in his own hymns.

It has to be remembered that in the Middle Ages the question of prosody was handled in a curious way, to modern thinking. In mediæval music there was no such thing as a bar-line, and the notion of 'beat', if considered at all, was dealt with in a roundabout way. So what we would call an upbeat pattern (such as that of Ex.1.1) would not be distinguished in *sine littera* modal notation from its downbeat equivalent, in which the editorial bar-lines of Ex.1.1 would be shifted to the previous note: both patterns would be indistinguishably written as 'mode 2' in such notation, or indeed in later measured *cum littera* notation. Similarly, the idea of accent was also treated largely in a circumlocutory fashion. Instead of speaking of proparoxytonic and paroxytonic cadences, the theorists of the time would express themselves in terms wrested from classical metrics: so they would call a grave line-end (paroxytonic or feminine cadence) 'dactylic' or, even worse, 'iambic'; the proparoxytonic equivalent was called 'spondaic'.<sup>23</sup>

Whatever the shortcomings of this terminology, it is clear that line-ends or the cadences of cola were classified by the theorists by their cadential accentuation; moreover, they frequently illustrated their pronouncements with quotations from the goliardic repertory. So the 'syllables scarcely fitting the melodies' of Abelard's preface, as the contrast between his hymns and the ones he seeks to replace shows, must refer in a roundabout way to the problem of cadential accentuation, to which Abelard sought to bring regularity. Ambrose's line-ends *qui sedés* or *et vení* were neither reconcilable with mediæval theory as seen in the *Artes de rhythmico dictamine*, nor with Abelard's own practice.

Given that his Paraclete Hymnal was mostly composed in cycles, each of which consisted of a series of hymns in the same rhythmic pattern, the tunes, once learned, would apply to the whole of that cycle.<sup>24</sup> The first hymn in the Easter cycle (II iv, No.42<sup>25</sup>) begins thus:

Christiani, plaudite:  
Resurrexit Dominus!  
victo mortis principe  
Christus imperat;  
victori occurrite  
qui nos liberat.

<sup>22</sup> Elision is generally taken by commentators to mean apocopation, the dropping of a syllable, such as *cor' excita* for *coram excita*. Synaeresis, as in the pronunciation of *puer* as a monosyllable, is frequent in mediæval Latin verse, and common enough in Abelard: instances are the forms *secla* for *secula* in the doxology to one of his hymn cycles (II ii, 34-7); *domni* (Hymn 100), *appendere* (Hymn 28) and so on.

<sup>23</sup> On this and kindred matters, see TEOC, pp.196-200, especially p.198 on the classification of line-ends according to their accentuation.

<sup>24</sup> '...et sit una omnibus nocturnis melodia communis atque altera diurnis sicut et rhythmus': Preface to Bk II of the Paraclete Hymnal: see Mews, pp.32-3 below.

<sup>25</sup> The Arabic numbers of the hymns correspond to those given by Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* II (those of AH 48 differ, the *tridium* cycle etc. having been incorporated into the main body). My Roman numerals indicate the book followed by the cycle. That Abelard invented this particular rondel form is hardly likely: *contrafacta* of vernacular refrain forms often suppressed one or more occurrences of the refrain, as appears to have happened here.

Here is a good demonstration of the way Abelard uses rhymes in his hymns (echoed also in his *planctus*, but not, as we shall see, in his secular lyrics). The line-ends are proparoxytonic, but the accented syllables do not rhyme; instead, it is the last syllables that carry the rhyme - *plaudite/principe/occurrite* and *imperat/liberat*. From these examples, it appears that additionally the last two syllables either rhyme or assonate; but this pattern is not repeated in the second stanza of the hymn - *zabulo/barathro/angelico* and *eruit/reduit* - so it is evident that in proparoxytone endings, only the rhyming of the last syllable is obligatory. The same conditions apply to paroxytone endings in the hymns and *planctus*: although the last two syllables will often rhyme or assonate, they do not necessarily do so.

With its refrain (used throughout the cycle) and its catchy rhythm, it is difficult to envisage 'Christiani, plaudite' being chanted; and in 'Da Marie tympanum', the next hymn of the cycle, the imagination baulks at the idea of Miriam striking her timbrel randomly in a vain attempt to find a rhythm. A generation or so later, Philip the Chancellor used popular tunes for his Latin lyrics of a similar nature, some of which are found in the well-known Florence MS (F). The same source contains an anonymous rondel whose tune fits Abelard's hymn.<sup>26</sup>

Ex.1.2

Rhythm editorial, though the main mode 1 heptasyllabic rhythm is attested in *contrafacta* by Philip the Chancellor, e.g. 'Veni sancte spiritus' (see Anderson M19, which includes references to measured sources).

It will be seen that the cadential accents are regular, as they are throughout this hymn and cycle. Earlier in the line, it would be possible to relieve the clash at *victori* (see the small notes given in the example above) and therefore at parallel passages, though I believe this to be a doubtful procedure. Such a pattern involving the minor incidence of anacalasis, about once in a stanza, runs through the cycle.

If we turn to the hymns of another cycle (I ii) that includes 'O quanta qualia', more severe difficulties arise if they are sung to a similar rhythm. Fr Waddell imagines that they should be scanned more or less as though in an alternating rhythm throughout, the equivalent of an up-beat version of the rhythm of 'Christiani plaudite'. So Hymn 14 would run:

<sup>26</sup> See Anderson M11. The monorhymes of this rondel are on *-e*, and there is a reference to Samson in the second stanza: he appears in Abelard's 'Goliath prostratus est', the third hymn in this cycle. Anderson M15 has the refrain *Resurrexit dominus* and nearly fits 'Christiani plaudite', but the cadential rhythm of *lux hodierna* and so on is not congruent with Abelard's *Christus imperat*. Such details make it possible that Abelard knew these Latin rondels; indeed, he may also have known their presumable vernacular models. His reference to Goliath *jugulatus est* plays on *gula*, one of the jocular etymologies for 'Goliard'. Goliath seems to have been a humorous name like Wilde's Bunbury. For references to Abelard as Goliath (discussed in chapter 3), see P G Walsh, 'Goliath' and Goliardic Poetry' *Medium Ævum*, 52 (1983), pp.1-9.

As to Abelard's rhyme scheme, the first stanza is misleading in giving the impression that there is true rhyme at *-ite* (though not *-ipe*) and *-erat*. Subsequent stanzas and hymns show that homoioteleuton, discussed later, is the norm, as in 'Deus qui corpora' instanced next.



Deús, qui corpora  
et cibis propriis  
tibí tam corpora  
essé qui tribuis

creás et animas  
utrasque recreas;  
psallánt quam anime  
illís et vivere.

O God, who createst bodies and souls  
and refreshest each with especial nourishment  
both our bodies and souls praise thee  
that grantest to them life itself.

This amounts to six misaccentuations in the first stanza alone, a rather different proportion than in 'Christiani plaudite'. Consequently, Waddell says that 'ABELARD CAREFULLY SAFEGUARDS THE REGULARITY OF ACCENTUATION IN THE CASE OF THE LINE ENDINGS, BUT IN THE PRECEDING SYLLABLES LETS THE ACCENTS FALL WHERE THEY HAPPEN TO FALL'.<sup>27</sup> Later, and more elegantly, he says, 'otherwise [i.e. apart from line-end] he lets the accents fall where they may.'<sup>28</sup>

If the prosody is regular enough in the 'Christiani plaudite' cycle and elsewhere, why does Abelard suddenly become so indifferent to accent, not to say incompetent, in other cycles containing some of his greatest hymns? How does this attitude to accentuation, forgiven by Fr Waddell, square with the preface to Book I of the Paraclete Hymnal?

Part of the problem is that the only rhythms considered so far answer to the long-short alternation of 'Christiani plaudite', and its up-beat short-long equivalent: there may have been other rhythms that Abelard had in mind for many of his cycles. Another difficulty is that mediæval songs, let alone hymns that were intended to be sung rhythmically, were hardly ever written down in measured notation: this means that the crude alternatives are to guess at the rhythms or to declare that the songs were rhythmless.

Not all is guesswork, however: we have a considerable body of vernacular and Latin songs in measured notation and these reveal what sorts of rhythmic schemes were in general use; these patterns were often less repetitive than is sometimes assumed.<sup>29</sup> Knowing these rhythmic schemes, we can look for clues in the accent-patterns of the words and the note-distributions of the music. As to the question of accent-patterns, another of Abelard's hymns begins with a heptasyllabic segment:<sup>30</sup>

Justórum memóriam

whose accents jar with those of a parallel stanza:

hórum bóna dóna sunt

As the hymns in the cycle as a whole show, it is the scansion of 'horum bona' that represents the basic rhythm, at first sight apparently that of 'Christiani plaudite'; so it is disconcerting to discover the first line displaying anacalasis. The same is true of 'Justorum exsequie' (87) in the same cycle, and of hymns in the All Saints cycle (III ix, 102-5) such as 'Sanctorum solennitas' (102). This raises the question of what was acceptable anacalasis, and what, despite the statement in the preface to Book I of the Hymnal, was merely a question of Homer nodding?

In order to study the problem in connexion with known music by Abelard, we must turn to one of the most valuable pieces of evidence, his 'Dolorum solatium', which survives with notation in three manuscripts (one of which is in neums that would not otherwise be transcribable). In introducing one of his *planctus* it needs to be stated at the outset that these laments, although cast in sequence form, are not sequences *per se*: there is no evidence that they were designed to be used paraliturgically, nor that they were so used at the Paraclete. The designation of these pieces has been obfuscated by a passage in the prefatory letter to one of Abelard's sermons where he refers to a 'book of hymns and sequences' sent to Heloise; despite contrary assumptions, the *libello quodam hymnorum vel sequentiarum* a

<sup>27</sup> Paraclete Hymnal II, p.32: his capitalisation.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p.37.

<sup>29</sup> See TEOC, *passim*.

<sup>30</sup> III vi, No. 84. The heptasyllabic segments are mixed with various other rhythms in this cycle.

*me nuper precibus tui consummato* does not refer to his *planctus*.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, although Abelard's hymns probably date from c.1121-36, the *planctus* seem likely to have been embarked upon only in the later 1130s.

That 'Dolorum solatium' was well known is also attested by the imitation of its rhythms (and presumably of its tune) in a *planctus* written on the death of Abelard himself (1142) in the form of a bitter attack on his enemies. In turn, this was imitated in yet another lament, for William II of Sicily (d.1189).<sup>32</sup> 'Dolorum solatium' (the *Planctus David super Saul et Jonatha*) shares accentual characteristics with 'Justorum memoriam'.

Dolorum solatium  
laborum remedium  
mea michi cythara.

The accentuation of the first two lines (*dolórum, labórum*) corresponds with that of part of the hymn quoted earlier:

Justórum memóriam

But this does not fit the accents of *méa míchi cýthara* or of the next lines of the *planctus*, sung to the same music as the three given above:

nunc quo májor dólor est  
justiórque méror est  
plus est necessária.

Here, it must be noted that there is more than one way of reconciling note and accent. The beat does not always have to correspond with the linguistic stress. William Kethe knew this, and composed 'All people that on earth do dwell' to the 'Old Hundredth'. In its original version, this tune begins with an off-beat long note, followed by an on-beat short note. By such means Kethe could commence his lines either with level stress (*Áll péople*) – as against regular stress corresponding with the beat (The Lórd) – or indeed reverse stress (*Fó*r it is *séemly*) where an unaccented word comes on the beat.

So Abelard may have been no worse a metrist than Kethe: we must seek a rhythm that might have accommodated his reversed stresses. Such a pattern could be a SHÓRT-long rhythm, the short being on the beat (rather than the LÓNG-short of 'Christiani plaudite'). Then *méa míchi* would go with the beat, and *dolórum* would have its accent subsumed by the long note, the so-called 'agogic accent'. We have the melody of 'Dolorum solatium', so the results can be tested against it. Here is the Nevers version, one of three assembled by Weinrich, here interpreted rhythmically in a 'mode 2' pattern but ending with a 'mode 1' cadence:<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> PL, 178, cols. 379-80. Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality*, p.139, follows Vecchi in assuming that these *sequentiae* include the *planctus*. But the *planctus* are so called in the Vatican MS (or, at least, are headed thus); and numbers 80-3 of the Paraclete Hymnal are cast in sequence form, so the reference to *hymnorum vel sequentiarum* would be a strictly accurate description of the Hymnal (it matters little how the word *vel* be interpreted). The Circumcision offices of the Beauvais MS, mentioned later, frequently have *hymnus* at the head of of sequence-type compositions.

<sup>32</sup> Franz Josef Worstbrock, 'Zu den lateinischen Gedichten der Savignaner Handschrift 45' *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 50 (1968), pp.289-93, and, taking account of the Admont MS, the same author's 'Ein Planctus auf Petrus Abaelard' *MJ Jb*, 16 (1981), pp.166-73. Worstbrock did not notice the significance of the parallel transmission of CB 127 in the Savignano MS – see pp.48 and 126, below.

<sup>33</sup> The version seen in Ex.1.3 is taken from the Nevers MS, BNF n a lat 3126 f.88v, Ex.1.4 being from Oxford, MS Bodley 79 f.53v. The Vatican source, Cod. Regin. lat. 288, f.64v-65, is in *campo aperto* neums. 'Dolorum solatium' and Abelard's other *planctus* are discussed by Dronke, *Poetic Individuality*, chapter IV (where his use of 'paraliturgical' is intended to mean they were non-liturgical). On their personal nature see chapter 5, below; also Juanita Ruys, 'Planctus magis quam cantici: the generic significance of Abelard's planctus', *PMM*, 11 (2002) pp.13-20.

## Ex.1.3

Do - lo - rum so - la - ti - um la - bo - rum re - me - di - um  
[Plan - ge - planc - tu - ni - mi - o gal - li - ca - na - re - gi - o  
me - a mi - chi ci - tha - ra.  
planc - tu - la - cri - ma - bi - li!]

This rhythmic interpretation fits the heptasyllabic lines very well; the equivocal positions in the text are well matched by the note-distribution of the melody, whose contours encourage the subsumption of the agogic accents as necessary. The text of 'Plange planctus', a lament for Abelard, is given here for comparison.<sup>34</sup> It will be noted that its alternating scansion does not reflect the accentual counterpoint of the original. The change of rhythm on 'solatium' might be questioned, but the note-distribution of the more elaborate Oxford version of this *planctus* seems to confirm this and the other rhythms (though as with all the sources discussed here, it is in unmeasured notation):

## Ex.1.4

Do - lo - rum so - la - ti - um

The rhythmic scheme changes slightly in the next strophe of the *planctus*, tetrasyllabic segments being inserted into the generally heptasyllabic rhythm.

The third strophe has octosyllabic lines:

Sá-ul, régum fortíssime,  
virtus invícta Jónathe;

Here, the note-distribution gives no help, for the setting is virtually syllabic. These lines are considerably more difficult, although various solutions are possible, including a succession of three short notes together (see the small notes in Ex.1.5) or the insertion of a strategic longer note. The latter is decidedly more common in the rhythmic patterns found in measured sources. One instance may be found in strophe IX of the Lay 'Pour recouvrer alegiance' from *Le Roman de Fauwel*,<sup>35</sup> whose basic rhythm is adopted here:

<sup>34</sup> On the MSS containing this text, see n.33, above. The accentuation of *cithara* follows the Latin convention, not the Greek (κιθάρα), whereas when he uses the word *melodia* in his hymns, Abelard assumes the Greek accent (μελωδία) rather than the Latin *melodia*. Similarly with Hebrew words, where facultative variations in accentuation are not to be regarded as anacalasis. The lament refers to Abelard's condemnation at the Council of Sens in 1141: on the date, see p.19, n.1. It is not entirely clear whether 'Plange planctus' was written at about that time or a year or so later, as an elegy on Abelard's death.

<sup>35</sup> See Samuel N Rosenberg and Hans Tischler, *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauwel*. Lincoln, Nebraska, 1991, pp.106-10. 'Pour recouvrer alegiance', however, has a mode-2 ending, rather than the mode-1 ending given in Ex.1.5.

## Ex.1.5

Or? better:  
Sa - ul, re - gum for - tis - si - me vir - tus in - vic - ta Jon - a - the  
[Pet - re, vir - tus scho - las - ti - ca scrip - tu - re cla - vis u - ni - ca  
qui - vos ne - qui - vit vin - ce - re per - mis - sus est oc - ci - de - re. [etc]  
te - dam - pnat plebs er - ra - ti - ca tur - ba pseu - do - mo - nas - ti - ca.]

Of the two patterns posited in the previous examples, that of Ex.1.4 suits the cycle commencing with 'Sacra Jerosolimis' (II viii, Nos. 57-60); the main rhythm of Ex.1.5 is appropriate to 'Adorna Syon' and its cycle (II iii, Nos. 38-41). Both patterns are also found mixed with others. In particular, the heptasyllabic scheme of Ex.1.5 may be identified in the prosody of the first two lines of each stanza of the Ascension cycle II vi (beginning with 'In montibus hic saliens', No. 46); these couplets are followed by two lines whose prosody corresponds with what I have elsewhere called the Goliardic decasyllabic.<sup>36</sup> This rhythm, too, is characterised by a long note, but now on the fifth syllable. In measured notation, this scheme is found in the Alfonsine Cantigas de Santa Maria,<sup>37</sup> and is appropriate for the 'Verbo verbum' Christmas cycle (II i, Nos. 30-33).

The 'Ambrosian' repertory of the Cistercians was mainly couched in the trusty octosyllabic of 'Deus creator omnium', occasionally leavened by a few other patterns such as the Sapphic stanza. This would not do for Abelard, whose prosodic patterns were many and varied, not to say virtuoso in their conception. The rhythms already discussed are typical of those that Abelard employs in the Paraclete Hymnal; this being so, it is not necessary to impute the large-scale misaccentuation that Waddell proposes; instead, the frequency of anacalasis is no greater than that seen in 'Christiani plaudite' and gross accent clash does not intrude in the first lines of any hymn.

A strategic long note on the initial syllable solves the problem concerning the prosody of 'O quanta qualia' (I ii, No.29) and some other hymns of its cycle, particularly 'Deus qui corpora', cited on p.8: this gives rise to the 'Goliardic hexasyllabic'.<sup>38</sup> Prosodically, this pattern is recognisable both by the marked caesura that generally divides the twelve-syllable line into two equal cola and by the accent that vacillates between the first and second syllables of these cola.<sup>39</sup> Such lines are found as early as the ninth century, and the rhythm can also be identified in Philip the Chancellor's 'Dic Christi veritas', whose general mode 1 movement is confirmed in measured sources. This rhythmic scheme has been applied in the following transcription of the melody, whose Abelardian beauty has been praised by Vecchi, Weinrich and Waddell. Although the Paraclete manuscripts themselves give no tune, Vecchi's discoveries allow the tune to be recovered.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> TEOC, chapter 6. The particular significance of this rhythm for Heloise and Abelard is discussed in chapters 3 and 9.

<sup>37</sup> CSM 44. See Higinio Anglés, *La música de las 'Cantigas de Santa María'*. ... I. Barcelona, 1964, 66v.

<sup>38</sup> Also discussed in TEOC, ch.6, where it will be seen that variant rhythms were also current.

<sup>39</sup> This was not always the case, hence the misunderstanding in Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* II, pp.33-4.

<sup>40</sup> This melody is taken from Zürich, Zentralbibl. Rh. 21 f.124v (13th- or 14th-cent), in the light of the diastematic version of 1459 printed in Stäblein, mel. 590, p.324, whence the alternative readings given. The versions of Vecchi and Weinrich - see notes 10 and 11 - and of Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* II, pp.50-1, differ somewhat. A conspectus of the readings of four of the sources may be found in Waddell, *ibid.*, pp.47-8. As to the editorial rhythm, it has been modified in the last line, taking that of *Fauwel* 64, II, (Rosenberg-Tischler) instead: see TEOC, chapter 6.



## Ex.1.6

O quan-ta qua-li-a sunt il-la sab-ba-ta, que fes-sis-  
que sem-per ce-le-brat su-per-na cu-ri-a,  
re-qui-es, que mer-ces for-ti-bus, cum er-it  
om-ni-a de-us in om-ni-bus.

Scholars such as Norberg have tried to 'derive' rhythms of this kind from the quantitative metres of classical Latin poetry.<sup>41</sup> The rhythms of the later Adonic and its relative the Sapphic evolved from an earlier quantitative pattern; but in my view this progression is exceptional, as shown by the elegiacs of Theodulf of Orleans.<sup>42</sup> Although his lines were quantitative, the later musical settings of them can hardly have been intended to be sung according to Theodulf's original metrical values. The way the music was fitted to the words shows that the rhythm was regarded as accentual, and cannot plausibly have followed the quantitative pattern. Occasionally, as in some liturgical dramas, lines were composed metrically to show off the skill of the writer, yet were sung to a different rhythm. After all, St Ambrose's hymns were learnedly metrical, but they were apparently set to popular tunes whose rhythm, on St Augustine's testimony, was a triplet-time pattern: short-LONG short-LONG.

Another class of poems seems to have imitated classical metres but, in common with the Sapphic, reconciled its original metrical values with rhythmic patterns comparable to those adapted by Ambrose for his 'iambic' hymns. Although Norberg reckons that the Asclepiadic is the direct antecedent for the 'O quanta qualia' rhythm, the validity of the theory can be tested by studying the hymn 'Sanctorum meritis', once attributed to Hraban Maur.

Sanctorum meritis	inclyta gaudia
pangamus socii	gestaque fortia:
nam gliscit animus	promere cantibus
victorum genus optimum.	

The accentual scheme and the caesuras of the three long lines are identical with those of 'O quanta qualia'. This stanza can hardly be the direct model for Abelard's, however, for his is symmetrical as to line-lengths (corresponding with the 'First Asclepiadic'), whereas the quantitative stanza given above (allowing for several prosodic lapses typical of some mediæval writers) is a 'Third Asclepiadic', with a short Glyconic line at the end. Yet one of the tunes that were fitted to 'Sanctorum meritis' has several curiosities: it is in what we should call the major key or C-tone, and its form is AABC, both attributes typical of secular song rather than of hymnody. The end of the tune is also noteworthy. The Sarum version has fifteen notes for the Glyconic segment of eight syllables, whereas there are only sixteen for the first (// second) line of twelve syllables (6:6), an obvious sign of adaptation. This can be seen clearly opposite, where the tune is given in the melodic form found in the Sarum Hymnal (twelfth to thirteenth century),<sup>43</sup> but at the written pitch of the Worcester version (twelfth century)<sup>44</sup> in the C-tone. The notional scansion of these lines, bracketed, is not particularly well echoed in the tune. The rhythm of the Goliardic hexasyllabic given in parentheses fits well, apart from the Glyconic last line, for which the tune had arguably been adapted.

<sup>41</sup> Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*. Stockholm, 1958.

<sup>42</sup> See TEOC, chapter 5, where the matters touched upon in this and the following paragraphs are discussed in detail.

<sup>43</sup> See Walter Howard Frere, ed., *Hymn-Melodies for the whole year from the Sarum Antiphonal*. London, 1914, mel. 51 (G-mode).

<sup>44</sup> See Stäblein, mel. 420, p.197, with slight melodic variants as compared with the Sarum version.

## Ex.1.7

Sanc-to-rum me-ri-tis in-cly-ta gau-di-a  
pan-ga-mus, so-ci-i, ges-ta-que for-ti-a:  
nam glis-cit a-ni-mus pro-me-re can-ti-bus  
vic-tor-um ge-nus op-ti-mum.

It will not have escaped the reader that this tune is closely related to that of 'O quanta qualia'; indeed, it is remarkably similar, apart from two interesting details. First, the melody seen above is in the C-tone or major-key: this version seems to have co-existed with a 'modalised' equivalent (two, if we count the G-mode Sarum version of Ex.1.7 along with the d-mode Ex.1.6); second, the last line of Abelard's tune does not match with that given in Ex.1.6, which was doubtless adapted from an original having different prosodic characteristics. So whatever Abelard's immediate source, it was not the 'Sanctorum meritis' melody printed here; and more than one adaptor's hand is evident in these tunes.<sup>45</sup>

We know something about the Cistercian revision of the chant, which can be dated between 1142 and 1147;<sup>46</sup> so it may be that the modalisation of this hymn-tune was undertaken just after Abelard's death. On the evidence of Ex.1.7, the beginning of the tune as Abelard had adapted it, was very likely something like this:<sup>47</sup>

## Ex.1.8

O quan-ta qua-li-a sunt il-la sab-ba-ta

The history of this tune suggests that although the writer of 'Sanctorum meritis' may have derived the metre of his Asclepiads from a model such as Horace, the quantities of his verse, however rough, were ridden over in much the same way as Ambrose's 'Deus creator omnium'; it matters little whether this was by the intention of the author as apparently the case with Ambrose, or whether it represents a later adaptation to a rhythmic melody. The latter is probably true of 'Inventor rutili' by Prudentius, modelled on the monoidic Asclepiads of Horace, as exemplified by 'Maecenas atavis edite regibus' (Odes, I: 1); it was adapted as a processional hymn in the ninth century. In common with Theodulf's 'Gloria laus et honor',<sup>48</sup> the first stanza was taken as a refrain, the same tune being employed in both the subsequent stanzas and the repeated refrain. It is unlikely that either 'Gloria laus' or 'Inventor rutili' was ever sung according to its quantities; but on the other hand, 'Inventor' has a consistent syllable count, so it is not impossible that it was sung to some sort of regular rhythmic pattern, at least at the beginning of its new career.

<sup>45</sup> The Cistercian tune (second recension) for 'Sanctorum meritis' that might have been sung at the Paraclete in later times is to be seen in Waddell, *12th-c CistH*, II p.203. Another may be seen in Waddell, *Molesme Breviary*, p.256.

<sup>46</sup> See Guenter, 1974, especially p.11. On the 'Cistercianisation' of the 'Epithalamica' melody, see below, p.71. In this instance, the Nevers source might have relied upon a Cistercian exemplar or hyparchetype for this item. It is possible, though in my view less likely, that the 'modalisation' of the sequence might have been independent of Cistercian influence.

<sup>47</sup> The complete tune in this form is printed in MP.

<sup>48</sup> 'Gloria laus' was sung at the Paraclete (Waddell, *OPF Ordinary*, p.24) but 'Inventor rutili' was not. On a 10th-cent tune for 'Maecenas atavis', and on the hymns just mentioned, see TEOC, chapter 6 and Appendix.

One tune to which 'Inventor rutili' was sung was also adapted for a version of 'Sanctorum meritis'.<sup>49</sup> Again, the Glyconic line at the end of the hymn has to be accommodated to more notes than in the previous lines. The note-distribution of these tunes to 'Inventor rutili' and 'Sanctorum meritis' suggest the rhythm given in the last line of Ex.1.6. Later sources of 'Sanctorum meritis' and its rhythmic imitation, 'Sacris sollempniis',<sup>50</sup> however, have a relentless short-long pattern: 'Mittit ad virginem', a composition with much the same prosody as 'O quanta qualia' and once attributed to Abelard, had also succumbed to this rhythm by the time of the sixteenth-century Mazarine MS.<sup>51</sup>

It is not impossible that the 'Inventor' tune just mentioned formed the model for some of Abelard's hexasyllabic hymns (e.g. the *triduum* cycle, hymns 106–19). A version of this melody occurs in the twelfth-century Nevers Hymnal mentioned earlier: once more, it has been adapted to 'Sanctorum meritis'.<sup>52</sup> One or two other tunes set to this hymn might possibly have been considered by Abelard: one of these, also found at Nevers,<sup>53</sup> is clearly a secular tune in the C-tone, ending on G (though disguised at Nevers by starting on a D rather than a C). This tune is curious in that the first phrase of its melody straddles three cola (with the repetition, six cola) and thus seems to have descended from a different type of melodic model than those discussed hitherto, whose melodies run in bicola. Nevertheless, it appears to betray the same kind of rhythmic pattern which was seemingly current at the time of Abelard, and indeed in previous centuries when 'Asclepiadic' hymns were brought into the liturgy, as may be seen from the tunes printed by Stäblein.

Another remarkable 'Sanctorum meritis' tune is found at Worcester.<sup>54</sup> This is seen in polyphonic guise in the Beauvais *Daniel* MS.<sup>55</sup> Versions of the same tune are found in one- two- and three-part Latin compositions such as 'Procurans odium' (Anderson E9), 'Purgator criminum' (F2) and Philip the Chancellor's 'Suspirat spiritus' (L6). At first sight, it appears that these were all modelled on Blondel's 'L'amours dont sui espris me semont' (imitated by Gautier de Coincy in 'L[or S]amours dont sui espris de chanter'). As with the melody seen in the previous examples, the ending of the tune had to be adapted in order to suit the 'Glyconic' lines at the ends of the stanzas. If this were indeed Blondel's melody, it is unlikely that Abelard would have known it, for Blondel flourished at the end of the twelfth century, after Abelard's death. It will be seen in a moment, however, that the tune may have been in circulation earlier than Blondel's time.

As to the rhythm of these tunes, the various Latin versions have doubled notes which, together with the voice-exchange format of the three-voice 'Procurans odium' show that the third rhythmic mode with a double upbeat is implied (the so-called 'mode 4' of the theorists). This rhythm is applied below to the version of the tune of 'Sanctorum meritis' in the Beauvais *Daniel* MS:

<sup>49</sup> For the Graz version of 'Inventor' see Stäblein, mel. 1001, p.478; this Worcester version of 'Sanctorum meritis' is given as mel. 108<sub>4</sub>, p.198. The Sarum version is No.54 in Frere (see n.43 above).

<sup>50</sup> See, e.g. Francisco Salinas, *De Musica*. Salamanca, 1577, p.289, and see Bruno Turner, 'Spanish Liturgical Hymns: a matter of time', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), p.476. The 'Old Hundredth', referred to earlier, underwent a similar kind of corruption, which was resisted by Isaac Watts, but soon nevertheless had a disastrous effect on his own hymns: see TEOC, chapter 1.

<sup>51</sup> Paris, Bibl. Mazarine MS 448 (*olim* 758), f.179v, dated 1532. See TEOC, Ex.6.8.

<sup>52</sup> See Stäblein, mel. 108<sub>3</sub>, p.102, Sarum (Frere) No.52.

<sup>53</sup> See Stäblein, mel. 159<sub>1</sub>, p.102, but compare with the Worcester version 108<sub>4</sub>, p.198 and Sarum (Frere) No.52 (also starts on D). Stäblein, mel. 70<sub>2</sub> (Worcester, see Frere No.53 for Sarum) was doubtless the tune known at the Paraclete for 'Sanctorum meritis': Waddell, *12th-c CistH* II, p.203, and *OPF Ordinary*, II, p.98.

<sup>54</sup> Stäblein, mel. 421 (Worcester), p.199, discussed in TEOC, chapter 6 and its appendix.

<sup>55</sup> London, BL Egerton MS 2615, f.76: this item seems to have escaped the attention of commentators on this source. Although the date of the MS is about 1230, much of it represents a rather earlier repertory. See pp.149–52, below.

Ex.1.9<sup>56</sup>

Sanc-to-rum me-ri-tis in-cly-ta gau-di-a  
pan-ga-mus so-ci-i ges-ta-que for-ti-a

nam gnis-cit a-ni-mus pro-me-re can-ti-bus vic-to-rum ge-nus op-ti-mum

Although this rhythm may or may not have been used by Abelard in his hymns or other compositions, there is an Abelardian connexion, though part of it is a false trail concerning the sequence 'Epithalamica', whose rhythmic scheme is principally hexasyllabic. The middle section of this sequence begins:

Rex in accubitum jam se contulerat

These are also the opening lines of a drama from Vic discussed in a later chapter. Dronke<sup>57</sup> says that the form of these lines, 'a rare one – is that of a lyrical ballad, *Foebus abierat*, composed in Northern Italy c.1000 ...' This begins<sup>58</sup>

Foebus abierat	subtractis cursibus;
equitabat soror	effrenis curribus,
radios inferens	silvanis fontibus,
agitando feras	pro suis rictibus.
Mortales dederant	membra soporibus.

Although the caesuras dividing the lines into hexasyllabic cola correspond with those of 'O quanta qualia', the prosodic resemblance is illusory. The accent scheme and the five-line stanzas resemble neither those of Abelard's hymns nor of 'Rex in accubitum'. The cola 'equitabat soror' and 'agitando feras' clash hopelessly with the rhythm of Ex.1.6; but the whole lyric easily fits that of Ex.1.9, though it would not conform with the stanzaic arrangement of the tune. As will be discussed in chapter 10, there is a possibility that some precursor of the Beauvais tune to 'Sanctorum meritis' might have been sung to 'Foebus abierat' and later adapted to various other lyrics of slightly different stanza structures, including that of Blondel. Whether or not this be so, the eleventh-century 'Foebus abierat' may be one of our earliest witnesses to this particular 'mode 4' prosody. The accentual pattern of 'Rex in accubitum' is hardly as rare as Dronke supposes, however, and is attested well before Abelard used it: the Goliardic hexasyllabic is common enough in liturgical dramas and other types of Latin lyric, and examples of this prosody can be found as early as the eighth century.<sup>59</sup>

Whatever tunes Abelard had in mind for the Paraclete Hymnal, most of them would not have been 'original' in the modern sense: it is reasonable to suppose that generally, as with the melody of 'O quanta qualia', they were what we would call adaptations or contrafactions rather than being freshly composed. This mediæval practice of contrafaction does not detract from the towering originality of the Paraclete Hymnal, for the tunes were merely a vehicle for the texts: these, as was seen, grew out of the intention of Heloise and Abelard to address the weaknesses

<sup>56</sup> This is the tune seen in the *Daniel* MS (and see Ex.10.1, below). Its polyphonic version of 'Sanctorum meritis' is given in full (together with what I had there supposed to be Blondel's original tune and a conspectus of most of the versions) in TEOC, Appendix 6.

<sup>57</sup> Dronke, *Plays*, p.86.

<sup>58</sup> See Dronke, *MLREL*, pp.334–41. 'Foebus abierat' is often attributed to John of Fleury, who flourished in the first quarter of the 11th cent. For translation, see pp.163–4, below.

<sup>59</sup> e.g. 'Audient populi' (*MGH; PAC*, VI, p.577) a relative of 'Audite principes' in the Beauvais Play of Daniel – see TEOC, chapter 6.

of the hymn repertory. As suggested earlier, one of these weaknesses was the cadential anacrusis of earlier hymns, a fault which Abelard redressed in his own compositions. Another of the failings of the repertory, concerning the suitability of the contents of those earlier hymns for times and seasons, will be addressed by Constant Mews in the next chapter. As a coda to the present chapter, there will be a brief consideration of the way the Paraclete Hymnal was delivered to Heloise, and how it fared under the practical conditions of the liturgy at her Abbey.

#### Arrivals and Departures: the fate of Abelard's hymns at the Paraclete

The criticisms that Abelard levelled at the Cistercian liturgy in his Letter X and the remarks in the Preface to Book I of his Hymnal show a considerable familiarity with the details of Cistercian practice.<sup>60</sup> The Paraclete liturgy, too, reproduces early Cistercian practice, to which various hymns and prayers of Abelard have been added. St-Denis, Abelard's first refuge, was a Benedictine foundation, so his knowledge of the Cistercian liturgy must date from his escape in 1121–2 to St-Ayoul de Provins. St-Ayoul was a dependent Priory of Montier-la-Celle, in Troyes, whose liturgy was that used at Molesme and Cîteaux. The Molesme Hymnal predated the first recension Cistercian Hymnal introduced by Stephen Harding, with its strict injunction against using non-Ambrosian hymns.<sup>61</sup> As these non-Ambrosian hymns are found in the repertory of the Paraclete Abbey, Constant Mews suggests that they derive from the Molesme Hymnal: this may have been brought to the Paraclete and used there in its days as Abelard's School, and thus inherited by Heloise.

It was this Cistercian Hymnal against which Abelard reports Heloise as making various complaints, for example inveighing against the lack of appropriate hymns for certain occasions. These complaints provided him with the impetus for his great work of hymnography. It can be assumed that early tentative efforts were followed by increasingly confident substitutes for the Ambrosian-Cistercian repertory whose shortcomings they bemoaned. These new compositions were couched in virtuoso stanza forms, many of whose rhythms were new to hymnody; an archaistic feature, however, was the adoption of homoioteleut(i) on rather than the more fashionable accent-rhyme.

The Hymnal appears to have been presented to the Paraclete in successive fascicles. Not all of the contents of the Paraclete Hymnal were accepted into the liturgy of Heloise's Abbey, as Fr Waddell's researches have shown. Our knowledge of Abelard's hymn texts mainly depends on the near-contemporary Brussels MS (B), which appears to be a copy of all three books as originally designed by Abelard (though it is now defective at the end), and the much later Chaumont MS (C), a Breviary or Diurnal from the Paraclete. C contains only a selection of the contents of B, but includes the *triduum* hymns absent from B; it also has the texts of further hymns that may or may not originally have appeared at the end of B.<sup>62</sup>

It seems to me that Fr Waddell is correct in identifying the hymns for assorted Saints at the end of C (120–9), and probably the *triduum* hymns, as being separate from Abelard's Paraclete Hymnal; he is also right in thinking that these Saints' hymns are mostly early efforts. The hymns for St Denis and St Ayoul (Aigulphus) and the presumably later one for St Gildas were probably composed at those monasteries where Abelard found refuge. Most often the asylum was brief, proving later to be storm-wracked: only at St-Ayoul de Provins was there a measure of peace. The hymn for St Benedict was also presumably patronal, as was that for St Eustace, who was venerated at St-Denis. Waddell identifies most of these hymns as being stylistically immature, or, in the case of the St Gildas item, its workaday nature could be due to a lack of enthusiasm. As Waddell says, 'Abelard could not have wasted much effort

<sup>60</sup> Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* I, pp.88–95, which see for references etc. For letter X, see p.26, n.45, below.

<sup>61</sup> For contents, see the *12th-cCistH*, pp.11–15, and on the Breviary, see Waddell, *Molesme Breviary*.

<sup>62</sup> B is late 12th- early 13th-cent; C is late 15th- early 16th-cent. The sigla are those of Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* I, and *OFF Ordinary* (E = Epinal, Bib mun MS 235, 13th-cent; P = BNF lat 2040, 12th–13th-cent). For expansion of other sigla, see Mews, p.21 below. As Waddell says (*Paraclete Hymnal* I, p.64), although many of the hymns in Bk III are early, the preface to that book (which mentions four hymns for each feast) does not square with its contents (which mostly provide three); so it is seriously deficient, even in B. The preface to this book includes an unguarded use of *vigilia*, meaning Matins, which squares with Heloise's *Institutiones* rather than Abelard's usage in the prefaces to Bks I and II. On the arrangement of Bk III indicating a *terminus ad quem* of 1136, see Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* I, p.83. The autobiographical aspects of Abelard's hymns and *planctus* are touched upon by W G East, 'Educating Heloise', *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. G Ferzoco and C Muessig. London, 2000, pp.105–16.

on this hymn'.<sup>63</sup> The St John the Baptist hymns might be ascribed to the dedication of the Paraclete side chapel, those for the Lady chapel possibly being the BVM hymns (61–63) that occur in another manuscript, E (and 63 does not appear in B). The main altar of the Paraclete was dedicated to St Denis, whose hymn is found, with what appears to be a later *divisio*, as 127–8 in the Paraclete Hymnal.

The absence of doxologies in certain of these hymns is significant. The St Eustace hymn (129) does not have one, nor does that for St Gildas (120), so doxologies do not seem to have been a regular feature until at least 1127, assuming the latter hymn to have been written at St-Gildas. Other notable hymns that lack doxologies are those for the Innocents (76–9) and 'Hec nox carissimi' (106), the first of the *triduum* hymns, redolent with images of the victim offered up for sacrifice and the *reus-rei* pun whose import will emerge in chapter 9. In contrast, the St Denis hymn (127–8) has a strongly Trinitarian doxology, in common with 'O quanta qualia' (29), a hymn that the MSS seem to indicate was once on its own: both may be seen as a counterblast to the accusations of the Council of Soissons in 1121. These Trinitarian sentiments, and the image of being in a Babylonian exile, may or may not have something to do with 'Ut quid jubes', an earlier lyric by the ninth-century Gottschalk of Orbais; but the use of *palatium* (i.e. 'palace' with a side reference to Le Pallet, Abelard's birthplace) is significant here, as probably in the St Ayoul hymn (126), where the same word-play seems to be intended. The doxologies of the St Denis hymn and 'O quanta qualia' are doxologies proper, that is to say, they specifically mention the Three Persons. On the other hand, many hymns end with a standard, less specific, last stanza or are provided with refrains and the like, with which Abelard experimented throughout the Paraclete Hymnal. The *routine* provision of doxologies *proper* may be seen as a later development, possibly to be seen as a move towards conformity with Cistercian practice. Indeed, some of the doxologies, and particularly the *Amens* fairly regularly appended in the MSS, are to be regarded with some suspicion: they may have been added after Abelard's death.

We can assume that the hymns just mentioned were fairly early, and imagine that some of them were already being sung at Abelard's Paraclete School when Heloise was still at Argenteuil. Whether or not the references to the Paraclete in hymns 29 and 127–8 were later revision, is a moot point. The *triduum* hymns following on 'Hec nox' (107–19) have a common closing stanza, but not a doxology proper. These, too, may have been a product of Abelard's Paraclete years. But the bulk of the Paraclete Hymnal was doubtless composed at St-Gildas, when he had no pupils to distract him; so it was probably at this period that the trickle of hymns became a flood, and with it, a reasonably consistent provision of doxologies proper. Waddell's finding that the final part of the Hymnal was delivered in 1136 means that it was completed (perhaps not entirely completed – see n.62, above) after Abelard had fled from St-Gildas.

The mature *triduum* hymns, found in C but absent from B, were doubtless used by Heloise and her nuns almost from the first days of the community's occupation of the Paraclete in 1129. Similarly, three other significant hymns (14, 28 and 29, 'O quanta qualia') occur in another MS (P), and 29 is found in many other sources: it may be conjectured that these were among those in use at Heloise's Paraclete before the Hymnal proper had been devised. Our only witness to Abelard's original intentions is the somewhat defective MS B. What happened when the Hymnal was delivered to Heloise is problematic, however. It is difficult to judge how much of it was incorporated into the repertory of Heloise's Abbey at first, later to be pruned, for our information concerning its reception depends on the late thirteenth-century *OFF Ordinary* and the much later Paraclete Breviary, MS C. Despite the chronology of the MSS, it seems that C represents an earlier state of affairs at the Abbey (prior to Heloise's death) than the *OFF Ordinary* (which perhaps shows changes made after her death).

Abelard's provision of one tune to serve the hymns of a whole cycle was doubtless for practical reasons: this restriction would mean that a comparatively small number of tunes would have to be mastered in order to sing all of the hymns that he had provided. Yet this was the opposite state of affairs from that which pertained to the usual run of the traditional repertory: it may have comprised fewer texts, some having to serve for several occasions, but there were different tunes with which to ring the changes. So in turning the tables in regard to the proportion of texts to tunes, he may have turned them too far: his easily learned selection of a few melodies could have been perceived as poverty-stricken from the musical point of view (as will be seen in chapter 9, Heloise herself seems to have composed or adapted a number of tunes for other hymns), and many of his texts might have been dropped for that reason. As

<sup>63</sup> *Paraclete Hymnal* I, pp.74–81.

Brenda Cook suggests in chapter 10, after Abelard's death, the influence of Astralabe (who had become a Cistercian despite his father's admonition in the *Carmen ad Astralabium*) might have been felt upon the Paraclete liturgy.

By the time of the Paraclete Breviary represented by C (i.e. by the time of its archetype), Book I was used only selectively. Of the daily round, only the first hymn of each cycle found its way into C (though 28 was dropped, 29 preserved). Book II survived better: only the Adonean Holy Cross hymns (50–52) and those for the dedication of the church (57–60) are rejected in C: perhaps both of these depositions were for musical reasons. Of Book III, the first of these (61–63), present in MS E, may have pre-dated the assembly of the Paraclete Hymnal proper (as represented by MS B).<sup>64</sup> This sequence of hymns was adopted in C, but the rest of Book III of the Hymnal was used only selectively: sometimes the first hymn of each group is repeated in favour of those that followed in the original Hymnal; elsewhere the omissions and adoptions seem to be more considered.

The contents of the *OFF Ordinary* show far more rejections, many of which can be explained as increasing 'Cistercianisation'; the dropping of the Pentecost hymns, which would doubtless have been dear to Heloise's heart, might have taken place after her death. One striking omission is the third of the Easter cycle: all the others ('Christiani plaudite' and so on) are retained, if not where Abelard had intended; but the title of 'Goliath prostratus est' appears to have been erased in the MS.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, 'Da Marie tympanum' continued to be used after Heloise's death, and is of peculiar significance.

'Da Marie tympanum' represents Miriam beating time for the triumph song at the crossing of the Red Sea (Exodus 15), but Mary Magdalen is interwoven in this role (as she is in Abelard's sermon XIII, for Easter):<sup>66</sup> so Miriam's refrain has now become Mary's *Resurrexit dominus!* When Abelard died in 1142, Peter the Venerable was absent in Spain; so it was not until 1143 or thereabouts that he was able to write a letter of comfort to Heloise in which he described her husband's last years at Cluny and final weeks at Chalon-sur-Saône. Peter praises her learning and wealth of religion, and compares her with many heroines such as the Old Testament Deborah, the Hebrew etymology of whose name he expects her to know. He also sees her as Miriam, telling her that 'you took up the *tympanum* of blessed mortification, so that your skill sent new turns of melody to the very ears of God'. Clearly, he has Abelard's hymn in mind, for he also uses the rare word *tympanistria*.<sup>67</sup>

In his record of Master Peter's last days Peter the Venerable does not blush to acknowledge that the couple's love was carnal, for he clearly knew of Heloise's real feelings – and doubtless Abelard's as well – rather than those entangled in the rhetoric of the *Historia Calamitatum*. At the end of the letter, however, he says that the carnal bond (*carnalis copula*) will be replaced by a heavenly bond, as he draws the image of her former lover being cherished in God's bosom, 'to be restored to you in His Grace'. Reading these words, the Abbess-widow's picture of her future self, at last coming to be reunited with the founder of the Paraclete, might have been as Magdalen-Miriam declaring that her Lord is risen indeed:

Dicat tympanistria  
*Resurrexit dominus!*

Declaims the timbrer:  
The Lord is risen indeed!

<sup>64</sup> also one or two other subsidiary MSS – Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* I, p.10.

<sup>65</sup> See Waddell, *OFF*, p.129 and *OFF Ordinary*, p.31.

<sup>66</sup> PL, 178, cols. 484–9, and see Letter VII, Hicks pp.117–20. In both passages, Mary of Egypt is added, for good measure. For the reading from the patristic Mary of Egypt, see Waddell *OFF*, p.127 and *OFF Ordinary*, p.31.

<sup>67</sup> 'Cantasti cum Maria, demerso Pharaone, canticum laudis, et beate mortificationis tympanum, ut olim illa pre manibus gerens, novi modulaminis melos usque ad ipsas deitatis aures docta tympanistria transmisisti.' Letter 115, Constable; Radice, pp.277–84 (see p.278); see also Hicks, pp.156–61 (at p.157). *Tympanum* (spelt *timp-* in Letter 45) does not mean 'tambourine' or 'timbrel', although this rather more poetic word, from Coverdale and the KJV, was used earlier in this chapter, and its derivative in the translation above (though if the word 'timbrer' existed, it would have been more appropriate). In common with its Hebrew cognate (*ṭp*), it means a drum (Arab. *duff*). Only in Ps.68:24 (Vulgate numbering) does the form *tympanistria(num)* occur in the Latin Bible. As Joseph Dyer has reminded me, the stretched skin of the *tympanum* was an old patristic image for the flesh mortified by penance. Indeed, this is hinted at in Letter VII, Hicks, p.119. For an interesting analysis of this letter, see D R Howlett, 'Arithmetic Rhythms in Latin Letters' *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 56 (1998), pp.193–225 at pp.202–17. The same author's *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style*. Dublin, 1995, contains a similar discussion on part of the *Historia Calamitatum* on pp.355–363.

## Liturgy and Identity at the Paraclete: Heloise, Abelard and the Evolution of Cistercian Reform

CONSTANT J MEWS

ABELARD and Heloise are conventionally remembered more for their frustrations with the constraints of monastic life than for their contribution to the cause of monastic reform. Although it is now known that they shared a common love of both music and poetry, their respective contributions to shaping liturgical and religious life have never been emphasised as much as their status as lovers. In part this is because that well-known monastic reformer Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153) was so successful at the Council of Sens (1141) in shaping an image of Abelard as a theologian and wayward monk, lacking a spiritual understanding of both the omnipotence of God and Christ's redemption of humanity.<sup>1</sup> Whereas Abelard was either vilified or celebrated for standing up to Bernard, Heloise slipped into the background as Abbess of the Paraclete, until Jean de Meun discovered her letters. She was then transformed into a frustrated heroine, held captive by the constraints of monastic other-worldliness, and thus a polar opposite to Bernard of Clairvaux, idealised (or demonised) as the progenitor of monastic reform, devoted to the love of God rather than to worldly love.

In *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard*, I questioned some of these assumptions, by looking at a collection of over one hundred love letters from the early twelfth century, preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript of Clairvaux. I argued that it was illusory to interpret these letters as about 'worldly' love, as distinct from the 'spiritual love' evoked in monastic literature.<sup>2</sup> The woman's love letters proclaim the same profoundly ethical understanding of the demands of *amor* as found in the letters of Heloise; the man's vision of love echoes a more traditional Ovidian view of *amor* as erotic passion, parallel to that presented by Abelard in the *Historia Calamitatum*. Here, I shall explore further comments made in that book about the relationship of both Abelard and Heloise to Cistercian tradition by looking more closely at the liturgy and monastic observances of the Paraclete. Abelard and Heloise shared a common concern for authenticity in the expression of liturgy with the early Cistercians, even if they differed in the way in which this authenticity should be expressed.

When Jean de Meun included a brief summary of the *Historia Calamitatum* and accompanying letters in *Le Roman de la Rose*, he was not particularly interested in the monastic aspect of the exchange. He never translated the Rule for the Paraclete that concludes the correspondence in the longest manuscript copy of the exchange (Troyes, Bibl. mun. 802, henceforward T). He was more intrigued by Heloise's rebuke to Abelard that she would rather have been called Abelard's whore (*meretrix*) than gain wealth and legitimacy as the Empress (*imperatrix*) of Augustus.<sup>3</sup> Since then, Heloise's letters have long attracted attention for their critique of external religious observance. She was troubled by the incongruity that even during the liturgy, she could not free herself from memory of the pleasures that they once enjoyed: 'Even during the most solemn moments of the Mass, where prayer ought to be more pure, obscene fantasies of pleasures completely capture my soul for themselves, so that I give myself more to those shameful deeds than to prayer; where I ought to groan about what I have committed, I rather sigh after what I have lost.'<sup>4</sup> Heloise presents herself as a sinful woman, not worthy of public esteem: 'They call me chaste, who do not perceive the hypocrite that I am. They consider purity of flesh to be a virtue, when virtue is not of the body of the spirit; although I attract praise among men, I deserve nothing in the presence of God, who tests the heart and inner parts, and sees what is hidden. I am considered religious in a time when not a small part of religious life is hypocrisy, when someone who does not

<sup>1</sup> On the date and political circumstances behind this council, see C J Mews, 'The Council of Sens (1141): Bernard, Abelard and the Fear of Social Upheaval', *Speculum*, 77 (2002), pp.342–82.

<sup>2</sup> LLL, pp.145–77.

<sup>3</sup> Heloise, Letter II, Hicks, p.49.

<sup>4</sup> Heloise, Letter IV, Hicks, p.66: 'Inter ipsa missarum sollempnia ubi purior esse debet oratio, obscena earum voluptatum phantasmata ita sibi penitus miserrimam captivant animam ut turpitudinibus illis magis quam orationi vacem.' See also Hicks pp.67–8 for the other passages instanced in this paragraph.



offend human judgement is accorded the highest praise.' She protests that it had been his command rather than divine love (*dilectio*) that had driven her to take the religious habit, quoting many passages from Scripture to support her claim about the dangers of false praise.

Heloise's comments have often been construed as signifying a nascent desire to escape the constraints of the monastic life. Petrarch, who owned the earliest copy of the correspondence, set an example for generations of subsequent readers in being more interested in Abelard and Heloise as individuals rather than as monastic figures.<sup>5</sup> Modern French translations of the correspondence do not even include either Heloise's third letter, which asks for an account of historical precedents of women leading a religious life and for a Rule for the community, or the two lengthy treatises that Abelard wrote in reply. It is assumed that monastic and liturgical texts are simply vehicles for transmitting religious tradition, very different from personal declarations of love and friendship. The artificial distinction between 'personal letters' and 'letters of direction' in the correspondence, highlights a common assumption that monastic and liturgical texts can never express a personal perspective about religious life, and that 'repentance' can only have a single meaning, namely rejection of the world.

The reading of the correspondence over the centuries as the story of a secular heroine, speaking from the heart about her unease with the constraints of religious convention, has been much criticised by those who argue that its true function is to present a set of monastic ideals, above all in the two long treatises of Abelard requested by Heloise – an account of women in religious life, and a Rule for the Paraclete. In the early twentieth century, Bernard Schmeidler argued that the entire correspondence might be a carefully constructed synthesis in which Abelard devised the letters of Heloise as a way of introducing the Rule for the Paraclete.<sup>6</sup> Even such an eminent historian as Georges Duby assumed that the correspondence was shaped by profoundly traditional monastic assumptions, about the fallen woman who has to recognise the authority of the monastic values presented by Abelard, and preferred to dwell on the rhetorical claims of Peter the Venerable about Heloise's piety as a more authentic guide to the monastic ideology by which her life was constrained.<sup>7</sup> Similar views were held by the two major editors of Abelard's Paraclete Hymnal, Joseph Szövérfy and Chrysogonus Waddell.<sup>8</sup> Although the 'forgery' hypothesis had the great merit of drawing attention to the monastic character of the exchange, the notion that Abelard himself composed the letters of Heloise has failed to win widespread scholarly acceptance, not least because it presupposes that Abelard was capable of inventing a persona quite different from anything like the fictional characters he invents in a literary dialogue. Feminist scholars have argued that such a hypothesis continues a process of repression initiated by Abelard himself.<sup>9</sup> This interpretation is sometimes criticised as being observed through modern eyes by those who argue that the correspondence is in reality a monastic foundation document by way of a memorial of the founders of the Paraclete, putting forward moral instruction for its nuns.<sup>10</sup> Although this view deserves consideration, the very word *monastic* needs to be carefully defined. It is necessary to consider the distinctive ways in which both Heloise and Abelard interpreted religious life, not merely through their letters, but through the liturgical and poetic texts that were used at the Paraclete.

The Cistercian monk Fr Chrysogonus Waddell has contributed vastly to our understanding of monastic life at the Paraclete. In a detailed series of commentaries and editions, he argued that the Paraclete liturgy and observances were based on far more influences than simply Abelard's Rule and Hymnal for the community. In particular, he

<sup>5</sup> The Rule is also found in abbreviated form in two late 15th-cent MSS (BNF n a lat 1873 and lat 2545); a number of other MSS include the prefatory letter, but not the Rule itself. On the history of T, see C J Mews, 'La bibliothèque du Paraclet du XIIIe siècle à la Révolution' (1985), reprinted in Mews, *Reason and Belief in the Age of Roscelin and Abelard*. Aldershot, Surrey, 2002.

<sup>6</sup> John Benton initially suggested a late 13th-cent origin for the correspondence but subsequently reverted to the hypothesis that Abelard composed the whole dossier: see Benton, pp.417–53.

<sup>7</sup> Georges Duby, *Women of the Twelfth Century*, trans. Jean Birrell. Cambridge, 1997, pp.21–44.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph Szövérfy, *Peter Abelard's Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, 2 vols. New York, 1975, 1: pp.14–16 and Waddell, *Institutiones*, pp.53–4. See also LLL, pp.47–53.

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., the essays in LH.

<sup>10</sup> Peter von Moos, 'Abaelard, Heloise und ihr Paraklet: ein Kloster nach Mass, zugleich eine Streitschrift gegen die ewige Wiederkehr hermeneutischer Naivität', to appear in *Individualität und Religiosentum*, ed. Gert Melville (forthcoming); Markus Asper, 'Leidenschaften und ihre Leser. Abaelard, Heloise und die Rezeptionsforschung', in *Abaelards 'Historia calamitatum'*. ... ed. Dag Nikolaus Hasse. Berlin, 2002, pp.105–39.

argued that its religious life was influenced by early Cistercian monastic and liturgical practices, before they were reformed by the Cistercian order sometime before 1147.<sup>11</sup> Waddell also argued that the nuns followed not Abelard's Rule for the Paraclete, but the *Institutiones nostre*, a brief text that follows the Rule in T, which he showed to be influenced both by Abelard's Rule, and on early Cistercian statutes, drawn up by 1136 and very likely a composition of Heloise.<sup>12</sup> He dated these Paraclete observances to 1140–7, when Heloise needed to establish uniformity of practice between the Paraclete and its first daughter houses, the first being dedicated to Mary Magdalen at Trainel in 1142, the second to Our Lady at La Pomeraye in 1147.<sup>13</sup> Waddell interprets the correspondence as a monastic foundation document prepared for the nuns of the Paraclete, in the same way as the *Carta caritatis* presents an account of the early foundation of Cîteaux in 1098, with accompanying legislation.<sup>14</sup>

Waddell has also produced painstaking editions and commentaries of the two surviving liturgical manuscripts of the Paraclete: an Ordinal (P – BNF fr 14410) from the late thirteenth century that describes liturgical practices in great detail,<sup>15</sup> and a Breviary (C – Chaumont, Bibl. mun. 31), copied in the late fifteenth century, that provides a unique record of the prayers and hymns actually used in the Paraclete liturgy.<sup>16</sup> They reveal that only a proportion of Abelard's hymns (preserved independently in B – Brussels, Bibl. royale, MS 10147–58, from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century) were incorporated into the Paraclete liturgy. He argued that even though these manuscripts are both relatively late, they transmit a liturgy that is largely Cistercian in character, as it stood prior to the major reforms of around 1147, although modified and extended with many hymns and prayers written by Abelard.<sup>17</sup> Few scholars have since tried to explain the paradox of why a community founded by Abelard should be so shaped by the monastic customs followed by his most famous critic, Bernard of Clairvaux, or indeed to assess Waddell's underlying argument that the Paraclete was indeed 'overwhelmingly Cistercian' in its liturgical identity.

Discussion of these issues has also been complicated by uncertainty about the date of the *Carta caritatis*, an idealised portrayal of the founding of Cîteaux in 1098, along with a summary of early Cistercian rules about liturgical behaviour that first gains wide circulation only in the 1160s. These documents, celebrated for presenting the foundation of a monastic order based on principles of charity, have generated as much controversy as the letters of Abelard and Heloise, for a similar reason, namely that we cannot easily tell how much the *Carta caritatis* reflects a fictionalised account of how ideals of *caritas* were translated into legislative principles. Although a version was reportedly approved by pope Calixtus II in 1119, we do not know exactly how detailed it was. The key issue here is the role of Bernard of Clairvaux in shaping a collective Cistercian identity. Because the surviving early form of the *Carta caritatis* speaks glowingly of Stephen as its influential Prior and then Abbot (1108–34), but does not mention Bernard by name, Waddell has suggested that these references could have been composed at Cîteaux only after Stephen's death in 1134 by Raynard, its new Abbot (from Clairvaux). Perhaps a more plausible suggestion is that followed by Auberger and other scholars, that the *Carta caritatis* was written at Clairvaux in around 1124–5, and that it reflected the perspective of Bernard, then beginning to emerge as a dominant figure in the movement.<sup>18</sup> It was in

<sup>11</sup> Waddell first announced these findings in 'Saint Bernard and the Cistercian Office at the Abbey of the Paraclete' in *The Chimera of his Age. Studies on Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. E R Elder and J R Sommerfeldt. Kalamazoo, 1980, pp.76–121; on the date, see n.23 below.

<sup>12</sup> Published by Duchesne from T (then in the possession of the Paraclete) in PL, 178, cols. 313C–317C, although with the opening word mistranscribed as *Instructiones*. Further statutes about the religious life for women were added at a later date. The text is re-edited and studied in Waddell, *Institutiones* pp.9–15, 40–65. For the relevant section of the *Summa cartae caritatis*, see pp.li–liv, and more fully Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*. Cîteaux, 1999, pp.398–413, with discussion of dating on pp.147–61.

<sup>13</sup> On the priory of Mary Magdalen, see *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye du Paraclet*, ed. C Lalore, Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes, vol. 2. Paris, 1878, pp.65–6, no. 48. Although this charter dates soon after 1146, approval for the priory of Mary Magdalen must have been in 1142.

<sup>14</sup> C Waddell, 'Heloise and the Abbey of the Paraclete', in *The Making of Christian Communities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Mark Williams. London, 2002.

<sup>15</sup> Waddell comments on the Ordinal in OFP, editing it in OFP Ordinary.

<sup>16</sup> See Waddell, OFP (pp.xv–xvii for detailed description of C) and OFP Ordinary: C is edited in *Paraclete Breviary*.

<sup>17</sup> See Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal*; for Szövérfy's edition, see n.8, above.

<sup>18</sup> Jean-Baptiste Auberger, *L'unanimité cistercienne primitive: mythe ou réalité?* Achel, 1986.



Bernard's interest to emphasise the role of Cîteaux and the General Chapter, and thus shape a myth of Cistercian origins, precisely because he was himself becoming a dominant figure in the movement.

More controversially, Constance Berman has argued that all of these supposedly early Cistercian records were created at the beginning of the 1160s, long after Bernard's death.<sup>19</sup> Concentrating on the relatively late date of most surviving manuscripts, she argues that the administrative structures of the Order were only established after the death of Bernard of Clairvaux and maintains that records reporting that Obazine and Savigny were incorporated into the Order in 1147 were forged at least a decade later. She sees the Cistercian Order as becoming as powerful as it did in the late twelfth century, only after it took over many existing women's communities. Her evidence comes particularly from southern France.<sup>20</sup>

Constance Berman's claims for a late dating of so many supposedly early Cistercian documents have been subject to much criticism. The copy of the *Exordium Citercii Summa caritatis* and early statutes in the important Trent MS is traditionally dated to around 1135, but she argues that it was extended with new sections in the early 1160s; she also argues that the 1147 date for the incorporation of Savigny and Obazine into the Cistercian Order is itself a later fabrication.<sup>21</sup> She focuses on the Cistercian Order as an institutional structure rather than on liturgical or literary text, and effectively minimises the impact of Bernard of Clairvaux on its institutional development. Her dating does not take into account Waddell's argument that the Paraclete *Institutiones nostre* are themselves influenced in part by existing Cistercian legislation.<sup>22</sup> Even if some of her specific arguments are difficult to accept, they do however force us to consider afresh the evolution of the Cistercian *ordo* or way of life during the twelfth century. She observes that both men's and women's houses in southern France, such as Cadouin, Savigny and Obazine, exhibit no firm evidence of being Cistercian in the institutional sense until a decade after 1147.

A vivid record survives in the *Life of Stephen of Obazine* about the problem created in 1147 when the congregation of Obazine had to update its liturgical books, when they thought they were following the practice of Cîteaux, even though they were not formally part of the order.<sup>23</sup> When looking at the identity of the Paraclete, and its relationship to the Cistercian *ordo*, we need to be aware that in the first half of the twelfth century there were many more religious communities of both men and women that were inspired by the liturgical practice of the monks of Cîteaux, even if they did not define themselves as part of the Cistercian *ordo*. Constance Berman's observation that many of these communities were not part of the Cistercian legislative structure needs to be complemented by Waddell's awareness of the liturgical fluidity of many of these communities, especially in southern France, that emulated the liturgical practices of Cîteaux without being bound by them in every respect. Whatever institutional changes did or did not take place in 1147, Obazine and Savigny did then begin to adopt the liturgical practices of the Cistercian *ordo*. This marked a key moment in the liturgical evolution and expansion of the Cistercian movement, a development in which Bernard of Clairvaux played a key role. Not the least important aspect of the Paraclete in these years, is that Heloise refused to allow her community to follow the Cistercian *ordo* wholeheartedly, even though it was influenced by a certain degree of respect for the customs of Cîteaux.

#### The Paraclete and the cause of monastic reform

In order to understand the relationship of the Paraclete to the Cistercian monastic reform, we need first to appreciate the evolution of liturgical practice at Cîteaux and its first foundations at Pontigny and Clairvaux in 1114–15. When Robert of Molesme, Alberic, Stephen Harding and fifteen other companions established a new monastery at Cîteaux in 1098, they brought with them from Molesme a reformed liturgy and observances also practised (with local variations) at Marmoutier, Montier-la-Celle in Troyes, and St-Ayoul de Provins.<sup>24</sup> Through the pioneering research

<sup>19</sup> Constance Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order In Twelfth-Century Europe*. Philadelphia, 2000.

<sup>20</sup> Constance Berman, 'Were There Twelfth-Century Cistercian Nuns?', *Church History*, 68 (1999), pp.824–64; see also her *Cistercian Evolution*, pp.142–8.

<sup>21</sup> Trent, Bibl. Comm. 1711. Berman's arguments (*Cistercian Evolution*, pp.61–7) are questioned by Waddell in 'The Myth of Cistercian Origins: C. H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources', *Cîteaux*, 51 (2000), pp.299–386.

<sup>22</sup> Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Origin and Early Evolution of the Cistercian Antiphony: Reflections on Two Cistercian Chant Reforms', in *The Cistercian Spirit. A Symposium*, ed. Basil Pennington. Shannon, 1969, pp.190–223.

<sup>23</sup> Waddell cites an important passage about the 1147 Cistercian liturgical reform in *12th-cCistH*, 1, pp.76–7.

<sup>24</sup> See Waddell, *Molesme Breviary*.

of Waddell into the Molesme and early Cistercian liturgy we are now much better informed about the eleventh-century roots of the monastic reform movement, taken to a new degree of rigour by Stephen Harding, third Abbot of Cîteaux (1108–34). In an edict from his early years as Abbot, in his *Monitum*, Stephen forbade his successors from using any hymns not composed by St Ambrose, on the grounds that they would not have been known to St Benedict. In their enthusiasm for liturgical authenticity, they reduced the number of hymns to a mere thirty-four, all deemed to have been composed by St Ambrose.<sup>25</sup>

Waddell discovered that this original 'Ambrosian' repertory was preserved in only four manuscripts, one from Cadouin, a house in southern France that claimed to have been founded from Pontigny in 1119; another from La Bussière, a daughter house of Cîteaux founded in 1131; part of a Clairvaux manuscript; and the late fifteenth-century Breviary of the Paraclete. Modelled on chants found at Metz, presumed home of what were thought to be authentic Gregorian traditions, this Hymnal was based on radical rejection of most of the Molesme–Montier-la-Celle repertory of eighty odd hymns, even though this collection had itself been radically pruned.<sup>26</sup> The simple chants of the first Cistercian Hymnal were eventually replaced by a much wider, more sensuous range of melodies, better adapted to Ambrosian texts in an enlarged and revised Hymnal.<sup>27</sup> The liturgical diversity of manuscripts from this early period suggests that there was a common core of chants associated with Cîteaux, although many houses insisted on incorporating their own practices into their liturgy, without submitting to every rule of the *ordo*. Oversight of this wide-ranging liturgical reform was entrusted to Bernard of Clairvaux by the assembled Cistercian Abbots sometime prior to 1147, when so many other congregations started to follow a common liturgy.

After arriving with his companions at Cîteaux in 1112, Bernard played a key role in transforming an ailing community into a vibrant monastic network. New foundations were established at Pontigny in 1114 and Clairvaux in 1115 that identified themselves not as dependent Priors in the Cluniac mould, but as a congregation bound together by charity and strict adherence to the Rule of Benedict, rejecting centuries of monastic observances deemed to be hopelessly corrupt. At the very time when Abelard and Heloise were debating the meaning of true love in 1115, Bernard was befriended by William of Champeaux, and ordained Abbot of a community dedicated to exploring the fundamental core of the Rule of Benedict as founded on the principle of *caritas*. When William of Malmesbury reported the zeal of the early *monachi Cistellenses* in around 1125–6, he reported on the expansion of the movement as due, not to Bernard of Clairvaux (whom he does not mention), but to Stephen, through whom were founded 'sixteen Abbeys, and seven more begun through his effort'. William may have acquired this information, up to date in 1124, from a visit to L'Aumône, mother house of Waverley, the first English Cistercian house, founded in 1128.<sup>28</sup> The myth of Cistercian origins had already been created. William emphasises not the institutional identity of the Cistercian *religio*, but the zeal of these monks for liturgical simplicity and purity of conscience. Matins was so timed that it would be followed immediately by Lauds at daybreak, after which the monks would then go directly to manual work. He reports that Stephen insisted to the monks of Molesme that liturgical and monastic observance must be based on reason and authority, the same principles as supported by Abelard and Heloise.<sup>29</sup> The assumption that Stephen was the first reformer to challenge corrupt practices at Molesme is of course a misleading rhetorical artifice, as Molesme itself followed the reformed practice of Marmoutier and Montier-la-Celle.

Moves to make the liturgy more 'authentic' had also been made in many Abbeys in Germany by William, Abbot of Hirsau (1060–91), for a wide range of communities, both male and female, some newly founded, others already in existence. As in France, there were many Abbeys, like Rheinau and Zwiefalten, which might look to the reformed

<sup>25</sup> Waddell, *12th-cCistH*, 2, p.12, and see 1, pp.7–22; also his translation and commentary in *The New Monastery*, ed. E R Elder. Kalamazoo, 1999, pp.78–86.

<sup>26</sup> See Guenter, p.21: 'Inter cetera quae optime aemulati sunt patres nostri, Cisterciensis videlicet ordinis inchoatores, hoc quoque studiosissime et religiosissime curaverunt, ut in divinis laudibus id canerent quod magis authenticum inveniretur. Missis denique qui Metensis ecclesiae antiphonarium – nam id Gregorianum esse dicebatur – transcriberent et afferrent, longe aliter rem esse quam audierant invenerunt. Itaque examinatum displicuit, eo quod et cantu et littera inventum sit vitiosum, et incompositum nimis, ac paene per omnia contemptibile.'

<sup>27</sup> Waddell usefully edits the melodies of both versions, in facing texts, in his *12th-cCistH*, vol. 2.

<sup>28</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Historia Regum Anglorum*, iv, p.337, ed. and trans. R A B Mynors and others, vol. 1. Oxford, 1998, pp.582–4.

<sup>29</sup> *Historia ...* iv, pp.334–6, Mynors, pp.576–82.

observances of Hirsau (which in turn looked back to Cluny), while being free to develop their own distinct liturgical identity from this common base.<sup>30</sup> At Disibodenberg, Hildegard of Bingen was brought up at an Abbey that followed Hirsau customs, yet permitting such innovations as a dramatised Easter play; it was thus quite possible for her to apply her own creativity to re-creating an 'authentic' liturgy at Rupertsberg.<sup>31</sup> The monks of Rheinau were able to integrate Abelard's 'O quanta qualia' into their liturgy, thus transmitting a melody otherwise not preserved in the Paraclete manuscripts.<sup>32</sup> Undoubtedly many more texts and melodies have yet to be uncovered in this web of communities across Europe: each sought to define its own version of an 'authentic' liturgy, using drama as well as music to bring home the Gospel message.

Cistercian scholarship has perhaps concentrated too narrowly on issues about its own Order, when the most dynamic developments were taking place in individual communities. What seems to have been distinctive about the early Cistercians was their insistence on meeting together as a brotherhood, in the bonds of charity, to establish a common liturgical identity, and their success in promoting themselves. The testimony of William of Malmesbury suggests that even by 1125, before Bernard had become a dominant figure in the movement, a corporate mythology had already evolved in this new *religio*. In practice, the reform movement was far more diverse and confused than admirers of Stephen Harding and Bernard of Clairvaux imagined, at least until 1147, when Eugenius III, a former monk of Clairvaux, attended an important general chapter of the *ordo*. At the same time, Hirsau was losing its pre-eminence in the reform movement to Cistercian houses, not least through the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux, who had been preaching in Germany.<sup>33</sup> At Disibodenberg, Hildegard was making moves to establish her own *ordo* at Rupertsberg, with its own liturgical identity.

These developments were still in the future when Abelard escaped from St-Denis to the Priory of St-Ayoul in c.1122, and then constructed a small oratory in honour of the Holy Trinity, subsequently re-dedicating it to the Paraclete. Not far distant, Bernard had begun to create great controversy for himself at Clairvaux and the network of monks inspired by Cîteaux through his *Apologia*, written in around 1122–4 to support the wider cause of monastic reform, through satirising corrupt monastic practices and defending the Cistercian *ordo* or way of life.<sup>34</sup> Yet although Abelard was as critical of worldly monks as Bernard, he was also suspicious of self-proclaimed reformers who continued to seek public attention. Abelard argued that the pagan philosophers were superior to modern monks in fortitude, magnanimity and continence.<sup>35</sup> In re-dedicating his oratory to the Paraclete, Abelard was declaring a distinctive theme of his emerging Christian theology, its emphasis on the Holy Spirit as the good of God, working not just through Christ and his Church, but through the ancient philosophers. This contrasted with the Cistercian practice of dedicating all their abbeys to the Mother of God. Abelard was more concerned, in these early years, with

<sup>30</sup> Felix Heinzer identified the importance of the Rheinau *liber ordinarius* for understanding the way the Hirsau liturgy was able to evolve in 'Der Hirsauer "Liber Ordinarius"', *Revue bénédictine* 102 (1992), pp.309–47. For further discussion of the non-centralised character of the Hirsau reform, see Mews, 'Monastic educational culture revisited: the witness of Zwiefalten and the Hirsau reform,' in *Medieval Monastic Education ...* (see p.16, n.62, above) pp.182–97, and various chapters in *Listen Daughter: the Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women*, ed. Constant Mews. New York, 2001, in particular that of Julie Hotchin (pp.59–84).

<sup>31</sup> I am indebted to Felix Heinzer for pointing out the Hirsau connections of a manuscript now in Engelberg, identified by E Omlin as from Disibodenberg, 'Das ältere Engelberger Osterspiel und der cod. 103 der Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg', in *Corolla Heremitana. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag für Linus Birchler*, ed. A A Schmid. Olten-Fribourg, 1964, pp.101–26.

<sup>32</sup> The earliest Rheinau manuscript to contain the melody is late 13th-cent: see Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* I, pp.12–13 and p.11, n.40, above. It is possible that more work on the Rheinau manuscripts might reveal other liturgical texts from the Paraclete.

<sup>33</sup> The transition from Hirsau to Cistercian dominance by the mid 12th cent is well illustrated by Catherine Jeffreys, '“Listen, Daughters of Light”: The Epithalamium and Musical Innovation in Twelfth-Century Germany' (*Listen Daughter*, pp.137–58) where the chant for religious women within the *Speculum virginum* is edited. The key manuscript passed to the Cistercian Abbey of Eberbach by the mid 12th cent.

<sup>34</sup> Constance Berman (*Cistercian Evolution*, p.69) claims that she finds only one place in Bernard's writings where *ordo* and the name of Cîteaux are connected. Yet in the *Apologia ad Guillelmum Abbatem, Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, 8 vols. Rome, 1957–77 [henceforward SBO], vol. 3, pp.81–108, Bernard regularly contrasts the two *ordines*, defining himself as *Cisterciensis* rather than as *Cluniacensis* (p.87).

