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
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“New Music to the Very Ears of God”: Heloise the Composer

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Music from
The College of William and Mary

by

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Accepted for _____
(Honors, High Honors, Highest Honors)

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I. Introduction

Peter Abelard (1079-1142), the famous philosopher and theologian, and his wife Heloise (d. 1164), abbess of the Paraclete Community, are mostly remembered as the protagonists of a tragic love story. Their letters have been edited, translated, and published numerous times, and their story has been the subject of plays, novels, and films. Although Abelard's musical, theological, and literary accomplishments are well known to scholars of medieval music, theology, and literature, they are eclipsed by the story of his affair with Heloise. Due to the fact that until recently only a few letters were definitively ascribed to Heloise, it was difficult to determine what her contributions may have been to the body of works associated with the lovers. Her reputation suggested that Heloise's works were not insignificant, but without more information it was impossible to determine which ones they were. Previously, most of the musical and liturgical materials associated with the lovers have been attributed to Abelard, but recent scholarship has made it possible to identify pieces that were likely by Heloise.

Heloise's Education and Affair with Abelard

Heloise was initially educated at the convent of Argenteuil, and then moved to Paris as a young woman to live with her uncle Fulbert, a canon at Notre Dame Cathedral. By the time she was a teenager Heloise was known throughout Europe for her intelligence and education. Abelard comments in his letters that "Heloise was by no means the least handsome of women, but in the extent of her learning she surpassed them

all.”¹ He later noted in Letter IX that Heloise had knowledge of Hebrew and Greek in addition to Latin.² In another place, Abelard reflects in the *Historia calamitatum* that he was “utterly on fire with love for her” and decided to pursue Heloise. He “looked for an opportunity to bring her closer to [himself] through intimate and daily association,”³ and arranged to move in to Fulbert’s house and become Heloise’s tutor.

Fulbert was devoted to his niece’s education and was only too happy to have as famous a scholar as Abelard for her tutor. Abelard was given permission to teach her whenever he was not teaching at the cathedral school, and to discipline her as strictly as necessary if she did not follow his direction.⁴ This shift in Heloise’s education from the convent to her studies with Abelard near the cathedral school parallels the larger shift in centers of education from monastic communities to urban cathedral schools in the early twelfth century.⁵ Heloise’s educational opportunities were likely unparalleled. According to Elizabeth McNamer, Heloise’s education was unique or at least very uncommon, since only a small number of women had any access to education, and very few of those could afford to finish their education at a religious institution and then continue their studies privately with a tutor.⁶ Even fewer would have continued beyond Latin to study Greek or Hebrew.

¹ Mary Martin McLaughlin with Bonnie Wheeler, ed., *The Letters of Heloise and Abelard: A Translation of Their Collected Correspondence and Related Writings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 23.

² McLaughlin, *Letters*, 204.

³ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 24.

⁴ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 24.

⁵ Elizabeth McNamer, *The Education of Heloise: Methods, Content, and Purpose of Learning in the Twelfth-Century* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 47.

⁶ McNamer, *Education*, 11.

As Abelard notes in his *Historia calamitatum*, during their hours of study, he and Heloise quickly fell in love and became sexually intimate. Their lessons shifted from discussions of classical authors to debates on the ethical implications of friendship and true love.⁷ During this time, they exchanged many letters. According to Abelard, “...even when we were parted, the exchange of letters could bring us together, and since it is often possible to write more boldly than one can speak, we could always converse delightfully with one another.”⁸

The Lovers’ Misfortunes

Perhaps inevitably, after several months Heloise became pregnant. To protect her from her uncle’s wrath, Abelard sent her away to stay with his relatives in Brittany until the baby was born. Heloise named the child Astrolabe⁹ and sent him to be raised by relatives. Abelard promised Fulbert that he would do what he could to make amends by marrying Heloise. Heloise, for her part, objected to the idea of marriage because it would place her in a position subordinate to Abelard and would disrupt the union of body and mind that she considered to be the basis of their relationship.¹⁰ She also objected to the denial of their individual identities implicit in marriage, for example the teaching that in marriage two people become one, and the requirement of the wife’s obedience and

⁷ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 17-49.

⁸ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 23.

⁹ Mews suggests that this refers to the instrument, recalling the astronomical imagery the man uses in the early letters, calling the woman his morning star and his sun. Constant Mews and Neville Chiavaroli, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-century France*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 74.

¹⁰ Sharon Chua, *Negotiations and Love Songs: Heloise and the Question of Religious Authenticity*, (MA diss., Georgetown, 2009). 32-33.

subservience to her husband.¹¹ Rather than Abelard's equal partner in both love and study, she would lose her independence and ruin both of their reputations. Heloise argued that it would be more precious to her if they were held by bonds of love rather than bonds of duty.¹²

Finally, Heloise gave in and Abelard brought her back to Paris. The two were married secretly to avoid damaging Abelard's career as a teacher and philosopher, but not before Heloise predicted that marriage would mean ruin and suffering for both.¹³ Heloise was proven correct when Fulbert eventually broke his promise of secrecy. When the story of their marriage became public knowledge, Abelard sent Heloise back to the convent at Argenteuil, supposedly to protect her. Not satisfied with the ruin he had already brought on both, Fulbert accused Abelard of sending Heloise to Argenteuil to be rid of her, and sent his henchmen to exact vengeance. They attacked Abelard, castrated him as punishment, and fled. However, Abelard notes in the *Historia calamitatum* that although these henchmen "fled at once... two of them were caught and deprived of their eyes and genitals."¹⁴ In shame and confusion, Abelard sought shelter in the monastery of St. Denis near Paris.

Once he was there, he began to teach theology instead of philosophy. His theological teaching was wildly popular, but quickly became controversial after an argument about his statements about the Trinity. After an ecclesiastical trial and much debate, Abelard fled in the night. He met with his abbot, asking to be released from St. Denis, but the abbot refused. The abbot died soon after, and Abelard appealed to his

¹¹ e.g. Genesis 2:24, 1 Peter 3:1, etc.

¹² McLaughlin, *Letters*, 28.

¹³ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 28.

¹⁴ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 29.

successor, who granted permission for him to leave and settle somewhere, so long as it did not belong to any other abbey. Abelard departed and founded an oratory¹⁵ dedicated to the Holy Trinity. He settled there alone, but his students were relentless in their devotion to their teacher and soon found him there. When their numbers became too great for the oratory to support them, they enlarged it and rededicated it to the Paraclete.¹⁶ Soon after, Abelard was invited by the monks at the Abbey of St. Gildas de Rhuys in Brittany to become their abbot. He accepted their offer, breaking the earlier stipulation by the Abbot of St. Denis' that he would not join another monastic community.¹⁷

Heloise at the Paraclete

Shortly after Abelard went to St. Gildas, the abbot of St. Denis took over the abbey of Argenteuil where Heloise had become prioress, claiming that it belonged to the monastery, and expelled the nuns, possibly in retaliation for Abelard's disobedience. Some of the nuns in the community would not desert Heloise, so Abelard invited her and her nuns to his oratory of the Paraclete. She secured a charter from Pope Innocent II in November 1131 and established a community there.¹⁸ Heloise remained the abbess at the Paraclete until her death in 1164.

During Heloise's initial years as abbess at the Paraclete, Abelard left her to her own devices. When a copy of his *Historia calamitatum* reached her, Heloise wrote to Abelard, sternly reprimanding him for tending to others and ignoring her -- his wife and

¹⁵ An oratory is a small chapel intended for private use. It can refer to a small chapel within a private home (many castles and palaces have oratories), or to one established in a place removed from general society like Abelard's.

¹⁶ Another term for the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, particularly as a provider of spiritual comfort (for example in John 14:16.)

¹⁷ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 41.

¹⁸ Constant Mews, "Heloise and Liturgical Experience at the Paraclete," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11, no. 1 (2002), 16.

sister in Christ -- and her community, which he had helped to establish. Heloise insisted that it was only because of his command that she had taken the veil at all.¹⁹ She focused on the role of women as “the weaker sex” and complained that Abelard had abandoned her when really he owed her and her nuns a large debt because every part of the Paraclete community existed because of Abelard. She demanded Abelard’s support and guidance for her community, and this began an exchange of letters and liturgical materials that continued until Abelard’s death.

Once Abelard had replied to her letter, Heloise wrote to ask him to compose a rule for use at her community that was written specifically to suit the needs of women. She argued that St. Benedict’s *Rule* was not suitable for women because it contained many elements that women could not fulfill, like the rules about clothing and hygiene, in addition to liturgical instructions for the abbot that a female abbess could not follow.²⁰ In Heloise’s mind, it was fundamentally inauthentic and impossible for women to take vows under the *Rule of St. Benedict*, because the rule was incompatible with the realities of life as a woman. In a similar vein, Heloise also asked Abelard for new music for use in liturgy in her community, and Abelard provided her with a hymnal. Although the letter in which Heloise requested the hymns is lost, Abelard quotes Heloise’s reasons for the inadequacy of the existing hymn repertoire in the preface to his hymnal:

Truly, the confusion of the hymns we use now is so great that the title never or rarely distinguishes what or whose they are; and if any are perceived to have certain authors - of which Hilary and Ambrose are seen to have stood out as the first - then, more tellingly and in very many others, there is frequently such great inequality of the syllables²¹ that the

¹⁹ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 51-69.

²⁰ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 86.

²¹ The wording here could also mean unevenness, etc. This refers to an unequal treatment of the syllables rather than line of unequal lengths or in poor meter. This

songs scarcely fit the melody, without which no hymn is able to exist that bears the description: *praise to God with song*.²²

Abelard quotes Heloise's other objections as well:

For several feasts, you added, proper hymns²³ are lacking, as for the Innocents, the Evangelists, of those Holy Women who were not at all either virgins or martyrs. Finally, you asserted that there were several in which often it was necessary for those who sing them to lie, either because of the necessity of the season or because of an assertion of falsity.... It is not only the non-observance of the appropriate season or time of day that creates a lie, but also the composers of certain hymns who ... desiring without foresight to extol the saints in zeal for piety, went beyond due measure in some things, so that we often proclaim some things in them... quite foreign from the truth.²⁴

According to Abelard, Heloise went on to cite such examples as psalms clearly written for one time of day being sung at another, a hymn that asserts that St. Martin was equal to the apostles, and hymns that exaggerated miracles attributed to some of the saints.²⁵

Equipped with Abelard's rule and his collection of hymns and sequences, Heloise had everything she had asked him to provide for her community. It appears that her assertions that as women she and her community were dependent on Abelard to provide for them²⁶ were only a ploy to provoke a response and regain contact with Abelard.

inequality seems to refer to the treatment of accented syllables or and the placement of emphasis in the line, for example through the use of melismas.

²² "Ymnorum uero, quibus nunc utimur, tanta est confusio, ut qui quorum sint nulla uel rara titulorum prescriptio distinguat; et si aliqui certos habere auctores uideantur, quorum primi hylarius atque ambrosius extitisse creduntur, deinde prudentius et plerique alii, tanta est frequenter inequalitas sillibarum, ut uix cantici melodiam recipiant, sine qua nullatenus ymnus consistere potest, cuius descriptio est: *Laus dei cum cantico*:" Chrysogonus Waddell, ed. *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete II: Edition of Texts* (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1987), 6. The translation is my own.

²³ i.e. hymns specific to a feast or commemoration.

²⁴ Constant Mews, "Heloise and Liturgical Experience," 27.

²⁵ Mews, "Heloise and Liturgical Experience," 27.

²⁶ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 51-69.