<sup>35</sup> *Theologia christiana* 2.23, 87, ed. E-M Buytaert, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* [henceforward CCCM], 12. Turnhout, 1969, pp.142, 170.

abstract theology, rather than with the interpretation of Scripture and the composition of liturgical texts, interests shaped by the influence of Heloise, after he transferred the Paraclete to her control in 1129.

Abelard blamed the collapse of his school at the Paraclete on the negative influence of two 'new apostles, celebrated for reforming the life of canons regular and of monks,' very likely to be Norbert of Xanten and Bernard of Clairvaux. Even if Abelard exaggerated Bernard's involvement in the collapse of the school, there is no doubt that Bernard of Clairvaux was becoming in these years an influential, if also controversial figure. Not only did he effectively create a Cistercian corporate identity by defending its *ordo* or way of life against that of Cluny, but he became the target of a long attack by Peter the Venerable, who sought to reject criticisms being made by 'one of his monks' of traditional monastic practices.<sup>36</sup> Abelard was not alone in criticising this new breed of monk as 'false prophets' who claimed to introduce reforms without practising true charity, the foundation of all true monasticism.<sup>37</sup> By the late 1120s, however, Abelard was losing political support in the County of Champagne. Hato, the Bishop of Troyes (1122–46) who had initially given approval for Abelard's foundation of an oratory in the diocese, became a friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, yet remaining a friend of Peter the Venerable.<sup>38</sup> By 1129, Bernard had become the dominant figure in the region, and Cîteaux was seen to represent an ideal of reformed monastic practice, that other new communities needed to emulate, even if not to imitate in every respect.

#### Heloise and Cistercian monastic reform

Although Abelard and Heloise both disliked hypocrisy in the practice of monastic life, Heloise enjoyed much better relations with the major religious reformers of her generation. When her community was expelled from Argenteuil in 1129, some of her nuns preferred to move to an established Benedictine monastery (Ste Marie de Footel, Malnouë). In offering to take over the Paraclete, Heloise was opting for a much more austere way of life, closer to that of any of the new religious orders. Abelard comments that she was widely sought out for spiritual conversation by Abbots, Bishops and laity alike: 'In everything they marvelled at the incomparable generosity of her patience. The less she allowed herself to be seen, so that she might give herself to holy prayers and meditations in the secret of her cell, the more eagerly those who were outside begged for her presence and the advice of her spiritual conversation.'<sup>39</sup>

Heloise was also celebrated as both Abbess and writer by Hugh Metel (c.1080–c.1150), an Augustinian canon of Toul, who was also a great admirer of Bernard of Clairvaux. In the first of two letters to Heloise, Hugh singles out her gift in creating new combinations of words, adapting a line of Horace about his own verse:

Your reputation, flying through the void, has resounded to us, what is worthy of resounding from you, has made an impression on us. It has informed us that you have surpassed the female sex. How? By composing, by versifying, by renewing familiar words in a new combination, and what is more excellent than everything, you have overcome womanly weakness and have hardened in manly strength.<sup>40</sup>

Heloise did not respond to Hugh Metel's request that they engage in literary dialogue, provoking Hugh to wax even more extravagantly about her genius as a writer:

<sup>36</sup> Peter the Venerable, Letter 29, Constable; and see *Letters* 2, pp.115–20, also p.271 for discussion of its date (1127?).

<sup>37</sup> A sermon against 'false prophets', targeting the Cistercians, has been convincingly attributed to Abelard by L J Engels, '“Ad-tendite a falsis prophetis” (MS Colmar, H. 152v–153v). Un texte de Pierre Abélard contre les Cisterciens retrouvé?', *Corona gratiarum. Miscellanea patristica, historica et liturgica*, Eligio Dekkers O.S.B. Bruges, 1975, 2, pp.195–228.

<sup>38</sup> Constable, *Letters*, 2, pp.97–8; Hato had previously been archdeacon and dean at Sens, where Abelard held a canonry from before his marriage to Heloise, and where Stephen of Garlande had been Provost; see my article cited at p.19, n.1, above.

<sup>39</sup> Hicks, p.37.

<sup>40</sup> Hugh Metel, Letter 16, in *Sacrae Antiquitatis Monumenta Historica, Dogmatica, Diplomatica*, ed. C L Hugo. 2 vols. Etival-St-Die, 1723–31, 2, p.348: 'Fama sonans per inane uolans apud nos sonuit, quae digna sonitu de uobis, nobis intonuit. Foemineum enim sexum uos excessisse nobis notificauit. Quomodo? Dictando, uersificando, noua iunctura, nota uerba nouando.' The allusion is to Horace, *De arte poetica* 45–7. Letters 16–17 are newly edited and translated in Mews, 'Hugh Metel, Heloise, and Peter Abelard: the Letters of an Augustinian Canon and the Challenge of Innovation in Twelfth-Century Lorraine', *Viator*, 32 (2001), pp.59–91.

And indeed, if it is right to say so, and indeed because it is proper to say so, your pen surpasses or is at least equal to the pens of the Doctors, as I may speak to keep your peace, and save your thanks.<sup>41</sup>

That Hugh was anxious to make contact with Heloise, despite being a severe critic of Peter Abelard, is itself significant. Heloise was seen by contemporaries committed to the cause of religious reform as a woman of piety and learning. Hugh's eagerness to enter into literary dialogue with Heloise echoes Abelard's comment about her popularity in circles committed to the cause of religious reform. His letter may have been written in the early 1130s, perhaps soon after the Paraclete had been granted a papal privilege by Pope Innocent II.<sup>42</sup>

Heloise was also celebrated as an inspirational Abbess by Peter the Venerable, when he wrote to her in 1143 or so, after the death of Abelard. As was noted on p.18, he compares her first to Miriam, prefiguring Mary Magdalen in celebrating the resurrection; he then compares her to Deborah, turning an allusion originally made by Jerome (to encourage Praesidius to imitate the victory of Deborah), into an image of Heloise's genius as a writer and spiritual leader collecting wisdom from many different sources.<sup>43</sup> Heloise was clearly no passive figure, trapped in a way of life to which she could feel no commitment. Her success in building up the Abbey of the Paraclete into a network of religious houses, sharing a common way of life, is in itself ample tribute to her energy and drive.<sup>44</sup>

That Heloise was more sympathetic to Bernard is also hinted at in a letter that Abelard wrote to the Abbot of Clairvaux in the early 1130s. Abelard had heard that Heloise, 'your daughter in Christ' had recently welcomed Bernard for a keenly awaited 'holy visitation', but had been surprised by his criticism of a minor change introduced into the wording of the Lord's Prayer at the Paraclete:

When I recently came to the Paraclete, driven by the need to conduct some business there, your daughter in Christ and our sister, who is said to be Abbess of that place, reported to me with the greatest joy how you had come there for the sake of a long awaited holy visitation and had strengthened both her and her sisters with pious exhortations. Secretly she confided in me that in that charity by which you embrace me in particular you had been somewhat disturbed that the Lord's Prayer was not recited in that oratory during the daily offices as elsewhere, as since you believed this had been through me, I seemed to be noteworthy for this as a kind of novelty. When I heard this, I decided to write some kind of explanation to you, particularly since I am sorry for any offence to you, more than to anyone else, as is appropriate.<sup>45</sup>

Abelard's wording implies that Heloise was more friendly to Bernard than he himself was. The reference to a 'holy visitation' suggests that she deliberately sought out the support of the Abbot of Clairvaux.

Abelard then explains the reasons behind the change. He argues that the word *supersubstantialem*, used in St Matthew 6:11 is more authentic than the word 'daily' reported by St Luke 11:3 (*panem nostrum cotidianum*), an evangelist who was writing in Greek rather than in Hebrew, and traditional in the liturgical version of Matt 6:9-13.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Hugh Metel, Letter 17: 'Et si fas est dicere, immo quia fas est dicere, calamus uester, calamis doctorum supereminet aut equatur, ut loquar salua pace uestra, et gratia uestra salua.'

<sup>42</sup> C Lalore, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye du Paraclet*, Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes 2. Paris, 1878, pp.1-2.

<sup>43</sup> Letter 115, Constable (Radice, pp.277-84, Hicks, pp.156-61). The only source Constable cites here (p.305) is *Anthologia latina*, 'Sic uos non uobis mellificatis apes.' A more likely source is Jerome, *Epistula ad Praesidium*, ed. G Morin, *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, 3 (1913), p.58: 'Esto et ipse apes: Deborae uictoriam dare, Barach te cum Sisaram persequatur, et liberato Israhel iudicum carmen ingemines, ut Christi mella componas.'

<sup>44</sup> See Mary McLaughlin, 'Heloise the Abbess: the Expansion of the Paraclete', in *LH*, pp.19-33.

<sup>45</sup> Abelard, Letter X, in E R Smits, *Peter Abelard, Letters IX-XIV*. ..., Groningen 1983, p.239: 'cum summa exultatione mihi retulit uos illuc diu desideratum causa sanctae uisitationis aduenisse, et non tanquam hominem, sed quasi angelum tam eam quam sorores suas sacris exhortationibus corroborasse.'

<sup>46</sup> [Matt 6:11 has τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον ὁδὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον but after ἐπιούσιον Luke 11:3 adds δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν. Abelard seems to have been unaware that the *crux* lies in the Greek: the difficult word ἐπιούσιος is not in the Greek Bible other than in this passage. It has been found in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus, where it seems to mean *fresh* in the sense of 'delivered daily'. It appears to have been used to translate the Aramaic (not Hebrew) idiom דַּיִן יְיָ מִמָּוֶתָא which simply means 'day by day'. The Greek redactor of Matthew added 'today' to the word whereas Luke added 'daily'. For some curious reason the Latin rendered the petition as *panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie* and *panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis cotidie*, respectively. Bracketed notes here and henceforward are added by D W ]

He was here applying the logic of the *Sic et Non* to one of the most fundamental texts of the liturgy, by pointing out that conventional practice was not faithful to St Matthew's text, in changing this single word. Quoting patristic texts familiar to reformers, he argues that custom should never have authority over reason and truth. Of particular importance is the account he then gives of liturgical reforms implemented by the Cistercians (whom he refers to simply as 'you' in the plural), to argue that they have gone against the custom of early churches in the way they celebrate the Divine Office: they reject traditional hymns, and introduce others that are unknown to most churches; they sing only one hymn ('Eterne rerum conditor') at Matins for the whole year, for both ordinary and feast-days, even Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, when the church has always used a range of hymns; they have forbidden prayers after the Lord's Prayer as well as supplication to the saints; although all their Abbeys are dedicated to the Virgin, they do not petition the Virgin or the saints; they exclude processions; they reduce the period in which the Alleluia is not recited from Septuagesima to the beginning of Lent, yet introduce the Gloria during the *triduum*, supposedly a time of mourning; they reject the Apostles' Creed from Prime and Compline.<sup>47</sup> Abelard's point is not that these liturgical changes are wrong, but that it is hypocritical for Bernard to criticise him for modifying the text of the Lord's Prayer to conform with the text of St Matthew's Gospel: Abelard was simply taking Cistercian zeal for authenticity a further step.

Abelard's intimate knowledge of Cistercian liturgical practice as it stood in the early 1130s may derive from the fact that many Cistercian elements had been adopted by Heloise at her Paraclete Abbey from its foundation in 1129.<sup>48</sup> This was not an unusual situation for many women's communities, as the examples of Cadouin, Obazine, Savigny and Prémontré attest. Hermann of Tournai reports that there were many such women who imitated the zeal of the Cistercians, without actually being strictly part of the Cistercian *ordo*.<sup>49</sup> Waddell's discovery that the Paraclete Breviary includes all thirty-four hymns of the first recension of the Cistercian Hymnal suggests that Heloise may have already made use of this Hymnal when Bernard came to visit the Abbey. Paradoxically, it also included some melodies that would subsequently find their way into the revised Hymnal.<sup>50</sup> The Paraclete continued to follow a number of Cistercian practices that Abelard expressly criticised, such as using only a single hymn at weekday Matins. Paradoxically, the surviving Paraclete manuscripts hint at a few melodies for Cistercian hymns from the revised Hymnal, that are not taken directly from this source. Possibly, they were incorporated into the Hymnal from the Paraclete. The Paraclete liturgy, preserved in manuscripts from the thirteenth and late fifteenth century, ignores most of the major liturgical innovations introduced in the Latin Church after the mid twelfth century. At the same time, the Paraclete liturgy departed from early Cistercian practice in refusing to be bound by strict obedience to the principle that anything not known to St Benedict should be rejected. Not only did the Paraclete anticipate some improvements subsequently incorporated into the revised Cistercian Hymnal, but in a more radical move, it incorporated a significant number of hymns and prayers specially composed by Abelard. It also retained a good number of traditional Gallican hymns, many of which were to be found in the Montier-la-Celle Hymnal and which were subsequently reinstated in the revised Cistercian Hymnal.<sup>51</sup>

#### Abelard and the Paraclete liturgy

Soon after Heloise took over the oratory of the Paraclete in 1129, she was asking Abelard for assistance in helping to shape the liturgy. In replying to Heloise's first letter (Letter II), Abelard mentions in Letter III that he is sending a Psalter that she had requested, either in person or in some letter that is no longer extant.<sup>52</sup> At the end of his first reply to Heloise, Abelard refers to special prayers that the nuns would recite on his behalf at the end of each Divine Office. This implies that Abelard and Heloise had already been involved in giving a distinctive shape to the Paraclete liturgy. At the end of her third letter to Abelard (Letter VII), Heloise not only requests an account of women in religious life and a Rule for the Paraclete, but raises some practical questions about liturgy and monastic observance.

<sup>47</sup> Letter X, Smits (n.45), p.245.

<sup>48</sup> Waddell edits an excerpt on hymns in *12th-cCistH*, 2, p.9.

<sup>49</sup> Hermann of Tournai, *Liber miraculorum S. Mariae Laudunensis*, chapter 17. PL, 156, col. 1001.

<sup>50</sup> Waddell, *12th-cCistH*, 1, pp.47-9, and *Paraclete Hymnal* I, pp.129-39.

<sup>51</sup> *Paraclete Hymnal* I, pp.99-104; *12th-cCistH*, 1, pp.96-105.

<sup>52</sup> As before, the numeration is that of Hicks.



In particular, she asks about avoiding the repetition of psalms within the week, and whether priests and deacons should be permitted to read the Gospel during the Night Office, thus exposing women to sexual temptation. She sought to ensure that she and her sisters could lead an authentic religious life, without the blatant hypocrisy found in much conventional religion.

We gain further insight into the way Heloise pushed Abelard into thinking about questions of authenticity in religious life from his Paraclete Hymnal, composed at her request. The prefaces to each of the three books of this Hymnal are translated below, on pages 30–3. Abelard's preface to Book I of the Paraclete Hymnal shows a zeal for authentic liturgy similar to that of Bernard in his preface to the Cistercian antiphony. Yet where the Cistercians insisted on following only 'Ambrosian' hymns, Abelard composes a quite new collection. In commenting that he himself thought it 'sacrilegious to prefer or consider equal new ones by sinners to the old songs of the saints', he presents a long series of arguments as given by Heloise herself to justify this new anthology, perhaps quoting from a letter that she had written. In common with Stephen Harding, who turned to Jewish rabbis to help improve the text of the Vulgate Bible, she turned to the zeal of Jerome for the 'Hebrew truth' as justification for seeking out an authoritative text.<sup>53</sup> She notes that there is rarely any firm evidence as to who wrote the hymns they used, and makes the comment about the 'inequality of syllables' discussed earlier on pages 3–6.

Waddell has argued that her claim that proper hymns were lacking for several feasts, notably that of the Holy Innocents, the Evangelists, and of holy women who were neither virgins nor martyrs is quite comprehensible, if she is referring to their absence from the early Cistercian hymn repertory, rigorously restricted to thirty-four 'Ambrosian' hymns.<sup>54</sup> Yet she could also have been criticising the absence of these feasts in the Hymnal of Montier-la-Celle, also used at St-Ayoul de Provins.<sup>55</sup> Here, as in the early Cistercian Hymnal, there was no special hymn to Mary Magdalen. The three hymns in her honour included in the Montier-la-Celle collection were only added in the twelfth century.<sup>56</sup> At both Molesme and in the early Cistercian liturgy, she was honoured simply by a standard hymn ('Magnum salutis gaudium') and collect for virgins.<sup>57</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux did eventually develop a special Office to honour Mary Magdalen as apostle and herald of the resurrection, but there was never any special hymn, comparable to the great hymns in honour of the Virgin.<sup>58</sup> Heloise's request to Abelard for a hymn to honour women who were neither martyrs nor virgins is of great importance in studying the evolution of her cult. Mary Magdalen first began to be venerated as an alternative model of sanctity, of particular appeal to layfolk, in the late eleventh century, both in the Loire valley and at Vézelay.<sup>59</sup> Nonetheless, the special place that she occupies at the Paraclete, for whom Abelard composed two special hymns ('Peccatrix beate sollempnitas' and 'Penitentium severa correctio') marked a decisive break with the tradition of both Molesme and the early Cistercian *ordo*. Abelard first started to reflect at length about Mary Magdalen as apostle of the apostles in his treatise on historical precedent for the religious life being led by women.<sup>60</sup> The dedication to Mary Magdalen of the first daughter house of the Paraclete, at Trainel in 1142, provides further insight into the importance Heloise attached to her example as the woman who first proclaimed the resurrection.

Abelard also records Heloise's complaint that too often, the words of hymns were quite inappropriate for the time or season that they were meant to be sung. Prior to writing these prefaces, Abelard does not seem to have given attention to questions of liturgical propriety. He reports that she was aware of the discrepancy between a liturgical text and the practical situation of small parish churches where it was impossible for ordinary people to keep to a strict

<sup>53</sup> Stephen Harding, *Monitum*. PL, 166, col. 376.

<sup>54</sup> Waddell, *12th-cCistH*, 1, p.70, criticising Szövérfy's expression of surprise about Heloise's complaint.

<sup>55</sup> See n.61, below.

<sup>56</sup> *Molesme Breviary*, p.152. Waddell here modifies the suggestion of J. Szövérfy, that the Magdalen hymn is of the 13th cent: 'Peccatrix quondam femina: A Survey of the Mary Magdalene Hymns', *Traditio*, 19 (1963), pp.79–146.

<sup>57</sup> Waddell, *12th-cCistH*, 1, p.61.

<sup>58</sup> Waddell, *12th-cCistH*, 1, pp.144–5.

<sup>59</sup> See Anneke B Mulder-Bakker, 'Was Mary Magdalene a Magdalene?' in *Media Latinitas: A Collection of Essays to Mark the Occasion of the Retirement of L. J. Engels*, ed. R I Nip and others. Turnhout, 1996, pp.269–74. I am grateful to Juanita Ruys for bringing this paper to my attention. See also Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalene. Myth and Metaphor*. London, 1994, pp.111–12.

<sup>60</sup> Letter VII, Hicks, p.108: 'Et sicut in illo Marthe, ita in isto novimus obsequium Marie, que quidem in hoc exhibendo tanto fuit devotior quanto ante fuerat criminosior.'

monastic timetable. Of particular interest are the comments of Heloise about hymns that she finds distasteful in the extravagance of their piety. She complains that some hymn writers proclaim sentiments that she cannot accept as genuine; as a result she is forced to sing words that go against her conscience (see p.32, below). These are the same sentiments that led her to protest that she felt a hypocrite during the liturgy because her spoken words did not reflect the truth of her inner thoughts.

In his edition of the Paraclete Hymnal, Waddell did not notice that the fourteen hymns whose lines were quoted by Abelard as having been criticised by Heloise, occur in the reformed Hymnal used at Montier-la-Celle, mother house of St-Ayoul de Provins.<sup>61</sup> She never queries any of the hymns retained as 'authentically Ambrosian' in the early Cistercian Hymnal. This suggests that she was complaining about the liturgical practices followed at St-Ayoul, perhaps taken over by Abelard in the early years of the Paraclete. She also complained about the 'inequality of syllables' in many hymns that made them impossible to sing appropriately, a frequent problem with Molesme liturgy and the earliest Cistercian hymns.<sup>62</sup> Her criticisms mirror the complaints of Stephen Harding about the 'inauthentic' hymns used at Molesme, though adopting a very different solution. Her frustration with hymns about morning light being sung at midnight echoes that of the early Cistercians, who insisted on singing Matins at dawn, before Lauds and immediately prior to going out to work in the fields, rather than during the night. Although she shared the Cistercian distaste for the hypocrisy of outward forms of religiosity that did not portray interior disposition, she was critical of relying on the Rule of Benedict. She was more interested in historical figures within the Gospels, above all the Holy Innocents, the Evangelists and Mary Magdalen, as well as in modifying the liturgical text of the Lord's Prayer to make it conform more closely to the text given by St Matthew.

Giles Constable has emphasised that there is a long monastic tradition of valuing sincerity in liturgical prayer. The Rule of Benedict had required 'that our mind may be in agreement with our voice (*ut mens nostra concordet voci nostrae*)'.<sup>63</sup> This precept did not traditionally give licence, however, to change liturgical texts that one considered inappropriate. Augustine had argued that word and action had to agree, but never embarked on any process of liturgical reform. He preferred the traditional Psalter to Jerome's new translation of the Psalms,<sup>64</sup> provoking Heloise's accusation of inauthenticity, as reported by Abelard. The established tradition was that one had to adapt one's mind to the liturgical texts prescribed by the Church, rather than change the liturgy in the interests of 'authenticity'. Whereas there had been some ventures in the Carolingian period to reform liturgical hymns, and many new sequences were incorporated into the existing repertory, it is only in the twelfth century that dissatisfaction with traditional hymnody resulted in radical revision of liturgical practice.

Heloise's ethical stance, that liturgy should be truthful in its linguistic expression, extends Cistercian emphasis on the concordance of word and heart in prayer, with a significant difference. Whereas the Cistercians resolved the problem of inauthenticity by going back to the texts and melodies supposedly by St Ambrose, Heloise suggested to Abelard that they should have a completely new set of hymns, in which there was no problem with the 'inequality of syllables', as sometimes was the case in Cistercian texts. Heloise's ethical argument, as reported by Abelard, did not emphasise the importance of inner intention as distinct from outward form; rather she argued, whether in relations to hymns, or to protestations of love, that the outward words had to conform to inner reality. In her *Institutions* (see pp.109ff, below), there is no attempt to justify eating meat or drinking wine by reference to purity of intention, as in Abelard's Rule; instead, austere observances were upheld, justified by imitation of the example of Christ and the early apostles. Her emphasis on truthfulness did not only have evangelical authority. The younger Seneca had argued in a letter to Lucilius, 'Let us speak what we feel (*sentimus*), let us feel what we speak: speech should be in agreement with life (*concordet sermo cum vita*).'<sup>65</sup> What was new was that Heloise was applying these ideals to hymn literature. Her demand for a truly 'authentic' Hymnal prompted Abelard to compose an entire series of hymns for the liturgical year, very different from the narrow range of supposedly authentic 'Ambrosian' hymns that the Cistercians allowed.

<sup>61</sup> Waddell lists the hymns of the Montier-la-Celle Hymnal in *12th-cCistH*, 1, pp.13–15. They are, in order of Abelard's mentioning them: 12, 23, 26, 29, 32, 35; 14, 30, 36, 47, 24, 33; 26, 35, 70 and 78 (26 and 35 being quoted twice). See n.73, below.

<sup>62</sup> Waddell, *12th-cCistH*, 1, pp.68–9.

<sup>63</sup> Giles Constable, 'The concern for sincerity and understanding in liturgical prayer, especially in the twelfth century' (1986), reprinted in Constable, *Culture and Spirituality in Medieval Europe*. Aldershot, Surrey, 1996.

<sup>64</sup> See n.69 below.

<sup>65</sup> Seneca, Letter LXXV: 4, cited by Constable, 'The concern for sincerity...' (n.63, above) p.17.

Abelard's guiding principle in composing the Paraclete Hymnal was the same as that which he had formulated in his Rule for the Paraclete, that the entire religious life of the nuns should be structured around the great themes of Scripture. Whereas the Cistercians sang a single hymn, 'Eterne rerum conditor', for every Night Office, Abelard provided hymns for each ferial weekday. The hymns for Matins celebrate the meaning of the new light of day, whereas Saturday Vespers look forward to the eternal Sabbath, with his celebrated 'O quanta qualia'. Its melody was used for all the day hymns, another for hymns at night. Book II of the Hymnal provides hymns for special feast-days, in particular Christmas, Epiphany, Easter and Pentecost. Through a skilled use of varied prosody and stanza forms, Abelard sketches out a theology of the incarnation that emphasises the humility of God taking human form:

Pauper deus, immo pauperrimus  
sic factus est pro nobis omnibus.

God thus became poor, or rather  
very poor, for all of us.<sup>66</sup>

All mankind, both men and women, gather to celebrate this mystery of salvation.<sup>67</sup> The hymns for Pentecost in particular express the idea that the Holy Spirit, God's love, brought to earth in the person of Christ, has now set aflame the entire world, and filled the apostles with every gift. In Book III of the Hymnal, Abelard provides hymns in honour of the saints, notably the Virgin, the Apostles, the Holy Innocents, the martyrs, confessors, holy women, virgins, Mary Magdalen and all the saints in general.

Compared with the early Cistercian Hymnal, Abelard's collection is staggering in the range and complexity of its vision. The relatively small repertory of ancient hymns preserved by the Cistercians tended to focus on the transcendence of God and the victory of Christ over sin, with little to say on creation or on the achievement of particular saints. By contrast, Abelard's hymns are firmly based on a reflexion on the works of creation, redemption and the working of the Holy Spirit in the person of Jesus and the historical figures, like the Holy Innocents, the Evangelists and Mary Magdalen, whose lives are hinted at in the Gospels. Abelard had instructed that nothing be said or sung during the Divine Office that was not taken from authentic writing, and chiefly from the Old and New Testaments, patristic expositions of these texts being reserved for the chapter or mealtimes. To this end, he compiled a *leçonier* for special feasts, remarkable for being grounded on scriptural themes.<sup>68</sup> His Paraclete Hymnal provided a poetic version of the same principle.

#### Appendix

This translation of the prefaces to the Paraclete Hymnal is based on the edition by Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* II, pp.5-9 etc. which supersedes the editions of AH and Szövérfy. The original text of the prefaces survives in a single manuscript, B, ff. 81-96v, from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Abelard's use of *matutinę laudes* here is confusing: sometimes *laudes* refers to the Offices in general, sometimes to Matins, and sometimes to Lauds itself. Indeed, in Book III he once uses *vigilia* with the same meaning, as in the *Institutiones* (see p.109, below). Rather than adopt the solution of Waddell, who uses 'lauds' in his translations, I have used equivalents that should be intelligible to the modern reader.

### THE PARACLETE HYMNAL

#### Preface to Book I [The Daily Round]

My sister Heloise, once dear to me in the world, now most dear in Christ, I have composed what are called *hymns* in Greek, and *tillim* in Hebrew, in response to your prayers.<sup>69</sup> Since you, with the women of holy profession who dwell

<sup>66</sup> Waddell *Paraclete Hymnal*, Hymn 31.

<sup>67</sup> Hymn 41.

<sup>68</sup> Abelard's *Rule*, Letter VIII, is edited by T P McLaughlin, 'Abelard's Rule for Religious Women', *Mediaeval Studies*, 18 (1956), pp.241-92. See p.263 (Radice, p.220) and also Waddell, *OFF Ordinary*, pp.364-7.

<sup>69</sup> Abelard alludes to Jerome's statement in his preface to the Book of Psalms that in Hebrew it is called *sephar thallim*. See *Praefatio in libro Psalmorum iuxta Hebraeos, Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. B Fischer and others. Stuttgart, 1975, p.768. [Jerome's spelling of the Massoretic *tehillim* is partly due to the contracted form *tillim* (a combination of the atrophy of the so-called 'quiescent letters' and contamination by the Aramaic *tillim*), and partly due to dialect difference, as seen in Origen's

with you, often used to urge me to write them, I have asked for your intention in this matter. I thought that it was unnecessary to create new ones for you, since you had a multitude of old ones and it seemed sacrilegious to prefer or consider as of equal value new hymns by sinners over the ancient songs of the saints. Although different things were put to me by different people, however, you, I recall, put forward this argument, among others:

We know (you said) that the Latin and particularly the Gallican Church holds to custom rather than following authority in hymns, just as it does in relation to the Psalms. For we are still uncertain who is the author of the translation that our Church, the Gallican, employs. If we wanted to adjudicate between the sayings of those who have exposed us to the diversity of translations, the result would depart far from common interpretation and would not, I think, obtain the respect of authority. The custom of long-standing convention has prevailed for such a time in this that although in other things we observe the translations of blessed Jerome, in the Psalter that we employ regularly, we follow what is uncanonical.<sup>70</sup> There is such great confusion in the hymns that we use that the superscribed title never or rarely distinguishes what or whose they are; although some seem to boast certain authors, of which Hilary and Ambrose are believed to be the earliest, then Prudentius and several others, the inequality of the syllables is frequently so great that they scarcely fit the melody of the song, without which no hymn, described as 'Praise of God with song',<sup>71</sup> can exist. For several feasts (you added) proper hymns are lacking, as for the Innocents, the Evangelists, or those holy women who were not at all virgins or martyrs.

There are not a few instances (you declared) where it is necessary for the singers to lie, either because of the necessity of the season, or because of the inclusion of some falsehood. The faithful, often hindered by some circumstance or convenient dispensation, either anticipate the established times for the hours of prayer, or are anticipated by them, so that they are forced to lie at least about the time of day, as when they sing night hymns during the day, or day hymns at night. According to prophetic authority and ecclesiastical convention, one certainly cannot withdraw from the praise of God at night, it being written: 'I have remembered thy name, O Lord, in the night',<sup>72</sup> and again: 'In the middle of the night I will rise to give thanks unto thee'. Neither should the seven other praises – about which the same prophet recalls 'Seven times a day do I praise thee' – be recited other than during the day.

Indeed, the first of these [acts of praise] is called Matins (*matutinę laudes*), about which the prophet writes: 'In the morning, O Lord, I shall meditate on thee', is to be recited straight away at the beginning of the day as the dawn lightens, or even with the morning star; this is also specified in several hymns. Surely, when it says 'Now from the shadows of the night arising',<sup>73</sup> and again 'In song we rend the night asunder', or 'In rising to

spellings (whence Jerome's). Abelard's spelling (quiescent *h*, but *i* in the first syllable) indicates that his knowledge of this word, at least, is not dependent on Jerome.]

<sup>70</sup> In the *Praefatio* ... , Fischer, p.768, Jerome asserts that he follows the authority of the Hebrew as being more authentic than that of the Greek Septuagint. [The Psalter known as the Gallican came from the second of two revisions that Jerome made (in the late 4th cent AD) of the *Vetus Latina*, a North African translation of the Greek Septuagint version of the Hebrew Bible, the first being that known as the Roman Psalter. His third version of the Old Testament was translated *ad Hebraicam veritatis*; but although this was accepted as the Vulgate for the O T in general, this last version never achieved any real currency as the Psalter *per se*. In the rest of the liturgy however, a variety of wording taken from the Roman, Gallican and *Juxta Hebraeos* Psalters is found. Ironically, sources such as the Qumran scrolls now show that the *Vetus* was often based on an older Hebrew text superior to that of the Massorettes or of the Septuagint as known to Jerome, Abelard and us. See p.66, below]

<sup>71</sup> Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 148:17, CCSL 40 (1956), p.2271.

<sup>72</sup> Ps. 118:55 Latin = 119 Hebrew, KJV etc. The following two quotations are from the same psalm, vv. 62 and 164, and the fourth is from Ps. 62:7L = 63 [though *matutinis* properly relates to 'the [night] watches'. It should be noted that Abelard's quotations do not always conform to the supposedly standard text (e.g. *memor fui in nocte; meditabor in te*). This might reflect a differing version that he had to hand (probably Peter Lombard's, known at Paris), or an imperfect memory, or possibly an unconscious addition to improve the prosody.]

<sup>73</sup> These night hymns, 'Nocte surgentes', 'Censors paterni luminis' (l.3, *noctem canendo*), 'Rerum creator' (*ad confuentes*, from stanza 2), 'Nox atra rerum contegit', 'Tu trinitatis unitas' (*Nam lectulo consurgimus*, st.2) and 'Summe deus' (*Ut quique horas noctium*, st.4), are edited by Dreves in AH vols. 50-2 as are those following – 'Ecce jam noctis', 'Lux ecce surgit aurea', 'Aurora jam spargit polum', 'Aurora lucis rutilat', 'Ales diei nuntius' and 'Aeterna celi gloria' (*[H]ortus refulget lucifer*, st.3) which Abelard argues should be sung at the appropriate time – dawn, and so on – about which they speak. They are to be found in the Montier-



confess thee, Lord We break the periods of the night', or elsewhere 'The pall of night oer shadows now Earth's colours neath her sable cloak', or 'And now from slumber do we rise In quietude of night', and again 'As now to rend the hours of night We break forth in concerted song', and so on, the hymns themselves provide proof that they are night hymns. Thus morning hymns or others for the Proper of Seasons sometimes indicate when they are to be recited, as for example when the text says: 'Lo, now the shadowy clouds of night are flying', and again 'Lo, golden light rekindles day', or 'Dawn sprinkles all the east with light', or 'Light's glittering morn bedecks the sky' and elsewhere 'The wingèd herald of the day Proclaims the morn's approaching ray', or 'Once more the daystar rides her course'; hymns that are of this kind inform us when they are to be sung, so that if we do not observe their appropriate times, we are to be found liars in proclaiming them.

It is often not so much negligence that destroys this observance as that some necessity or dispensation prevents it. Of necessity, this happens daily in parish or lesser churches, in which everything is conducted almost continuously during the daytime, because of the activities of ordinary people. Not only does the non-observance of the appropriate season or time of day create a lie, but also the authors of certain hymns have in some things so exceeded due measure, either through proclaiming absurdities by some compunction of spirit, or through an incautious desire to extol the saints in pious zeal, that we often proclaim some things in these hymns that are against our conscience, being quite foreign, as it were, to the truth. There are very few people who, weeping and sighing either through a desire for contemplation or through compunction for their sins, are really able to sing: 'Our plaintive prayers we pour before thee, Release us from the chains of sin,'<sup>74</sup> and again 'In weeping prayer and contrite song We ask thine intercession, Lord', and similar things. As they suit only the elect, they suit very few people. Let your discretion decide with what presumption we fearlessly sing each year: 'Martin, equal to the apostles', or sing, glorifying individual confessors immoderately about their miracles: 'Oft to thy holy tomb they turn for healing Lighten the burden of the weak and crippled, [...] etc.'

With these or similar arguments of your reasoning, respect for your holiness has driven our spirit to compose hymns for the entire cycle of the year. Just as you, spouses and handmaidens of Christ, beg this of me, we beg that you in return raise the burden that you have put on our shoulders with the hands of your prayers, so that he that sows and he that reaps may together work in joy.

#### Preface to Book II [Hymns for Feast Days, Proper of Seasons]

The task of divine worship at the Offices is threefold. The teacher of the peoples gave instruction in the Epistle to the Ephesians, saying: 'And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Holy Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.'<sup>75</sup> And again, he said to the Colossians, 'Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord.'<sup>76</sup> For psalms and songs, since they have been prepared in the canonical Scriptures of antiquity, do not need any attention from ourselves or anyone else to be composed.

Nothing distinct is provided in the above-mentioned scriptural passages about hymns, however; although several Psalms carry the name of hymns or songs written in their superscriptions, they have been composed in many different places by many people subsequently; particular hymns have been created for a variety of seasons, hours and feasts; and we properly call these hymns, although often in antiquity any songs of divine praise, composed in rhythm or metre, were indifferently called hymns or psalms. So Eusebius of Caesarea in book II of his *Ecclesiastical History*, chapter 17,

la-Celle Hymnal (n. 61, above). All of these 'non-Ambrosian' hymns were excluded from the first recension of the Cistercian Hymnal, drawn up by Stephen Harding c.1109–13, as well as from the Paraclete liturgy as seen in the extant MSS.

<sup>74</sup> 'Rerum creator' (*preces gementes*, from st.4); 'Summe deus' (*Nostros pius*, st.2); 'Martine par apostolis' and 'Iste confessor', of whose third stanza, *Ad sacrum cuius tumultum*, Abelard quotes the first two lines (the *et cetera* is his). These hymns also occur in the Montier-la-Celle Hymnal. [Note that whereas Abelard had previously used the second person singular when addressing Heloise, she is quoted at the end of this passage as using the polite second person plural. The plural is also used in the final paragraph of this preface, in which Abelard addresses by turn both Heloise and her sisters.]

<sup>75</sup> Eph. 5:18–19. [Again, there are alterations to the standard Vulgate: Abelard omits 'Holy' after 'Spirit' and in the following quotation says 'Lord' for 'God'.]

<sup>76</sup> Col. 3:16.

recalling the praises of the learned Jew, Philo, about the church of Alexandria under Mark, said amongst other things: 'After a few matters, he wrote about the fact that they composed new psalms: Not only do they understand the hymns of the elegant writers, but they compose new ones to God, moulding them with every metre and tune, in fine and elegant construction.'<sup>77</sup> It is not at all unfitting that all the psalms composed in a Hebrew metre or rhythm, and based on honeyed sweetness, are also called 'hymns' according to that definition of hymns that we put forward in the first Preface. And since the Psalms, translated from Hebrew into a different tongue, were freed from the laws of rhythm or metre, the Apostle, writing to the Ephesians, who are Greeks, distinguished between hymns and psalms, likewise songs.

Beloved daughters in Christ, since you have often been stirring our modest talent with many petitions, adding also those reasons why it seems necessary to you, we have responded in part to your request, as far as the Lord is willing. In the preceding book [I], we have included daily hymns for ferias that can suffice for the whole week. You will doubtless grasp that they are so composed that their tunes, likewise their rhythms, are [allocated in a] two-fold [manner]: there is one common melody for all the night hymns, and another melody, as also rhythm, for the day hymns. We have not forgotten the Grace after meals, following what is written in the Gospel: 'And when they had sung an hymn, they went out.'<sup>78</sup>

We have separated the other hymns mentioned above for this reason: so that those which are night hymns might reflect our day-by-day doings, whereas the day hymns provide an allegorical or moral exposition of these doings. It has been arranged thus, so that the darkness of history is reserved for the night, whereas the light of exposition is reserved for the day.

In addition, it remains for me to respond to your prayers, so that I may send to you the tiny gift that has been requested.

#### Preface to Book III [Hymns for Saints' Days]

In the preceding two books, we have separated out the daily hymns for ferias and particular hymns for solemn feasts. Now, however, it remains to give the due praises of hymns for the glory of the heavenly king and the general exhortation of the faithful, as far as we are able. Indeed, in this work, I am helped by the merits of those in particular, in whose glorious memory I long to offer tiny gifts of some kind of praise according to what is written: 'The memory of the just is blessed', and again, 'Let us now praise famous men'.<sup>79</sup>

I also beg you, dearest daughters dedicated to Christ, by whose prayers I have tackled this task, add devotion to your prayers, being mindful of that blessed lawgiver who was more able in prayer than the people was in war. And so that I may find your charity to be all-embracing in the fullness of prayer, think carefully how lavishly your request has generated a response from us. For though we were devoted to following through the praises of divine grace according to our modest capacity, we have been thinking over what was lacking from the adornment of eloquence with the great number of hymns, composing particular hymns for individual nocturns of particular solemn feasts, since up to now the same hymn has been sung at the nocturns of both feast-days and ferias.

Therefore we have decided on four hymns for each festival with this reasoning: that in each of the three nocturns, the proper hymn is to be sung, so that due praise is not lacking for Matins (*laudibus insuper matutinis*). From these, we have established four hymns,<sup>80</sup> so that at Matins (*in vigilia*), two may be joined together as one hymn, and the two others similarly may be recited at Vespers on the very day of the solemn feast; alternatively, they may be divided up as two and two in individual Vespers, so that one [hymn] is sung with the first two psalms, the other with the two other [psalms]. For the [Holy] Cross, however, I recall that five hymns have been written, of which the first is presented at individual Offices, inviting the deacon to take the cross from the altar, to bring it to mid-choir, and place it there for veneration and salutation, so that the individual Offices for the whole feast may be conducted in its presence.

<sup>77</sup> Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2:17, trans. Rufinus, ed. Theodore Mommsen. Berlin, 1903, p.149.

<sup>78</sup> Mat. 26:30: *hymno dicto exierunt*; [but the Latin (followed by English versions, including the KJV) is incorrect: there is no noun in the Greek, which has *καὶ ὑμνήσαντες*, 'and having sung' (or 'chanted') – presumably the Hallel].

<sup>79</sup> Prov. 10:7; Eccles. 44:1.

<sup>80</sup> See p.16, n.62, above.

## Secular Lyrics from Paris and the Paraclete

DAVID WULSTAN

**H**ELOISE may not have arrived at Notre Dame until 1113, so the short-lived love affair between her and Abelard must have begun in the next year or thereabouts.<sup>1</sup> Their early correspondence as lovers dates from c.1114 until c.1116 when their affair was discovered by her uncle Fulbert, under whose roof they were both living. Events followed rapidly. Heloise's removal to Brittany to have her child; the clandestine marriage; Abelard's castration by the family of Fulbert; his exile; and Heloise's becoming a nun; all appear to have taken place in 1116-18. Heloise took the veil at Argenteuil, where she had been educated as a girl; but she had become a nun against her will, at the insistence of Abelard.

Abelard did not remain long in Paris; soon, he was at St-Denis, where he took his monastic vows. In 1121 he was condemned by the Council of Soissons and his major work, the *Theologia*, was burnt; the next year his enemies caused him to flee from St-Denis. He escaped to St-Ayoul de Provins, much shaken. His consolation was that he had a growing number of pupils following him, and so, in better spirits, he started building an oratory near Nogent-sur-Seine, which he later called the Paraclete, helped by his band of assorted students. These events are recorded in the *Historia Calamitatum*, in about 1132. Abelard mentions his *carmina amatoria* to the 'friend' to whom the *Historia* was purportedly written, saying that 'a large proportion of these songs, as you know yourself, are still familiar to many people and are frequently sung in various places, especially by those who live the kind of life that I led'.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the gaudy jewel of bombast which shows from underneath the sackcloth, this passage gives the impression that he abjured the songs which he had composed in the period before his castration. Yet his Paraclete students seem to have been unaware of any such thing, and one of them gives a strong hint that he might have continued to compose them. This is a scabrous lyric entitled *De papa scholastico*, by his illustrious pupil Hilary of Orleans.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, a problem of chronology: although another of Hilary's songs seems to be connected with events leading to the closure of the Paraclete School in about 1126, we cannot be certain that some of his other lyrics might not date from the Paris years. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the series of three poems plays on a vernacular refrain that seems to indicate that all three come from the same period; the rhythmic pattern too (as will be discussed in a later chapter) appears to point in the same direction. So, although with some reservation, it will be assumed that these lyrics by Hilary all date from the time of the Paraclete School, from about 1122 to 1126.

*De papa scholastico* speaks of someone with a singular and sweet voice; a formidable teacher much loved by his pupils even though he is strict (*durus*) and beats them; who is feared alike by French and English. Both the knight and the clerk were acquainted with (*novit*) him; and he invents jolly songs (*papa novit jocunda cantica*). This witty poem, playing on two different roots of *novit* and two meanings of *papa* (Latin 'Pope' and French 'daddy') has a vernacular refrain: *tort a qui ne li dune* ('whoever baulks has done him wrong'). The first four stanzas appear to be an affectionate portrait of Abelard (though he is said to be fond of money); but the final two are ribald in the extreme:

Papa captus hunc vel hanc decepit  
papa quid vult in lectum recepit  
papa nullum vel nullam excipit

*The captive Pope seduces both him and her,  
he beds whatever species he wants,  
he's not choosy: neither male or female is excluded;*

<sup>1</sup> As before, the chronology is principally derived from Mews, *LLL*; see p.358, n.68 for Heloise's arrival in Paris. Abelard returned there from Laon after August 1113: see Clanchy, pp.71-4.

<sup>2</sup> '...carmina essent amatoria ... quorum etiam carminum pleraque adhuc in multis, sicut et ipse nosti, frequentantur et decantantur regionibus, ab his maxime quos vita similis oblectat.' See Hicks, p.12.

<sup>3</sup> often called 'the Englishman', but he is now considered to have been French. See Bulst; and for this poem, No.XIV. On Abelard being the subject of this poem, see Therese Latzke, 'Zu dem Gedichte De papa scolastico', *Ml Jb*, 13 (1978), pp.86-99.

pape detur, nam papa precepit  
tort a qui ...

*What he demands, he gets.  
Whoever baulks has done him wrong.*

Pape nichil excludit mentula  
pape puer atque puellula  
pape senex placet et vetula  
pape cibus detur et pocula  
tort a qui ...

*The Pope dips his wick avoiding nothing,  
boy and nymph alike go with him;  
he is pleased by the old man and woman, too;  
let him be given his dinner and his drinks.  
Whoever baulks has done him wrong.*

This scurrility implies some kind of tacit collusion by Abelard, if nothing else; despite castration, the students are telling him, he is still capable of being a thoroughgoing rake. They were aware (as many in enlightened modern times are not) that impotence and loss of libido would not inevitably have followed upon the work of Fulbert's family. This is not to say that his scholars were accusing him of being an avowter, unfaithful to Heloise; merely that they were comforting him by telling him that he was still a man. Nevertheless, such omnivorous tastes were specifically vilified by Abelard in his advice to his son, where he says that sodomy is worse than whoring, and an abuse of friendship:

Vile nimis scortum sed vilior est sodomita;  
pejor quam meretrix femina vir meretrix.  
femineus coitus fructum pariendo reportat;  
polluitur tantum dum sodomita coit.<sup>4</sup>

*A prostitute is vile but a sodomite is viler;  
a male whore is worse than a female whore.  
Sexual intercourse with a woman brings forth fruit in childbirth,  
much greater pollution results from the same activity with a  
sodomite.*

As to consorting with old women, he has already said (ll.189-90):

nil teneris constat verecundius esse puellis  
hocque carere bono nil ita sicut anus.

*Everyone agrees that no one is more modest than a young girl  
and no one so lacking in this virtue as an old woman.*

Thus, the gratuitous omnicoit imagery in Hilary's poem is merely to be regarded as a goliardic pose.

Gluttony, drinking and debauchery were common themes in the lyrics that we call goliardic. The name 'goliard', however, seems not to have had much currency until about the time of Abelard, although the phrase *de gente Golie* is found in Sedulius; and *de familia Golie* appears in connexion with the Council of Sens in 913.<sup>5</sup> It seems likely that the sharp reaction of Peter's followers to Bernard of Clairvaux' dubbing of Abelard as Goliath was to take Goliath as a sympathetic name; and the form in *-ardus* that reflects the playful epithets 'baiolardus' and 'Habelardus' might have been the catalyst for *goliardus*. Goliath was expropriated as *magister*, *episcopus*, *poeta*, a worthy opponent of *Bernardus*, the ending of whose name would surely have been interpreted as having the pejorative force found in Middle English 'trichard'. Bernard and the Cistercians were vilified in the *Apocalypsis Golie*, where the word *goliardus* appears, and in the *Metamorphosis Golye*, heavy with allusions to Heloise and Abelard.

The homosexual elements in a poem in the *Carmina Burana* (CB 95) may also be a pose.<sup>6</sup> It is in the same rhythmic pattern as *De papa scholastico*, quoted previously, whose refrain is also reminiscent:

Cur suspectum me tenet domina?  
cur tam torva sunt in me lumina?  
testor celum celique numina  
que veretur non novi crimina:  
tort a vers mei [ma] dama!

*Why does my lady eye me with suspicion?  
Why does her gaze so frown upon me?  
I call heaven and all its powers to bear witness  
that I know nothing of the vices in which she fears I indulge:  
My Lady has done me wrong!*

<sup>4</sup> *Carmen ad Astralabium*, ll.221-4. See J M A Rubingh-Boscher, *Peter Abelard. Carmen ad Astralabium: a critical edition*. Groningen [privately printed], 1987. These passages were kindly brought to my attention by Brenda Cook and Juanita Ruys. The translations are by Sylvia Barnard, to whom I am greatly obliged.

<sup>5</sup> See Walsh, (p.7 n.26, above) for references.

<sup>6</sup> The numbering is that of the Hilka-Schumann-Bischoff edition of CB, whence most of the palaeographical details are derived.

This poem, in which the author continues to deny that he is bisexual, is accepted by Bulst as being by Hilary.<sup>7</sup> A later and corrupt line has a reference to 'Bricavia' ('our native land, untouched by such sordid acts') which could represent either [terra] *Britannia* or [minor] *Britannia* (i.e. Brittany).<sup>8</sup> Amongst various mistakes, *veretur* in the fourth line is written *verenĭ*; also, the refrain has been indicated after each distich, appearing as 'torta vers mei dama': clearly, the scribe was unfamiliar with French.

Another of the Carmina Burana displaying inaccurately rendered French is the macaronic 'Doleo, quod nimium' (CB 118). 'Dulce solum natalis patrie', which follows it, has a similar prosody to the lyrics ascribed to Hilary, quoted earlier. The previous poem, 'Lingua mendax et dolosa' (CB 117) is also by Hilary, and CB 116 is 'Sic mea fata', discussed later in this chapter. Several commentators have pointed to the unifying characteristics of these items and Lipphardt<sup>9</sup> has suggested that CB 116–22 form a section that is to be associated with Hilary. The bearing of the 'School of Abelard' on the Carmina Burana is fortified by at least two other lyrics, shortly to be mentioned, of which Abelard's authorship cannot now be doubted. The French refrains in the songs quoted above suggest a possible connexion with the vernacular repertory. We can hardly suppose that Abelard's scholars were immune from it, any more than we should be surprised at rugby players knowing The Ballad of Nellie Dean.

The high-spirited nature of some of his students may have been an excuse, but in 1126 it seems to have precipitated the end of the halcyon days of the Paraclete. The real causes of the demise of the School were doubtless political (Brenda Cook thinks that Abelard had been offered the Abbacy of St-Gildas by Duke Conan in 1124 in a political manoeuvre); nevertheless, one of the complaints levelled by the authorities at the Master was that his students were unruly. Things came to head when a perfidious servant complained of their rowdiness, and Abelard may have used this as a pretext to wind up the school in c.1126, prior to his departure for St-Gildas in c.1127. The only evidence for this is in another lyric by Hilary<sup>10</sup>, but it is unclear whether this laments the impending closure of the Paraclete or merely a threat to send all the students out to stay in the village of Quincey, which in a later stanza Hilary says was too far, and he too fat. The poem begins:

Lingua servi, lingua perfidie  
rixae motus, semen discordie  
quam sit prava, sentimus hodie  
subjacendo gravi sententiae:  
tort a vers nos li mestre!

Tongue of the lackey, perfidious tongue  
fomentor of quarrel, seed of discord  
today we find how perverted it is,  
subject to a heavy sentence:  
The Master has done us wrong!

The refrain of 'Cur suspectum', *tort a vers mei ma dama*, has now become *tort a vers nos li mestre*. As in the previous lyrics quoted, the rhythm of the Latin is the Goliardic decasyllabic, much used by Abelard in his hymns. The refrain line may also point to one of the Master's lyrics: the ironic use of *tort a vers nos li mestre* and *tort a qui ne li dune* of *De papa scholastico* may be twistings of the refrain of one of Abelard's own love songs, *tort a vers mei ma dama*. The early letters between Heloise and Abelard recorded by Johannes de Vepria reveal many contrived wrongs, supposedly inflicted by the one upon the other. In Letter 16 he calls her a 'hard woman' (*dura*) and she calls herself 'ungrateful' (*ingrata*) in Letter 23. More significantly, in Letter 36 he says petulantly that he must now address her as 'my lady' (*domina*) for she is becoming like a stranger to him.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps a bittersweet song written on such an occasion was still

<sup>7</sup> No. XVI. The question of Hilary's authorship is not entirely straightforward, however. There is no reason to connect Hilary with Brittany (though were he indeed English, the emendation to *Britannia* would make perfect sense as Britain); nor do the links with his Ganymede poems and the refrain of 'Lingua servi' necessarily argue for a common author.

<sup>8</sup> See F J E Raby, *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*. Oxford, 1958, No.211 and p.492.

<sup>9</sup> W. Lipphardt, 'Unbekannte Weisen zu den Carmina Burana', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 12 (1955) pp.122–42. As will be apparent later, Hilary is but one link between the school of Abelard and CB, a connexion which is considerably more substantial than that envisaged by Lipphardt.

<sup>10</sup> Bulst, No. VI, which see for MS readings. He also accepts 'Lingua mendax et dolosa' (CB 117) as Hilary's (compare Bulst VIII, 'Fama mendax', taking its cue from Vergil and from Martial). The 'Lingua' beginning for a poem became something of a fad, possibly initiated by followers of Hilary. The Archpoet's ingenuous 'Lingua, hebes ingenio' is in the same rhythm as 'Lingua servi' and 'Fama mendax', though 'Lingua mendax' is octosyllabic. 'Lingua servi' is hardly an elegy for Abelard, as has sometimes been asserted.

<sup>11</sup> Much later, in Letter V, he says that her new status as Abbess of the Paraclete warrants the use of *domina*.

on his lips at the Paraclete and its popularity there made it a target for parody: Hilary's 'Cur suspectum' could have taken the tune and the refrain of the model, and reworked some of its sentiments.

The practice of incorporating vernacular refrains into Latin lyrics was hardly new: the tenth-century 'Phebi claro nondum ortu jubare' has the somewhat gnomic Occitan refrain<sup>12</sup>

L'alba par'			Dawn graces	
umet mar	atra sol		the dank sea,	draws forth the sun,
	po y pas.	A, bigil		then passes.
				O watchman,
mira clar	tenebras!		look how the dark	grows bright!

Most of the numbers in the Sponsus drama from Aquitaine have stanzas in Latin, but apparently Occitan refrains: the stanzas use the same rhythm as 'Lingua servi' and its relatives, though the refrains are of differing rhythmic patterns.<sup>13</sup> The *chansons avec refrains* of the trouvère repertory quoted refrains from different songs at the end of each stanza, a conceit absent from the *chansons de toile* and other songs of this nature, which had a running (i.e. consistent) refrain. The running refrains in Sponsus might point to the use of popular tunes that the listeners would have recognised. On the other hand, these refrains could simply have been tacked on to the end of each stanza, an unrelated line of the *chansons avec refrains* type thus becoming a running refrain. The vernacular refrains appearing in Hilary's liturgical dramas are also problematic as to their origin.

The Ibero-Mauresque *muwashshas*,<sup>14</sup> most of which pre-date the appearance of troubador poetry in the sources, often have codas in the vernacular, be it in Romance or in the popular Arabic dialect or *lahn*. These catch-lines are often traceable to the refrain of a lyric from which the tune had been borrowed, itself modelled on a previous one: this pass-the-parcel technique meant that the catch-line would be anticipated throughout the course of the lyric, for the audience would know the original refrain belonging to the tune. In these compositions, however, the rhythmic pattern of the refrain matches at least part of the stanza: this is not the case with the French refrains of 'Lingua servi' and its relatives, nor with the Occitan refrain to 'Phebi claro', quoted above. In the latter instance, however, despite being metrically disparate, its tune is a virtual echo of the melody of earlier lines, the melody requiring minimal modification at the refrain. If the French refrains under discussion were of this type, the listeners to 'Lingua servi' would have anticipated the refrain *tort a vers mei ma dama* because of its tune (as also in 'Cur suspectum'), but would have been surprised by the twist, *tort a vers nos li mestre*; likewise by *tort a qui ne li dune*.

Thus, the Latin songs under discussion are likely to belong to a chain of parodies: and whether or not the original was in Latin with a French refrain, or wholly in French, the chances are that the model for Hilary was a song by Abelard, who was to use the same rhythmic pattern in his hymns (e.g. 'Verbo verbum' and its cycle). Although typical of the Occitan and Latin repertory, especially of liturgical drama, Dronke has identified a Northern French love lyric, 'Quant li solleiz converset en Leon' with the same prosody.<sup>15</sup> Whatever the immediate source of this measure, it became a significant rhythm in many of the works to be discussed in chapter 9.

Abelard's authorship has long been suspected of one or two lyrics in the Carmina Burana, especially 'Hebet sidus' (169) and 'Virent prata' (151). Both are in the same rhythmic pattern and were very likely sung to the same tune. 'Hebet sidus' contains what Dronke<sup>16</sup> and others have supposed to be a pun on Heloise's name (*cujus nomen a Phebea*), the play on Phoebus = Helios being similar to the diction of one of Abelard's later letters. As Mews has pointed out, however, the metrical *versus* that begins one of his earlier letters (20) is a striking parallel. It says that 'the [north-]star circles the pole, the moon colours the night; but the day-star that should guide me is fading':<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*. London, 1968, <sup>2</sup>1978, p.170, whence the translation and the emendation *par'* for MS *part*.

<sup>13</sup> See Dronke, *Plays*, pp.14–23. See also Excursus I at the end of this chapter.

<sup>14</sup> properly *muwashshahāt*. on which see David Wulstan, 'Boys, Women and Drunkards: Hispano-Mauresque influences on European Song?', *The Arab Influence on Medieval Europe*, ed. Dionysius Agius and Richard Hitchcock. Leeds, 1994, pp.136–67.

<sup>15</sup> Dronke, *Plays*, p.60, though the poem has no refrain and is arranged in distichs followed by a short four-syllable line. See further, chapter 10 below.

<sup>16</sup> Dronke, *MLREL*, pp.313ff.

<sup>17</sup> For a commentary by Brenda Cook on this 'Lucifer' poem, see chapter 10. As may be seen on p.154, below, both lovers make many references to the sun, moon and stars. Curiously, this imagery is present in the rather earlier 'Phebi claro' quoted previously. Could Abelard have known this lyric?

Stella polum variat,  
sed michi sydus hebet

et noctem luna colorat  
quod me conducere debet.

Here then, is one of the metrical songs that Heloise mentions in the later letters,<sup>18</sup> and the remarkable conjunction of the words *sydus hebet* indicates that in 'Hebet sidus' we have one of Abelard's *rithmi* that she also mentions. This expresses similar sentiments of separation to those of 'Stella polum', though Brenda Cook will show that the kinds of separation, as between this *metrum* and that of the Carmina Burana lyric, are rather different.

'Virent prata' celebrates the passing of winter and the coming of the spring of love. As Irène Rosier-Catach has shown,<sup>19</sup> the 'laughing fields', *prata rident*, is a phrase frequently used in logical and theological discussions as an example of a figure of speech (*translatio*). She has pointed to the fact that Abelard often used these words in various works on logic dating from 1117-21, and is the first writer in which this phrase is attested. There can be little doubt that the Carmina Burana poem is by him, too.

me so hie wol ir tu be du mir laute rit. dar machet mir  
ein vrowe gut ih wil ir iema vrenu mer ih engelah nie wip

**V**IRENT. I r e a. No wol genuit  
Prata hiemata terra rabie. flo. data mundo grata ri  
dent face. solis radio nitent algens rubent candent  
ucent ritus uia pandent ortu vario. Auel dulca melodia so  
nant garrule omni uia uoce pia uolant sedate z in nemore.  
fiondel florel z odorel sunt ardescunt uniuorel hoc in campo.  
Congregantur augmentantur ceul uiuenti. adunantur. oue  
rant chorul uirginum z subilia ad choras uenerat la

Carmina Burana (Munich, Staatsbibl. MS clm 4660) bottom of f.61

As may be seen above, the first two stanzas of 'Virent prata' are provided with neums in the Carmina Burana: these fairly closely match the melody of Gautier d'Espinal's 'Quant je voi l'erbe menue' in the Chansonier St-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>20</sup> The opening of the French lyric has similar sentiments to those of 'Virent prata' (see the translations on pp.158-60) and is metrically similar, though at stanza end it has an anomalous metrical structure, discussed shortly. In the Carmina Burana, 'Virent prata' has the third stanza of Walther von der Vogelweide's 'Muget ir schouwen' appended, whose first line (beginning 'So wol dir meie') also has neums, as shown opposite. The fourth stanza of the same Walther poem ('Roter munt wie du dich swachest') is appended to 'Hebet sidus' (no neums throughout).

<sup>18</sup> See p.3, n.9, above.

<sup>19</sup> Irène Rosier-Catach, 'Prata rident', in *Langages et Philosophie, Mélanges offerts à Jean Jolivet*, ed. Alain de Libera and others. Études de Philosophie médiévale, 74. Paris, 1997, pp.155-76. I am grateful to Constant Mews for drawing my attention to this article. The way the words are used in 'Virent prata' is what Ugaritic scholars would call the 'breakup of stereotyped phrases'.

<sup>20</sup> BNF fr 20050, f.54r-v: identified by F. Gennrich, 'Melodien Walthers von der Vogelweide', *ZdA*, 79 (1942), p.47; and see his *Die Contrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*. Langen bei Frankfurt, 1965, p.196.

Quam dum cerno desuperno puto uigere cuncta spino donec  
cerno solam tenere hanc desuperno uincit plecti z subnecti loco  
leo in secreto si contingens. So wol dir meie wie du scheidest  
alles ane haz. wie wol du die boume cleidest unde die heide  
haz. du hat varue me du bist churper ih pin langer alto stre  
cent si uf dem anger bliumen vü chle. I r e a.

**S**TAN. Non apparuit precetial temporib; que sic  
clara fuerit oriantur praca florib;. Refr. Aues  
nunc insilua canunt z canendo dulca garrunt.

Carmina Burana, top of f.61v.

In the following example, the St-Germain melody is used to interpret the CB neums for 'Virent prata' (text in bold type) and those given for the first line of Walther's 'So wol dir meie' (Roman face). The underlay and rhythms proposed for the remaining lines of Walther's stanza (*Italics*) are editorial. The note-distribution and textual details suggest a mode 2 rhythm, as given here.

Ex.3.1

Vi - rent pra - ta hi - e - ma - ta ter - sa - ra - bi - e  
flo - rum da - ta mun - do gra - ta ri - dent fa - ci - e:  
So wol dir mei - e wie du schei - dest al - lez a - ne haz  
wie wol du die bou - me clei - dest un - de die hei - de baz!

so - lis ra - di - o ni - tent, al - bent, ru - bent, can - dent,  
diu hat var - we me du bist chur - cer ih pin lan - ger

ve - ris ri - tus ju - ra pan - dent or - tu va - ri - o.  
al - so stri - ten si uf dem an - ger bli - men un - de chle.

The melody of Gautier d'Espinal's song, as seen in the St-Germain chansonier, has one or two interesting features, apart from the curious rhythmic pattern of the ending: the first and second statements of the opening of the melody differ very slightly; and the final neum commences with a doubled note. The rhythm implied by this final neum affects the transcription of earlier parallel cadences, and of the CB version. The Gautier melody is transcribed below,



to which the text of 'Hebet sidus' is added in order to illustrate the question of the metrical anomaly (accents have been added to Gautier's text).

Ex.3.2

Gautier d'Espinal (or Espinau) was a thirteenth-century trouvère who died in about 1272. He was born not long before Walther died, and possibly after the time that the Carmina Burana repertory was being assembled.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the CB version of the tune, if correctly identified, must have been current long before. Although it is possible that Abelard and Gautier independently borrowed an existing melody, the thematic resemblances of the openings of 'Virent prata' and 'Quant je voi' on the one hand, and possibly some elements elsewhere in the French lyric and in 'Hebet sidus' on the other, make it difficult to believe that Gautier did not know these lyrics and their tune. Abelard's cascade rhymes on the penult (although these are not sustained in 'Virent prata' and are only sporadically used in the first couple of stanzas of 'Hebet sidus') have no parallel in the French, however. Although the antepenultimate cadence accents might be slightly more difficult to imitate in French, they are easily echoed by oxytones in this mode 2 rhythmic scheme,<sup>22</sup> for the comparable Latin syllables come on the beat; indeed, Gautier's oxytone *-e* rhymes are the same as the final syllables of the first two lines in the opening stanzas of 'Virent prata' (though Gautier carries these to all oxytonic lines, and in all of his stanzas). It is thus possible that his model was Abelard's tune, or a version of it (though in any event, the strictures of chapter 1 in regard to 'originality' must be taken into account).

The 4:4:5 couplets of the Latin poems are echoed by two 8:5 lines in the French: the rhyme-schemes (penultimate at 8) are roughly similar. Thereafter, the schemes differ in a manner that at first sight seems fairly trivial, but on closer inspection is revealed to be more fundamental. The Latin and French structures may be compared in Ex.3.2 and in the table given below, where the rhyme schemes of all three lyrics are tabulated. Only those which are common to all of the stanzas of each lyric are considered; thus the internal assonance+rhyme *sidus/visus*, which is dropped after the first stanza of 'Hebet sidus', is discounted; and the cascade rhymes *nitent*,

<sup>21</sup> On the date of CB, see Peter Dronke, 'A Critical note on Schumann's dating of the Codex Buranus', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 84 (1962), pp.173-83. On its probable Bressanone provenance, see Georg Steer, 'Carmina Burana' im Südtirol', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 112 (1983), pp.1-37. See also Olive Sayce, *Plurilingualism in the Carmina Burana: a study of the linguistic and literary influences upon the Codex*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 556. Göppingen, 1992. On Gautier, see Theodore Karp in *The New Grove* s.v. Gautier d'Espinal (vol. 7, pp.195-6).

<sup>22</sup> This is not so in mode 3, however, where French cadential oxytones are impossible to reconcile with Latin penultimates: see pp.42-3, below.

*albert, rubent, candent*, peculiar to the first stanza of 'Virent prata' (though paralleled in the second stanza of 'Hebet sidus'), are also ignored.

'Virent prata'

4: *práta* 4: *hiemáta* 5: *rábiè*  
4: *dáta* 4: *gráta* 5: *fáciè*  
5: *rádiò*  
4: *álbent* 4: *cándent*  
4:4: *pándent*  
5: *váriò*

'Hebet sidus'

4:4: *visus* 5: *núbilò*  
4:4: *rísus* 5: *júbilò*  
5: *méréò*  
4:4: *propínqua*  
4:4: *ín qua*  
5: *héreò*

'Quant je voi'

8: *menúe* 5: *desté*  
8: *múe* 5: *bealté*  
5: *agré*  
8: *creúe*  
7: *chanté*  
7: *comandé*

As is evident, there are many curiosities in the rhyme schemes. The most elaborate pattern is that of 'Virent prata', which has a great deal of internal rhyme at the ends of cola, not normally echoed in 'Hebet sidus'. In both, the internal penult double rhymes are mostly true (*práta/hiemáta* = VCV, or the witty *propínqua/ín qua* in parallel with *cándent/pándent* = VCVC; but not *álbent* = VcVC); at line-end, however, differences emerge (note that 'consonant' embraces a consonant cluster, represented by C = rhyming, c = unrhyming). The triple rhymes of 'Virent prata' are of two types: (i) the last two syllables rhyme, as does the accented vowel, but not the intervening consonant (*rábiè/fáciè* = VcVV) or (ii) the last two syllables rhyme, together with their intervening consonant, but not the accented vowel and its following consonant (in stanza 2, *gárrulè/sédulè* = vcVCV). The triple rhymes of 'Hebet sidus', on the other hand, are true (*núbilò/júbilò* = VCVCV, or the VCVV equivalent in *méréò/héreò*). As to the French, the penult double rhymes are true (*múe/menúe*), but the oxytone rhymes vary between *suffisantes*, as in *desté/bealté* and *pauvres*, as with *agré*.

In his hymns, Abelard seems to have deliberately forsaken this more up-to-date rhyming technique and returned to the homoioteleuton of the *metra*. This is not quite the same as the single rhyme in French, for that is oxytone, whereas the Latin rhyme-vowel typically comes *after* the linguistic accent in his hymns. Nevertheless, as was seen earlier, if the homoioteleuton coincides with the secondary beat of a musical setting, it is equivalent. The hymns and *planctus* only rarely show the use of true triple rhyme (*victória/glória* as opposed to *sécula*): this, as with double rhyme, is incidental rather than structural.

Here, then, are two early Abelardian *carmina amatoria* which predate his hymns: he is using double and even triple true rhyme (the latter being unusual even in the vernacular until later), features which are only sporadic in his hymns. There, he employs the technique found in the early correspondence with Heloise: in their *metra*, the homoioteleuton is usually leonine (see 'Stella polum variat' quoted above), mostly avoiding end-rhyme. Nevertheless, as Mews has pointed out, Heloise uses something akin to cascade rhyme in Letter 84, albeit in a prose passage:

diligendo quesivi, querendo inveni, inveniendo amavi, amando optavi ...<sup>23</sup>

Heloise and Abelard can thus be seen experimenting with various poetic devices, to the extent that their styles are often difficult to separate.<sup>24</sup>

Bearing in mind that the 'Stella polum' reference is in Letter 20, it would seem that 'Hebet sidus' was written for Heloise afterwards, remodelling in its first stanza the sentiments of 'Stella polum'; but now the poem laments an enforced separation, perhaps that described in Letter 45. In Letter 87 Abelard celebrates their first year since they

<sup>23</sup> See Mews, *LLL* pp.171-2 and below, p.102.

<sup>24</sup> See also Dronke, *Problemata*. In her rhythmic prose, Heloise makes more use of the *cursus tardus* than Abelard. On the basis of their later writings, Dronke also concludes that in the matter of rhymed cadence, Abelard 'may well have been writing under her influence' (p.340). The similarities of language found by Benton (pp.503-12) bear this out. The rhymed (homoioteleuton) prose cadence is much used by Heloise in her early letters, but more sparingly in the later ones, notably Letter I. Abelard never uses this device in the early letters, confining homoioteleuton to his metric and rhythmic poetry. On various stylistic matters concerning the early letters, including the use of *cursus*, see John O Ward and Neville Chiarvaroli, 'The Young Heloise and Latin Rhetoric ...' *LH*, pp.53-119. Certain of their opinions bearing on the circumstances of the early letters require revision, especially in the light of Brenda Cook's findings set forth in chapter 10.

met and fell in love, so 'Hebet sidus' was perhaps written in c.1115, in the middle of the period represented by their early correspondence, which dates from c.1114–6. This must have been one of many lyrics that Heloise describes in Letter II of the later series as the 'flurry of songs which put your Heloise on everyone's lips so that my name echoed round all the streets, in each and every house'.<sup>25</sup> Soon (maybe in about 1116, just before the 'prata ridet' phrase begins to be seen in his other writings), he composed a more complex lyric, 'Virent prata', to the same tune. Both this and 'Hebet sidus' appear to have been known to Gautier d'Espinal: he imitated 'Virent prata' (possibly using the rhyme-structure of 'Hebet sidus') more than a century later. Both of these lyrics seem also to have been known to Walther von der Vogelweide at some time around 1200, when he might have visited the Tyrol, where the Carmina Burana were copied.<sup>26</sup> This collection not only contains lyrics by Abelard but also some by Heloise and by pupils at the Paraclete School. The circumstances of the transmission and the Walther connexion will be discussed in later chapters.

The 'Hilary' section of the Carmina Burana identified by Lipphart, here more generally assumed to emanate from the 'School of Abelard', begins with 'Sic mea fata' (CB 116), a poem that has often been associated with Abelard himself. It is unlikely to be by him, however, at least in the form it is now preserved (or rather the forms, for there are two or three differing versions). The version from Aquitaine has a tune in fairly readable staff notation.<sup>27</sup> The scribe, apparently more prudish than his CB counterpart, has suppressed the third stanza with its forthright sexual imagery. There are also extra lines in both of his stanzas that do not appear in the CB version. Finally, the refrains are different: the interjection in CB is *Hei*, whereas the Aquitanian version (transcribed opposite) has *A*.<sup>28</sup> Although the notation is unmeasured, there are liquescents that appear to denote lengthening.<sup>29</sup> These, and the decasyllabic count of the opening, together with the generally trisyllabic run of the accents, indicate a mode 3 rhythm, as given in Ex.3.3.

This lyric has been discussed at length by Dronke, who prints the texts from all three MSS.<sup>30</sup> He treats the lyric as metrical: as mentioned in chapter 1, metrical construction was often used as a *tour de force* that was ridden over by the music. Whether or not the Latin was intended to be metrical,<sup>31</sup> or whether the stanzas were re-ordered, does not concern us here; but the striking differences in the ordering of the lines, together with other variants including the extra lines represented by *tam male pectora multat amor* above (absent in the other MSS) denote considerable fluidity of the text. This, by itself, is not unusual (it might indicate a vernacular model with its own variants), but there are also curious technical features.

The first of these is the position of the caesuras. The vernacular decasyllabic generally displayed a caesura after the fourth syllable:<sup>32</sup> here, there is no regular caesura. The second peculiarity is the rhyme scheme. The rhymes on *-or* consistently alight on the strong beat, but not on the accented syllable. In his hymns, Abelard uses the archaising convention whereby the rhyme syllable is the last (homoioteleuton), irrespective of the linguistic accent. Nevertheless, as may be seen in Exx. 1.2–1.6, although the rhyme coincides with the beat (or a secondary beat) the cadential accent also corresponds with a beat; thus, there is no clash. Philip the Chancellor's 'Pater sancte dictus Lotharius' is mode 3 and its rhymes are homoioteleuta, but the cadences are proparoxytonic, whose accents therefore fall on the equivalent of the second triplet beat of the bar.<sup>33</sup> Not so with 'Sic mea fata', however, where the cadential

<sup>25</sup> '...frequenti carmine tuam in ore omnium Heloysam ponebas; me platee omnes, me domus singule resonabant.' See Hicks, p.53, Radice, p.117. See p.131, below for the phrase *flos juvenilis* in Letter 73 and *renitens* in Hymn 49.

<sup>26</sup> See n.21, above.

<sup>27</sup> BNF lat 3719, f.88.

<sup>28</sup> Strictly speaking, there is no refrain, for only the interjections are common to the lines which follow the stanzas. This is a repetend – what in Occitan was called a *mot rima*. So, for instance, the end of the second stanza of CB runs thus:

Hei potero, hei potero, hei potero, prima si gaudia concepero!

<sup>29</sup> See TEOC, chapter 4 and appendix. See also pp.149–52, below.

<sup>30</sup> Peter Dronke, 'The Text of Carmina Burana 116', *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 20 (1959), pp.159–69.

<sup>31</sup> Dronke's assumption that the CB *Hei* is disyllabic is belied by the *A* of the Aquitanian MS.

<sup>32</sup> As in 'Douce dame, gres et grace vous rent', by Gace Brulé: for the Latin contrafaction, see the next note.

<sup>33</sup> Anderson K61 (which also gives the reference to the Gace Brulé model). Philip's text (dating from 1198) has a play on words that refers to the mode 3 rhythm: it is transcribed at Ex.8.3 of TEOC and discussed there in chapter 3.

accents of the first four lines uniformly clash with the main beat. This may be compared with those of 'Foebus abierat' (see Ex.10.1) where the incidence of clash is considerably less frequent.