Heloise was by no means helpless. During the years that Abelard had ignored the community, Heloise had expanded the Paraclete from the small number of thatched buildings she had received from Abelard to a thriving establishment with additional property and possessions. She had also established contact with the Pope and secured a charter to guarantee her community's rights to their land. She further maintained contact with each Pope that was elected during her tenure as abbess,²⁷ and went on to found six daughter houses.²⁸ It appears that Heloise also contributed significantly to the formation of the Paraclete community's liturgy and way of life. Rather than accepting exactly what Abelard sent her, she revised the rule that she received from Abelard and created a shorter document called the *Institutiones Nostrae*,²⁹ and she also contributed to the verbal and musical components of the convent's liturgy herself.

Heloise "Sent... New Harmonies to the Very Ears of God"

Heloise freely admitted in her letters to Abelard that she was a reluctant nun. In her initial letter demanding Abelard's attention and guidance, Heloise attempted to make Abelard feel indebted to her by explaining that she had done everything he had asked of her, and concluded: "if I am to have no reward from you, you may judge that my efforts have been futile. I can expect no reward from God, since it is evident that I have not yet done anything for love of him."³⁰ She argues that everything at the Paraclete is Abelard's creation, since it is because of him that anyone is there at all, and accuses him of caring

²⁷ McNamer, *Education*, 83.

²⁸ Sainte Madeleine-de-Trainel, La Pommeraie, Laval, Noefort, Saint-Flavit, and Saint-Martin-de-Boran, according to McNamer, *Education*, 88.

²⁹ Edition and commentary: Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Paraclete Statutes: Institutiones Nostrae*, Cistercian Liturgy Series: 20 (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1987). For discussion of the attribution see page 202.

³⁰ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 56.

more for his friends than he cared for his wife and daughter in Christ.³¹ Based on her achievements at the Paraclete and her dedication to shaping the symbolic and liturgical world of her nuns, it appears that Heloise's real goal with these statements was to reestablish communication with Abelard and ensure that it would continue. Using very blunt language such as the above, she managed to secure his collaboration and guidance. Abelard's position as an abbot and a priest also lent greater authority to the rule and liturgy of her community which Heloise's contributions alone would not have had, while she, as abbess of her community, maintained final authority over what was used.

Rather than attempting to become a good nun and abbess according to the existing paradigm, Heloise engaged and adapted it to create a new one that she felt was more authentic. She demanded both a pattern of life that took into account the needs and experience of women, and liturgical music that was honest and appropriate. She became a respected figure in religious circles, and important and powerful people often sought her counsel and sent letters praising her skill. One of these was Hugh Metel (c. 1080 – c. 1150), an Augustinian canon at Toul in Lorraine,³² who hated Abelard but was a great admirer of Heloise. He asserted that she “surpassed the female sex. How? By composing, by versifying, by renewing familiar words in new combination.”³³ The letter Peter the Venerable sent to Heloise after Abelard's death also claims that she “sent... new harmonies to the very ears of God,”³⁴ and compares her to Miriam, who sang a new

³¹ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 52.

³² Mews, “Heloise and Liturgical Experience,” 26.

³³ Chua, *Love Songs*, 24. The Latin text is: “Foeminum enim sexum vos excessisse... Quomodo? Dictando, versificando, nova juntura, nota verba novando...” Latin text from Mews, *Lost Love Letters*, 350-351 n. 56.

³⁴ McLaughlin, *Letters*, 295.

song to God in gratitude after the Israelites crossed the Red Sea in Exodus.³⁵ These two statements imply that Heloise contributed directly to the liturgy of her community, and highlight Heloise's tendency to use familiar patterns and themes, but present them in new guises in her literary and musical works, as she did by revising Abelard's Rule to create the *Institutiones*.

Heloise's actions and her list of detailed requirements for the liturgical materials for her community indicate that, however reluctant she was to become a nun, as an abbess she was heavily invested in reforming monastic practices. Given her reputation for writing and composing, and Peter the Venerable's comment about Heloise sending new melody to the ears of God, it does not seem unreasonable to think that she may have contributed more to this body of material than only the *Institutiones* and several letters. Due to the relatively small body of work definitively attributed to her, it was not possible to consider what Heloise's other contributions may have been until 1999, when Constant Mews identified the letters previously known only as the *Epistolae duorum amantium* as the early love letters exchanged by Heloise and Abelard.³⁶ The identification of the letters is based on the views of love espoused by the man and by the woman and their very close correspondence to those expressed by Heloise and Abelard in the later letters.

Based on this reattribution, David Wulstan argued in an article from 2002³⁷ that some of the music previously attributed to Abelard (or someone very close to him) was actually composed by Heloise. He used Mews' identification of the *Epistolae duorum*

³⁵ Exodus 15:20-21.

³⁶ Constant Mews, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

³⁷ David Wulstan, "Novi modulaminis melos: The music of Heloise and Abelard" *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11, no. 1 (2002), 1-23.

amantium to identify five pieces of music that were likely Heloise's compositions for the Paraclete's liturgy based on textual parallels and the correspondence of the texts to Heloise's ideas about love in the letters, rather than Abelard's. The five pieces Wulstan reattributed include:

1. *Ortolanus*, an Easter drama, in which Mary Magdalene visits Christ's tomb and mistakes the risen Christ for a gardener.

2. *Verses Pascales de iii M. (The Easter Verses of the Three Marys)*, about the visit of the three Marys³⁸ to a spice merchant to buy ointment with which to anoint Christ's body and their discovery that Christ has risen from the dead.

3. *Epithalamica*, the famous Easter sequence previously attributed to Abelard. In it, the chorus of spectators encourages the Bride (Mary Magdalene) to recount her story and she tells of her search for the missing Christ and her discovery that he had risen from the dead.

4. *Virgines caste*, a sequence based on the Song of Songs which was used for the feasts of Saints Lucy, Agnes, Agatha, Margaret, and Faith, as well as the Feast of the 11,000 Virgins.³⁹

5. *A planctus*, "*De profundis ad te clamantium*," likely written on the occasion of Abelard's death and used for the commemoration of All Souls.⁴⁰

While erotic imagery from the Song of Songs plays a large role in the texts of most of these pieces, the adherence of these pieces to Heloise's requirements for sacred music suggest that she was not simply (as several authors have proposed) a young girl

³⁸ Mary Magdalene, Mary Jacobi, and Mary Salome. Dronke, *Nine Plays*, 83.

³⁹ Chua, *Love Songs*, 82.

⁴⁰ Wulstan, "*Novi Modulaminis Melos*," 21.

who was unhappy to have been forced into a convent and who wrote erotic songs to cheer herself up.⁴¹ Heloise seems to have felt deeply unworthy because of the manner of her entry into religious life, but despite her insecurity, her letters and contributions to the Paraclete community and her position as a respected religious leader suggest that these pieces represent a sincere effort to make liturgical music that she felt was more authentic to her experiences and those of her nuns.

Although she admitted in her letters that she often thought longingly of her affair with Abelard, there was usually a sense of shame and sadness attached to these sentiments. Heloise consistently asked Abelard for help to be a better abbess, and, as Sharon Chua has argued, the letters contain a negotiation between Heloise and Abelard about the roles of romantic attraction and sexuality in the experience of people in religious communities. Chua argues that “for the younger Abelard and Heloise, sexuality was concomitant to the notion of an ideal, ennobling love. . . . Abelard abandoned this idea but Heloise did not.”⁴² The theme of the conversion of feelings of physical, earthly love to spiritual love and the image of nuns as the brides of Christ are prevalent in Abelard’s work, and he uses imagery from the Song of Songs to suggest an allegorical interpretation of these feelings as the spiritual desire for God.

It appears from the letters that Abelard dealt with his physical and emotional injuries by denying Heloise’s physicality and sexuality, and emphasizing instead the

⁴¹ For example, David Wulstan, “Heloise at Argenteuil and the Paraclete,” in *The Poetic and Musical Legacy of Heloise and Abelard*, Marc Stewart and David Wulstan, ed.s (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2003), 70. Although the texts of the pieces for Easter are not overtly erotic, they refer to the sensuality of the Song of Songs. *Virgines caste* is unapologetically erotic and draws heavily on the more graphic images from Song of Songs whereas the Easter pieces only allude to them.

⁴² Chua, *Love Songs*, 1.

image of the Bride of Christ.⁴³ This also allowed him to suggest that Heloise's desires for him should be translated into spiritual desire for God. His letters and compositions do not deny the erotic nature of the Song of Songs, but use it purely as an allegory for spiritual desire and pleasure. The bride in the Song of Songs proclaims that she is "black but comely," because of exposure to the sun.⁴⁴ Abelard uses the black habit as a symbol of the "black" bride in the Song of Songs, and suggests that "sensual pleasure aimed towards spiritual ends is the most exalted and the only permissible expression of love within the religious experience" and that the black bride, the perfect Christian, must shed the dark external self in favor of the purity of the soul.⁴⁵ Abelard, therefore, constructed a dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual so that the lower physical existence could be used to allegorize spiritual existence.

Conversely, Heloise felt that no facet of her love for Abelard contradicted her role as a nun and abbess or obstructed her work. She believed instead that "it was simply the skewed ideology of the Church that insinuated such a love was base and ignoble, steeped in sin and error."⁴⁶ Heloise's liturgical pieces, too, draw heavily on the Song of Songs, but one of the key features of her works as opposed to Abelard's is the use of this imagery in a way that is not purely allegorical, but views love as one entity with both spiritual and physical components. Heloise's emphasis on authenticity meant that because her love for Abelard was the reason for her entrance into religious life, therefore it could not be separated from her religious life. Furthermore, her insistence on a form of religious life that was tailored to the experience of its adherents meant that denying such

⁴³ Chua, *Love Songs*, 50-51.

⁴⁴ Song of Songs 1: 5-6

⁴⁵ Chua, *Love Songs*, 51.

⁴⁶ Chua, *Love Songs*, 1.

feelings was not an option. Heloise's emphasis on Mary Magdalene, a redeemed sinner (even, medieval tradition suggests, a redeemed prostitute),⁴⁷ is part of this effort. In twelfth-century France, between twenty-one and fifty-two percent of nuns had been married and entered the convent later in life.⁴⁸ For this reason, Mary Magdalene made much more sense as a paradigm than did the Virgin Mary, who was the most common image adopted by female monastics at this time. Abelard's later letters to Heloise certainly pick up this image, but it appears that this may have been a manifestation of Heloise's influence on him.⁴⁹

Additionally, Abelard's original bride of Christ model did not allow for the nuances of human experience, or allow the nuns any individuality. This loss of individuality was precisely what had caused Heloise to object to the idea of marriage to Abelard, and was not compatible with her ideas about the necessity of authenticity in religious life. Heloise's tendency to renew familiar ideas by presenting them in different

⁴⁷ Part of the reason Mary Magdalene was so popular in this time was as a model of perfect penance [Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) 203-205.] but Heloise does not focus on Mary Magdalene's sins – none of Heloise's pieces describe Mary Magdalene as a sinner, they all focus on her relationship to the risen Christ in the form of the bridegroom. Although the fact that she was a redeemed sinner made her a more appropriate model for Heloise's nuns, that was no longer the most important part of her character. True to her penchant for presenting old ideas in new ways, Heloise presented Mary Magdalene as a triumphant witness to the resurrection and a true friend of Christ.

⁴⁸ McNamer, *Education*, 78.