From all of this it is possible to conclude that the misaccentuations on *solór, olór, dolór* and so forth, betray a French original: translation would moreover explain the atypical caesuras and the nature of the variants. Yet, as Professor David Trotter tells me, it is curious that although the remaining two stanzas readily suggest a direct Old French equivalent, it is the first stanza that presents more difficulties. Although the *A* [or *Hei*] *morior!* of the 'refrain' might be a rendering of a supposed popular catchline *A, que je meure!*, it might equally be in imitation of the opening of the refrain of one of Peter of Blois' less savoury poems (CB 84, which has the refrain line *Ha, morior!*).

Then again, is the poem about an older man's love-affair with a younger girl, or his unrequited infatuation with her? Both have been suggested, and both have been linked with Abelard. The question of ascription might seem to be aided by the cascade rhymes (*crescente, labente*, etc.), an Abelardian trait already noted, but the anacalasis at the cadence does not point to the Master. The rhyme scheme of the poem, and the position of the song within the Carmina Burana corpus, seem instead to suggest a composition by a student, who might possibly have imitated a lyric by Abelard himself, now lost; if so, it is again possible that a French refrain (*A, que je meure ...*), and possibly its tune, were involved.

Ex.3.3

Sic me-a fa-ta ca-nen-do so-lor, ut ne-ce pro-xi-ma fa-cit o-blan-dus e-ret me-o cor-de do-lor, ro-se-us ef-fu-git o-re co-lor. cu-ra cres-cen-te, me-ro-re vi-gen-te, vi-go-re la-ben-te mi-lor. tam ma-le pec-to-ra ser mo-ri-or A, mo-ri-or! A, mo-ri-or! mul-tat a-mor. A, mo-ri-or! dum quod a-men co-gor et non a-mor.

Other lyrics from this section of the Carmina Burana readily suggest a connexion with Abelard, and one of these, (CB 118) has French lines in it. This lyric, 'Doleo quod nimium', is problematic in that the poet complains of having to study abroad, so he would hardly be a native Francophone; indeed, his French is fractured to the point that a good deal of tinkering is needed to restore some sense. The Tyrolean scribe of the Carmina Burana may be held responsible for much of the corruption but not, I think, all. The confessed foreigner could be English (who might well know some French); from the south (again, his linguistic skills might not be that atrocious); or, most likely, German-speaking. If we take his bits of French to be deliberately of the *Parlay-voo* variety, then their tortuous nature might not be entirely due to the scribe, who merely exacerbated their shortcomings. Whatever else, there is something of a link with 'Sic mea fata' in that the cadence words include *amór, amúr, amér, dolúr* (twice) and *honúr*.

The next lyric, 'Dulce solum natalis patrie' (CB 119),<sup>34</sup> is another song of exile, though here the poet seems to be anticipating banishment rather than reflecting upon it. In common with the lyrics by Hilary discussed earlier, the rhythmic pattern is decasyllabic. Another palpable link with the 'School of Abelard' is the proverbial phrase *ubi est amor*, which Heloise uses in a tragic tone at the end of her early correspondence with Abelard (Letter 112a): here, however, our poet completes the proverb *...ibi miseria*, whereas Heloise takes the phrase in a different direction.

<sup>34</sup> For transcription, see MP.

In his hymn for St Paul (70) Abelard refers to the 'indomitable rhinoceros'; the rhinoceros is also an epithet applied to Abelard by the author of *De Vita Goswini*.<sup>35</sup> In a different context, the beast is captured by a virgin in two CB songs. Of these (88 and 93a) the second, almost next door to 'Cur suspectum', speaks of an older man lusting for a much younger woman, a sentiment already encountered in CB 116. Here, possibly, we have a less than admiring portrait of Master Peter.

In these and other lyrics there is a distinct impression that various favourite phrases of Abelard were bandied about by his students, and some of them were incorporated into their own poems. In CB 117, for instance (ascribed by Bulst to Hilary), there is the word *ff[ol]edus*, paralleled in Abelard's hymn 95, where the epithets *federata* and *facta federe* are associated with the bride. The word-play of the phrase *hujus rei non sum reus*, whose significance will be seen in a later chapter, is also found in a *triduum* hymn (106; IV i): *ut reus traditus reis iudicibus*.

Another notable connexion between the Carmina Burana and Abelard is CB 114, whose second stanza begins

Prata jam rident omnia

to which may be added the opening of the fourth stanza of CB 82:

Ridet terre facies

In the love-lyrics from Ripoll studied by Therese Latzke<sup>36</sup> there is an abundance of similar parallels. 'Redit estas cunctis grata', L17 (R36) has the second line

viret herba jam per prata

which clearly echoes

Viret prata hiemata

which begins CB 151 (Ex.3.1); and the opening of CB 169 (Ex.3.2)

Hebet sidus leti visus  
cordis nubilo,  
tepet oris mei risus  
carens júbilo;

has a reflex in Ripoll (L3, R22):

Sidus clarum puellarum,  
flos et decus omnium  
rosa veris que [MS quam] videris  
clarior quam lilium

and also in a pair of its later cola:

tuus visus atque risus

<sup>35</sup> M Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* XVI. Paris, 1877, pp.442ff., where the incident of the young Goswin challenging Abelard *quasi David cum Goliath* is recorded. Note the spelling 'Goliath' rather than 'Goliath'.

<sup>36</sup> Therese Latzke, 'Die Carmina erotica der Rippollsammlung', *Ml Jb*, 10 (1974-5), pp.138-201. Here, numbers preceded by L are those of Latzke, the R numbers being those of the MS as a whole. Her edition is not entirely reliable - see Könsgen, *Ml Jb*, 12 (1977) pp.82-91 and Th Latzke's reply following; and see Dronke, 'The Interpretation of the Ripoll Love-Songs' reprinted in *Latin and Vernacular Poets of the Middle Ages*. Aldershot, Surrey, 1991. Here, the MS spellings are followed.

Here, there are correspondences not only with Abelard, but also with Hilary, as noted by Therese Latzke: Hilary's poem V, beginning *Ave sidus*, has the phraseology *splendor visus ... et venustus ille risus*. Another Ripoll lyric, L7 (R26), again echoes Abelardian diction:

in prato viridi, jam satis florido  
virgo pulcerrima, vultus sydereo

and later in the same poem there is *O decus juvenum*, a phrase seen in Heloise's Letter 21.

Many similar parallels can be identified in the work of Abelard (and indeed that of Heloise): instances are cognates of *nitet* (L3, R21; L11, R30) which are to be found in 'Viret prata', together with Hymns 47-8 and 104; and *durus*, a word encountered earlier in this chapter, is seen in L3 (R22); the *margarita* of Hilary's CB 117 (*auro margarita*; see also Abelard's *Planctus Virginum - auro geminis margaritis*) is found in L12 (R31), where Hilary's *dei dono* (Bulst I) is also seen. Many other epithets, not traceable in his extant works, may nevertheless be assumed also to have been part of a common stock of phrases from the circle of Abelard: the Ripoll poet's apparently idiosyncratic liking for various forms of *Citharea*<sup>37</sup> might derive from the diction of Abelard.

Ripoll's highly derivative ingredients do not seem to be stirred with much originality. If he was Abelard's pupil he was attentive rather than enlightened. His fellow students might have teased him about his dropped aitches, for the Hintrusive Haitch is peculiarly characteristic of the corpus: his hosculationes are many and memorable. He dutifully composes both in metrical and rhythmic style. In the latter, his patterns are not particularly varied: they are represented by the lines quoted above - octosyllabic quatrains, hexasyllabics and the 4:4:7 pattern of 'Sidus clarum', which will be encountered in a later chapter. Although L1 & L7 (R20 & 26) might be indebted to 'Foebus abierat' (see p.15, above), the accentuation of his lines is that of the Abelardian hexasyllabic. His fondness for Ovid is shared by Heloise and Abelard in their early letters: many other points of convergence between him and these letters are detailed by Theresa Latzke. A striking, but perhaps coincidental, phrase is *et puellę per plateas* from L17 (R36), which calls to mind Heloise's *platee omnes* from the later letters (II - see n.25, above).

Earlier in Heloise's Letter II she mentions that Abelard's *carmina amatoria* were so popular that the names of both lovers remained on peoples' lips for many years afterwards.<sup>38</sup> The borrowed phrases from two of his songs encountered in previous paragraphs seem to give some substance to this claim, and to show that it cannot be regarded entirely as hyperbole. But whether the Latin songs 'echoed in every house' and 'so that even the *illiterati* knew your name' is another matter.

The clerkly 'assembly imbued with letters' of the last stanza of CB 162<sup>39</sup>

Ergo litteris  
cetus hic imbutus

liked to consider itself a cut above the rest; so much so, in the words of CB 138, that only the *litterati* were called upon by the charming maidens, who would have nothing to do with the brute herd of the laity:

Litteratos convocat  
decus virginale;  
laicorum exsecrat  
pecus bestiale.

Nevertheless, according to Heloise's Letter II, even those outside the charmed circle, the *illiterati*, seemed to know Abelard's name; or did she mean that his songs were so popular that they really were sung everywhere and by

<sup>37</sup> He appears to prefer this spelling of the goddess' name to the more usual *Cytherea* which, in one or two instances, he alters to *Citherea*, *Citerea* or the like.

<sup>38</sup> See her remarks quoted at p.3, n.9, above.

<sup>39</sup> The spelling of *litterat(us)* is that of CB.

everyone? The 'goliardic' ditties of the *vagantes* and their like were certainly popular in one sense, and they might indeed have been well known to the lower orders of their subculture. But it is necessary to be cautious in extending the meaning of Heloise's words to denote the common people, or to assume that vernacular verse might have been written by Abelard, along with his Latin lyrics.

There is, nonetheless, a faint possibility that one of the Master's *carmina amatoria* might have been in the vernacular. The *Planctus Virginum*, already mentioned, was thought by Spanke to be directly related to the similarly titled *Li Lais des Puceles*, from the Noailles chansonnier.<sup>40</sup> Ann Buckley has studied both of these lyrics at length, and her conclusion is also that by and large the Vatican neums of the *Planctus* represent the same melodic outlines as those evident in *Li Lais des Puceles*.<sup>41</sup> There are many Latin contrafactions of vernacular Lays by later authors such as Philip the Chancellor (who may possibly have taken his cue from his senior, Abelard): *Li Lais Markiol*, which follows *Li Lais des Puceles* in the Noailles manuscript, is the model for Philip's 'Veritas, equitas', whose construction closely follows that of *Li Lais Markiol*. Similarly, the *planctus* 'Plange planctu' is a contrafaction of Abelard's 'Dolorum solatium' which follows the original structure very closely.

Abelard's *Planctus Virginum*, however, does not entirely correspond with *Li Lais des Puceles*.<sup>42</sup> Although their prosody is congruent and the outlines of the tunes appear generally to be the same, one of the oft repeated musical formulas appears markedly to differ as between *planctus* and *lais*.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the Latin contracts or expands the line-lengths of the vernacular equivalent; similarly, the various sections are differently arranged. Towards the end, the Latin version diverges significantly from the French; in particular, it has a melodic and structural reprise, absent in the vernacular version. These features are curious, and possibly unique. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the mechanism of imitation is very limited for this period, so although this remodelling is not typical of what we know from the technique of contrafaction by Philip the Chancellor and others, it may not be as singular a feature as it seems. As will be seen in the next chapter, the date of *Li Lais des Puceles* is unlikely to be before the end of the twelfth century. The disparities between the vernacular and the Latin Lays suggest that both were based upon an earlier composition, and one or both of its descendants remodelled its structure. Philip the Chancellor wrote *Et en romans et en latin* if we are to trust Henri d'Andeli,<sup>44</sup> so there is no particular reason why Abelard should not also have written in the vernacular. Although not a strong possibility, it is not out of the question that Abelard might have written a vernacular Lay that was the forbear of his own *planctus* as well as *Li Lais des Pucelles*.

The cascade rhymes at the beginning of *Li Lais des Puceles* – Ex.3.4(a) – and the *Planctus Virginum* (b) are notable, though here they are part and parcel of the Lai-formula chosen for the opening of both compositions.<sup>45</sup> The sequence of *-or* rhymes in *Li Lais des Puceles* may well be a coincidence; but it is difficult not to entertain a sneaking suspicion that a forbear vernacular Lay might have been one of Abelard's love-songs for Heloise, later turned into a *planctus* for her use at the Paraclete; this, though its surface has to do with a quite different subject than that which we see in the later *lais*, has deeper waters that suggest that Abelard is lamenting more than the fate of Jephthah's daughter.<sup>46</sup> In Ex.3.4, the opening of the vernacular *lais* is given, followed by a transcription of the *planctus* from the

<sup>40</sup> Hans Spanke, 'Sequenz und Lai', *Studi medievali*, n.s. xi (1938), pp.12–68, at pp.25ff.

<sup>41</sup> See Ann Buckley, pp.49ff, below.

<sup>42</sup> On which see *ibid.*, p.54ff.

<sup>43</sup> See MP and also chapter 4.

<sup>44</sup> Paul Meyer, [Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe], *Romania*, 1 (1872), pp.210–15, at p.213, l.145.

<sup>45</sup> as in 'Rosula, primula' and 'Nobilis humilis' (the Hymn to St Magnus) mentioned below and discussed extensively in Buckley, *A Study* .... Philip the Chancellor's 'Veritas, equitas' (Anderson K62) imitates the Occitan 'C'est li *lais* li Markais' (and see the French 'Flours ne glais, N'oiseaus jais'). Despite the apparent prosodic equivalence of the openings, the two groups of Lays are in different rhythms, as attested by the measured notation of one of the sources of 'Veritas', as against Handlo's rhythm for 'Rosula, primula'.

<sup>46</sup> Abelard's Letter III mentions the story of Jephthah. On his possible sources, see Dronke with Margaret Alexiou, 'The Lament of Jephthah's daughter' (1971) reprinted in *Intellectuals and Poets* pp.365–88. On the Latin side Dronke identifies dependence on Ps.-Philo, on which 'Dolorum solatium' also leans, but significantly also upon a vernacular source, the *Chanson de Sainte Foy*. This Occitan dance-song, dating from around 1060, has many overtones of the Song of Songs, echoed in the wedding scene of Abelard's *Planctus Virginum*.

Vatican MS, interpreting its neums in the light of the Noailles MS.<sup>47</sup> Though the rhythms are largely conjectural, the opening melodic formula is common to many Lays and similar pieces.<sup>48</sup> In 1936, Bukofzer noticed that 'Rosula, primula; Salve, Jesse virgula' given by Robertus de Handlo as an example of the 'fourth rhythmic mode' in his treatise, has the same melody as the upper part of the opening of the well-known 'Hymn to St Magnus'.<sup>49</sup> This melodic formula, common to many Lays, opens *Li Lais des Puceles*. In the transcription on the following page, the Handlo values for the opening formula have been taken literally,<sup>50</sup> after which the rhythm of the rest of the example has been interpreted in a similar style (Handlo implies a mixed rhythm thereafter).

Ex.3.4

The *tenuto* marks in the French *lais* represent, for the most part, saw-tooth figures of the Noailles scribe that might be intended to be a *punctum* + liquescent (which occurs unequivocally over 'amoreus' – the other exception is over 'truis' which is a simple single liquescent). Despite the three-note reading of the Vatican *planctus*, these signs perhaps denote lengthening.

<sup>47</sup> BNF fr 12615, f.71; the *planctus* is in Rome, Vatican Reg lat 288, f.64v.

<sup>48</sup> See Buckley, *A Study* ..., pp.112–13 and 178–83; also this formula is identified as N in TEOC: see Exx.7.12–13 and see Ann Buckley's chapter following (esp. p.55, Ex.4.1) for motive L, found in this and many other Lays.

<sup>49</sup> Manfred Bukofzer, *Geschichte des englischen Diskants und des Fauxbourdons nach den theoretischen Quellen*. Strassburg, 1936. The treatise is edited in Peter M Lefferts, *Robertus de Handlo: Regule* ... Lincoln, Nebraska and London, 1991, pp.172–3.

<sup>50</sup> breve, (altered) breve, (triple) long – repeated. See TEOC, Ex.7.12.



In conclusion, it is evident that songs from the Carmina Burana and elsewhere show the influence of Abelard and his circle upon Latin and vernacular lyric of more than one generation. At least two of Abelard's own *carmina amatoria* influenced Walther von der Vogelweide, Gautier d'Espinal, Hilary and many anonymous lyricists. The section of the Carmina Burana attributed to the 'school of Hilary' by Lippardt should be amplified considerably, and not regarded as necessarily emanating from Hilary. As the numbers identifying CB lyrics in the previous discussion indicate, Lippardt's series 116-22 needs to be preceded by CB 95 and 114 at the very least, and there are several lyrics after it (particularly Abelard's own CB 151 and 169) which should be included. The fact that 'Plange planctu nimio' and CB 127 are next to each other in the Savignano MS<sup>51</sup> is suggestive, as is the occurrence of the two Abelard lyrics in the 'Germanic' section of CB. These questions, and the possibility that some of Heloise's lyrics are also to be found amongst the Carmina Burana, will be examined in later chapters.

<sup>51</sup> See p.9, n.32, above.

## Abelard's *planctus* and Old French *lais*: melodic style and formal structure

ANN BUCKLEY

### Introduction

THE survival of Abelard's *planctus* is fortunate for reasons which go well beyond that of their obvious importance as documentation of the work of this poet-composer: they represent an important link in the chain for the long-term history of heterostrophic, or antistrophic,<sup>1</sup> song in Latin, and for the network of resources shared by Latin and vernacular monophony. All of the *planctus* are in *lai* form, and thus provide a bridge between the Latin Lays contained in the Cambridge Songbook (CUL, MS Gg.v.35, mid eleventh-century) and the earliest vernacular examples, written sources for which date from the mid thirteenth to the early fourteenth century, although the compositions themselves may be somewhat older.

There are six *planctus* in all: 1. *Planctus Dine filie Jacob*; 2. *Planctus Jacob super filios suos*; 3. *Planctus Virginum Israel super filia Jepte Galadite*; 4. *Planctus Israel super Sanson*; 5. *Planctus David super Abner filio Ner quem Joab occidit*; 6. *Planctus David super Saul et Jonatha*.<sup>2</sup> Since they are notated in non-diastematic neums in the oldest, and only complete, source, Vatican MS Reg lat 288 (twelfth-century), it is not possible to identify their melodies from this alone. However, transcribable notation has been recovered for two of them. Abelard's third *planctus*, *Planctus Virginum*, shares certain of its metrical materials with the vernacular *Lais des Puceles* in the Noailles chansonnier (BNF, MS fr 12615, ff.71-2); and two later versions of the *Planctus David super Saul et Jonatha*, exist in square notation, in the Nevers *Troper-Proser* (BNF, MS n a lat 3126, ff.88v-90v - directly following 'De profundis' and in the same hand), and in an English collection of sacred readings (Oxford, Bodleian MS 79). The greater part of the Nevers MS dates to the second half of the twelfth century, including the section containing the *planctus*. The Oxford source dates from the early thirteenth century. 'Dolorum solatium', the *Planctus David super Saul et Jonatha*, was added around the same time as the MS was compiled.

### The formal structure of Abelard's *planctus*

The tables below are intended to reflect the principle of structuring *lais* according to 'progressive repetition' whereby each section (or strophe) is distinguished by a particular metrical and rhyming pattern. Within each strophe, where the metrical scheme is repeated, it is referred to as a versicle or 'sub-strophe', labelled (a), (b), etc., a technique known as 'lesser responsion'. When a metrical scheme recurs later in the song, this is referred to as 'greater responsion'. In *lais*, the techniques of repetition and variation are exploited in many and various ways, for example, metrical repetition may, but does not necessarily, involve repetition of rhyme and melodic schemes. Hence the patterns of progressive repetition may be on one, two or three of these levels.

*Planctus Dine* (*Planctus 1*) consists of four strophes of which I and II have three versicles, III is double but with two metrical schemes, the second of which is repeated, IV has two versicles; there is no greater responsion. Ic, IIa, b and c share a two-line refrain (in two variants, R<sup>1</sup> and R<sup>2</sup>) with the metrical scheme 6:6. Thus:

I	AAA + R <sup>1</sup>	55 55 thrice + 66
II	B + R <sup>1</sup> B + R <sup>2</sup> B + R <sup>2</sup>	7777 66 thrice
III	CC	7777 44 6 44 6 44 6 44 6 repeated
IV	DD	3 343 repeated

<sup>1</sup> See TEOC, chapter 7.

<sup>2</sup> The Lament of Jacob's daughter Dinah; The Lament of Jacob over his sons; The Lament of the maidens of Israel over Jephthah's daughter; The Lament of Israel over Samson; The Lament of David over Abner, the son of Ner, killed by Joab; and The Lament of David over Saul and Jonathan.



I	333	333	333	333	333	333	333	333		
	<i>aab</i>	<i>ccb</i>	<i>ccb</i>	<i>ddb</i>	<i>ccb</i>	<i>eeb</i>	<i>ccb</i>	<i>dfb</i>		as, (i)es, e, us, um, ul
IIa	443	443	333	333	333	333				te, a, os, um, i, is, it
	<i>aab</i>	<i>bbb</i>	<i>cdc</i>	<i>efc</i>	<i>efc</i>	<i>cgc</i>				
IIb	443	443	333	333	333	333				am, em, um, is, o, et, unc, it
	<i>aab</i>	<i>ccb</i>	<i>cdc</i>	<i>efc</i>	<i>ghc</i>	<i>cfc</i>				
IIIa	7777	335	335	335	77	77	77	77	77	(i)o, ens, (i)us, um, (i)a, (i)am
	<i>aaaa</i>	<i>bbc</i>	<i>ddc</i>	<i>ddc</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>ff</i>	<i>ff</i>	
	75	75	75	77	335	335	335			
	<i>df</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>gg</i>	<i>cch</i>	<i>iih</i>	<i>iih</i>			it, e, i
IIIb	77	335	335	335	77	77	77	77	77	(i)o, e, (i)um, as, am
	<i>aa</i>	<i>bbb</i>	<i>bbb</i>	<i>aab</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>dd</i>	<i>ee</i>	
	7777	75	75	75	77	335	335	335	77	77
	<i>cccc</i>	<i>fg</i>	<i>fg</i>	<i>fg</i>	<i>cc</i>	<i>hhi</i>	<i>iji</i>	<i>bbi</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>ag</i>
IVa-c	66	66	66							at, a, es, i(b)us, ans
	<i>ab</i>	<i>cb</i>	<i>db</i>							it, (i)a, i, us
Va	333	333	333	333	333	333				
	<i>abc</i>	<i>dec</i>	<i>fgc</i>	<i>hfc</i>	<i>ffc</i>	<i>ijc</i>				im, a, um, an, o, e, et, us, ac, at
Vb	333	333	333	333	333	333				
	<i>abc</i>	<i>dec</i>	<i>cfc</i>	<i>gfd</i>	<i>hfd</i>	<i>cid</i>				as, i, es, e, ent, unt, am, os, ant
VIa	777	66	66	66						
	<i>aaa</i>	<i>bc</i>	<i>dc</i>	<i>ec</i>						um, at, et, am, it
VIIa	777	66	66	66						
	<i>aab</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>ed</i>	<i>fd</i>						ibus, itur, um, enr, es, iis
VIIb	77									
	<i>aa</i>									is
VIIIa	448	448	77	77						
	<i>aab</i>	<i>ccb</i>	<i>dd</i>	<i>ee</i>						is, (i)e, us, i, um
VIIIb	448	448	77	77						
	<i>aab</i>	<i>ccb</i>	<i>dd</i>	<i>cc</i>						us, ens, it, unt
IXa	333	333	333	333	333	333	333	333	333	
	<i>aab</i>	<i>bbb</i>	<i>ccb</i>	<i>ddb</i>	<i>efb</i>	<i>ffb</i>	<i>bab</i>	<i>geb</i>		a, (i)us, em, es, is, e, it
IXb	333	333	333	333	333	333	333	333	333	
	<i>aab</i>	<i>ccb</i>	<i>aab</i>	<i>ddb</i>	<i>dde</i>	<i>bbe</i>	<i>ddf</i>	<i>dde</i>		em, is, um, e, es, el

In addition to metrical parallelism between the first and final strophes, another unifying feature in the *planctus* occurs in the last four lines of IXb which share the same end-rhyme, -es, as the equivalent lines in I, thus highlighting the main theme of the poem, 'virgines celibes'. A similar feature arises in the second strophe of the *lai* with a rhyme on -elles, as follows:

En mes belles des ancelles des pucelles qu'autre amors de valors, as secors	amorelles et de celles par nouvelles n'a nul cors car amors as dolors	lais ichi od mari; notes di, ki tant ait vient et vait c'ome en trait.	<i>In my fair words of love I make no mention here of serving-wenches and those with a husband; it is with new tunes that I speak of young maidens, for no other love has a nature which has such worth, for love comes and goes, to help or bring grief which one derives from it.</i> <sup>5</sup>
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<sup>5</sup> Translation by Peter Ricketts.

which recurs in the final line of the entire song:

C'est li lais des Pucelles.<sup>6</sup>

Nonetheless, it is evident that the rhyme schemes are more regular in the *lai*, and in particular, that internal rhyme is more consistent than in the case of the *planctus*. In the Latin text, subdivision of the line into short metrical units is not necessarily underscored by rhyme. Such instances where rhyme does not occur are highlighted in bold as, for example, in strophes I, II, V, VI and IX. On the other hand, where rhyme does occur in the *planctus*, there is considerable exploitation of disyllabic rhyme (see strophes I, III, IV, VI and VIII).

Few of the rhymes identified in bold type in the *planctus* may be regarded as true rhymes for they are not systematic. Comparison between the schemes for strophes I and IX (which share the same melodies) is illustrative. Irrespective of this it is clear, for example, that the apparent *d* rhyme between *cultus* at the end of strophe I and the previous *planctus* // *cantus* may be incidental and that the following *procul*, here designated *f*, does not rhyme with any previous position. Abelard's frequent use of what appears to be ornamental – as opposed to systematic – rhyme, makes analysis difficult. The problem may be gauged by looking at the text of the Abner *planctus* set out on pp.60–1, below, where systematic rhymes are interspersed with what might be either coincidental or ornamental rhymes.

In addition to the binding effect of end-rhyme in the opening and closing sections of both songs, as described above, the *planctus* manifests additional techniques of poetic organisation such as alliteration, assonance, and other rhetorical devices which belong as much to the domain of Latin poetry as to that of the vernacular, and which were particularly cultivated in insular Latin. Fuller analysis would exceed present purposes, but a number of instances will be mentioned because of their structural importance at the opening and conclusion of the *planctus*. In strophe I, assonance between the vowels *i* and *e* occurs between *celibes*, *venite*, *virgines* (in addition, these last two words alliterate), *febiles*, and (in part) *celebres*, as well as in the remaining rhymes at the line-end, *facies*, *similes*, *cicladis*, *divites*; between *planctus*, *cantus* (line 4) and *plangentium* (6); between *ex more* (both 2 and 3) and *ode* (3); both assonance and alliteration occur between *cantus* (4) and *cultus* (8), and again assonance between *inculte* (5), *cultus* (8) and *procul*; *sint* occurs on the fourth syllable of each of the lines 3, 5, 7 and 8. The first syllable of *virgines* (2) is echoed in *virgo* (9), *victima* (10), *virtuti* and *virginis* (13), *virginem* (15), *virum* (16), with further assonance between *virginis* and *exigit* (14), and internal rhyme between *per annos* (14) and the end-rhymes *elegos*, *modulos*, *debitos*, *singulos* (11–14). One notes also the rhetorical device of repetition in lines 2 and 3: *ex more ... // ex more*; and in lines 15 and 16, at the opening of IIb: *O stupendam ... // quam rarum ...* echoed in the first three lines of IXb: *O mentem ... // O zelum ... // O patrem ...*; and the identical technique at the opening of IXa: *Quid plura, quid ultra dicimus? // Quid fletus quid planctus gannimus?*

Further examples of alliteration and assonance occur in strophe IX, for example: *planctus* (105), *plangentis* (107); *tandem* (106) and *plangentis* (107); *circa se* (108) and *in are* (109); *gannimus* (105), *gradibus* (109) and *gladius* (110); *vestibus* (108), *gradibus* (109), *traditus* (110) and *genibus* (111) etc.; *mentem* and *amentem* (both 112); *insignis* (117) and *inclite* (118).

#### Features of *lai* melodic style

The case for a comprehensive examination of Latin and vernacular *lais* has been made by many scholars over the course of the past century and a half including, in particular, Wolf, Gennrich, Handschin, Maillard and various other scholars mentioned in the course of this book.<sup>7</sup> Following a systematic survey of the vernacular *lai* and related Latin song repertoires which builds further on this work, we are now in a position to identify the formulas in at least two of the *planctus* of Abelard, and to examine them in a wider stylistic and historical context.

Old French *lais* contain within their melodies particular formulas, elements of which may be found in a number of older Latin repertoires including late ninth- and tenth-century songs from northern France sometimes referred to

<sup>6</sup> The word 'pucelles' is written consistently with a double *l* in the song text, but with a single *l* in the title (f.71). I have respected this non-standardised spelling by retaining the single *l* in the course of the discussion.

<sup>7</sup> For full bibliographic details and discussion of previous work on the *lai* see Buckley (1990 and forthcoming) in which a new edition and analysis of all of the vernacular materials and of a selection of Latin Lays has been made, together with a study of the melodic formulas shared by these repertoires. Much of the formal layout of the vernacular materials in earlier editions has been revised and amended, in collaboration with the Old French specialists J H Marshall and Peter Ricketts.

in the literature as 'double cursus', 'da capo', or 'archaic' sequences;<sup>8</sup> as also eleventh- to twelfth-century Aquitanian *versus*; twelfth- to thirteenth-century *planctus*; and thirteenth- to fourteenth-century *conducti*. A distinguishing feature of these formulas is their reliance on melodic cells of three- or four-pitch clusters which are combined to support longer lines of text, e.g., 3:4 (for 7 syllables), 3:2:3, or 3:5 (for 8 syllables). The following are among the most common: a rising third falling a step, *CED*; a series of thirds, repeated, or alternated in a sequence of tension and resolution, such as *FAC GBD*, *BDF CEG*; a descending tetrachord, *AGFE*, *DCBA*; or involving repeated notes, such as *BGG*, *FGG*, *DCC* at cadential points – as became standard also with 'second period' liturgical sequences.

Such three- and four-note cells, and the longer melodic units or phrases, may be repeated exactly or in variation, or in transposed, extended or reduced form, to meet given metrical requirements, but within certain limits of musical syntax, under the following headings:

(a) flexible formulas, where their shape and duration are adapted to the textual metre, the same formula generating a number of different metrical schemes;

(b) independent formulas, usually repeated without change for the duration of a *laisse*, i.e. a series of single lines with the same metre and rhyme (*aaaa*), sometimes with a concluding *b*-rhyme; or used as part of a series of *laisse* couplets, *ab ab ab* etc.

(c) closing formulas, often involving a repeated final – these are very restricted in number and variety.

#### Analysis of the melodic structure of *Li Lais des Puceles* and *Planctus Virginum*

All of the melodies A–G in the *lai* (strophes I, II and III) can be identified in the neumatic notation of the *planctus* (strophes I, II, III, and IX); the *planctus* also has an additional melodic scheme, H (strophe III), in that otherwise common section, as well as new variations in the remaining strophes. The remaining material is different in each, though there is much common ground in relation to *lai* style.

#### *Lai* melodic scheme:

I      A A A A  
 IIa    B B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> C D D<sup>1</sup>  
       b    B<sup>2</sup> B B [C D D<sup>1</sup>]  
       c    [B B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> C D D<sup>1</sup>]  
 IIIa   E E E F E F E G G G G  
       b    [E E E F E F E G G G G E E E F E]  
 IVa    I I<sup>1</sup> I I<sup>1</sup> J E<sup>1</sup> E F<sup>1</sup> E F E F<sup>2</sup> E  
       b    [I I<sup>1</sup> I I<sup>1</sup> J E<sup>1</sup> F F<sup>1</sup> E F E F<sup>2</sup> E]  
 Va     K K<sup>1</sup> K<sup>2</sup> L L<sup>1</sup> B<sup>4</sup> B<sup>5</sup> B<sup>6</sup> M M M<sup>1</sup> M<sup>2</sup> F<sup>3</sup> F<sup>4</sup> M  
       b    [K<sup>2</sup> K<sup>1</sup> K<sup>2</sup> L B<sup>4</sup> B<sup>5</sup> B<sup>6</sup> M M<sup>1</sup> M<sup>2</sup> F<sup>3</sup> F<sup>4</sup> M]

#### *Planctus* melodic scheme:

I      A A A<sup>1</sup> A<sup>1</sup> B C C C  
 IIa    D D B C C C  
       b    D D B C C C  
 IIIa   E E E F F E E G E G E E E G      H H H E E F F F  
       b    E E F F E E G E G E E E G H H<sup>1</sup> H E E F F E E G E G E  
 IVa-c III

<sup>8</sup> None of these terms adequately describes the songs in question, as has already been noted by Bruno Stäblein, 'Einiges Neue zum Thema 'archaische Sequenz'', *Festschrift Georg von Dadelsen zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. T Kohlhasse and V Scherliess. Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1978, pp.352–83, at pp.352–3; and by Nancy Phillips and Michel Huglo, 'The *Versus Rex Caeli* — Another Look at the so-called Archaic Sequence', *JPMMS*, 5 (1982), pp.36–43. This and related issues are discussed in detail in Buckley, forthcoming.

Va     J J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>2</sup> J<sup>3</sup> J<sup>3</sup> J<sup>3</sup>  
       b     J J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>2</sup> J<sup>3</sup> J<sup>3</sup> J<sup>3</sup>  
 VIa    K K L M M M  
 VIIb   K K L M M M  
 VIIa   N N<sup>1</sup>  
       b     N N<sup>1</sup>  
 VIIIa OP OP QR QR  
       b     OP OP QR QR  
 IXa    A A A<sup>2</sup> A<sup>3</sup> B C C C  
       b     A A A<sup>4</sup> A<sup>4</sup> B<sup>1</sup> C C C

Using the *lai* as a starting point, three distinctive formulas can be identified, as follows:

i. rising third falling a step, *CED*, which may be seen in the first line of Ex.3.4. It is found:

in the *lai* melodic units A, *CED* (I), and its variants and extensions, C: *GEC* (II), D: *ABC BCDE* (II), F: *CEE CFF* (III), and I: *CDEFGFEDE* (IV)  
 and in the *planctus* melodic units A: *CED* (I – see Ex.3.4 – and IX), B: *GEC*, and C: *ABC BDC* (I, II, IX), F: *CEE CFF CDEDD* (III).

ii(a) descending three-note group, *FED*:

in *lai* melodic unit B: *FFED* (II – see Ex.3.4, line 3), transposed to *CBA* for F (III) and its extended variant J, *CCDCAC* (IV), and with further variants of B in strophe V.  
 and in *planctus* melodic units D: *FEED EDDC FED* (II).

ii(b) extended to four-note group:

in *lai* melodic unit F: *CCBAB CBAG* (III and IV), and the identical *planctus* melodic unit G (III) with its variant H (*GCBACBA GBCBA*).

iii. Laisse formula: *BGFABGG*. I have dubbed this ubiquitous motive as the *lai* 'signature-tune'.<sup>9</sup> In the *lai* this is melodic unit E (III, IV).

It is seen in 'Samson dux fortissime' from BL Harley MS 978, ff.1–4 where it appears in rhythmic notation:<sup>10</sup>

Ex.4.1

'Samson' III: mil - le ru - pi vin - cu - la [four repetitions of music]  
 Li Lais des Puceles III: ce font ils mais je nel fas [three repetitions of music]

In the *planctus*, however, E appears to be different (strophe III). Abelard seems to have modified the formula in a manner that makes the neumatic notation difficult to interpret at first sight. By a fortunate chance, however, this modified formula is used in strophe VI of the *lai*-sequence 'De profundis', discussed in a later chapter (see pp.84ff), which confirms the likelihood that *BGGFAGG* is the reading of the problematic passages in Abelard's *planctus*.

<sup>9</sup> This motive is identified as  $\bar{L}$  in *TEOC*: and see p.47, n.48, above.

<sup>10</sup> The measured notation has been added to the MS by a reviser, possibly William of Winchester, the compiler of the MS: see David Wulstan, 'Sumer is icumen in' – a perpetual puzzle-canon?, *PMM*, 9 (2000), pp.1–17.



## Ex.4.2

'De profundis' VI: Ve, ve no - bis mi - se - ris se - ro pe - ni - ten - ti - bus, [etc. x 4]  
 Planctus Virginum III: vic - tor hic de pre - li - o :|| [x 4]

In both the *lai* and the *planctus* there is an emphasis on the G-triad which emerges in various melodic units of both songs, as will be seen below.<sup>11</sup>

In regard to the overall organisation, although the metrical scheme of Ia (lines 1–4) is repeated (lines 5–8), different melodies are used (A A A<sup>1</sup> A<sup>1</sup>, followed by BCCC), thereby giving the impression of a single rather than a double strophe. The same melodic scheme recurs in the second half of IIa and b, however, thus again unifying the opening strophes as a single introductory section. Nevertheless, where the metrical schemes of I are subsequently repeated for V, the melodic material does not recur in the bridging stophe, but rather presents a series of variants of the formulas used in I.

Strophe III of the *planctus* contains four different metrical schemes: a series of monorhyming 7-syllable lines (melodic unit E), a group of 335 (melodic unit F), couplets of 77 (units G+E), and a group of 75 (melodic unit H, a variant of G). The *lai* uses the same schemes but in a different order, reversing the sequence of the second and third groups: the initial series of 7-syllable lines to melodic unit E (with some internal rhyme, 7 3+4 3+3 in the *lai*) is followed by 3'3'3'3' (*lai* melodic units FE), a modification of the 77 couplets in the *planctus* (melodic units GE), and thirdly, by the group 3332' (*lai* melodic unit G) which is a variant of 335 in *planctus* melody F. The fourth metrical group 75 (7 5 in the *planctus*), forms a new strophe in the *lai*. Here, in place of a variation on the formula of the descending tetrachord, C-G, as occurs in the *planctus* (melodic unit F), the *lai* uses new material, I I<sup>1</sup>, a variant of the CED formula which occurred in strophe I (unit A).

Melodic unit E performs the same function here as in the *lai*, existing independently and as a companion phrase to F (G in the case of the *planctus*). It is slightly different in each song, but is repeated without variation throughout. This phrase could almost be called the signature tune of *lais*, as it occurs in so many vernacular and Latin examples, almost invariably with the tritone, and most commonly for seven-syllable lines. Other examples include the *Lai de la Pastorelle*; the related *Lais des Hermins*; Gautier de Coincy's 'Virge glorieuse'; Philip the Chancellor's 'Ave, gloriosa virginum regina'; 'De profundis', discussed in a later chapter; the twelfth- or thirteenth-century *planctus*, 'Samson, dux fortissime'; and in a six-syllable variant in 'Omnis caro' (the 'Song of the Flood'). As with some other *lai* formulas, such as CED, it can be traced back to the *Planctus Cigni*, the oldest source of which dates to the ninth century, the earliest transcribable notation being from the eleventh century.<sup>12</sup>

Strophes IV-VIII in the *planctus* are not found in the *lai*. They also contain twofold versicle repetition and vary considerably in length, but none is as complex as the series of metrical schemes of III. In the edition found in *Music from the Paraclete*, all of this melodic material has been reconstructed on the basis of what is known of the melodies of the *lai*, combined with some guesswork based on wider knowledge of the formulas. Although pitch precision cannot be guaranteed here or elsewhere in the *planctus*, it is possible to be reasonably confident of the accuracy of most of the reconstruction. The melodic phrases of IV (unit J) are similar in outline to I I<sup>1</sup> of the *lai*, based on the rising third CE, further varied in V in ascending and descending form for a repeat of the metrical schemes of strophe I, but reflecting more closely the melodies of the opening. J harks back to the CED formula with its variant CEE, and

<sup>11</sup> I use the term 'triad' here for convenience, rather than the rather cumbersome 'chains of thirds'. Although we are concerned with monophonic, and thus melodic, rather than strictly harmonic musical syntax, the relationship between a tonal centre and the other pitches is hierarchical, and involves tension and resolution in the same way as in music based on a harmonic matrix. As David Wulstan has pointed out in *TEOC* (e.g. chapters 7 and 8, together with Appendixes 5 and 6), there was a harmonic background to many mediæval monodies that have previously been considered to be 'purely melodic'. Frequently there is therefore a vertical as well as a horizontal dimension to the relationships between melodic pitches. See also William Mahrt, 'Grammatical and Rhetorical Aspects of Troubadour Melodies', *The Cultural Milieu of the Troubadours and Trouveres*, ed. Nancy van Deusen. Ottawa, 1994, pp.116–24: 'The analysis of melody should ... seek what harmonic relationships exist between its pitches.' (p.117).

<sup>12</sup> See Bruno Stäblein, 'Die Schwanenklage. Zum Problem Lai-Planctus-Sequenz', *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. H Hüschen. Regensburg, 1962, pp.491–502, at p.494.

J<sup>3</sup> is a play on the material from the second part of strophe I with its emphasis on descending third, FD. Melodic units KL (strophe VI) are based on the descending third, BG, and the descending tetrachord C–G. The rising and falling versions of the GBD triad, melodic unit M, have counterparts at the conclusion of the *lai* (M<sup>1</sup> M<sup>2</sup> F<sup>3</sup> F<sup>4</sup> M) together with a further variant for the change of metre in VII (melodic unit N), where for the first time in the *planctus* there is alternation of open and closed endings.

The climax is reached in strophe VIII with a shift of the descending motif up to G and the range of each of the two-phrase groups covers an entire octave, as in phrase B (strophes I and II), emphasising G-tonality once more.

Strophes I and II form a pair in regard to their range and outline: similarly VIII and IX, as already noted in regard to their patterns of metre and rhyme. Strophe IX repeats the melodic-metrical schemes of I but with twice its length, thus two versicles of eight lines with the melodic scheme A A A<sup>2</sup> A<sup>3</sup> B C C C repeated with slight variation, A A A<sup>4</sup> A<sup>4</sup> B<sup>1</sup> C C C.

The *planctus* differs from the *lai* in several respects: the metrical scheme of its first strophe recurs in the middle and at the end. In this and in the consistency of its parallelism, schematic repetition is more regular than in the *lai*. In *Li Lais des Puceles* the patterns of progressive repetition continue throughout the piece. Parallelism exists within individual strophes, and between successive strophes, but the progressive aspect is not interrupted by any recurrence of earlier material. Unlike the *planctus*, the melodic material of the final strophe is a synthesis, a new ordering of previous material, representing melodic progression yet formal conclusion, whereas the opening melodic material of the *planctus* is repeated more or less precisely at the close.

To sum up, the *lai* is divided metrically and melodically into three sections as follows:

I-II where each strophe contains the CED formula falling to GAG, alternating with FEED in II;

III-IV bounded by melodic unit E;

V recapitulation of previous material in ever-new variants, based on GBD.

The *planctus* is in two parts, bridged by the repetition of metrical material of I in V:

I-II where each strophe contains the CED formula falling to GAG, alternating with FEED in II;

III bounded by melodic unit E;

IV-V further development of the CED formula;

VI-VIII variants on the GBD formula in ascending and descending versions, extending to the complete octave in VIII, a reference linking back to strophes I and II;

IX return to the materials of I.

Finally, the question of the title needs to be considered. In common with many examples in the older Latin sequence repertory, some *lais* have titles unrelated to their textual content, suggesting that they refer to the tune which is being used for a new text. Here, the theme of young maidens is common to both, albeit in very different settings – the invitation to the solemn dance that is the lament of Jephthah's daughters on the one hand, and on the other, the pleasures of worldly love, in this case the purity and desirability of the love of a young maiden. The contrast could not be greater, but it is possible to imagine someone adapting the Latin as a contrafaction, replacing the formality and tragedy of the Old Testament text, with all its metaphorical nuance, by the more contemporary and idealising flight of a lover's fancy.<sup>13</sup> Spanke expressed the opinion that the *planctus* was a finely-wrought, balanced whole, whereas the *lai* contained a flat and uninspired text.<sup>14</sup> On this basis Vecchi suggested that the *lai* was an imitation of the *planctus*.<sup>15</sup> His arguments against the primacy of the *lai* are weak, however, based as they are on criticism of errors in the text and of its partial notation – neither of which has anything to do with the case. A corrupt text does not

<sup>13</sup> See Spanke (p.46 n.40, above) pp.164–5, where he suggests that the vernacular poem reflects the sentiments of Latin poetic discourse. This need not suggest any precedence, however, but rather underlines the cross-fertilisation between the two poetic cultures.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p.193.

<sup>15</sup> Giuseppe Vecchi, *I 'Plantus' di Pietro Abelardo*. Modena, 1951, pp.24–5.

mean a faulty original, whereas the style and presentation of the notation are consistent with other Type I *lais* in the Noailles chansonnier.

The possibility that the *lai* could be older than the *planctus*, or that Abelard or a member of his 'School' could have been directly involved in its composition, is ruled out on linguistic grounds, however. According to Peter Ricketts, the poetic text of *Li lais des Puceles* dates to the early thirteenth century, or perhaps to the last years of the twelfth, thus several decades after Abelard's death in 1042. Nonetheless, the similarities between the two songs suggest other possibilities, for example: the *lai* may have been modelled on the *planctus*; or one or both may have been based on a now unknown Latin or vernacular Lay. As with many other examples from these repertoires, there may have been more *contrafacta* or near models in existence at one time – perhaps still awaiting identification.

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Abelard's sixth *planctus*, beginning 'Dolorum solatium', consists of six strophes and although there are differences between the versions in the Nevers and Oxford MSS, the same basic melodic resources are used. The Oxford version is more melismatic throughout and reveals some internal variation in versicle repetition. As we are concerned here with the identification of *lai* melodic formulas, the musical analysis set out below is based solely on the Nevers source.<sup>16</sup>

The rhyme patterns are remarkably regular, and include a high proportion of disyllables, and even a trisyllable (see Vb):

Ia-d	777	777	777	777	
	<i>aab</i>	<i>ccb</i>	<i>ddb</i>	<i>eeb</i>	ium, (i)a, est, i, io
IIa-b	7774	74	7774	74	
	<i>aabc</i>	<i>bc</i>	<i>ddec</i>	<i>ec</i>	uit, at,(e)a, us, i(m)um
IIc-d	7774	74	7774	74	
	<i>aabc</i>	<i>bc</i>	<i>ddef</i>	<i>ef</i>	iunt, idit, us, uit, tio, i
IIIa-d	8888	8888	8888	8888	
	<i>aaaa</i>	<i>bbbb</i>	<i>cccc</i>	<i>dddd</i>	e, (i)o, a, e
IVa-d	7777	7777	7777	7777	
	<i>aaaa</i>	<i>bbbb</i>	<i>cccc</i>	<i>aaaa</i>	(i)a, i, e
Va	7777	7777	7777		
	<i>aaaa</i>	<i>bbcc</i>	<i>ddee</i>		o, iter, at, e, a
Vb	7777	7777	7777		
	<i>aaaa</i>	<i>bbbb</i>	<i>ccdd</i>		e, em, iens, jungeret
Vc	7777	7777	7777		
	<i>aaaa</i>	<i>bbcc</i>	<i>ddbb</i>		(i)a, (i)us, (i)am, at
VIa-b	777	777			
	<i>aaa</i>	<i>aaa</i>			ibus/itus

Melodic structure:

- I AAB *fourfold*
- II CCDEDE *fourfold*
- III FFGH *fourfold*
- IV IJKH<sup>1</sup> *fourfold*
- V LL<sup>1</sup>LL<sup>1</sup> I<sup>1</sup>I<sup>1</sup>K<sup>1</sup>M I<sup>1</sup>K<sup>1</sup>M *repeated*
- LL<sup>1</sup>LL<sup>1</sup> I<sup>1</sup>I<sup>1</sup>K<sup>1</sup>M I<sup>1</sup>I<sup>1</sup>K<sup>1</sup>M
- VI NOP *repeated*

Strophe I opens with a familiar *lai* melodic tag, the descending tetrachord, GFED, rising again to G via the three-

<sup>16</sup> A detailed melodic analysis of all three sources is provided by Weinrich, pp.467ff, but without reference to the *lai* repertory. The version printed in MP is based on the Vatican MS, where variants from the other sources may be seen.

note group, EFG, repeated once, followed by a transposition of the tetrachord to CBAG for the third phrase. The tonal outline of the pitches for syllables 3 to 7 is a variant of the so-called *lai* 'signature tune' with the tritone, referred to earlier BABGFAG. Each line has seven syllables, rhyming *aab*, thus paralleled precisely by the supporting melodies. The Nevers version of the cadence 'mea michi cithara' is printed at Ex.1.3.

For strophe II the tetrachord principle continues, moving to DCBA, pausing on B. This is repeated for the second of the two rhyming seven-syllable lines, paired with a phrase which combines the rising third G-B, with the descending tetrachord CBAG. There follows a truncated version of the 'signature tune', again with the tritone, in the four-syllable group of two lines in 7:4 (BGFGABG), rhyming *ab ab* (the tritone is again found in all three sources).

The third strophe is metrically in AAAA form, but melodically AABC. It is based on the the G-triad, this time extended to eight-syllable lines. The overlapping thirds BDEC are combined with DBAG for two lines in *aa* rhyme, followed by further variations on BAG, with the tritone in the fourth phrase (only in the Nevers source).

Strophe IV again has four seven-syllable lines, but this time with four different phrases, emphasising GB, D, G and falling again to G. Melodic unit I, GABAGAB is found in numerous instances across the Latin *planctus* repertory, and is a typical seven-syllable presentation of the formula, GAB. It is particularly prominent in 'Samson, dux fortissime', and occurs also in 'Omnis caro', in certain thirteenth-century conducti, as well as in vernacular *lais* such as the *Lais des Amans*.<sup>17</sup>

It is further varied, transposed up a third, in the Oxford version, with BCDEDBCD in the second phrase. This is followed by descending tetrachord G-D followed by a further variant on BAG, with the juxtaposed third, AFA and a repetition of the C-G descending tetrachord forming the concluding phrase.

The climax is reached in V with a series of four descending phrases from G to C, ending alternately on 'open' D and 'closed' C, for a group of seven-syllable lines in *aaaa* rhyme. It is a variant of the third phrase of strophe IV. The second part is a variation on all of the the material of strophe IV. Here the phrase GABAGAB is seen in its well-known variant, GABABCD (melodic unit I<sup>1</sup>).

Strophe VI, comprising three seven-syllable lines in *aaa* rhyme, opens with a final return to the descending tetrachord C-G, followed by a further variation on BCD, with prominent emphasis on repeated D, preparing for the concluding stepwise descent to the tonal centre G (in the case of Nevers, involving the tritone).

### Conclusion

In contrast with *Planctus Virginum*, the melodic material of 'Dolorum solatium' is very restrained and ordered, a reflexion of the lack of variety in the metrical schemes, and the predominance of seven- and eight-syllable lines. In the former, both the metrical diversity itself, as well as the frequent use of short metrical units, give it a more 'lailike' irregularity. 'Dolorum solatium', however, is closer in style to twelfth- or thirteenth-century Latin Lays such as 'Samson, dux fortissime' and 'Omnis caro', both of which are essentially a series of melodic variations and permutations on the G-triad. It is likely that the more regular forms represent a later style, in keeping with similar developments elsewhere; for example, the clear distinction between what I term Type I (less regular) and Type II (more regular) *lais*; the increase of regularity in end-rhyme and less use of 'internal rhyme' – in other words, of short lines; the standardisation of twelve strophes and fourfold strophic subdivision by the fourteenth century (as in Machaut), already an apparent trend in Type II *lais*; and the tendency of second-period sequences to become virtually strophic songs apart from the use of different melodies in each strophe. Although it might be argued that the ascription to Peter Abelard in the Vatican MS concerns only the first of the *planctus*, no one seriously doubts that all six are his work: the puzzle, and the interest, is their diversity and their being collected in a single twelfth-century manuscript.

<sup>17</sup> In another version, EFG, it is equally prominent in several Latin and vernacular *lais* and related repertoires.

## 'Abner fidelissime': Abelard's version of a biblical lament

ANNELIES WOUTERS

**P**ETER Abelard's lament for Abner is the fifth in the series of six *planctus* found in the Vatican MS<sup>1</sup>. Here is the text, to which I have added a translation.

<p><b>Ia</b> Abner fidelissime, bello strenuissime <b>Ib</b> amor ac deliciae militaris glorie,</p> <p><b>IIa</b> quod vis non prevaluit, dolus in te potuit; per quem peris proditus, par sit ejus exitus, nullis dignus fletibus, quos tuus dat omnibus.</p> <p><b>IIb</b> Dolus execrabilis, casus miserabilis cogunt ad continuas hostem quoque lacrimas dissolvitque pietas mentes adamantinas.</p> <p><b>IIIa</b> Hostis regni dum fuisti manifestus, semper claris es triumphis sublimatus.</p> <p><b>IIIb</b> Multis dampnis nos multasti nulla passus, armis potens sensus pollens vir perfectus.</p> <p><b>IIIc</b> Israelis murus fortis, Jude metus inimicus et amicus eras summus.</p> <p><b>IIId</b> Tandem nostris cedens votis inis fedus</p>	<p><i>Abner, most true believer, most strenuous in war, love and darling of soldierly renown,</i></p> <p><i>what violence could not realise, deceit has managed against you; you are betrayed and killed by one, let his death match yours, worthy of no tears, which your death gives to all.</i></p> <p><i>A detestable deceit, a deplorable downfall, force an uninterrupted stream of tears, even on the enemy, and piety crumbles minds hard as steel.</i></p> <p><i>While you were a manifest enemy of the kingdom, always, through illustrious triumphs, you have been elevated.</i></p> <p><i>You have punished us with so much harm, but suffered none yourself, strong in arms, mighty in sense, a complete man.</i></p> <p><i>Strong wall of Israel dread of Judea, you were the highest enemy and friend.</i></p> <p><i>Finally yielding to our wishes, you enter a treaty</i></p>
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<sup>1</sup> Codex Vatican Reg 288 (end of the 12th cent), f.64v. I have adopted the MS readings throughout; the numbering of the sections in Roman numerals is that of Ann Buckley (see chapter 4, above).

et spe pacis  
arma ponis  
male tutus.

**IVa** Dum timendum tibi credidisti  
periculis cunctis providisti:  
**IVb** fide nostra fidens corruisti,  
quam de tua vir verax pensasti.

**Va** Armati qui horruit  
nomen Abner,  
inermi prevaluit  
tibi Abner.

**Vb** Nec in via congregi  
tecum ausus  
portas urbis polluit  
per hoc scelus.

**Vc** Milites militie  
ducem tantum  
lacrimantes plangite  
sic prostratum.

**Vd** Principes justitie  
sumant zelum  
in tam execrabile  
vindandum.

*and with hopes of peace  
you lay down your arms,  
safe – not sound.*

*While you believed that you should fear,  
you provided for all dangers:  
you fell, trusting in our trust,  
which you repaid with yours, man of truth.*

*He who trembled  
at the name of armed Abner,  
prevailed over you,  
unarmed Abner.*

*And as he did not dare  
to meet you on the road,  
he defiled the gates of the city  
through this crime.*

*You knights, weep and lament  
so great a leader  
of the soldiery  
thus laid low.*

*Let the leaders take up  
the zeal for justice  
against an act so detestable  
that must be avenged.*

The six *planctus* were probably written towards the end of Abelard's life, in the later 1130s.<sup>2</sup> Although each of these laments is based on a specific Old Testament passage, it has been widely understood that the collection is highly autobiographical. Peter Dronke has warned against attempts to see line-by-line references to Abelard's life (or to the *Historia Calamitatum*, for that matter), because these attempts all too often ended up being 'to a large extent fanciful and at times hilarious' or 'tenuous and far-fetched.'<sup>3</sup> More substantial than such specific autobiographical references is what Dronke has called the 'personal impulse' behind a lament, which surfaces in the instances in which laments 'reverberate beyond their immediate themes' or 'question or transform the emotional perspectives implied in their biblical sources.'<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, Abelard's Abner lament does not score very high on Dronke's own scale of 'personal impulse.'<sup>4</sup> Although attempting to avoid the autobiographical pitfalls that Dronke brings to our attention, I will argue that the personal impulse behind this lament is considerable, and that it turns the poem into a powerful plea for Abelard's own case, a self-justification. More specifically, I hope to demonstrate that Abelard's concern here is his status as true man (*vir*) and true believer (*fidelis*).

The biblical source for 'Abner fidelissime' is II Sam 3:1–39. This passage describes the cowardly murder of Abner by Joab (see appendixes I and II, pp.65–6 below, for the key ideas and passages from the biblical story). The following is the gist of the episode. Abner, who has only recently made a treaty of peace with his former enemy David, is killed by Joab, one of David's own men. Joab attacks Abner, though not in open combat. Instead, he treacherously lures his victim to the city gates, where he hits him in the groin. The motivation for his deed is revenge for the earlier murder of Joab's brother Asael by Abner. David and the people around him condemn both Joab and the murder, and mourn and praise the deceased Abner. David's wish for revenge concludes the episode.

In 'Abner fidelissime', Abelard cleverly exploited the potential of the biblical source and remodelled it to plead his own case. He transformed the biblical story into a combination of sympathetic, lavish praise for Abner and an emotionally direct address to those in power, including an urgent request that there be revenge for the murder. In this process, any element from the biblical narrative that throws a positive light on Abner's opponent is removed; for

<sup>2</sup> They are listed by Ann Buckley on p.49.

<sup>3</sup> Dronke, *Poetic Individuality*, p.117 n.1 and p.119 n.1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p.119.

example, Abelard nowhere says that Joab killed Abner because Abner had already killed Joab's brother Asael. At the same time, elements that strengthen the case of the victim are magnified in Abelard's version; two examples are Abelard's bringing the virtue of Abner into the foreground and his emphasis on the implications of the murder for the public sphere. In short, an attack in the groin (*in inguine*) left the biblical Abner dead, but Abelard survived the attacks on his own integrity to reshape Abner's story successfully into a sharp and self-interested appeal for justice and a recovery of what had deceitfully been taken from him by enemies of all sorts, *ferro ignique*, by iron and fire.

Most of Abelard's modifications to his biblical source concern the characters rather than the plot or setting. All of the four main characters that Abelard inherits from his source are originally represented in the third person: the good King David, the heroic victim Abner, the deceitful murderer Joab and the compassionate people. The first of the biblical characters, David, becomes the singer or the voice of Abelard's lament. The victim Abner is addressed in the second person. So is the direct audience, which is no longer an unspecified populace, but in Vc it is a select group of warriors, in Vd a select group of rulers. Finally, the killer Joab is not named at all in Abelard's version, but in IIa, Va and Vb he is anonymously referred to in the third person.

Abelard uses only one of the three names of the biblical characters in his lament, that of Abner himself. David becomes the unnamed voice behind the lament, and Abner's attacker remains almost ominously anonymous. Abner is mentioned by name three times, starting with the emphatic first word of the song. The second time, in Va, is in the phrase 'the name of Abner'. This directs our attention not only to the name itself but also to the phenomenon of name-giving. The last mention of Abner's name emphatically concludes Va, and echoes the name's use earlier in that section. These occurrences indicate the importance of the name of Abner to Abelard. It requires little imagination and not much knowledge of the details of Abelard's life to identify the victim Abner with Abelard himself. The assonance linking the identical beginnings of their names further hints at an identification of the two men bearing these names.

I think there are at least two more reasons why Abelard gave prominence to the name of Abner at the expense of the names of the two other characters. The first reason is the weight a *nomen* apparently carries for Abelard. The second reason lies in the meaning or interpretation of Abner's name, as it is received in the exegetical tradition.

As to the importance of a name for Abelard, we are reminded of his long-standing interest in the philosophical issue of nomination, which he shared with his former teacher Roscelin. In an oft quoted passage, Roscelin pokes fun at Abelard's loss of masculinity in the castration and admits that no longer does he know by which name to call Peter:<sup>5</sup>

Si igitur neque clericus neque laicus neque monachus es, quo nomine te censeam, reperire non valeo. Sed forte Petrum te appellari posse ex consuetudine mentieris. Certus sum autem, quod masculini generis nomen, si a suo genere deciderit, rem solitam significare recusabit ... Solent enim nomina propria significationem amittere, cum eorum significata contigerit a sua perfectione recedere. Neque enim ablato tecto vel pariete domus, sed imperfecta domus vocabitur. Sublata igitur parte quae hominem facit non Petrus, sed imperfectus Petrus appellandus es.

If therefore you are neither a cleric nor a layman nor a monk, I am unable to discover what name I should apply to you. Perhaps you lie when you say you can be called Peter, as before; I am quite certain that a name of the masculine gender will refuse to signify its accustomed object if that object is lacking in its gender ... For names normally lose their proper meaning should the things they signify happen to lose their wholeness. For when a house loses its roof or a wall, it will be called not 'house' but 'defective house'. Since therefore the part which makes a man has been taken away, you should be called not 'Peter' but 'defective Peter'.<sup>6</sup>

I would not go as far as to claim a direct connection between Roscelin's suggestion that Abelard should now be called *imperfectus Petrus*, 'defective Peter', and Abelard's own statement in IIIb of the *planctus*, namely that Abner is a *vir perfectus*. Nevertheless, the passage illustrates how *nomen* was used as a weapon in the contentious dialogue between Abelard and at least one of his known opponents.

<sup>5</sup> This passage is actually quoted by each of the three contributors on Abelard in the collection edited by J J Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, New York - London, 1997. The three contributions are by Martin Irvine 'Abelard and (Re)Writing the Male Body: Castration, Identity, and Remasculinization', pp.87-106; Bonnie Wheeler 'Origenary Fantasies: Abelard's Castration and Confession', pp.107-28; and Yves Ferroul 'Abelard's Blissful Castration', pp.129-49.

<sup>6</sup> Text and translation by Bonnie Wheeler, p.122 (previous footnote).

As to the meaning of Abner's name in the exegetical tradition, Jerome's explanation of Hebrew names is a convenient place to start. It lists Abner as *pater meus lucerna vel pater lucernae*: 'my father the lamp, or father of the lamp'.<sup>7</sup> Bede takes this explanation as a point of departure for placing Abner on an equal footing with 'luminaries' no less than John the Baptist and other defenders of the church, all virtuous men:

Abner princeps militiae eius qui patris lucerna dicitur vel Johannem Baptistam qui erat lucerna ardens et lucens vel omnes qui singulari prae ceteris ecclesiae propugnatoribus altitudine praeferunt viros virtutis insinuat.<sup>8</sup>

Abner, the leader of his soldiery, who is called 'lamp of the father', means either John the Baptist, who was a glowing and bright lamp, or all the virtuous men who outshine the other defenders of the church from an extraordinary height.

Further on in his commentary, Bede writes:

Abner quippe qui interpretatur patris lucerna eos qui populo veritatis lucem tunc temporis ministrare debuerant ostendit.<sup>9</sup>

For Abner means 'lamp of the father' and refers to those who at the time had to supply the light of truth to the people.

In other words, Bede sees Abner as a virtuous man, *vir virtutis*, and as a defender of the light of truth, *lux veritatis*. These two concepts, virtuous masculinity and status as defender of the truth, represent exactly what Abelard in the *Historia Calamitatum* had claimed to have lost, *ferro ignique*, namely in the castration instigated by Heloise's uncle Fulbert, and at the trial at Soissons, where he was forced to commit the product of his own pen to the flames. These two moments have been interpreted as two instances of the same phenomenon, that is to say emasculation: the first, at Paris, in a literal sense, and the second, at Soissons, because it ruined Abelard's social and political status, and, as I want to stress here, his status as a true believer in the religious realm. Martin Irvine has argued that this double emasculation launched Abelard into 'an eight-year campaign (c.1132-1140) to reinvent himself and demonstrate his inner masculinity', whereas Bonnie Wheeler has stated that even the castrated Abelard remained 'immutably masculine'.<sup>10</sup> Scholars such as these have argued that a concern for his masculinity can be detected in Abelard's prose writings from the 1130s, during the last decade of his life. I hope that my analysis of 'Abner fidelissime' demonstrates that it also lies at the heart of at least one of Abelard's poetic works.

In the Abner lament, both masculinity and status as true believer receive ample attention throughout. The two concepts are most powerfully combined in IVb as 'man of truth', *vir verax*. But there are other instances in this lament that speak of the importance of the two concepts separately. As for masculinity, there is the *vir perfectus* of IIIb, a phrase that comes at the end of a list of signs of manly behaviour. In that list, the military component of what makes a good man is brought to the fore, as it is in Ia, Ib, IIIc, Va, and Vc. We might see this as a trace of Abelard's own social background; or of his well-documented penchant for the imagery of warfare, in itself perhaps related to his background; or of the more widespread penchant for this imagery in the Latin literature of twelfth-century France. In Vc, the replacement of the third person (unspecified biblical crowd) by the second person (contemporary soldiers or knights) can be understood in the same light. At the same time, the appeal to the soldiers in Vc strengthens Abelard's claim: if the deceitful murder can move soldiers to tears, then the plight of the victim is serious indeed.

So much for the masculinity of the victim. As for his truthfulness, it is interesting to note that in Ia, the status of trusty believer is the very first qualifying attribute mentioned for Abner, second only to his name. Following the exegetical tradition, the adjective *fidelissime* is to a high degree epexegetic with the name of Abner, as is evident in the excerpts from Bede printed earlier. In a narration of the life and death of Abner, *fidelis* would in the first place refer to the fact that Abner had put all his trust in the treaty of peace with David, and that David had every reason to trust Abner as a partner in this treaty. Not surprisingly, the exegetical tradition has added a religious dimension to

<sup>7</sup> S. Hieronymi presbyteri Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum, ed. Paul de Lagarde, p. 102. S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera, I, 1, (CCSL, 72). Turnhout, 1959, pp.57-161.

<sup>8</sup> Bedae Venerabilis In primam partem Samuhelis libri IIII, ed. D Hurst, p.125, in: Bedae Venerabilis opera, II, 2, (CCSL, 119). Turnhout, 1962.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p.246.

<sup>10</sup> Irvine (see note 5, above), p.99, Wheeler (ditto), p.107.



the word as applied to Abner. It is therefore preferable to read the term *fidelis* in Abelard's *planctus* on several levels: it expresses both the active concept of trust and its passive counterpart of trustworthiness; and it has connotations in the social, diplomatic, military, as well as religious realms. As is well known, Abelard had good reason to emphasise the religious dimension of the word in this lament, because it confirms him as someone who did not deserve the accusation of heresy, let alone any condemnations on that account.

This entirely positive depiction of Abner as virtuous man and trusty believer ignores the fact that there was an acceptable reason for Joab's deed, namely revenge for the earlier murder of his brother Asael by Abner himself. Abelard's black-and-white depiction of the good Abner versus the bad Joab leaves no room for this particular vengeance motif. The grim representation of Joab as an almost diabolical arch-enemy has precedents in the exegetical tradition. The following excerpts from the commentaries of Hraban Maur and Angelom of Luxeuil are illustrative:

Joab ... non alium quam hostem antiquum significat ... Joab enim inimicus, vel idem frater [MS *pater*] interpretatur. Omnium inimicorum [MS *enim iniquorum*] diabolus est caput.<sup>11</sup>

Joab ... stands for no other than the ancient enemy ... For Joab means 'enemy', or 'brother'. The head of all enemies is the Devil.

Et percussit Joab Abner in ultionem 'sanguinis Asael fratris ejus,' etc. Quid per Joab, qui *inimicus* vel *frater* interpretatur, nisi elatio Judaeorum, atque haeretici designantur? Quid vero per Abner, qui in Latinum vertitur *patris lucerna*, nisi spiritalis viri, et humiles Ecclesiae doctores exprimuntur? Joab, Abner in porta dolo occidit? quia et inimici fidei, hoc est Judaei et haeretici, quosdam praesules Ecclesiae ob defensionem fidei, usque ad necem mortis persecuti sunt.<sup>12</sup>

And Joab struck Abner in revenge for 'the blood of his brother Asael' etc. What is signified by Joab, which means 'enemy' or 'brother', other than the exaltation of the Jews, and the heretics? And what is expressed by Abner, which translated into Latin means 'lamp of the father', other than the men of the spirit, and the humble teachers of the Church? And the deceitful murder of Abner by Joab at the gate? That the enemies of the faith, that is Jews and heretics, have persecuted some leaders of the Church, on account of the defence of faith, all the way up to deadly murder.

In the light of the Abner lament, the identification of Joab with the Devil and with those who do not adhere to the true faith is particularly interesting, as it reverses the accusations of heresy: far from Abelard being heretical, it is his opponents who are the heretics.

Now, if revenge was not the motivation for Joab's deed, what did inspire this horrid crime? Only slightly later than Peter Abelard, Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* casts serious doubt on vengeance as the reason for Joab's cruel act and offers an alternative motivation:

quasi in ultionem fratris sui. Sed verius est, quia timebat, ne fieret secundus a rege.<sup>13</sup>

so-called to take revenge for his brother. But more truly, because he was afraid that he would become the second in line after the king.

The professional envy of Joab also figures prominently in Peter the Chanter's discussion of the vice Envy:

Haec [sc. Invidia], nata a superbia, mater est proditionis, homicidii et fratricidii. Hac enim exagitatus Cain ... Item: Hac exagitatus Joab Amasam sica interfecit, nec non et Abner, invidens et timens (eo quod familiares essent David) quod principatus militiae ei auferretur a David, ut eorum alteruter ei succederet.<sup>14</sup>

Envy, sprung from pride, is the mother of deceit, manslaughter and fratricide. For it was envy that had stirred up Cain ... Or another example. It was envy that had stirred up Joab when he killed Amasa with a dagger, and also

<sup>11</sup> Beati Rabani Mauri ... *Commentaria in Libros IV Regum*. PL, 109, col. 78C.

<sup>12</sup> Angelomi Luxoviensis monachi *Enarrationes in Libros Regum*. PL, 115, col. 341C.

<sup>13</sup> *Historia scholastica* ... *magistri Petri Comestoris, Historia Libri II Regum*, V. PL, 198, col. 1327B.

<sup>14</sup> *Petri Cantoris Verbum abbreviatum*, XI, *Contra invidiam*. PL, 205, col. 53A.

when he killed Abner. Because they were close to David, Joab was envious and feared David's taking away the supreme military command from him, in order for one of these two to succeed him.

Peter of Blois and Helinand of Froidmont in a similar way present Joab as a major example of envy.<sup>15</sup> The *Historia Calamitatum* reminds us of the role that envy played in Abelard's description of his own misfortunes.

Yet, if according to Abelard the murder of Asael by Abner should go without revenge, this is not what Abelard has in mind for the murder of Abner by Joab. In the biblical source, the request for vengeance of Abner's murder is hardly anything more than a postscript. The last verse of the passage states: *retribuatur Dominus facienti malum iuxta malitiam suam*: 'Let the Lord reward the evil-doer according to his wickedness'. In the Abner lament, however, revenge is fully emphasised. Already in IIa, Abelard brings up the theme: unlike David, Abelard does not leave vengeance to the Lord; instead, in Vd, he actively invites the worldly powers to proceed to take action, and he emphatically closes his text with the idea of vengeance. Although in Vd *justitiae* grammatically goes with *zelum*, the word order in Latin invites us to consider at least the possibility of the powerful concept of *principes justitiae*, princes of justice itself. When taking revenge, the leaders would not only give back to the victim what is rightfully his; they would also cleanse the public realm of the pollution inflicted upon it by the murder. In Vb, the statement that the murderer defiled the gates of the city gives an interesting twist to the biblical observation that Abner was murdered near the city gates. The biblical gates of the city were a place where the attacker could operate in the dark, away from the social sphere; but Abelard's interpretation of the city gates pushes the crime in the opposite direction, into its social context. The implication is this: if the injustice done to one victim has negative consequences for society as a whole, how much more should it be brought to an end.

To conclude. Work by other scholars on other Abelardian laments has shown how these poems depart radically from the exegetical tradition. As I have argued here, such a radical move is certainly not present in 'Abner fidelissime'. I hope to have shown that Abelard, when reworking the story of Abner, did not need to change the tradition in a drastic way, because the tradition already served his personal purposes. I would suggest that this is why Peter Abelard added both traditional exegetical and personal Abelardian slants to the Old Testament story on which his fifth lament is based.

## Appendix I

Key ideas in II Samuel 3:1-39 (=Latin II Kings 3:1-39)

- ◆ hostilities between (the camp of) David and (the camp of) Saul and Abner (1);
- ◆ women as goods of exchange in the negotiations between the warring parties (8, 13, 14);
- ◆ treaty-making between David and Abner (12, 13, 21);
- ◆ result of the treaty: supremacy of David (21) and peace (21, 22, 23);
- ◆ abduction and deception of Abner by Joab, leading to the murder of Abner (27);
- ◆ murder as vengeance for the killing by Abner of Joab's brother Asael (27, 30);
- ◆ innocence of David (28, 37);
- ◆ presence and reaction of the people (31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38);
- ◆ mourning of David and of the people (31, 32, 33, 34);
- ◆ condemnation of the murder and of the murderer (34);
- ◆ praise of the deceased (38);
- ◆ wish for vengeance (39).

<sup>15</sup> For example, 'Invidia Cain armavit in fratrem, Saul in David, Joab in Abner et Amasam' (*Petri Blesensis Epistolae, Epistola LXXXVII ad Willelmum Eliensem episcopum*. PL, 207, col. 273A-B) and 'Quid est invidia? Fraus illa potentissima, quae ... concussit Joab, percussit Abner' (*Helinandi Frigidi Montis monachi Sermones, Sermo IX In ramis palmarum II*. PL, 212, col. 556A-B).

Appendix II

Key passages from II Samuel 3:1-39

27 Cumque redisset Abner in Hebron, seorsum abduxit eum Joab ad medium portae, ut loqueretur ei in dolo, et percussit illum ibi in inguine, et mortuus est in ultionem sanguinis Asahel fratris ejus.

31 Dixit autem David ad Joab et ad omnem populum qui erat cum eo: 'Scindite vestimenta vestra et accingimini saccis et plangite ante exequias Abner.' Porro rex David sequebatur feretrum.

32 Cumque sepelissent Abner in Hebron, levavit rex vocem suam et flevit super tumulum Abner: flevit autem et omnis populus.

33 Plangensque rex Abner ait: 'Nequaquam ut mori solent ignavi mortuus est Abner.

34 Manus tuae non sunt ligatae et pedes tui non sunt conpedibus adgravati: sed, sicut solent cadere coram filiis iniquitatis, corruisti.' Congeminansque omnis populus flevit super eum.

38 Dixit quoque rex ad servos suos: 'Num ignoratis quoniam princeps et maximus cecidit hodie in Israhel?

39 Ego autem adhuc delicatus et unctus rex: porro viri isti filii Sarviae duri mihi sunt. Retribuat Dominus facienti malum iuxta malitiam suam.'

27 And when Abner was returned to Hebron, Joab took him aside to the middle of the gate, to speak to him treacherously: and he stabbed him there in the groin, and he died, in revenge of the blood of Asael his brother.

31 And David said to Joab, and to all the people that were with him: Rend your garments, and gird yourselves with sackcloths, and mourn before the funeral of Abner. And king David himself followed the bier.

32 And when they had buried Abner in Hebron, king David lifted up his voice, and wept at the grave of Abner: and all the people also wept.