⁴⁹ If Wulstan is correct, Heloise had already composed both *Ortolanus* and *Verses pascales de iii. M.* before coming to the Paraclete, years before the exchange of documents between Abelard and the Paraclete community. So it seems likely that he chose to use symbolism he knew Heloise and her nuns were already using. Of course, Heloise was not the only one interested in Mary Magdalene. As Chua notes (*Love Songs*, 84), the "cult of the Magdalene" was growing in the early twelfth-century, but the focus on Mary Magdalene in the documents associated with the Paraclete seems to have originated with Heloise.

ways is an important part of her approach to this fundamental disagreement with Abelard, and is one of the hallmarks of the pieces Wulstan has attributed to Heloise. For example, in the Ortolanus drama, Heloise fuses Mary Magdalene with the black bride and erotic imagery of the Song of Songs.⁵⁰ In this way, Heloise accepts the bride of Christ image, but, as Metel suggests, she presents it in a new and unexpected way.

Viewed this way, these pieces are part of an ongoing attempt, in dialogue with Abelard, to create an understanding of religious life that takes into account the experience of its adherents, and rejects the artificial dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual which was so prevalent in religious thought of the time. Given how intricately the Paraclete liturgy fits together, these pieces seem to be an important part of Heloise's contribution both to the shaping of the symbolic world of her community and to the larger movement of liturgical reform.

The established method of creating authenticity in religious life was to try to adapt one's mind to the liturgical texts, rather than altering the liturgy to reflect one's thoughts and emotions. Heloise's experimentation with liturgical materials she felt were more appropriate was only possible because of the efforts of people like Stephen Harding and Bernard of Clairvaux.⁵¹ They established a precedent in the early twelfth-century through the reforms they carried out in their respective communities. This allowed

⁵⁰ Heloise was not the only one to identify Mary Magdalene with the Song of Songs Bride, but she seems to be the only one to use this identification in a liturgical drama. Alan of Lille's *Elucidatio* is one example of commentary from around this time that took account of the narrative parallels between the Song of Songs and Mary Magdalene's function in the Gospels, although most of his interpretation of the text was based on the Virgin Mary. [E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990) 166-167.]

⁵¹ Mews, "Heloise and Liturgical Experience," 28.

Heloise to experiment and approach the problem of authenticity by creating new liturgy, rather than by following the traditional Cistercian method of returning to the original hymns and texts associated with Ambrose.⁵²

Heloise's efforts expanded upon their ideas of liturgical honesty and authenticity. As Chua argues, "by accepting the body and giving recognition to its role as the material basis for subjectivity... her body becomes the locus upon which she wages the war for monastic reform."⁵³ Heloise's liturgical works represent her effort to reclaim not just original texts like the earlier reformers, but both physical and spiritual experiences as appropriate and acceptable parts of religious life, and to eliminate the dichotomy between the two that was commonly accepted at the time. Music was the perfect vehicle for this project because it combined the beauty and aesthetic qualities of music with the theological nature of liturgical texts.⁵⁴ With music, Heloise could reach both the hearts and minds of her nuns, and create what she felt was a more sincere form of liturgy that was also a very powerful vehicle for her theology. These efforts are most apparent in her liturgical works for Easter: *Ortolanus*, the *Verses Pascales*, and "*Epithalamica*."

Note on Editions and Examples:

The editions and examples of the music for these pieces stem from my own transcriptions, done directly from the manuscripts. I have chosen to show melismas using slurs over the notes, and liquescence within a melisma is notated with an additional slur within the melisma. Where the music is incomplete in the manuscript source but it is obvious that the same melody is repeated for each strophe of the same textual structure, I

⁵² Mews, "Heloise and Liturgical Experience," 28.

⁵³ Chua, *Love Songs*, 71.

⁵⁴ Chua, *Love Songs*, 10.

have supplied the melody. Where the structure of text changes after the music notation stops, I have not attempted to reconstruct the melody because I feel that there is not enough music surviving for any attempt to do so to be anything but guesswork. I have chosen to use Peter Dronke's editions and translations of the texts of the dramas because I felt they were the best available. For *Epithalamica*, I have chosen to use Waddell's translation, but the transcription of the text is my own, since I found that Waddell's edition of the text took too many liberties modernizing spelling when the orthography of the manuscript did not interfere with the legibility of the text and may have had some effect on pronunciation.

II. *Ortolanus*

Ortolanus is thought to be the earliest of the five pieces Wulstan has reattributed to Heloise, most likely composed between 1122 and 1126 before her expulsion from Argenteuil. It is a liturgical drama based on the resurrection story in the Gospel of John, in which Mary Magdalene goes alone to anoint Christ's body and mistakes the risen Christ for the gardener. However, the treatment of this text is highly unusual. In it, Mary Magdalene is identified with the bride in the Song of Songs, and so the Bride's frantic search for her bridegroom is juxtaposed onto Mary Magdalene's search for the body of Christ, while the bridegroom's reappearance corresponds to Christ's resurrection and appearance to Mary Magdalene. Peter Dronke attributes this juxtaposition to a note in certain manuscripts of the Vulgate Bible, which calls the Song of Songs a message from Mary Magdalene to the church.⁵⁵

Example 1: Text of *Ortolanus*⁵⁶

<p><Maria:> Rex in acubitus iam se contulerat Et mea redolens nardus spiraverat In ortum veneram in quem descenderat, at ille transiens iam declinaverat.</p> <p>Per noctem igitur hunc querens exeo, huc illuc transiens nusquam reperio.</p> <p>Angeli: Mulier, quid ploras? Q<u>u</u>em queris?</p>	<p><Mary:> The King had already gone to his place of rest And my scent of spikenard filled the air: I entered the garden where he had come down, But already he had left and turned away.</p> <p>So I go out looking for him, through the night, Turning now here now there, I find him nowhere.</p> <p>Angels: Woman, why are you weeping? Whom are</p>
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⁵⁵ Peter Dronke, *Nine medieval Latin plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 85.

⁵⁶ Text and translation from Dronke, *Nine Plays*, 100-105.

<p>Maria: Occurrunt vigiles ardenti studio, quos cum transierim, sponsum invenio!</p> <p>Ortolanus: Mulier, quid ploras? <Q>uem queris?</p> <p>Maria: Tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum. Si tu sustulisti eum, dicito michi et eum tollam!</p> <p>Ortolanus: Maria, Maria, Maria!</p> <p>Item respondit Maria: Raboni, Raboni, Magister!</p> <p>Mar<ia> rediens dicit: Dic, impie zabule, quid valet nunc fraus tua?</p> <p>Discipuli: Dic nobis, Maria, quid vidisti in via?</p> <p>Maria: Sepulcrum Christi viventis, et gloriam vidi resurgentis, Angelicos testes, sudarium et vestes.</p> <p>Discipuli: Credendum est magis soli Marie veraci quam Iudeorum turbe fallaci. Scimus Christum Surexisse a mortuis vere:</p>	<p>you looking for?</p> <p>Mary: The guards, full of ardent zeal, are running towards me – When I have passed them I shall find my bridegroom!</p> <p>Gardener: Woman, why are you weeping? Whom are you looking for?</p> <p>Mary: They have taken my Lord away and I don't know where they have put him. If you have taken him away, tell me and I'll remove him.</p> <p>Gardener: Mary, Mary, Mary!</p> <p>Mary, answers again: Raboni, Raboni, Master!</p> <p>Returning, Mary says: Tell me, impious fiend, what force has your guile now?</p> <p>Disciples: Tell us, Mary, What did you see on the way?</p> <p>Mary: The sepulchre of Christ, the living, And I saw the glory of his rising, the angel-witnesses, the head-shroud and the grave-cloths.</p> <p>Disciples: We should sooner believe Mary alone – she is truthful – than the whole deceitful multitude of the Jews We know that Christ has truly Risen from the dead:</p>
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<p>tu nobis, Christe rex, Miserere.</p> <p><Chorus:> Qui sunt hii sermones quos confertis ad invicem ambulantes et estis tristes? alleluia. Respondens unus, cui nomen erat Cleophas, dixit ei: tu solus peregrinus es in Iherussalem et non cognovisti que facta sunt in illa his diebus? Alleluia. Quibus ille dixit: Que? Et dixerunt: De Ihesu Nazareno, qui fuit vir propheta, potens in opera et sermone coram deo et omni populo, alleluia.</p> <p>...</p> <p>Gloria <patri et filio et spiritui sancto, sicut erat in principio, et nunc et semper, et in secula> seculorum, amen.</p>	<p>have mercy on us, Christ our King!</p> <p><Choir:> What are these things you are discussing as you walk along and are sad (alleluia)?⁵⁷ One, called Cleophas, answered him saying: You must be the only stranger in Jerusalem Not to know what has been happening there in these last days (alleluia). He said to them: What? And they said: About Jesus of Nazareth, who was a man, a prophet, Mighty in deed and word before God and all the people (alleluia).</p> <p>...</p> <p>Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end, amen.</p>
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⁵⁷ The difference in placement of the punctuation in the translation compared to the Latin text is reproduced from Dronke's editions.

The drama begins with Mary Magdalen's tale of her entrance into the garden, only to find that the King has left, and of her frantic search for him based on the Song of Songs. The Angels of the resurrection story take the place of the guard in Song of Songs, and asks Mary why she is weeping. She responds that the guards are coming and that she needs to find her bridegroom and so continues her search. The Gardener repeats the Angels' question and this time Mary responds with the words from the Gospel of John: "They have taken my Lord away and I don't know where they have put him. ... If you have taken him away, tell me and I'll remove him."⁵⁸ The "Gardener" calls Mary's name and Mary, finally recognizing him, replies "*Raboni, Raboni, Magister!*" Although both words mean "teacher," the substitution of "*Magister!*" may be read as a blatant allusion to Master Abelard. The identification of Abelard with Christ also demonstrates Heloise's interpretation of her love for Abelard as pure, and allows her to celebrate both human and the divine love it reflects simultaneously.

The drama then jumps to Mary telling the disciples what she has seen with six lines from the traditional Easter sequence "*Victimae paschali laudes*" beginning at "*Dic nobis Maria*" and ending with Mary's response. The disciples decide to believe Mary and rejoice. The drama jumps ahead again to the travelers on the road to Emmaus, and their discussion of the resurrection, and finishes with the *Te Deum* (unless it was used at Vespers, in which case the *Magnificat* would have been substituted) and the *Gloria Patri*. The plot of the drama is not overly coherent, and this may be the reason that Heloise abandoned it and incorporated the "*Rex in acubitus*" section into her later sequence "*Epithalamica*", but its value lies in its innovations, like the leap from the fusing of Mary

⁵⁸ John 20:13-15.

Magdalene with the Song of Songs Bride to Christ as the Bridegroom and the incorporation of “*Dic nobis*” from “*Victimae paschali*.”

Unfortunately the music is incomplete. The *Ortolanus* drama is preserved in the Biblioteca Episcopal MS 150 in Vic, Catalonia. As far as I was able to determine, this is the only source. There is one edition in *La Música a Catalunya Fins Al Segle XIII*,⁵⁹ but it is occasionally inaccurate and is in modern chant notation on a four line staff. Dronke edited the texts and suggested that the drama was copied into the manuscript in the twelfth century on existing pages that had been left blank.⁶⁰ The scribe copying the drama prepared and ruled pages for the entire drama and copied the entire text, but stopped copying the melody in line 12 of the text in the middle of the word “*sustulisti*.” This corresponds to the shift from folio 60 to folio 61, rather than any logical break in the text. Unfortunately, the melody is not strophic with repeated music for each stanza, so it is not possible to reconstruct the music for the rest of the drama. There are surviving medieval versions of *Victimae paschali laudes*, but it is possible that Heloise borrowed only the words and not the music, or that there were regional differences in melody, so I have not included music for that part of the drama in my edition. In the manuscript, the drama is given the title “*Versus de pelegri[nus]*,” but Wulstan and other scholars argue that this title was given by the scribe who struggled to understand the drama and inserted the (“nonsensical”) “*non est hic surrexit*” text into the “*Dic nobis*” section, and that the original title was likely *Ortolanus*.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Higini Angles, *La Música a Catalunya Fins Al Segle XIII* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya amb la collaboracio de la Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona, 1988), 279.