33 And the king mourning and lamenting over Abner, said: Not as cowards are wont to die, hath Abner died.

34 Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet laden with fetters: but as men fall before the children of iniquity, so didst thou fall. And all the people repeating it wept over him.

38 The king also said to his servants: Do you not know that a prince and great man is slain this day in Israel?

39 But I as yet am tender, though anointed king. And these men the sons of Sarvia are too hard for me. The Lord reward him that doth evil according to his wickedness.

Additional note by DW:

These passages furnish a good example of the perils of attempting to find the most 'authentic' biblical reading, a particular concern of Heloise and Abelard (see pp.26 & 31, above). Recent translations of the Bible have also fallen into the same trap, believing there to be a 'true' Hebrew text which is alone worthy to be believed. This is a chimera, for the variant readings of the Qumran scrolls show (i) that various competing 'received' versions of the Hebrew text were in circulation, and (ii) that some of the readings of the *Vetus Latina* and of the Old Greek translations go back to a superior Hebrew text unknown to the Massoretes. Thus, the Hebrew of verse 27 (also in a previous passage) says that Abner was stabbed in the 'fifth', to which the KJV was obliged to add *rib*. The Septuagint, more plausibly, has ἐπὶ τὴν ψόαν 'in the loins', but the Latin alone has 'groin'. The Hebrew consonants *hms*, vocalised by the Massoretes as *himeš*, doubtless represent a cognate of Syriac *humsa* and Ethiopic *hemš*, 'belly'; but Akkadian furnishes the word *emsu*, which according to the dictionary (CAD) means the 'hypogastric region': so the Latin *inguine* seems to preserve the correct meaning.

Similarly, the standard Hebrew text of David's biblical lament over Abner in II Sam 3:34 (above) is not satisfactory; but the version of this passage witnessed by Qumran, and which corresponds to the Latin, is almost certainly correct. Incidentally, in the Greek, Abner is rendered Ἀβεννη throughout, corresponding to the Hebrew of II Sam 14:50 where, alone, it is spelt *abiner*, ('my father is a lamp') probably correctly.

Heloise at Argenteuil and the Paraclete

DAVID WULSTAN

IF the dawn of the universities can be seen in the rigour of Abelard's teaching, then Heloise must be acknowledged as sharing his dais: as Michael Clanchy has suggested,<sup>1</sup> she was as much his teacher as his muse in many fields of learning. Hugh Metel, the epistolary Uriah Heep of the twelfth century, fulsomely described Heloise's literary style as *Dictando, versificando, nova junctura, nota verba novando*.<sup>2</sup> This 'refurbishing of familiar words in fresh combinations' is echoed by Peter the Venerable's 'new turns of melody' (*novi modulaminis melos*),<sup>3</sup> a phrase whose significance has been overlooked hitherto. These were not formal plaudits, but genuine recognition of her learning and her originality as poet and musician; they are fortified by the realisation that we now have the early correspondence between the lovers when they were in Paris. The knowledge that there are two authentic series of letters has far-reaching effects; in addition to showing us that Heloise and Abelard sharpened each other's intellect and that their styles developed in symbiosis, the letters moreover allow the identification of several lyrics from the 'School of Abelard', as we have seen.

In the early letters, the poetic techniques used by Heloise and Abelard are so similar that it is difficult to distinguish between the two authors. Nevertheless, whereas Abelard's early lyrics used true rhyme, in his hymns and *planctus* he returned to the severity of the homoioteleuton employed in his *metra*, possibly as a means of dissociating himself from the technique of his love-songs such as 'Hebet sidus' and 'Virent prata', full of cascade rhyme. This recrudescence of homoioteleuton is a peculiarity of Abelard's style that has long been recognised. He is the only author known to have used it in rhythmical verse at this period. But what of Heloise? Where are the works that generated such enthusiasm on the part of Hugh Metel and Peter the Venerable? Apart from the *metra* in the early letters, the earliest example of her literary style appears to date from 1122: Mews has established that an epitaph at Argenteuil for Vital, who died that year, was very probably written by her.<sup>4</sup> For all its stylistic accomplishment, it is a *metrum*, so its rhyme-scheme is not distinctive; but it shows that Heloise, having taken the veil in 1118 or so, had not ceased to compose poetry. We see her in similar vein in an important poem appealing to Clio, which Mews also attributes to her: he associates the poem with the events of 1129, when on a legal pretext Suger expelled the nuns from Argenteuil.<sup>5</sup> In the same year, Abelard made over the vacated Paraclete School to Heloise; thus, the long history of the Abbey began, with Heloise at the head of the sisters that had followed her.<sup>6</sup>

In the first instance, however, the key to the mystery of Heloise's lost lyrics must be sought elsewhere, in the door of a Catalan monastery. At Vic there are two liturgical dramas written in a late twelfth-century MS (Bib. Episc. MS 105). Although they are fairly well known to students of the subject, these dramas retain secrets that have not yet been properly uncovered; in many respects they have been studied rather superficially hitherto. Dronke, one of the editors of these plays, follows Eva Castro Caridad in saying that they are not an autograph, and that the date of copying was c.1160-70: Dronke is of the opinion that the plays were composed 'a good generation or so earlier' in c.1130.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clanchy, pp.164-72, esp. pp.167 ff. It should be pointed out that although Clanchy accepted the authenticity of the later correspondence, penetrated its psychological problems, and saw the influence of Heloise's learning upon Abelard, his book was written before Mews had shown that the early letters were by Heloise and Abelard.

<sup>2</sup> See Mews, p.25, above.

<sup>3</sup> see p.18, n.67, above.

<sup>4</sup> Mews, *LLL*, pp.162-3.

<sup>5</sup> *LLL*, pp.163-69. Letter 66 also begins with an invocation to Clio.

<sup>6</sup> As Brenda Cook has pointed out to me, the Abbess took one group of nuns to Malmouë, Brie, where they spent 50 years attempting to regain possession of Argenteuil; a second group, perhaps wanting to lead a more austere life, followed Heloise to the Paraclete, at first a Priory.

<sup>7</sup> Dronke, *Plays*, 87-9. The music was first edited by Higiní Anglés, *La Música a Catalunya fins al Segle XIII*. Barcelona, 1935, pp.276-81.

The second of the dramas appears to be on the Peregrinus theme and opens with the lines

Rex in accubitus	jam se contulerat	<i>The King had already gone to his bed</i>
et mea redolens	nardus spiraverat;	<i>and my scent of spikenard suffused the air;</i>

(the third word is spelt *acubitus* in the MS).

Apart from its being in a favoured Abelardian rhythm, that of 'O quanta qualia', this couplet does not appear to be especially remarkable, perhaps, until the fifth and sixth lines of the strophe:

Per noctem igitur	hunc querens exeo	<i>So I go out to seek him, throughout the night,</i>
huc illuc transiens	nusquam reperio.	<i>hither and thither I turn, but nowhere do I find him.</i>

Here, it is evident that homoioteleuton rather than true rhyme is involved. Indeed, this passage (including a couple of following lines, if in a slightly altered form) is seen in part of the sequence 'Epithalamica' that Fr Waddell has ascribed to Abelard. Dronke's theory that the 'Epithalamica' quotes from an obscure Catalan drama seems unlikely in view of the rhythm and rhyme-scheme. 'Epithalamica', ostensibly an Easter sequence, might be by Abelard, as Fr Waddell would have us believe,<sup>8</sup> but its spikenard-laden imagery, blowing on warm winds coming from the Song of Songs, has a whiff of sensuality that does not square with the severity of Abelard's later letters. Moreover, for the Vic dramatist to decide to begin his drama with such an exotic concoction must give pause for thought: the Lord being characterised as the Bridegroom is an extraordinary and wholly unscriptural leap of imagination.

This is the second of the two Vic plays. The first is entitled *Versus pascales de .III. M[arias]*. Virtually the whole of this Three Marys drama is written rhythmically, much of it in the goliardic decasyllabic; once more, the homoioteleuton rhyme-scheme is telling. The perfume of the Song of Songs is less heady now, and the bridegroom element is evanescent.

A remarkable technical feature is seen in the five stanzas that open with the line

Tanta sorores gaudia<sup>9</sup>

whose first stanza continues to rhyme on *-a* in every line; the second stanza rhymes similarly on *-e*, and so on, through the five vowels. This is a device found in Walther von der Vogelweide's 'Diu welt was gelf: his disciple, Der Marner, is supposed to have imitated this in a Carmina Burana poem 'Jam dudum estivalia' (CB 3\*) which, in addition to displaying the same five-vowel scheme, also rehearses the same sentiments, that love grows gelid in life's winter. According to Dronke<sup>10</sup> this five-vowel technique originated in the Three Marys drama from Vic. Here, the rhythm, the rhyme-schemes and the unscriptural content are all difficulties that do not lie easily with the idea that this Vic play, any more than its companion, came from an unknown Catalan author. There is another stumbling-block. The rhymes of 'Jam dudum' are homoioteleuta. Der Marner's CB poems whose attribution may be trusted (CB 6\*, 9\* and 10\*) use regular rhyme, never homoioteleuton.<sup>11</sup> In an earlier chapter it was seen that Walther's 'Muget ir schowen' was modelled upon a poem by Abelard in the Carmina Burana: there is no reason why Walther's 'Diu welt was gelf' should not have been modelled upon another poem by Abelard.

Thus, there appear to be the following possibilities as to the line of influence:

(i) the Vic plays were the work of a Catalan author; lines from one of his plays were copied into 'Epithalamica'; the five-vowel scheme from his other play was imitated by Walther von der Vogelweide and an unknown poet writing in Latin (Dronke).

(ii) Abelard composed 'Epithalamica' (Waddell) and 'Jam dudum': these poems influenced the Catalan dramatist on the one hand, Walther on the other.

<sup>8</sup> Dronke, *Plays*, p.85, for the progression Vic→'Epithalamica' and Waddell *Epithalamica*, p.243, for the reverse.

<sup>9</sup> The reading *Tanta* in Ex.6.5 (rather than *Cuncta*, read hitherto) is due to Lipphardt (see n.40).

<sup>10</sup> Dronke, *Plays*, pp.87-9.

<sup>11</sup> The ascription to him rests solely on that of a 15th-cent MS at Sterzing: see CB I, 3, p.113. A devout poem by the 13th-cent Siefried Helbling entitled *Quinque sunt vocales* uses the same vowel-play: see the edition by Th von Karajan, *ZdA*, 4 (1844), p.208. The poem printed at CB I, 3, p.189 is doubtless another authentic lyric by Der Marner, for this, too, employs regular rhyme. On the question of rhyme, see the discussion at the end of chapter 9.

(iii) In addition to the two lyrics mentioned above, Abelard wrote the plays as well, and these were transmitted to Catalunya.

The first possibility has already been dismissed. The second is more plausible, the third less so: both alternatives are obliged to disregard Abelard's attitude to the Song of Songs in his later letters, where he is at pains to stress the allegorical nature of the Song. The two plays, 'Epithalamica', and indeed 'Virgines caste', are all marked by imagery that can be seen as a deliberate rebuttal of the spiritual interpretation of the Song. Constant Mews has already suggested that textual similarities between Heloise's Letter 84 and the 'Epithalamica' may point to the sequence having been composed by her, rather than by Abelard.<sup>12</sup> On the grounds of rhyme-scheme these plays and sequences (including another in the Nevers MS, 'De profundis') must be attributed either to Abelard or to Heloise; on the grounds of content and imagery an ascription to Heloise is inevitable. Her authorship of the items mentioned in this paragraph is taken as read in the discussion that follows, in which the piecemeal evidence for these ascriptions will unfold below.<sup>13</sup> I have also allowed myself some speculations which seem to me to be justified by reading between the lines, as it were (and also in view of what will be said in chapter 9); the reader may reject or accept these at will.

The later letters following on the *Historia Calamitatum* show Abelard discouraging Heloise from thinking of their past love life; she, on the contrary, often refers to it. Their earlier letters often used the Song of Songs as a literary love-philtre; Abelard now tries to use the traditional Christian interpretation as a cure for love. Patently, he is not successful; many of Heloise's thoughts, as expressed in her dramas and sequences, are caught up in the crossfire of *agape* and *eros*, *dilectio* and *amor*.

It would be unwise to see too much significance in various references in the letters, but it is tempting to view 'Epithalamica' in the light of Abelard's Letter III. At the end of this letter he mentions the ointments being brought to the tomb by the weeping women that they might anoint the dead Bridegroom, the same, entirely unscriptural, image taken up by Heloise. His Letter V, with its 'I am black, though comely' disquisition, but more particularly with its emphasis on the love of Christ over personal love, might have been something in the nature of a disavowal of the sentiments uttered in Heloise's sequence; and some of his hymns in Book II of the Paraclete Hymnal may have been a rejoinder to the overt imagery of 'Epithalamica'. Her answer to Abelard's Letter V, headed 'To the bride of Christ', is to quote in her reply (Letter VI) from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*; indeed, it is not impossible that her later sequence, 'Virgines caste' was also written in response to Letter V and its long diatribe on the Song of Songs (and in which he recapitulates the notion of the dead Bridegroom); equally, a further batch of Abelard's hymns may have sought to restore *agape* to the argument in the folorn hope that she might trim the sails of her imagery.

Whereas the allusions to the Song of Songs in Abelard's Ascension hymns or those in *festis virginibus* are modest enough, 'Epithalamica' is much more in the erotic spirit of the Hebrew Song of Songs. Apart from Abelard's wanting to put this behind him, Heloise's particular appreciation of the Song might have been due to knowing it in its original language, even though Peter the Venerable's estimation of her knowledge of Hebrew may have been exaggerated.<sup>14</sup> So, although ostensibly emphasising the image of the risen Christ as Bridegroom, we may imagine Heloise celebrating her continued love for Abelard in this ecstatic manner, using barely disguised eroticism derived from the Song of Songs. As Fr Waddell has pointed out, this canticle figures largely in the provisions made for the Paraclete over the Easter season.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> LLL pp.171-2, and see p.102 below, where Mews compares 'diligendo quaesivi ...' of the letters with 'Jam video ...' of 'Epithalamica'. The ascription to Abelard of this and the other two sequences mentioned was first made by Waddell, *Epithalamica*. See especially his pp.241-2.

<sup>13</sup> Dronke, *Sources*, rejects Waddell's ascription of 'Epithalamica' on the grounds of its content. See also his 'Virgines caste' (1981), reprinted in *Latin and Vernacular Poets of the Middle Ages* (1991), VI. In the additional note on page 3 at the end of this volume Dronke emphasises the Abelardian technique of 'Virgines'. He nevertheless rejects Waddell's claim for Abelard's authorship calling attention to 'the differences in poetic language and conception' which are 'enormous, and make such an attribution implausible'. It is this very language and conception, together with the rhyme technique, that argues for Heloise's authorship of both sequences, a possibility not considered by either scholar. Dronke does speculate (*Plays*, p.85), however, that 'Epithalamica' might have been 'composed in the later twelfth century by one of the sisters at the Paraclete'.

<sup>14</sup> The reference in his letter to her (see p.18 n.67, above) and Abelard's similar remarks (p.30, in connexion with n.69), may simply reflect a second-hand knowledge of Hebrew through the writings of Origen and Jerome, mentioned in several letters of the later correspondence. On the mediæval knowledge of Hebrew, see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. Oxford, 1952, pp.78-81. As argued shortly, the Ascension hymns of Abelard that allude to the Song of Songs (46-8) are more likely to have been influenced by Heloise than the reverse. The 'In montibus' hymn tones down the elative phrases of the sequence.

<sup>15</sup> Waddell, *Epithalamica*.

As noted in earlier chapters, the extant documents emanating from Heloise's Paraclete Abbey show that Abelard's hymn-cycles were selectively incorporated into the nuns' repertory.<sup>16</sup> The *OFPOrdinary* shows that 'Epithalamica' became a part of the Paraclete observances;<sup>17</sup> similarly, 'Virgines caste' and 'De profundis'. The only place where all of these sequences are found as a group (including Abelard's *planctus* 'Dolorum solatium') is in the Nevers manuscript, where their music is also included.<sup>18</sup> As will shortly be seen, the endings of both of the Vic plays show that they were intended for performance within the liturgy. The absence of any record of either of Heloise's liturgical dramas at the Paraclete may or may not be significant; but is it nevertheless problematic as to whether the Three Marys, at least, was performed at the Paraclete Abbey.

In view of the fact that many of Abelard's hymns are not represented in the *OFPOrdinary*, there are at least two possible explanations for the absence of the plays from the records of the Paraclete Abbey. They were performed in its early years, but (in common with some of Abelard's hymns) they were later dropped from the repertory. Alternatively, the plays were composed earlier, at Argenteuil, but had been abandoned by the time Heloise took over the Paraclete. A third possibility might be that the Three Marys survived for a time at the Abbey but that its companion drama had been rejected, especially now that its opening had been re-used as part of the sequence 'Epithalamica'.

As we shall see, the Three Marys and 'Epithalamica' are musically and dramatically more mature works than the 'Peregrinus' drama copied at Vic: the re-use of its 'Rex in accubitus' points to the abandonment of this earlier play which, despite many original qualities, also has obvious shortcomings. These factors, together with the manner of the transmission of later versions of these plays – a topic that will be examined later – point to the dramas being the product of Heloise's Argenteuil years. So the key to the puzzle of her 'lost works', lying in the door at Vic, also fits that of the Abbey of Argenteuil, and doubtless the portals of the Paraclete Priory (later Abbey), too.

From the time when Abelard was at St-Denis (c.1117–18), he and Heloise were not to meet face to face (or at least in private) for more than ten years, as she complains in the first of her later letters. Whatever his true sentiments for her, these letters make it plain that she pined for him in mind, body and soul. The preface to Book I of the Paraclete Hymnal, together with other circumstantial evidence, shows that some form of communication must surely have taken place, if only by means of a go-between such as Hilary. There is no need to suppose that such contact began only when Heloise came to the Paraclete, or that Abelard's early hymns were unknown to her before that time. He must have been already composing hymns in the 1120s, well before the idea of the Paraclete Hymnal was mooted.

St Eustace was venerated at St-Denis, whence Abelard fled in 1121: the hexasyllabic Eustace hymn was probably composed in that year. Later, at his Paraclete school, the main altar was dedicated to St Denis, and the octosyllabic hymn for that Saint may have been composed there: its doxology is one of the few to mention the Paraclete, though this may not be significant. In the doxologies of 'Deus qui corpora' (14) 'Finem ad requiem' (28) and 'O quanta qualia' (29), all hexasyllabic, it is the Trinity that is affirmed, as though Abelard is still smarting from the judgement of the Council of Soissons (1121).

The manuscript status of hymns 14, 28 and 29 (which exist separately in P – see p.16, n.62, above), the autobiographical quality of 'O quanta qualia' and the singular manner by which it is preserved in the sources (some with its tune) are factors that suggest that the hexasyllabic pattern was his favoured rhythm at the time, the early years of the Paraclete school (c.1122–6). If, as is likely, some of these compositions reached Heloise at Argenteuil, then it might have inspired her to use the same rhythmic scheme in a little Easter play which she had decided to fashion, probably when she had become Prioress, a position that would have afforded her some opportunities for experiments of this kind. The repertory of Argenteuil would doubtless have included traditional (so-called 'first stage') liturgical dramas for the Easter season: her first attempt was probably more in the nature of a rewriting of one of them. But her liturgical efforts were influenced by another factor: as one of the poems instanced previously has it, here was a warm-blooded girl shut up in enforced monastic celibacy, at the insistence of Abelard;<sup>19</sup> and we know from her own letters that her thoughts frequently wandered from the contemplation of the divine towards the carnal. So in order to sublimate these imaginings, she turned her hand to an Easter drama which she provided with an audacious opening, taking up the wholly unbiblical *persona* of the dead Christ as Bridegroom.

<sup>16</sup> See p.16ff., above.

<sup>17</sup> Waddell, *OFPOrdinary*, p.31.

<sup>18</sup> BN n a lat 3126, ff.84v–91v (and see Huglo). For the other sources of 'Dolorum solatium', see p.9 n.33.

<sup>19</sup> See pp.1–2, above.

The Song of Songs provided Heloise with many images in which corporeal love could be disguised as celestial. So 'the king had now gone to his bed, and my scent of spikenard suffused the air: I came into the garden into which he had descended, but he had gone, he had already turned away'.<sup>20</sup> With these words, the opening of 'Rex in accubitus', Heloise could express a longing for her damaged lover in one of his own characteristic rhythms, casting herself as Mary Magdalen, searching for her Lord at the tomb: 'through the night I seek him, turning hither and thither; but I find him not'.<sup>21</sup> There is even a mention of the 'jealous guards' which may be a jarring memory of Abelard's attackers. The Magdalen to whom Jesus appeared was the Marcan one, out of whom he had cast seven devils (Mark 16:6).<sup>22</sup> It would have suited Heloise to have this contrite undertone to her exultant song; as in the letters, she is all penitent tears to the world, but her innermost thoughts are unrepentant, here expressed in the sensuous words of the biblical wedding-song.

We have one source for the play, but more than one for the sequence, which quotes the hexasyllabic opening of the play. For this, 'Epithalamica', the earliest MS is Nevers, but, as is evident in Ex.6.1, a later source from Le Puy indicates that by the time the Nevers scribe copied the sequence it had been subjected to a treatment such as that meted out to the tune of 'O quanta qualia' (compare Ex.1.6 and Ex.1.8). In the following example (overleaf), the Vic reading is given in the first line of each system; the second lines show the readings of the Le Puy and Nevers MSS.

The Vic reading probably represents Heloise's first thoughts for the tune: it will be noted that it is in the C-tone. Versions (ii) and (iii) are taken from the sequence 'Epithalamica', into which this strophe was later incorporated. The tone of the Le Puy melody is congruent with that of (i), despite the transposition into the G-tone. The relevant section of the Nevers MS (iii) is very close in date to the time of Heloise;<sup>23</sup> nevertheless, its scribe (or, more likely, his exemplar) has already seen fit to 'modalise' the passage and, by implication, the whole sequence. This, perhaps a 'Cistercianisation' of the source from which Nevers worked, means that this secular-sounding melody is brought into the ecclesiastical embrace of the d-mode. Otherwise, the melodic outlines of Nevers are reasonably close to those of the Le Puy version.

<sup>20</sup> The Song of Songs (1:11 Latin) has 'while the king was in his bed' (*dum esset rex in accubitu suo*) tactfully translated in the KJV (1:12, = Hebrew) as 'while the king sitteth at his table'; but the context of the Hebrew (as indeed the Latin of later verses) makes clear that 'while the king lies down [beside me]: my nard gives forth its perfume' – עַד-שֶׁהַמֶּלֶךְ בְּקִסְבוֹ נָרְדִי נִתֵן רִיחוֹ: (the *ql/qual* forms have no temporal force). As Dronke points out (*Sources*, p.378) 'my nard ...' was ascribed to the Magdalen in one of Origen's homilies. Spikenard would doubtless have been part of the stock-in-trade of the 'woman who was a sinner'.

<sup>21</sup> Chapter 3 of the Song of Songs, on which this searching scene is based, was headed *Vox Mariae Magdalenae ad Ecclesiam* in the Vetus Latina version of the Bible, a tradition followed by some MSS of the later Vulgate: see Dronke, *loc. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> The Gospel reading that followed 'Epithalamica' at the Paraclete: Waddell, *OFPOrdinary*, p.31. See also Abelard, Letter VII, Hicks, pp.112–6.

<sup>23</sup> Huglo, pp.3–30.



(i) Vic

(a) Rex in ac-cu-bi-tum jam se con-tu-le-rat  
 (b) Per noc-tem i-gi-tur hunc que-rens ex-e-o

(ii) le Puy

(iii) Nev

5

(a) et me-a re-do-lens nar-dus spi-ra-ve-rat  
 (b) Vic huc il-luc tran-si-ens nus-quam re-pe-ri-o  
 (b) Ep hunc il-luc an-xi-a que-ren-do cur-si-to

6

10

(a) in or-tum ve-ne-ram in quem des-cen-de-rat  
 (b) oc-cu-runt vi-gi-les ar-den-ti stu-di-o

9

in or-tum ve-ne-ram

15

(a) at il-le tran-si-ens jam dec-li-na-ve-rat.  
 (b) quos cum tran-si-e-rim spon-sum in-ve-ni-o.

14

c

- (i) Vic, Bib. Episc. MS 105, f.58v (where the third word is spelt *acubitum*).  
 (ii) Le Puy, Bibl. du grand Séminaire 'Prosolarium Ancienais' (no number) and Grenoble, Bibl. municipale MS 4413 (for the purposes of this chapter these MSS are treated as one, though there are some differences between the two)  
 (iii) Nevers MS: BNF n a lat 3126 f.91

The sixteenth-century Le Puy source is clearly based on a much older antecedent. As Arlt has argued, it almost certainly derives from a thirteenth-century exemplar.<sup>24</sup> It provides versions for various pieces in earlier sources, as for instance the twelfth-century Limoges MS.<sup>25</sup> The Le Puy readings of 'In hoc anni circulo', 'Congaudeat ecclesia', 'Annus novus', 'Alto consilio', 'Resonemus hoc natali', and several other pieces are on a par with those of Limoges. Accordingly, the testimony of Le Puy in regard to Heloise's 'Epithalamica' should be taken seriously. Granted that there are a few possible errors (the small-note versions given above endeavour to correct putative instances), comparison with the Nevers version seems to indicate that the Le Puy reading of the 'Rex in accubitum' strophe of the sequence represents a revision of her first effort, found at the opening of the Vic drama.

<sup>24</sup> Wulf Arlt, 'The Office for the Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy', *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Fassler and Baltzer. Oxford, 2000, pp.324-43.

<sup>25</sup> BNF lat 1139, for which see Gillingham (though 1139 has *Agnus* for *Annus*).

Musically, her predilection for repeated notes, somewhat insistent in her earlier play, is tempered in the later sequence (see bars 3-4 = 11-12). Textually, the (b) repetition of bars 5-8, *huc illuc transiens ...*, was changed to *hunc illuc anxia ...*.<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere in the sequence, the Le Puy scribe or his exemplar took it upon himself to alter the order of some of the phrases, and to add an otiose 'Hec dies' section at the end; here, the Nevers readings are patently correct. Thus, the musical testimony of Le Puy is not necessarily unimpeachable; but neither is that of Nevers, which has several demonstrable garblings in both music and texts, as discussed later; so Heloise's intentions are not always entirely clear to us.

After the sensual introduction of this drama, heavy with the cloying scent of spikenard, Mary Magdalen comes upon him whom she first supposes to be the Gardener (*ortolanus*) but who later reveals himself as the risen Lord. Indeed, her play might originally have been called *Ortolanus*, but was converted by the meddling Vic scribe into a *Peregrinus* drama, as detailed in a moment. When Heloise's Christ-Gardener first appears, he repeats the Angel's question 'Woman, why weepst thou?' This continuation is expressed in a seemingly conventional way, incorporating an apparently biblical text, together with an excerpt from 'Dic nobis Maria' (part of the sequence 'Victime paschali'), a usage seen in many later liturgical dramas. Before this point, however, the Vic scribe had ceased to notate the music (it fails after the syllables *Si tu sus[tulisti]*).

Despite the conventional appearance of the latter part of this drama, it appears to be the earliest instance of the fusion of this sequence with the Resurrection scene, which, moreover, is distinctively handled. This is the very beginning of a trend. Other details are also remarkable. We have the first, and moreover comparatively rare, instance where the Gardener is named as one of the *dramatis personae*. Although later plays take up the Johannine theme and use the 'Maria-Rabboni' dialogue that attends the eventual recognition of Jesus, the mistaken *Ortolanus* is perhaps implied, but not specified in these later plays. It is striking, too, that Heloise's Magdalen says 'Rabboni! Rabboni! *Magister!*', a unique reading whose allusion to Master Peter could hardly be more plain.<sup>27</sup> After this scene, the Magdalen moves over to the disciples, whose 'Dic nobis Maria' elicits the response 'Sepulchrum Christi viventis', telling of the risen Christ.

What the later plays did not imitate, however, was the identification of the crucified Christ as the dead Bridegroom, to my knowledge an exegesis confined to Heloise and Abelard. Her Gardener play was so remarkable that the Vic scribe seems to have had considerable difficulty in understanding it. He inserted a nonsensical *Non est hic surrexit* in the middle of the 'Dic nobis Maria' segments, and tried to turn the piece into a *Peregrinus* drama for Easter Monday, by tacking on an additional passage at the end. Hence his title *Versus de peregrino*, which was unlikely to be Heloise's. Her original *Ortolanus* drama would have ended either with the *Te Deum* (as in most 'Dic nobis' dramas) or with the Magnificat, if it was performed at Vespers. The latter possibility is suggested by one or two instances, notably the Beauvais *Peregrinus* drama of about the same date,<sup>28</sup> the Vic scribe's attempt to locate the drama at the end of Lauds is eccentric, however. After the 'Dic nobis' he inserts a Benedictus antiphon 'Qui sint hii sermones', which mentions the Cleophas incident. The Benedictus itself is cued by the *Euouae* which follows, and would have indicated the tone of the ending of the Gloria, and therefore of the Canticle, had the scribe provided any music.

The play is not entirely satisfactory, even allowing for the interventions of the scribe. The incoherence of the Vic play is not helped by his having lost enthusiasm towards the end, failing to register the music for the second half of the piece: as it stands, its dissolution climbs to bathos. As to the spelling *ortolanus*, it is one of the clues to the lineage of the various dramas that include the Gardener as a character in the play. The dropped aitches of the Vic text may not be due to the scribe: they occur in several dramas that appear to be descended from Heloise's. More tellingly, the unscriptural spelling of *ortulanus* with a Graecising *o* rather than the Latin *u* is found in three of these dependent dramas.<sup>29</sup> This curiosity seems to stem from Heloise herself.

The Gardener play was, I think, her first essay as a liturgical dramatist. Heloise might have recognised the inadequacies of this drama, and abandoned it after its first performance. However, she kept 'Rex in accubitum', its bold opening, to work up into something else at a later date. Meanwhile, her next attempt as a playwright was the Three

<sup>26</sup> There are also lines of dialogue in the play that interrupt the text as seen in the sequence.

<sup>27</sup> The threefold iteration of *Maria!*, the addition of *quem queris?* to the first *quid ploras?* and various other details, appear to be traceable to Heloise. See chapter 9. A later hand altered *Magister* to *rabon[n]i* in the Vic MS: see Dronke, *Plays*, p.100.

<sup>28</sup> BNF n a lat 1064, f.8 whose opening rubric is *in secunda feria pasche ad vespas*.

<sup>29</sup> Palermo, Barking and Fleury. Egmond has *ortulanus*, as does a marginal note to the Resurrection drama CB \*15 (*Et induat vestem ortulani*). Klosterneuburg has *in specie hortulani*. See chapter 9.

Marys, an altogether more ambitious play. Both dramas were copied into the Vic MS, though their order was reversed, according to the scribe's conception of their place in the liturgical calendar.

In *The Three Marys at the Sepulchre*, she adapted the traditional 'Quem queritis in sepulchro?' dialogue, but introduced it with 'Ubi est Christus, meus dominus ...?' (virtually unparalleled elsewhere), a phrase which uncannily echoes the plangent 'Ubi est amor ...?' in her last letter of the early series (112a).<sup>30</sup> Heloise might have known the *Sponsus* drama from Limoges, or a relative,<sup>31</sup> which may have given her the idea of introducing the *mercator*, now a spice-Merchant. This character, however, is a signal innovation: it is also notable that the dodecasyllabic pattern of the 'Omnipotens' stanzas towards the beginning of the *Three Marys* drama were borrowed by a whole tranche of Easter plays, as was recognised by Meyer,<sup>32</sup> though he was unaware that this was one of the many innovations due to Heloise. It should nevertheless be emphasised that the use of this rhythm outside the Easter plays was independent: for example, the decasyllabic items in the Beauvais Play of Daniel (probably written more than twenty years after Heloise's plays) have connexions with the Lazarus and St Paul dramas from Fleury (both couched entirely in this prosody) and with many other later plays. Outside the Easter dramas, the decasyllabic rhythm has to do with the rhythmic propensities of the goliardic repertory in general.

The dodecasyllabic rhythms of the questing Marys in the Vic drama have their counterpart in the Limoges *Sponsus* – both have comparable passages with refrains. It is difficult to imagine that Heloise did not know the earlier play, whose main rhythm is echoed in her own drama; it is likewise hard to contemplate that the image of waiting for the Bridegroom, central to the Limoges *Sponsus*, was not in her mind when she began her *Three Marys*. The identification of Christ as Bridegroom, unexampled in other dramas apart from her *Gardener* play, is here sublimated (as suggested for instance, by the love-compact mentioned in the next paragraph); as in the *Ortolanus*, she arrogated to herself the part of the Magdalen. In the *Three Marys*, however, the role was a far bolder one, around which she constructed an Easter drama of notable originality.

In this work, besides the word *dolor*, often found in her early and late letters, a telling hallmark is the phrase

dilecto magno federe

from 'Tanta sorores gaudia', in the same rhythm as Abelard's St Denis hymn and of the strophe 'Saul regum fortissime' from his *planctus* 'Dolorum solatium'. Heloise's use of *dilecto* in the sense of 'darling' in the early letters (e.g. 7, 62) is paralleled by its use in the later series (see Letter II); and the love-compact, *f[lo]jedus*, is a significant word (Letters 60 and 88, the latter also referring to *dilectio*, and again in Letter II).

Peter the Venerable's letter to her after Abelard's death implies the Magdalen connexion with Heloise, as was seen at the end of chapter 1; but more significant still, he tells her in the same passage that 'your skill sent new turns of melody to the very ears of God'. This *novi modulaminis melos* may be something metaphorical, of course; but as Peter has already held forth on many of her other gifts, and has made direct reference to one of Abelard's Paraclete hymns, it seems more natural to interpret this carefully constructed phrase literally. Clearly, Peter the Venerable was aware of her skills as an original melodist (and apparently in the modern sense of 'composer' rather than in its mediæval meaning, having to do with what we would regard as adaptation): this genuine originality is evinced in the 'Epithalamica' and the *Three Marys* drama, either or both of which he might have known.<sup>33</sup>

If the Magdalen of the *Gardener* drama was Marcan, so was that of the *Three Marys*, who come to the tomb with sweet spices, so that they might anoint Jesus' body. In the minds of the Argenteuil sisters the Magdalen was doubtless the 'woman in the city' of Luke 7:36 'which was a sinner' and 'brought an alabaster box of ointment'. The connexion is not

<sup>30</sup> The chronology of letters 112–13 has been questioned by Barbara Newman in her review of Mews, *LLL*, published in *The Medieval Review*, an electronic journal (<http://www.hti.umich.edu/t/mr/>), in December 1999. Her contention is that these letters were misplaced by Johannes de Vepria, and are actually the *first* letters of the correspondence, not the last. Letter 112a was her last letter, however (or part of it): see p.149, below.

<sup>31</sup> BNF lat 1139, f.53, on which see Excursus I at the end of this chapter. The text may be seen in Dronke, *Plays*, p.3. Here and henceforward, it should be assumed that a more detailed discussion of this and other liturgical dramas is to be found in chapter 9.

<sup>32</sup> Wilhelm Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*. Berlin, 1901.

<sup>33</sup> A laudatory distich by Petrus Pictavensis is printed in *AH* 48, p.234, which calls him *musicus*; the following pages of *AH* have sequences and other forms (hymns, responds and antiphons) written by Peter the Venerable. His 'Orbis totus, unda lotus' is in the Nevers MS, just before the sequences and *planctus* of Heloise and Abelard. This 'Peter of Poitou' was Peter the Venerable's secretary and went on to be chancellor of Paris.

made in the Gospels, but belonged to a later tradition, as the scholar Heloise would have known;<sup>34</sup> nevertheless, she might have been content publicly to weep with apparent contrition, but inly to ruminate on love's remembrances. This time, her dramatic gifts had come to fruition, however, and she was able to act out her feelings in memorable style.

Had Abelard been sent a copy of this play, he might not have relished its undertones. Whatever the shared appreciation of the amatory nature of the *Song of Songs* in their early letters, we have seen that he was at pains to retreat into its allegorical interpretation in his later writings. As to Mary Magdalen, his hymns for her (96 and 97) paint her as *peccatrix* and *penitentum*; Letter VIII and his sermons portray her as a widow of the church.

It is difficult to assess the significance of many chance allusions in the later letters which might, or might not, refer to various compositions. There are references to Jephthah and the weeping women at the tomb in Letter III, echoed in Letter VII, where Mary Magdalen is specifically mentioned, together with Miriam and her *tympanum*;<sup>35</sup> these can be seen as alluding to *planctus*, play and hymn. The most curious of these instances is at the end of Letter III, mentioned earlier, where Abelard describes the incident of the women bringing precious ointments, keeping watch at the tomb and weeping at the death of the Bridegroom; he goes on to say 'as it is written' (*sicut scriptum est*) 'the women sitting at the tomb were weeping and wailing for the Lord'. The notion of Christ as the dead Bridegroom is hardly biblical, as already noted; nor are the words *Mulieres sedentes* ... . Although Abelard might plausibly have mistaken this wording as being from the Gospels (on the contrary, it comes from the Benedictus antiphon for Lauds of Holy Saturday, as pointed out by Betty Radice), the passage looks suspiciously like a reference to the *Three Marys* drama: the *Mulieres sedentes* phrase might even be a near quotation from the original rubric at the beginning of that drama. It is curious that the same passage is passed off as scripture, together with a similar reference to the dead Bridegroom, in Letter V.<sup>36</sup>

How Heloise's play arrived at the Tyrol, where it formed the basis of the remarkable Passion Play found in the *Carmina Burana*, is discussed in chapter 9. The *Carmina Burana* extract from the *Three Marys* does not include the very opening of Heloise's play, nor the 'Tanta sorores' lines: this is true also of the versions from Tours, Origny and so on. So the Vic play, although clearly worked over by its scribe, is our only witness to the first lines of the drama, 'Eamus mirram emere'. Unfortunately, our meddling scribe does not even specify the characters to whom these words belong, and the music is evidently corrupt. The melody, as it stands in Vic and without a rhythmic interpretation, is given below.

Ex.6.2



To restore the outlines of the original melody is as problematic as the question of rhythm. Assuming that the item was originally supposed to be rhythmic (as the isosyllabism and rhymes suggest), the rhythmic scheme implied by 'Tanta sorores' could be applied to these lines, but would fail to satisfy the differing cadential accents of *aromate* and *sepulture*. This concern for the cadence appears to have exercised Abelard, as was seen in the first chapter; his hymns do not seem to envisage the kind of cadential clash exhibited here. Yet in a basic mode 2 rhythm, the reconciliation of the apparent anacalasis of 'Saul regum fortissime' at the beginning of its lines (Ex.1.5) could be continued into the cadence: such a device is used in some mode 2 melodies in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso el Sabio where the cadences are alternately acute and grave.<sup>37</sup> Though apparently forsworn by Abelard, might this experiment in rhythmical Latin prosody be reckoned as one of Heloise's innovations?

The botched melody of the Vic copyist (or, less likely, his exemplar) is attributable to this difficult prosody: he sought to reconcile the accentuation of *aromate* and *sepulture* by altering the melodic outline of the cadence, and, for good

<sup>34</sup> See Mews, p.104, below.

<sup>35</sup> Letter III, Hicks pp.55 and 60; Letter VII, Hicks pp.112–20 and 130.

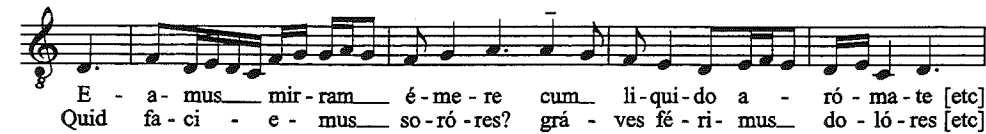
<sup>36</sup> Hicks p.72: 'De quarum viduarum luctu super occisum earum sponsum scriptura commemorat dicens: *Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur flentes domininum*': see Radice p.151 and, for Letter III, p.125.

<sup>37</sup> See TEOC, Ex.2.18.

measure, tampered with *eamus* and *valeamus* at the beginning of the lines. The fact that the tune is reminiscent of the d-mode antiphon formula<sup>38</sup> encouraged him to assume a free chant-rhythm and apply the kind of modifications familiar to him from psalmodic practice.

Later in the drama, the lines 'Quid faciemus sorores?' occur: these and its following couplets are without music. In common with his counterpart of the Limoges Sponsus drama, the Vic scribe would assume that the reader would link these lines with a tune given previously. The stanza structure clearly shows (*pace* Anglés, Dronke and others) that the melody of the opening lines should be recapitulated. In Ex.6.3, the 'Quid faciemus sorores?' text is given below that of the opening 'Eamus'. This reconstruction of the tune is necessarily speculative: the outlines of Ex.6.2 have been arbitrarily restored to some sort of order, and a possible rhythmic scheme imposed.

Ex.6.3



E - a - mus mir - ram é - me - re cum li - qui - do a - ró - ma - te [etc]  
 Quid fa - ci - e - mus so - ró - res? grá - ves fé - ri - mus do - ló - res [etc]

It will be seen that this rhythm reconciles the cadential accents of 'Quid faciemus' (e.g. where the penults of *soróres/dolóres* have to be matched with the antepenults *séculis/símilis*, on a par with *émere/arómate*). Although this procedure may not have appealed to Abelard, it has to be remembered that a similar type of cadential anacalasis was seen in 'Sic mea fata' (Ex.3.3), a lyric that might possibly emanate from his 'School'.

After the 'Eamus' opening, the Three Marys continues with a sequence of stanzas beginning 'Omnipotens pater altissime'. This prosodic pattern is that of the significant decasyllabic rhythm of the 'School of Abelard' poems quoted in chapter 3, and familiar from several cycles of Abelard's Paraclete hymns. The Vic melody for the opening 'Omnipotens' stanza is probably corrupt, an attempted gilding of the lily: the alterations go against the melodic outlines that perfectly accommodate the agogic accents discussed in chapter 1. Vic's version for the Merchant's stanzas beginning 'Mulieres, michi intendite' is probably much nearer to the original, being much simpler, and corresponding for the most part with that seen in the Tours play (where the whole sequence of stanzas is found, with only slight adaptation) and elsewhere. The Carmina Burana neums (appearing in two different plays) seem closest to the Origny version (a translation into French). The Vic editor (it is unlikely that his exemplar was at fault), meddled again in the 'O mercator' stanza by substituting 'we shall go to anoint the wounds of Christ' for 'I shall go ...': *ibimus* for *ibo*. This change from singular to plural shows that he was trying to draw the emphasis away from the dominant role of the Magdalen towards a more collegiate participation of the three Marys. Whatever his motives, his intervention was as inept as his efforts in the Gardener drama: here, having put the prosody awry by his insertion of an extra syllable, he had to alter the music, and having done so, added a few extra curlicues to the melody, as seems to have been his wont.<sup>39</sup> A comparison between some of the extant versions of this section of the drama may be seen in Ex.6.4, opposite.

Ex.6.4



Vic (Marys)  
 Om - ni - po - tens pa - ter al - tis - si - me  
 an - ge - lo - rum rec - tor mi - tis - si - me

Tours = Vic (Merchant)  
 (Tours, 2nd) Vic

Origny  
 Pe - res... tres tous puis - sans [etc]

CB 15\*, 16\*  
 Dic tu no - bis mer - ca - tor ju - ve - nis  
 hoc un - gen - tum si tu ven - di - de - ris

Vic (all stanzas)  
 quid fa - ci - ent is - te mi - se - ri - me?

Tours  
 fa - ci - unt

Origny

16\*  
 CB dic pre - ci - um pro quan - to de - de - ris.

15\*  
 dic pre - ci - um pro quan - to de - de - ris

Vic  
 He - u quan - tus est nos - ter do - lor!

Tours  
 He - u quan - tus est nos - ter do - lor!

Origny  
 He - las! nos - tre do - leur com grans il est!  
 ver - rons () le nous ja - mais!

16\*  
 CB Heu, quan - tus est nos - ter do - lor!  
 CB do - lor nos - ter!

15\* =Egmond  
 Heu quan - tus est nos - ter do - lor!

<sup>38</sup> The opening formula resembles that of the first mode Office antiphons, and more particularly various Mass antiphons such as 'Pueri hebreorum'. The paraliturgical 'Verbum patris hodie' has affinities, as also the most well-known tune to the hymn 'Jam Christus astra ascenderat' (sung at the Paraclete to 'Jam lucis orto sidere' - see Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* I, pp.116-19). Many secular melodies such as 'Volez vous que je vous chant' in, e.g. the Chansonnier de l'Arsenal, f.314, and Machaut's virelai 'Comment qu'a moy' are of the same melody-type. These and other instances merely display resemblances to the opening, however, rather than lineage; nothing in the nature of a contrafaction can be established.

<sup>39</sup> See Ex.6.12 for the 'O mercator' reading.

The melody from Vic, Bib Episc MS 105, f.8v, has no flats throughout: variants as shown (the extra notes in the Merchant's lines 'Mulieres, mihi intendite' occur at both the first and second times). The stanza beginning 'O mercator' is corrupt, as shown in Ex.6.12. The spelling *miserime* is that of Vic.

Tours, Bib munic, MS 927, f.1v also has no flats in the signature, though the *Bb* at 'is-te' is given. The tune is the same for all stanzas, but written for the first only. In the refrain, the *cephalicus* on 'noster' is written a note lower than given here.

St-Quentin, Bib munic, MS 86, f.609, from the Abbey of Origny-Sainte-Benoîte. Here, the tune is a tone higher (flat therefore implied). This is a French version of the stanzas seen at Vic and Tours. Its refrains vary somewhat in different stanzas, one variant being shown in the example (though the first stanza has *Heu las* for *Helas*, correct in the second stanza etc.). The MS has *com* for *com*, a strange error universally followed by its editors.

CB 16\*; Carmina Burana, f.108, has *campo aperto* neums interpreted here by reference to the other MSS. The fourth Vic and Tours stanzas read as above, but CB 16\* (which only makes use of this and the following stanza) has 'Dic tu mercator nobis juvenis', probably an error. CB 15\* (the 'Resurrection Play') has 'Dic tu nobis mercator' (f.VI, but ending *dolor noster*) apparently with the variant melody shown. The spelling *ungentum* is that of CB 16\*; CB 15\* has *unguentum*.

Egmond,<sup>40</sup> 2 MSS, has the stanzas in the same key as Origny, but *quid facient iste* reads *faciemus nos*. Melodically, Egmond conforms with Tours in the repeated first strain, then with that posited for CB 16\* (=Origny; but no equivalent of *F* in bar 8). Text for 'Dic nobis' as given here.

These variants illustrate the vicissitudes of transmission, but give a distinct impression that the Origny-CB versions are close to the original.

The other main stanza form of the Three Marys is that of 'Tanta sorores gaudia', already mentioned. For this sequence of stanzas, we have to rely on the Vic scribe for the melody. Here, perhaps he is more trustworthy:

Ex.6.5

Tan - ta, so - ro - res, gau - di - a de - flo - rent in - tris - ti - ci - a  
cum in - no - cens op - ro - bri - a fert et cru - cis sus - pen - di - a

Ju - de - o - rum in - vi - di - a et prin - ci - pum per - fi - di - a

quid an - ge - mus, et qua - li - a!

After five stanzas to the same tune there follow the lines beginning 'Quid faciemus'. As may be seen, although the syllable count of the cola is that of 'Tanta sorores', the accentuation differs and, moreover, the stanzaic arrangement is entirely dissimilar:

Quid faciemus, soróres?  
graves ferimus dolóres.

What shall we do, sisters?  
We bear the burden of sorrows.

Non est, nec erit séculis  
dolor dolori símilis. ...

There is not, nay nor shall there ever be,  
any sorrow like unto our sorrow. ...

Tumbam querimus non lénto  
corpus ungamus ungento.

So seek we the tomb without delay:  
let us anoint the body with ointments.

<sup>40</sup> See J Smits van Waesberghe, 'A Dutch Easter Play', *Musica Disciplina*, 7 (1953), pp.1-37. A comprehensive survey of the Easter plays is to be found in Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinsiche Osterfeiern und Osterpiele*. 6 vols. Berlin, 1975-81. Most of the dramas mentioned here are printed in vol.5.

Manifestly, the lines move in distichs, as at the opening of the play; not only does the Vic scribe give no music for them, but again provides no rubrics that might indicate who sings the various lines (or even who *he* thinks should sing them).

As in the Gardener play, the ending is in chant style, though here the scribe provides the necessary notation. I use the phrase 'chant style' because the melodic material *resembles* that of other extant settings of these lines rather than *corresponding* to any. In the present state of knowledge it is difficult to assert that Heloise's melodies are idiosyncratic, for they might merely come from a tradition for which there is as yet no evidence. Nevertheless, various features of Heloise's melodic style are evinced by (i) the tonality and melodic outlines of the opening of the Gardener play, validated by Le Puy, and (ii) the surviving 'chant' of the later part of this play; (iii) the opening of the Three Marys which appears to pastiche the chant; (iv) her treatment of liturgical texts, and (v) her incipits of tunes for the 'Ambrosian' repertory at the Paraclete;<sup>41</sup> finally, (vi) the tonality of 'Epithalamica' in general, again, validated by Le Puy. From these instances it seems more than likely that in her treatment of paraliturgical chant, as in many other details of this nature, Heloise was a law unto herself.

When Heloise and her party of nuns had moved to the Paraclete in 1129, she had perhaps already begun to rework the 'Rex in accubitus' lines of the rejected Gardener drama into something rather different. She appears to have come across an earlier (tenth- or eleventh-century) sequence, 'Epithalamia, decantans dulcia', from Jumièges.<sup>42</sup> Coincidentally, this was couched in the Goliardic hexasyllabic rhythm that she had already employed in 'Rex in accubitus'. Though otherwise conventional, the Jumièges sequence was also founded on passages from the Song of Songs, interpreted as an Easter message. It begins:

Ex.6.6

I (a) E - pi - tha - la - mi - a de - can - tans dul - ci - a.  
(b) Cho - rus hic can - ti - cis as - sit in - mu - si - cis.

This happy chance inspired her to begin a far more elative and dramatic Easter song, 'Epithalamica dic, sponsa, cantica'; in this she was again able to express the feelings of longing for her absent bridegroom under the guise of the risen Christ as *sponsus*. The tune of Heloise's opening is quite different from that of the Jumièges sequence: although her 'Epithalamica' takes much of the imagery of this earlier sequence, it is not a contrafaction of it.

Ex.6.7

I (a) E - pi - tha - la - mi - ca dic, spon - sa, can - ti - ca;  
(b) In - tus que con - spi - cis dic fo - ris gau - di - a,  
(c) Et nos le - ti - fi - cans de spon - so nun - ti - a,  
(d) Cu - jus te re - fo - vet sem - per pre - sen - ci - a!

Both Heloise and the Jumièges sequence use phraseology from the Song of Songs: the selection and ordering of ideas can hardly be coincidental: for instance, *Adolescentule* of Heloise's second strophe is found at strophe V (*Vox adolescentule*) of Jumièges. Several key phrases of 'Epithalamia decantans dulcia' are found, in the same order, in 'Epithalamica', whose second strophe runs:

<sup>41</sup> *OPF Ordinary*, p.116ff. The question of the origins of her melodies is taken up in chapter 9.

<sup>42</sup> See Bryan Gillingham, *Secular Latin Medieval Song: An Anthology*. Ottawa, 1993, p.68. This sequence is in an 11th-cent MS (its letter notation probably places the piece in the early part of that century). Many other compositions on the Sponsus theme exist, of course, e.g. the *Speculum virginum* of Conrad of Hirsau in the early 12th cent (though the rhythmic pattern and tune of 'Audi filia' included in it have nothing to do with 'Epithalamica'). The scale of Bernard of Clairvaux' sermons on the Song of Songs dwarfed those of Abelard and became highly influential.



In montibus	hic ecce saliens	Behold, he leapeth upon the mountains,
ecce venit	colles transiliens;	Lo, he skippeth over the hills
per fenestras	ad me respiciens	He gazeth upon me through the windows
per cancellos	dicit prospiciens:	Looking through the lattice, he saith:
	<i>Amica, surge, propera</i>	Rise, my love, and hasten
	<i>columba nitens, avola!</i>	Fly away with me, my pure white dove!

This refashions phrases in the earlier sequence:

En per montes saliens	et colles transiliens (XII)
Per fenestras et cancellos	me videre voluit (XIII)

Columba mea nitida  
amica mea splendida. (XV)

Although the common phrases (and a couple of others) occur in much the same order both in the Bible and in the two sequences, the correspondences could hardly be coincidental. It is difficult to imagine that these lines might independently have been constructed from the Song of Songs. Those of 'Epithalamica' are nearer to the Song, which has *montibus transiliens colles* (8:2), and, less significantly, *per fenestras prospiciens per cancellos* (8:9); but the give-away expression is *columba mea nitida: nitens* is not paralleled in the Bible (8:14), nor are the adjectives *nitida* or *splendida*. In 'Epithalamica', these expressions have been altered from the Jumièges sequence and mingled with 8:10 (*surge propera, amica mea!*).

The second strophe of 'Epithalamica' seems to have taken several hints from the Jumièges sequence, but thenceforward the correspondences cease abruptly. It ends with the refrain *Amica, surge, propera: columba nitens, avola!*; there follows the strophe 'Rex in accubitum', after which there is no resemblance to earlier rhythmic models. In sum, therefore, although the two sequences ultimately rest upon the Song of Songs, ideas from the Jumièges sequence were also used in the opening strophes of 'Epithalamica' (I & II); 'Rex in accubitum', surviving from the Gardener drama, provided strophe III of 'Epithalamica'; but its final strophe was directly based on the Song itself, freshly interpreted.

The 'In montibus' strophe (II) has a parallel in the first stanza of one of Abelard's hymns, also beginning 'In montibus': this uses the same rhythm, the Goliardic decasyllabic, though not exclusively. In common with his other Ascension hymns employing this material, it removes the heat of passion from Heloise's interpretation of the Song of Songs, and emphasises the 'Brides of Christ' gloss upon the Canticle, the burden of several of his later letters. It is possible that Heloise borrowed from Abelard; but it seems to me more likely that Abelard was quoting from her, but guiding her words with a different emphasis. The corresponding lines are as follows:

Heloise:		Abelard (Hymn 46):	
In montibus	hic ecce saliens	In montibus hic saliens	
ecce venit	colles transiliens;	venit colles transiliens;	
per fenestras	ad me respiciens	sponsam vocat	de montis vertice
per cancellos	dicit prospiciens:	'Surge, soror,	et me jam sequere!'
	<i>Amica, surge, propera</i>		
	<i>columba nitens, avola!</i>		

It can be seen that Heloise's main rhythm is symmetrical, and her first stanza adapts the wording of the earlier sequence, *per fenestras et cancellos*, epithets that are absent from Abelard's hymn. The latter does not seem to be nearer the biblical text than either of the two sequences; and, curiously, *nitens*, one of Abelard's favoured words, seems to have been passed over.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> though *ad paternum palatium* appears in the second stanza of Hymn 46, which is surely a significant reference. Clanchy, p.165, quotes from Heloise's Letter II, in which she insists how much Abelard owes her. The notion that she was inevitably the borrower, he the lender, is further belied by his pp.169ff., where some general literary debts are detailed.

Abelard's own *planctus*, having a personal slant and not being intended for (para)liturgical use, are not mentioned in any of the extant documents relating to the Paraclete Abbey. Although of an equally personal nature, Heloise's sequences, on the other hand, were used by the nuns. 'Epithalamica' was sung at the main Mass of Easter Day, allowing her once more to celebrate her absent bridegroom in a manner that would have been disavowed by the post-*Calamitatum* Abelard. Whether or not the Three Marys drama had any place in the Easter celebrations at the Paraclete Abbey is difficult to gauge. The absence of any reference to liturgical drama in the records of the Paraclete has already been noted; but this may simply mean that such performances were dropped at a comparatively early date; indeed, the references at the end of Abelard's Letter III and in Letter V are highly suggestive: granted that the Gardener play had probably been abandoned by Heloise, it is difficult to imagine that her masterpiece would have been cast aside in the same way.

The Nevers version of 'Epithalamica', though providing the better text, appears to have been tampered with musically, as seen in Ex.6.1, probably in conformity with the reforms of Bernard of Clairvaux: the staid d-tone has replaced the wayward C-tone in order to enfold the music within the chaste bosom of the church. The Nevers melody is sometimes less elaborate than that of Le Puy, yet not always so. Although Le Puy is textually less satisfactory (and ends with an otiose strophe, 'Hec dies', culled from a different sequence), it probably comes near to Heloise's musical intentions, as is shown by the 'Rex in accubitum' preserved at Vic.

At Le Puy, however, and doubtless earlier in the history of this transmission, the order of lines had been changed. One of these alterations (the interchange of *risi mane, flevi nocte* to *nocte flevi, mane risi*) may have been under the influence of 'weeping may endure for a night: but joy cometh in the morning' from the Psalms. Nevertheless, the shifting and re-arrangement of the phrases *Jam video quod optaveram* and *jam teneo quod amaveram* is telling: the reversal of the sentiments to 'I now hold what I had hoped for; I now behold what I had loved', plays down the more directly amatory original.<sup>44</sup>

Another quirk of the Le Puy transmission is that the Easter sequence has been transferred to the Christmas season, despite the intrusion of the 'Hec dies' passage at the end. Although this perhaps indicates that the piece had for some time remained attached to the Easter season in its earlier usages, it is not easy to determine whether the seasonal shift is attributable to a mediæval office from which the Le Puy ritual derived, or whether this happened because its sixteenth-century 'Feast of Fools' Office of the Circumcision was compiled from more than one older source.

The tonality of Heloise's 'Virgines caste' was probably as we have it, in the d-tone version of Nevers and elsewhere. The reasons for this assumption have to do with the technique of its composition. So far as can be judged from Abelard's transcribable *planctus*, he uses Lay technique, whereby he draws upon the motivic formulae common to the genre, indeed common to a particular register of mediæval composition. This is particularly notable in his *Planctus Virginum*, as pointed out by Ann Buckley in chapter 4: in common with Li Lai des Puceles, the *Planctus Virginum* makes much use of stock motives found elsewhere in Lays and other compositions. The same is true, though to a less recognisable extent, in 'Dolorum solatium'. In other words, Abelard's *planctus*, though apparently cast in sequence form, are really Latin Lays, as has been emphasised by Ann Buckley. This was a different technique from that of the sequence 'Eya, karissimi', used at the Paraclete, which is merely a contrafaction of the tune of 'Mane prima sabbatum'. 'Eya, karissimi' is therefore unlikely to be by Heloise or Abelard, for neither author appears to have employed the melodic material of a previous sequence; the rhyming technique, too, is against such an attribution.<sup>45</sup>

'Epithalamica' seems not to place much reliance on the stock clichés of the repertory. It does however display the insistent quality already noted, most obvious in the almost recitative-like technique of the 'Rex in accubitum' strophe. As may be seen in Ex.6.1, the repeated notes of the melody as Heloise appears to have written it originally for the Ortolanus drama (i) are modified, but only to a limited degree, in the later 'Epithalamica' version (ii). Moreover, the repetitious nature of the motives is still there, though to what extent is not entirely clear, for there was evidently some scribal corruption along the way.

In 'Virgines caste' the repetitious qualities are tempered somewhat. There is also a different rhythmical make-up to this sequence. 'Epithalamica' opens and closes with the Goliardic hexasyllabic, which is also the rhythm of its middle strophe, 'Rex in accubitum'. The intervening strophes are 'In montibus', in Goliardic decasyllabics, and 'Jam video': this is in a somewhat different rhythmic pattern – this strophe, perhaps alone, might derive from the common stock of Lay motives. The rhythmic pattern is 4:5 for 'Jam video', the cadences of the cola being accented proparoxytonically, whereas 'Noctem insomnem' is 5:5 (the cadences now being paroxytone and proparoxytone, by turns). In both

<sup>44</sup> Waddell, *Epithalamica*, p.263 points to the striking parallelism between *jam video-jam teneo* in the Office of St Agnes.

<sup>45</sup> See p.3, n.14, above.

segments the music of the second colon (5) is the same, as is that for the almost refrain-like 4:4 segment that follows both 'Jam video' and 'Noctem insompnem'. The accentuation of the 5:5 strophes almost certainly rules out a rhythmical Adonean interpretation. It seems likely that the rhythm was essentially that of mode 1, with strategically placed long notes. This is the interpretation adopted in the edition included in *Music from the Paraclete*.

'Virgines caste', on the other hand, has an opening whose accentuation seems to demand a rhythmic Adonean.<sup>46</sup>

Ex 6.8

I (a) Vir - gi - nes cas - te, vir - gi - nis sum - me de - cus pre - ci - nen - tes,  
 (b) Ce - te - ras quo - que con - dig - nas lau - de post hanc ve - ne - ran - tes;

II (a) Psalm - is et hym - nis can - ti - cis dig - nis si - bi col - lo - quen - tes;  
 (b) Sol - vant in is - tis de - bi - te lau - dis hos - ti - as sol - lemp - nes.

It will be noted that this interpretation might be said to wander from one rhythmic scheme to another. The reasons for this are discussed elsewhere;<sup>47</sup> it seems likely that in this style of 'antistrophic' composition a shift from one rhythm in the opening colon or cola of a line to a different one for its conclusion was not uncommon. Here, the music of the concluding colon *decus precipientes* can also be recognised in the Beauvais Play of Daniel ('Ecce rex Darius', No.24, at *metuit et patria*, and 'Regis vasa', No. 23, at *cum scripturam reseravit*),<sup>48</sup> itself couched in antistrophic style.

The matter of the *Historia de Daniel* by Abelard's pupil Hilary is discussed in chapter 9, together with its links with both the Beauvais Daniel and two related skits in the *Carmina Burana*. Yet the musical congruence noted above might merely be due to the use of a stock motive, as is shown by its appearance in different numbers of the Beauvais Play of Daniel: thus the employment of this cliché by Heloise does not necessarily imply dependence on any specific piece. Here, she uses it as a cadential motive in the first six strophes of her sequence and (transposed) in strophe VIII.

This emphasises a technical feature that is not often found in other compositions of this genre. Heloise allows one strophe to grow into another, gradually expanding the material. Here, the syllabic makeup of strophe IV gives a more insistent rhythm to the motives than hitherto:

Ex.6.9

IV (a) Post e - am ad - duc - te vir - gi - nes de - vo - te  
 (b) Ta - lis e - rat Tec - la Ag - nes et Lu - ci - a,  
 re - gi sunt ob - la - te Chris - to con - se - cra - te;  
 A - ga - thes et mul - ta vir - gi - num ca - ter - va.

It will be seen that the several repeated notes derive from a common fount of motives, in contrast to the recitative-like note-repetitions evident in 'Epithalamica'. The repeated notes of strophe VII, for instance, have to do with motives associated with rhythmic mode 3.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Note that the readings of Ex.6.8-6.10 are collated, although they principally follow the Nevers MS. For details, see the edition in MP.

<sup>47</sup> See TEOC, chapter 7; and see chapter 9, below, where the question of the formularies found in the Beauvais Play of Daniel are discussed.

<sup>48</sup> The numeration is that of the PMMS edition of *Daniel*.

<sup>49</sup> See TEOC, chapter 3.

Heloise's technique poses several problems for the modern editor. As the notation usually gives little or no clue as to the intended rhythm, the editor must look to parallels in the repertory which survive in measured notation. Lyrics whose music is thus registered are a good guide to the rhythm of those having similar melodic or prosodic propensities but which survive only with unmeasured notation.<sup>50</sup> This applies to the stanzaic style where a rhythmic scheme, once established, can generally be relied upon to be more or less consistent; but there is good reason to suppose that in the antistrophic style of Lays and sequences, a melodic germ might be modified rhythmically as part and parcel of the technique. Thus, should the phrase at *immortalem sponsum* have the same rhythm as *regi sunt oblate* in Ex.6.9 (which itself grows out of *psalmis et hymnis* in Ex.6.8); or is the melodic cell now to be treated as having a change of rhythm?

Ex.6.10

VI (a) Ho - lo - cau - stum do - mi - no of - fe - runt ex in - te - gro vir - gi - nes car - ne,  
 (b) O fe - li - ces nup - ti - e, qui - bus nul - le ma - cu - le, nul - li do - lo - res  
 (a) in - te - gre men - te, im - mor - ta - lem spon - sum e - li - gen - tes Chris - tum.  
 (b) par - tus sunt gra - ves, nec pe - lex ti - men - da nec nu - trix mo - les - ta!

'Virgines caste' has a sexual tone which is even more thinly disguised than that of 'Epithalamica'.<sup>51</sup> As in the case of 'Epithalamica', it is not unlikely that it was written in response to one of Abelard's 'Brides of Christ' diatribes: in this instance it might possibly be a rejoinder to Letter VIII, which stresses chastity. The imagery of 'he makes his bed between the breasts of virgins; he lies upon their bosoms at midday' is blatant (and also reminds us of the picture of Heloise in the *Metamorphosis Golye*, where she is portrayed as having nurtured Abelard at her breast):

- XI (a) Inter mammas virginum  
 collocat cubiculum  
 (b) In earum pectore  
 cubat in meridie

Indeed, the two clauses have been exchanged in all the later MSS that I have seen: only Nevers preserves the presumably correct order. This re-arrangement is an obvious attempt to tone down the sentiments, in a manner similar to that discussed earlier in connexion with 'Epithalamica'. This sensuous passage, and much else of the erotic language of 'Virgines caste', may be seen as a rebellion against Abelard's retreat into the Christian allegory of the Song of Songs, his attempt to distance himself from its true significance in which they had exulted so many times earlier, when they were lovers. Besides the bride 'falling asleep on the bridegroom's gentle bosom' (VIIc), there are implicit parallels between earthly marriage and heavenly nuptials: in the celestial realm there are no 'pains of childbirth', neither the 'fear of a rival lover' nor 'an interfering wet-nurse' (VIb). These apparently autobiographical phrases cannot easily be dismissed as mere coincidence.

In turn, Abelard's answer to 'Virgines caste' might once more have been in his hymns. Hymns 92-5 of Book III of the Paraclete are not titled in the MSS, but are intended *in festis virginibus*. In them, he returns to the Song of Songs, perhaps again in the folorn hope that Heloise will follow his lead in reading the book as allegory rather than as a wedding-song. Many of its phrases find parallels in 'Virgines caste': *holocaustum* (A's Hymn 92, H's strophe VI - see also Abelard's Magdalen hymn 96); *in vestitu deaurato* (94) // *aurata veste* (III); *Sertum rosis intextum et liliis* (94) // *tam rosis et liliis* (VIII) // *intexta ... sarta* (IX); and so on.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> For a detailed discussion of the matter, see TEOC.

<sup>51</sup> For Dronke's views on the content, see p.69 n.13, above.

<sup>52</sup> Strophe VI, beginning 'Lectulos harum', echoes the Song of Songs, 3:1 (*In lectulo meo ...*) which Abelard quotes in Letter V (Hicks, p.72) and which begins the Canticle which he provided for the third nocturn at Matins for Easter at the Paraclete (see Waddell, *Paraclete Breviary*, p.386).

'Virgines caste' was used on many occasions at Heloise's Paraclete; it also became very popular elsewhere, to judge by the number of sources in which it is still found. Her last sequence, 'De Profundis', is found only in four extant MSS. At the Paraclete, it was used on All Souls' Day and on the Day of Commemoration for Parents. This, and its phraseology (*Fletu Petri, sua negatio; vere paraclite*; references to 'the imprecations of the church, not a single one warranted'; to the bride and bridegroom – and much else) leaves little doubt that this is one of two elegies on Abelard's death. The other, 'Plange planctu' (whose opening words were quoted in Ex.1.3), seems to have been written by a pupil: it is a bitter polemic against the detractors of Master Peter, and takes the form of a contrafaction of what was obviously Abelard's most celebrated lament, 'Dolorum solatium', the Planctus David super Saul et Jonatha. Neither 'De profundis' nor 'Plange planctu' specifically mentions the Master's death; indeed, to later redactors, 'De profundis' seemed to be a rather general *pro defunctis*, so a spurious ending (not in Nevers – see Excursus II) was added, referring to the *defuncte*. This word being the feminine plural (classical *defunctae*), the addition was very likely made at the Paraclete or one of its dependants, some time after Heloise's own death, and when the personal references were no longer understood. 'Plange planctu' seems more exercised with the judgement of the Council of Sens in 1141 than at Abelard's death less than a year later.<sup>53</sup> Yet this obliquity is no different from that of Abelard's own *planctus* whose strong undertows belie the more gentle currents visible on the surface.

Heloise's *planctus*, for thus we may call it, is in Lay form: the melodies of strophe VI are lai-like, and its melodic repetitions (including the greater resposion bewtween strophes II/III and V) are also characteristic of the Lay technique. It is redolent with personal allusions: although some of these may be clear to us, they appear to have been veiled enough to deceive her near-contemporaries. Louise Haywood<sup>54</sup> has pointed out that female laments tend to betray a more private response to death than those written by male authors: here, the references to motherhood and other personal matters are almost in cipher. 'De profundis' is an accomplished piece; yet the Heloise that inspired a whole series of liturgical dramas, whose verse techniques influenced Walter von der Vogelweide and others, whose verbal originality, blandiloquently commented upon by Hugh Metel, influenced and even surpassed that of Abelard, and whose musical innovations were praised by Peter the Venerable; this Heloise is silent. Instead, we have the simple plaint of a bereft widow, making use of conventional phrases from the Psalms and elsewhere, albeit with consummate artistry. On the anniversary of his death of April 21, she would perhaps have sung this lament for her dead lover in private;<sup>55</sup> when it was sung publicly on All Souls' Day, she would have been thinking of her late husband; and on hearing it on Commemoration Day for Parents, she must have remembered the father of her son. It begins thus, in the significant rhythm of the Goliardic decasyllabic:

<sup>53</sup> On the date of the Council of Sens, see p.19, n.1, above.

<sup>54</sup> 'Solo yo, la mal fadada': Secular Castilian Female-Voice Laments for the Dead', *Cultural Contexts / Female Voices*, ed. L M Haywood. Papers of the Hispanic Research Seminar, 27, Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, London, 2000.

<sup>55</sup> It might also have been sung publicly on Low Sunday in Procession. On this and kindred matters, see Excursus II at the end of this chapter.

I (a) De pro - fun - dis ad te cla - man - ti - um  
 (b) Jhe - su - bo - ne com - ple quod di - xe - ris  
 (c) Con - so - la - tor, do - len - tis a - ni - me  
 (d) Fle - tu Pe - tri su - a ne - ga - ti - o

pi - e De - us ex - au - di ge - mi - tum  
 ne sit in te vox cas - sa no - mi - nis  
 ac mes - to - rum ve - re pa - ra - cli - te,  
 est de - le - ta tam bre - vi spa - ti - o

nec men - su - ram ob - ser - ves cri - mi - num  
 te pre - ser - tim cum ip - se dix - e - ris  
 quod pro - mit - tis et ex hoc no - mi - ne,  
 et la - tro - nis se - ra con - fes - si - o

ut per - fer - ri pos - sint ju - di - ci - um,  
 pro sal - van - dis ven - is - se mi - se - ris,  
 ne dif - fe - ras com - ple - re, do - mi - ne,  
 pa - ra - di - si po - ti - ta gau - di - o,

(a) (c) Pi - e De - us.  
 (b) (d) Jhe - su - bo - ne.

This is the Nevers version; as will be seen in chapter 9, this music is a direct quotation from a liturgical play, so Nevers is thereby validated, at least for the opening strophe. Heloise has used her model to memorable effect: the inexorable persistence of the opening motive conjures up a grief-stricken widow, rocking to and fro in her overwhelming sorrow; she is compulsively repeating the same phrase. It is a moving work: the plangency of the keening is unbearable, the repetition is as insistent as the tolling of the death-knell. This is the real Heloise that has lost her lover; to the world she is a successful Abbess, but in her heart (as Peter the Venerable knew, and Abelard tried to deny to himself) she was a reluctant nun to the end.

In later strophes of this *planctus* Heloise quotes phrases and motives from Abelard's 'Dolorum solatium' and from the Planctus Virginum; and what appear to be fleeting echoes of the Limoges Sponsus drama make their appearance, but this detail is seen only in Nevers, which despite the confirmed opening is elsewhere not above suspicion.<sup>56</sup> The rhythms, too, are reboant of Abelard. So the black velvet pall of her *planctus* is discreetly studded with the occasional glints of their former life together. In her grief, her only desire is for the reunion that Peter the Venerable describes: her own Peter, cherished in God's bosom, waits to be restored to her in His Grace.

Thus, in common with Abelard's *planctus*, Heloise's liturgical dramas and sequences have an autobiographical slant. Her Mary Magdalen, her Easter wedding-song and her chaste virgins champing at the bit of continence, are personifications of the girl who never renounced the feelings which she had for her teacher and lover, the father of her child, despite the attendant calamities and disasters of their lives. In her final gesture, 'De profundis', she bids adieu to this lover and resigns herself to await their reunion beyond the grave.

<sup>56</sup> The text is certainly dislocated: see Excursus II.

If this is her last musical gesture (the chances are that she wrote nothing else after Abelard's death), a suitable epitaph for the literary and musical labour of both Heloise and Abelard would be 'Requiescant a labore', the last stanza of a dirge supposedly sung by the nuns of the Paraclete to commemorate the sad love of their Founding Father and first Abbess, united in death.<sup>57</sup> Its sentiments would have appealed to Heloise, though the rhyme-scheme shows that this piece does not owe anything of its composition to her; nevertheless, Dronke thinks the poem may well be from the later twelfth century. It seems very likely that it was written by the sisters of the Paraclete.

Heloise, as we know from Peter the Venerable's letter, did not waver in her devotion to Abelard. To quote Dronke,<sup>58</sup> the letter hardly suggests 'that Heloise came to see the error of her ways in loving Abelard', contrary to the belief of many other scholars. Despite his uncompromising stance in the *Historia Calamitatum* and the later letters, opinion at the time assumed that while Abelard lived, his love still burned. The Chronicle from Tours, hardly uncritical of him, has a romantic picture of Heloise bidding her sisters place her in Abelard's tomb on her death. Later, when it was opened to receive her body, the Chronicle says that Master Peter stretched out his arms, enfolding her in his embrace.<sup>59</sup> Although this may be the stuff of a film script, it is more credible to believe that the entombment was perhaps accompanied by the nuns singing

Requiescant a labore  
doloroso et amore!  
unionem celitum  
flagitabant;  
jam intrabant  
salvatoris aditum.

Let them rest from their painful labours  
and from their love!  
they used to demand union  
with those dwelling in heaven;  
now they were entering  
into the presence of our Saviour.

### Excursus I

#### On the scribal practices of Vic and Limoges

Instances of the numerous interventions of the Vic scribe have already been noted. As Dronke has deduced from various errors, the Vic copy of the plays 'cannot be an autograph'.<sup>60</sup> Correct though this judgement may be, the claim that the plays 'had already been garbled by the time of copying' does not march with the kind of modifications made to them, and which cannot justly be attributed to the exemplar.

In the Three Marys, the scribe's failure to provide proper rubrics to indicate the characters involved in many items can be seen as a half-hearted attempt to play down the prominence of the Magdalen. This is confirmed (i) by the rubrics of his second play which, as argued earlier, was the first of the pair as they stood in his exemplar: the rubrics of this play are reasonably coherent; those of the Three Marys are by comparison vague or misleading. It is further confirmed (ii) by the inept substitution – for the same reason – of *ibimus* for *ibo* in one item, which has disastrous prosodic consequences (apparently not noticed by Dronke) and further compounded by his musical alterations. His elaborated version of the beginning of the 'O mercator' stanza may be seen in the first line of Ex.6.4. Here (without a rhythmic interpretation) is what he wrote in place of the melody of the first line of the second system:

Ex.6.12



<sup>57</sup> Dronke, *Testimonies*, pp.37–8.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p.31.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>60</sup> Dronke, *Plays*, p.89.

Comparison with its counterpart in Ex.6.4 (rhythmed, and to which the correct text, with *ibo*, easily fits) shows that the modifications he made to the music were even more intrusive than may be accounted merely to the insertion of the extra syllable. His versions of other over-elaborate melodies are doubtless suspect, too.

Prosodic ineptitude and musical alterations can be seen in many mediaeval MSS. Very often they are caused by metrical misunderstanding on the part of the scribe. The mishandling of final *-e* in the vernacular, of mistaken hiatus or ellipsis in Latin, are but two common instances. In the Limoges Sponsus drama, the scribe seems to have made musical emendations similar to those of the Vic copyist; but as will be argued, those of Limoges stemmed from a specific difficulty that confronted the scribe, whereas those of Vic were deliberate alterations either in the nature of editorial intervention or due to a technical misunderstanding of his text, which he then compounded by irresponsible emendation.

The disparities seen in the two stanzas of Ex.6.2 are another testimony to Vic's musical meddling. They arise from the differing cadential accentuation of the distichs. Rhythmically, these difficulties could have been reconciled, but the Vic scribe saw the music as plainchant and adjusted the cadences in accord with the cadential accentuation, and then felt free to make comparable adjustments earlier in the cola. This shows that he had no oral knowledge of the piece from which he would have remembered that this item was rhythmic. For the same reason, he did not shrink from adding an extra syllable and mangling the melody of 'O mercator' at *ibo tamen*: viewed as chant, such modifications were part and parcel of the chant style.

In this he had partly been misled by the Ortolanus, the first play of his exemplar. Patently, much of this was in chant style, so he assumed that the Three Marys, too, was chanted. He copied this play first, however, although he did not entirely approve of its sentiments; and the other, whose plot he could barely comprehend, was entered second, but retitled and altered.

In the Ortolanus play, one of his major alterations, acknowledged by Dronke, was an insertion after the lines

Angelicos testes  
sudarium et vestes

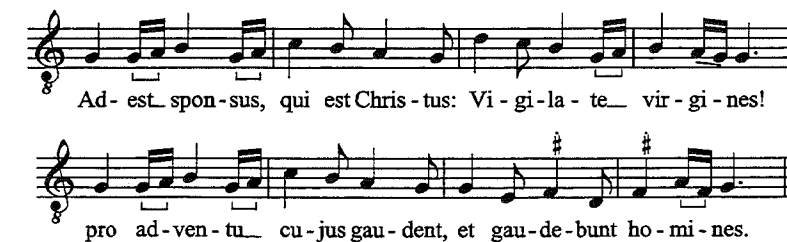
where, in a bathetic attempt to give the Angels a voice in the proceedings he added

Ang[e]li Non est hic[;] sur[r]exit sicut predixerat ub [probably indicating *vobis*]

The most intrusive alteration, as already detailed, was the addition of the Benedictus antiphon 'Qui sunt hii sermones ...' followed by the *Euouae* cue for the Benedictus itself. This was in order to convert the Gardener drama into a more conventional Peregrinus play for Easter Monday, hence the interchange in the order of the plays in his MS. Clearly, it was intended that these plays should be performed: there are additional rubrications in another hand.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, the music for the last folio (61) was not registered, so the project must have been shelved.

The Sponsus drama from Limoges has a rather different pattern of scribal alteration. Here, I think, the problem is not to be visited upon the copyist, but on his exemplar (or further back in the scribal chain). With few exceptions, his Latin stanzas make sense and are syllabically regular, as the opening stanza demonstrates:<sup>62</sup>

Ex.6.13



<sup>61</sup> Dronke, *Plays*, pp.100–2.

<sup>62</sup> for facsimile of the Sponsus, see Gillingham, f.53–55v. This item is on ff.53r–v.



The same syllabic regularity is seen in the opening stanzas of the *Fatue*, the first of which is *Nos virgines que ad vos venimus* with four more lines in the Goliardic decasyllabic, ending with the Occitan refrain *Dolentas, chativas, trop i avem dormit!*

Although the Foolish Virgins can scan their Latin, the Wise Virgins have previously begun their stanzas in an obscure dialect, which is syllabically wayward and whose sense is hardly transparent:

Oiet, virgines	aiso que vos dirum	<i>Listen, ye maidens, to what we say</i>
aiseet presen	que vos comandarum	<i>go forth at once when we shall command you</i>
atendet un espos	Jesu salvaire a nom	<i>await the bridegroom – Jesus the Saviour by name</i>
Gaire noi dormet!		<i>Beware lest ye sleep!</i>
Aisel espos que vos hor atendet.		<i>Keep ye careful watch for that bridegroom.</i>

Some of this is little short of gibberish, and the cola *Oiet, virgines* and *atendet un espos* are hypermetric, the second one wildly so. To explain this hodge-podge as due to the circumstance that a 'Limousin copyist was transcribing a vernacular not of his own region but of southwestern France'<sup>63</sup> sounds like a civil servant being evasive. It is irrational to suppose that when the *Prudentes* sing later on in Latin that the stanzas should be more or less regular, their vernacular only randomly so (and the *Fatue* get to sing some equally wayward vernacular lines later on). It will not do to describe this chaos as 'some irregularities':<sup>64</sup> this is the parliamentarian trying to excuse a political mess to the House.

It is very difficult to see why the scribe would make such a hash of copying lines in a dialect, even an unfamiliar one, of his own language. If it were reasonably comprehensible to him, he would surely have rendered it into his own diction and put the prosody and syntax into some semblance of order. That he did not make much of an attempt (and even adapted the music to fit the vagaries of the text) seems to indicate that he copied the text before him fairly accurately.<sup>65</sup> When a scribe is confronted with an incomprehensible exemplar (as with the Massorettes of earlier times looking at parts of the Hebrew Bible, or the nineteenth-century Sandys, collecting Christmas Carols, the notation of which meant little to him) he is paradoxically likely to render it with unwonted accuracy. When, in the main, he thinks he understands it, he is liable to correct it, either by an unconscious process or by deliberate working-over.

I would suggest, therefore, that it was the exemplar of the Limoges scribe that was at fault, either for a simple reason or for a more complicated one. At its simplest, the copyist of the hyparchetype took the whole thing from a live performance and misheard the vernacular lines, which were in a dialect with which he was unfamiliar; the Latin, however, he correctly transcribed, by and large. More convoluted explanations would involve some purely graphical corruptions and some aural misapprehensions that can be shown to impinge on the scribal process.<sup>66</sup>

Whatever else, the galimatias that is registered in the Limoges MS must be a far cry from the vernacular original. The most obvious explanation is that the archetype of the play, and therefore of the vernacular sections, came from a region where a distinct language was spoken, and which was unintelligible to the transcriber of the hyparchetype. The most obvious candidate, advanced some time ago by L-P Thomas, is Old French.<sup>67</sup> If the line now seen as *Oiet virgines* (five syllables, the scribe having decided that *virgines* was Latin) were originally *Oyez virgines* (four syllables) and then misunderstood, the second word being accorded extra notes in the music, we can readily see how a drop or two of confusion became a veritable flood of mistranscriptions.<sup>68</sup>

A thoroughgoing attempt at editing this play is not our purpose here; but it is obvious that a possible northern provenance for the *Sponsus* drama, rather than the southern one hitherto supposed, has a relevance to matters connected with Heloise's Three Marys drama, and indeed has considerable bearing on the origin and transmission of many materials that seem to have been known in the circle of Abelard. This will be one of the topics addressed in chapter 9.

<sup>63</sup> Avalle, *apud* Dronke, *Plays*, p.9. The second line of the refrain of 'Oiet, virgines' is misplaced by Dronke (p.14) as the first line of the second stanza: this gives a lopsided refrain and second stanza and also creates havoc with the both the music and the sense.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10.

<sup>65</sup> see Gillingham, f.54.

<sup>66</sup> See TEOC, p.167.

<sup>67</sup> L-P Thomas, *Le "Sponsus". Mystère des Vierges sages se des Vierges folles*. Vendôme, 1951. Thomas' views on the vernacular content of the drama have either been studiedly disregarded or dismissed out of hand. My colleagues Professors Peter Ricketts and David Trotter, however, regard the 'Occitan' provenance of the lines as unlikely and a Norman-French *Vorlage* as decidedly more probable.

<sup>68</sup> In Old French the words *dirum* and *comandarum* would rhyme with *nom*, which in Occitan they would not. Thomas' emendation of *un espos* to *Sponsus* will not do, but neither will *atendet un espos*.

## Excursus II

### Low Sunday at the Paraclete Abbey; 'De profundis'

Fr Waddell's analysis of the Low Sunday procession at the Paraclete is to be found on pp. 134–7 of *OFF*, the text of the Ordinary being found on pp.33–4 of the *OFF Ordinary*. On p. 137 of *OFF* he shows, I think conclusively, that Abelard died on 21 April 1142, when Easter Tuesday fell on that day. Thus, the peculiarity of a special procession to the cemetery, with the seven penitential psalms and so on, is explained by this event. That the procession started in the *petit moustier*, the original chapel that Abelard built for his Paraclete and which Heloise inherited, is obviously significant; but I would go further than Fr Waddell and surmise that the curious choice of Terce was hardly coincidental: if Abelard died at about nine in the morning this would have been remembered by whomsoever brought the news to Heloise as occurring at the Third Hour. Furthermore, she may have received these melancholy tidings from Brother Thibaud of Cluny on Low Sunday itself. When Peter the Venerable returned from Spain in 1144, he brought Abelard's body to the Paraclete and celebrated Requiem Mass on 16 November, on the occasion of its reburial there in the *petit moustier*.<sup>69</sup>

As Waddell notes, the incipit of one of the penitential psalms is omitted from the *OFF Ordinary*. This oversight is easily explained by the fact that it ('Domine exaudi' – 142 Latin Psalter = 141 Heb. and Eng.) starts in the same way as a previous 'Domine exaudi' (101L = 102). The psalms were sung in pairs at various stations, beginning, as we have seen, in the *petit moustier*; the final pair mentioned was sung in the cemetery-garth according to Waddell (101L = 102 & 129L = 130). This last is 'De profundis'. It seems to me to be a strong possibility that the psalm omitted from the *Ordinary*, (142L = 141) was also sung as part of a pair in Heloise's day, its companion having the title 'De profundis', but in this instance indicating her *planctus* of the same name. Thus, what should have been the final 'Domine exaudi' and 'De profundis' were omitted by the scribe of the *Ordinary* (or his exemplar) thinking it to be a dittography. It is worth noting that Heloise used 'Consolator', the third versicle of this sequence (see Ex.6.11 (c)), in the formulary for the reception of a death notice (*OFF Ordinary*, p.107).

The Nevers MS is the earliest we have for Heloise's sequences; its relationship with the other sources is often complex, as may be seen in *Music from the Paraclete*, where some technical matters are discussed in more detail. Despite its chronological priority, Nevers has to be viewed with some caution. Comparison of its readings of Abelard's 'Dolorum solatium' and with the Vatican and Oxford versions (see p.9, n.33, above) shows affinity between the two latter as against Nevers. In itself this proves very little, but the Vatican has the text and neums for all six of Abelard's *planctus*, and has every appearance of being close to him. 'Epithalamica', as we have seen, has the better text and musical outlines in Nevers, though the C-tone registered in Le Puy and Vic is evidently correct, as against Nevers. It gives the best text for 'Virgines caste', too, but some of the musical variants found elsewhere seem to be simpler and perhaps more authentic.

For 'De profundis', none of the extant MSS is satisfactory. By and large Nevers is to be regarded as the best text, but there is at least one place where there is manifest corruption. As will be discussed in chapter 9, the Nevers neums of the opening, with a few variants, are remarkably similar to those given in the Fleury Playbook for the Three Daughters drama (closely followed by Troyes and, apparently, by the *campo aperto* neums of Zurich).<sup>70</sup> This makes it a credible witness. Yet in Nevers, strophe II, 'Sumus quidem' is not followed by the repeat of the versicle, 'Confitentes'. Instead, it is followed by III, 'Non nobis', to a new melody, then 'Confitentes'. Zurich, Sitten (Sion), Troyes and Le Mans confirm the correct order but also add 'Nomen tuum', as a repeat versicle of the 'Non nobis' section. Troyes, Zurich and Sitten give the same music for strophes II and III (with the additional versicle 'Nomen tuum'); Sitten (which has shown itself less than reliable in the first strophe), alters 'Non nobis, Christe' to 'Non nobis, domine', and therefore has to modify the melody; it then has further difficulty in fitting 'Nomen tuum' to it: despite having the same number of syllables as II, the Sitten scribe altered the music yet again. It seems from this that the hyparchetype of all of these MSS was faulty, and that originally strophe II had three successive lines of text, the third being 'Nomen tuum'. The faulty exemplar caused Nevers to omit this line and to misorder 'Confitentes'; the logical but incorrect assumption that 'Nomen tuum' should follow on from 'Non nobis' was made by the exemplar of Troyes, Zurich and Sitten. These three MSS had already spurned the

<sup>69</sup> See Letters 115 and 167, Constable (Radice pp.277 and 285).

<sup>70</sup> In addition to Nevers MS (BNF n a lat 3126, ff.87–88v, 12th-cent), the following sources are here considered: Troyes (MS 721, f.145, 12th-cent, defective); Zurich (Zentralbibl. MS C 63, ff.152–152v, 13th-cent) can be read by reference to Sitten (Chapter MS 49, olim 66, ff.63v–65v, 14th-cent); Le Mans (Bibl. mun. MS 223, ff.224r–v, 15th–16th-cent, from Nantes) has no music.

differing melody of 'Non nobis', and set this and 'Non nobis' to the melody of strophe II. Bearing in mind that the 'Non nobis' segment is prosodically different from the rest, it seems that Nevers was correct as to its melody, but incorrect in regard to its order (and also omitted a versicle from II); the missing versicle, though not in the correct position, is to be seen in Troyes, Zurich and Sitten. So a series of wrongs make some kind of a half-right.

At the end, Zurich and Sitten ignore the melody of strophe VIII and treat the last lines as though they were repeats of the melody of strophe VII (Sitten also adds a spurious Amen). Nevertheless, in common with Nevers, they do not take the reference to the Founder, *Fletu Petri sua negatio*, as applying to the Apostle as with the *Fletu Petri trina negatio* of Le Mans and Troyes; nor do they add the bogus ending of Le Mans.<sup>71</sup>

Collocate in supernis  
sint defuncte iste ...

Let these departed [sisters]  
be gathered together in heaven ...

In sum, therefore, Nevers is our first port of call in establishing the text and music of these sequences; but we should not sail blindly into it, nor entirely ignore what is charted in the other MSS, for none is without error.

Hearing Mediaeval Voices: Heloise and *Carmina Burana* 126

JUANITA FEROS RUYS

THERE are good reasons, both historical and methodological, why the ascription of an anonymous mediæval text to a known author is rarely attempted. It is not that scholars on the whole disbelieve the proposition that some anonymous mediæval texts may have been written by a figure known to us from history. Bernard Bischoff points out that nearly all the songs in the *Carmina Burana* are anonymous, 'yet from the parallel textual transmission and from a careful examination of the style and metrical forms one can conclude that almost all the famous poets are represented here.'<sup>1</sup> Michael Clanchy raises the possibility that Abelard's poems 'could be concealed among the numerous anonymous pieces recorded in the *Carmina Burana*',<sup>2</sup> and John Marenbon assents that 'some plausible conjectures have been made'.<sup>3</sup> Yet advancing from the general idea of Abelardian authorship to a specific instance of ascription remains difficult. As Sir Stephen Gaselee declared in his introduction to *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*: 'I think it possible that Peter Abaelard may have written one or two of the *Carmina Burana*, but I cannot prove it.'<sup>4</sup>

Part of the problem is that ascription involves to some extent an act of intuitive scholarship and that there is, and has been for some time, a suspicion within the discipline of Mediæval Studies of such forms of scholarship. In order to establish and justify its place within the academy, Mediæval Studies had to regulate its methodologies and practices, sacrificing to the greater cause of academic rigour all nineteenth-century forms of Romantic historiography.<sup>5</sup> These included the idea of a connexion between scholar and subject and the notion of 'hearing' mediæval voices in a reading of works from the Middle Ages. In 1931, P S Allen had argued that it was indeed possible to distinguish individual voices amongst anonymous mediæval Latin poetry: 'I deny that medieval Latin poetry is always deficient in that particular intonation which makes a Shelley's voice differ from a Leopardi's, which cause Petrarch's sonnets to Laura to be quite distinct from Sidney's sonnets for Stella.'<sup>6</sup> Yet his ascription to Abelard of eight quite disparate poems from the *Carmina Burana*, arguing not from metre, rhythm, rhyme or theme, so much as from his own personal ear for Abelard's distinctive voice, provided an example to succeeding generations of mediævalists of the dangers inherent in subjective scholarship.<sup>7</sup> In 1984, Paul Zumthor, although not disputing the manifold benefits of a discipline founded on academic rigour, argued nevertheless for a reconsideration of empathetic and subjective modes of scholarship: 'Just as important as mastery of the techniques of philology and textual analysis, the ideal task of the medievalist would be to convince himself of the incomparable properties of the human voice; to develop a sensitivity to them; or better still, to live them.'<sup>8</sup> Yet the taint which the term 'voice' still bears into the twenty-first century is evinced by the debate over Constant Mews' ascription, in *LLL*, of the *Epistolae duorum amantium* to Abelard and Heloise in which it recurs, with claims of a Romantic hankering for 'the voice of Heloise' alleged by the detractors of the ascription and denied by its defenders.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *CBfac*: Einführung ... pp.23-4.

<sup>2</sup> Clanchy, p.133; see also p.174.

<sup>3</sup> *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard*. Cambridge, 1997, p.79.

<sup>4</sup> Oxford, 1928, corr.<sup>8</sup>1937, p.xi.

<sup>5</sup> See Lee Patterson, 'On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History, and Medieval Studies', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), pp.87-108, esp. p.102.

<sup>6</sup> *Medieval Latin Lyrics* (henceforward *MLL*). Chicago, 1931, pp.244-5. Allen was specifically arguing against the opinion expressed by John Addington Symonds that 'The personality of the writer disappears in nearly all the *Carmina Vagorum*. Instead of a poet with a name, we find a type... The emotions to which popular poetry gives expression are generic rather than personal', *Wine, Women, and Song*, London, 1884, <sup>8</sup>1931, pp.28-9.

<sup>7</sup> *MLL*, p.244.

<sup>8</sup> 'The Text and the Voice' (trans. Marilyn C Engelhardt), *New Literary History*, 16 (1984), pp.67-92, at pp.67, 68 and 73.

<sup>9</sup> See Giles Constable, 'The Authorship of the *Epistolae duorum amantium*: A Reconsideration' and C Stephen Jaeger, 'A Reply to Giles Constable', forthcoming in *Voices in Dialogue: New Problems in Reading Women's Cultural History*, ed. Linda Olson and

<sup>71</sup> Troyes has only the first part, failing after *Sumus quidem quod unguentum*; but as it is headed *de mortuis* it is quite likely to have included the Le Mans ending.

Recent work on the nature of intuitive scholarship may resolve this impasse. Peter Groves' work on the history of editing Chaucer's and Shakespeare's metre has demonstrated that what may appear to be 'intuitive' editing practices, that is, practices relying on the subjective 'ear', can also represent an editor's literary competence attained by a thorough immersion in and understanding of the metrical code in question.<sup>10</sup> 'Intuition' thus becomes another name for a scholar's subconscious recognition of objective rules. As Groves says: 'Intuition ... though in most fields it appears to be a worryingly unstable and subjective epistemological foundation, represents where language-systems are concerned, as modern linguistics has shown, the way in which our complex but tacit and perhaps inarticulate knowledge of the systems of rules that constitute them emerges into consciousness.'<sup>11</sup> If these observations are applied to the practice of ascription, then scholars need no longer dissemble the intuitive aspect of the ascription process. What might once have been dismissed as a romantic 'hearing of mediæval voices' could instead be recast as a literary and linguistic rapport with an author, language and period which the scholar has developed from long study. Then, to adapt a metaphor from Virginia Woolf, the rainbow of intuition can be blended with the granite of philology in a way which allows ascription to become (or become again) a valid academic practice.

### CB 126: 'Huc usque, me miseram'

This poem is written in the voice of a young woman. She has become pregnant outside marriage and is now an object of gossip and finger-pointing within her village community. To make matters worse, her boyfriend has fled from this provincial outpost into France to avoid the calumny and anger generated. I suggest here that this poem was written by Heloise when she was pregnant in Brittany awaiting the birth of her son Astralabe.

In most modern editions, this poem consists of thirteen three-line stanzas. There has long been dispute over whether the additional strophe and refrain with which the poem commences in CB (the sole source) form part of the poem or are an inappropriate accretion. This additional strophe and refrain will be discussed below; it should be noted, however, that due to this alternative incipit, particularly in older editions, the poem is known not as 'Huc usque' but as 'Tempus instat floridum'. The text of the poem is as follows.<sup>12</sup>

0.	Tempus instat floridum, cantus crescit auium, tellus dat solatium.  Eya,      qualia sunt amoris gaudia.	<i>The time of blooming presses urgently on, the song of birds swells, the earth gives solace.  Ah! such as these are the joys of love.</i>
1.	Huc usque, me miseram, rem bene celaueram <sup>13</sup> et amaui callide.	<i>Up till now, wretched me, I had concealed the matter well and I loved cunningly.</i>
2.	Res mea tandem patuit nam uenter intumuit; partus instat grauide.	<i>My situation at last stood revealed for my belly swelled; childbirth presses heavily on.</i>

Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Notre Dame University Press). Also Peter von Moos, 'Abaelard, Heloise und ihr Paraklet: ein Kloster nach Mass, zugleich eine Streitschrift gegen die ewige Wiederkehr hermeneutischer Nativität', forthcoming in *Individualität und Religiosentum*, ed. Gert Melville.

<sup>10</sup> 'Water From the Well: The Reception of Chaucer's Metric', *Parergon*, 17 (2000), pp. 51-73; 'A Sign-Painter Mending a Claude': Shakespeare's Pentameter and the Editors', currently unpublished, presented as a paper entitled 'Textual Metamorphoses' at the ANZAMEMS conference, July 2001. My thanks to Dr. Groves for making a copy of this paper available to me.

<sup>11</sup> 'A Sign-Painter Mending a Claude'.

<sup>12</sup> Transcribed from *CBfac* f.52v. Unless otherwise stated, I follow the MS spelling here. For a bibliography of the debate over the additional strophe and refrain see *CB*, I.2, p.210. Note also that in older editions of the *Carmina Burana* the poem is numbered not 126 but 88. All translations of 'Huc usque' herein are mine.

<sup>13</sup> All editors emend MS *zelaueram* to *celaueram*; so also MS *asperæ* to *aspere* in stanza 4.

3.	Hinc mater me uerberat, hinc pater improperat; ambo tractant aspere.	<i>For this my mother beats me, for this my father reproaches me; both treat me harshly.</i>
4.	Sola domi sedeo: egredi non audeo nec inpalam ludere.	<i>I sit at home alone: I do not dare to go out nor to sport openly.</i>
5.	Cum foris egredior a cunctis inspicior quasi monstrum fuerim.	<i>When I go outdoors I am examined by all as if I were a marvel.</i>
6.	Cum uident hunc uterum, alter pulsat alterum; silent dum transierim. <sup>14</sup>	<i>When they see this womb, one nudges the other; they fall silent until I have passed by.</i>
7.	Semper pulsant cubito, me designant digito ac si mirum fecerim.	<i>Always they elbow each other, they point me out with their finger as if I had performed a miracle.</i>
8.	Nutibus me indicant, dignam rogo iudicant quod semel peccauerim.	<i>They mark me out by nods, they judge me worthy of the pyre because I had sinned once.</i>
9.	Quid percurram singula? ego sum in fabula et in ore omnium.	<i>Why should I run through each individual thing? I am in the gossip and on the lips of all.</i>
10.	Ex eo uim pacior, iam dolore morior, semper sum in lacrimis.	<i>Because of this I suffer violence, now I die of grief, I am always in tears.</i>
11.	Hoc dolorem cumulat, quod amicus exulat propter illud paululum. <sup>15</sup>	<i>This completes my grief, that my lover is in exile because of this small thing.<sup>17</sup></i>
12.	Ob patris seuciam recessit in Franciam a finibus ultimis.	<i>On account of my father's rage he withdrew into France from its furthest borders.</i>
13.	Sum in tristitia <sup>16</sup> de eius absentia, in doloris cumulum.	<i>I am in sorrow over his absence, to the height of grief.</i>

In suggesting that this poem might be by Heloise I confront not only the issue of ascribing an anonymous poem to a known person, but also the vexed question of whether a text written by a female can be distinguished from that written by a male. From the *Letters of a Portuguese Nun* to *The Story of O*, the idea that a female writer leaves an indelible and recognisable signature of her sex upon a text has occasioned considerable literary debate, the main conclusion of which would appear to be that this recognition is largely in the eye of the beholder. It has always been assumed by commentators that the poet of 'Huc usque' is male.<sup>18</sup> Generally he is thought of as a student in Paris.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> MS *transiero*. Most editors emend to *transierim* for the sake of the rhyme; this is discussed further below.

<sup>15</sup> On the debate concerning the form and meaning of this word, see below.

<sup>16</sup> Many editors add 'Iam' to the beginning of this line on the grounds that there is a missing syllable.

<sup>17</sup> Alternatively: 'because of this, for a short time'; this is discussed further below.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Hennig Brinkmann, 'Diesseitsstimmung im Mittelalter', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literatur-Wissenschaft*, 2 (1924), pp.721-52, at p.737: 'Diese rührende Klage ist von einem Dichter verfaßt, nicht von einer Frau.'

The closest any scholars have come to suggesting a female influence have been Allen's conjecture that the male poet may have witnessed the sort of female suffering which he conveys in his poem<sup>20</sup> and Otto Schumann's suggestion that the author of the poem could be the lover himself (on the grounds that the text is clearly motivated by a real experience and not by literary considerations).<sup>21</sup> In arguing for a female author, I avoid touching on the question of sex-determined language and suggest instead that the matter be resolved by the consideration of competing possibilities:<sup>22</sup> is it more likely that a poem which is presented in the voice of a pregnant Latin-literate young woman exiled on the borders of France was written by a young unmarried male scholar in Paris, or that it was indeed written by just such a young woman who at the time (if we accept the evidence of LLL) had been experimenting with poetry and poetic forms?<sup>23</sup>

On this matter of fitting poet to theme it is important to dispel a misleading impression created by Raby, who takes exception to Schumann's positing a real experience behind the text thus: 'the hard truth is probably that this is a theme which had been worked upon many times in popular verse.' In support of 'the popular character of this theme' he refers readers to the work of Jeanroy.<sup>24</sup> A glance at Jeanroy's text, however, reveals that his argument is not only that the theme becomes popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the vernacular (a far remove from twelfth-century Latin), but that its treatment in this period is light-hearted and so quite distinct from the more serious treatment of 'Huc usque'.<sup>25</sup> If there are not comparable texts written in Latin in the twelfth century, and it is the opinion of Allen that this is the case,<sup>26</sup> then it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the unique figure of Heloise – female, pregnant and Latin-literate – was required to create the originality of 'Huc usque'.

There are several aspects of the poem which suggest Heloise's authorship. The opening apostrophe of the poem, *me miseram*, 'wretched me', is used by Heloise twice in Letter IV, once where she employs the same phrase: *O me miseram*, and once where she carries the construction to its extreme: *O me miserarum miseriam!* ('O me, most wretched of the wretched!').<sup>27</sup> The opening words of the poem, *Huc usque*, are used five times by the female correspondent of LLL (identified by Constant Mews as the young Heloise), most notably in Letters 7 and 60 where she uses them as the opening words of the salutation, addressing her lover in terms of how well he has been loved up to this point: *Hucusque dilecto* ('To one loved thus far'), *Hucusque fideliter adamoto* ('To one till now faithfully adored' – see also Letters 23, 32 and 79). In the second stanza of the poem the young woman declares of her pregnancy: *Res mea tandem patuit* ('My situation at last stood revealed'), a statement that echoes Heloise's observation in Letter II (speaking of Abelard's establishment of the convent of the Paraclete): *res ipsa clamat* ('the matter itself cries out').<sup>28</sup> Editors and translators have noted that this construction is drawn from Cicero's *In Catilinam*,<sup>29</sup> and it is worth asking

<sup>19</sup> So, for instance, E Herkenrath, 'Tempus instat floridum', *Neophilologus*, 15 (1930), pp.135–40, at p.139: 'Art und Entstehung dieses Gedichtes sind nun klar: ein Student, Kleriker und Franzose, hat für seine Kommilitonen einen Kneipgesang erdacht'. See also p.140: 'Es spiegelt die Stimmung der Jugend, die keine Tugend hat, eine Stimmung, die man bei Soldaten, Gesellen, Studenten allerwärts findet und fand.' Allen, however, would make him German: *MLL*, pp.271–4.

<sup>20</sup> 'Mediaeval Latin Lyrics: Part II', *Modern Philology*, 6 (1908), pp.3–43, at p.41: 'or the source may be the personal experience of the poet himself – something suffered or seen by him'.

<sup>21</sup> 'Über einige Carmina Burana', *ZdA*, 63 (1926), pp.81–99, at pp.89–90: 'wer der verfasser gewesen ist, ob der liebende selbst oder ein anderer – wir wissen es nicht und werden es nie wissen; nur so viel scheint sicher, dass ein reales erlebnis und kein literarisches motiv zu grunde ligt.'

<sup>22</sup> A methodology also proposed by Jaeger, 'A Reply to Giles Constable': 'Where absolute certainty is not available in any question – in laboratories, courts of law, or the study of the past – proof turns to a scale of probability, puts forward theses for testing, verifying and falsifying.'

<sup>23</sup> See for example *LLL*, pp.21 and 169.

<sup>24</sup> F J E Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*. Oxford, 1957, vol. 2, p.275, n.3.

<sup>25</sup> *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Age*. Paris, 1925, p.215: 'Ce sujet est fréquent aussi au XV<sup>e</sup> et au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais, en général, il est traité fort gaîment'. This point is also noted by Allen, *MLL*, p. 271.

<sup>26</sup> 'In the length and breadth of medieval Latin singing we have no other poem on this theme which betrays half the sincerity and directness of our *planctus*. Nowhere else in renescent Latin is seduction made the subject of a dolorous song. It is warned against, guarded against, stormed against, or treated mockingly *bestiali more* – but never honestly bewailed', Allen, *MLL*, p.274.

<sup>27</sup> Hicks, p.64, l.115, and p.63, l. 76; see also ll.85–6 on Fortune: 'Que ut me miseriam omnium faceret ...'.

<sup>28</sup> Hicks, p.47, l.74; my translation.

<sup>29</sup> Radice, p.111, n.1; J T Muckle, 'The Personal Letters Between Abelard and Heloise', *Mediaeval Studies*, 15 (1953), pp.47–94, at p.69, n.51; See *In Catilinam* l.8.

whether the woman, who could adapt Cicero's words for the rhetorical purpose of putting pressure upon Abelard in her letter, might also have adapted them in 'Huc usque' with the same literary consciousness (and not a little wry humour) of her sexual misdemeanour in the light of her burgeoning pregnancy: 'the fact itself cries out'. It should also be observed that in Letter 49 the woman describes her situation as *mea res*.

More notable is the outcry in stanza 9:

Quid percurram singula?  
ego sum in fabula  
et in ore omnium.

Why should I run through each individual thing?  
I am in the gossip  
and on the lips of all

The Ovidian appeal *Quid ...* is used by Abelard in the *Historia Calamitatum* in the recounting of his affair with Heloise, where he asks rhetorically *Quid plura?* ('What more?') and *Quid denique?* ('What then?').<sup>30</sup> It also appears a number of times in *LLL* where the woman asks: *Quid ultra?* (Letters 18, 55), *Quid plura?* (45, 69, 83) and *Quid plus, quid dictem* (66). In Letter 107 she likewise uses the term *singula* to refer to individual matters.

The reference to the gossip and knowledge of all the world also accords with the rhetorical style of Heloise's Letter II, where she asserts many times that her story and situation are known and discussed by all. Indicative passages include: 'as everyone knows', 'as the whole world knows', 'the world in general believed, or rather, knew to be true', 'as most of these songs told of our love, they soon made me widely known and roused the envy of many women against me', 'the women who envied me then', 'what I think and indeed the world suspects', 'This is not merely my own opinion ... it is everyone's', 'it is the general view which is widely held', 'many were uncertain', 'your many songs put your Heloise on everyone's lips, so that every street and house echoed with my name'.<sup>31</sup> Particularly notable is the last of these which uses precisely the same phrase – *in ore omnium* ('on the lips of all') – as in 'Huc usque' and, it should be recalled, it does indeed appear that Heloise was remembered in the songs of Brittany.<sup>32</sup>

Perhaps the most compelling reason for ascribing the poem to Heloise is to be seen in stanza 12. Here the speaker claims that, because of paternal fury, her lover has departed from the provincial borderlands where she is and gone into France:

Ob patris seviciam  
recessit in Franciam  
a finibus ultimis.

On account of my father's rage  
he withdrew into France  
from its furthest borders.

This statement is strikingly idiosyncratic: were this poem a stock production by a Paris clerk, the lover would have been expected to have travelled in precisely the opposite direction – that is, he would have fled in exile *from* France (where he has evidently got into trouble as a young scholar) *to* its outermost borders. Such a direction of travel is so much what is expected that editors, translators and commentators have simply construed it this way. Herkenrath argues for a textual emendation, so that the preposition reflects not *from* where the young man flees, but *to* where.<sup>33</sup> Walsh retains the manuscript reading *a finibus ultimis*, but in his translation nevertheless reverses the direction of the flight, even at the risk of doing violence to the rather straightforward Latin syntax. Walsh translates: 'He has retired to the furthest borders of France',<sup>34</sup> and he attempts to excuse this formulation by an appeal to a classical Latin

<sup>30</sup> Hicks, pp.11–12.

<sup>31</sup> Radice, pp.113, 115, 116 and 117–118; Hicks, pp.48ff: 'ut omnibus patet' (l.121), 'noverunt omnes' (l.123), 'mundus universus non tam crederet quam sciret' (l.179), 'Et cum horum pars maxima carminum nostros decantaret amores, multis me regionibus brevi tempore nunciavit et multarum in me feminarum accendit invidiam' (ll.197–200), 'Quam tunc michi invidentem' (l. 201), 'ego quod sentio – immo quod omnes suspicantur!' (l.213), 'Hec...non tam mea est quam omnium conjectura, non tam specialis quam communis, non tam privata quam publica' (ll.217–19), 'incertum pluribus habebatur' (ll.249–50), 'frequenti carmine tuam in ore omnium Heloysam ponebas: me platee omnes, me domus singule resonabant' (ll.260–2).

<sup>32</sup> See Enid McLeod, *Héloïse: A Biography*. London, 1938, 1971, pp.55–6.

<sup>33</sup> 'Tempus instat floridum' p.136 (see n.19, above): 'ist "a finibus" sinnlos und "in finibus" zu lesen; es kommt nicht aufs Woher an, sondern aufs Wohin.' Hilka and Schumann argue that *a finibus ultimis* is odd but not to be emended ('ist seltsam, aber kaum zu ändern'), *CB*, vol.I.2, p.211.

<sup>34</sup> Similarly George F Whicher, *The Goliard Poets: Medieval Latin Songs and Satires*. New York, 1949, p.193:

From my father's countenance  
He has fled to farthest France.



construction which nevertheless fails to justify his choice.<sup>35</sup> That is, he shows that the phrase *a finibus ultimis* could perhaps be translated as 'on the furthest borders', but grammatically this is a far cry from his desired construction 'to the furthest borders' and still overlooks the difficulty of *in Franciam* which clearly means 'into France'. Yet reading this stanza as though it reflected the experience of Heloise resolves all such difficulties at a stroke.

Constant Mews has described the twelfth-century term *Francia* as encompassing 'a relatively small landlocked region stretching from north of Paris to south of Orléans, roughly equivalent to the modern Île-de-France.' As Mews notes, the idea that Abelard's ancestral home in Brittany was outside Francia is suggested by Letter 49, where the woman (Heloise) points out the man's (Abelard's) triumph over *francigena cervicositas*: 'the obstinacy of the people of Francia', and it is stated even more plainly by Abelard himself in his *Historia*, where he describes his return to Paris from a stay in Brittany in the words *reversus sum in Franciam*.<sup>36</sup>

Abelard's professional and residential centre was thus in Paris, in *Francia*, whereas his home in Brittany could be reasonably described as situated on 'the outermost borders of France'. This interpretation of the phrase, which has a parallel in Abelard's own usage, is surely more plausible than Allen's suggestion that a German-born poet would have referred to his own homeland in such terms.<sup>37</sup> In his *Historia Calamitatum*, Abelard claims that when he went to Brittany to become Abbot of St-Gildas de Rhuys, he lamented his isolation on that windswept coast where he did not know the language, declaring that he had now reached the end of the world beyond which he could not travel further (*cum fugam mihi ulterius terre postremitas non preberet*) and crying out to God in the words of Psalm 61 (Latin 60): *A finibus terre ad te clamavi* ('From the ends of the earth have I called upon thee').<sup>38</sup>

Another look at the opening line of the stanza, which indicates the reason for the lover's flight, uncovers further similarities with the situation of Heloise and Abelard. Walsh has translated *Ob patris seviciam* as 'because my father dealt with him harshly', but again, this translation presupposes that the poem tells a standard story of a young girl in trouble by her feckless boyfriend. Translated more literally, however, as 'on account of my father's rage', a compelling parallel with the story of Heloise is revealed: in his *Historia Calamitatum*, Abelard recounts that on finding Heloise had been whisked away from his house in Paris to Brittany, her guardian, Fulbert, 'went almost out of his mind – one could appreciate only by experience his transports of grief and mortification. What action could he take against me? What traps could he set?'<sup>39</sup> In order to counter these continuing threats, Abelard went to see Fulbert and offered to marry Heloise. If Abelard had been in Brittany at this point with Heloise (even though it is clear that he did not escort her there initially),<sup>40</sup> then stanza 12 of 'Huc usque' concisely yet eloquently conveys the situation: because word reaches them that Fulbert is issuing loud threats, Abelard returns from Brittany into France in order to make amends. A stanza, which otherwise appears at odds with literary and philological expectations, thus makes perfect sense if it is predicated upon the historical experience of Heloise and Abelard.

There is a further consideration which affects the ascription of the poem to Heloise. In stanza 11 the girl complains that her boyfriend has gone away *propter illud paululum*. The word *paululum* is itself a textual emendation: although generally accepted as the correct orthographic form, its part of speech, and therefore its meaning, has remained in question.<sup>41</sup> It has been read as a noun meaning 'a trifle'; hence Walsh translates this line: 'just because of this peccadillo'.<sup>42</sup> Amongst earlier commentators, the word was taken as an adverb meaning 'a little time': this reading, however, is at odds with the plaintive mood developed by the speaker of the poem if the lover, having fled

<sup>35</sup> *Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana*. London, 1993, pp.158–9.

<sup>36</sup> Hicks, p.7.

<sup>37</sup> Allen, *MLL*, p.274.

<sup>38</sup> Hicks, p.35; my thanks to Constant Mews for pointing this reference out to me.

<sup>39</sup> Radice, p.69; Hicks, p.13: 'quasi in insaniam conversus, quanto estuaret dolore, quanto afficeretur pudore, nemo nisi experiendo cognosceret. Quid autem in me ageret, quas mihi tenderet insidias, ignorabat'. See also 'Tandem ego ejus immoderate anxietati admodum compatiens ...'.

<sup>40</sup> Abelard twice uses the term *transmisi* ('I sent') to describe how Heloise travelled to Brittany when she was pregnant (in the *Historia*, Hicks p.13; and in Letter V, Hicks, p.79). He may have visited her, however, in the intervening months as his teaching obligations permitted.

<sup>41</sup> CB I.2, pp.210–11: other renderings of the word were *paulum* (a noun: 'a trifle'), *parvulum* (a noun: 'a child') and *patulum* (an adjective: 'open to all'). Bernhard Lundius suggested an emendation to *vitium* (a noun: 'a sin'), 'Deutsche Vagantenlieder in den Carmina Burana', *ZdPh*, 39 (1907), pp.330–493, at p.357.

<sup>42</sup> *Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana*, p.159.

so precipitously, was nevertheless expected to return soon.<sup>43</sup> Schumann attempted to resolve the difficulty by arguing that *paululum* be taken to mean not that the lover would be gone for a little while, but that he had *already* been gone for a little while.<sup>44</sup> Yet this semantic conjuring is not necessary: the problem exists only if 'Huc usque' is read as a conventional lament of an abandoned mistress – in which case the idea of the lover's imminent return is indeed strange – but disappears if the stanza is read in the light of Heloise's experience. Earlier, I drew the picture of Abelard leaving Brittany in haste to return to Paris in order to deal with the threats emanating from Fulbert; Abelard's absence from Brittany was only ever intended to be temporary; he had not fled from Heloise for good, but merely to undertake a specific task in Paris before returning to her, as it transpires, with the intention of making her his wife.<sup>45</sup> Thus if *paululum* indeed means 'a little while' (and Schumann does acknowledge that it is grammatically difficult to separate *paululum* from *propter illud*),<sup>46</sup> then it provides further evidence for the authorship of Heloise, for only in the unique situation which is hers does this line make sense. In drawing these arguments from Heloise's specific history (such as it is known) I am not thereby suggesting that this poem is simply a chronicle, and that Heloise sat conscientiously inscribing her literary work with verifiable and personal details. Rather, I believe that in her writing, her circumstances were both deliberately and inadvertently revealed in the literary and artistic choices which she made.

Unfortunately, Heloise has not left any texts in which she mentions the physical experience of her pregnancy (though 'Virgines caste', which David Wulstan has attributed to Heloise, mentions the 'pains of childbirth' and so on – see p.83, above). I have argued elsewhere that, contrary to common belief, Heloise does discuss in her writings with Abelard her experience of being a mother and her feelings on the fostering of her son, but that these references are made through allusions to biblical figures;<sup>47</sup> thus, whereas they show that Heloise was capable of referring to her reproductive status as mother in her writings, they do not offer a vocabulary with which the terms in 'Huc usque' could be compared. Nevertheless, it is clear that the author of 'Huc usque' has a strong physical sense of the girl's pregnancy. In words of straightforward terminology the girl notes that her belly has swollen (*venter intumuit*), that childbirth presses heavily upon her (*partus instat gravide*), and that her swollen womb is an object of stares (*vident hunc uterum*). The poet's use of the perfect subjunctive in *dum transierim* ('while I would have passed by') is an emendation from the manuscript *transiero* necessitated by the rhyme scheme;<sup>48</sup> however, it also effectively evokes the slow waddling walk of the heavily pregnant woman and the length of time it would have taken her to make her way past the gawking men.

What is remarkable in the poem is the practical nature of the girl's observations. She expresses no conventional utterances of remorse for her conduct, nor does she resolve upon a life henceforth free of sexual sin. Indeed, what appears to irritate her most about her situation is not that she is 'shamed' before her family and community, but that she is pointed out as something extraordinary for a reason she considers fairly commonplace and natural. Thus she complains in stanza 5 that if she goes outdoors she is examined by all as if she were a marvel:

Cum foris egredior,  
a cunctis inspicior,  
quasi monstrum fuerim,

and in stanza 7 that she is pointed out in the street as though she had performed a miracle:

me designant digito,  
ac si mirum fecerim.

<sup>43</sup> See Herkenrath, p.137 (see n.19, above): 'Merkwürdig fällt aus der Stimmung das "amicus exulat paululum" in III: "der amicus ist auf einige Zeit in die Fremde gegangen"; denn paululum schwächt ab, wo man Steigerung erwartet, und wirkt damit ein bisschen komisch, eine Wirkung, welche durch die folgenden Worte keineswegs aufgehoben wird.'

<sup>44</sup> 'Über einige Carmina Burana' (see n.21, above), p.87: 'ich möchte *paululum* fassen als "eine kleine weile" und zwar entweder: "für eine kleine weile", der liebste hat das mädchen beim abschied getröstet: "ich komme bald wider"; oder – wahrscheinlicher – "schon eine [kleine] weile".'

<sup>45</sup> Hicks, p.14: 'Ilico ego ad patriam meam reversus amicam reduxi ut uxorem facerem.'

<sup>46</sup> Schumann, p.87 (see n.21, above).

<sup>47</sup> 'Quae maternae immemor naturae: The Rhetorical Struggle Over the Meaning of Motherhood in the Writings of Heloise and Abelard', *LH*, pp.323–39.

<sup>48</sup> First suggested by J. A. Schmeller in his 1847 edition of the CB and subsequently followed by most editors.

This attitude would accord with that of Heloise. In Paris she had been remarkable for her unique qualities. Before she met Abelard, Heloise was already renowned for her extraordinary learning; as he said, 'in the extent of her learning she stood supreme',<sup>49</sup> and Peter the Venerable noted, 'I used to hear at that time of the woman who ... devoted all her application to knowledge of letters, something which is very rare.'<sup>50</sup> And as she herself declares in her Letter II, she was raised above the common throng by Abelard's choice of her for his lover: 'queens and great ladies envied me my joys and my bed'.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, Heloise's arguments against marriage indicate how important this sense of uniqueness was to her self-conception. Scholars have noted that, given her attempt to construct for herself a new form of partnership (one which was based on a Ciceronian notion of friendship between intellectual equals yet included sexual relations without the bonds of marriage), her enforced demotion to the common rank of 'wife' conflicted with her sense of herself as someone different from all others.<sup>52</sup> In like wise, it would surely have been galling to her to have been seen in Brittany simply as the stock figure of the unmarried mother, rather than being recognised as the striking individual she was. If she were indeed the author of 'Huc usque', she may have drawn on this sense of a loss of individuality for her poem.

It is particularly notable that the poem contains no reference to marriage. Were it the sort of conventional piece scholars have suggested, the male poet could have been expected to have his female mouthpiece utter some standard views regarding either her wish for, or her despair over her lack of, a matrimonial solution to her difficulties. In 'Huc usque', however, the young woman simply never raises the issue. Indeed, when she sees the flight of her lover as the last and greatest of her miseries (as she says in stanza 11, *Hoc dolorem cumulat*, and stanza 13, *in doloris cumulum*), it is clear that what she misses is not her lost opportunity to redeem her situation by marriage, but simply the presence and person of her lover himself:

Sum in tristitia  
de ejus absentia

*I am in sorrow  
over his absence*

Such a view accords closely with the arguments expressed by Heloise in Letter II where she declared to Abelard: 'God knows I never sought anything in you except yourself; I wanted simply you, nothing of yours. I looked for no marriage-bond, no marriage portion.'<sup>53</sup> The ideas expressed in 'Huc usque' are thus as original and unusual as those of Heloise's Letter II. It is surely more probable that the author of this poem and that letter are one and the same, than to posit the existence of an anonymous male poet who, in writing a conventional love lyric while a student in Paris, thought to attribute to his heroine such remarkable ideas.

As mentioned earlier, the poem now known as 'Huc usque' begins in the unique manuscript version with an additional stanza and refrain. These lines are not generally included in editions of 'Huc usque'; Walsh has described them as 'wholly inapt' and 'to be expunged as an irrelevant accretion', a sentiment also expressed by Vollman.<sup>54</sup> Yet it could be argued that they perform an ironic introductory function to the poem.<sup>55</sup> They give the impression that the following lyric will be a conventional paean to spring and the loves which flourish at this time. This impression is then wryly undercut as the next stanza begins and it is revealed that the 'blooming' which is 'pressing urgently on', is not the welcome flowering of plants, but the girl's unhappily burgeoning pregnancy. Similarly, the swelling chorus of birdsong turns out to be rather the growing campaign of malicious gossip, and the forsaken ends of the earth offer the girl no solace at all. There is also a notable lexical parallel between this stanza and Letter 32 of the *Lost Love Letters*,

<sup>49</sup> Radice, p.66; Hicks, p.10: 'per habundantiam litterarum erat suprema.'

<sup>50</sup> Radice, p.277; Letter 115, Constable: 'Audiebam tunc temporis, mulierem ... litteratoriae scientiae quod perrarum est...summam operam dare.'

<sup>51</sup> Radice, p. 115; Hicks, pp.50-1: 'Que regina vel prepotens femina gaudiis meis non invadebat vel thalamis.'

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, John O Ward and Neville Chiavaroli, 'The Young Heloise and Latin Rhetoric: Some Preliminary Comments on the "Lost" Love-Letters and Their Significance', *LH*, pp.53-119, esp. pp.58-9.

<sup>53</sup> Radice, p.113; Hicks, p.49: 'Nichil umquam - deus scit! - in te nisi te requisivi; te pure, non tua concupiscens. Non matrimonii federa, non dotes aliquas expectavi.'

<sup>54</sup> Walsh, *Love Lyrics*, (see n.35, above) p.158; Walsh, *Thirty Poems from the Carmina Burana*. Reading, 1976, p. 89; and Vollmann, 'Nach einer kaum hierhergehörenden...beginnenden Frühlingstrophe mit Refrain...', *Carmina Burana*, p.1112.

<sup>55</sup> On this see Allen (n.6, above), pp. 271-2.

where the woman declares that her lover's return from ill-health has been greeted by a 'symphony of birds' (*concentus avium*)<sup>56</sup> and with Letter 49 where she uses the term *floridum* to describe a flowery eloquence.

What is unique about this poem is that where so many of the clerical love poems in the *Carmina Burana* follow the lover's pursuit of his object of desire and end with the woman offering up her body to the sports of love, this lyric begins rather with the embodied, physical consequences of this love, written from the female point of view. Thus the *gaudia amoris* promised in the (disputed) refrain refer not to the usual sweet joys of love, but to the many miseries which the girl then unfolds. In paraphrase, the girl's words then read: 'Let me tell you about the joys of love: first, you get pregnant; second, you get beaten; third, you get pointed at; and finally your boyfriend runs away.' It would certainly not be beyond Heloise to have written lines which combine wry humour with her own female experience, and, in so doing, to have overturned male, clerical, literary conventions. A sense of humour at one point need not imply that the whole piece is light-hearted or that her situation is not taken seriously. By the same token, it is equally important that the poem not be reread as an autobiographical *cri de cœur* simply because it might have been based on a real and difficult situation, or have been written by a woman rather than a man, or even have been written by Heloise - and surely the long discussions over the rhetorical nature of Heloise's letters have indicated the danger of imagining that she always writes 'from the heart'. Heloise can draw from her experience yet still write rhetorically and poetically, using her situation as deftly as any young clerk in Paris who might have chosen the same theme while remaining without personal stake in the matter.

In this poem the problem arises that not every supposed fact conveyed by the poet accords with the known life and experience of Heloise. What should we make of stanza 3, for example, where the poet claims of her pregnancy?

Hinc mater me verberat,  
hinc pater improperat

*For this my mother beats me,  
for this my father upbraids me*

All that can be argued in defence is that this poem is a work of fiction and not an autobiography - indeed, anyone familiar with Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum* will be aware that even autobiography can be at least as rhetorical as it is seemingly factual. In creating a work of literary art authors draw from their own experience, but they are not necessarily limited by it: a fictional work is also a product of the imagination. The key here is to imagine the circumstances in which Heloise may have written this poem. Picture, for instance, a highly intelligent, highly learned young woman suddenly removed from the intellectual atmosphere of the books, schools and masters of Paris, now living on what was essentially a farm in Brittany while she waits out her pregnancy. For occupation she fiddles about with lines and verses, composing poetry and practising various rhythms and metres. For her subject on one occasion she uses her exiled pregnancy, taking it as a basis upon which she can then embellish, expending her imagination and literary talent.<sup>57</sup> The reading of the poem outlined above provides one rationale for this apparent anomaly, for if Heloise were writing a poem in which she was consciously multiplying the discomforts of a pregnant young woman, it would have been natural to include in this litany a reference to parental reprobation, even though she herself lacked it in this instance. For material she could certainly have used the example of Fulbert's anger when he surprised her with Abelard.

I therefore ascribe this poem, 'Huc usque' (CB 126), to Heloise for several reasons. There are the verbal echoes of her Letters II and IV and the observation that many of the circumstantial allusions in the poem confound conventional expectations, but conform to the story of Heloise and Abelard as it is known. There are the girl's physical sense of pregnancy, her irritation at being held up for inspection for something she does not consider extraordinary, her lack of interest in marriage and her desire for her lover. I cannot claim to have heard Heloise's 'voice' in this poem, but I do recall a moment of recognition, aided in part by intuition and in part by familiarity with my subject, in which I read this poem and thought, 'Heloise'. It would be a fitting tribute to such a remarkable woman as Heloise (surely one of the few Latin-literate pregnant scholars of the Middle Ages) to ascribe to her this learned, unusual and evocative poem about pregnancy, a poem which Schumann has described as not only the most considerable of all mediæval Latin lyrics, but one of the best lyrics in general.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> My thanks to Constant Mews for pointing out this reference.

<sup>57</sup> I treat this possible situation in my paper 'Interrogating Heloise', forthcoming in *Maistresse of My Wit: Medieval Women / Modern Scholars*, ed. Louise D'Arcens and Juanita Ruys. Turnhout, 2003.

<sup>58</sup> 'Über einige Carmina Burana', p.81 (see n.21, above): 'ja ich halte es nicht für das wertvollste erzeugnis der ganzen mlat. weltlichen lyrik, sondern für eines der besten lyrischen gedichte die es überhaupt gibt.'

## Heloise, the Paraclete Liturgy and Mary Magdalen

CONSTANT J MEWS

As was seen in the opening chapters of this book, only part of Abelard's Paraclete Hymnal was actually incorporated into the Paraclete liturgy. Fr Waddell's analysis of Paraclete practice has yielded so much rich information that only the most salient details can be plucked out here. In certain matters, such as in the choice of readings at weekday Mass or during the Night Office, the practice followed was Benedictine (or Montier-la-Celle?) rather than Cistercian.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the Paraclete liturgy incorporated all thirty-four hymns from the first recension of the Cistercian Hymnal, with no hymns exclusively from the second recension, suggests that this combining of the early Cistercian Hymnal and Office texts with other hymns and prayers, some from Abelard, others from other unidentified sources, took place before 1147, in other words during the time of Heloise. Although the liturgical manuscripts record a few later feasts, it seems unlikely that after her death in 1164 the Paraclete nuns would have replaced so many of Abelard's hymns with a pre-1147 repertory, no longer in use within Cistercian communities.<sup>2</sup>

From the outset, Heloise did not feel bound to imitate early Cistercian practice in every point of detail. Although the surviving liturgical books record Paraclete practice only as it stood in the late thirteenth century (and remarkably little change seems to have taken place by two centuries later), the paucity of liturgical innovations from after the mid twelfth century suggests that they provide a good insight into liturgical practice when Heloise was governing the Paraclete. Its liturgy was far richer and more diverse than that of the early Cistercians, who confined themselves to a very narrow interpretation of what St Benedict permitted in his Rule. Thus the Paraclete incorporated twenty-nine traditional Gallican hymns in the liturgy, for Advent, Lent, Passiontide, and Pentecost, perhaps brought over from Argenteuil, if not from Montier-la-Celle or another local source. Very few of Abelard's ferial hymns, with their subtle exposition of the works of creation, historical, moral and allegorical, were taken over into the Paraclete liturgy.<sup>3</sup> This created far more musical variety than the narrow range of two melodies projected for the Divine Office at ferias by Abelard, one for Matins, the other for the day Offices. By contrast, most of his hymns for the major feasts and for the principal saints were taken over, and used alongside Cistercian hymns. Both the Breviary and the Ordinal also refer to a large number of Mass chants and texts, sequences, antiphons, etc., without any indication of their music (which must have been recorded in liturgical books that have not survived).

The Kalendar of the Paraclete, marking the particular saints' feasts to be remembered by the nuns, was fundamentally that of the early Cistercians, but with heightened status for some figures, as well as the inclusion of some additional saints. Some were patronal saints of places with which Abelard had close associations, such as St Gildas and St Ayoul. Others were new women saints, notably Adelungis, Scholastica, Radegund, Thecla, Fides, the 11,000 Virgins, Anastasia and Eugenia, and Colombe.<sup>4</sup> The Paraclete Breviary also incorporates suffrages or prayers to favourite saints venerated at the Abbey (including to St Martin, St Nicholas, and Mary Magdalen), a practice avoided by the Cistercians as unauthentic, but defended by Abelard in his letter to Bernard.<sup>5</sup> This was a broader community than acknowledged by the early Cistercians, including religious of both sexes.

Another traditional practice, defended by Abelard to Bernard and much exploited at the Paraclete, was that of processions. The Paraclete Ordinal identifies a long list of processional chants for different feast-days, when they fell on a Sunday.<sup>6</sup> Through these processions, the nuns acted out themes of the events of the Gospels in a very

<sup>1</sup> Waddell, *OFF*, pp.14-16.

<sup>2</sup> Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* I, pp.105-14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.61.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.333-6.

<sup>5</sup> Waddell, *Paraclete Breviary*, IIIc, pp.417-23; *OFF*, pp.5-6.

<sup>6</sup> *OFF Ordinary*, pp.112-24, with commentary in *OFF*, pp.337-44.

physical way. In the Palm Sunday procession a unique set of readings was devised to dramatise the journey into Jerusalem, with the priest of the community leading the nuns through the cloister, before going back into the church.<sup>7</sup> There was a procession with many special chants to *le petit moustier*, the original monastery established by Abelard, to remember the dead, on Low Sunday. Waddell suggests that this may have originated with Abelard's own death in Easter Week of 1142.<sup>8</sup> Abelard had himself written about his desire to be buried at the Paraclete among women who dedicated themselves to watching over the tomb of Christ, and waiting for the resurrection. One of the Rogationtide processions involved a journey to 'the Master's cross', in which the local population joined in (provoking episcopal condemnation in the fifteenth century).<sup>9</sup>

The Easter liturgy at the Paraclete was particularly rich and imaginative. Not only had Abelard written a complete series of hymns for the *triduum* of Holy Week (hymns 145-59), but these were integrated into a sequence of specially composed antiphons and prayers that developed the theme of the cruel fate reserved for a suffering Jesus, coupled with the faith that inspired Mary Magdalen and the other women to journey to the tomb.<sup>10</sup> The liturgy for the Easter vigil developed the theme of the dialogue between the angel and the women coming to the tomb. By good fortune, one of the sequences sung at Easter, 'Epithalamica', is preserved immediately after a copy of Abelard's lament, 'Dolorum solatium' in the Nevers MS, with two other Paraclete sequences, 'De profundis ad te clamantium' and 'Virgines caste'. Waddell argued that 'Epithalamica', as well as these other two sequences, are all compositions of Abelard,<sup>11</sup> but Wulstan has ascribed them to Heloise.<sup>12</sup> The text of 'Epithalamica' was subsequently reproduced in a late mediæval Hymnal from Béziers, further indication of its circulating in southern Aquitaine. The Vic manuscript also includes an Easter play, textually related to 'Epithalamica', that develops the dramatic encounter between Mary Magdalen, searching for the tomb of Jesus, and the risen Lord.

'Epithalamica', which paraphrases and develops imagery from the Song of Songs, is couched as an Easter Song sung by the women who came to the tomb, to discover that Christ had risen.<sup>13</sup> Unlike anything in the Cistercian liturgy, it is vividly expressive in using erotic imagery of longing and desire:

Per noctem igitur hunc querens exeo;  
huc, illuc, anxia querendo cursito;  
occurrunt vigiles; ardenti studio,  
quos cum transierim, Sponsum invenio.

*By night therefore I go out seeking him;  
anxiously, I run here, there, seeking him;  
the watchmen are coming; with burning zeal,  
when I pass them, I find the bridegroom.*

Jam video quod optaveram,  
jam teneo quod amaveram;  
jam rideo que sic fleveram,  
plus gaudeo quam dolueram:  
risi mane, flevi nocte;  
mane risi, nocte flevi.

*Now I see what I had hoped for,  
now I clasp what I had loved;  
now I laugh at what I had so wept for,  
I rejoice more than I had grieved:  
at morn I laughed, I wept by night;  
I laughed at morn, by night I wept.*<sup>14</sup>

Waddell ascribed 'Epithalamica' to Abelard on the grounds that it echoes various of his hymns, including those for Easter Day, 'Christiani, plaudite' and 'Da Marie tympanum'.<sup>15</sup> These hymns, which include 'Goliath prostratus est' and 'Veris grato tempore', are quite different in their metrical and rhyme schemes from the 'Epithalamica', and do not draw on the erotic imagery of the Song of Songs to anything like the same degree. His hymns are always models

<sup>7</sup> *OFF*, pp.89-96.

<sup>8</sup> *OFF*, pp.133-7 and p.339; *OFF Ordinary*, pp.33-4. See also chapter 6, Excursus 2 (pp.89ff, above).

<sup>9</sup> *OFF*, pp.142-4 and p.338; *OFF Ordinary*, p.37.

<sup>10</sup> Waddell, *Paraclete Breviary* IIIa, pp.135-8.

<sup>11</sup> Waddell, *Epithalamica*, pp.239-71. Drawing on Waddell's research, much still unpublished, I list some manuscripts of these three sequences in *Peter Abelard*. Aldershot, Surrey, 1995, pp.69-70.

<sup>12</sup> On this, and the matter of the plays, see chapter 6.

<sup>13</sup> Abelard, Sermon 13, PL 178, cols. 485A-D.

<sup>14</sup> Translation adapted from Waddell, *Epithalamica*, pp.250-1. See also p.81, above.

<sup>15</sup> *OFF*, p.126; Waddell, *Paraclete Breviary*, pp.140-1.

of elegance and scriptural knowledge, but they are never as openly erotic in character. In Letter 84, the woman expresses her longing for her beloved in very similar imagery, also based on a free adaptation of the Song of Songs:

Post mutuum nostre visionis allocutionis noticiam, tu solus michi placebas supra omnem dei creaturam, teque solum dilexi, diligendo quesivi, querendo inveni, inveniendo amavi, amando optavi, optando omnibus in corde meo preposui, teque solum elegi ex milibus, ut facerem tecum pignus.

Ever since we first met and spoke to each other, only you have pleased me above all God's creatures and only you have I loved. Through loving you, I searched for you; searching for you, I found you; finding you, I desired you; desiring you, I chose you; choosing you, I placed you before everyone else in my heart. ...<sup>16</sup>

Apart from the insistent rhyming of the clauses *diligendo quesivi, querendo inveni* ... paralleled in 'Epithalamica',<sup>17</sup> the latter diffuses a similar sense of erotic intensity, culled from the Song of Songs, into the traditional celebration of the Resurrection by Mary Magdalen. The Paraclete liturgy gave particular attention to Mary Magdalen as the woman who sought out the risen Christ. In a very real way, the Paraclete liturgy was designed to make its participants live out the experience of Scripture in a manner that was not possible within the confines of Cistercian convention.

### The Institutiones nostre

A translation of the short *Institutiones* compiled by Heloise is given at the end of this chapter: the text has been edited by Waddell, *Institutiones*, pp.9–15. The opening paragraph of these observances presents a precious insight into the character of monastic life within the community. It reduces into a single sentence the theme of Abelard's Letter VII, written in response to Heloise's request for historical precedents for the religious life: that the essence of the religious life is to be found in Scripture. Abelard had provided an elaborate discussion of the precedent set, not by the Virgin Mary, but by Mary Magdalen and the other women who first proclaimed the Resurrection. He describes these women as *apostolas* to the male apostles (*apostolos*), a favourite theme in his writing for the Paraclete.<sup>18</sup>

Abelard calls Mary Magdalen *apostola apostolorum* in Sermon 13.<sup>19</sup> Katherine Jensen has observed an indirect precedent for this phrase in the writing of Hippolytus and Gregory the Great (the first person to identify Mary Magdalen with the woman of bad reputation, who poured ointment on Christ's feet, in Luke 7:36–50).<sup>20</sup> She traces the development of the idea in a tenth-century homily attributed to Odo of Cluny (*PL*, 133, cols. 713–21), and its citation in a sermon by Abbot Hugh of Cluny to the nuns of Marcigny (*PL*, 159, col. 952).<sup>21</sup> Ingrid Maisch is incorrect in asserting that Abelard was the first to use the phrase, for Jerome already mentions the idea that the women at the tomb were apostles to the apostles in one of his Commentaries.<sup>22</sup>

According to Abelard, the essence of religious life was based, not on any written rule, but on the teaching of Christ, 'who preached and taught humility and obedience' and on the example of the apostles' living in common. Abelard had defined the essence of the monastic life as consisting of living continently, without property and in the greatest silence (adapting what he had written in the *Theologia christiana* about the continence, abstinence and magnanimity of the ancient philosophers).<sup>23</sup> The *Institutiones* emphasise poverty and humility, but speak of chastity

<sup>16</sup> Trans. Mews and Chiavaroli, *LLL*, p.262, with discussion on pp.171–2.

<sup>17</sup> See *LLL*, pp.171–2.

<sup>18</sup> Abelard, Letter VII, Hicks, p.114 (not in Radice): 'Ex quibus colligimus has sanctas mulieres quasi apostolas super apostolos esse constitutas, cum ipse ad eos vel a Domino vel ab angelis misse summum illud resurrectionis gaudium nuntiaverunt...'

<sup>19</sup> *PL*, 178, col. 485A.

<sup>20</sup> K L Jensen, 'Maria Magdalena: Apostola Apostolorum', in *Women Preachers and Prophets Through Two Millennia of Christianity*, ed. B M Kienzle and P J Walker. Berkeley, 1998, pp.58–60.

<sup>21</sup> See also Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'La Madeleine du Sermo in Veneratione Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae attribué à Odon de Cluny', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age*, 104 (1992), pp.37–70.

<sup>22</sup> *Commentarius in prophetas minores*, in *Sophoniam*, Prol., ed. Marc Adriaen, CCSL 76A, 1970, p.255. See Ingrid Maisch, *Mary Magdalene. The Image of a Woman Through the Centuries*. Collegeville, Minnesota, 1998, p.38.

<sup>23</sup> Letter VIII, hereafter *Rule*, see p.30, n.68, above.

simply as a consequence of renunciation. They put forward the idea that 'we strive to please Him with all our strength according to the measure of what we have been given', a theme that picks up comments of Heloise in her earlier letters, that she cannot be expected to live up to an impossible ideal of perfection. Unlike Abelard's *Rule*, the *Institutiones* never employ the phrase *vita monastica*, but speak simply of their *religio* as based on the example of Christ and the early apostles.

Although the *Institutiones* do not single out the example of women apostles in particular, they share Abelard's emphasis that the authority for a true religious life is not a monastic Rule, but the example of Jesus and the early apostles. This was the apostolic ideal that Robert of Arbrissel had propagated at Fontevrault in the early twelfth century, but which provoked anxiety from those troubled by its potentially subversive character. After the second Lateran Council of 1139, it was expressly forbidden for communities of religious women to follow any way of life other than that laid down by Basil, Augustine or Benedict.<sup>24</sup> Some indication of how attitudes hardened during the course of Heloise's lifetime is revealed by the statement in a papal bull from 1164, that the way of life of the nuns of the Paraclete was based on the Rule of Benedict.<sup>25</sup>

The *Institutiones* were drawn up to ensure a common observance with the first daughter houses of the Paraclete, in the same way that early Cistercian legislation sought to establish liturgical uniformity in the *ordo*:

The Lord watching over us and bestowing some places on us, we have sent certain women from ourselves in sufficient number to keep religious observance. We annotate the customs of our good way of life, so that what the mother holds unchangingly, the daughters may keep uniformly.<sup>26</sup>

The rhyming phrases employed in the Latin original echo those used by Heloise – a characteristic feature of her prose. Most of these observances are written in a plainer style, without any effort to literary pretension. Given that they were written during the abbacy of Heloise, there seems no reason to doubt that she wrote them. The dedication of this first daughter house to Mary Magdalen itself reflects the distinctive emphasis of devotion at the Abbey under the aegis of Heloise. As with so many new religious 'orders' or 'families' in this period, a sense of community was created, not so much by dependence on a single institutional structure, as by a shared liturgy and a shared routine. The Paraclete was the mother house of what was to become a not insignificant network of communities, with a shared liturgical identity.<sup>27</sup>

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the *religio* or way of life of the nuns of the Paraclete was the emphasis placed on the Holy Spirit in its liturgy. Every liturgical Office began with an invocation to the Holy Spirit, sung on feast-days. Although Abelard's original dedication of the oratory to the Holy Trinity was not itself exceptional, his decision to change its dedication to the Paraclete provoked criticisms that Abelard felt obliged to counter in his *Historia Calamitatum*.<sup>28</sup>

Waddell showed that the *Institutiones* follow the precise sequence of rulings provided in the earliest Cistercian observances, recorded in the Trento manuscript by around 1135. These *Institutiones* effectively synthesise significant themes both from Abelard's two treatises on the religious life and early Cistercian practice in a text that is more practical than theoretical. Abelard's long ethical discussions about whether consuming meat was sinful in itself are omitted. The image that emerges is one of a community that could not afford luxuries of food and clothing: 'Whatever should suffice is to be noted; but we are far from having enough.' The ethical dimension is kept to very

<sup>24</sup> *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, canon 27, ed. Joseph Alberigo and others, trans. Norman Tanner, 2 vols. London, 1990, 1, p.203.

<sup>25</sup> *Cartulaire de l'abbaye du Paraclet*, ed. abbé C. Lalore, Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes 2. Paris, 1878, p.23: 'Imprimis siquidem statuente ut ordo monasticus, se secundum Deum et beati Benedicti regulam in vestro monasterio noscitur institutus...'

<sup>26</sup> Waddell, *Institutiones*, p.9: 'Domino super nos prospiciente, et aliqua loca nobis largiente, misimus quasdam ex nostris ad religionem tendendam numero sufficiente. Annotamus autem boni propositi nostri consuetudines, ut quod tenuit mater incommutabiliter, teneant et filie uniformiter.' See for example, Heloise, Letter II, Hicks, p.47 (Radice p.111): 'Hujus quippe loci tu post Deum solus es fundator, solus hujus oratorii constructor, solus hujus congregationis edificator.'

<sup>27</sup> On this network of dependencies, see Mary McLaughlin, cited at n.44, p.26, above.

<sup>28</sup> Hicks, pp.32–3 (Radice, p.92). Although dedications to the Holy Trinity are frequent from the late 11th cent on, there are no dedications to the Holy Spirit or the Paraclete recorded in England or Normandy by Alison Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066-1216*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1989.



simple principles: their way of life must be based on poverty, humility and obedience as taught and practised by Christ and the early apostles.

The greater part of these observances deal with the principal task of Heloise and her nuns, the celebration of the Divine Office. They make clear that Heloise's nuns spent most of their time either in liturgical prayer, private reading or general chapter. Only women of proven age and life were allowed to do business outside the Abbey. The liturgical day began with Matins, followed by Lauds, then private reading or other work in the chapter, if there was time before Prime and the Mass at daybreak. There was then a meeting of the whole community in general chapter, to which lay-brothers could be called as well, if there had been a problem of discipline. On feast-days, there was a homily (*sermo*), presumably given by the Abbess. There was then time for reading until Terce, Mass and Sext, all without a break, followed by more time for reading until None. After a meal in the refectory (vegetables, but no meat; milk, eggs and cheese only rarely, with water in place of the *vinum mistum*) and Grace in the chapel, there was a general talk for lay sisters as well as nuns. This was followed by time in the chapter until Vespers, a further visit to the refectory, followed by a reading and then Compline. Each of the nuns was then sprinkled with holy water by the Abbess and Prioress, before going to bed. On Sundays, there was a meal after Sext, followed by None, a homily, and then Compline. No one could sit in the chapter without doing work or reading. In summer, the nuns could go back to bed after Lauds, before coming into the cloister to engage in reading or singing until Prime, the morning Mass and general chapter. This was followed by reading or other work in the cloister before Terce, as in winter. After Sext and a meal, one could either sleep or read or work in bed until None.

This place given to reading between celebration of liturgical offices echoes Abelard's emphasis, in Letter IX, to the nuns of the Paraclete about the importance of women applying themselves to study. Abelard praises the linguistic competence not only of Jerome's female friends, but of Heloise herself. This letter extends a theme that Abelard had started to develop at the end of the Rule for the Paraclete. Uncertainty that can arise from awareness of different translations can be overcome through application to study. He urges them to follow the example set by Heloise herself, 'skilled in three languages'.<sup>29</sup> He wanted women to devote themselves to study, in the same way as he himself had devoted his life to letters.

You have authority in your mother, which ought to suffice you for everything, as much in the example of the virtues as in the teaching of letters: Familiar not only with Latin literature, but also with Hebrew and Greek, she seems to be the only woman in our time to have this skill of being adept in three languages, proclaimed by everyone to have been a particular quality of Jerome, and commended by him in those venerable women, mentioned above.<sup>30</sup>

Abelard emphasises that it was only through awareness that the Scriptures had been translated from Greek and Hebrew could one begin to meditate on their true meaning. Amongst the neglect of letters generally, the knowledge of foreign languages had weakened greatly; but, says Abelard, this knowledge had been regained through the female sex.

What we have lost in men, we have regained in women: to the condemnation of men and the reproach of the stronger sex. The Queen of the South again seeks the wisdom of the true Solomon in you. You are so much the more able to devote yourself to this since nuns are less able to toil in physical exertion than monks are, and are more prone to fall into temptation through the quiet of leisure and weakness of nature. So this the aforesaid doctor, outstanding in teaching, and exhorting you both by his writing and his example, urges your efforts towards the study of letters; especially so that it should never be necessary to call

<sup>29</sup> Abelard, Letter IX, ed. Edmé Smits, *Peter Abelard. Letters IX-XIV*. Groningen, 1983, p.231 (PL, 178, col. 332A): '... ut dum potestis et matrem harum peritam trium linguarum habetis, ad hanc studii perfectionem feramini, ut quecumque de diuersis translationibus oborta dubitatio fuerit, per uos probatio terminari possit.'

<sup>30</sup> Letter IX, ed. Smits, p. 233 (PL, 178, col. 333C): 'Magisterium habetis in matre quod ad doctrinam litterarum potest, quod ad omnia uobis sufficere, tam ad exemplum scilicet uirtutum quam ad doctrinam litterarum. Potest, que non solum Latine, uerum etiam tam Ebraice quam Grece non expers litterature, sola hoc tempore illam trium linguarum adepta periciam uidetur, que ab omnibus in beato Ieronimo tanquam singularis gracia predicatur et ab ipso in supradictis uenerabilibus feminis maxime commendatur.'

in men on a matter of learning; so that the soul might concentrate on the body rather than wander out of doors in vain and, abandoning her spouse, fornicate with the world.<sup>31</sup>

Heloise herself never made such claims about study raising women's minds from the weakness of the flesh. She had argued that her love for Abelard was pure in itself, and that she could feel no guilt in sexual temptation. The simple instructions of the daily timetable reinforce the point that the life of the women of the Paraclete was strictly enclosed, and in major part was divided between liturgical prayer and reading, or other work for those so inclined.