⁶⁰ Dronke, *Nine plays*, 88.

⁶¹ Wulstan, “*Novi*,” 10.

Ortolanus

Maria

Rex in a - cu - bi - tum iam se con - tu - le - rat

4 et me - a re - do - lens nar - dus spi - ra - ve - rat;

7 In or - tum ve - ne - ram in quem de - scen - de - rat,

10 at il - le tran - si - ens iam de - cli - na - ve - rat.

13 Per noc - tem i - gi - tur hunc que - rens ex - e - o,

16 huc il - luc tran - si - ens nus - quam re - pe - ri - o.

19 Angelus

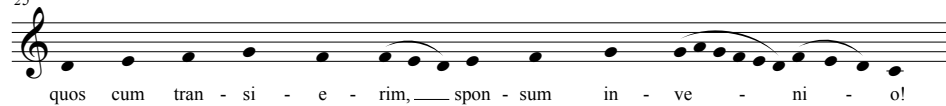
Mu - li - er, quid plo - ras? Quem que - ris?

22 Maria

Oc - cur - runt vi - gi - les ar - den - ti stu - di - o,


2 Ortolanus

25



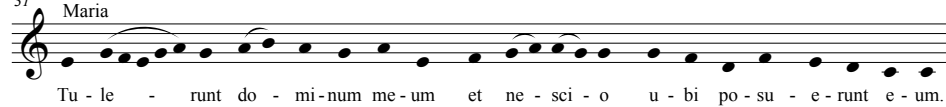
quos cum tran - si - e - rim, spon - sum in - ve - ni - o!

28 Ortolanus:



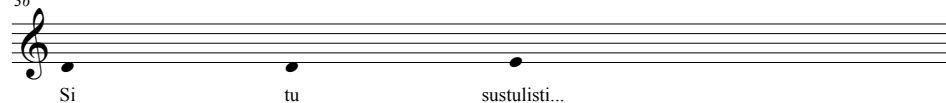
Mu - li - er, quid plo - ras? Qem que - ris?

31 Maria



Tu - le - runt do - mi - num me - um et ne - sci - o u - bi po - su - e - runt e - um.

36



Si tu sustulisti...

Example 2: The surviving music for *Ortolanus*

The part of the music that survives is rather interesting. It is centered on the chain of thirds *d-f-a*, but there is a very strong pull towards an opposing chain, *c-e-g*, that creates tension. The opening phrase “*Rex in acubitum*,” for example, begins on *e* then skips to *g*, which is briefly used like a reciting tone. After the step up to *a* there is a *g* at the caesura at the sixth syllable. Except for the *a*, the first half of the phrase is very firmly in the *c-e-g* chain of pitches. After the caesura, however, *f* is now used as a reciting tone, and on the final syllable the pitch drops from *e* to *d*. This contrast between sets of thirds in the first and second halves of the phrase creates ambiguity and tension that is eventually resolved with the fall to *d*. This tension reflects Mary Magdalene’s agitated state in her grief for the crucified Christ.

The second phrase begins by outlining *c-e-g* with an *f* to fill in the skip from *e* to *g*, but lands on a *d* at the caesura. The third line lands on *g* at the caesura, and finally settles on *e*, but the first stanza ends on a *c* at “*declinaverat*” rather than the *d* one would expect as the final in this mode. This ambiguity reflects the lingering tension and confusion in the bride’s search for her missing bridegroom. It is also interesting to note the frequency of repeated notes. Although the music is not purely syllabic, the fact that several portions of the music involve reciting several syllables of text all on the same pitch creates a sense of urgency and drive, as well as highlighting important pitch areas.

When the Angels enter, the entire tone of the music changes. The Angels’ line is full of syllables with two or three pitches, as opposed to Mary’s lines which are mostly recitational with a few slightly larger melismas placed towards the ends of lines, or which emphasize the accented proparoxytonic syllable. The Angels’ music mostly outlines the chain of thirds from *f* to *a* to *c*, which connects the two chains from the initial stanza by creating a chain which begins in one but extends beyond it to reach the beginning of the other. It is as if the Angels are repairing the dissonance between Mary’s confused and frightened thoughts. While Mary exists within the human world of chaos and worry, the Angels bring a message of hope and peace from above both musically and with their words. The different third chains both explore the differences between the characters and unite them. The beginning of the line, in which the Angel addresses Mary emphasizes *f* and *a* and then is followed by the angel’s two questions “*quid ploras?*” and “*quem queris?*” beginning on a *c* and concluding on an *a*. The upward motion at the ends of lines mirrors the intonation of questions in speech.

Mary's second entrance at "*Occurunt vigiles*" is a slightly more intricate version of lines one and four of her initial stanza, and it preserves the modal ambiguity of the first line, and the ambiguous ending on *c* on the last note. The Gardener repeats the Angels' question with the same music as before, but this time Mary answers in terms of the resurrection story, not that of the missing bridegroom. Mary's lamentation of the fact that they have taken her Lord is much more florid in style than her first entrance. There are still notes that are obviously emphasized, but rather than using them as reciting tones, Heloise dances around them, ornamenting them with adjacent notes, re-articulated pitches on the same syllable, and melismas. This line is also much more firmly anchored on the pitches *e* and *g*, and ends on a *c*, which is rearticulated. The second line of this stanza is, unfortunately, where the music ends. It begins differently from the previous lines, so it is impossible to tell what the music would have been.

Despite the fact that the music is incomplete, the drama is significant because of its unusual features. The orthography of *Ortolanus* is telling. Rather than spelling it "*hortulanus*," the composer of this drama drops the initial "h" and uses a Greek "o" in place of the "u" in the Latin word. Wulstan suggests that this peculiarity comes from the composer herself rather than the scribe because it is maintained in several dramas that seem to have been inspired by this one.⁶² It is also important to note that it implies knowledge of Greek, which Heloise and very few others had. The later dramas that seem to have been dependent on this one did not retain the identifications of Christ as the bridegroom and Mary Magdalene as the bride.

⁶² Wulstan, "*Novi*," 10.

Ortolanus is also significant because it is the earliest to combine the “*Dic nobis Maria*” chant with the resurrection scene, a fusing of ideas common in later liturgical dramas, and it is the first to name the gardener as one of the characters.⁶³ Wulstan also points out the use of *homoiooteleuton*,⁶⁴ one of Abelard’s favored techniques, and one common in the letters, but suggests that it was Heloise not Abelard that composed the drama.⁶⁵ Given the identification of the bride with Mary Magdalene, it seems much more likely that this is Heloise’s composition, since Abelard’s use of that image was always as a general model for the nuns, and thus was never identified with a specific historical figure. The text also oversteps the bounds of Abelard’s more modest Song of Songs imagery, emphasizing the heady spikenard in the air and the image of the king having already gone into his chamber (anyone familiar with the Song of Songs text would realize this is the bedchamber into which the bride is invited in the song.)⁶⁶

The drama’s survival is somewhat mysterious, since there is no record of its use at the Paraclete. Although it seems that *Ortolanus* was not used at the Paraclete, Heloise incorporated its “*Rex in acubitus*” section into “*Epithalamica*.” One interesting connection emerges between the drama’s survival and the textual hints that Heloise may have been its composer. Peter the Venerable wrote to Heloise after Abelard’s death, comparing her to Miriam and claiming that she “sent new melody to the very ears of God.” Miriam was the woman who led the Israelites in a song of praise after their safe

⁶³ Wulstan, “*Novi*,” 10.

⁶⁴ See Wulstan, “*Novi*,” 4. *Homoiooteleuton* is the use of rhyming final syllables without respect to accent. For example, “*exeo*” and “*reperio*” in the second stanza of the drama’s text.

⁶⁵ Wulstan, “*Novi*,” 9.

⁶⁶ Song of Songs 1:3-4

crossing of the Red Sea.⁶⁷ The Song of Miriam was an important part of the liturgy of Easter, and, according to Mews, “was understood as prefiguring the celebration of the resurrection by Mary Magdalene.”⁶⁸

The Paraclete’s Easter liturgy, designed by Heloise and Abelard, emphasizes the roles of Mary Magdalen and Miriam, and occasionally refers to both at once because Mary and Miriam are the same name (in Greek and Hebrew, respectively). Considering Peter the Venerable’s familiarity with the Paraclete community and its founders, his statements seem almost to be an allusion to Heloise’s contribution to the Easter liturgy in particular. Mews points out that “*Epithalamica*” and both *Ortolanus* and the *Versus pascales de iii. M.* dramas are preserved in manuscripts near where Peter the Venerable was traveling in the early 1140s.⁶⁹ It is possible that he not only knew of the Easter liturgies created by Heloise and Abelard, but was responsible for preserving them as well. Whether this is the case or not, it is clear that *Ortolanus* was an early part of Heloise’s attempt to create more authentic and appropriate liturgical music and, by extension, monastic life. Although it appears that she realized this drama was not her best work and abandoned it, the basic ideas in it form the basis of her later contributions to Easter liturgy and liturgical music in general.

⁶⁷ Exodus 15:21

⁶⁸ Mews, *Heloise and Liturgical Experience*, 25.

⁶⁹ Mews, *Heloise and Liturgical Experience*, 34.

III. *Verses Pascales de iii. M.*

The *Verses pascales de iii. M.*⁷⁰ or, *The Easter Verses of the Three Marys*, is thought to be the second of the five pieces to be composed. Wulstan argues that it was also composed after *Ortolanus* while Heloise was at Argenteuil,⁷¹ but that it is possible that this drama was also performed at the Paraclete, although it is not named in the Paraclete's liturgical materials. As with *Ortolanus*, an earlier date of composition and transmission to Abelard and his students at the Paraclete would explain the route of these dramas to the *Carmina burana*.⁷² This is another version of the events of Easter morning, this time based on the accounts of the synoptic gospels,⁷³ in which a group of women go to anoint Christ's body only to find that he has risen and is not there.

Example 3: Text and translation of *Verses pascales de iii. M.*⁷⁴

<p><Maries:> Eamus mirram emere cum liquido aromate Ut valeamus ungere corpus datum sepulture.</p> <p>Omnipotens pater altissime Angelorum rector mitissime Quid facient iste miserime! Heu quantus est noster dolor!</p>	<p><i>Maries:</i> Let us go to buy myrrh with liquid spices, So that we may anoint the body due for burial.</p> <p>Almighty Father, highest one, gentlest ruler of the angels, what shall these most wretched women do? Alas, how great is our grief!</p>
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⁷⁰ The title appears as "*Verses pascales*" in the manuscript, although the usual plural form would be "*Versus*." Since the manuscript's idiosyncratic spelling is preserved in the catalog entries for this drama as well as in other scholarly work on it, I have chosen to preserve it as well. I have also preserved Dronke's minimal use of punctuation in his edition of the text.

⁷¹ Wulstan, "Novi," 18.

⁷² Wulstan, "Novi," 18.

⁷³ See Matthew 28, Mark 16, and Luke 24.