Heloise's interest in the text of Scripture is vividly illustrated in the forty-two *Problemata* that she sent to Abelard, asking for a response. Many of these deal with ethical dilemmas presented by the text of Scripture, and implicitly question traditional notions of external morality. If Christ commanded that he who was without sin should cast the first stone, how could any judgement be made upon a sinner? The final question, about whether anyone could sin when doing something commanded by God, was interpreted by Abelard as a key question occupying Heloise: how could God's command to go forth and multiply be a sin? The choice of *Problemata* to describe what traditionally were called *Quaestiones* itself reflects a shared interest of Heloise and Abelard in Greek vocabulary, as 'more authentic' than Latin. Through these questions, Heloise engaged in serious commentary on the Bible. They give us a clue to the sort of moral teaching which the Abbess was expected to give during general chapter at the Paraclete.

The plays discussed in chapter 6 were not part of the Paraclete liturgy, as recorded in the thirteenth century, but they develop the story of Mary Magdalen in the very human way outlined in the 'Epithalamica'. Both are as concerned as 'Epithalamica' to provide a particularly 'authentic' and vivid representation of the encounter between Mary and Jesus, as a model of the relationship between any woman and Christ. 'Rex in accubitus', Mary Magdalen's words at the opening of the Gardener drama are almost identical to the middle section of 'Epithalamica'.<sup>32</sup>

There is also a striking correspondence between the stanzas in the Three Marys beginning 'Tanta sorores gaudia', and verse passages in the early *Love Letters*. The connexion between these stanzas, 'Jam dudum estivalia' and with Walther von der Vogelweide has already been discussed in chapter 6. Peter Dronke describes the 'Tanta sorores' stanzas as 'a virtuoso invention' and a 'masterpiece of vowel-play, unique in its time'.<sup>33</sup> On the contrary, it seems to me that there is a nascent occurrence of this vowel play in Letter 20, where the man (Abelard) uses a primitive version of the technique for his first love poem. Later, in an exchange of verses with the woman (Letters 38a-c), he composes five lines in which each leonine rhyme is a homoioteleuton on a different vowel; her reply clumsily repeats an -is rhyme, to which he replies more skilfully with a distinct rhyme for each line.<sup>34</sup> In his prose letters, the man prefers to avoid the more traditional style of rhyming phrases, instead ending his phrases with preferred rhythms (the *cursus*). She by contrast seems to enjoy the technique of rhyming phrases, in the style seen above (p.102) in Letter 84. This homoioteleuton style of rhyme is also used in her sequence 'Virgines caste', a style judged by Peter Dronke to be 'archaic' in the twelfth century.<sup>35</sup>

It is worth observing that the young female student of philosophy whose letters are recorded in the *Epistolae duorum amantium* is much more familiar than her teacher with hymns and liturgical texts generally. I have

<sup>31</sup> Letter IX, ed. Smits, pp.236-7 (PL, 178, col. 336A): 'Quod in uiris amisimus, et in feminis recuperemus et ad uirorum condemnationem et forioris sexus iudicium rursum regina Austri sapienciam ueri Salomonis in uobis exquirat. Cui tanto magis operam dare potestis, quanto in opere manuum minus moniales quam monachi desudere possunt et ex ocii quiete atque infirmitate nature facilius in temptacionem labi. Vnde et predictus doctor in uestram doctrinam et exortacionem precipuus tam scriptis quam exemplis laborem uestrum ad studium incitat litterarum, maxime ne occasione discendi uiros umquam acciri necessarium sit aut frustra corpore intentus animus foras euagetur et relicto sponso fornicetur cum mundo.'

<sup>32</sup> See p.68, above.

<sup>33</sup> Dronke, *Plays*, pp.87-8.

<sup>34</sup> In CB 126, discussed by Juanita Ruys in the previous chapter, its thirteen stanzas all develop a different end-rhyme, if we count -eo and -ito (stanzas 4 and 7), as also -la and -ia (stanzas 9 and 13) as different end-rhymes. If nothing else, this demonstrates the poet's linguistic virtuosity.

<sup>35</sup> Without knowing about its presence at the Paraclete, Peter Dronke thought that 'Virgines caste' was more likely to be an 11th-cent sequence, because of this 'archaising' style: see his 'Virgines caste', pp.97-8 (see p.69, n.13, above). Dronke (*Plays*, p.85) also thought that 'Epithalamica' was composed by 'one of the sisters at the Paraclete.'

commented elsewhere on the far greater proportion of scriptural and religious images within the woman's letters than in those of the man.<sup>36</sup> She is already familiar with the recondite images in Hebrew Scripture, which she quotes to him in Letter 27 as models of skill and wisdom, in reply to a particularly erotic message that he has sent: 'To her eye: the spirit of Bezalel, the strength of the three locks of hair [Samson], the beauty of the father of peace [Absalom], the depth of Ididia [Solomon].' She also turns phrases from hymns and liturgical prayers to express her feelings. Brought up at Argenteuil, Heloise's literary imagination was nurtured by her experience of the liturgy. In her early exchange with Abelard, she draws on hymns and other prayers, as well as on Scripture (in particular the Song of Songs) to express her devotion to Abelard. In Letter 2, and again in her verse reply (38b), she quotes from what seems to be an unidentified prayer, *Celi regnator sit inter nos mediator et sit socius fidei nostre*. When the relationship comes to a crisis with his assertion in Letter 59, *Ego nocens sum, qui te peccare coegi* (I am guilty who have forced you to sin), she recites at the end of Letter 60 the prayer from the liturgy of Good Friday, *Omnipotens deus qui neminem vult perire qui supra paternum amorem diligit peccatores, illuminet cor tuum ...* (May almighty God, who wants no one to perish, who loves sinners with more than paternal love, illumine your heart ...). At the end of this letter she insists that they stop writing to each other, something he fails to do. When the relationship reaches a second, even more serious crisis in letter 112a, she adapts an antiphon for Maundy Thursday, *Ubi caritas et amor*, into a bitter reflexion on the difficulty of combining passion with love: *Ubi est amor et dilectio, ibi semper fervet exercitium* (Where there is passion and love, there always rages effort – see p.149, below). Heloise displays the same freedom in transforming the text of Scripture in these letters as she shows in her letters to Abelard, as is also present in the Gardener play, when 'Victime paschali' is transformed into an extended dialogue between Mary Magdalen and the gardener, the risen Lord.

Heloise was also sympathetic to new movements of religious reform that embraced women as much as men. The poem added to the mortuary roll of the Blessed Vital of Savigny at Argenteuil in 1122 is an elegant composition that picks up the same theme of grief (*dolor*) as is developed in many of Heloise's love letters, as also in the refrain seen in the Three Marys play, *Heu quantus est noster dolor!*<sup>37</sup> It reflects admiration for Vital's pastoral activity, which included special attention to 'redeeming' fallen women and incorporating them into a religious community. Heloise's complaint to Abelard that there were no hymns specifically to honour women who were neither virgins nor martyrs has a particular resonance in the light of this enthusiasm for Vital. When Heloise dedicated the first daughter house of the Paraclete at Trainel (shortly before 1142) to the patronage of Mary Magdalen, she was echoing Robert of Arbrissel's dedication of the first daughter house of Fontevrault in 1100. Although churches first begin to be dedicated to Mary Magdalen in the second half of the eleventh century, it is only in the first half of the twelfth century that such dedications begin to grow in number.<sup>38</sup> The attitude of writers like Marbod of Rennes and Geoffrey of Vendôme towards Robert's interest in women was one of uncompromising misogyny. In common with Abelard, Heloise was opposed to these attitudes.<sup>39</sup>

In the 1130s Abelard became an enthusiastic advocate for the idea that Mary Magdalen was 'the apostle of the apostles.' In writing to Heloise, he reminded her of the phrase of Jesus, reported in St Matthew 21:31, about how prostitutes would enter the kingdom of God before the Jews, to explain how such publicly vilified women had been raised to a special place of divine favour:

Finally, to return to faithful or Christian women, it is pleasing to preach with amazement about, and to be amazed while preaching about, divine pity for the abject condition of common whores. For what was lower than Mary Magdalen or Mary of Egypt in their former status? Yet truly, a little time later heavenly grace raised them to honour and to divine favour. As we have commemorated above, one, indeed, remained in the society of the apostles, the other, as it is written, strove in the suffering of anchorites beyond human courage, so that, in the pattern of life of either kind of coenobite, the virtue of holy women surpasses all. What the

<sup>36</sup> LLL, pp.135–8.

<sup>37</sup> LLL, pp.162–3; and see Letters 25, 49, 53, 57, 69, 82, 90 and 104.

<sup>38</sup> The classic text on this development is Victor Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen age*, 2 vols. Paris, 1959. For a more recent survey, see Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalene. Myth and Metaphor*. London, 1994, pp.111–23 and on Fontevrault, see Dalarun (next note), p.72.

<sup>39</sup> LLL, pp.67–9; see also the perceptive analysis of Jacques Dalarun, 'La Madeleine dans l'Ouest de la France au tournant des XIe-XIIe siècles', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen Age*, 104 (1992), pp.71–119.

Lord said to unbelievers, 'prostitutes will go before you into the kingdom' seems unacceptable to people of good repute, and yet, according to the differences of sex and way of life, the last shall be first and the first last. Finally, who does not know that the women seized upon the teaching of Christ and the counsel of the apostles with such fervour for chastity that, in order to preserve their purity of body as well as of mind, they offered themselves as a total sacrifice to God through martyrdom, and, triumphing with a twofold crown, were zealous to follow the Lamb, Bridegroom of virgins, wherever he went.<sup>40</sup>

This line from St Matthew was a scriptural passage that never attracted attention in patristic literature, because it contradicted a deeply rooted assumption that virginity was the only sure way to enter the kingdom of heaven.<sup>41</sup> Whereas traditional monastic spirituality identified the Virgin as the archetypal Bride, at the Paraclete the Bride is Mary Magdalen. As Heloise asked Abelard for hymns about the Holy Innocents, the evangelists and women who were neither virgins nor martyrs, it would seem that none of these figures had a place of honour in the earliest years of the Paraclete. Because this theme of Mary Magdalen as apostle to the apostles does not occur in the *Historia Calamitatum* or any of the theological writings from the 1120s, it seems reasonable to assume that it was Heloise who provoked Abelard to think in this direction. In his two hymns in honour of Mary Magdalen (Waddell, nos. 96–97), Abelard remedied this deficiency, but still emphasised the traditional image of Mary as 'a blessed sinner' whose feast-day 'makes sinners rejoice' in hymn 96:

Peccatrici beate sollemnitas  
peccatores maxime letificat.

Through her contrition she earned the mercy of God, of which the Pharisee was unaware in hymn 97:

Phariseus domini clementiam,  
quam ignorat, credit ignorantiam.

By contrast, there is no such allusion to Mary Magdalen as a sinner either in 'Epithalamica' or in the Easter plays, which focus on Mary as one who is devoted to the risen Lord.

The image of Mary Magdalen, implicit in 'Epithalamica' and explicit in the Easter plays, takes Abelard's ideas about 'the apostle of the apostles' into a new direction. In many ways, the Paraclete liturgy foreshadows the increasing devotional interest in Mary Magdalen in religious music and drama that takes place over the next hundred years. Even within the Cistercian order itself, Bernard of Clairvaux transformed an austere spirituality by reflecting on the human experience of love and grief as a way of coming to understand the love of God, manifest through the suffering of Christ on the cross. Whereas the Abbot of Clairvaux did not go as far as Abelard in arguing that human nature was not under any legitimate yoke to the Devil, Bernard dwelt extensively on the process by which love brings a soul to God, occasionally using Mary Magdalen as an example of a sinner who discovered the love of God.<sup>42</sup> His first devotion, however, was not to Mary Magdalen, but to the Virgin Mary. It took an unknown Cistercian disciple of Bernard, sometime in the second half of the twelfth century, to transform Bernard's reflexions into a new life of Mary Magdalen, a treatise in which distinctly Abelardian themes of contrition can be discerned.<sup>43</sup>

The Cistercian liturgy as a whole was transformed by 1146 or 1147 by the implementation of radical changes, supervised by Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>44</sup> At Cluny itself, Peter the Venerable introduced liturgical reforms that sought to respond to the challenge set by Cistercian example, sometime before 1147.<sup>45</sup> Although it is impossible to be

<sup>40</sup> Abelard, Letter VII, Hicks, pp.138–9 (not in Radice).

<sup>41</sup> *The Library of Latin Texts CLCT-5 Database* (published by Brepols) reveals that Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome each cited Matt 21:31 (*publicani et meretrices praecedunt vos in regnum dei*) only once in their writings, and never as a basis for extended discussion.

<sup>42</sup> Bernard, *Sermo super Cantica Cantorum* 22.9, SBO 1, p.135.

<sup>43</sup> PL, 112, cols. 1431–1508; see also David Mycoff, *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of her Sister Saint Martha*. Kalamazoo, 1989 (I am indebted to Katie Oppel for this reference).

<sup>44</sup> See p.23, n.26, above.

<sup>45</sup> *Statuta Petri Venerabilis Abbatis Cluniacensis*, ed. Giles Constable, in *Consuetudines Benedictinae Varias (Saec. XI–Saec. XIV)*, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum 6. Siegburg, 1975, p.90; and see Joseph Szövérfy, 'False' Use of "Unfitting" Hymns:

certain exactly when they were drawn up, the fact that Abelard makes no allusion to these reforms in his Hymnal suggests that Heloise may have influenced Peter the Venerable, rather than the other way round. In 1141, Peter the Venerable made critical comments about the many 'false' songs sung in the church, very similar to the complaints attributed by Abelard to Heloise, to justify his composition of a new hymn on St Benedict.<sup>46</sup> When he praised Heloise's gift for spiritual edification, 'with the hidden sweetness of sacred letters', he seems to be referring to her gift at reworking Scripture in new and exciting ways. If Heloise was as celebrated a writer as Hugh Metel says she was, it seems implausible to think that she never contributed to making the liturgy of the Paraclete as distinctive and original as it was. Peter the Venerable may himself have helped promote the diffusion of texts like 'Epithalamica' to le Puy and the Easter plays to Vic, where Peter the Venerable was himself travelling, en route to Spain during a twelve month period between 1142 and 1143.<sup>47</sup>

It is possible that further research might reveal more evidence for the literary activity of Heloise. There are many unattributed hymns and sequences of the period and likewise many plays in the manuscript record whose significance needs to be elucidated. Inquiry must stretch wider than the narrow group of letters to Abelard that have been the subject of such interest since they were discovered by Jean de Meun, just as Cistercian scholarship must range more widely than specifically Cistercian sources. Scepticism about the traditional image of Heloise as a romantic heroine has had a positive effect in drawing attention to the monastic context of the Paraclete. Anonymous liturgical texts need as much attention from literary scholars as anonymous love letters in any effort to discern their connexion to more clearly identifiable writings by Abelard and Heloise. The task is not easy, but should not be shirked. The weakness with the emphasis of scholars on the 'monastic' context of the celebrated correspondence is that it has not taken sufficient account of the distinctive direction of religious culture and liturgical experience at the Paraclete. It was not simply a reassertion of traditional Benedictine monasticism.

Heloise had reawakened Abelard's creative gift for lyric composition. The *planctus* provide a particularly poignant effort to bring to life figures from Scripture in whom Heloise had a long-standing interest. There seems no reason to doubt Abelard's claim in the Preface to Book I of his Hymnal that he originally saw no need for new hymns to be composed, and that it was only through Heloise's persuasion that he changed his mind. Yet Abelard was not the only creative figure at the Paraclete. Heloise was a woman of great literary gifts, whose skills had initially attracted the attention of Abelard when she was living in the cathedral cloister of Notre-Dame. She was interested in the Cistercian reform and, unlike Abelard, maintained good relations with Bernard of Clairvaux, who promoted her cause to Eugenius III in 1150.<sup>48</sup> The discovery at Clairvaux in the late fifteenth century of love letters that emphasise the purity of love as both *amor* and *dilectio*, is not so surprising when we consider that Bernard was concerned with similar themes in his reflexions on the Song of Songs. The nuns of the Paraclete prayed every year for the monks of Clairvaux, and were very familiar with their liturgy.<sup>49</sup> Heloise, however, did not feel bound by respect for the letter of the Rule of Benedict. She had many frustrations with the hypocrisy which she found in much religious life; yet this did not stop her from applying her literary gifts to the community of nuns for which she had become responsible at the Abbey. As with so many new or reformed religious communities in the twelfth century, new liturgical compositions and melodies helped create a new sense of community, in this case under the patronage of the Paraclete and in close awareness of the achievement of Mary Magdalen.

Some ideas shared by Peter the Venerable, Abelard and Heloise' (1979), reprinted in Szövérfy, *Psallat Chorus Caelestium. Religious Lyrics of the Middle Ages. Hymnological Studies and Collected Essays*. Berlin, 1983, pp.437-49.

<sup>46</sup> Letter 124, Constable.

<sup>47</sup> On his travels in these years, see Constable, *Letters*, 2, p.262. Wulstan's alternative explanation for the transmission to le Puy and Vic is offered below, in chapter 9.

<sup>48</sup> Waddell comments at length on Letter X and the Hymnal in *12th-cCistH*, pp.64-70. Bernard, *Ep.* 278, *SBO*, 8, p.190.

<sup>49</sup> *LLL*, p.161 and p.358, n.66.

The *Institutiones* are translated below from the 1987 edition established by Waddell (*Institutiones*, pp. 9-15; the references to Waddell in the following footnotes relate to this volume). Abelard's *Rule* is reasonably clear as to the terminology of the Offices. Unfortunately, Heloise follows Cistercian practice of the day and uses simply the word *vigilia* to mean Matins (and, in one instance, Matins followed by Lauds). As with Abelard's confusing use of *laudes* in the prefaces to Books I & II of the Paraclete Hymnal (and indeed his use of *vigilia* in the preface to Book III), I have used the appropriate liturgical terms in the translation. On the identity of the 'Veni creator' in 11a, and other matters, see Waddell, *passim*.

## THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE PARACLETE

### 1. [On first principles]

Our Institutions take their fabric from the teaching of Christ, who preached and taught humility and obedience. We follow the paths of the apostles' living in common. We keep in our habit poverty and humility, obedience in subjection:<sup>50</sup> in our way of life, because we live in common, we follow the apostles. Because temporal benefits come from anywhere, they are divided up for individuals as far as possible; if there is not enough for everybody, most is given to those more in need. And since we have renounced the world, and our effort is for God, we remain in the vow of chastity, and strive to please him with all our strength according to the measure of what we have been given.

### 2. On the suitability of customs

As the Lord looks over us, providing some places for us, we have sent certain women from us to keep a religious way of life in sufficient number. Let us note, however, the customs of our way of life, so that what the mother house keeps unchangeably, the daughters may keep uniformly.<sup>51</sup>

### 3. On the habit

Our habit is cheap and simple, consisting of lambskins, linen and woollen clothes.<sup>52</sup> In buying or making these, no precious materials are to be chosen, only what can be bought or obtained cheaply. It should be noted that this ought to be sufficient for each person, but we are certainly far removed from having enough.

### 4. On beds

We have on our beds, mattresses, pillows and linen sheets, distributed to each person.<sup>53</sup> If individuals do not receive what is sufficient, it should be put down to poverty.

### 5. [On food and drink]

We eat any kind of bread. If there is wheat, it can be of wheat; if wheat is lacking, it should be of any kind of grain.<sup>54</sup> In our refectory, the food is without meat: vegetables are what the garden produces.<sup>55</sup> Milk, eggs and cheese are

<sup>50</sup> David Wulstan reminds me that in returning to the Benedictine *obedience* Heloise significantly goes against Abelard's prescription in the *Rule* that the three essentials of monastic religion are to live continently, without property and in the *greatest silence* (see Radice, pp.184-90), a modification which Clanchy (p.157) has explained as Abelard's effort to silence Heloise herself. Unlike the *Exordium Cistercii*, (ed. Waddell, p.li-iv), the *Institutiones* themselves do not mention the Rule of Benedict as the basis of the way of life to be followed.

<sup>51</sup> *Exordium Cistercii*, 9-10 (previous note), on the importance of uniformity in liturgical observance.

<sup>52</sup> Waddell, p.86, notes parallels to *Exordium Cistercii*, 11 (p.lii), on cheapness of clothing, but observes that the *Institutiones* differ from standing Cistercian practice in permitting linen and lambskins, advocated by Abelard in his *Rule*, (see p.102, n.23, above) pp.280-1 (Radice, pp.248-50).

<sup>53</sup> Abelard, not Benedict, provides the vocabulary about mattresses and linen sheets: *Rule*, p.282 (Radice, p.250).

<sup>54</sup> Abelard prohibited the eating of the best quality wheat bread, but required that with normal wheat, a third part of poorer quality grain had to be added, according to the *Rule*, p.277 (Radice, p.243).

<sup>55</sup> Waddell, p.95, notes the parallel with *Exordium Cistercii*, 13, instructing that meals are without meat, but with exceptions for the weak. Abelard had permitted meat up to three times a week, but counselled discretion: *Rule*, p.273 and pp.277-9 (Radice, p.237 and pp.246-7).

brought in more rarely, as is fish, if fish is offered; the wine is mixed with water.<sup>56</sup> Two dishes are taken in the first meal. At supper, there are greens or fruit or something similar, if they are available. We also bear the absence of these things without grumbling.

6. *On obedience.*

Let the debt of obedience be shown to the Abbess and Prioress alone.<sup>57</sup> No one presumes to go out of the cloister of the monastery without their permission; no one may give or receive anything, no one may keep it, unless permission is given. Furthermore, we obey each other in the disposition of charity.

7. *From where necessities may come.*

It was part of the religious way of life to live from cultivating the land and our own effort – if only we could do so. But because we do not have enough for this, through weakness, we admit lay-brothers and lay-sisters, so that those things which the rigour of religious life does not allow to be carried out through us, may be carried out through them. We also receive whatever the faithful might make as gifts, in the manner of other churches.<sup>58</sup>

8. *That we do not go out.*

We observe the rule that no veiled nun may go out for the sake of any necessity, for the sake of outside business, or may enter the house of any secular person. For domestic business, however, and for the protection of our property we send out to our houses both nuns and lay-sisters experienced in age and way of life.<sup>59</sup>

9. *On those coming from afar.*

We do not allow anyone coming to us to stay a long time; but if she wants to remain, and reason allows her to be received, she should either profess vows or leave after the first seven days.<sup>60</sup>

10. *That a nun should not be a lay-sister.*

If any lay-sister coming to us is received in the way of life of a lay-woman, she may not at all subsequently be made a nun, but she stays in that vocation to which she has been called.<sup>61</sup>

11a. *On the Night Offices from the beginning of October to Easter.*

When the signal for Matins (*ad vigiliis*) has been heard, we rise speedily and make haste, encouraging each other with moderation, to the work of God; when the signal is given, we offer the usual prayers at the nodding of the Prioress, bowing on solemn feast-days, kneeling on ferias. When the prayers are finished, we cross ourselves, and go to our places. The [chantress] for the week to whom falls the 'Deus in adiutorium', begins the 'Veni creator', following the verse and prayer. We also do this at the beginning of every Office, sung on special feasts, but said plain on other days. The duty chantress begins 'Domine, labia mea'. And we follow the Divine Office according to the custom of regular churches.

<sup>56</sup> Abelard discusses the dangers of wine, and advises mixing it with water; *Rule*, pp.270–2 and p.276 (Radice, pp.231–7 and p.243).

<sup>57</sup> Waddell, p.101, observes that the phrase *debitum obedientie*, not found in Benedict, may be an adaptation of Romans 13:1–8.

<sup>58</sup> Waddell, p.104, argues that this is based on *Exordium Cistercii*, 15, about the importance of manual work; the *Institutiones* speak of *religio* rather than of the duties of monks or nuns. He also notes (p.107) that whereas the Cistercians prohibited gifts, the *Institutiones* accept gifts.

<sup>59</sup> Abelard prohibited all nuns from leaving the Abbey, and recommended that monks or lay-brothers should perform these errands; *Rule*, pp.258 and 283 (Radice, pp.209–10 and p.253); the *Institutiones* make no reference to this separate community of monks referred to by Abelard. The veiled nuns, consecrated by the Bishop, are different from ordinary nuns; *Rule*, p.281 (Radice, p.250).

<sup>60</sup> Waddell, pp.118–23, notes that the Cistercians required a full year novitiate. The short time given here may reflect common practice, or it may refer to accepting religious from another community.

<sup>61</sup> Modelled on *Exordium Cistercii*, 22, forbidding lay-brothers to become monks.

11b. [*On the order of daytime exercises in the winter season*]

After Matins and Lauds,<sup>62</sup> we all go out and the oratory is closed if it is not yet day; those who lack reading or activity sit in the chapter with a light kindled. If it is day, Prime follows immediately. On feast-days and Sundays, whether or not it is day, we all go back to the dormitory, resting on our beds until, as the daylight comes up more fully, we come into the cloister at the sound of the dormitory bell. It is first struck and then, when the Prioress makes a signal, we all go into the church, with the schola and the juniors at the front. Similarly, the signal of the Prioress is awaited before every Office. Before Prime, there is prayer in the choir stalls, as there is before Matins. After Prime, the morning Mass follows. Then we go into the chapter, where there are declarations and corrections according to the manner of faults in the judgement of the one holding the chapter.<sup>63</sup> On certain solemn feasts, the sisters come into the chapter, and their faults are to be corrected. Whenever the lay-brothers seriously fail, however, they are called into the chapter and are corrected in the presence of the whole chapter, so that they are put to greater shame. On special feasts, there is a sermon in the chapter. Going out of the chapter, we give ourselves to reading until Terce, if time permits. Terce follows, and then the main Mass. Sext follows without a break. After Sext, we give ourselves to reading until None.<sup>64</sup> The servants and the reader partake of the mixed [wine and water]. After None, we go to the refectory; a reading is listened to in the greatest silence.

And in other things, we follow a standard order. When the 'Tu autem' has been said, we proceed in an orderly fashion singing Grace, and enter the oratory; when Grace has been finished in the church, we go into the chapter, and the lay-sisters assemble, and something edifying is presented in the hearing of everyone by the sister instructed to do this. If time is left, we sit in the cloister until Vespers. Then Vespers are sung. It should be understood that no sister leaves the choir without permission. After Vespers, we sit in the cloister, meditating and praying in our hearts entirely without any gestures of penitence, in the greatest silence. Before the collation, we drink in the refectory, the duty-sister for the week giving a blessing. After the collation we sing Compline in church. When 'Requiescant' has been said, we say a prayer in the choir stalls. At a signal from the Abbess or Prioress, we stand and cross ourselves, and, as we leave in order, beginning with the most senior, the Abbess or Prioress sprinkles us with holy water. As we go into the dormitory, we turn to our beds and place ourselves on them, lying clothed and girded.<sup>65</sup>

11c. *On Sundays.*

On Sundays, as we leave the chapter, we receive holy water from the Abbess or Prioress, and we make a procession in the cloister, one sister carrying the cross, and two others bearing candles. After refreshment, None follows immediately. After None, something edifying is expounded, as already explained. After Vespers there is the meal. And in this way we conduct ourselves according to the manner already set out.

11d. [*On the order of exercises on ordinary days*]

On ordinary days, Prime is sung in the full light of morning; afterwards, we sit in the cloister reading, singing and working until Terce.<sup>66</sup> Then we go into the chapter. Having left the chapter, we sit in the cloister. The weaker partake of the mixed [wine and water] according to the dispensation of the Abbess. No one is allowed to sit in the cloister without work or reading. After Sext, the main Mass follows, and None immediately after; after None, we go into the refectory. We follow other matters according to what has been said earlier.

<sup>62</sup> *Post vigiliis* ... Lauds is here included as following immediately after Matins, according to Heloise's prescription. In his *Rule*, however, Abelard insisted that Lauds be sung at daybreak, but then allowed nuns to rest in bed. Abelard did not restrict resting in bed after the Night Office (Matins) to special days, and did not forbid a rest after Lauds in the summer season: *Rule*, pp.263–4 (Radice, pp.220–1).

<sup>63</sup> Abelard adds that a passage of the Rule (his own?) should be read and commented upon: *Rule*, pp.264–5 (Radice, p.221).

<sup>64</sup> Abelard provides for work between the main Mass and Sext, and then a meal after Sext, if there is no fast, followed by resting in bed: *Rule*, p.267 (Radice, p.226).

<sup>65</sup> Abelard specifies that the nuns should sleep in clean underwear: *Rule*, p.282 (Radice, p.250).

<sup>66</sup> Verbatim from *Rule*, p.264 (Radice, p.225).



11e. *On the summer season*

From Easter to the beginning of October as mentioned, they return after Lauds (*post laudes*) to their beds; after an interval, [a bell] is sounded in the dormitory; the sisters rise and come into the cloister, and read and sing until Prime. Before Prime, both on feasts and ferias, there is prayer in the choir stalls. After Prime follows the morning Mass. From there, they go into the chapter. Having left the chapter, they sit in the cloister reading and working until Terce. After Terce, there is the main Mass. After Sext, one goes into the refectory. After reciting Grace, we go into the dormitory, and sleeping, reading and working in bed without disturbing anyone is allowed.<sup>67</sup> Having heard the first signal for None, we rise and prepare ourselves, so that when a second signal is sounded, we enter the church in an orderly fashion at the sign of the Abbess or Prioress. From there we go into the refectory, and drink water. Then, we sit in the cloister, reading and working. We also go out to do any work at any necessary time of day, should we be told. After Vespers, there is the meal. Then we conduct ourselves as has already been ordained.

11f. [*On fast days*]

We fast for the Great Litany, the three days of Rogationtide, on Friday and Saturday before Pentecost, the vigil of St John the Baptist, the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul, the vigil of St Laurence, the vigil of the Assumption, and from mid September to Easter.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Note the changes of person, which correspond to the Latin original.

<sup>68</sup> *Vigilia* here is presumably ablative singular, 'on the vigil' in its more literal meaning. These are almost the same fasts as in *Exordium Cistercii*, 14, which adds to this list the feasts of Matthew, Simon & Jude, All Saints and Andrew, but does not mention Pentecost. Abelard speaks only generally about fasting: *Rule*, p.280 (*Radice*, p.247).

Sources and Influences; lyric and drama at the 'School of Abelard'

DAVID WULSTAN

IT has been seen that the Limoges *Sponsus* drama appears to have exerted a decided thematic and rhythmic influence upon Heloise's *Three Marys* play. Another line of apparent influence is the chant of the 'Ubi est Christus' segment of the *Three Marys*: its melodic details seem nearest to those witnessed by the Limoges MS; in addition, the chants of the Aquitanian repertory are closest to those used in Heloise's *Ortolanus* drama. As to the 'Quem queritis' used in the *Three Marys* drama, the comparative charts given by Susan Rankin<sup>1</sup> show many variants, though none corresponds very closely with the chant as seen in the Vic MS. Nevertheless, the melodies of the Limoges MS<sup>2</sup> joined by BNF lat 784 (f.106v) and two later Vic MSS which she does not mention, have the closest resemblance. All of these sources have the 'Ubi est Christus' seen in the corresponding section of Heloise's *Three Marys* (the Vic processions introduce the line rhythmically with a reader's formula: *Ora est, psallite! Jubet dominus canere!*).<sup>3</sup> As Susan Rankin shows, the two Limoges sources by no means agree with each other;<sup>4</sup> so it is an open question as to whence Heloise derived her melodies. Most of what appear to be chants in liturgical dramas seem to have been treated freely: this must be accounted a feature of the goliardic repertory, for such melodies very often contradict normal usage (although the 'Victime paschali' quotations seen in dramas influenced by Heloise are transmitted with somewhat greater consistency, as though perceived as being more akin to the chant proper). Heloise's treatment of 'Quem queritis' and other melodies of this genre may be regarded as an idiosyncrasy, yet it is hardly unprecedented; if elsewhere not perhaps as extreme, the freedom with which such chants were treated was considerable.

It is not generally understood that the apparently liturgical melodies used in church dramas did not necessarily conform to the use proper to the place. This is illustrated by the Beauvais Play of Daniel where the music of 'Salve festa dies' (adapted to 'Tene putas') is not that of the Beauvais Circumcision liturgy given elsewhere in the same MS, and which varies substantially from the Play version.<sup>5</sup> Again, the final item quotes from the hymn 'Nuntium vobis', but its melody differs from the version that was sung liturgically at Beauvais. So these adaptations were made, not from local usage, but from tunes borrowed from elsewhere, sometimes from other dramas ('Nuntium vobis' ended many Christmas and Epiphany plays). This paraliturgical repertory was transmitted in a different way from the music of the liturgy itself: it was part of the international currency of those whom we now call goliards.

This being so, to trace the provenance of a chant-like melody used in a liturgical drama is hardly a simple matter; moreover, bearing in mind Heloise's apparent propensities for adaptation, it is probably a fruitless task in connexion with her two dramas. Her attitude to plainchant is illustrated by the melody incipits that may be seen in the *OPF Ordinary*.<sup>6</sup> Some of these, such as the first melody for 'Jam lucis orto sidere' and the second for 'Dum hora cunctis', are clearly more or less standard tunes, though with some variants. That for 'Veni creator', despite the best offices of a later corrector, is a very peculiar variant of the standard melody; the drop of a fifth at the beginning of the first 'Rector potens' is suspicious; and the rising fifths of the first melodies for 'Rerum deus tenax' and 'Te lucis' ineluctably bring to mind several passages in Heloise's music (see for instance the section of 'Virgines caste' printed at Ex.9.3 below). In one instance (the fourth 'Jam lucis', also starting with a rising fifth) the tune seems to be a

<sup>1</sup> Susan Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in France and England*, 2 vols. New York, 1989, pp.9-16.

<sup>2</sup> BNF lat 1139 (facs Gillingham), f.53, not 54 as stated by Rankin.

<sup>3</sup> See next note. To my knowledge, the *Ubi est Christus?* occurs in no other plays apart from three dramas from Poitiers, two of which are fragmentary, as detailed below, on p.118: these two do not have the continuation *dominus ... sepulchrum*.

<sup>4</sup> Rankin, p.40; nor do the Vic processions - see Higiní Anglès, *La Música a Catalunya fins al Segle XIII*. Barcelona, 1935, pp.271-2 - which also diverge from the drama.

<sup>5</sup> See the preface to *Daniel*.

<sup>6</sup> II, pp.108-10, but I refer to the incipits as set out in Waddell, *Paraclete Hymnal* II, pp.116-18.

relative of a so-called 'Notre Dame' rondel (Anderson M32); elsewhere, the repeated notes of the ninth 'Jam lucis', the fifth 'Dum hora', the sixth 'Rector potens' and the 'Rerum deus' tunes severally are reminiscent of Heloise's penchant for these figures, as evinced in 'Rex in accubitus' (Ex.6.1). All in all, Fr Waddell's efforts to identify many of these melodies as belonging to the regular hymn repertory seem to be a losing battle. An assiduous search of the repertory would doubtless reveal many parallels; but I am prepared to wager that it would be in mediæval songs rather than hymns that cognates will be found.

The question of the provenance of the chants used in Heloise's dramas is as nothing compared with the problem of the origin of the Limoges Sponsus itself, as detailed at the end of chapter 6. If the Sponsus is, after all, a northern play adapted into a southern MS, then its archetypal mixed-language play, in French and Latin, was more likely to have been known to Heloise than that of the Limoges MS itself. The eleventh-century Goliardic decasyllabic French lyric quoted by Dronke<sup>7</sup> would seem therefore to be less of an isolated quirk, more part of a fairly widespread rhythmic tradition:

Quant li solleiz converset en Leon,  
en icel tens qu'est ortus Pliadon  
per un matin.

When the sun dwells in the sign of Leo  
in the time of the Pleiades' rising  
one morning ...

Dronke has concluded that two Hildesheim St Nicholas plays in the same rhythm, the Three Daughters and Three Clerks, must have been copied from a French exemplar.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the Goliardic decasyllabic was already found in the vernacular and in liturgical drama some time before it was espoused by the 'School of Abelard' in general,<sup>9</sup> and especially by Heloise in her Three Marys drama. As will be seen in a moment, the refrain *Heu quantus est noster dolor!* occurs in a fragmentary Sponsus drama of a later date, at the end of a stanza that begins *Omnipotens pater altissime*. This seems to point to yet another play that was dependent on Heloise.

The Hildesheim plays (eleventh century) have no music; but the close relationship of the text of the Three Daughters with its counterpart in the Fleury Playbook<sup>10</sup> makes it likely that the main melody of the latter was also that of Hildesheim. Before coming to the main melody, however, Fleury (F) begins with three stanzas in a different rhythm (and tune), stanzas which are absent in Hildesheim (H); these are followed (F4-9, to the main melody) by the equivalent of H1-6. Thereafter, F cuts to H17-18, adds some more material of its own, then repeats stanzas 1 and 2 of H. F then resumes by using H8-10, then repeats H17-18, and so on. The eighteen stanzas of H are considerably enlarged in F by repetitions and extra stanzas. It is fairly clear that F is an elaboration either of H, or of something like it, perhaps the French exemplar that Dronke adduces. The two plays may be compared in Young, II, pp.311-21.

The significance of the Fleury-Hildesheim Three Daughters (together with the Three Clerks and other St Nicholas plays from Fleury, and indeed those on other subjects such as the Raising of Lazarus) is its relentless decasyllabic rhythm. But there is a further, and startling significance: the main melody of the Fleury Three Daughters is virtually identical with that of the opening of Heloise's 'De profundis', as given in Ex.6.11. Why did she quote the tune of this drama at the opening of her *planctus*? Clearly, the melody must have held some deep memory for her.

This melody, or rather a variant of it, crops up in at least two other Fleury plays: the Image of St Nicholas (p.194 - *Quid prophani*); the Son of Getron (pp.196-205, at p.197 - *Et corande*); and an evanescent hint of it seems to occur in the Raising of Lazarus (pp.233-45 - see *potentiam declarare* at the cadence in the middle of the first stanza). Hilary wrote a Lazarus drama, and also an Image of Nicholas,<sup>11</sup> both of which use occasional decasyllabics and also

<sup>7</sup> Dronke, *Plays*, p.60, whence the translation.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.59. The Hildesheim plays are found in BL Add MS 22414, ff.3v-4.

<sup>9</sup> Henceforward I shall shed the inverted commas from the 'School of Abelard', but it should be understood that the word School is used merely for convenience.

<sup>10</sup> Orleans, Bibl de la ville, MS 201, pp.176-82. Facs and transcription in *Sacre Rappresentazioni ...*, ed. Giampiero Tintori and Raffaello Monterosso. Cremona, 1958. The rhythmic interpretation of the transcription is best described as wayward. The page numbers cited in the text above refer to the MS pages in facsimile.

<sup>11</sup> Bulst XI and XII. The initial words and hexasyllabic pattern of the 'Ex culpa veteri' in his Lazarus drama, and which has a French refrain *hor ai dolor ...*, are strikingly similar to Peter of Blois' 'A globo veteri' (CB 67).

employ French refrains somewhat after the manner of those (apparently in Occitan) of the Limoges Sponsus. These disparate factors might add up to very little; on the other hand, they may point to comparatively early days at the School of Abelard, when there was some experimentation by Hilary, and possibly by Heloise herself, in writing plays on such themes. The subjects of Lazarus, Martha, and of course Mary Magdalen, are mentioned in Abelard's Letter VIII.<sup>12</sup> It is possible, though a matter of pure conjecture, that one of Heloise's earliest efforts in the field was a short play on the subject of the Raising of Lazarus. Another possibility, which might be slightly more plausible, is that she wrote a *planctus* on the same subject using the decasyllabic rhythm, and indeed tune, that we know from the Fleury-Hildesheim Three Daughters. This hypothetical Lazarus *planctus*, addressed by Mary Magdalen to Jesus, might have used phrases such as *Pie Jhesu bone*. If so, this would explain the manner in which this tune is quoted at the beginning of her *planctus* on Abelard's death: Heloise again assumes the role of Mary Magdalen, praying for the resurrection of her brother in religion, now adding the words *pie deus*.

Dronke saw that there are echoes of lines from the Vic Three Marys in a German *Ludus de decem virginibus* from Eisenach.<sup>13</sup> This raises the possibility that Heloise wrote a Sponsus drama after she had taken the veil at Argenteuil. If so, she took passages from it when she came to write her later drama, the Three Marys, and they were also borrowed by Eisenach, whatever might have been the route of transmission. An alternative explanation for these lines appearing at Eisenach could be that an Argenteuil nun imitated her Three Marys in a species of retroversion into a Sponsus drama. At all events, the evidence, fragmentary though it be, speaks for itself. The play is a long one, mostly in German, but with many passages taken from the Latin liturgy. There is no music, and if the play were sung, there would have been considerable difficulty maintaining any sort of rhythm in many of the apparently verse passages.

The relevant extracts are given below (text cited from Curschmann and Glier). I have given the gist of most of the Latin stage directions.

*The Foolish Virgins say to the Wise* (p.282):

Date nobis de oleo vestro  
(quia lampades nostrae extinguuntur)

Give us some of your oil  
for our lamps are going out

[followed by eight lines of German, after which the *Prudentes* answer with two Latin lines that do not seem to be rhythmic, then eight more lines of German. Later (p.284), when approaching the Oil Vendor, the first *Fatua* sings:]

Omnipotens pater [sic; no more Latin words follow; then there are twelve lines of German. The second *Fatua* then sings:]

Sed eamus oleum emere  
praeter quod nil possumus agere.  
Qui caret hoc, carebit gloriae.

But let us go to buy the oil  
for there is nothing else that we can do.  
Whosoever lacks it shall lack [eternal] glory.

*Aliae respondent*

Heu quantus est noster dolor.

Alas! How great is our sorrow.

The rhymes in these few lines seem to parallel those of the Three Marys; both the decasyllabic rhythm and the characteristic word-order of Heloise's refrain can also be seen.

<sup>12</sup> Hicks, p.108. Martha's sister, according to St John, 11:2, was that 'Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair': since Gregory the Great, this Mary had been conflated with Mary Magdalen.

<sup>13</sup> *Plays*, pp.4 and 11. The play is printed in *Deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, ed. Michael Curschmann and Ingeborg Glier, III. Munich, 1981, pp.274-306, whence the page numbers given.

Whether or not she had a hand in the Sponsus drama from which these lines appear to derive, the transmission of Heloise's Three Marys drama, and indeed her Gardener Play, is of considerable interest. Heloise was at Argenteuil, latterly as Prioress, until 1129, when the nuns were expelled by Suger on the pretext of a forged document. Although many of the sisters followed Heloise and found refuge in the Paraclete in the same year, thanks to its being given to them by Abelard, the other party followed the Abbess to the Benedictine Abbey of Malmoué, not far from Provins.<sup>14</sup> This dispersal of the original community might have occasioned the first circulation of Heloise's dramas, a portmanteau version of them being taken to Malmoué and from thence reaching Origny, Tours and perhaps further afield. Nevertheless, as Brenda Cook has pointed out to me, the expulsion by Suger would have meant that the nuns took away only their clothing and bedlinen with them: any manuscripts that they might have been able to smuggle out would not have been of any substantial size.

The Origny Easter Play is a conflation of the Gardener and Three Marys plays, rendered entirely into French for the aristocratic nuns of the community. At Origny, the 'Omnipotens' sequence (see Ex.6.4 for its opening) was far longer than at Vic or Tours. At least one of the extra stanzas, and possibly one or two others in a later sequence of stanzas added at Origny, have a certain Heloisian air about them, and might just possibly reflect an earlier version of the Three Marys. This version was presumably discarded by Heloise, in common with the whole of the Gardener drama, as conjectured earlier. A comparison of these texts may be seen in the next section of this chapter.

The Tours version also includes elements of the Gardener drama. Its 'Omnipotens' stanzas are a little closer to the Vic version, but still there are what appear to be additions: these cannot necessarily be ruled out of hand as inauthentic, for they might represent an earlier effort. Unlike that of Origny, however, the entire text of Tours is in Latin, including the familiar refrain, *Heu, quantus est noster dolor!*, whose word-order was later changed in one of the Carmina Burana dramas to the more conventional *Heu, quantus est dolor noster*. The earlier word-order, *noster dolor*, gives rise to a strong suspicion that the refrain might originally have been in French. It will be recalled that the *OPF Ordinary* used at the Paraclete reveals that her nuns' knowledge of Latin was not necessarily as extensive as that of their Abbess (contrary to Cistercian custom that required even novices to understand Latin), so that many of the instructions had to be rendered into French. A glance at Ex.6.4 shows that the Origny version of the refrain might be close to such a supposed original, though it has one syllable too many and may have been re-ordered. The original refrain might therefore have run

*Helas! Com grans est nostre dolour!*

Against the possibility that this represents an earlier version is the fact that the first appearance of the refrain in Origny is mistakenly transcribed *Heu las*, which has every appearance of contamination with a Latin source of this item. In any event, this hypothetical vernacular refrain had been replaced by Latin by the time the drama(s) arrived at Tours and Vic. If we are to contemplate that the refrain of the 'Omnipotens' section was first written in French, then there might be a connexion with the vernacular refrain-lines that were encountered in chapter 3 and the Sponsus refrains seen in the Limoges MS; moreover, Hilary might have influenced, or been influenced by, this mixture of vernacular and Latin.

As to the transmission of the Heloisian elements that were incorporated into the dramas of the Carmina Burana and its relatives, it is in my view improbable that Hilary was responsible.<sup>15</sup> In the Carmina Burana, the dramas are in what might be called a 'German' section; similarly, Abelard's 'Virent prata' and 'Hebet sidus' are in another 'German' section. In contrast, the lyrics of Hilary are amongst another School of Abelard group found in a somewhat different location within the MS.

#### Reflexes of the Gardener and Three Marys dramas in later sources

I have included this as part of the chapter, although it should perhaps have been postponed as a somewhat indigestible excursus. The reader may pass over it if desired; but it does summarise some important pointers concerning the transmission of the plays and which add substance to some of the speculations made in previous paragraphs. The derived plays (of various titles and types) use materials from one or other of Heloise's two

<sup>14</sup> See p.67, n.6, above.

<sup>15</sup> On the provenance and date of the CB, see p.40, n.21, above.

compositions (e.g. Palermo is related to the Gardener Play, CB 16\* to the Three Marys) and often from both (as for instance Origny, Tours, CB 15\* and Klosterneuburg). This is, of course, only a conspectus; for more detail the reader is directed elsewhere.<sup>16</sup>

The dramas mentioned in connexion with the Gardener drama are mainly classified by Lipphardt as 'Visitatio' or 'Peregrinus' plays; some are what he calls the 'Ludus paschalis' type, which also figure in relation to the Three Marys drama. As will be seen in the course of this section, Lipphardt's classification is not entirely without its difficulties. Another point that requires some emphasis concerns chronology: although the appearance of a play in a datable MS may establish a *terminus ad quem* it does not necessarily indicate a *quo*; a later MS may enshrine a tradition that is earlier than a source which is chronologically prior. Thus the date of the witnesses (e.g. Vic or Palermo) does not directly indicate the antiquity of the tradition.

#### The Gardener drama and its dependents

As already detailed in chapter 6, the Bridegroom element of the drama is unique to Heloise. The remaining peculiarities are the identifications of the Gardener as one of the *dramatis personae* and the spelling *ortolanus*; the unscriptural elements of the recognition narrative; and the use of the 'Dic nobis' section of the sequence 'Victime paschali'. One or more of these features are found in various later dramas which are therefore assumed to be *dependents* in what follows. The more notable of these are identified where necessary.

The biblical recognition-scene begins at St John 20:13. The parts of this narrative that are taken up in various dramas are given below on separate lines, followed by the relevant dramas identified in Italics. Note the words in bold type.

#### I The Gospel narrative and its variants

St John 20:13 Dicunt ei illi:

mulier, quid ploras? *None of the dependents adds quem queris?*

Dicit eis:

**quia** tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum. *Virtually all dependents have this reading, though quia is omitted in a very few instances.*

...

20:15 Dicit ei Jesus:

mulier, quid ploras; quem queris? *All dependents*

Illa, existimans quia hortulanus esset, dicit ei: *The only plays to mention the Gardener in the rubrics are Fleury (779: 3 times, Hortolanus etc.), Palermo (811, ortolanus), Barking (770, ortolanus), Egmond (827, ortulanus), Klosterneuburg (829, hortulani) and CB 15\* (not in Lipphardt: ortulani, in top margin of Frag fol.6).*

**Domine**, si tu sustulisti eum, dicito mihi ubi posuisti eum et ego eum tollam. *All dependents, where this extract is used, have this reading.*

(16) Dicit ei Jesus:

Maria! *Most have one iteration, but Einsiedeln (783), Engelberg (784) and Rheinau (797) have it thrice, and Nottuln (794-5) has Maria - Raboni - Maria - Raboni; quod dicitur magister.*

Conversa illa dicit ei:

Rabboni! *Barking, Coutances, Fleury, Klosterneuburg, Rouen (775): raboni, Mont-St-Michel (773-4): rabbni or rabbin.*

(quod dicitur magister.)

(17) Dicit ei Jesus:

Noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum vade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum et deum meum et deum vestrum. *Barking, Coutances, Fleury, Klosterneuburg, Rouen and Mont-St-Michel have this Noli me tangere section.*

<sup>16</sup> See Lipphardt, vols. 1, 5 and 6 (see p.78, n.40, above) to which the three-figure numbers refer. Some of the provenances assumed by Lipphardt are dubious. Young also prints many of these plays, for which see his index, vol. II.

II The Vic MS: Heloise's treatment of the Gospel narrative  
and 'Dic nobis Maria'

Rex in accubitum ... , (rhythmical prelude by H, interrupted by Angeli:)  
Mulier, quid ploras? **Quem queris?** (this latter being an insertion by H, followed by Maria:)  
Occurrunt ... , (rhythmical prelude by H continued; then Ortolanus:)  
Mulier, quid ploras? **Quem queris?** (answered by Maria:)  
\* Tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum.  
\*\* Si tu sustulisti eum dicito mihi ubi posuisti eum et \*\*\* eum tollam.  
(biblical \***Quia**, \*\***Domine**, and \*\*\* **ego**, all omitted by H. Then Ortolanus sings:)  
Maria, Maria, Maria. (Compare this and the following with the biblical text, given above. Item responde Maria:)  
Raboni, Raboni, Magister. (Mar[ia] rediens dicit:)  
Dic, impie zabule, quid valet nunc fraus tua? (Insertion by H; followed by Dic nobis, Maria and the insertions of the Vic  
scribe detailed earlier. Note the following variants – rubrics omitted:)

Dic nobis Maria ...  
Scimus \*Christum surrexisse                      \*Palermo: quidem  
a mortuis vere  
Tu nobis \*Christe                      \*sic, Palermo and Heloise only: standard text (e.g. Origny): victor  
rex, miserere.

Various early dramas, e.g. Origny, Barking, Cividale, Nottuln and Einsiedeln, start at Dic Christi, as does Klosterneuburg, after a Harrowing of Hell dialogue etc. Neither Fleury, Rouen, nor Mont St-Michel has any of the sequence, but Coutances, Palermo, Rheinau and Tours begin with Victime ... . The Poitiers dramas (see below) all have Surrexit Christus.

III Conclusion

The originality of Heloise's Ortolanus drama is clearly to be seen in the way the Vic MS adds or subtracts from the Gospel narrative: although a couple of plays omit the *quia*, this may not be significant, but the addition of *Quem queris?* to the first *Mulier, quid ploras?* is unique to Vic, as are the omissions of *Domine* and *ego*. These variants show that Heloise is independent of those dramas nearly contemporary with her, or of such that might depend upon an early common exemplar. The dependent plays all retreated to the familiar Gospel readings, and only a few retained the character Ortolanus, some so spelt; moreover, the *Maria – Raboni* dialogue is watered down from the Vic original (the spelling may or may not be significant). The Palermo source (12th–13th-cent) is close in date to Heloise: here, the use of 'Dic Christi' is significant, for the sequence is not used by Fleury and some other plays. On the other hand, in common with Coutances and other dramas, Palermo amplifies the material by using the beginning of the sequence. The conjunctive variant, *Christe* for *victor*, is found nowhere else besides Palermo and Heloise; but the separative variant *quidem* for *Christum* is found at Palermo alone. Although it seems likely that Palermo made use of materials from Heloise, any debt in the other direction is highly unlikely, more especially in view of the other variants (e.g. *Raboni – Magister!*) unique to Heloise.

It will be noted that the Norman-French-Sicilian axis favours *orto-* and the Germanic (*h*)*ortu-*. The latter seems to display the threefold *Maria!* more frequently.

The Three Marys drama and its dependents

As mentioned earlier, there are two fragmentary dramas from Poitou, the first of which is 14th-cent (Young, I, p.271, Lipphardt no.151): this might possibly derive from Heloise, as it also records the *Surrexit Christus* segment of 'Dic Christi'. This item is also seen in a report of a *Visitatio* from Ste-Croix, Poitiers (Young I, p.571, Lipphardt no.152), apparently 13th-cent. In both instances only the four words *ubi est Christus meus* appear. In another 14th-cent drama from Poitiers, Lipphardt no.153, the *Ubi est Christus* continues *meus dominus et filius dilectus? Eamus videre sepulchrum*. This source, though complete, has the text only. Despite similarities, all three Poitiers dramas are different. The passage in Lipphardt 153, however, is very similar to

those seen in Vic and Limoges (see p.113 above, and see also note 18 below), the only difference being that they have *filii excelsus* for *dilectus*. Though otherwise not identical to the end of Heloise's Three Marys, this form of words is sufficiently similar to allow the speculation that some elements of this (and the other two Poitiers plays witnessed) might plausibly derive from Heloise. The possibility of a reverse line of influence, that of an earlier Poitevin tradition drawn upon by Heloise, does not seem plausible. This part of the Three Marys drama, together with its ramifications, is ignored in what follows, which treats only the matter of the decasyllabic stanzas.

The decasyllabic stanzas beginning 'Omnipotens pater altissime' pass through many variants. Their order in Vic is here indicated by the letters A–H, referring to stanzas printed on the left; further letters denote stanzas not found in Vic, positioned to the right. The number shows the ordering of that stanza in the source, so A1 will naturally represent Vic, as will D4, but the latter stanza is differently ordered in the other sources (Tours 6, etc.). The Eisenach readings have been discussed earlier, and are not accounted for here. Most of the plays that have these 'Omnipotens' stanzas (including many more not instanced here) are from the Germanic sphere. It must be stressed that the equivalent stanzas of Origny are in French, so only a general comparison can be made in regard to their relationship with those of the other sources.

A1. Omnipotens ... Vic, Tours, Origny, Egmond, Braunschweig (780: this stanza only. This source reads *dolor noster* in the refrain)

B2. Amisimus ... Vic, Tours, Origny, Egmond  
iste nobis erat subsidium Vic ≅  
ipse erat nobis consilium Tours

C3. Set eamus unguentum emere Vic (Set), Origny  
quo possimus corpus inungere;  
non amplius posset putrescere ≅  
Sed eamus unguentum emere  
ut hoc corpus possimus ungere;  
quod unquam vermes possint comedere Tours ≅  
Sed eamus unguentum emere  
quo dominum possimus ungere;  
ipse erat nostra redemptio. Egmond

I. Venite si complacet Tours 4 (no refrain, ends corpus domini sacramentum)

J. (Quo si corpus = Tours 5)

K. Aromata CB 15\* 1, Klos 1 (differs, and includes the line *holocausta sunt odifera*) Origny 5

L. Huc proprius CB 15\* 2, Egmond 4

D. Dic tu nobis Vic 4, Tours 6, Origny 6, CB 15\* 3, CB 16\* 1, Egmond 5  
Dic tu nobis, mercator juvenis, CB 16\* Dic tu mercator nobis juvenis<sup>17</sup>  
hoc unguentum si tu vendideris; Egmond, CB 16\* (not CB 15\*): unguentum  
dic precium nam jam habueris. Egmond: quod tibi dabimus CB 16\* and CB 15\*:  
pro quanto dederis

Heu ... Vic ≅  
Dic nobis, tu mercator juvenis ... (CB refrain: *dolor noster*)  
dic precium quod te dederimus. Tours

E. Mulieres ... Vic 5, Tours 7  
[No refrain]

M. Dabo vobis CB 15\* 4, Klos 2 (differs)

<sup>17</sup> This is doubtless an error. Dronke, *Plays*, p.208, Lipphardt, p.1715 and the CB edition, I.3, p.155, all silently correct the MS reading (f.108).



F. Quo si corpus Vic 6, Tours 5  
[No refrain]

G. Hoc unguentum si multum cupitis,  
unum auri talentum dabit;  
non aliter unquam portabit. Vic 7, Tours 8, Origny 7, Egmond 6 (unguentum)  
[Refrain given in Tours only] ≅

Hoc unguentum si vultis emere,  
auri talentum michi tradite;  
aliter nusquam portabit.  
Vere quantus sit dolor vester! CB 15\* ≅  
Hoc unguentum si multum cupitis,  
unum auri talentum dabit;  
aliter nusquam portabit.  
Optimum est. CB 16\*

H. O mercator Vic 8, Origny 8

#### The dispersion of Heloise's dramas

From the above extracts, it can readily be seen that the order of stanzas in Vic, probably as Heloise intended them, is more or less followed by Tours and Origny, but with some variation; by the time the materials had arrived in Klosterneuburg and were disseminated elsewhere in the German-Bohemian sphere, there are considerable differences. The position of Origny and Egmond is curious, however; this, together with the relationship of some of the Germanic plays to the Gardener drama, gives a strong impression that a conflated version of the Gardener and Three Marys plays was in circulation quite soon after they were composed. The spelling *unguentum* marks off Egmond and CB 16\* against Klosterneuburg and CB 15\*, as does the use of stanza L rather than K (compare the *holocausta* of this latter stanza with Heloise's *Holocaustum domino* of Ex.6.10 and numerous uses of the word by Abelard in his sermons and elsewhere). Yet Egmond marches with Vic, Tours and Origny at the outset (stanzas A,B,C – Eisenach must also enter into this reckoning). Klosterneuburg has only two stanzas, and both of these differ markedly from the others. The matter is complicated by Latin 8:7 stanzas seen at the beginning of Origny (which turns to French only at the equivalent of the 'Omnipotens' stanzas):

Jam percusso, heu, pastore  
oves errant misere ...

Now, alas, that the shepherd has been stricken  
the wretched sheep go astray

This stanza is found in CB 15\*, preceded by 8:7 lines beginning *Sed eamus* and *Heu, nobis*. These stanzas are asymmetric, but Cividale, Engelberg and Einsiedeln have stanzas in the order *Heu, nobis* – *Jam percusso* – *Sed eamus*, the first two of which are symmetrical. Origny's stanzas are entirely symmetrical, but here in the order *Jam percusso* – *Sed eamus* – *Quis revolvat*. Tours and Egmond have none of these, nor does Vic. Whatever the original form and order of these stanzas, they cannot emanate from Heloise: the rhyme-scheme is either irregular or non-existent. Cividale, Engelberg and Einsiedeln have decasyllabic stanzas in common, but which have no verbal relation to the 'Omnipotens' stanzas seen elsewhere.

CB and its relatives therefore seem to go with Origny, more or less: the pointers are stanza K and perhaps the *Jam percusso* stanza; yet Origny alone has the H stanza found in Vic. Tours is again close to Vic, but differs from Origny; Egmond seems to have a foot in both the French and Germanic camps. As discussed previously, the 'Ubi est Christus' segment (followed by the more conventional 'Quem queritis in sepulchro?' dialogue) is found only in Vic and the related passage in the Limoges MS.<sup>18</sup> Once more, the relationship of this MS and Heloise is to be noted: the Limoges Sponsus drama, with its decasyllabic stanzas, *mercator* and *sponsus*, together with the 'Ubi est Christus', points to a relationship between the Limoges MS, Heloise, and an unknown source that connects them.

<sup>18</sup> Gillingham, f.53. The 'Quem queritis?' dialogue is absent from the Poitiers dramas.

The following conspectus relies on five features: the mention of the Gardener, (Ho = *Hortulanus*, Hu = *Hortulanus*, Oo = *Ortolanus*, Ou = *Ortulanus*, denoting the spelling); the appearance of Dic (*nobis Maria*) or of the sequence starting at Victime (*paschali*), the absence of any part of the sequence being denoted by a line (thus –); the decasyllabic 'Omnipotens' stanzas or their prosodic but not thematic equivalent, designated as 10 and [10] respectively; the occurrence of a threefold *Maria!* (M<sup>3</sup>); and the appearance of the 'Jam percusso' or like stanzas, denoted 8:7. Lipphardt's classification, signalled as P(eregrinus), V(isitatio), L (=Ludus paschalis) are printed before the source, his numeration after.

#### I (Gardener plays)

P Palermo (811) Oo; Dic  
V Barking (770) Oo; Dic  
P Fleury (779) Ho; –  
L Egmond (827) Ou: Victime  
L Klosterneuburg (829) Hu; Dic  
[L] CB 15\* (not in Lipphardt) Ou; –

#### II (Maria-Raboni plays, but no other connexion)

V Rouen (775) –  
V Mont St-Michel (773–4) –

#### III (Combination plays)

L Tours (824) Dic; 10  
L Origny (825) Dic; 10; 8:7  
L Klosterneuburg (829) Dic 10; 8:7  
L Egmond (827) Victime; 10  
L CB 16\* (830) –; 10; 8:7

V Cividale (781) Dic; [10]  
V Nottuln (794–5) Dic; [10]; 8:7; M<sup>3</sup>  
V Einsiedeln (783) Dic; [10]; 8:7; M<sup>3</sup>  
V Rheinau (797) Victime; [10]; 8:7; M<sup>3</sup>

From the above, it seems likely that the first three Gardener plays of I were disseminated separately; the other Gardener plays should be considered as belonging to III, probably because of contamination with that tradition; the remaining plays of I may or may not be related to the Heloise lineage. Class I (possibly II) might have emanated from the Paraclete school at or before its closure in about 1126. Vic (823 – both dramas being included in this number) seems to have been transmitted separately. A copy of both the Gardener and Three Marys plays (the latter perhaps being an earlier version than that known from Vic) might have travelled from Argenteuil to Malmouë in 1129 when the nuns were dispersed upon the partial disbandment of the community and concocted into a prototype of III; such a play might be reflected by Tours and Origny; but these and the remaining plays of class III might relate to a portmanteau version already used at Argenteuil, Abelard's Paraclete, or both. These possibilities are returned to later. Whether or not the derived plays reflect contamination from more than one hyparchetype is problematic.

#### The transmission from the School of Abelard to the Carmina Burana

In regard to these plays, the road to the Tyrol is unlikely to have involved Hilary, either directly or indirectly, as noted earlier. The 'Omnipotens' stanzas in the Carmina Burana Passion Play (CB 16\*)<sup>19</sup> seem to have arrived there by dint of the transmission of a combination play, as seems also to be the case for the Resurrection Drama, CB 15\*. The story of Heloise and Abelard would hardly have been unknown in the Tyrol: many of its details, if sometimes luridly embellished or given a different party slant, were circulating at this time. The arrival of one or more people connected with the School of Abelard, bringing materials which included works by Heloise, would have greatly enriched the sources available to the compilers of the Carmina Burana.

<sup>19</sup> Edited by Dronke, *Plays*, pp.185–237.

The story of Heloise and her Three Marys drama might have had a particular effect. The Carmina Burana Passion Play incorporated some of her words and music: it is possible to imagine that it began with what its authors conceived to be an allegory of Heloise's conversion from the worldly to the spiritual life: a substantial part of this new play (something like a quarter) was devoted to the Mary Magdalen scene. Here, the Magdalen image of Heloise's play dominates much of the first part of the drama, in a wholly remarkable scene, or series of scenes: emphatically, the Magdalen of the Sepulchre has now become the 'woman who was a sinner' at the Pharisee's house, and the Merchant is now a different character. Prior to the Washing of the Feet, the Magdalen twice negotiates with the Merchant for rouge, scent and other cosmetics, before going 'on the town'. Thanks only to the repeated reproaches of an angel appearing in a dream does she eventually become reformed and seek out the Merchant again, this time for ointments for the ritual *pedilavium*. Even if it is entirely fanciful to read an embellished portrait of Heloise into this play, her words are certainly there, as for example in the Magdalen's song to the Merchant, *Dic tu nobis, mercator juvenis*. The *Heu quantus* line, however, does not function as a refrain in the Carmina Burana version, for it is not repeated. It is absent in the Merchant's reply beginning *Hoc unguentum si multum cupitis*.

In the Resurrection drama (CB 15\*)<sup>20</sup> the treatment of the ointment scene is closer to Heloise's original, and remains set at the Sepulchre. The lines beginning *Dic tu nobis* are now in the mouths of the three Marys, but their refrain is changed to *Heu, quantus est dolor noster!*, which echoes that of the Merchant (now called the Apothecary): *vere, quantus est dolor vester!* Apart from *Hoc unguentum*, his other lines have few contacts with Heloise or with the Passion drama.<sup>21</sup> The Magdalen element was toned down in this Resurrection Play: the three Marys now subsume an anonymous Magdalen, as in the more traditional Three Marys dramas. There are no betrayal scenes (in the CB Passion Play, the role of Judas and the denials of Peter might also have been inspired by the Heloise-Abelard story, still fresh in the minds of many). The Resurrection drama follows the plan of the Klosterneuburg play, whose relationship between the Heloise dramas on the one hand, and those of the Carmina Burana on the other, is complex, as has been seen. Much of the Klosterneuburg drama is couched in the Goliardic decasyllabic; the Gardener is there mentioned by name, and the play ends with the 'Dic nobis Maria' formula. Nevertheless, although many of Heloise's lines survive in the two Carmina Burana plays, they are represented by only two stanzas in Klosterneuburg. All of these details seem to indicate that there was a copy of Heloise's plays in the region which was drawn upon by the Austin Canons of Klosterneuburg and also by their equivalents at Bressanone.

As Dronke has pointed out, the Vienna Passion Play is clearly later than that of CB.<sup>22</sup> The Vienna MS provides us with the music for the 'Michi confer venditor' stanzas (in the 'Archpoet's Goliardic' metre) and other items in the CB Magdalen scene, but here, too, Heloise's own words have vanished; but has her music disappeared, too? Ulrich Müller speculated that the melody found in the Vienna MS for 'Michi confer venditor' (// 'Mundi delectatio', which begins the sequence of stanzas in CB) also fits the Archpoet's *Confessio Golie*.<sup>23</sup> It is not improbable that the Archpoet might have borrowed this melody, but where did it come from in the first place? Evidently it was a well-known tune, for a version of it was sung to the carol 'Puer nobis nascitur', recorded in various Renaissance sources.<sup>24</sup>

'Omnia sol temperat' (CB 136) is in this same rhythm, the 'Archpoet's Goliardic'. Elsewhere, John Ward will argue that 'Omnia sol temperat' is by Heloise. I would not wish to pre-empt any of Ward's arguments, but they do seem to me to be convincing.<sup>25</sup> In principle, the rhyme-scheme of 'Omnia sol temperat' is comparable to Abelard's

<sup>20</sup> Edited in CB I, 3, pp.134 ff., where the text of the Klosterneuburg play is also to be seen (and, at pp.149ff., the Vienna play mentioned below). The Passion play (CB 16\*) is sometimes called the 'Greater' Passion play in contradistinction to CB 14\*, the *Ludus breviter de passione* which is followed by the Resurrection play in CB. Although these were inserted later into the MS, Dronke's assumption (*Plays*, pp.185, 192) that the CB 15\* play was composed later than CB 16\* is unlikely to be correct. He dates the Passion play at 1180, which seems plausible.

<sup>21</sup> Here, the more typically French order of words *noster dolor* has now been replaced by *dolor noster/vester*.

<sup>22</sup> *Plays*, pp.192-4. Whether or not Vienna was directly dependent on CB is another matter. The *mercator* scene quickly developed into a knockabout comic sub-plot of many Easter plays, as may be seen in many later examples coming from the German-Bohemian orbit.

<sup>23</sup> 'Beobachtungen zu den "Carmina Burana" ...', *MJb*, 15 (1980) pp.104-111, at p.108.

<sup>24</sup> TEOC, pp.241-4 for discussion and for the tunes of 'Michi confer venditor' and 'Puer nobis nascitur'.

<sup>25</sup> I am grateful to J O Ward for letting me see his unpublished materials: as he notes, the word *presentialiter*, much used by Abelard, is significant in this poem. Note the *decus* common to this lyric and those mentioned on p.131, below.

'Hebet sidus' or 'Virent prata', so we may assume that this is an early song from the period before Abelard adopted homoioteleuton in his rhythmic poetry, followed by Heloise. It begins:

<p>Omnia sol temperat novo mundo reserat ad amorem properat et jocundis imperat</p>	<p>purus et subtilis, faciem Aprilis; animus herilis, decus puerilis.</p>	<p><i>The clear sun imbues everything with a pleasant warmth, revealing the face of April to a new world; the mind of the mistress* impels us in the direction of love, and the beauteous boy-god* gives orders to the joyous- hearted. *sc. Venus &amp; Cupid</i></p>
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As always in the Carmina Burana this lyric is anonymous; but this does not mean, any more than with the poems of Peter of Blois or the Archpoet, that the readers of the Carmina Burana were entirely unaware of the authorship of well-known lyrics. If 'Omnia sol temperat' were widely known to be by Heloise, then the use of its tune for the 'tart on the town' sequence of stanzas would give particular point to them. We may imagine a disapproving Austin Canon causing 'Mundi delectatio' and its companion lines to be penned to this melody: this would act as an Awful Warning to womanhood and to the men that might become entrapped by the charms of those whom he imagined to be hetaera such as Heloise. In *Music from the Paraclete* (though the lyric surely dates from the Paris days) the tune of 'Mundi delectatio' has been united with the words of 'Omnia sol temperat'.

Whether there is any truth in this speculation or not, Walther von der Vogelweide evidently gave a sympathetic reception to the lyrics of Heloise and Abelard. Stanzas of his 'Diu welt was gelf' are found at the end of Abelard's 'Virent prata' and 'Hebet sidus' (see Exx.3.1-2), where the Latin and German texts clearly share the same tune. Another Walther lyric has a possible connexion with the Carmina Burana: the tune for his *Palästinalied* is generally thought to be that of Jaufré Rudel's 'Lanquan li jorn'.<sup>26</sup> It is true that Walther's melody, preserved in the Münster MS, has some similarities with that of 'Lanquan li jorn'<sup>27</sup>, but although both tunes begin with a common formula, the resemblances are otherwise fleeting; their coincidental nature hardly justifies any supposed direct relationship. Even if the two tunes were distantly related, the version known to Walther must have evolved considerably.<sup>28</sup> A variant of the first stanza of the *Palästinalied* ('Nun lebe ich mir alrest werde') is appended to 'Alte clamat epicurus' in the Carmina Burana (CB 211) after the manner of the Abelard lyrics mentioned above. But although there is a thematic connexion between these Abelard and Walther lyrics, there is none between the *Palästinalied* and 'Alte clamat epicurus' which are unlikely to have shared the same tune, *pace* Müller.<sup>29</sup>

Walther's patron, Duke Friedrich I of Austria, was killed on a crusade in 1198; his successor, Leopold VI, was deaf to the poet's attempts to gain favour, so Walther was forced to leave Vienna later in that year. His subsequent wanderings seem to have included visits to Northern France, Lombardy and Klosterneuburg. Comparatively little is known of the years between 1199 and 1203, when he returned to Vienna. It would hardly be surprising if he had visited the southern Tyrol on more than one occasion during this period; and although it is unlikely that he himself brought Abelardian materials to the Klosterneuburg region, it was probably here that he came across lyrics on which he modelled some of his own compositions. It may be surmised that these lyrics had already been transmitted to the Tyrol by someone connected with the School of Abelard.<sup>30</sup> The *Palästinalied* is likely to have been written in 1198 or just before: the version found in the Carmina Burana appears to be an early one, for the later text, 'Nû alerst lebe ich mir werde' is rather different. As Rebecca Davies has pointed out, this marries the words to the tune to a

<sup>26</sup> So Müller in the article cited at n.23.

<sup>27</sup> For the tune, see Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*. New York, 1984, pp.215\*-219\*, where the various melodies, including that of Walther and a Latin 'Ave regina' may be compared.

<sup>28</sup> Two *Marienklage* patently modelled on Walther's melody may be seen in Gennrich, *Die Contrafaktur* (see p.38, n.20, above), pp.223-4.

<sup>29</sup> see n.23, above.

<sup>30</sup> On Walther's life see *Walther. Dichter und Denkmal*, ed. Oswald Egger and Hermann Gummerer. Vienna, 1990. Further chronological details are to be found on the University of Karlsruhe website: <http://www.uni-karlsruhe.de/~za874/homepage/walther.html>. CB 124 records the murder of King Philip in 1208: Walther had been present at Philip's first coronation in 1198 at Mainz (he was later crowned at Aachen in 1204).

remarkable degree, in that important words go with higher notes, and so on.<sup>31</sup> This being so, the tune is either Walther's own, to which 'Alte clamat' was set by a Carmina Burana author, or one which he had already borrowed for 'Nun lebe ich mir alrest werde' (certainly not the 'Lanquan li jom' that we know, for the word-melody correspondences could not exist there, nor in the later version of the *Palästinalied*, 'Nū alrest lebe ich mir werde'). Subsequently, Walther may have originated the technique of melodic matching seen in the later version, probably as a result of melding the Germanic *Spruch* technique with that of such songs as Abelard's 'Virent prata' (see Ex.3.1).

The problem of Walther's 'Diu welt was, gelf' and 'Jam dudum estivalia' (CB 3\*) was touched upon in chapter 6. The remarkable five-vowel rhyme-sequence of both of these poems, also seen in 'Tanta sorores gaudia' from Heloise's Three Marys drama, makes the ascription of 'Jam dudum' to Der Marner dubious, as does its archaising homoioteleuton. Double rhyme is used by Hilary, Der Marner<sup>32</sup> and in the rhythmical poems of the Carmina Burana; other than by Heloise and Abelard, the late use of homoioteleuton is rare. Although Abelard might have written this lyric, or perhaps one of his pupils, Heloise is the strongest candidate for authorship. If 'Omnia sol temperat' is accepted as being a song from Heloise's Paris years, then the thematic and stylistic features of 'Jam dudum' would point to a later date. In the carefree 'Omnia sol temperat', with its 'be faithful to me' sentiments, she uses double rhyme, as Abelard does in the lyrics from the same period; in the gloomy 'Jam dudum' she follows the monastic Abelard in his retreat into the recrudescing homoioteleuton of his hymns and *planctus*.

Jam dudum estivalia  
pertransiere tempora.  
brumalis sevitia  
jam venit in tristitia.  
grando, nix et pluvia  
sic corda reddunt segnia,  
ut desolentur omnia.

Not long ago it was summer  
now the time has passed;  
bitter winter is here instead  
already bringing depression.  
Hail, snow and rain  
carry such disheartenment  
that all is now dispirited.

The use of the phrase *jam dudum* in Letter II<sup>33</sup> (where she complains of Abelard's neglect of her and her Abbey) may be mere coincidence, but it is a phrase that finds its way into more than one of the Carmina Burana, as for example 'Jam dudum Amoris militem' (CB 166). Two lines of 'Jam dudum estivalia', *brumalis sevitia* and, in a later stanza, *jam cedit calor frigori*, are paralleled in her *versus* enlisting the help of Clio (Letter 66): *annue Melpone: 'spirant dum frigore brume'* in which the common theme of 'Jam dudum estivalia' and 'Diu welt was, gelf' is anticipated. Incidentally, this theme of old and young, expressed as Winter and Summer, is seen in Walther's virtuoso 'Minne diu hât einen site'.<sup>34</sup>

This thematic correspondence, allied with the homoioteleuta of 'Jam dudum', which has an identical rhyme-scheme in 'Tanta sorores gaudia', makes Heloise's authorship difficult to avoid. As to the common seven-vowel rhyme-scheme used in these lyrics and by Walther in his 'Diu welt was, gelf', it is clear that 'Jam dudum' could not alone have been his model, for the rather unusual combination of line-lengths is different: the tune would not have fitted. The Carmina Burana Passion Play quotes from the 'Omnipotens' series of stanzas from The Three Marys play that we have identified as hers. 'Tanta sorores' is also from the Three Marys, although its lines were not used in the CB equivalent: if Heloise's play had been carried to the Tyrol, it may be guessed that it was at Klosterneuburg where Walther saw it, and perhaps other lyrics that eventually found their way into the Carmina Burana.<sup>35</sup> This tune

<sup>31</sup> 'Music in *Minnesang* of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries and its Interrelationships with Text', MA diss, Birmingham University (1993). See also A H Touber, 'Zur Einheit von Wort und Weise im Minnesang', *ZdA*, 93 (1964), pp.313-20.

<sup>32</sup> See the two poems printed in CB I, 3, pp.189-90. The question of the rhyme schemes of these and several other poems discussed here is taken up in the appendix at the end of this chapter.

<sup>33</sup> Hicks, p.48, line 115. It is not impossible that this lyric dates from about the time of the letter, as mooted at the end of this chapter.

<sup>34</sup> See A J Hatto and R J Taylor, 'Recent Work on the Arithmetical Principle of Medieval Poetry', *Modern Language Review*, 46 (1951), pp.396-403. A forty-year-old man complains that a twenty-four-year-old has stolen her affections: the total number of lines is 40, of which 24 are in the *frons* sections (likewise the number of metrical units in each stanza and *frons*. I am indebted to Rebecca Davies for this reference). There is number significance, too, in Walther's Crusade song 'Owêi sint verschwunden alliu mwâniu jâr'. The source of this technique has yet to be identified.

<sup>35</sup> For his connexion with Klosterneuburg see the Karlsruhe website (n.30, above).

provided the metrical model for the lyric in which he reworked the wintry sentiments of 'Jam dudum', whose rhyme-scheme it also shared. Thus, there is a parallel with Gautier's lyric, which, as discussed in chapter 3, made use of both of Abelard's lyrics sharing the same tune; similarly, Walther's lyric appears to depend upon two models rather than one. The late copy of 'Jam dudum' in the Carmina Burana was left incomplete; and 'Tanta sorores' is not in any of the CB passion plays. Thus Walther, influenced by both of these items, must have seen them either in exemplars used by the scribes of the Carmina Burana or in some other intermediary source. Here, the setting of 'Tanta sorores' that we know from Vic may be compared with the first stanza of Walther's lyric (bold type):

Ex.9.1

Tan - ta, so - ro - res, gau - di - a de - flo - rent in - tris - ti - ci - a  
cum in - no - cens op - ro - bri - a fert et cru - cis sus - pen - di - a  
Diu welt was gelf, rôt un - de blâ, gruene in dem waldê und an - ders - wâ,  
die clei - ne vo - gel sun - gen dâ, nû schriet at ber - diu ne - bel - crâ.

Ju - de - o - rum in - vi - di - a et prin - ci - pum per - fi - di - a  
phligt sî iht an - der var - we? Ja! sist wor - den bleich und ü - ber - grâ

quid an - ge - mus, et qua - li - a!  
des rim - phet sich vil me - nich brâ.

Another tantalising hint of a Walther connexion is to be seen in his lyric 'Frô welt, ir sult dem wirte sagen'. This is how the Magdalen is typified in the Carmina Burana Passion Play, a Lady World singing 'Mundi delectatio' whose tune, as we have seen, might have been that of Heloise's 'Omnia sol temperat'.<sup>36</sup> Even if this speculation be dismissed, the substantive connexion between Walther and at least four lyrics from the School of Abelard gives the strong impression that many of Heloise and Abelard's lyrics were known in the Tyrol, and that they (and probably others which may yet come to light) fascinated Walther to the extent of his modelling two or more of his lyrics upon them.

If these were not helped on their journey to the Tyrol by Hilary or his pupils, then how did they arrive there? CB 131-2 are by Philip, Chancellor of Paris from 1217 until his death in 1236: there is a likelihood that these, and the items which follow them were copied towards the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>37</sup> CB 136 and 136a ('Omnia' and 'Solde ih noch') is followed by a succession of lyrics entered after the same fashion, a Latin lyric being followed by a German stanza. This is more or less the pattern of the sequence of poems amongst which 151 and 151a are found ('Virent' and 'So wol dir'), followed by 169 and 169a ('Hebet' and 'Roter munt'). These lyrics, together with 'Jam dudum' (CB 3\*) and the dramas 15\*-16\*, seem to point to a substantive connexion with Walter von der Vogelweide.

Moving to earlier CB items, 123 is by Walter of Chatillon and 124 is the elegy on the death of King Philip (1208) already mentioned.<sup>38</sup> This is closely followed by 126, 'Huc usque, me miseram', a poem discussed in chapter 7 by Juanita Ruys, who has attributed it to Heloise. Next comes 'Deus pater adjuva' (CB 127), a dialogue between a reluctant postulant and a monk. The would-be monk, whose name is represented merely by .N. (but is required to be trisyllabic by the prosody), decides against profession. This poem is also found in the Savignaner MS in which Worstbrock found 'Plange planctu', a poem apparently lamenting Abelard's treatment at the Council of Sens in

<sup>36</sup> This has a German stanza, 'Solde ih noch den tach geleben' attached in CB (136a). Is this another imitative lyric by Walther? If so, it does not appear to have the same metric as CB 136: as Dronke (see next note) rightly says, 136a is hardly a patchwork of two other poems. Gennrich (p.47 in the publication mentioned on p.38 n.20) thought that Blondel's 'Onques nus hom ne chanta' provided the tune for Walther's 'Frô welt'.

<sup>37</sup> In line with Dronke's dating of the MS - see p.40 n.21 above. For the reference to CB 136a see his p.178.

<sup>38</sup> See n.30, above.

1141, and which is next door to 'Deus pater' in the Savignaner MS.<sup>39</sup> This coincidence, to put it no more strongly, suggests a link with the School of Abelard in its very latest years, mediated by someone who had a connexion with Heloise, too.

One of Abelard's latest pupils must have been Berengar of Poitiers,<sup>40</sup> who wrote an atrabilious account of his master's trial at Sens, and whose sentiments were decidedly anti-monastic. Berengar's *Apologia* and *Epistola* have been edited by R M Thomson.<sup>41</sup> In the former, he appears to have had access to Heloise, for he quotes from what seems to be a letter to her from Abelard (T117-8). Jean de Meun knew Abelard's *Confessio fidei ad Heloisam* from Berengar (T105) – indeed, only in the *Apologia* is it preserved; and almost all of the several MSS containing Berengar's works contain at least one of Abelard's works, and three of them (which includes the one owned by Petrarch) preserve the *Historia Calamitatum* and the later correspondence between Heloise and Abelard.<sup>42</sup> It seems to me that he is the likely author of 'Plange planctu'; moreover, as Mews has now established that the Council of Sens was held only a year before Abelard's death,<sup>43</sup> 'Plange planctu' was very probably written, or at least finished, after the latter event, and must therefore be considered to be as much an elegy for Abelard as Heloise's 'De profundis'. The anti-monastic sentiments of 'Deus pater adjuva' (CB 127) are those of 'Plange planctu', but, as will be seen at the end of this chapter, the two pieces are very different in rhyming technique; as to whether Berengar could have written both is considered there, but he must have been responsible for their transmission from the School of Abelard at the very least.

If the presence of CB 127 is owed to Berengar, then he is as likely to have been part of the route of transmission for many other School of Abelard lyrics to the Tyrol, including perhaps a different portmanteau version of the plays of Heloise to that posited in the next paragraph, and which eventually became CB 15\*. Thomson has also pointed to the resemblances between the *Officium lusorum*, the Gamblers' Mass (CB 215, which includes a parody of 'Victime paschali') and Berengar's description of the drunken participants at the Council of Sens.<sup>44</sup> All of this would strongly suggest that Berengar might have been connected with the dissemination of such lyrics to the Tyrol and into the Carmina Burana collection. Indeed, it is eminently plausible; but it is equally possible that the representation of the School of Abelard lyrics in the CB corpus is entirely to be associated with Berengar rather than with Hilary, as has been generally assumed hitherto. Hilary's role, to be considered later in this chapter, is problematic: although he appears to have been at the Paraclete School at the time of its closure, he may have been associated with Abelard for longer than is generally thought.

Of Abelard's other possible pupils, the high-born Otto of Freising seems to have had knowledge of events connected with the School of Abelard in about 1133: although he was not a direct pupil of Abelard, his writings provide a wealth of information concerning the school up to this time.<sup>45</sup> He was Provost of Klosterneuburg and so

<sup>39</sup> See p.9 n.32, above.

<sup>40</sup> See Luscombe, pp.29ff.

<sup>41</sup> R M Thomson, 'The Satirical Works of Berengar of Poitiers. ...', *Mediaeval Studies*, 42 (1980), pp.111-13: see pp.90 and 135. Numbers preceded by T refer to pages in Thomson's article and edition. As Berengar styles himself *adolescentulus* and 'beardless' at the time (about 1141), he is unlikely to have been a pupil of Abelard's Paraclete years (*pace* LLL, p.41). The authenticity of the passage from an otherwise unknown letter from Heloise is questioned at T103, but there is no reason to doubt that it is substantially genuine.

<sup>42</sup> Oxford Bodleian Add A44, a particularly interesting English MS of the early 13th cent, has Berengar's Letter to the Carthusians (T107). Otherwise, it has many points of contact with the 'Notre Dame' repertory of the 12th cent, and several with the Carmina Burana. For the contents associated with the musical repertory (though there is no notation in the MS itself) see Nicky Losseff, *The Best Concords*. New York, 1994. The *Confessio fidei ad Heloisam* should not be confused with the so-called *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*, mentioned later.

<sup>43</sup> See p.19, n.1, above.

<sup>44</sup> T100, and indeed he finds that the *evangelium secundum marcas argenti*, the Gospel according to Silver Mark, has similarities with Berengar's parody of the Gospel according to St John. As Thomson rightly says, this item (CB 44) seems to emanate from mid 12th-cent Paris; the same section of CB contains many other 'Parisian' pieces, some of whose music is known. The Gamblers', Drinkers' or Goliard's Mass (entitled *Missa de potatoribus* in BL Harl 913 ff.13-14 and *Missa gulonis* in Harl 2851 ff.151-2), is found in many sources.

<sup>45</sup> Clanchy, pp.3-4; his reference on p.341 to Otto's presumed studentship should now be expunged. For Otto's connexion with Klosterneuburg and the transmission of works by Abelard, see Luscombe, p.83.

might have been responsible for the arrival there of a second combination version of Heloise's plays (whence it was perhaps copied into the Carmina Burana, e.g. CB 16\*, entered at a different time and in different hands from the other School of Abelard items). Although he took Abelard's side in the dispute against Bernard of Clairvaux, he later became a Cistercian: he is unlikely to have been instrumental in bringing any of the secular lyrics to the Tyrol, but he might have been the instigator of the Awful Warning in CB 16\* (see p.123, above). As Frederick Barbarossa's nephew, it is not impossible that he might have had a hand in the transmission of the Palermo drama mentioned on pp.117-18. In regard to the connexion between Heloise and the Fleury play that contains a reference to her Ortilanus (and possibly with at least one of the St Nicholas dramas), a possible intermediary might be the mysterious Robert, whose dialogue with a nun was mentioned in chapter 1.<sup>46</sup> The presence of a 'Parisian' repertory in the Fleury Playbook, with evident links with the more well-known Florence collection (F) is worthy of note.

### The Play of Daniel

Besides Berengar, a chance statement by a chronicler tells us that another pupil of Abelard's lattermost years was Ralph of Beauvais, an Englishman.<sup>47</sup> The most likely point of contact was Paris, presumably Mont-Ste-Geneviève, to which Abelard returned in c.1133, and probably finally left only in 1140. A Beauvais connexion with the Carmina Burana was recognised by Meyer, who saw that two CB skits appear to be modelled on the Beauvais Play of Daniel.<sup>48</sup> These items, CB 196 and 200, are in the drinking-and-gambling section of the collection that includes the Gamblers' Mass, the Archpoet's *Confessio Golie* (CB 191) and 'Alte clamat Epicurus', to which Walther's *Palästinalied*, 'Nun lebe ich mir alrest werde' is appended (CB 211-211a). As is well known, Hilary also wrote a *Historia de Daniel* that has several points of resemblance with the Beauvais play. As will be seen in a moment, however, neither copied from the other, as is commonly thought;<sup>49</sup> and neither of the CB skits is likely to have any connexion with Hilary. 'In taberna' (CB 196) is a contrafaction of the Beauvais 'Congaudentes' (28),<sup>50</sup> which has no counterpart in Hilary; and 'Bache, bene venies' (CB 200) appears to quote from the Beauvais drama, but not from the Hilary equivalent. The relationship between the conductus 'Jubilemus regi nostro' (5) and a thirteenth-century *prosa* from Laon, beginning 'Jubilemus corde voce', was first noted by David Hiley in an important unpublished paper given in 1985 at Wolfenbüttel. I give a comparison between the Beauvais and Laon readings below, based on his transcription (though some trivial differences found in the stanzas are not accounted for here). The Laon *prosa* has an alternating pair of refrains, *Jubilemus ...* and *Resonant ...*. This alone shows that both Beauvais (*Jubilemus ...*) and Hilary (*Resonant unanimes ...*) had something like an exemplar of Laon before them, but not each other's *prosa* (it is also significant that all three items are specifically described by this word: apart from 'Astra tenenti', 2 – which might also be significant – all the other choruses in the Play of Daniel are headed *conductus*). The Hilary version has no music, neither does the parody seen at CB 200; but the presence of a refrain in CB and words apparently quoted from the Beauvais play seem to indicate that the intermediary knew both the Beauvais Play of Daniel itself (together with its 'Congaudentes') and also a precursor such as that witnessed by Laon.

<sup>46</sup> See pp.1-2, above.

<sup>47</sup> Luscombe, p.56.

<sup>48</sup> Wilhelm Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*. Vol 1. Berlin, 1905, p.327.

<sup>49</sup> So Dronke, *Plays*, p.119: he there concurs with Young, who thought that Hilary had the Beauvais play before him, as against Meyer and Bulst, who assumed the reverse line of influence. Dronke puts the date of the Beauvais Play of Daniel at c.1140, whereas Arlt dates the exemplar used by the scribe who copied into the Egerton MS to 1160: see Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*. 2 vols. Cologne 1970, vol.1, pp.30ff. On p.129, below, I reconcile these dates.

<sup>50</sup> The numbers given here in bold type refer to the numeration in the PMMS edition of *Daniel*. 'Congaudentes' and its CB parody are given in TEOC, Ex.6.2 (where CB 185 and Anderson M54 are also excerpted). The title Play of Daniel henceforward implies the Beauvais *Ludus Danielis* unless otherwise stated. The preface to *Daniel* gives more details of borrowings and so forth than can be discussed here. For the Hilary play, see Bulst, pp.48-59.



[CB 200: R<sub>1</sub> *Is - tud vi - num, bo - num vi - num, vi - num ge - ne - ro - sum*  
 Daniel: *Ju - bi - le - mus re - gi nos - tro ma - gno ac po - ten - ti*  
*Rè - so - net jo - cun - da tur - ba so - lemp - ni - bus o - dis...[etc]*  
 [Hilary: *Re - so - nent u - na - ni - mes cum plau - su po - pu - la - ri*  
*Cu - jus cep - trum ma - xi - me de - be - mus ve - ne - ra - ri...[etc]*  
 Laon: R<sub>1</sub> *Ju - bi - le - mus cor - dis vo - ce sa - lu - ta - ri nos - tro*  
 R<sub>2</sub> *Re - so - net jo - cun - da de - o quan - ta va - let lau - de*

CB *red - dit vi - rum cu - ri - a - lem pro - bum a - ni - mo - sum* [no repeat]  
 Dan *re - so - ne - mus lau - de di - gna vo - ce com - pe - ten - ti*  
 Hil *et de - can - tent prin - ci - pis po - ten - ti - am pre - cla - ri.*  
 L R<sub>1</sub> *ju - bi - le - mus et psal - la - mus cunc - ti - po - ten - ti.*  
 L R<sub>2</sub> *re - so - net fac - tu - ra su - a cre - a - to - ri su - o.*

CB 200 St. 1 *Ba - che be - ne ve - ni - es gra - tus et op - ta - tus*  
 Dan = CB 200 St. 4 *Hec sunt va - sa re - gi - a qui - bus spo - li - a - tur*  
 Hil *Cu - jus pa - ter po - tu - it de hos - te glo - ri - a - ri,*  
 L *Qui cre - a - vit om - ni - a co - e - ter - na pro - le*

*per quem nos - ter a - ni - mus fit le - ti - fi - ca - tus. R. Istud]*  
*Jhe - ru - sa - lem et re - ga - lis Ba - by - lon di - ta - tur...*  
*va - sa de do - mi - ni - co di - ri - pi - ens al - ta - ri;]...*  
*qui fe - cit et ma - ri - a spi - ri - tu dic - tan - te...*

CB 200 (of which the refrain and stanzas 1 & 4 are given here: no music)  
 Daniel: Play of Daniel (*Ludus danielis*), BL Egerton 2615, f.96  
 Hilary: *Historia de Daniel* (no music) BNF 11331 f.21v. Stanza 1  
 Laon: Bibl mun MS 263, f.123. Refrains and stanza 1

The separative features as between Hilary and Beauvais, and the conjunctive features that unite both plays and Laon, ineluctably force the conclusion that some kind of prototype Play of Daniel must have been known to Hilary and to Beauvais. Of course, the very mention of the word Laon gives pause for thought. Prior to Paris of the Heloise years, Abelard went to Laon in 1112 to study theology with Anselm; he discovered he had little respect for his new master, so left after a year or so. But could there be a connexion between Laon, whence he might have obtained copies of various musical works? Could Abelard have brought a prototype Play of Daniel to Paris with him?

Many of the rhythms and literary devices seen in the Play of Daniel could plausibly be ascribed to the influence of Abelard, but the presence of the striking phrase *in vestitu deaurato* in the Queen's procession, 'Cum doctorum' (11) is a clinching factor: it is seen in Abelard's Hymn 94, one of his *Sponsus* compositions, where the Queen is described in this precise form of words.<sup>51</sup> The cascade rhymes of 'Cum doctorum' would not necessarily be ascribed to the influence of Abelard were it not for the fact that the rhymes of the penultimately accented cola are

<sup>51</sup> and see p.131 below for Abelard's *purpureo vestitu renitens* in Hymn 49.

sometimes homoioteleuta (*latentem //vatem; ergo //virago*); it is notable that even this rhyme scheme fails at the very line where *in vestitu deaurato*, Master Peter's phrase, is introduced:

Ecce prudens, styrpe cluens, dives cum potentia;  
 in vestitu deaurato conjunx adest regia.

An uncanny echo of the Master's schoolroom, vividly described by Clanchy (pp.90ff.), is found later in the Play of Daniel. Abelard's habit of playing upon words never left him: Otto of Freising tells us that this characteristic annoyed the grave Anselm of Laon and William of Champeux; even the serious *Confessio Fidei ad Heloisam*, that Charles Burnett has described as his Last Letter, ends with a play upon his name;<sup>52</sup> and the phrase *hujus rei non sum reus*, another typical Abelardian pun, opens Daniel's invocation for God's mercy as he is cast to the lions (39). The identical words are found in Hilary's 'Lingua mendax' in the *Carmina Burana* (CB 117 – and Hilary plays on the words in another line of this poem by reordering them *non sum reus hujus rei*). It is easy to imagine Abelard using this phrase in an orotund strut around the lecture room, rhetorically defending himself against his opponents: this might have been a characteristic jibe that stuck in the minds of his pupils. Abelard uses a modified form of the phrase himself (*ut reus traditus reis iudicibus*) in stanza 7 of the *triduum* hymn 'Hec nox carissimi' (Hymn 106: see Ex.10.1, below).

The Play of Daniel, then, seems to rely on materials that were part of the resources of the School of Abelard, and the link must have been none other than Ralph of Beauvais, whose other claim to posterior fame is his *Grammar*, written while he was Master at the Cathedral School.<sup>53</sup> He seems to have encouraged his pupils (who identify themselves in the prelude to the drama as *hunc juvenus*) in a collegiate *Ludus Danielis* performed each year on 1 January, but successively revised and refined, probably over the space of twenty years or so between about 1140–60 (see n.49). The boys' contributions doubtless included the stanzas turned in erudite metrical prosody (though these were sung rhythmically, as was the rest of the play); in addition to supervising the whole project, Ralph's efforts included the two items already identified, and he must have had a hand in the material that echoes the prototype common to Hilary, together with other numbers that can be seen to make use of further existing materials. This process of gradual composition might have engendered a rag-bag of a piece: on the contrary, however, it brought forth one of the most commanding monuments of mediæval music and drama.

One of the passages that demonstrates the genius of Ralph's consortium is the conductus 'Cum doctorum' (11): it has already been seen that this item is heavily indebted to previous material; but the rhythms of the music (here, the transcriber is guided by rare hints that are vouchsafed in the notation) and its melodic details are a miraculous transformation of what went before. Some melodic details of the music of the Queen's advice to Belshazzar (12, in the decasyllabic prosody that has been often discussed in these pages) can be seen in other plays, but once more, base metal is transformed into gold, both musically and dramatically. Similarly, the summons to Daniel (15) and his reluctant decasyllabic reply have forebears elsewhere, as has the repeated conductus (17) that guides him toward the presence of the King. David Hiley has shown that this conductus is a contrafaction of 'Postquam celorum dominus', now known only from the Limoges manuscript (BNF lat 1139 f.43).<sup>54</sup> Again, far from this assemblage of items being a threadbare patchwork, the weaving together of melodic motives with subtle rhythmic transformations shows astonishing skill, resulting in a tapestry executed with assured mastery.

In chapter 6, Exx.6.8–6.10 show some extracts from Heloise's 'Virgines caste'. Anyone familiar with the Play of Daniel will already have been struck by the resemblances between their cadences and those of 'Ecce rex Darius'

<sup>52</sup> 'Fundatus enim supra firmam petram'. See C S F Burnett, 'Confessio fidei ad Heloisam' – Abelard's Last Letter to Heloise?', *Ml Jb*, 21 (1986), pp.147–55, at p.153. On Otto's remarks, see Clanchy, p.4; and see his pp.132–4 for other remarks in the same vein, including those by Bernard of Clairvaux. Bearing this in mind, it cannot be ruled out that Abelard's use of the phrase *reos afficeret pennis gravissimis* in Hymn 21 is an intentional *double entendre*. Heloise uses the *petra-petram* figure in her epitaph on Abelard; for reference, see p.142, n.13, below.

<sup>53</sup> For modern edition, see *Liber Tytan*, ed. C H Kneepkens. Nijmegen, 1991. I am not persuaded that he had a hand in the Beauvais *Peregrinus* drama (see p.73, n.28, above): there are no specific 'goliardic' traits therein that connect it directly with the School of Abelard.

<sup>54</sup> David Hiley, *Western Plainchant*. Oxford, 1993, pp.270–1. References, and a more detailed discussion, may be seen in the preface to *Daniel*.

(24) in the Play. Indeed, the phrase carrying the words *virgines carne* in Ex.6.10 has many points of similarity with the passage beginning *Sternit cohortes* in 'Ecce rex Darius'. Of course, 'Virgines caste' is a sequence couched in Lay style, and 'Ecce rex Darius' employs the same technique, so the common use of standard formulas is hardly surprising. Nevertheless, the striking similarities continue into section VIII of Heloise's sequence:

Ex.9.3

VIII (a) Hic ec-cle-si-as-ti-ci flos est il-le ger-mi-nis, tam ro-sis quam li-li-is,  
 (b) Or-na-te tam bis-si-na ves-te quam pur-pu-re-a le-va ten-ent li-li-a,

(a) mul-ti-plex in-nu-me-ris, quo-rum est fra-gran-ci-is a-ger spon-si no-bi-lis  
 (b) ro-sas ha-bent dex-te-ra, et co-ro-na ge-mi-na re-di-mi-te ca-pi-ta

(a) na-ri-bus et o-cu-lis e-que de-lec-ta-bi-lis.  
 (b) ag-ni si-ne ma-cu-la per-cur-runt i-tin-e-ra.

Besides *tam rosis quam liliis*, above, resembling *gaudeat hec contio* of 'Ecce rex Darius', the phrase at *ager sponsi nobilis* corresponds to *In hoc natalitio ...* from the Beauvais 'Congaudentes' (28), to *victor rege sceleris* of the sequence 'Mane prima sabbatum' (used at the Paraclete) and to the opening phrase of the rondel 'Ecce tempus gaudii' (Anderson M54, which itself relates to Guillaume d'Amiens' 'C'est le fin') from the Florence MS:<sup>55</sup> there are countless relatives elsewhere, probably including the German lines 'Ich was ein chint', CB 189 (given at Ex.6.2 of TEOC). The originality which Peter the Venerable praised in Heloise, using the phrase *novi modulaminis melos*, does not seem here to be 'new melody' in the sense that we would understand today, and would not be contested as being 'original' in these days of copyright legislation.

These correspondences give a strong impression that Heloise, too, had access to musical materials possessed by the School of Abelard at some point; indeed, the possibility that various other plays were accessible to her in the early years has already been raised, and it is possible that she came to know the prototype Daniel materials more than twenty years before Ralph of Beauvais used them (according to Luscombe, Ralph arrived at Mont-Ste-Geneviève in 1140 at the latest, but it is reasonable to assume that he was with Abelard in the 1130s). Hilary, too, may have seen the Daniel prototype at any time between Abelard's return from Laon and his final departure from Paris for Cluny.<sup>56</sup> That Hilary's *Historia de Daniel* was composed later rather than earlier is perhaps implied by the order of his plays in the MS that contains most of his works: Lazarus and St Nicholas come first (Bulst XI and XII), whereas his Daniel is item number XV, coming after *De papa scholastico*.

Some other connexions with the School of Abelard

The career of Hilary is difficult to pin down, as is evident from the work of both Luscombe and Bulst.<sup>57</sup> He seems to have been at Angers between about 1105 and 1122, though not necessarily for all of that period; and later in life he seems to have been active in Orleans. The only reasonably certain date that he was with Abelard is c.1126, when he wrote 'Lingua servi' prior to the closing of the Paraclete School. As Luscombe says, Hilary must by now have been in his middle years. If Abelard and he were much of an age, then there is no reason why contact between the two men should not have begun at or before the early Paris years – when perhaps Hilary composed his Raising of Lazarus – and have continued, on and off, through the Paraclete period to later times when Abelard was back in Paris toward the end of his life. It is from the latter period to which Hilary's Daniel play probably belongs. Despite the

<sup>55</sup> See TEOC Ex.6.2 and, for 'Mane prima', TEOC Ex.7.14.

<sup>56</sup> Abelard's interest in the Daniel play may have been heightened by the fact that his grandfather bore the same name (Clanchy p.137; and see below, pp.145–6).

<sup>57</sup> Luscombe, pp.52–5 and Bulst pp.1 & 15–18.

haziness of our knowledge of his comings and goings, what is certain is that his poetic style had many of the hallmarks of the School of Abelard, in common with the Ripoll poet discussed at the end of chapter 3.

The role of Hilary in the dispersion of lyrics from the School should not be dismissed out of hand, despite what has been said hitherto in this chapter. Although he may no longer be considered to be 'the Englishman' as he was dubbed until comparatively recently, he spent a great deal of time at Angers, and Anjou was an English possession at that period. Several of his poems are dedicated to English people. Bearing in mind that he was evidently one of Abelard's longer-serving pupils, it would be surprising if he did not have some part to play in the circulation of materials: if not to the Carmina Burana, maybe in the direction of England.

Therese Latzke's exhaustive study of the Ripoll poet has revealed much in common with the phraseology of the early letters of Heloise and Abelard, and with poems by both Hilary and Abelard.<sup>58</sup> I shall not go over the same ground here, but it seems that these stylistic traits are not so much a matter of pupils copying from the Master's works, nor yet from each other, but the communal use of phrases such as *hujus rei ... virent prata* and so on, phrases that at one time or another became modish within the School. This would explain the somewhat striking coincidences of phraseology between the intimate correspondence between Heloise and Abelard of the Paris years and that of the Ripoll poet, of which perhaps one of the most striking is *O decus juvenum* (L7, R26 – see p.45, above), which crops up in Heloise's Letter 21; and she also plays upon the phrase in another letter:

Flos juvenilis, ave, lux et decus imperiale,  
 imperiale decus, flos juvenilis, ave!

Flower of youth, All Hail; light and commanding dignity;  
 commanding dignity, flower of youth, All Hail!

At the end of this letter (73) she uses the comparison 'like the roaring waves', *quot maris undisono*, which may be a quotation from a well-known ninth-century sequence, 'Rex celi domine, maris undisoni' (for a transcription of the opening in a polyphonic form, see TEOC, Ex.7.8). This, widely circulated in the theoretical treatise entitled *Musica Enchiriadis*, continues *Titanis niditi*: as noted earlier (see pp.80–1, above), various forms of (*re*)*nitens* are favoured by Heloise, the Ripoll poet and Abelard (as for instance 'Hebet sidus', which also has the phrase *juvenilis flos*). Some of these elements come together in Abelard's Ascension Hymn 49

quod decus victorie  
 purpureo vestitu renitens

which, together with the couplet quoted below, should be compared with Heloise's lines in Ex.9.3.

The 'purple vesture' and many other phrases may have their origin in love-songs by Marbod, some of which were so racy as to have been expurgated in later editions. One of his poems begins

Gaudia nimpharum, violasque floresque rosarum  
 lilia candoris miri quoque poma saporis

and contains many of the images seen in the lyrics of Heloise and the school of Abelard generally (e.g. the Ripoll poet's 'Sidus clarum' quoted on p.44, above), but particularly Marbod's line *Vestes purpureas, quibus exornata Napeas*.<sup>59</sup> As Könsgen showed in his *editio princeps*, Marbod's phraseology clearly influenced that of the early letters between Heloise and Abelard; and this appears to be true of some of the diction of Heloise's 'Virgines caste'.

In connexion with the vocabulary of Heloise and Abelard it is worth noting that at least one change of fashion can be identified. It is generally accepted that Abelard's *sacrum triduum* hymns are comparatively early. These include Hymns 114 and 119 and, as discussed in chapter 1, the hymns for assorted saints, including those for St Denis (127–128 – which include a reference to the Paraclete in their doxology). All of these mention the Devil, in

<sup>58</sup> To the article mentioned at p.44, n.36, the following must be added: Therese Latzke, 'Abelard, Hilarius und das Gedicht 22 der Ripollsammlung', *Ml Jb*, 8 (1971), pp.70–89, which stresses the Ganymede allusions common to Hilary and the Ripoll poet.

<sup>59</sup> Bulst, *apud* Mews, LLL, p.336, footnote 60. See also pp.94–7 on Marbod, especially in relation to the vocabulary of the early letters. Mews' n.59 on p.336 points out that 'Gaudia nimpharum' occurs at the beginning of BNF lat 14193: this is followed by Abelard's *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* which, as Charles Burnett has observed, is the closest witness to the archetype of Abelard's text. As may be seen in Dronke's study of 'Virgines caste' (his p.103 – see p.69, n.13, above) however, a Carolingian Epistle on the Assumption of the Virgin by Radbert has many points of correspondence with the diction of the section excerpted in Ex.9.3.

the form *dytiabolus* or the like (incidentally, 128 has the phrase *golie gladium*). As will be recalled, Heloise uses the phrase *Dic, impie zabule* in her Gardener drama, which was assumed to have been written at Argenteuil, but at a period when Abelard was perhaps at the Paraclete School. It is interesting to note that this *zabulus* spelling is taken up in his later hymns 42 ('Christiani plaudite'), 49 (see p.131) and also the *de angelis* hymns 98, 99 and 101.

Hilary's *De papa scholastico* gives something of a description of conditions at the School of Abelard; but his 'Fama mendax et Fama perfida' (Bulst VIII) goes further, and appears to mention Abelard's musical talents:<sup>60</sup>

<p>Fuit olim fons ille musicus quem sacrauit chorus poeticus; nunc ad istum festinet clericus, potet inde: sic fiet logicus.</p>	<p>Once there was a famed fount of musical knowledge held sacred by the poetic choir; now let the clerk hasten to it, let him drink thereof; so shall he become a logician.</p>
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The most obvious inference of all of this is that the Ripoll poet was probably at the School of Abelard at roughly the same time as both Hilary and Heloise, and all of them had access to extensive musical resources collected by Abelard, in addition to absorbing the current catchphrases, *mots justes* and purple passages which floated in the intellectual air both at the times students spent in lectures and in leisure. Thus, the Ripoll poet did not need to have seen the intimate correspondence between master and mistress in order to adopt similar phraseology; and the language and prosody of his songs could hardly escape the influence of the musical repertory that the students would come to know well. In addition to taking the diction of the School of Abelard to Catalunya, the Ripoll poet is a very likely candidate for transmitting thence the version of the Heloise dramas that we now know from Vic.

It may have occurred to the reader that the passage quoted in Ex.6.13 from what we know as the Limoges Sponsus drama

<p>Adest sponsus qui est Christus: pro adventu cujus gaudent</p>	<p>Vigilate, virgines! et gaudebunt homines</p>
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is in the same rhythm as the conductus 'Cum doctorum' from the Play of Daniel (11, see *Ecce prudens* quoted on p.129 above) and the Ripoll poet's

Sidus clarum puellarum,  
flos et decus omnium

(L3, R22) and whose prosody is echoed by his

Noster cetus psallat letus  
in adventu virginis

(L14 R33) whose opening led Spanke,<sup>61</sup> followed by Latzke and others, to assume that it was a contrafaction of the Limoges lyric beginning

Noster cetus psallat letus  
voce simul consona,

a polyphonic Benedicamus substitute which can be seen at Gillingham f.61 (it also occurs in other Limoges MSS, BNF lat 3719, f.30, BNF lat 3549, f.51 and London BL Add 36881, f.3). Despite initial appearances, however, the relationship cannot be as simple as this. Although 'Noster cetus' is prosodically similar throughout, it is set as though it were a sequence, with five sections having different music, of two versicles each. This strange hybrid, verbally stanzaic but musically antistrophic, could hardly be the progenitor of the Ripoll pieces, for they are clearly stanzaic, and have a disparate number of stanzas in relation to the Limoges 'Noster cetus'; moreover, the tune of the Play of Daniel conductus 'Cum doctorum' is different and also stanzaic. Indeed, as David Hiley pointed out in his paper of 1985 (see p.127, above), the tune resembles that of the opening item of the Limoges Sponsus drama printed at

<sup>60</sup> Bulst, p.72. On Abelard's kinship with a Peter the Cantor, see pp.146-7, below.

<sup>61</sup> See Latzke, 'Die Carmina erotica', p.186 (see p.44, n.36, above).

Ex.6.13. As Hiley has also noted, there are even more striking parallels in the Benedicamus substitute 'Gratuletur et letetur' of the Limoges MS (Gillingham, f.43v) also found in the Sicilian MS Madrid BN MS 19421, f.107v., whose tune most nearly resembles that of the Daniel 'Cum doctorum'. The second stanza of 'Gratuletur' runs

Psallat letus noster cetus in hoc natalitio ...

and the third has the line

Dulce melos tangat celos cum sonoris vocibus

which has a clear echo at the end of the Daniel conductus:

cordis oris- que sonoris personetur vocibus.

In addition to the phraseology, the manner in which the *-oris* rhyme is achieved is typically Abelardian. In other words, there is a strong connexion between Limoges, Laon (not to speak of Sicily) and the School of Abelard (Heloise, Ripoll, Ralph of Beauvais and so on).

There is more. Berengar of Poitiers might have been a vessel for carrying southern materials to the north, were it not for the chronology. All the indications are that this 'southern' material was known at the School of Abelard from its earliest years. So if anything, Berengar might have carried Abelardian materials in the reverse direction. Possibly, this is how Heloise's 'Epithalamica' (and maybe some Beauvais-Sens paraliturgical pieces) arrived at Le Puy; but there is another intriguing link between Limoges and the School of Abelard which has not been noticed hitherto.

Of the Limoges MSS mentioned previously, BNF lat 3719 is of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, but is clearly a composite MS with several later additions. One of these additions is the notated love-song 'De ramis cadunt folia' (f.42), whose third stanza begins

Nec limpha caret alveus  
nec prata virent erbida

and, besides *prata virent*, there are other striking echoes of Abelard throughout.<sup>62</sup> Dronke notes the risqué yet intellectually sophisticated quality of 'Ex ungue' in the same MS (f.23), that sets it apart from the usual repertory of Limoges;<sup>63</sup> and he points to parallels between 'Nisi fallor' (with music, on f.41) and Hilary's CB 117, together with common phraseology with Ripoll 31 (L12) instanced by Spanke.<sup>64</sup> On the same page Dronke edits 'Plures vidi margaritas' (ff.87v and 91), whose insistent *margarita* must again remind us of Ripoll, in addition to lyrics by Hilary and by Abelard.<sup>65</sup> The goddess Cytherea (*Citheree*) is addressed, too: the Limoges poet has clearly recycled some material from the School of Abelard.

If this were not enough, there is the appearance, with music, of 'Sic mea fata' on f.88: as discussed in chapter 3, this version has been toned down in comparison to that of CB 116. All of these items show that the influence of the School of Abelard on this MS (and possibly on other Limoges pieces) must have been substantial, and cannot reasonably be accounted to run in the reverse direction. The lyric 'Nomen a solemnibus' (ff.41-2, also in BNF lat 3549 ff.164-5) has a better text in these Limoges MSS than in the Carmina Burana version (CB 52); similarly 'Jove cum mercurio' (lat 3719 f.28v), whose counterpart in CB (88a) gets mixed up as the continuation of 'Ludo cum Cecilia'. This latter, however, has nothing to do with 'Jove cum mercurio'; nor is it a separate lyric, but the

<sup>62</sup> The whole poem is edited and translated by Dronke in *MLREL*, pp.288-90. For a facsimile of the MS see *Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds latin 3719*, ed. Bryan Gillingham. Ottawa, 1987. 'De terre gremio' in this MS (ff.36-37v) has the phrases *ridet terre facies* and *rideo dum video*: the latter will remind the reader of Heloise's 'Epithalamica'. In one concordant source of 'De terre gremio', Oxford Bodleian Add A44, f.71 (see n.42, above), there is a unique fourth strophe, followed in the fifth by the variant line *vident prata nobis grata*, found only in this MS.

<sup>63</sup> *MLREL*, p.380. It is also found on ff.37v-38v of BNF lat 3719, with a different tune. Both tunes are set in sequence-style, but as with 'Noster cetus' and many other items of the Limoges repertory, the prosody is nevertheless stanzaic.

<sup>64</sup> *MLREL*, p.384.

<sup>65</sup> See p.45, above.

continuation of CB 88, 'Amor habet superos'; this, as noted in chapter 3, is one of several poems mentioning the *rhinocerus* (often translated 'unicorn').

If the musical repertory of the School of Abelard depended upon Occitan secular lyrics and Latin paraliturgical compositions from the Midi, such contact would be explicable in the light of Abelard's father being a Poitevin.<sup>66</sup> As has been seen, however, there are many indications that the debt was often in the reverse direction. How the Feast of Fools offices of Beauvais, Sens and Laon depended upon each other or on a common source, and how they are related to various Limoges items discussed here, and indeed to the Le Puy office that also contains Heloise's 'Epithalamica' are matters for future research; but it is not implausible that Berengar of Poitiers was responsible for the southbound travel of many lyrics from the school of Abelard. In view of his probable relationship with Abelard, as discussed in chapter 10, and his obvious connexion with Heloise, as evinced by his knowledge of an otherwise unknown letter by her, his singular involvement in the transmission of the Abelardiana mentioned previously is the more plausible. He might also have had a connexion, perhaps through John of Salisbury,<sup>67</sup> with the musical repertory transmitted to the Oxford MS Bodleian Add A44: this, too, contains Abelard's *Confessio fidei ad Heloisam*, whose dissemination depends entirely on Berengar.

Ralph of Beauvais, coming to Paris in the mid to late thirties, is quite likely to have known Berengar, who must have arrived on the scene in the closing years of the School. Other pupils at the time are more shadowy: various names are mentioned in Ralph's Grammar, such as Alberic, Garnerus and Vasletus, and an English Mananerius, probably the Meinerius who appears in the *Metamorphosis Golye* and who was recalled by Gerallt of Wales.<sup>68</sup> The supposition that Berengar was the nexus between Beauvais and the Carmina Burana skits upon the Play of Daniel (CB 196 & 200) is fortified by the appearance, in the same section, of Marbod's 'Si preceptorum' (CB 214), prior to the Gamblers' Mass (CB 215). This Mass, in common with the Gospel according to St Silver Mark (CB 44), may have connexions with the School of Abelard in general, and with Berengar in particular. Peter Dronke speculates that the Carmina Burana might reflect the taste of the Austin canons in the south Tyrol, or might have been commissioned by them or a wealthy collector in the region. He thinks, however, that the arrival there of such a varied repertory is 'among the questions we cannot solve'.<sup>69</sup>

Michael Clanchy (p.133) has echoed the thoughts of other writers that many of the 'lost' lyrics of Abelard 'could be concealed among the numerous anonymous pieces recorded in the *Carmina Burana*'. If we add the name of Heloise, and review the evidence for the influence of the School of Abelard upon the Carmina Burana, the breadth of its repertory becomes less of a mystery: at least a part of it reflects the resources collected by Abelard and others at his School; indeed, much of the Parisian repertory collected in the Carmina Burana might have been carried from thence. So, too, many other sources discussed in earlier paragraphs might have close connexions with the School of Abelard, and very probably through Abelard's kinsman, Berengar. As suggested earlier, the Ripoll poet is the likely intermediary by whom the original versions of Heloise's plays arrived at Vic; but a plausible alternative candidate may be seen in Berengar.

Another, even closer kinsman of Abelard, comes to the fore in connexion with the travel of Heloise's 'Virgines caste' and 'De Profundis' to centres such as Zurich, St Gall, Fribourg and Sitten. The preponderance of Swiss sources that contain these two works, and the fact that it is in Zurich sources that the tune of Abelard's 'O quanta qualia' is preserved, must give pause for thought. As Brenda Cook will reveal in chapter 10, Astralabe, son of Heloise and Abelard, ended his career as the Abbot of the Swiss Cistercian Abbey of Hauterive. So he, too, may well have had a part in the dissemination of his parents' lyric works. Brenda Cook also surmises that he probably had a significant influence upon the liturgy of the Paraclete after his father's death. It is not impossible that his influence extended to the provision of unidentified texts which Constant Mews thinks were added to the Paraclete liturgy before 1147 (see p.100). Despite Abelard's entreaties in the *Carmen ad Astralabium*, his son later (1157-8) became a Cistercian monk

<sup>66</sup> See Clanchy pp.133-7 and below, pp.144-5.

<sup>67</sup> John of Salisbury was also a late pupil of Abelard's, apparently studying with him at Mont-St-Geneviève in 1136. In his *Metalogicon* of 1159 he describes Abelard as 'a teacher of clarity, admired by everyone' and himself as 'drinking in ... every word that fell from his lips' (see Luscombe, p.52). For his *Historia Pontificalis*, which also alludes to the School of Abelard, see Luscombe, p.27.

<sup>68</sup> Luscombe, pp.55-6. For edition, see n.53, above. Hugh Primas, too, mentions Beauvais in one of his poems, which is datable to 1144-5. See Fleur Adcock, *Hugh Primas and the Archpoet*. Cambridge, 1994 (poem 16 and p.xix).

<sup>69</sup> *Plays*, p.197.

at Cherlieu. There, he was undoubtedly influenced by the work of Guy de Cherlieu, its Abbot from 1131 to 1157, who must be credited with the writing of most of the tract on the revision of the chant to which Bernard of Clairvaux' name was attached.<sup>70</sup> It is easy to imagine that Astralabe thus exerted a 'Cistercianising' influence on chant practices at the Paraclete in the late 1150s. We may suspect that the 'modalised' 'O quanta qualia', now extant only in Swiss sources, is a specimen of his reforming work.

It is worth mentioning in passing that the performance of the *opus dei* would have occupied at least 5½ hours of the monastic day. On double feasts and the like, there were more chants and other material to get through, so the chant would have to have been sung faster on such days unless precious time for reading and work, sleeping and eating, were to be impinged upon. As modern performances are undertaken outside this regimen, there is a tendency to sing the chant, unintentionally ponderously, whereas in reality the mediæval equivalent would have been a good deal more rapid, the manner of declamation being to chant on the top of a well-supported column of breath. Indeed, mediæval performances (particularly on important feasts) may have tended toward a very rapid style of chanting that might be described as gabbling: consequently there are many references in tracts of the period to chanting in a 'solemn' or 'slow', manner, or epithets of that nature. An Austrian Cistercian MS of 1268 (Zwettl, Stiftsbibl. MS 400 f.1v) has a Gradual on the lectern from which monks are singing: it displays the words 'cantate fortiter' - 'sing boldly' - presumably an injunction not to mutter.

#### Appendix: the rhyme-schemes of Heloise and Abelard

It is well known that 'unstressed' rhyme fell out of fashion at the time of the Victorine sequences of the 1130s: according to Dronke it was 'uncommon, one might say roughly, after the first quarter of the twelfth century'.<sup>71</sup> So Abelard's espousing it in his *planctus* and hymns was remarkably archaistic.

As was discussed in chapter 3, however, the use of the terms 'stressed' or 'unstressed' rhyme is not particularly helpful, for at least two reasons. First, in dealing with sung lyric, the final syllable will tend to take some sort of beat, a strong one if the cadence corresponds with proparoxytonic ending, a subsidiary beat if the ending is feminine, paroxytonic. Second, at proparoxytonic line-ends it was not thought necessary for the rhyme to go back as far as the linguistic stress at this period, either in the vernacular or in Latin. As Latin effectively has no oxytonic stress, the question is merely as to whether there is rhyme on penultimately stressed lines or not, for only in the vernacular were oxytonic rhymes stressed. Thus, we expect to see 'stressed rhyme' on penultimate line-ends ('double rhyme') in fashionable poetry of the 1130s or so; but Abelard's use of homoioteleuton (avoiding true rhyme on the penult) in his *planctus* and hymns is both characteristic and unusual.

This analysis does not properly address the problem. Take Abelard's *Carmen figuratum*, which begins thus:<sup>72</sup>

Omnibus ostendo, quod homo sum corpus habendo	<i>I reveal to all that I am man by having a body;</i>
Occultusque polo solio deus impero solo	<i>concealed as God, I hold sway over heaven and earth</i>
	<i>from my throne</i>

As in the succeeding lines (all rhyming in -o), these leonine rhymes are double, occurring on the penultimate, stressed, syllables. This technique cannot be attributed to the metrical form of the words: Abelard's poem in Letter 20 (which Brenda Cook calls the Lucifer Poem and discusses below in chapter 10) also has double leonine rhymes, e.g. *hebet//debet*; sometimes there is no rhyme, e.g. *nox//est*; but mostly the rhymes are homoioteleuta. This technique is fairly standard in metrical poems of the period. Similarly, Abelard's Letter 38 consists of three metrical *versus*, with leonine rhyme: in 38a all the endings are penultimate; but *mentis//verbis* are homoioteleuta, and *finem//sigillo* fails to rhyme. Yet 38b opens with *velis//fidelis* followed by *regnator//mediator*, but the rest of the poem either has homoioteleuta or fails to rhyme. 38a, too, is similarly miscegenated.

Turning to Abelard's *planctus* and other post-*Calamitatum* compositions, a comparable picture emerges; and the patterns of Heloise's line-ends are similarly varied. So the observation of the rhyming technique at this crude level is hardly likely to yield results that might allow stylistic contrasts to be understood. A mere glance at the double and

<sup>70</sup> See Hiley (n.54, above) p.610; for fuller discussion and the tract itself, see Guenter.

<sup>71</sup> Dronke, 'Virgines caste' (see p.69, n.13, above) pp.97-8.

<sup>72</sup> See Ernst Ulrich, 'Ein unbeachtetes "Carmen figuratum" des Petrus Abaelardus', *Ml Jb*, 21 (1986), pp.125-46, at p.132. Translation kindly furnished by Juanita Ruys.



triple rhyme of Abelard's 'Virent prata' and the more severe rhymic technique of his *planctus*, or of Heloise's 'Epithalamica', reveals obvious differences; if a cursory comparison yields such evidence, a more searching evaluation might allow finer stylistic differences to be drawn. Thus, although the number of lines that may be sampled will always be too small for a thoroughgoing statistical analysis, an empirical representation of the rhyming technique of a representative body of work might be revealing.

As a starting-point, 'Huc usque' (CB 126) already discussed by Juanita Ruys, may be studied.<sup>73</sup> The first question must concern whether the stanza that opens the poem in CB is genuine:

Tempus instat floridum,  
cantus crescit avium,  
tellus dat solatium.

Is this, and the refrain, 'Heigh-ho; such are the joys of love', a jocular opening to the next stanzas, which must be read ironically?

Huc usque, me miseram,  
rem bene celaveram  
et amavi callide.

Res mea tandem patuit  
nam venter intumuit;  
partus instat gravis.

From the first, the CB scribe betrays himself. The gravid woman of 'Huc usque' laments in a different rhythm from *tēmpus instat floridum*: this is in alternating metre, as are the link-lines of the subsequent stanzas; but the first couplet of each of these stanzas has differing prosody (note that *mea* must be taken as a monosyllable); moreover, the link-lines rhyme between the stanzas, *aab ccb*, a feature that is disturbed by our interfering scribe, whose additional stanza rhymes *mmm*. Either the scribe has added an otiose stanza and refrain of his own composition, or, more likely, his eye has strayed elsewhere and he has inadvertently interposed the beginning of an entirely different lyric (a similar miscegenation of CB's source material has already been noted on pp.133-4). When the spurious opening is stripped away, the rhyme-scheme of the original lyric allows the correction of some scribal errors, as has long been assumed.<sup>74</sup> But does it reveal anything more substantive in regard to stylistic contrast?

Here, the line-ends are all proparoxytonic, so stressed rhyme on the antepenultimate syllable is not stylistically obligatory; but although some writers would be content with homoioteleuton, others might bring the rhyme back to the penultimate syllable. There is very little difference between the spurious stanza of 'Huc usque' (where there is assonance and double rhyme) and the genuine stanzas where double rhyme (with one exception) obtains throughout the rest of the poem.

The following paragraphs summarise an investigation into whether or not some kind of statistical approach to the question of rhyme might reveal stylistic markers. In order to quantify the subtleties of the rhyme-schemes of Abelard, Heloise, and other writers, various methods might be used, but I will spare the reader details of what might have been. The main principle employed in the tables below is simple in essence: rhymes are assessed on a points system:— 1 quantifying a homoioteleuton on the final vowel (V – ignoring any following consonant or consonants – C –, though it or they must rhyme); 2 is the score for a truer homoioteleuton in which the final vowel is preceded by a rhyming consonant; 3 and 4 where these conditions obtain for the penultimate syllable, and so on.

Thus: *fuisti/regni* – V – 1; *continuas/lachrimas* – V(C) – 1; *corruisti/pensasti* – CV – 2 (counting an identical consonant cluster as C); *floribus/recentibus* – VCV(C) – 3; and so on, up to 6 for CVCVCV(C).

What rhymes with what? If a pattern is observable, then infractions of that pattern come into the numerical reckoning. In other words, a coincidental rhyme is given no credit; but a failure to rhyme scores 0. In the event of a

<sup>73</sup> For the text of this lyric, see pp.92-3, above.

<sup>74</sup> Schmeller's correction of *transiero* to *transierim* (stanza 6) is an obvious instance: it is interesting to note that this word is used cadentially by Heloise in 'Rex in accubitu'. The German scribe spells *solatium* thus in his spurious stanza and st.1 has *zelaveram*; he seems, however, to reflect the spelling of a different exemplar for *seviciam* and *Franciam* (st.12).

rhyme being audible rather than visible (*complexa* = *eksa/submissa* – 2) it is counted. More controversially, a disparate vocalic quality is counted (*illis/dulcis* – 1, in 'Virgines caste'), simply because this seems to happen occasionally but purposefully with many authors, even with Abelard. Indeed, an even worse instance is in his 'Hebet sidus' where *basia/cassia* occurs. Both this feature and the occasional failure to rhyme must very likely be accounted a Homeric desire to slot certain phrases into the line willy-nilly, as demonstrated by the rhyme-failure at *in vestitu deaurato* in the Play of Daniel, instanced earlier. As with many other kinds of poetry, the formulaic aspect sometimes introduces a kind of deliberate blemish into the texture, analogous to what may be seen in a hand-woven carpet.

A couple of features require some comment. Assonance, an Abelardian characteristic recognised by Ann Buckley in chapter 4, is given an additional .6; thus *colloquentes/sollemnes* = 1.6; the addition is made once only to a line, however, at the nearest point to line-end. Another matter is demonstrated by stanzas 2 and 4 of 'Huc usque' where it will be seen that the rhymes are *patuit/intumuit* and *sedeo/audeo* as opposed to *miseram/celaveram* in stanza 1. There is no reason to score these endings differently, for in the first two instances there is an invisible consonant, as it were, caused by vowel juncture; thus, thanks to the glide consonant, the last syllables of *patuit/intumuit* are here reckoned to score 3, as with *miseram/celaveram* where the consonant is visible.

Should some account be taken of whether the poem is in archaistic style (homoioteleuton obligatory, rhyme otherwise supererogatory) or fashioned in such a way that rhyme is obligatory on the penult (but antepenultimate rhymes are ornamental)? It was decided that no advantage would accrue from attempting to reflect this feature in the figures. Nevertheless, the titles of poems that display regular penultimate accented rhyme are identified by underlining in the tables.

Finally: four lines rhyming are reckoned as two couplets; three are reckoned first as a couplet, then the third goes with the second line; repetitions of refrains are counted; in the event of some interpretative difficulty, the lower score of two possibilities is allocated. The scores given below have been independently calculated by me and by Marc Stewart: I am particularly grateful to him for this service, well beyond the call of duty. Thanks are also due to my colleagues Frank Bott and Sylvia Lutkins, especially the latter, who introduced me to the mysteries of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test and other statistical measures dealing with small samples such as these.

The first table below compares Heloise's three sequences with three of Abelard's *planctus* and also with 'Plange planctu', a contrafaction of 'Dolorum solatium' that might be by Berengar. As will be seen, the scores are very similar, though Abelard's last *planctus* veer towards a higher figure, and its descendant, 'Plange planctu' has a considerably higher score (see Table 1, overleaf).

In Table 2, Abelard's early lyrics may be compared with two genuine lyrics by Der Marner, in the same rhyming style, and also those attributed to Heloise ('Omnia sol temperat', 'Huc usque' and 'Jam dudum') and to Berengar. Underlining indicates that they use penultimate rhyme, not homoioteleuton.

What do these figures indicate? Table 1 shows a pronounced use of homoioteleuton (medians of 1.0 or 1.6), whereas Table 2 reveals a distinct contrast between 'Jam dudum' and 'Deus pater' (homoioteleuton, indicated by medians of 1.0 or 1.3) and the other stanzaic lyrics (medians of 3 or more, indicating double rhyme). These figures, and a few others not analysed above, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The use of assonance in Abelard's lyrics is notable, especially in his *planctus*, and most marked in *Planctus Virginum* (*Planctus* III); this characteristic is also obvious in Heloise's sequences. Indeed, the general similarity of rhyme techniques between the two writers is underlined by the medians. The exception is 'Dolorum solatium' (*Planctus* VI). The structural characteristics of these *planctus* have already been noted by Ann Buckley. The differences of rhyme technique (heavy use of assonance in *Planctus* III, increased use of penultimate rhyme in VI) might add to the suspicion that III is comparatively early and VI rather later. The medians of all of Abelard's *planctus* are I=1.0 II=1.0 III=1.0 IV=1.3 V=1.3 VI=2.0; if nothing else, I-III might be early, IV-VI later.

Table 1:  
Sequences and *planctus*

Scores	Frequencies of these scores in:						
	Epithalamica	Heloise: Virgines Caste	De profundis	Planctus I	Abelard: Planctus Virginum	Dolorum solatium	?Berengar: Plange planctu
0		4	1		7		
1	11	28	13	14	56	20	
1.6	4	14	12	6	27		
2		10	4	1	11	12	
2.6		1			2	1	
3	7	3	4	3	17	16	34
3.6						2	8
4	4	1	2	2	5	3	6
4.6			1				1
5	1	1	3			1	3
6	1					1	1
7							1
Sum of frequencies	28	62	40	26	125	56	54
Total Score	65.4	91.0	79.8	42.6	197.4	124.8	187.4
Mean	2.34	1.47	2	1.64	1.58	2.23	3.47
Median	1.6	1.0	1.6	1.0	1.0	2.0	3.0

Table 2:  
Stanzaic lyrics from CB

Scores	Frequencies of these scores in:							
	Huc usque	Heloise: Jam dudum	Omnia	Abelard: Hebet	Virent	?Berengar: Deus pater	Der Marner: CB10*	CB app I
0					2			
1	1	11				16		
1.6		1	1	1	1	7		1
2		1			1	1		
2.6					1			
3	12	5	4	5	11	4	6	11
3.6	2		3	1	9	2	4	1
4	5	1	2	1	3	1	3	3
5		1	2	7	2		1	3
6						1	1	1
7				1				
Sum of frequencies	20	20	12	16	30	32	15	20
Total Score	64.2	38.6	42.4	66.2	93.6	58.4	55.4	71.2
Mean	3.21	1.93	3.53	4.14	3.12	1.83	3.69	3.56
Median	3.0	1.0	3.6	4.5	3.0	1.3	3.6	3.0

The figures for Der Marner's sample lyrics (medians 3.6 and 3.0) indicate penult rhyme, in contrast with 'Jam dudum', (1.0 – indicating homoioteleuton technique). This confirms what has already been concluded, that the attribution of 'Jam dudum' to the later poet Der Marner is unsound, but the technique of this poem is nevertheless consistent with that of Heloise's sequences: a similar regression to homoioteleuton would hardly be credible in so late a poet as Der Marner. When comparing the figures using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for small samples, the contrast between the medians for either of Der Marner's lyrics with 'Jam dudum' gives a figure of  $p < 0.01$ , indicating a significant difference.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, the pairwise comparison of 'Epithalamica' and Abelard's Planctus I gives no significant difference by this method.

The contrast between 'Jam dudum' on the one hand and 'Omnia sol temperat' and 'Huc usque' on the other gives the strong impression that the latter lyrics were earlier than 'Jam dudum': so, too, Abelard's stanzaic lyrics (the very high medians of 3.6 and 4.5) display the same contrast with his *planctus* (which show the homoioteleuton technique as seen in his hymns). The similar contrast between 'Deus pater' and 'Plange planctus' does not therefore rule out Berengar's authorship of both. Under the influence of Abelard (and probably of Heloise) Berengar might have used their later, archaising homoioteleuton style. In his elegy on Abelard's death, however, he might unconsciously have espoused a more up-to-date style, familiar to us from the lyrics of Philip the Chancellor and similar writers.

As to Heloise's plays, the medians are consistent at 3.0 (not in the tables). Discounting 'Dic nobis Maria', which is not by Heloise, the only portion of the Gardener drama that is in verse is 'Rex in accubitum'. This has only four rhymes ( $3 \times 3 + 1 \times 1$ ), so the sample is particularly small and it is not even possible to be certain that the lines are in homoioteleuton style (though 'Epithalamica' certainly is). In the Three Marys, however, there are more lines, and the homoioteleuton is obvious. Nevertheless, both the lines as a whole, and those of 'Tanta sorores' in particular, have the same medians, 3.0, which indicate a distinct propensity for double rhyme. If these figures are anything to go by, then the plays seem to pre-date 'Jam dudum' and the Sequences, belonging instead to the period of 'Huc usque'. This might be held as evidence, albeit slim, confirming that the plays came from her time as a nun at Argenteuil, whereas 'Jam dudum' and the Sequences were composed at the Paraclete. This would be consonant with the idea that Berengar, having special access to Heloise at the Paraclete at about the time of Abelard's death, was responsible for the transmission of 'Jam dudum', 'Huc usque' and other items to the Tyrol, where they were available to Walther von der Vogelweide and the scribes of the Carmina Burana. Incidentally, the median score of 'Sic mea fata', the CB lyric printed at Ex.3.3, is 3.0, so although this figure is consistent with the non-archaising lyrics as a whole, it does not pick up the accentual peculiarities of this lyric, as discussed at the end of chapter 3 (pp.42–3, above).

Thus, the figures, although quantifying the sharp difference between Abelard's early and late styles of rhyming, and possibly indicating some subtleties in addition, are not as useful an analytical tool as might have been wished.

<sup>75</sup> Sylvia Lutkins tells me that the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Two-sample Non-parametric test is explained in various statistical textbooks, such as Sidney Siegel and N John Castellan, Jr, *Nonparametric statistics for the behavioral sciences*. New York, 1988.

## Some additional notes and comments

THIS chapter, consisting of short contributions by Brenda Cook and others, shows the extent to which research into the subject of our book is in a state of flux. The excitement generated by new findings will not die down for some time, and fresh revelations and realisations seem to occur so frequently that it would be idle to suppose that the last word on the poetic and musical legacy of Heloise and Abelard will be said in the foreseeable future. We are all having to change our minds frequently in order to adjust to the new knowledge coming forward, often from unexpected sources. The pace of change makes the readjustment of opinion difficult, but it is doubly so for those who feel that their cherished beliefs must not be abandoned after perhaps a lifetime of study in the field. The irony of this is that the older schoolmen's dislike of Abelard, although partly due to his acerbic manner of confutation, was principally because they were unable to abandon their beliefs in the face of contrary evidence. The higher the horse, the greater the fall.

There is much more to come, even as this chapter is being assembled. Publication has already been delayed, but further postponement would not guarantee that the knot might be sealed with any finality. Thus, it will not be possible to include, or even refer to, some of the most recent developments; inevitably, some of the opinions expressed in the previous chapters, and possibly this one, will have to be modified in the light of work in progress. Nevertheless, we hope to have offered a useful interim account of a subject whose fascination has absorbed some of us for the past couple of years almost to the exclusion of other matters.

## The Lucifer Poem

BRENDA M COOK

To the satisfaction of all but a few scholars, Constant Mews has shown that the *Lost Love Letters* are a genuine record of an earlier correspondence of Heloise and Abelard from the days of their courtship. To be more accurate, the letters are excerpts from that correspondence. The surviving source is really a collection of quotations from a lost sequence of letters compiled as an anthology of examples of good writing. But the sequence comprises well over a hundred letters and occupies fifty pages of Mews' book. The argument that these are indeed the love letters to which Heloise and Abelard refer in their later correspondence<sup>1</sup> is greatly strengthened by Letter 20: this is principally a poem, and doubtless survives complete, copied in full. There are some 113 excerpts in the collection, so if they are arranged in chronological order, Letter 20 must have been written fairly early on in the relationship.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that its poem was meant for the woman to whom it was sent, that the sentiments in it are sincere, and that this is not a case of a poet adopting a stance for the sake of writing an effective poem.

It is not known exactly when Abelard first became conscious of Heloise, but it must have been between his return to Paris from Laon sometime after August 1113<sup>3</sup> and the year before their son was born in c.1117.<sup>4</sup> Of course, he may have first met her before he went to Brittany, as mentioned in the next paragraph: she was the ward of one of his colleagues. Nor is it known how long the first stage of the affair lasted. Until the identification of the *Lost Love Letters* it had been assumed, from reading Abelard's autobiography, that from first sight to bed had only been a few weeks. If the 113 newly identified letters are anything to go by, however, the courtship stage of the affair could well have lasted considerably longer. If we tie this in with the known chronology of Abelard's life, an interesting correlation emerges.

At some point in 1112 Peter Abelard's father became a monk somewhat precipitously. Too suddenly, at any rate, for Abelard to get home to Brittany for the ceremony. Abelard did return to Brittany in time for his mother's entry into religion, however, which seems to have taken place a few weeks later.<sup>5</sup> It has been suggested that as his parents' eldest

<sup>1</sup> Radice, p.66 and pp.117-18, Hicks, pp.10 and 53. See also p.2, n.8, above.

<sup>2</sup> On the chronology of Letters 112-13, see p.149, below.

<sup>3</sup> Clanchy, pp.71-4.

<sup>4</sup> Clanchy, p.120.

<sup>5</sup> It is my contention that Abelard's parents were closely connected with the Breton ducal court - the lords of Le Pallet were in any case vassals of the Count of Nantes, and not of one of the major Breton barons. In 1112 the Duke of Brittany was taken suddenly ill and made a hasty entry into the Benedictine monastery of St-Sauveur at Redon taking some of his *ministeriales* (gentlemen of his

son, his presence was necessary for the smooth handing over of the family domain to the next eldest brother.<sup>6</sup> It would seem that Abelard took his mother's becoming a nun rather hard. In his *Historia Calamitatum*, he uses the phrase 'my mother who was very dear to me' (*karissima mihi mater mea*).<sup>7</sup> The double 'me' seems peculiarly emphatic. That Abelard regarded his parental home in Brittany as a refuge for rest and recuperation is in little doubt. In the decade or so that he had been engaging in scholastic controversy in the Île-de-France (c.1100-1112) he had returned to his family home on at least two occasions (1105 and 1108).<sup>8</sup> By any standards, the double loss of his parents to the monastic life must have come as a shock. At the same time, since a Religious was viewed as a member of a spiritual elite on the fast track to heaven, he would not have been able to give voice to any personal regret that this had happened. Rather, he would be expected to rejoice at his parents' new-found sanctity, and to congratulate his brother on obtaining his inheritance. But the practical situation was that Abelard's home was now utterly changed, no matter how well he may (or may not) have got on with his brother and sister-in-law.<sup>9</sup> Abelard was, of course, very much in a minority to have reached the age of about thirty-four with both his parents alive and well; the majority of mediæval people had lost one, if not both, parents to death long before their own middle age.

After having seen his mother safely into the nunnery, Abelard did not immediately return to Paris. Instead he went to Laon and was involved in a scholastic dispute with Anselm, the master of the schools there.<sup>10</sup> It was not until after August 1113 that Abelard finally returned to Paris after an absence of anything up to a year.<sup>11</sup> Astralabe, Abelard's son, was probably born in the second half of 1117, so, assuming that Heloise's pregnancy was of the usual duration, he must have been conceived in late 1116. The gap between 1114 and 1116 is most probably the period when the early Letters were written. Constant Mews calculates the period covered to be at least a year and possibly more.<sup>12</sup>

If this chronology is accepted, then it would seem that Abelard fell in love with Heloise almost as soon as he returned from Laon. Even if he had met her before he went to Brittany, a young woman can mature surprisingly in a year and he could have viewed her with new eyes. Moreover, he may still have been coming to terms with the loss of his mother to the Religious life. It is in this context that the poem which begins Letter 20 reveals its meaning and its resonances.

The text of the poem is as follows. I have added the translation of Constant Mews and Neville Chiavaroli given in *LLL*, with a few [indicated] modifications of my own.

Stella polum variat, et noctem luna colorat	<i>The [north] star rotates around the pole; the moon gives colour to the night.</i>
sed michi sydus hebet quod me conducere debet.	<i>but the [particular] star [constellation?] which should be my guide is fading.</i>
Nunc mea si tenebris oriatur stella fugatis,	<i>Now if my own star should appear through the retreating shadows</i>
mens mea iam tenebras meroris nesciet ulla.	<i>my mind will no longer know the darkness of grief.</i>
Tu michi Lucifer es, que noctem pellere debes.	<i>You are the Light-bringer to me, the one who must banish the night.</i>
Te sine lux michi nox, tecum nox splendida lux est.	<i>Day is night to me without you; with you night is a splendid day.</i>

The poet says that he has lost his guiding star, but now he has found a new one who will banish his grief and bring the light back to him: *sed michi sydus hebet quod me conducere debet*. This must be a reference to his mother. She should be his

household) with him. It was some time later that the Duchess of Brittany became a nun at Fontevraud, having overseen the smooth transition of power to their elder son, Conan III. It would account for the behaviour of Abelard's parents if his father was a *ministerialis* to Duke Alan and his wife a Lady in Waiting to Duchess Ermengarde.

<sup>6</sup> Clanchy, p.138.

<sup>7</sup> Hicks, p.7, Radice, p.62.

<sup>8</sup> Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Paris au Temps d'Abélard'. *Abelard en Son Temps: acts du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 9e centenaire de la naissance de Pierre Abélard (14-19 mai 1979)*, ed. Jean Jolivet. Paris, 1981, p.54, nn.4 and 7.

<sup>9</sup> See *Carmen ad Astralabium*, l.119 (ed. Rubingh-Boscher - p.35, n.4, above): *sunt multi fratres sed in illis rarus amicus* ... 'there are many brothers, but among them a friend is rare' (translation by Sylvia Barnard).

<sup>10</sup> Clanchy, p.71.

<sup>11</sup> Clanchy, p.74.

<sup>12</sup> Mews, *LLL*, p.146.

guide because she is his *mother*. She is the fading star because she is now hidden behind the veil of a nun. Abelard is a most precise manipulator of vocabulary. Had his 'star' died, he would surely have used a word meaning 'gone out' or 'eclipsed'. Instead he used the word *hebet*, which means 'to become dim, dull or faint', the word he also uses in his lyric 'Hebet sidus' printed at Ex.3.2. It also cannot be an accident that Abelard uses two different words for 'star'. *Stella* always denotes an individual star whereas *sydus* or *sidus* while also meaning a star, can also signify a constellation or group of stars.<sup>13</sup> So although *sydus* is in the singular, Abelard is perhaps also thinking of his mother as part of his family in Brittany, the family circle which has broken up and to which he can no longer return.

His new love, his new star, has come to him, however: he has encountered Heloise. *Tu michi Lucifer es, que noctem pellere debes*: 'You are the Light-bringer to me, the one who must banish the night'. The critical word here is the name 'Lucifer' which carries all kinds of resonances. Literally 'Light carrier', it is also one of the titles of the planet Venus (named for the Roman goddess of carnal love) when seen rising at dawn. It is then known as the Morning Star. Additionally, the name 'Lucifer' is also given to one of the angels in Christian tradition, the proud Archangel who rebelled against God, was cast out of heaven, fell to the pit of Hell and became the Devil. So here is perhaps a hint that the new 'star' is dangerous. Unlike the old star (his mother) whose relationship with him was free of the hazard of sex, the new star (Heloise) is a nubile woman, a Venus, and potentially dangerous to a man pledged to celibacy.

I suspect that at the start of the affair, neither Abelard nor Heloise expected the relationship to be carnally consummated. The love letters were a game, a dangerous game, certainly, and one carried on in the house under the nose of Heloise's guardian who could be deceived into thinking the letters were student essays. (Abelard was living in the same house and tutoring Heloise instead of paying rent for his board and lodging.) This was the period of the burgeoning of *amour courtoise* when the bachelor-knights of a castle played a sophisticated game of love with the wife of their overlord. Intense this game may have been, but it was intended to be idealistic, inspirational but ultimately frustrated. After all, Abelard's father came from Poitiers, the cradle of courtly love, and Le Pallet was only just over the Breton-Poitevin border. We need to see the initial interplay of letters between Abelard and Heloise in this context: they begin by playing a dangerous game of literary flirtation which, not surprisingly, got out of hand.

But the name 'Lucifer' contains an even more appropriate personal resonance for Abelard if he was still grieving for the loss of his mother. Her Christian name was Lucie,<sup>14</sup> so the name Lucifer could also mean 'the one who brings Lucie back'. In other words, Abelard is saying that his new love will replace his mother as his source of comfort and inspiration. This is not to suggest that there was anything remotely incestuous in Abelard's relationship with his mother, rather the reverse. (In a mediæval context it is necessary to ignore any Freudian revelations of the Oedipus complex.) A celibate man approaching forty is likely to have a close relationship with his mother because she is the only woman he can love freely and safely, i.e. without sexual taint. This relationship was hallowed in the mediæval mind because it was supremely exemplified by the love of Christ for the Virgin Mary. Indeed, if Abelard is initially seeing Heloise as filling the emotional gap left in his life by the loss of his mother, it may be evidence that at least to begin with he did not consciously see the relationship as having a sexual goal. Familiarity and opportunity, combined with simple biological urges, changed all that, but it is not until Letter 93 that the man writes of them both being pulled in different directions by love and shame. If this is so, then it shows again how with hindsight, and with the determination to put his sins in the worst possible light in order to throw his subsequent repentance and redemption into sharper focus, Abelard made out in the *Historia Calamitatum* that it had always been his intention to debauch Heloise. Doubtless he was deceiving himself in retrospect, for it seems to have taken a considerable length of time, a couple of years perhaps, for him to attain this supposed goal.

Because all that have survived of the *Love Letters* are fragments copied out by a Cistercian monk ostensibly as an anthology of examples of good writing, any explicitly carnal sentences have been excised. Thus it is still a matter of debate as to how these letters square with Abelard's self-revelation and self-justification in the *Historia Calamitatum*. The advantage of the Lucifer poem is that it is complete, and that it seems to fit so precisely with Abelard's mental state at the beginning of his courtship of Heloise, that it is difficult to imagine it being written by, or for, anyone else.

<sup>13</sup> Lewis & Short: *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford, 1879. Entries under *sidus* and *stella*. David Wulstan reminds me that *sidus* is used in the epitaph for Abelard recorded in Waddell, *Paraclete Breviary*, p.439, and which Mews has ascribed to Heloise.

<sup>14</sup> Hicks, p.7, Radice, p.62.

## Abelard and Occitania (1)

CONSTANT J MEWS

In the previous chapter David Wulstan has argued that Berengar of Poitiers (or of Poitou) may have played a role in the diffusion of compositions of Heloise and Abelard in the Midi: this prompts me to comment about other connections between Abelard, Berengar and Occitania.