⁷⁴ Text and translation from Dronke, *Nine Plays*, 92-100.

<p>Amisimus enim solatium Ihesum Christum Marie filium Iste nobis erat subsidium. <i>Heu quantus est noster dolor!</i></p>	<p>For we have lost our solace, Jesus Christ, the son of Mary: He was our support – <i>Alas, how great is our grief!</i></p>
<p>Set eamus unguentum emere Quo possimus corpus inungere Non amplius posset putrescere <i>Heu quantus est noster dolor!</i></p>	<p>But let us go to buy the ointment With which we may anoint his body: After that, it cannot decay <i>Alas, how great is our grief!</i></p>
<p>Dic tu nobis Mercator iuvenis Hoc unguentum si tu vendideris Dic pretium nam iam habueris <i>Heu quantus est noster dolor!</i></p>	<p>Tell us, young merchant, if you'll sell us this ointment – tell us the price, for you shall have it now. <i>Alas, how great is our grief!</i></p>
<p><i>Respondet Mercator:</i> Mulieres mihi intendite Hoc unguentum si vultis emere Datur genus mire potencie</p>	<p><i>The merchant answers:</i> Women, mark my words: If you want to buy this ointment, It is endowed with the nature of myrrh's power:</p>
<p>Quo si corpus possetis ungere Non amplius posset putrescere Neque vermes possent comedere</p>	<p>If you can use this to anoint a body, After that, it cannot decay – The worms will not be able to consume it.</p>
<p>Hoc unguentum si multum cupitis Unum auri talentum dabit Nec aliter umquam portabitis</p>	<p>If you want this ointment very much, You must pay one talent of gold, Otherwise you'll never take it with you.</p>
<p><i>Respondet Maria:</i> O Mercator unguentum libera Ecce tibi dabimus munera Ibimus Christi ungere vulnera <i>Heu quantus est noster dolor!</i></p>	<p><i>Mary answers:</i> Merchant, do release the ointment: Look, we're handing you the money – We shall go to anoint Christ's wounds. <i>Alas, how great is our grief!</i></p>
<p>Tanta, sorores gaudia deflorent in tristicia Cum innovens opprobria Fert et cruces cuspedia Iudeorum invidia</p>	<p>Sisters, such great joys Shed their blossoms in sorrow, When the innocent one endures Scorn and the gibbet of the cross Through the envy of the Jews</p>

<p>Et principum perfidia Quid angemus et qualia</p> <p>Licet sorores, plangere Plangendo Christum querere Querendo corpus ungere, Ungendo mente pascere⁷⁵</p> <p><i>A<ngelus>:</i> De fletu viso vulnere, Dilecto magno federe Cor monstratur in opere</p> <p><i><Maria:></i> Cordis sorores creduli Simus et bene seduli Ut nostri cernant oculi corpus, precium seculi. Quis volvet petram tumuli Magnam sine vi plurimi? <i>A<ngelus>:</i> Virtus celestis ep<u>li.</p> <p><i><Maria:></i> Tanta sorores visio Sple<n>doris et lustracio Nulla sit stupefacio vobis sit exultatio <i>A<ngelus>:</i> Mors et mor<t>is occasio Moritur vi<c>to vicio Nostra, surge, surreccio!</p> <p><i><Maria:></i> Hoc, sorores, circuitu Lecto dicite sonitu <i>A<ngelus>:</i> Illis qui mesto spiritu e<a>nt pro domni transitu dux victo surgit obitu Querantur leto strepitu: nunc scis<citur> dux ortitu!⁷⁶</p>	<p>And the chief priests' perfidy. What cause of anguish we shall have!</p> <p>Sisters, it is right to mourn, Mourning to look for Christ, Looking to anoint his body, Anointing to feed on it with the mind.</p> <p><i>Angel:</i> In weeping as you see the wound, To the loved one, in a great love-bond, By your action, your heart is shown.</p> <p><i>Mary:</i> Sisters, let us be of trusting And eagerly attentive heart, So that our eyes may contemplate The body, treasure of the world. But who will roll away the tombstone, Huge, without the strength of many a man? <i>Angel:</i> The power of the heavenly feast.</p> <p><i>Mary:</i> Sisters, let so great a sight And the gleam of splendor Not make you dazed: Let it bring you exultation. <i>Angel:</i> Death and the cause of death are dying, vice being overcome: arise, our resurrection!</p> <p><i>Mary:</i> Sisters, sing this with the fairest melody as you walk. <i>Angel:</i> For those who go about with mournful spirit, Because of their master's passing, The Prince rises, with death conquered. Let those be sought with shouts of joy:</p>
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⁷⁵ The music ends here in the manuscript, and I have supplied the same melody for the following verses that have the same structure.

⁷⁶ Here the reconstruction of the music ends because the text changes structure.

<p><Maria:> Quid faciemus sorores Graves ferimus Dolores Non est nec erit seculis Dolor doloris similis</p> <p>Iesum gentes perimere Semper decet nos lugere, Set ut poscimus gaudere Eamus tubam videre</p> <p>Tumbam querimus non lento Corpus ungamus unguento Quod extinctum vulneribus Vivis prevalent omnibus.</p> <p>Regis perempti premium Plus valet quam vivencium Cuius amor solacium Iuvamen et presidium Et perenne subsidium Sit nunc et in perpetuum</p> <p>Ubi est Christus meus Dominus Et filius excelsi Eamus videre sepulcrum.</p> <p><i>Respondet Angelus:</i> Quem queritis in sepulcro Christicole?⁷⁷</p> <p><i>Respondet Maria;</i> Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum o celicole</p> <p><i>Respondet Angelus:</i> Non est hic surrexit sicut predixerat Ite nunciate quia surrexit dicentes.</p> <p><i>Respondet Mari<a>:</i></p>	<p>Now in his rising is the Prince made known!</p> <p><i>Mary:</i> Sisters, what shall we do? – We endure grievous sorrows. There is not, nor in ages shall there be A sorrow like our sorrow.</p> <p>The nations have slain Jesus: It is right for us to mourn unceasingly. Yet, that we may be able to rejoice, Let us go to see the tomb.</p> <p>Not slowly shall we seek the tomb – with the unguent let us anoint the body Which, destroyed by wounds, Prevails over all the living:</p> <p>What remains of the slain king Is worth more than the life of the living May his love be solace, Help and protection And support in everything, Now and in perpetuity.</p> <p>Where is Christ my Lord, The son of the one on high? Let us go to see the sepulcher.</p> <p><i>The Angel answers:</i> Whom are you looking for in the sepulcher, friends of Christ?</p> <p><i>Mary answers:</i> The crucified Jesus of Nazareth, friend of heaven.</p> <p><i>The angel answers:</i> He is not here: he has risen as he foretold. Go, proclaim that he has risen, saying –</p> <p><i>Mary answers:</i></p>
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⁷⁷ “Quem queritis” was a popular medieval trope with variations for both Easter and Christmas. See for example, C. Clifford Flanigan, “The Liturgical Context of the ‘Quem Queritis’ Trope,” *Comparative Drama* 8 no. 1 (1974): 45-62.

Alleluia! ad sepulcrum residens angelus nunciat resurrexisse Christum. Te Deum Laudamus...	Alleluia! The angel sitting at the sepulcher proclaims that Christ has risen! <i>Te, deum, laudamus...</i>
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The drama begins with the Maries proclaiming that they are going to buy myrrh and spices to anoint Christ's body to prevent it from decaying, and lamenting their grief over his death. The piece begins with a couplet of sixteen-syllable lines, then the Maries address God, asking what they should do in their grief, and here the text shifts to stanzas of three ten-syllable lines, each with a nine-syllable refrain: "Alas, how great is our grief!" They approach a young merchant to ask him for the price of the ointment they would like to buy. The merchant tells them how powerful the ointment is, and how a body anointed with it will not decay. The Maries' concern about preserving the corpse (trying to counteract the impermanence of human life) is set in contrast with actual immortality of Christ's resurrected body later in the drama, and this helps to demonstrate the omnipotence of God compared with his human disciples. The merchant tells them the price is one talent of gold, and Mary Magdalene hands him the money and asks him for the ointment.

Once she has secured it, Mary Magdalene addresses the other Maries as her sisters. This begins a series of five stanzas that employ a five-vowel rhyme scheme. The first stanza, "*Tanta, sorores gaudia,*" has seven lines, each ending with –"a." Each of the seven lines of the second stanza, "*Licet, sorores plangere,*" ends in –"e," and the remaining three stanzas correspond to the remaining three vowels, "i," "o," and "u." The text is in eight-syllable lines with the accent on the proparoxytonic syllable. Rather than following the pattern set in *Ortolanus*, with characters entering with lines of different

lengths and contrasting music, these five stanzas are a dialogue between Mary and the Angel, and they share the music and the structure of the text. Mews points out that this is a technique associated with Abelard and Heloise, who experimented with five-vowel rhyme schemes in the early love letters, for example, letter 20.⁷⁸ Dronke suggests that the use of this technique originated with this drama,⁷⁹ but considering the early letters, it seems that it did originate with Abelard and Heloise, but before Heloise went to Argenteuil. In any case, it seems to be a technique unique to Abelard and Heloise until it influenced Walther von der Vogelweide's works, and others in the *Carmina Burana*.⁸⁰ The use of this technique in the drama is one of the reasons for its reattribution.

The passage beginning "*Tanta sorores gaudia*" seems to evoke some kind of vision, because it is not clear that the other Maries hear the Angel's comments, although it seems that they are able to hear Mary Magdalene's part of the exchange. After this, the plot jumps back to Mary addressing her sisters and searching for the tomb again, also in eight-syllable proparoxytonic lines. This section begins with an interesting allusion to the Good Friday liturgy. The text of Lamentations 1:12, "*O vos omnes*" is a typical component of the Good Friday liturgy.⁸¹ Its text is: "*O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus*" ("O all you who pass in the road, listen and see if there is any sorrow like my sorrow"). Although the words are from Lamentations, it is typically construed as the voice of Christ from the cross on Good Friday.

⁷⁸ Mews, "Heloise and Liturgical Experience at the Paraclete," 31

⁷⁹ Dronke, *Nine plays*, 87-89.

⁸⁰ Wulstan, "Heloise at Argenteuil and the Paraclete," 68.

⁸¹ For example, it is part of the ninth tenebrae responsory for Good Friday in the *Liber Usualis*.

Although there is no record of what was used at Argenteuil during Heloise's time there, the Paraclete Ordinal lists an antiphon with a Verse with the incipit "*Attendite vos*" for use during the Good Friday liturgy as the nuns approach the cross one at a time to venerate it.⁸² Although the full text of the antiphon is not given, it appears to be derived from the Lamentations passage, and framed by texts about the women watching at the crucifixion. Mary Carruthers suggests one possible reconstruction of its text is "*Attendite vos et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus.*"⁸³ "Listen, all of you, and see if there is any sorrow like my sorrow."

The presence of an antiphon based on this text in the Paraclete's Good Friday liturgy shows that Heloise was familiar with the interpretation of the passage as Jesus' cry of anguish from the cross. The drama, then, places the answer to Good Friday's question in Mary Magdalene's mouth: "*non est, nec erit seculis, / dolor dolori similis*" ("there is not, nor ever shall there be/ a sorrow like our sorrow"). This reference back to Good Friday mirrors the jump backwards in the narrative from the Angel's proclamation of the resurrection to Mary's lament. It closes the narrative begun on Good Friday, similarly to the way Christ's death refers to and completes the narrative begun with the institution of the Eucharist on Holy Thursday. In the Paraclete's Easter liturgy with its references to Miriam, Jesus' resurrection thus symbolically provides the ending to the Exodus story (the homes marked by the blood of the Passover sacrifice were protected from death and the people led out of Egypt, but death and bondage to sin were not

⁸² Waddell, *Paraclete Breviary*, 112.