Although the assumption is commonly made that Abelard's first language was the *langue d'oïl* rather than the *langue d'oc*, a fascinating comment recorded in a twelfth-century manuscript of St Emmeram, Regensburg (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 14779, ff.88v-89) gives us a precious, if crude, insight into Abelard's use of Occitan. It occurs in the context of one of his lectures on Boethius' *De topicis differentiis* (certainly from before 1118, perhaps c.1112-15): *all'a b'diz. Metex sei e cel orisol all'a*: 'Alleluia! Bless both yourself and your shit. Alleluia!'<sup>15</sup> Abelard's use of Occitan may not be so unexpected given that Richard of Poitiers (who was at Cluny when Abelard came there in 1141) reported that Abelard's father, Berengar, was a Poitevin.<sup>16</sup> Poitiers, of course, was the seat of the celebrated trobador, Guilhem (William) IX, Duke of Aquitaine. We may suspect that there was kinship between Abelard's father and his disciple, also known as Berengar of Poitiers (according to a rubric that introduces his writings, found together with the letters of Abelard and Heloise, in some important manuscripts). There seems little doubt, moreover, that Abelard was himself familiar with the culture and language of the ducal court.

Berengar, the disciple of Abelard, very likely travelled extensively in Occitania. Preserved alongside his *Apologia* is a letter to William, bishop of Mende (1109-50), defending himself against accusations made by the Carthusians of having defamed Bernard of Clairvaux. The exact circumstances behind his controversy with the Carthusians of his diocese are obscure, but his request to the Bishop, 'his father and lord', for protection against the attacks of his Carthusian critics, coupled with comments like 'my spirit is threatened in your presence in a holy place', suggest that he had at least visited this diocese. He explained that when he had defended Abelard against Bernard he was then a young man, and was not condemning the Abbot of Clairvaux personally as a man of God, but only as a writer and stylist.<sup>17</sup>

Other writings of Abelard brought to Occitania include a late version of his glosses on Porphyry (*Logica Nostrorum petitioni*) – found in Lunel, Bibl. mun. 6, from the early thirteenth century – and an unusually full copy, from the same period, of Abelard's theological *Sententie* – Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine 110.<sup>18</sup> A poem written in the form of a circle, and introduced as 'verses of Master Peter Abelard about the incarnation of the Word' survives in a twelfth-century manuscript, now in Montpellier, perhaps from the Cistercian Abbey of Quincy in the diocese of Langres.<sup>19</sup> More work is needed on these manuscripts to establish where and when they were copied, as well as the identity of the disciple of Abelard who may have brought them to this region. Further enquiry into other manuscripts preserved in libraries in the region may also throw further light into the diffusion of the writings of Abelard and Heloise in this part of the world.

## Abelard and Occitania (2)

BRENDA M COOK

Constant Mews' suspicion that Abelard's pupil Berengar of Poitiers (also called Peter) might have been Abelard's kinsman is in tune with my own speculations on the matter. While working on their family tree, I have already mooted the possibility that Peter-Berengar might have been a cousin of Peter Abelard's. A closer look at some of the genealogical information available will put the speculations into context.

<sup>15</sup> Translated by Roger Wright *apud* Yukio Iwakuma, 'Pierre Abélard et Guillaume de Champeaux dans les premières années du XIIIe siècle: Une étude préliminaire', in *Langage, sciences, philosophie au XIIIe siècle*, ed. J Biard. Paris, 1999, p.98, where this passage and its Abelardian authorship are discussed. I am indebted to Dr Iwakuma for the use of Wright's translation.

<sup>16</sup> See below, pp.144-5.

<sup>17</sup> See above, p.126, n.41. Luscombe, p.48, n.2, questions the common reading of these passages, that Berengar must have lived in the Cévennes, but does not explain why Berengar should have entered into correspondence with the Bishop of Mende.

<sup>18</sup> J Barrow, C S F Burnett and D E Luscombe, 'A Checklist of the Manuscripts containing the writings of Peter Abelard and Heloise and other Writings closely associated with Abelard and his School', *Revue d'histoire de textes*, 14-15 (1984-5), pp.183-302, nos. 71 and 30.

<sup>19</sup> See Ulrich Ernst, 'Carmen figuratum' (p.135, n.72, above).



The *Historia Calamitatum* gives some details about Abelard's family;<sup>20</sup> but increasingly, historians are becoming aware of how biased and allusive that account is, and of the extent to which it needs to be augmented from independent sources. He tells us that his father was called Berengar and that he was a *miles*. It is unfortunate that Betty Radice in the Penguin translation renders this word as 'soldier' when (as anyone who has rubbed monumental brasses will know perfectly well) it properly means 'knight'. Abelard also tells us that his mother's name was Lucie, as we have seen. What he does not tell us, as Michael Clanchy makes clear, is Berengar's function at Le Pallet. Since there is evidence that the lord of Le Pallet from sometime after 1056 to sometime before 1102 was one Daniel, it has been assumed that Berengar was simply one of Daniel's knights.<sup>21</sup> Although plausible, this assumption leads to some problems. The knights who surrounded a lord in his castle were usually bachelors. If a knight married, it was almost always because he had acquired a manor either by inheritance, gift or marriage. If Berengar were a married knight, he should have been the holder of one of the manors in the Le Pallet domain, in which case his firstborn son would have been born there, on his future inheritance and named for it. However, Abelard clearly states he was born at Le Pallet and also says that when he resolved to become a scholar, he relinquished his patrimony to his younger brothers – and he says this as if taking it for granted that what he was relinquishing was valuable and a worthy sacrifice.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, his later nickname, *Palatinus*, with its overtones of 'knightly champion' and 'courtier' as well as 'the man from Le Pallet' loses much of its bite if Abelard were *not* the legitimate heir to a lordship who had renounced it to follow a higher calling.

The answer to the problem seems to lie in an epitaph composed by Richard of Poitou, a cleric of whom little else is known except that he composed a chronicle which spans the period 1145–53.<sup>23</sup> It begins

Summorum major Petrus Abaelardus	<i>Greater than all Peter Abelard died,</i>
Occidit immanis factus dolor omnibus unus	<i>one great grief was created for all.</i>
Gallia nil majus habuit vel clarius isto	<i>France had no master no more famed than he</i>
Nec mors cujusquam fit tanta ruina Latinis,	<i>nor was the death of anyone such a great disaster to the Latins.<sup>24</sup></i>
In quantum fama Romani nominis exit,	<i>As far as the fame of the name of Rome penetrates,</i>
Illius ingenii studiorum fama volavit.	<i>the fame of that man's scholarly genius has flown.</i>

The succeeding, final, lines of this epitaph are slightly more problematic:

Namque oritu patre Pictavis et Britone matre,  
Cum Francis studuit, monachus moritur Cabilonis.

The *Namque* (For his father came from Poitou) does not scan very well, but a variant version has *Nanmetis* instead, which does indeed scan. So reading *Nanmetis oritu*, we should translate these lines:

*He came from Nantes of a Poitevin father and Breton mother  
He went to school among the Franks and died a monk at Chalon.*

Richard was Archdeacon of Poitiers, the chief city of Poitou, the *comté* which shares a frontier with Brittany along the south-eastern limit of the Comté of Nantes. He was therefore in a position to know what he was talking about, so Richard's lines suggest that Berengar had come only a short, but significant, distance from his home to live in Le Pallet. We know, too, that Berengar was himself a clerk *manqué*, so it is not hard to postulate that he was the younger son of a knightly family, originally intended for the church, who literally became a knight errant. In 1077, Duke Hoël II of Brittany completed a border campaign against the Angevins which culminated in the recapture of the town and castle of Ancenis some 20 miles up river from Nantes on the north bank of the Loire.<sup>25</sup> It is in this context that a Poitevin knight-errant might well have performed meritorious service for the Duke of Brittany and had been rewarded with a bride and

<sup>20</sup> Much of the following information was first published in B M Cook, 'Heloise and Abelard: some notes towards a family tree', *Genealogists' Magazine: the Journal of the Society of Genealogists*, 26 (1999), pp.205–11.

<sup>21</sup> Clanchy, p.137.

<sup>22</sup> Hicks, p.1, Radice, p.58.

<sup>23</sup> Richard of Poitiers (or Poitou), *Chronicon*, MGH SS, 26: 81. Also printed in PL, 178 col. 104.

<sup>24</sup> The translations here are by Sylvia Barnard. The 'Latins' are probably not the Italians, but the Latinate clerical community.

<sup>25</sup> Arthur Le Moyne de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*. Rennes and Paris, 1899. Vol.3, p.28.

an inheritance. The birth date of Peter Abelard is 1079, and he was his parents' first-born son, so it must be assumed that they had married by the previous year. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Lucie the Breton was in some way heiress to Daniel du Pallet. The most likely relationship – and in matters of genealogy it is always wisest to postulate the simplest explanation – is that she was his daughter, although she may have been his grandchild, or even his niece.

Lucie du Pallet, Peter Abelard's mother, must have been born in 1065 or earlier – she is unlikely to have given birth to a child before she was 14 years old – which makes her exactly the right age to be the daughter of a man whose first recorded appearance as a witness is in a charter dated to 1056 × 1082, and whose last appearance is before 6 April 1102.<sup>26</sup> She was still alive in 1112 when at the age of at least 47 she became a nun *ad succurrendum* following her husband Berengar's taking of the cowl a few months earlier. Since her name (but not that of her husband) appears in the Necrology of the Paraclete, it is possible that she was still alive in 1129 when the Paraclete was refounded as a nunnery under Heloise's leadership.<sup>27</sup> It certainly suggests that she made some contribution, either financial or spiritual, to that venture. The absence of Berengar's name from this register may imply that he was dead before its foundation, or that he had made no contribution. The exact criteria by which family members are entered in necrologies is far from clear.

This would make Daniel du Pallet Peter Abelard's maternal grandfather. What can be gleaned about Daniel du Pallet is not wholly to his credit. His name is to be found in at least five charters dating from roughly the second half of the eleventh century, two of them as a donor, the rest as a witness. They span the years 1056 × 1082–1102 and all refer to locations in the Loire valley: Angers, Nantes, Champtoceaux and St-Florent de Saumur. He is also closely associated with Count Matthias of Nantes, the delinquent younger brother of Alan IV Fergent, Duke of Brittany (ruled 1083–1112). Indeed, in the Charter of c.1085 in which the two sons of the late Duke Hoël II confirm their father's gifts to the Abbey of Ste Croix, Quimperel<sup>28</sup> shows the confirmation deed being signed in Nantes and with the new Count of Nantes supported by four named henchmen. These were *Alanus filius Riwalloni*, *Daniel de Palatio*, *Gaufridus Normannus* and *Warinus Dapifer*. These four names incidentally illustrate the variation in surnames prevalent at this date: *filius Riwalloni* is a patronymic (the son of Rivallon); *de Palatio* is territorial (the lord of Le Pallet); *Normannus* is a nickname (the man from Normandy); and *Dapifer* means Steward, one of the four lay officers of a noble household.<sup>29</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that if Warin was the steward, then Alan, Daniel and Geoffrey filled the other three posts. I would therefore suggest that Daniel du Pallet was an official of the Count of Nantes and held Le Pallet directly from him as the reward of his office.

Daniel du Pallet also seems to have shared his overlord's anti-clerical activities. In the entry for 1104 (although the evidence of charters suggests this date should be 1101), the author of the *Chronicon Britannicum*<sup>30</sup> tells how Count Matthias, with his henchmen, violated the *cimiterium* of Nantes Cathedral and later died in circumstances regarded by the chronicler as a manifestation of divine providence.<sup>31</sup> In the last known charter of Daniel du Pallet he records a gift made to the monks of St-Sergius & St-Bacchus of Angers in penance for his brigandage in the lands of Villeneuve, which were not far from Le Pallet.<sup>32</sup> This gift cannot be dated more accurately than before April 1102, but it suggests that there was perhaps at the very least a similarity of conduct between the knight and his count. It is also possible that Daniel may have been one of the henchmen involved in the 1101 raid on the cathedral.

<sup>26</sup> Yves Chauvin, *Cartulaires de l'abbaye Saint-Serge et Saint-Bach d'Angers (XIe et XIIe siècles)*. 2 vols. Angers, 1997. II, 24 [316], p.425 and II, 53 [349], pp.469–70. I am indebted to Prof M Jones of Nottingham University for these references.

<sup>27</sup> See Boutillier du Retail and Piétresson de Saint-Aubin, *Abbaye du Paraclet: Obituaires de la province de Sens*. Vol. 4 (Diocèses de Meaux et de Troyes). Paris, 1923, p.428. In Vol. 4, the *Abbaye du Paraclet* comprises the *Livre des sépultures du Paraclet* (BNF 14410) and the *Obituaire latin* (bibl de Troyes, MS 2450). Entry for 19 Oct: *Lucia, mater magistri nostri Petri* – 'Lucie, the mother of our Master Peter.'

<sup>28</sup> The Abbey of which their father's uncle Benedict was Abbot (1090–1115) as well as being in plurality the Bishop of Nantes (1080–1111). Benedict was the youngest son of Alan Canihart, Count of Cornouaille and his wife Judith, Countess of Nantes in her own right.

<sup>29</sup> Dom [Pierre] Hyacinthe Morice, *Mémoires pour servir des preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne ...* [hereafter, *Preuves*] Paris, 1742, <sup>R</sup>1968, Vol. 1, col. 431. The other three posts were: the *constabularius*, the Constable responsible for the military side, defence and the horses; the *buticularius*, the Butler responsible for food and drink; and the *camerarius*, the Chamberlain responsible for the fabric of the domestic quarters, their furnishment and their upkeep.

<sup>30</sup> Dom Morice, *Preuves*, vol.1, col. 103.

<sup>31</sup> According to the Orleans poet, Count Matthias died after being castrated by a husband he had cuckolded; see Dronke, *Testimonies*, p.20.

<sup>32</sup> Chauvin (see n.26) no.53 [349], pp.469–70.

When Lucie gave birth to Berengar's first-born son in 1079, his parents could not have had the faintest idea that their child was destined to be one of the great names of the twelfth century. At most they would have hoped he would survive the perils of childhood and become a knight like his father – the heir of Le Pallet. The succession was assured, that was the main thing. What then would they have named him? It would be reasonable for them to have given him a family name from his mother's side of the family to emphasise his status as heir. However, if old Daniel were the anti-clerical reprobate he appears to have been, they might have found it diplomatic to choose another family name. Peter, of course, was the name of the patron saint of Nantes Cathedral, but where might *Abaelardus* have come from?

To the genealogist the name Abaelard immediately suggests the Celtic patronymic (M)ab-Aelard,<sup>33</sup> but we know that Berengar was Peter Abelard's father. There is, however, nothing to stop Berengar and Lucie naming their first born son after an older kinsman whose full name was 'Peter son of Aalard' especially if the Breton meaning of 'Abaelard' was lost on the Frankish Berengar, and this is a theory for which there is, surprisingly, hard evidence.

One of the earliest works ascribed to Peter Abelard is a commentary on Boethius which is dated to the first decade of the twelfth century, and already mentioned by Constant Mews (p.143, above). In it, the scribal copyist describes the author as *Petri Abaelardi junioris Palatini summi peripatetici*: Peter Abaelard the younger of Le Pallet, the supreme peripatetic [philosopher].<sup>34</sup> This statement can mean only one thing: that our Master Peter, the younger, was indeed not the first man to be called Peter Abaelard, but that he shared his name with an older kinsman. The term *junioris* is customarily used in charters and other legal documents to distinguish two men of the same name in the same family. Sometimes they are father and son, but more usually they are grandfather and grandson, or uncle and nephew.

What can then be deduced about the hypothetical Peter Abaelard the Elder?

- (i) he was associated with Le Pallet – this means he was from Lucie's side of the family
- (ii) he was a sufficiently important member of the family for Berengar to name his first born son after him
- (iii) he was still alive at the beginning of the twelfth century – otherwise there would have been no need to mention him
- (iv) he was clericus and capable of having written the commentary on Boethius – otherwise, again, why mention him at all if there was no risk of potentially embarrassing confusion?
- (v) his name was probably Peter (M)ab-Aëlard, *Peter, son of Aëlard* in the Breton language.

This last point means we can rule out a brother of Lucie's, even a clerical one. A brother of Lucie's would be *filius Danieli* if the hypothesis about Lucie's parentage is correct, so we need to consider the possibility of a younger brother of Daniel's. If he is the original 'Peter, son of Aëlard', then he is our Peter's great-uncle and Aëlard was Lucie's grandfather.

Although this is possibly as far as one dare go with confidence, it is interesting that the ideal candidate for the position of *Petrus Abaelardus senior* actually exists. Between at least 1104 and 1115, the Precentor of Nantes Cathedral was a canon named Peter.<sup>35</sup> At this date, the Precentor was the canon next in seniority after the Dean, the person responsible for the music in the Cathedral and all that this implies.<sup>36</sup> The precentor also had oversight of the Song School of the Cathedral. So we have a man named Peter holding down a high-profile position in Nantes Cathedral for which the appropriate qualifications were eminence in music, learning and teaching, at precisely the time when our Master Peter was writing his commentary on *Boethius*. At the very least, this is a fascinating coincidence.

<sup>33</sup> E Renan, 'Sur l'étymologie du nom d'Abélard', *Revue celtique*, 1 (1870), pp.265–8.

<sup>34</sup> Clanchy, p.103, n.29.

<sup>35</sup> This *Petrus cantor* is unrelated to the Petrus Cantor mentioned in a previous chapter (p.64). Our Petrus appears as a witness to three surviving charters. (1) The earliest is dated 1 March 1104/5 and is to be found in the transcripts of both Dom Morice and Léon Maître. See Dom Morice, *Preuves*, vol.1, col. 507 and Léon Maître, 'Situation du diocèse de Nantes au XIe et au XIIe siècles: cartulaire des évêques de Nantes', *Annales de Bretagne*, 27, pp.104–5. (2) The latest, dated 22 March 1115/6 is only in Maître, *Annales de Bretagne*, 27, pp.108–9. (3) An undated charter, provisionally dated from internal evidence by me to 1101 × 1111 but more likely to belong to the earlier years of the span, is only in Dom Morice, *Preuves*, vol.1, col. 470.

<sup>36</sup> The sides of a cathedral choir are still called *decani* and *cantoris*, the Dean's side and the Precentor's side.

But there is more. Among the fellow witnesses of *Petrus cantor* in the charter of March 1104, there is one *Giraldus fil. Aalardi* – Gerald son of Aalard.<sup>37</sup> All that can categorically be said about this is that in the second half of the eleventh century there was a man living in the Comté of Nantes called Aalard who had at least one legitimate son. At this period, both the forms *Mab X* and *filius X* were used as patronymics, sometimes clearly for the same person in different charters.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, the existence of a father called Aalard living in the right place at the right time is assured; moreover, the possibility that one of his sons might have used the form (M)ab-Aalard is highly probable. I would therefore cautiously offer the hypothesis that Daniel du Pallet was one of three sons of a man named Aalard<sup>39</sup> and that his younger brothers were respectively Precentor of Nantes and a lay man who may have been associated with the Barony of Raïs which lies south-west of the city of Nantes, between the south side of the estuary of the Loire and the sea.<sup>40</sup>

What then of Peter-Berengar of Poitiers? Since he bears the double name, he must be distinguished from the Peter of Poitiers (1130–1215) who was at one time Secretary to Peter the Venerable, was Chancellor of the Cathedral of Paris and a distinguished teacher of theology.<sup>41</sup> Peter-Berengar of Poitiers (1120– after c.1145) was a pupil of Abelard's and his enthusiastic, if somewhat indiscriminating, supporter. The suggestion has already been made that he was a kinsman. Is it possible to find a location for him on the family tree?

We know from the *Historia Calamitatum* that Peter Abelard's father Berengar (later du Pallet) 'had acquired some knowledge of letters before he was a [knight]'.<sup>42</sup> Given Abelard's use of litotes in the *Historia*, this would suggest that his father had been trained as a clerk. As we have seen, Berengar was a landless knight who married Lucie, a modest heiress. Since a clerical career was normally the lot of a younger son (Henry VIII was also intended for the church – he might have made quite a good archbishop), it is reasonable to assume that Berengar had an elder brother who succeeded to the family estate. If this is accepted as plausible (though I have not found a shred of evidence so far in my hunt through the witness lists of Poitevin charters) then I would postulate that Peter-Berengar of Poitiers could be a younger grandson of this hypothetical elder brother. He was a young man at the time of the Council of Sens,<sup>43</sup> so this is the generation to which he belongs.

The double Christian names, one of which is held by Peter Abelard and the other by his father, suggest that Peter-Berengar of Poitiers might well be of the same family (either name alone would not rule for such a connection). Indeed, it is not going too far to suggest that either Abelard or his father might have been Peter-Berengar's godfather. In 1120 when Peter-Berengar was probably born, Peter Abelard was emerging from the post-Calamity seclusion in St-Denis but had not yet fallen from grace at the Council of Soissons. His father, Berengar, may or may not have been alive in his cloister. Peter-Berengar's aggressive partisanship towards Peter Abelard suggests a close bond, closer perhaps than mere discipleship. Indeed, Peter-Berengar's combative prose shares psychological characteristics that match those of Peter Abelard: it may not be too far-fetched to suggest a genetic link. That link, if my surmise is correct, is that Peter-Berengar was Peter Abelard's first cousin once removed.

It is as well to remember that the known relationships of the Middle Ages are no more than the proverbial tip of the iceberg. Behind them, there is a whole network of ties of blood, of association and of spiritual affinity of which only the faintest hints remain. Abelard professed a detestation for all things Breton, meaning in particular the culture of the *bretons-bretonnants*. Yet Brittany was his country and Le Pallet was his *patrie* and the full implications of this are still being explored.

<sup>37</sup> It is this charter which has been transcribed by both Dom Morice and by Maître, *Annales de Bretagne* (see n.35), 26, pp.501–18 and 27, pp.201–2 and pp.342–61. Morice transcribes the patronymic *Aalardi*; Maître transcribes it *Alardi*. I am inclined to believe that Morice is right and that Maître has – consciously or unconsciously – 'corrected' it, rather than the other way round.

<sup>38</sup> Dom Morice, *Preuves* (n.29), vol. 1, cols. 431–2.

<sup>39</sup> Chauvin (n.26) says that the name 'Aalard' is a local pronunciation of 'Adalard' in which the *d* is elided.

<sup>40</sup> In the witness list of the 1104 charter, *Giraldus fil. Aalardi* comes between *Ascoidius de Sancto-Petro*, a vassal of the Barons de Raïs, and *Pipinus de Radesio*, a member of the baronial family.

<sup>41</sup> *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, (1911). Entry under Peter of Poitiers.

<sup>42</sup> Radice p.57, Hicks, p.1.

<sup>43</sup> Clanchy p.338. He gives c.1120 as the year of Peter-Berengar of Poitiers' birth.

One or two other Abelardian connexions with Occitania, some of them rather shadowy, may be mentioned. The extant MSS of the *Carmen Figuratum*, part of which was quoted on p.135, are both in the south, the later one being at Avignon, the earlier (late twelfth-century) being now at Montpellier, though it originally came from the Cistercian Abbey at Quincy, in Burgundy.<sup>44</sup> There is no telling when or how the MS came to Montpellier, but Petrarch was a student at the university there, so if such materials had come this far south by his time, it may have been in this city that his interest in the story of Heloise and Abelard was kindled, leading eventually to his purchase of the Jean de Meun copy of the *Historia Calamitatum* and the later letters.

The Poitiers dramas (p.118) which appear to have some dependence on Heloise, might possibly owe something to antecedents brought there by Berengar, and such a connexion might explain the presence of her 'Epithalamica' (in common with other works apparently from the north) at le Puy. The reverse direction of travel, if it is assumed that Abelard knew the Ste-Foy poem mentioned on p.46, exemplifies the traditional view of a south-north dispersion, whereas the presumption that the Limoges Sponsus drama must have depended on a northern archetype (pp.87-9) emphasises that the Midi could receive as well as dispense culture.

Further afield, the Ripoll poet might have been the emissary by which Heloise's dramas were brought to Vic. He might also have exerted an influence on the lyric poetry of Catalunya: as Constant Mews notes (*LLL*, pp.129-30 and p.350, n.51), the Abelardian word *scibilitas* does not appear in the works of any other author before Ramon Llull (1232?-1315), who uses it thirty-three times in his mystical compositions. Ramon Llull, who was also influenced by the Arab mystics, was one of the first Catalans to shed the artificial Occitan diction in favour of the native language.

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I append another speculation on a rather different topic, followed by a few further remarks, some of which are also conjectural in nature. First, however, I should like to point out that there are various errors and omissions in my *PMM* article which should be corrected by reference to this volume: it will also be evident that I have revised my opinions concerning various matters.<sup>45</sup> One of the more glaring errors that I made was to attribute to Abelard more physical pain than he had actually suffered as a result of his castration, and which I described as having been undertaken by 'Fulbert's footpads'. Had I properly recalled what Michael Clanchy had written on the matter, I should not have made these mistakes: the family estates would have been able to call on bailiffs or other men experienced in gelding and whose involvement in Abelard's castration would have meant that it was done professionally, with the minimum of resultant pain. As Abelard implies in various passages, the hurt was a good deal more serious from the psychological than from the physical point of view.<sup>46</sup>

Turning to the subject of Walther von der Vogelweide's 'arithmetical' poems mentioned in the previous chapter ('Minne diu hât einen site' and the number significance in his Crusade song 'Owêi sint verswunden alliu mwâniu jâr' - see p.124 and n.34), the age-gap between the twenty-four-year-old man who is preferred to a forty-year-old is worth remarking upon. If Walther developed his five-vowel rhyme-scheme and other techniques as a result of models from the School of Abelard, might this number-play, too, have some forebear in a poem transmitted from the same milieu? And might the model in this instance be by a disgruntled youth who thought Abelard too old for Heloise, and had proposed himself, by way of a poem, instead? If, in addition to the technique of the number-play, Walther had also borrowed thematic details (as with his poems that are known to rely on lyrics either by Abelard or by Heloise), then perhaps the ages would be significant. In 1119, after his clandestine marriage, Abelard would have been forty and Heloise under twenty; so a twenty-four-year-old suitor might think himself a more worthy spouse for Heloise than the man whose castration had become common knowledge, but whose marriage had not. The hypothetical poet might also have been unaware that Heloise had given birth to her son Astralabe, the subject of the next section of this chapter. There were less than flattering songs apparently emanating from the circle of Abelard which seem to refer to his affair with Heloise

<sup>44</sup> See Ernst Ulrich, 'Carmen figuratum' (p.135, n.72, above).

<sup>45</sup> David Wulstan, 'Novi modulaminis melos: the music of Heloise and Abelard', *PMM*, 11 (2002), pp.1-23. Various questions of chronology have been subject to revision, and I would not now regard the authorship of the *Carmen ad Astralabium* as doubtful.

<sup>46</sup> See, for instance, Letter V (Hicks, pp.78-9, Radice, p.146) where he speaks of 'momentary pain' - *momentaneum illius plage dolorem*.

(see pp.43-4, above) and we know that there was at least one poem in circulation that condemned Abelard for shutting up a warm-blooded woman in a nunnery (p.1); it is not entirely out of the question that there once existed another poem, whose technique and sentiments provided Walther with yet another spur to composition.

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The chronology of Letters 112-13 in the early series has already been alluded to in an earlier chapter: Barbara Newman argues that these letters originally came from the beginning of the correspondence, but were mistakenly copied at the very end of Johannes de Vepria's MS, perhaps because they were on a loose leaf that had become displaced in his exemplar.<sup>47</sup> Certainly, the tone and sentiments of these two letters seem to be related to a more tentative relationship than that which is evident from those earlier numbers in the sequence as we now have it. Barbara Newman is surely correct in supposing that 113 is 'an Ovidian seduction poem' rather than 'a backhanded attempt to distance himself from his pregnant lover' and that 112 is Heloise's 'initial response, jubilant but formal, in which she naturally addressed him as teacher because he had not yet become her lover'. 'The fragment 112a clearly belongs to later stage of the correspondence ...' These arguments are fortified by those marshalled above by Brenda Cook. As to the fragmentary Letter 112a, its phraseology (also examined by Brenda Cook in the next section) might be of more than passing significance.

The way in which the phrase *ubi est amor et dilectio, ibi semper fervet exercitium* in 112a is paralleled by the 'Ubi est Christus' in Heloise's Three Marys drama has already been discussed (see pp.74 and 113-21); there is also a connexion with the liturgical *Antiphonae ad Mandatum* used in the ceremonies on Maundy Thursday at the end of Mass, as seen in some, but by no means all, contemporary sources.<sup>48</sup> In the eleventh-century Gaillac antiphoner (BNF lat 776, f.61v) the relevant passage is *ubi caritas et amor, ibi deus. Ubi est caritas et dilectio, ibi sanctorum est ...*. In Letter V, many years after their affair, Abelard castigates himself for what he now deems to be his shameful behaviour: he recounts various instances when his 'uncontrollable desire' and 'unbridled lust' got the better of him, 'even during the days of Our Lord's Passion'.<sup>49</sup> Could this be a reference to Maundy Thursday? Perhaps this was the very day that their relationship became sexually consummated and maybe the occasion when Heloise conceived. If so, this day would very likely be imprinted upon the minds of them both, and the *ubi est* phrases that she uses may not be connected merely by coincidence.

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The influence of the School of Abelard upon the Beauvais Play of Daniel was discussed in the previous chapter: the debt may have been extended by other, notational borrowings. The Beauvais Play, as is the case for many other items in the MS in which it is found, is notable for many occurrences of doubled notes and (or) for the use of atrophied liquescents as sporadic indicators of rhythmical features.<sup>50</sup> The same features are found in the polyphonic setting of 'Sanctorum meritis' in the Beauvais MS.<sup>51</sup> Accepting Arlt's argument that the Play of Daniel section of the MS represents a repertory of about 1160 or so (see p.127, n.49, above), the exemplar from which the present MS was later copied seems likely to have already featured these notational characteristics, and would thus be one of the earlier sources in which they are found in any profusion. Another place where such indications are found is in the additions to BNF lat 3719, the Limoges MS from which 'Sic mea fata' is taken. This lyric (see Ex.3.3), together with 'De ramis cadunt folia' from the same MS, is part of a

<sup>47</sup> See p.74, n.30, above. In the margin of 112a are the words 'from another [letter]' - *Ex alia [sc. epistola]* - see *LLL*.

<sup>48</sup> The phrase does not come from a *hymn* for Maundy Thursday, as suggested in *LLL*, p.287, nor is it exactly the same as in modern use. The ceremony is not represented in the Sarum Gradual, or in German-Swiss sources of the period, to my knowledge. The antiphons differ markedly as between MSS, and although they often resemble the modern Roman use in essence, the details are multifarious. St-Yrieix (11th-cent, BNF lat 903, f.66) and Albi (12th-cent, Graz, Universitätsbibliothek MS 211 f.80) are among other sources of this period that preserve the *ubi est caritas et dilectio* antiphon, but none that I have seen is preceded by the *ubi caritas et amor* of the Albi Gradual. That these are all southern MSS (see also the 11th-cent Bologna MS) may, or may not, be coincidental.

<sup>49</sup> *In ipsis etiam diebus dominice passionis*: Hicks, p.110, Radice p.147.

<sup>50</sup> Discussed in *TEOC*, chapter 4 and appendix 4.

<sup>51</sup> See p.15 above. For a fuller discussion, see *TEOC*, pp.358ff. 'Sanctorum meritis' occurs in a section of the MS which contains several pieces from the Parisian (so-called 'Notre Dame') polyphonic repertory. Although this section is copied professionally, the writing of 'Sanctorum meritis' has a more amateurish look which probably points to a different date and exemplar. For facsimile, see *TEOC*, p.359.



group of songs mentioned on pp.133–4 that seems to have emanated from the School of Abelard. As noted on p.42, 'Sic mea fata' employs several liquescents as signs of lengthening: the same usage can be identified in several passages of the Beauvais Play of Daniel. Similarly, the Play also uses doubled notes, the second of which is often a liquescent: a comparison between the Limoges 'De ramis cadunt folia' and the 'Sanctorum meritis' of another section of the Beauvais MS, shows that they, too, exhibit a prominent use of doubled notes of which the second is often a liquescent.

The use of doubled notes and atrophied liquescents is found in earlier MSS (notably the so-called Winchester Troper) and indeed in later sources.<sup>52</sup> In mid to late twelfth-century sources, however, the profusion of these signs is, in my view, unusual. Unless I am mistaken, in addition to the dispersion of its own lyrics, the School might also have been responsible for the transmission elsewhere (including England)<sup>53</sup> of what is generally thought of as being the 'Parisian' repertory of the time. In doing so, the School of Abelard must have been at least partly responsible for the dissemination of these characteristic notational patterns which served as sporadic rhythmic indicators until almost a century later, when more systematic methods of registering rhythmic patterns begin to be employed in monody, having first been used in connexion with polyphony. That Abelard might have had something to do with notational matters should not be regarded as surprising in view of the possibility that he was a relative of a Peter the Cantor, as deduced by Brenda Cook, and bearing in mind that Hilary listed *musicus* as one of Abelard's avocations (see p.132, above).

It is not impossible that the Beauvais setting of 'Sanctorum meritis' might stem from the School of Abelard. The influential lyric 'Foebus abierat' discussed by Dronke (see above, p.15 and n.58, on that page) was clearly known at the School, as reflected in the Ripoll repertory. Therese Latzke has furnished abundant proof of this in her discussion of the Ripoll songs: examples are poems L1=R20 and L7=R26 (from which latter some significant lines were quoted on p.45).<sup>54</sup> There, as elsewhere, Therese Latzke also finds a host of correspondences with the early Letters of Heloise and Abelard which, as I pointed out in the previous chapter, have to do with the common culture of the School rather than being a matter of a third party having read the Letters. As the unusual prosodic structure of 'Foebus abierat' fits what seems to be the 'mode 4' rhythm of the 'Sanctorum meritis' setting and its relatives, it is possible that both had a common tune. The two lyrics have a differing number of lines in the stanzas, as do the hexasyllabic hymns of Abelard that seem to have some prosodic affinity with 'Sanctorum meritis'. As will be seen in Ex.10.1 opposite, however, the disparate stanza lengths (and compare, too, with Ex.1.9 for the form of the tune as sung at Beauvais) are easily reconciled by slightly different repeats of one strain or another.<sup>55</sup> Purely speculatively, I have added (bold type) the text of 'Hec nox carissimi' – the first, and probably the most significant of, Abelard's *triduum* hymns (106). We know that 'O quanta qualia' and its cycle went to the tune discussed in chapter 1, but 'Hec nox carissimi' and the other *triduum* hymns may have been set to a different tune, perhaps this:

<sup>52</sup> See for instance the Arundel MS discussed in *TEOC*, pp.141ff., in a chapter which also deals at length with the general question of the rhythmic use of doubled notes and atrophied liquescents.

<sup>53</sup> See pp.133–4, above, for Bodleian MS A44. The repertory of this source is transmitted without music, however. The Aquitanian MS Sélestat, Bibl de la ville, 22, comes from Ste-Foy. This contains a polyphonic 'Ave regina' (f.12v, probably from the late 12th cent) which shows much use of doubled notes, apparently for rhythmic purposes.

<sup>54</sup> See p.44, n.36, above.

<sup>55</sup> As explained in chapter 1, 'Sanctorum meritis' has a Glyconic ending to each stanza, and its Beauvais-Worcester tune shows every sign of the adaptation that would have been necessary to reconcile this feature with what must have been the more symmetrical stanzaic structure of the original melody. See also *TEOC*, pp.362–3 (though the repeat given for the first line of sections B–C does not apply to 'Suspirat', which is in the AABC form of 'Hec nox' in Ex.10.1). 'Purgator' occurs as CB 12, though no music is entered: this item probably arrived at the Tyrol independently of the School of Abelard.

Ex.10.1

Foe - bus a - bi - e - rat sub - trac - tis cur - si - bus;  
e - qui - ta - bat so - ror ef - fre - nis cur - ri - bus;  
**Hec nox, ca - ris - si - mi, nox il - la fle - bi - lis,**  
**qua com - pre - hen - di - tur di - es a - te - ne - bris,**

ra - di - os in - fe - rens sil - va - nis fon - ti - bus,  
pi - is fi - de - li - um est ple - na la - cri - mis;

**a - gi - tan - do fe - ras pro - su - is ric - ti - bus. ||**  
**Mor - ta - les de - de - rant mem - bra so - po - ri - bus. ||**  
**a - quas im - ma - ni - tas com - pel - lit sce - le - ris.**

In *TEOC*, I assumed that the tune seen in the versions of 'Sanctorum meritis' found at Beauvais and Worcester was borrowed, directly or indirectly, from Blondel's lyric 'L'amours dont sui espris me semont'; I took this to have been adapted variously in the contrafactions we know as 'Procurans omnium' (Anderson E9), 'Purgator criminum' (Anderson F2), Philip the Chancellor's 'Suspirat spiritus' (L6) and the French contrafaction by Gautier de Coincy ('S'amours dont...') – the first word or so differs in some sources). Many of these contrafactions exist in polyphonic settings, with several variants of melodic details and indeed of strophic structure. If, however, the parent tune were much earlier, then it could not have been modelled upon Blondel: he must have been a borrower, not a lender. Indeed, the structure of Philip's 'Suspirat spiritus' closely follows that of 'Foebus abierat' as given above, so on mature reflexion it seems much more likely that a tune of the 'Foebus abierat' type, in existence long before Blondel used it, was the precursor of all of the adaptations of which we have knowledge. The melody of Philip's 'Suspirat spiritus' in the Egerton MS is likely to be closest in form to a supposed original. Although that given at Ex.10.1 principally follows the Beauvais version (Egerton varies slightly), the first three bars of the bottom line of music are taken directly from the Egerton 'Suspirat'. In the light of the probable priority of the melody behind 'Suspirat', the proposed stemma on page 364 of *TEOC* needs to be redrawn.

That the poem 'Foebus abierat' was known at the School of Abelard does not admit of much doubt; and the connexion between the School and the Play of Daniel cannot reasonably be denied. To go further, and say that 'Foebus abierat' was transmitted with the tune given in Ex.10.1, that this melody was known at the School and, thanks to Ralph of Beauvais, used in a version of 'Sanctorum meritis', is to proceed from reasonable certitude to conjecture; but it does seem a likely interpretation of the facts. Moreover, the influence of this supposed transmission, first in the direction of the 'Sanctorum meritis' at Beauvais and Worcester, then in relation to the various monodic and polyphonic contrafactions mentioned here (and discussed in greater detail in *TEOC*), is a decidedly more plausible theory than to credit Blondel as the *fons et origo* of the tune. In addition, there is the incontrovertible evidence of the notation. It is immaterial whether the vernacular versions of Gautier and Blondel, together with the Latin derivatives of Philip and others should be regarded as stemming from this supposed 'Foebus abierat' or from a vernacular forebear of Blondel: all the MSS of these versions carry the type of notational features seen in the Beauvais and Worcester settings of 'Sanctorum meritis' and which often correspond closely in detail. This can hardly be coincidental (no such features unite any other series of contrafactions that I can recall). So it is reasonable to think that there may be a connexion between the musical resources of the School of Abelard and later MSS which carry representatives of the 'Parisian' repertory and some of its notational features. As seen in *TEOC*, Appendix 4, with varying frequency the 'Notre Dame' MSS as a whole –  $W_1$ ,  $W_2$ , F (and indeed the polyphonic section of the Beauvais MS, closely related to F) and so on – also display the same notational quirks that have been identified in the Beauvais and Limoges sources.

A final word on the prosody of 'Foebus abierat'. As noted in chapter 1, the accentuation of the words does not suit the hexasyllabic rhythm posited for 'O quanta qualia' and similar lyrics (the tune of Ex.10.1, which fits 'Foebus abierat', would fit 'O quanta qualia', but not vice versa). Instead, it accords with the prosody of the comparatively rare rhythm



described as 'mode 4' by the theorists, but seen in the upbeat mode 3 pattern of 'Procurans omnium' and its congeners mentioned in an earlier paragraph. In itself, this rarity adds to the possibility that this group of lyrics is connected with 'Foebus abierat'. It is notable that Blondel seems to have been unusually attached to this rhythmic pattern (TEOC, p.29): if his 'L'amours dont sui' was indeed dependent on 'Foebus abierat' or some such model, then his penchant for this rhythm was probably coeval. Moreover, there is a prosodic link between 'Foebus abierat' and 'Parce continuis', yet another lyric that might be associated with the School of Abelard (see below, n.77). Further research will doubtless shed light on many of the questions raised here.

#### The Shadow on the Sun: the name of Abelard's son.

BRENDA M COOK

Even in the twentieth century, when media celebrities chose bizarre and provocative personal names for their children, it would have been a bold woman who named her son Pentium Processor. In twelfth-century Christendom when most children were named after older kinsfolk who would be their godparents and protectors in this world and after saints who would be their patron both in this life and in the life to come, for a woman to name her child after a scientific instrument is almost beyond belief. Yet this, it appears, is what Heloise did. In about 1117, Abelard took her to Brittany where 'she gave birth to a male child whom she named Astralabe'.<sup>56</sup> Heloise was behaving in a quite extraordinary fashion. To begin with, there is no Saint Astralabe, although St Paul mentions a *dominus* called Aristobulus in Romans 16:10. Of course, it is possible that Astralabe was a nickname added to the Christian name Peter, but if so, Abelard fails to mention it; and why then, when she is writing of her son to Peter the Venerable, would Heloise call him simply Astralabe? In the case of a legitimate child, the father had the right to name his child, but an illegitimate child was the mother's responsibility alone. Thus, when Abelard says that Heloise chose the name for their son, he is being scrupulously accurate, for until their clandestine marriage, which took place after his birth, the child was still illegitimate.

The double name Petrus Astralabius is to be found only in the necrology of the Paraclete: 30 Oct Petrus Astralabius, magistri nostri Petri filius.<sup>57</sup> From the way it is written it might at first be thought that the 'Peter' is an error, the copyist nun having inserted an additional *Petrus* either because she could not believe that the young man did not have a Christian name proper, or because she was looking ahead to his father's name.

The word 'astrolabe' comes, through Middle English and Old French (*astrelabe*) from the mediæval Latin *astrolabium*, a neuter noun. In creating a masculine form to make the name of her son, Heloise adapted the spelling to *Astralabius*. Although the spelling *Astralabius* does occur in some references to the boy, it is the *a* spelling which predominates in the early manuscripts and which will be employed here. The *o* spelling is better reserved for the scientific instrument.

The planisphere astrolabe was the basic calculating instrument of the Middle Ages, the equivalent of a slide rule or the laptop computer. Its basic function was to observe the positions of the stars in the night sky, and with this information, and in association with books of tables, it became the essential device for calculating dates, plotting elevations, casting horoscopes and navigation. It was thus widely used by churchmen, architects, physicians and merchants. In appearance an astrolabe is a set of three interlocking discs suspended from a ring and with a measuring bar swiveling across the diameter. The base-plate on which the other parts are mounted is called the *mater* – one might almost say motherboard. The eccentric dial of openwork which describes the movements of the stars is called the Rete or Spider.<sup>58</sup>

An early form of the astrolabe was probably used by Ptolemy, and its use and development was part of the Greek tradition of learning transmitted by the Arabs. The first Latin treatise on the use of the astrolabe, the *Sententiae astrolabii*, is ascribed to the notorious Gerbert, later Pope Sylvester II (999–1003). This was supplemented a generation or so later by a technical manual on how to construct one, the *De mensura astrolabii* of Hermanus Contractus, the crippled Abbot of Reichenau.<sup>59</sup> During the twelfth century, Arabs living in Toledo were actively working on refinements to this and other astronomical measuring instruments, but the greatest European exponent of the astrolabe was Abelard's near namesake,

<sup>56</sup> 'pareret masculum quem Astralabium nominavit'. Hicks, p.13, Radice, p.68.

<sup>57</sup> 30 October. [Anniversary of the death of] Peter Astralabe, the son of our Master Peter. See Boutillier du Retail and Piétrisson de Saint-Aubin, *Abbaye du Paraclet: Obituaires de la province de Sens*. Vol. 4 (Diocèses de Meaux et de Troyes). Paris, 1923, p.428.

<sup>58</sup> *The planisphere astrolabe*, National Maritime Museum. Department of Navigation and Astronomy. Greenwich, 1976, pp.8–11.

<sup>59</sup> *A history of technology*, ed. Charles Singer and others. Oxford, 1957. Vol. 3, p.609.

Adelard of Bath. Adelard was in Laon between about 1108 and 1114, and the two men may have met there in about 1112. At that date, however, Adelard's expedition to Syria to collect up-to-date information about the instrument was still in the future.<sup>60</sup> At the time that Heloise gave birth, a simple form and use of the astrolabe would be known among the educated classes.

Heloise would have been expected to choose a family Christian name for her child, either from her lover's family or from her own. Instead, she chose a unique name, and in doing so contravened established tradition and custom. The name must therefore have had some very special significance for her.

Over the years a number of scholars have sought to fathom this mystery. The first attempt at an explanation was put forward by Victor Cousin (1792–1867), who suggested that the name meant the Shadow on the Sun and referred to the damage done to Abelard's reputation by the birth of his base-born child.<sup>61</sup> Up to a point, this is a plausible theory, but surely not the whole explanation. There is no evidence that either of his parents saw Astralabe's birth as at all shameful. If indeed Heloise meant her son's name to signify the Shadow on the Sun (or Star), it might just as well be her own reputation that she considered besmirched as that of Abelard.

Another of the pioneering French scholars, Charles de Rémusat, commented on the name in 1845, and he at least showed that he was fully aware of its astronomical significance: 'one gives the name astralabe to the flat disc which one uses to demonstrate the Ptolemaic [astronomical] system.'<sup>62</sup> Other suggestions have been made down the years. In considering the origins of Abelard's own name, Constant Mews also looks briefly at the name of Abelard's son and quotes M-T d'Alverny's view that 'the scientific instrument is sometimes called *astrolapsus* and suggests that the child might thus have 'fallen from the stars'.<sup>63</sup> The implication is that the name is a mildly humorous allusion to the boy's illegitimacy – he has no father, so he must have fallen from the stars.

A more plausible and intellectually satisfying explanation has recently been put forward by Fr Bill East of the University of York.<sup>64</sup> He has pointed out that the letters of ASTRALABIUS.PUER.DEI (Astralabe, child of God) may be read as an anagram which yields PETRUS ABAELARDUS .II. (Peter Abelard the Second). In this context, the epithet *puer dei* may also be seen as a sly allusion to his technical fatherlessness – God's Boy has no legal father, so God must be his father – but if this is indeed an anagram then Astralabius is the second (that is, the son of) Peter Abaelard. There is no surviving documentary evidence to suggest that *puer dei* was ever part of Astralabe's name, just as the sole evidence for his being called Peter rests on the entry in the Necrology of the Paraclete; so where might such a notion have come from?

Baptism was taken very seriously at this period: a child who died unbaptised was considered to be permanently cut off not only from life temporal, but from life eternal. So midwives were authorised to baptise a child at, or even before, the moment of birth, if its survival seemed at all doubtful – a breeches presentation being the most typical situation.<sup>65</sup> The gravity of this circumstance is underlined by the fact that the administration of all other sacraments was the exclusive province of the male priesthood. An *unborn* baby could not be baptised, but if only part of the child's anatomy, a hand or a foot, for instance, had emerged, baptism could be administered upon this limb, by a midwife if necessary. In this case, when the sex of the child was yet to be determined, 'they were given neuter names such as Vitalis, Creature, Chylde-of-God'.<sup>66</sup> This example comes from English sources, but there is no reason to assume that the practice differed across the rest of Christendom.

<sup>60</sup> Louise Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath: the first English Scientist*. London, 1994, pp.23ff.

<sup>61</sup> 'Le nom d'Astralabe ... comprend deux parties: la première est un rappel d'astrum, astre; la seconde est dérivée de quelque chose comme *labi* ou *labes*, elle renferme une idée de chute ou de tache. Evidemment Héloïse l'imagina pour souligner que la naissance de l'enfant du péché faisait à l'astre lumineux qu'était Abélard une tache d'ombre: c'était la tache au soleil: Astralabe.' Victor Cousin, *Fragments philosophiques. Œuvres complètes*, vol. 2. Brussels, 1841, p.168.

<sup>62</sup> 'Je ne sais pourquoi plusieurs historiens veulent que ce nom signifie Astre brillant. On appelait alors astrolabe la sphère plane à l'aide de laquelle on démonstroit le système de Ptolomé.' Charles de Rémusat, *Abélard*. Paris, 1845, p.58.

<sup>63</sup> Constant J Mews, 'In search of a name and its significance: a twelfth-century anecdote about Thierry and Peter Abaelard', *Traditio*, 44 (1988), p.193.

<sup>64</sup> William G East, 'Abelard's anagram', *Notes & Queries*, 240 (1995), p.269. East has ASTRALABIUS, PUER DEI but prints the resolution as here. On DW's suggestion, I have added points between the words of the untransposed anagram, so that the resolution (ending .II.) is exact.

<sup>65</sup> In a breeches presentation, the child is born buttocks or even feet first, instead of in the normal head first position. There is a real danger that the child may be suffocated if the head emerges last.

<sup>66</sup> *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*, ed. E G Withycombe. Oxford, 1977.

There might also be a darker reason for Heloise to insist that her illegitimate son was a child of God: it forestalled any suggestion that he might have been a child of the Devil. It must be remembered that Heloise arrived in Brittany habited as a nun, pregnant, and accompanied by a man garbed as a cleric. In one version of the legend of the Antichrist, the Man of Sin is described, in a parody of the doctrine of the Incarnation, as being the bastard child of a nun and a priest. Millennial fears were not as vivid in the twelfth century as they had been in the tenth, but there was still much discussion among the learned about the End of the World and the events that would precede it. Heloise was a woman isolated from her friends and kinsfolk in an unfamiliar situation and utterly dependent on the goodwill of strangers – even though those strangers were Abelard's kin.

Enid McLeod has recorded in her biography of Heloise a Breton poem which purports to be a monologue spoken by Heloise about herself and her supernatural powers.<sup>67</sup> The Heloise of this poem bears little resemblance to the Heloise of history except that she is a woman of rare learning. The Heloise of the poem is a malevolent witch-queen planning to use her knowledge in Faustian style to win earthly power for herself and her lover. Although this image has only the most tenuous link with the real Heloise, this poem may reveal how the servants at Le Pallet and the vassals on the estate perceived her. Was the real Heloise pestered for love-philtres, cures and curses? She would have known of the superstitions relating to the Antichrist and realised, somewhat belatedly, what the effect of her arrival, pregnant and in a nun's habit, would have had on the local population. Had the unborn child been born dead or proved to be a girl, the speculation would have subsided of its own accord, but Astralabe was a boy who thrived. Thus, if Heloise devised the name *Astralabius puer dei* for her son, she may have been emphasising not only that he was Abelard's son but also that he was not the child of the Devil. For a woman in Heloise's position, it would be all too easy for the natural hostility towards an interloper to flare into real danger if fuelled by superstition. ASTRALABIUS PUER DEI may be a charm, a verbal talisman, as well as an anagram. There is no suggestion of blasphemy in this. The correct title of the Second Person of the Trinity is *filius dei*, not *puer dei* – the word *puer* means 'boy' in the sense of 'houseboy', that is, a servant or slave as well as a son, whereas *filius* is always only 'son'. At the time of his birth Heloise was not Abelard's wife and had no intention of becoming so, yet at the same time she gloried in bearing Abelard's child. Thus it would be particularly important to her to link father and son.

The *Lost Love Letters* give such an insight into Abelard's early relationship with Heloise that it is profitable to seek in them a more plausible explanation of the significance of the name Astralabe. We have seen that in Letter 20, the Lucifer poem, Abelard calls Heloise his new guiding star. But this is not the only place where Abelard likens Heloise to a heavenly body. He calls her his star in Letters 4 and 6, and in Letter 22 he likens himself to the moon and Heloise to his sun. Astronomical imagery is revived in the correspondence much later, after the breach recorded in Letters 56 to 58. In Letter 76 Heloise calls Abelard 'my bright star, my golden constellation', and in Letters 87 and 91 Abelard refers to Heloise's 'starry eyes'. After another rift around Letter 99, the sun and star imagery appear together in Letter 108. Abelard declares: 'My sun and my serene day, my light, greeting' and then towards the end of the poem: 'The stars shine more pleasingly, the sun shows its orb more brightly'. This last line is the only place where *astra* is used for the stars. Elsewhere *sydus* or *stella* is their chosen term. Here, however, the correspondence is drawing to its close and disintegrates with the bitter fragment of 112a.<sup>68</sup>

There seems little doubt that Letter 112a refers to Heloise's pregnancy and the coming of her child: *Jam fessa sum, tibi respondere nequeo, quod dulcia pro gravibus accipis, ac per hoc animum meum contristaris. Vale.* ('Now I am tired, I cannot reply to you, because you are taking sweet things as burdensome, and in doing so you sadden my spirit. Farewell.') This is so unlike the Heloise of the rest of the correspondence. She may be angry or reproachful, exultant and joyous, but never depressed. Her choice of words is significant. In Letter 58, after one of their disagreements, she uses the word *onus* to mean 'a burden'. In the fragmentary 112a she uses the adjective *gravis* which, although meaning 'heavy', is also associated with the adjective *gravidus*, 'pregnant', as is familiar in today's medical parlance. The joyful Heloise whom Abelard described in the *Historia Calamitatum* has been replaced by a woman who is too tired and depressed to write.

If this represents more accurately Heloise's state of mind when Abelard took her to Brittany and handed her over to the care of his family before returning to Paris, it throws new light on the meaning of the name Astralabe. The obvious meaning of the word, as Cousin suggested, is The Shadow on the Sun (or Star). It was assumed by him that Abelard was the sun and it was his public reputation that was being dimmed by his having fathered a bastard. But if Heloise was Abelard's guiding star or sun, then their child Astralabe is revealed as the shadow that has come between the lovers. It is

<sup>67</sup> *Héloïse* ..., pp.55–6 (see p.95, n.32, above).

<sup>68</sup> I agree with Barbara Newman on the question of the ordering of Letters 112 and 113 (see p.149, above). Thus the sequence originally ended with the hopeful letters 109 and 110, the poetic scrap 111 and the bitter 112a.

Heloise's brightness *in the eyes of Abelard* that the coming child has besmirched. Thus Heloise's naming of her son may be seen as a reproach to his absent father. This hypothesis chimes in with the identification (chapter 7) by Juanita Ruys of the CB poem 'Huc usque' as the lament of the pregnant Heloise in Brittany, dismayed because her lover has abandoned her.

If this is correct, and it does seem plausible where other explanations are not, then it reveals new aspects of the relationship between Abelard and Heloise at the time of their elopement. It suggests that Abelard reacted to Heloise's pregnancy with anger and dismay, and that although he behaved responsibly by putting her in the care of his family, this nevertheless caused a breach between them which took time to heal. Abelard would not be the first man to be furious at impending fatherhood and yet to become delighted when confronted by his living child; but by the time Abelard returned from Paris, Heloise had been delivered and the boy named. The name Astralabe is clearly many-layered and capable of multiple interpretations. It is perfectly possible that the child was named *puer dei* at some moment of emergency during his delivery and that the convalescent Heloise, idly scribbling on a wax tablet, found she had a piece of word-play that satisfied her on a number of different levels.

In 1846, a sub-librarian of the University of Paris went on a manuscript-gathering expedition to the Suisse Romande. He discovered in the Cistercian Abbey of Hauterive, just outside Fribourg in the canton of the same name, manuscripts (some mediæval) which commemorated one Astralabius as the fourth abbot of the monastery. This Astralabe was listed among the founders of the monastery in 1137, was elected Abbot in 1162 and died on 5 August 1164. There was also at the monastery an oral tradition that this man was Abelard's son. On the other hand, there is Heloise's well-known attempt after Abelard's death to procure a prebend for her son in about 1144; there is a Breton charter of the 1150s which appears to refer to the late canon Astralabe of Nantes; and there is the commemoration of a Peter Astralabe's death in the necrology of the Paraclete on 30 October. The collocation of theories outlined above makes it virtually impossible that there could have been two twelfth-century clerics with the same name, and that the two groups of references to a man called Astralabe must refer to the son of Abelard and Heloise. The difficulties in reconciling the two sets of references to Astralabe will be dealt with in a major study on his life and career which I hope soon to bring before the public.<sup>69</sup> I shall also suggest that on Abelard's death Astralabe, being his legitimated son, would have inherited some kind of responsibility for the oversight of the Paraclete and might thus have influenced the liturgy of that foundation in a Cistercian direction.

The depth of Cistercian influence on Abelard's family has only recently been appreciated. Not only has such influence been found in the writings relating to the Paraclete, but both Abelard's brother and his son ended their days as Cistercian monks. That Astralabe had been attracted to the Cistercian way since his youth is clear from the admonitions against this in the *Carmen ad Astralabium*. Sometime after Abelard's death, probably in about 1145, Abelard's brother Porcar (Porcharius) who had held a prebend at Nantes,<sup>70</sup> retired to the recently re-founded Cistercian monastery of Buzai, which was situated just down river from Nantes and enjoyed ducal patronage.<sup>71</sup> This left the way clear for Astralabe to become in turn a Canon of Nantes Cathedral. In 1157–8, however, he renounced his prebend and became a Cistercian monk at Cherlieu in the Haute-Soâne which was within better communicable distance of the Paraclete, and where there was a strong and innovative musical tradition.<sup>72</sup> A brief but vicious civil war in Nantes in 1157–8 would provide an additional reason for Astralabe's relocation.<sup>73</sup>

The former Augustinian house of Cherlieu had submitted itself to Cîteau in 1131, when its newly appointed Abbot was Guy de Cherlieu, the liturgist.<sup>74</sup> It was from Cherlieu that in 1162 Astralabe was sent to become Abbot of the daughter-house, Hauterive, in the present-day Suisse-Romande. The Hauterive records are clear that Abbot Astralabe, Abelard's son, came to them from Cherlieu, although they are confused as to the date.<sup>75</sup> They include him among the founders of the Abbey in 1138 but this is clearly impossible since he was still a Canon of Nantes Cathedral in the early 1150s.

<sup>69</sup> References to some of the extant information concerning him are to be seen on p.283, n.200, of Enid McLeod's *Héloïse* ... (see p.95, n.32, above).

<sup>70</sup> 'Charte mentionnant Astralabe, fils d'Abailard (1153-1157).' *Bulletin de la Société des Bibliophiles Bretons*, 4 (1880–1), pp.50–1.

<sup>71</sup> A Lebigre, 'Les débuts de l'abbaye cistercienne de Buzay en pays de Rais, 1144-1250' *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*, 4ème sér., 45 (1967) pp.451–82.

<sup>72</sup> Maur Cocheril, *Dictionnaire des monastères cisterciens. 1: Cartes géographiques*. Rochefort (Belgium), 1976.

<sup>73</sup> La Borderie pp.270–3 (see n.25, above).

<sup>74</sup> On Guy, and on the question of Astralabe's influence on the Paraclete liturgy, see p.135, above.

<sup>75</sup> Romain Pittet, *L'abbaye d'Hauterive au moyen âge*. Fribourg, 1934, pp.95–7.

## Epilogue

DAVID WULSTAN

In view of the testimony of the earlier letters, added to that of the better-known letters and other writings, it is clear that Heloise's literary stature was formidable. We now have enough evidence to show that her musical talents, too, were exceptional. It seems, then, that the remarks of Hugh Metel or Peter the Venerable were not polite exaggerations. As we now know that she was poet, playwright and composer, a comparison between Heloise and her almost exact contemporary Hildegard of Bingen is almost inevitable. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that either had any contact with the other; despite superficial impressions, their separate paths diverged more than a little. Heloise's technical prowess – poetic, dramatic and musical – was of a different order from that of Hildegard. These aspects of Heloise's style seem to have evolved as she matured as an artist, whereas Hildegard seems to have kept to much the same rhapsodic style throughout her life. The incandescent, almost adolescent, passion of Hildegard contrasts with the hot embers of Heloise's: her passion is that of a woman who had suffered the pains of love and childbirth and had known the joys of the carnal and of the sublime. The contrast in literary style between their works gives an impression that Hildegard is Christopher Smart to Heloise's William Blake.

As my colleague and friend Beryl Smalley observed in *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 'a traveller tends to find what he is looking for'.<sup>76</sup> The late Miss Smalley would doubtless have agreed that in our wayward travels through the twelfth century it is difficult not to see its characters through our own eyes. Abelard seems insufferably arrogant and uncompromising, and with little regard for others' feelings, least of all for those of his wife. For her part, Heloise seems to us to be the kind of feminist who wants to have her organic cake and eat it, but yet contrariwise was the wife who sacrificed herself on the altar of Abelard's career. We have to look upon the pair with mediæval eyes rather than looking from the false perspective of nearly a millennium later. Nor must we regard them merely as one of the most celebrated pairs of lovers in history; they were a singular artistic partnership. Whatever Heloise may have learned from her master, it seems that he learned as much from his pupil. Although time may have been careless of some of their legacy, we can now attribute many hitherto anonymous lyrics to Heloise or to Abelard.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, it seems that Abelard's links with the 'goliardic' tradition were greater than was hitherto supposed, and that his influence can be seen in many works by his pupils and their followers, the Play of Daniel being an outstanding example. Both he and Heloise seem to have exerted a marked influence upon Walther von der Vogelweide, Gautier d'Espinal and doubtless other vernacular poets. The sequences and liturgical dramas of Heloise survive with music of an individual style. Her dramas, moreover, are of notable originality: their bearing upon the later history of the genre was both considerable and enduring.

<sup>76</sup> *The Study of the Bible ...*, p.264 (see p.69, n.14, above).

<sup>77</sup> Many more will doubtless be added to the canon: one possible instance is 'Parce continuis', which Juanita Ruys will attribute to Abelard in a future publication.

## Translations of texts in the music examples

### A note on the rhythm of the music examples

As mentioned in chapter 1, few lyrics of this period are accompanied by music in unequivocal measured notation. Some signs, such as those found in connexion with Ex.10.1 and Ex.3.3 or collateral sources of formulas such as those encountered in Ex.3.4 are occasionally evident (and more sporadic signs are found in the sources of some other examples); but these are not able to be interpreted without some knowledge of the intended rhythmic pattern as a whole. In rare instances (such as the notation of 'Samson' excerpted at Ex.4.1) we have measured notation which directly guides us; elsewhere, however, the decision as to what rhythmic pattern was intended by the composer must be informed by more general knowledge of the patterns in use at this time, as evident from sources that exist in measured notation such as the *Cantigas*, *Le Roman de Fauvel* and so on. As discussed in *TEOC*, although many of these patterns are strictly 'modal' (in the rhythmic sense), many are of a more varied character. The application of these patterns to a given lyric must depend on many factors such as prosody, musical formulism and note-distribution; again, the matter is treated in detail in *TEOC*.

### Translations

As with the translations in the body of the book, those below are not intended for the most part to be literal; but it is hoped that they will give some of the flavour of the original and be a guide to its meaning.

Ex.1.1:

O God, creator of all things  
Who rulest from the starry height  
Clothing the day with robes of light  
And granting gracious sleep at night.

p.5:

(To the pupil: ... when we recite the *versus*: O God, creator of all things, thou wilt perceive the four iambs and) the twelve times of which it consists ... [VI, ix, 23 also mentions the same hymn and its rhythm.]  
... O God, creator of all things – that *versus* consists of eight syllables, alternately long and short; the four short, namely the first, third, fifth and seventh, are simple in relation to the four longs – the second, fourth, sixth and eighth syllables. Each of these latter hath double times in relation to the former ...

Ex.1.2:

O clap you hands together, all ye Christians,  
*The Lord is risen indeed!*  
With the prince of death being vanquished  
Christ now ruleth;  
run to meet the victor  
who setteth us free.

Exx.1.3–4:

*Dolorum solatium*:  
Solace in my sorrow,  
a remedy for my distress,  
my lyre, thou art to me!

*Plange planctu*:

O Gallic land, sing an exceedingly piteous plaint  
in woeful lamentation.

Ex.1.5:

*Saul, regum fortissime:*

Saul, most mighty of Kings,  
O unconquerable valour of Jonathan!  
He who could not vanquish you  
was given authority to slay you.

*Petre, virtus scholastica:*

O Peter, of peerless scholarship,  
the only key to scripture  
thou art condemned by an unpredictable mob,  
a pseudomonastic crowd.

Ex.1.6:

O mighty sabbath days	how glorious and how great
the courts of heaven on high	endlessly celebrate!
What rest for weary souls,	what honours for the bold,
when God shall be all things	and in all, as of old.

Ex.1.7:

The triumphs of the saints,	blessed for evermore;
Their love that never faints,	the toils they bravely bore
for these the Church today	pours forth her joyous lay;
These victors won the noblest bay.	

(Translation by J M Neale)

Ex.1.9: See Ex.10.1

Ex.3.1:

*Virent prata:*

The fields are greening, now that  
winter's ravages are gone.  
They laugh with the cheerful bloom of flowers  
given to the world by the rays of the sun;  
glistening, stark white, ruby red, all aglow  
The rite of spring conspires to bring  
a burgeoning of bud-burst.

*So wol dir (CB151a):*

So hail, May! How you resolve  
everything without bitterness!  
How well you clothe the trees,  
and best of all, the heath!  
(It has even more colour.)  
'You are shorter, I am taller!'  
Thus they argue on the green,  
the flowers and the clover.

(Translation by Rebecca Davies; see also Ex.3.2, below)

Ex.3.2:

*Quant je voi:*

When I see the fresh grass  
showing through at the beginning of the summer  
which changes everything  
to a greater beauty.  
If it then pleases  
my lady that I sang it  
my joy will be greatly increased  
solely because she has commanded it.

*The song then continues (the same rhyme scheme in -uë and -é throughout) to praise the poet's lady, and ends with a salutation to Philip of France, Count of Boulogne.*

(Translation by David Trotter)

*Hebet sidus:*

The constellation which lit my countenance with joy  
is shadowed, and clouds my heart  
The warmth of my laughter turns cold on my lips  
My jubilation turns to grief, and with good reason  
for she who was near to me is being hidden from my sight –  
she by whom the fortitude of my heart blooms –  
I am utterly bereft.

*The poet then continues in praise of the lady, saying that she excels in the Dance of Love above all others and that her name reflects the light of the sun (cujus nomen a Phebea=Helios=Heloise). Then he again takes up the topic of separation on which note, gloomily, he ends.*

*CB 169a, appended to Hebet sidus:*

Red mouth, what a disservice you do yourself!  
Leave your laughter.  
You should be ashamed when you smile at me  
after the damage you've done.  
It's not fair.  
Alas, such wasted hours  
when from such a lovely mouth  
such lovelessness should emanate!

*This is stanza 4 of 'Muget ir schouwen', CB 151a being stanza 3, but both have a slightly different wording from the standard text. The whole poem begins 'Muget ir schouwen, waz dem meien', of which translations of the first two stanzas and the last are given below:*

Can you see what wonderful things  
have been given to May?  
Look at the clergy, look at the laypeople  
to see what an effect it has.  
Its power is great.  
I don't know whether it has magical powers,  
but wherever it moves in its joy,  
no one feels old.

We'll be feeling better soon:

we should feel glad,  
dance, laugh and sing  
without being licentious.



Who could fail to be happy?  
Since the birds are so beautifully  
singing their best songs,  
we should do the same.

...

Relieve me, lady, of sorrow,  
love me for a while!  
Or I will have to find happiness elsewhere  
and say fare you well!  
Look around you:  
The world at large is happy.  
Might some small happiness befall me  
by your will?

(Translations by Rebecca Davies)

Ex.3.3:  
So by the singing of my sorrow I am comforted,  
like the swan as her death approaches.  
Dull grief eats into my heart,  
once rosy, my cheeks are now wan.  
Pain increases  
my travail grows heavier  
my strength is on the wane,  
I am dying of sorrow;  
my chest is bursting in the bonds of love's bitter torment  
O, how I die!  
Since I am forced into an unrequited love.

Ex.3.4:  
*Coraiheus:*  
I am desirous of the games which love demands;  
I compose tunes in which I express all that is meant  
by the great fire of love  
which is felt by the piteous victim who suffers by it.  
In my fair words of love I make no mention here  
of serving-wenches and those with a husband;

*Ad festas choreas:*  
To the solemn dances come  
according to the custom, ye maids!  
According to the custom let your songs be tearful  
and your laments as frequent as your songs!  
Let your sorrowing faces be unadorned  
and like to those who complain and weep!  
(translations by Peter Ricketts and Ann Buckley)

Ex.6.1:  
The King had already gone to his bed  
and my scent of spikenard suffused the air;  
I came into the garden to whence he had descended

but he had already turned away and gone:  
So I go out to seek him, throughout the night,  
hither and thither I turn, but nowhere do I find him.\*  
The watchmen, ardent and zealous, run towards me;  
when I have passed from them, I find my bridegroom.

\*the Vic and Epithalamica wordings of this line are slightly different (the latter introduces the notion of anxiety), but the meanings are much the same.

Exx.6.2-3:  
Let us go to buy myrrh and sweet-smelling embalming fluids  
that we may anoint the body released for burial.  
What shall we do, sisters?  
We bear the burden of great sorrows.

Ex.6.4:  
Vic:  
Almighty father, the most high  
clement ruler of the angel host  
what shall these poor women do?  
O Woe! How great is our grief!

Origny:  
Most puissant father, and highest king  
of the angel host, most clement ruler  
what has brought these malevolent things upon our hearts?  
O Woe! How great is our grief!

CB:  
Tell us, young merchant  
if you would'st sell to us this ointment  
name the price for which thou wilt sell it.  
O Woe! How great is our grief!

Ex.6.5: see Ex.9.1

Ex.6.6:  
Let the sweet wedding-songs be sung  
and dancers step in time to their music.

Ex.6.7:  
Declaim, O bride, thy wedding song;  
tell us of those inward joys on which thine heart hath gazed  
and give tidings of the bridegroom to gladden us  
whose presence promises new life for thee, for ever.

Ex.6.8:  
Chaste virgins, singing due praise to the supreme Virgin,  
venerating, after her, other virgins likewise worthy of honour;  
in psalms, hymns and fitting anthems, singing as one  
let them offer up solemn canticles of praise.

Ex.6.9:

Led in after her were the devoted virgins  
offering to the king, consecrated to Christ—  
Thalis, Thecla, Agnes and Lucia  
Agatha and the multitudinous  
cohort of virgins.

Ex.6.10:

The virgins offer a burnt-offering of untouched flesh to the Lord,  
upright in mind, choosing Christ as their immortal bridegroom.  
O happy nuptials, upon which there is no taint, neither the severe pains of childbirth  
nor the fear of a rival lover, nor of an interfering wet-nurse.

Ex.6.11:

Out of the deep, hear the groaning  
of those crying unto thee,  
loving God, do not observe the extent of their sins  
so that they can endure thy judgement  
O *Gentle God*.

Good Jesus, fulfil what thou hast said  
lest the sound of thy name should be empty of meaning  
especially as thou thyself hast said  
that thou art come to save wretched sinners  
O *Good Jesus*.

Consolation of the grieving soul  
and truly the Paraclete of the sorrowing  
that which thou dost promise in this name  
be not slow to accomplish, O Lord  
O *Gentle God*.

In Peter's distress his denial  
was wiped out in such a short space of time  
and the late confession of the dying thief  
gained the joys of paradise  
O *Good Jesus*.

Ex.6.12:

We shall go [*rather than* I shall go] to anoint the wounds of Christ

Ex.6.13:

The bridegroom is here — who is Christ — be watchful, O ye maidens!  
in whose coming mankind is joyful and will be joyful.

Ex.9.1:

*Tanta sorores:*  
How great, O sisters, are the joys  
whose blossoms are shed in sadness  
when the innocent [Christ] endures  
scorn and hanging from the cross  
because of the Jews' envy

and of the perfidy of princes  
O, how great shall be our anguish!

*Diu welt was gelf:*

The world was yellow, red and blue,  
green in the woods and elsewhere;  
the little birds were singing there;  
now, however, the hooded crow shrieks.  
Does it have another colour? Yes!  
It has become pale and very grey.  
This puts a frown on many a brow.

*Stanzas 3 & 4 of the poem may be translated:*

Fools say 'Let it snow!'  
The poor say 'Alas!'.  
It makes me feel heavy as lead.  
I have three winter sorrows:  
as far as they are concerned,  
I would soon be free of them  
if the summer were approaching.

In preference to living on like this for long,  
I would sooner eat raw crab.  
Summer, give us joy again,  
adorning the fields and the trees.  
Then I would play among the flowers,  
my heart soaring as high as the sun;  
the winter has put paid to all that.

(Translation by Rebecca Davies)

Ex.9.2:

CB 200:

*Drink this wine, a good wine, a vintage wine,  
granting an exceedingly courageous spirit to the men of our distinguished gathering.*

(St.1):

Bacchus, come thou, welcome and agreeable,  
through whom our soul is made glad.

(St.4 = Play of Daniel):

These are the royal vessels which are taken as spoils  
from Jerusalem and which enrich the court of Babylon.

Ex.9.3:

Here is the blossoming of the Church's buds, a burst of roses and lilies innumerable;  
in the noble bridegroom's field there are fragrances equally delectable to smell as to sight.  
Adorned both in purple robes and linen, with lilies in their left hand,  
roses in their right, and they are crowned with a plaited garland  
as they follow in the way of the lamb without spot of sin.

10.1:

*Foebus abierat:*

Phoebus has fled, his voyage done.  
His sister was riding with unbridled span,

shedding her beams in forest springs,  
stirring wild creatures to prey;  
men had laid their limbs to rest.

(Translation by Peter Dronke, *MLREL*, p.336)

*Hec nox:*

This night, beloved ones, such a night of lamentation,  
on which day is overtaken by darkness,  
is filled with the pious tears of the faithful whose immensity of sinfulness  
compels these floods of weeping.

### About the contributors

Brenda M Cook is a graduate of Bedford College, London (English) and the University of Strathclyde (MSc, Librarianship). She has been on the staff of Glasgow University Library and, before taking early retirement in 1990, she was Librarian of the University of London Institute of Archaeology. She is a member of the Institute of Historical Research (University of London) and of the Society of Genealogists. Her forthcoming book is entitled *A Shadow on the Sun? The life and times of Abelard's son*.

Constant J Mews is Director of the Centre for Studies in Religion and Theology, Monash University. He has edited the *Theologia* of Peter Abelard for the series CCSL (vol. 13, Turnhout, 1987) and is author of *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard. Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France*. New York, 1999. He is also the editor of *Listen Daughter: the Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*. New York, 2001. Various articles of his have been published in *Abelard and his Legacy*. Aldershot, Surrey, 2001, and *Reason and Belief in the Age of Roscelin and Abelard*. Aldershot, Surrey, 2002.

Juanita Feros Ruys is a post-doctoral fellow at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, studying mediæval parent-child advice-texts. She has published several papers on the writings of Heloise and Abelard and is co-author of a forthcoming study, text and translation of Abelard's *Carmen ad Astralabium* and *planctus*. She is co-editor of a forthcoming volume of essays on the relationship between medieval women and modern scholars.

Annelies Wouters received her undergraduate degree in Classical Philology from the Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven (Belgium) and is now completing a Ph D in mediæval Latin at Harvard University. Her dissertation is a literary study of Peter Abelard's *Collationes* or Dialogue between a Philosopher, a Jew, and a Christian.

David Wulstan is now a Research Professor in the Department of European Languages, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, having been a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, then Professor of Music at Cork and Aberystwyth. He was the founder and director of the Clerkes of Oxenford. He has held visiting professorships in Biochemistry and Semitic Philology. He is also well known for his work on John Sheppard and Orlando Gibbons, the Cantigas of Alfonso el Sabio and many other topics. His current project, taken up again after a considerable period, is a pair of books on Harmony and Tonality.