⁸³ Mary Carruthers. *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 259.

actually defeated until the resurrection). The joy of Easter is strengthened by its juxtaposition with the darkness of Good Friday.

Mary Magdalene's lament turns to prose in its final stanza, as she asks where Christ is. She answers her own question, when she concludes "*eamus videre sepulcrum*" – "let us go to see the sepulchre." The Angel returns, to ask (in prose) whom they are looking for, and Mary replies that she is looking for "the crucified Jesus of Nazareth." The Angel replies that he is not in the tomb but is risen, and this time, looking into the tomb, Mary believes him and sings "Alleluia! The Angel sitting at the sepulchre proclaims that Christ has risen!" The drama ends with the canticle for Lauds: "*Te deum laudamus.*"

The text of this drama is also significant because it shows the evolution of Heloise's thinking from her attempts to understand her own life as a nun to her efforts to create a more appropriate symbolic world for women in religious communities. The shift from the *Ortolanus* version of the Easter story with Mary Magdalene alone to this version where the three women go together to the tomb shows a greater emphasis on community through the common journey of the three Maries. The three Maries begin together, but Mary Magdalene emerges from within the group as an individual who leads the group and has the interaction with (or possibly a vision of) the Angel. This mirrors Heloise's resistance to Abelard's homogeneous image of the bride of Christ. By setting Mary Magdalene within a group while preserving her individual identity, Heloise creates a model where nuns are part of a community but do not have to completely give up their individuality. It creates a more human, individualistic idea of life as a nun. Each nun is urged to emulate Mary Magdalene – the redeemed sinner who now lives a virtuous life

and proclaims the good news of Christ's resurrection to others. The choice to develop only the character of Mary Magdalene rather than all three Maries emphasizes the common goal of the nuns and the idea of individuality (or personality) in community, rather than the flock of nameless, faceless brides of Christ conjured by Abelard's image. This shift in focus might be because Heloise had become prioress at Argenteuil so she was now responsible for a group of nuns rather than just herself.

This idea of community is apparent in the relatively larger proportion of group singing by the three Maries compared to that by the disciples and choir in *Ortolanus*. Although in the beginning all three Maries sing one melody with a refrain rather than having individual musical lines for each character, later in the dialogue with the Angel, Mary Magdalene emerges as an individual from the group of Maries. Structurally, the music for the *Verses pascales de iii. M.* is different from that of *Ortolanus*. Rather than choosing different music for each character, for this drama, Heloise seems to have varied the music based on the amount of human or divine interaction implicit in the text. There is one basic musical outline for the three Maries and their dialogue with the merchant, which is varied only slightly.



Example 5: The initial lines of the *Verses pascales*.

The Maries begin with a couplet which outlines the chain of thirds $d-f-a$. It is somewhat more ornamented the second time it is sung, but maintains its basic contour and use of neighboring tones to create tension and for ornamentation of the line, for example the melisma on the first syllable of “*aromate*” and the c on its second syllable which creates tension and pushes towards the resolution on d . This initial musical couplet is sixteen syllables long, and Heloise seems to have altered the music slightly to improve the fit of the music to the text to avoid the “inequality of syllables” she criticized in the existing repertoire. In both lines of text the logical break is in the exact center of the line, so the music within each of those half-line long units is altered to fit the text by moving melismas while preserving the contour. This maintains the balance and symmetry of the first line while allowing flexibility to fit the music to the logical units of the text. For example, the two notes at the end of the word “*eamus*” in the first line become a melisma on the accented syllable of “*valeamus*,” but since that does not fall at the end of the word, the melisma at the end of “*mirram*” in the first line is broken up between the rest of the syllables in the second line’s text. Similarly, the melisma from the first syllable of “*aromate*” in the first line is moved to the second syllable of “*sepulture*,” because it is the accented syllable. The melody is clearly recognizable, but is altered to fit the text naturally in each line.

9
Om - ni - po - tens pa - ter al - tis - si - me ____

12
An - ge - lo - rum rec - tor mi - tis - si - me ____

15
Quid fa - ci - ent ____ is - te ____ mi - se - ri - me! ____

18
He - u <quan - tus est no - ster dol - or!>

Example 6: Lines three through six of *Verses Pascales*

In the third line where the text shifts into a more regular structure after the two introductory lines, there is a new melody necessitated by the ten-syllable lines of text and the nine-syllable refrain “*Heu quantus est noster dolor!*” (See example 6). This melody is altered slightly when it is sung by the merchant rather than the Maries, but its basic contour is based on the third between *f* and *a*, and the other notes create a pull up to the *a* by the middle of the line, and back down to the *f* at the end. After this line is sung twice, a new melody appears for the third line of each stanza, which outlines the chain of thirds from *f* – *a* – *c* but focuses on the upper part of the register, finally descending to *f* at the end of the line. The *a* – *g* – *f* descent at the end of the line mirrors the ends of the earlier lines of the stanza to create coherence while the higher register for the line as a whole adds intensity and signals the end of the stanza. Each stanza then ends with a refrain

beginning with a large expressive melisma on the word “*heu*,” (“alas.”) The feeling of longing and then of defeat invoked by the ascending then rapidly descending notes sets the tone for the rest of the line. This is particularly true in stanzas in which the last line is about the inability of the body to decay once it is anointed with the ointment. One example of this the third stanza of this section, in which the hope of a kind of immortality for the body is pulled back down to reality by the remembrance of Christ’s death in the form of the refrain.

57 Respondet Mercator:

Mu - li - e - res mi - hi in - ten - di - te

60

Hoc un - guen - tum si vul - tis e - me - re

63

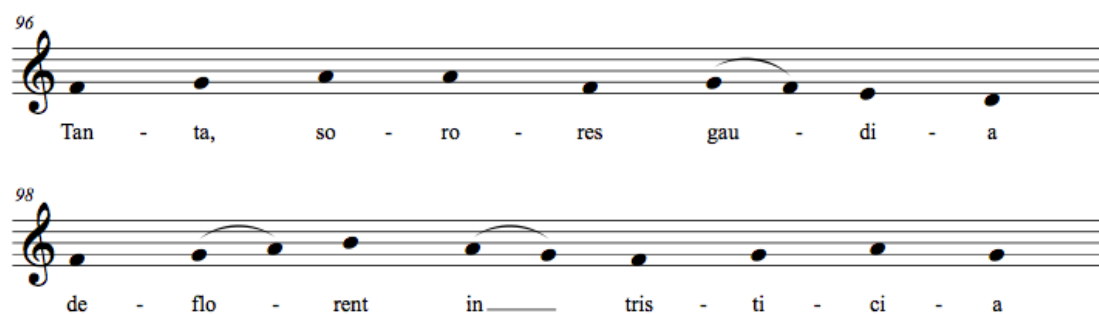
Da - tur ge - nus mir - re po - ten - ci - e

Example 8: The Merchant’s first stanza.

The merchant responds in a somewhat simplified version of the Maries’ music, but without the refrain. His initial two lines follow the contour of the initial lines of the Maries’ music, but in a less ornamented form, possibly because the Merchant is conveying information about the ointment in a more direct manner than that in which the Maries explain their sorrow. The more expressive and ornamented passages would seem unnecessary in contrast. The final line of the merchants’ stanzas, though, is unaltered,

but sounds much less final than the Maries' stanzas that end with the more conclusive music of the refrain. Mary Magdalene responds with the Maries' version of the melody including the refrain. The variations in music by character that were so prevalent in *Ortolanus* are still present in these slight modifications when different characters share a melody, but in this drama, it seems that Heloise used different melodies to characterize different types of interaction rather than different characters.

Unfortunately, the music for this drama is not complete either, but the first stanza of the "*Tanta sorores gaudia*" section with the five-vowel rhyme scheme is present, so in my edition I have chosen to apply that music to all of the stanzas of that structure, following the model of the initial stanzas. It is possible that there may have been some modifications to the music to better fit the text or to differentiate between the Angel and Mary Magdalene, but it is impossible to reconstruct them. The structure of the music for this section is *a-b-a-b-c-d-b*. So there are two pairs of lines at the beginning, followed by a contrasting pair of lines; then, rather than returning to the material from the beginning, the stanza concludes with *b*.



Example 9: The *a* and *b* lines of the section in which Mary encounters the Angel.

The first line of this section emphasizes the now familiar third chain *d, f*, and *a*, and ends in a conclusive way on *d*. The *b* phrase provides contrast and creates tension

with the first line by rising to and ending inconclusively on *g*, when the drama as a whole is in *d*. Within a stanza, this makes sense because it creates momentum towards the second pair of lines in this model and then into the next pair, but ending the stanza this way rather than returning to the *a* melody which ends on a *d*, seems odd until we make a closer examination of the text. Most of the stanzas of text in this section refer to future events or actions and are still somewhat uncertain. For example, the first stanza of this section ends “what cause of anguish we shall have!” Not only does the ending away from *d* sound unsettled to match the emotions of the character, Mary is talking about future anguish, so it would be illogical for it to sound final.

The music for the final stanzas of the text cannot be reconstructed because of its different textual structure. Angles⁸⁴ suggested a possible melody made up of bits of music from earlier in the drama pieced together and expanded or shortened to fit the text, but I felt that there was too little to work from for it to be anything more than guesswork. It also seems unlikely that the melody would be derived from earlier parts of the drama when the text changes structure, considering that the melodies up to that point had been original and apparently unrelated. Fortunately the surviving music and text for this drama demonstrate the development of Heloise’s compositional style and ideas, and demonstrate the close relationship of music to text that she valued so much.

⁸⁴ Angles, *Musica a Catalunya*, 262.

IV. Epithalamica

The Easter sequence *Epithalamica* is the most famous of the compositions that Wulstan argued should be attributed to Heloise.⁸⁵ It builds on the ideas developed in *Ortolanus* and *Verses Pascales de iii M.* but condenses them into a single liturgical sequence for use during mass on Easter morning. Much of the previous scholarship on this sequence assumes that it was composed by Abelard, as Waddell argues in his article “*Epithalamica: An Easter Sequence by Peter Abelard.*”⁸⁶ This article is one of the most comprehensive studies of the sequence to date. In it, Waddell identifies *Epithalamica*, *Virgines caste*, and *De profundis ad te clamantium* as sequences potentially by Abelard or from someone near him at the Abby of the Paraclete because their grouping with Abelard’s planctus *Dolorum solatium* in the Nevers Prosary⁸⁷ suggests they are from the same source. He also cites similarities with *Dolorum solatium* in their literary structure, half-rhyme, and compositional techniques, and textual parallels to hymns and sermons also known to be by Abelard.⁸⁸ Waddell also emphasizes Abelard’s vision of the Song of Songs as “preeminently a paschal canticle.” He points out that although the Song of Songs is often associated with the Virgin Mary because of its use in the Birth of Mary office, *Epithalamica* is an Easter sequence not a Marian one, and notes the role of the Song of Songs in the Paraclete community’s Easter celebrations both as the refectory reading in Easter week and in the liturgy for Easter day⁸⁹.

Waddell calls *Epithalamica* an Easter play “in miniature, whose music perfectly

⁸⁵ Wulstan, “*Novi*,” 11.

⁸⁶ Chrysogonus Waddell, “*Epithalamica*, an Easter Sequence by Peter Abelard,” *The Musical Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (1986), 239-271.

⁸⁷ Paris Bibliotheque Nationale MS nouv. acq. lat. 3126.

⁸⁸ Waddell, “*Epithalamica*,” 242.

⁸⁹ Waddell, “*Epithalamica*,” 246.

matches the action.”⁹⁰ The Bride, Bridegroom, spectator-participants (not unlike a Greek chorus), and the Bride’s companions (the daughters of Sion) are all represented. Rather than an extraliturgical Easter drama for Lauds, however, *Epithalamica* is a sequence for use within the mass on Easter morning. Since the role of the sequence is to bridge the gap between the epistle and the Gospel,⁹¹ *Epithalamica*’s telling of the Gospel reading in terms of the Song of Songs fits this requirement beautifully.

The sequence begins with the chorus of nuns urging everyone to celebrate, and asking the Bride to share her bridal song. The bride proceeds to tell how the bridegroom tells her to rise up and come to him, and then recounts the story of his disappearance and his return in the words of the opening stanzas of *Ortolanus*. The bridegroom’s disappearance and return represent Christ’s death and resurrection. The bride’s tale emphasizes the contrast between her joy and sorrow, and these emotions are associated with day and night respectively.⁹² Heloise explores this contrast in two couplets that share the same music (beginning at “*risi mane, flevi nocte*” and “*plausus die, planctus nocte*”), which appear as refrains between verses of the text. The sequence concludes with an exhortation to the nuns to “append a psalm” to the bride’s joyful song, and to rejoice with her at the resurrection.

Example 10: My edition of the text with Waddell’s translation of “*Epithalamica*”

Epithalamica dic, sponsa, cantica, Intus que conspicis dic foris gaudia, et nos letificans de sponso nuntia cuius te refovet semper presencia!	Tell forth, O Bride, your bridal canticle! Tell outwardly the joys you gaze upon within, and, gladdening us, give tidings of the
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⁹⁰ Waddell, “Epithalamica,” 247.

⁹¹ Chua, “Love Songs,” 80.

⁹² Although the Song of Songs is the most obvious influence on the text, it is not the only one, as demonstrated by this reference to Psalm 30:5 (“weeping may endure for a night, but joy comes in the morning”).

<p>Adolescentule, vos corum ducite! Cum vox precinerit et vos succinite! Amicos⁹³ sponsi vos vocarunt nuptie, Et nove modulos optamus domine.</p> <p>In montibus hic ecce saliens! ecce venit colles transiliens. Per fenestras ad me respiciens per cancellos dicit prospiciens: <i>Amica surge propera!</i> <i>Columba nitens avola!</i></p> <p>Horrens enim hyens iam transiit gravis ymber recendens abiit Ver amenum terras aperuit parent flores et turtur cecinit <i>Amica surge [propera!]</i> <i>Columba nitens avola!]</i></p> <p>Rex in accubitus iam se contulerat, et mea redolens nardus spiraverat; in hortum veneram in quem descenderat at ille transiens iam declinaverat.</p> <p>Per noctem igitur hunc querens exeo huc illuc anxia querendo cursito occurrunt vigiles ardenti studio quos dum transierim sponsum invenio!</p> <p>Iam video quod optaveram,</p>	<p>Bridegroom, whose presence means new life for you – for ever!</p> <p>Young maidens, sing! Dance! When she, the Bride, begins her song, join in! The Bridegroom's friends have called you to the nuptials and we wait to hear the songs sung by the new liege Lady.</p> <p>See! He comes leaping upon the mountains. See! He comes skipping over the hills. Gazing upon me through the windows, looking through the lattices, he says: "Arise, my Love, make haste! <i>my snow-white dove, come fly to me!"</i></p> <p>"For the bristling winter is now past, the heavy rains are over and gone; lovely springtide has opened earth: flowers appear, the turtle-dove has begun to sing. <i>Arise, my Love, make haste!</i> <i>my snow-white dove, come fly to me!"</i></p> <p>The King had already betaken himself to his chamber, and my redolent spikenard had breathed forth its fragrance; I had come into the garden into which he had come down – but already he had passed beyond and turned aside.</p> <p>And so by night I go forth seeking him; Anxious, hither and thither I run in my seeking; the watchmen come upon me; but in my burning zeal, even as I pass beyond them, I FIND MY BRIDEGROOM!</p> <p>Now I see what I had hoped for,</p>
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⁹³ This seems to be a scribal error, and should be "*Amici*."

<p>iam teneo quod amaveram; iam rideo que sic fleveram: plus gaudeo quam dolueram. <i>Risi mane, flevi nocte; mane risi, nocte flevi.</i></p> <p>Noctem insomniam dolor duxerat, quem vehementem amor fecerat ; dilatione votum creverat donec amantem amans visitat <i>Plausus die, planctus nocte; die plausus, nocte planctus.</i></p> <p>Eya nunc comites et syon filie! ad sponse cantica psalmum adnectite quo mestis reddita sponsi presentia convertit elegos nostros in cantica.</p>	<p>now I clasp what I had loved; now I laugh at what I had so wept for: I joy more than I had ever grieved. At morn I laughed, I wept at night; I laughed by morn, by night I wept.</p> <p>Grief had brought on a sleepless night, a grief made overpowering by love; desire had grown the more for this delaying, till Lover comes to visit the Beloved. Joy comes with day, lamentation with night; rejoicing by day, lamenting by night.</p> <p>So come, then, maid-companions, daughters of Sion! To the canticle of the Bride, append a psalm - a psalm wherein the presence of the Bridegroom restored to those in grief turns our mournful elegies into canticles.</p>
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Epithalamica is preserved in two manuscripts: the “Nevers Prosary” (Paris Bibliotheque Nationale MS nouv. acq. lat. 3126) and Le Puy, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Prosolarium Ecclesiae Aniciensis, ff. 54r-57r. The Nevers manuscript is a late twelfth-century manuscript in which *Epithalamica* appears with *Virgines caste* and *De profundis ad te clamantium*, two of the other pieces Wulstan has reattributed to Heloise but not considered in this study, as well as Abelard’s planctus *Dolorum solatium*.⁹⁴ The Le Puy Manuscript is a late sixteenth-century copy of the Office of the Circumcision as celebrated at the cathedral of Le Puy en Velay.⁹⁵ While the version in the Le Puy manuscript is a very clear copy of the text, as Waddell notes,

“musically... the Le Puy manuscript is a disaster. One would expect to find marked differences between melodies separated chronologically by some four hundred years; but the upward transposition of the melody into a new mode has resulted in a seventh-mode cantilena that wanders aimlessly about without

⁹⁴ Waddell, “*Epithalamica*,” 242.

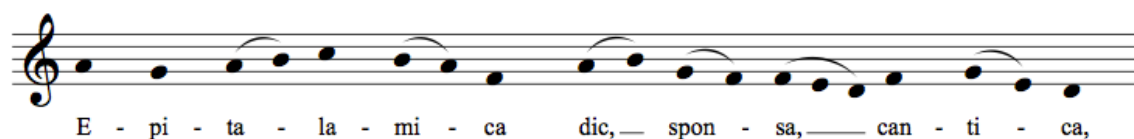
⁹⁵ Waddell, “*Epithalamica*,” 243.

serving the dramatic thrust of the text, as does the admirable version in [the Nevers manuscript].”⁹⁶

The temporal proximity of the Nevers manuscript to Heloise’s lifetime and the fact that its version of *Epithalamica* is based on the same chain of thirds as the “*Rex in accubitus*” section in *Ortolanus* suggests that the Nevers manuscript is closer to Heloise’s original intent, and that Le Puy is the one that has been altered. For this reason, I have based my edition on the Nevers manuscript.

Like the dramas, *Epithalamica* is based on the chain of thirds $d-f-a$, but extended up to the c , with the chain of thirds $c-e-g$ beginning on the c below the d of the main chain, used to create contrast and tension. The initial musical line outlines this (see Example 11). It begins on an a , reaches a c on the accented syllable of the first line, then falls to f at the caesura, creating a relatively stable resting point that is also sufficiently inconclusive to create momentum into the second half. The second half of the line begins on a , falls to d , then the accented syllable is on an f , and the line resolves to end on d . The use of b as a neighboring or passing note creates momentum up to the c on the accented (antepenultimate) syllable of the first half of the line, and the emphasis on the c as both an accented syllable and the crest of the phrase creates tension and momentum towards the resolution to f at the caesura, and eventually to d at the end of the line. Unlike in *Ortolanus*, where Mary Magdalene does not yet know that Christ has risen, the early lines of *Epithalamica* resolve to d , because the Bridegroom has already returned and the Bride is being encouraged to recount the tale. However, the tension and drama of the search are preserved within lines.

⁹⁶ Waddell, “*Epithalamica*,” 244-245.



Example 11: The opening line of *Epithalamica*

Stanza two also outlines this chain of thirds, but begins on *d*, then works its way up to an *a* by the caesura. The second half of the line begins with the same formula as the first half, but returns to a *d*. Interestingly, the accented syllable in stanza two is on the *c* below the *d* which begins the chain of thirds. It functions almost like a dominant used before the tonic to strengthen it. Heloise's use of a six-syllable word to begin each of the first two stanzas is particularly effective for the structure, because the first word corresponds exactly to half of the music for the line.



Example 12: The melody for the second strophe of *Epithalamica*



Example 13: Variation of the melody for the second strophe.

For most of *Epithalamica*, the music is repeated literally for each line of text. However, for the third line of the second strophe (seen in Example 13), the melody is changed slightly to fit the text. Because the primary accented syllable for the first half of the line falls at the beginning of the word *sponsi*, rather than placing it on a *d*, the melisma that is normally on the third syllable of the line is split, creating a cascade from *f*

to *d* on the first syllable of the word “*sponsi*” to preserve the feeling of momentum throughout the first half of the line and avoid dividing the line into quarters. This goes along with Heloise’s efforts to avoid the inequality of syllables she found so offensive in existing music, and to make sure the music fits the text in a more effective manner. This is not necessary in the next line (“et none modulus optamus domine”) because the text creates the momentum itself, unlike this line in which *amicos* is modified by *sponsi* so it is important to avoid creating the impression of a syntactic break.

Stanzas three and four (see Example 14) are made up of 10-syllable lines, also with the accent on the proparoxytonic syllable. The caesura is after four syllables, rather than in the exact middle of the line, as is typical of this type of line. Stanzas three and four each conclude with a couplet made up of two eight-syllable proparoxytonic lines, “*Amica, surge, propera/ Columba nitens, avola*” (“Arise, my Love, make haste! My snow-white dove, come fly to me!”) used as a refrain.¹⁰ In Waddell’s edition “*Amica surge, propera*” is sung at the end of the third strophe, and “*Columba nitens, avola*” at the end of the fourth,⁹⁷ but it is clear from the manuscript that this is a couplet and both lines are sung at the end of each verse. This refrain also contains the only use of melodic sequence in any of the pieces attributed to Heloise (on the second and third syllables of “*amica*”), and the effect is striking. These stanzas (see Example 14) also use the *d-f-a* chain of thirds, but although the full range is more consistently used, they do not reach the *c* at the top of the chain. The melodic segment is longer and covers two lines of text, so that four lines of the text are sung, but the music is only heard twice in each stanza, with the couplet at the end. The general contour of the melody for stanzas three and four

⁹⁷ Waddell, “*Epithalamica*,” 249.

is downward, from *a* to *d*, emphasizing *f*. It is interesting to note the use of *a* and *c* at the caesuras of the line. The *a* at the caesura in the first line sounds relatively inconclusive although it is part of the primary chain of thirds, and provides momentum into the second part of the line. In the second line, the *c* at the caesura (for instance at the end of “*venit*”) creates tension and momentum towards the *d* at the end of the line.

Example 14: Stanza three of *Epithalamica*.

The musical score for Stanza three of *Epithalamica* consists of six staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are primarily half notes and quarter notes, often beamed together in groups of four. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The staves are numbered 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, and 27 at the beginning of each line.

17 In mon - ti - bus hic ec - ce sa - li - ens

19 ec - ce — ve - nit — col - les in can - ti - ca.

21 Per fe - ne - stras ad me — re - spi - ci - ens

23 per can - cel - los — di - cit pros - pi - ci - ens

25 A - mi - ca — sur - ge pro - pe - ra

27 Co - lum - ba — ni - tens a - vo - la

Stanzas five and six (see Example 15) are those excerpted from *Ortolanus*. They are

made up of 12-syllable lines with the emphasis on the proparoxytonic syllable, and their music is much more syllabic than that the previous stanzas. Rather than following the pattern of earlier stanzas and placing the emphasized syllables on single notes, the music for the first line of the stanza is entirely syllabic, and in the second and fourth lines of the stanza the proparoxytonic syllable is emphasized because it is the only melisma in the line, for example at “*spiraverat*.” The third line has a melisma on the secondary accented syllable, the fourth syllable of the line, before the caesura, and the proparoxytonic syllable is almost obscured, as the last of four syllables on a *g*. The *d-f-a* chain of thirds is also obvious here, but there is a much greater emphasis on the fifth relationship between *d* and *a*, and the pull of *g* to *f* at the end of the first and third lines of the stanza. Heloise seems to have thought the urgency of the search for the bridegroom was best expressed in the much quicker syllabic style of chant with repeated notes that seem almost to function as reciting tones. This change in melodic style also creates contrast between the Bride’s voice and the other characters, and the greater tension created by the large amount of recitation on pitches in the opposing, *c – e – g* chain of thirds emphasizes the Bride’s frantic and confused state during her search.

Example 15: Stanza five of *Epithalamica*.

41
Rex in ac - cu - bi - tum iam se con - tu - le - rat

43
et me - a re - do - lens nar - dus spi - ra - ve - rat

45
in hor - tum ve - ne - ram in quem de - scen - de - rat

47
at il - le tran - si - ens iam de - cli - na - ve - rat

The musical notation consists of four staves, each beginning with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are mostly half notes and quarter notes, with some slurs indicating phrasing. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables spanning across notes.

Stanza seven is made up of four nine-syllable lines followed by a couplet of eight-syllable lines. The accent is, again, on the proparoxytonic syllable throughout, and the caesura is after the fourth syllable. The musical segment fits one line of poetry, as in the first stanzas, and the syllable before the caesura and the proparoxytonic syllable in the stanza are emphasized by being overlaid with two pitches, while the rest of the line is syllabic. The range is lower, from *g* down to *c*, outlining the chain of thirds placed in opposition to the *d* – *f* – *a* chain on which the piece is based. The couplet’s music is incredibly repetitive, with the same two sets of pitches sung twice for each line of text. The music of the couplet is based almost entirely on *d*, with a third above and a neighboring tone to provide contrast to establish *d* even more firmly. The use of *antimetabole* – the same words repeated in reversed order – creates a similar effect in the

text.

Example 16: Stanza seven of *Epithalamica*

57
iam vi - de - o quod op - ta - ve - ram

59
iam te - ne - o quod a - ma - ve - ram

61
iam ri - de - o que sic fle - ve - ram

63
plus gau - de - o quam do - lu - e - ram.

65
Ri - si ma - ne, fle - vi noc - te

67
ma - ne ri - si, noc - te fle - vi

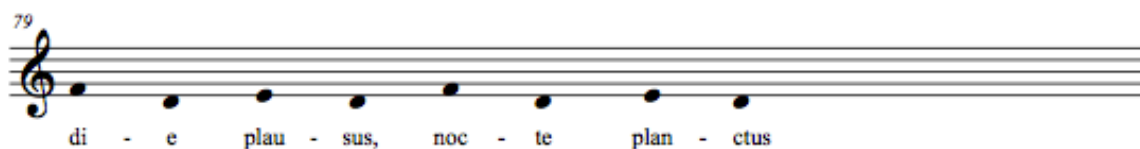
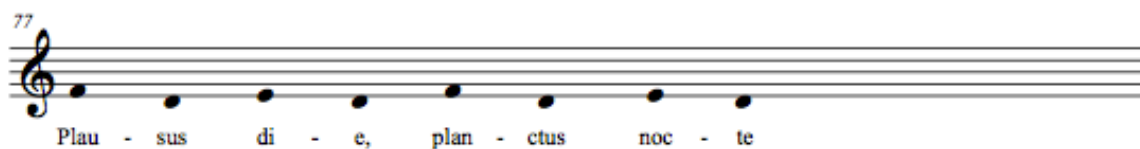
Stanza eight (see Example 17) is made up of four ten-syllable lines, with the emphasis on the proparoxytonic syllable. The caesura is here in the center of the line, after the fifth syllable, and the proparoxytonic syllable (here, the first syllable of “*duxerat*”) is emphasized because it has two pitches in a line that has been syllabic since the caesura, although the last two syllables before the caesura have two and three notes,

respectively. The range is low, and the verse concludes with an eight-syllable couplet at the end of the stanza that is musically identical to the couplet at the end of stanza seven. It also uses the same word-play.

Example 17: Stanza eight of *Epithalamica*



Epithalamica



The final stanza (see Example 18) returns to the structure of the first two stanzas. It has four 12-syllable lines, and the musical segment is the length of one line of the text. The majority of the syllables have two pitches, but the accented ones -- the first syllable, the accented syllable before the caesura (proparoxytonic with respect to the caesura), and the syllable immediately before the caesura, as well as the first syllable of the second half of the line, and the final two syllables have only one pitch. The tonal focus is on the relationship between *d* and *f*. This firmly establishes the *d-f-a* chain of thirds again, and creates a stable and conclusive ending.

Example 18: The final stanza of *Epithalamica*.

81
 Ey - a — nunc co - mi - tes et sy - on — fi - li - e

83
 ad spon - se — can - ti - ca psal - mum ad - nec - ti - te

85
 quo mes - tis — red - di - ta spon - si — pre - sen - ti - a

87
 con - ver - tit — e - le - gos no - stros in — can - ti - ca.

Rex in accubitus:

It is interesting to compare the original melody for the “*Rex in accubitus*” text from *Ortolanus* to that in *Epithalamica*. The version in *Ortolanus* (see Example 19) begins with a strong emphasis on *g* where the opening line in *Epithalamica* (see Example 20) begins with recitation on *a*.

Example 19: “*Rex in accubitus*” from *Ortolanus*

Maria

Rex in a - cu - bi - tum iam se con - tu - le - rat; —

4 et me - a re - do - lens — nar - dus spi - ra - ve - rat; —

7 In or - tum ve - ne - ram in quem de - scen - de - rat,

10 at il - le tran - si - ens — iam de - cli - na - ve - rat.

13 Per noc - tem i - gi - tur hunc que - rens ex - e - o,

16 huc il - luc tran - si - ens — nus - quam re - pe - ri - o.

The relatively greater tension in the version in *Ortolanus* probably reflects the fear and confusion Mary Magdalene experienced before she discovered that Christ had risen,

where in *Epithalamica*, the urgency of the text recited on one note is set in contrast with the more florid style of the rest of the sequence but the pitch is more consonant because she is only recalling her panic and sadness, not experiencing them here. The version in *Epithalamica* also removes many of the melismas from the original. The more syllabic style in the *Epithalamica* version emphasizes the tension and hurry in the Bride's search and replaces the tension otherwise lost by using pitches within the *d – f – a* chain of thirds. It is also interesting to note that the more syllabic style of the version in *Epithalamica* is less static than the recitation in the *Ortolanus* version. In *Ortolanus* there are passages of recitation on a single note punctuated by a melisma. In *Epithalamica*, the tendency for repeated notes is somewhat softened, so that it is rare for one pitch to be sung on more than three consecutive syllables without a neighboring tone, skip, or melisma. In this way, although the line is syllabic it has more momentum and melodic interest.

Example 20: “*Rex in accubitus*” from *Epithalamica*

41
Rex in ac - cu - bi - tum iam se con - tu - le - rat

43
et me - a re - do - lens nar - dus spi - ra - ve - rat

45
in hor - tum ve - ne - ram in quem de - scen - de - rat

47
at il - le tran - si - ens iam de - cli - na - ve - rat

This comparison of the two settings of the same passage, one from Heloise’s earliest work and one from the latest of her works for Easter shows a decreased tendency for repeated notes, as well as increased skill in differentiating the voices of various characters and ideas through both music and text. The smoother though less melismatic lines of the version from *Epithalamica* also show that Heloise was still committed to avoiding the “inequality of syllables” she found so offensive, but had begun to do so by creating momentum and emphasis using pitch rather than the number of pitches on each syllable for emphasis. These passages also show her tendency to present existing ideas in innovative ways.

V. Conclusions

As Heloise's compositions for Easter demonstrate, her main goals were to reject the dichotomy between physical and spiritual existence and to create a model of religious life that was more authentic to the experiences of women in religious communities. She was also determined to create liturgical music that was appropriate to the day and time when it was sung, avoided the inequality of syllables she found so problematic in existing music by treating them as parts of a larger line that was both a textual and musical unit, and did not require the singer to lie either by exaggerating the miracles of saints or about the time of day. In her compositions she sought to do this by setting Mary Magdalen, identified with the bride in the Song of Songs, in opposition to Abelard's "bride of Christ" model, which demanded too much uniformity and denied the experiences and individual identities of the nuns. She also set texts carefully using melismas placed strategically on important syllables and using pitches in opposing chains of thirds to create tension or resolution. Rather than emphasizing syllables that are not accented in the text in order to serve the melody, Heloise makes each syllable of the text serve the line as a whole, thus eliminating the artificial "inequality" she found so objectionable. In a way, Heloise rejected the dichotomy between text and music in addition to the dichotomy between physical and spiritual existence, insisting that both were equally valid parts of a coherent whole.

The three pieces for Easter, *Ortolanus*, *Verses Pascales de iii M.*, and *Epithalamica* represent Heloise's attempts to create a more appropriate liturgy for her community. Heloise's other compositions share some of these goals, but they do not fit into a logical progression with shared themes like the Easter pieces do. *Virgines caste*

uses some of the ideas from the Easter pieces, like the rejection of the dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual, but places greater emphasis on the most erotic parts of the Song of Songs. Wulstan sees *Virgines caste* as a response to letter VII or another one of Abelard's "Brides of Christ diatribes," and suggests that Heloise has gone out of her way to write something particularly erotic to point out to Abelard that she sees those feelings and experiences as a part of life that cannot be ignored or rejected and to interpret Abelard's Bride of Christ model in as erotic a way as possible. Rather than focusing on the Bride's search for her Bridegroom, in *Virgines caste*, Heloise fuses the motif of the Bride with the Apocalypse's roses and lilies, and interprets Jerusalem as the bride of the Lamb. Although it fulfills Heloise's goal of providing music suitable for holy women who were "neither virgins nor martyrs,"⁹⁸ it seems mostly to be a reaction against Abelard's purely spiritual interpretation of the Song of Songs.

De profundis, the planctus sung on All Souls' Day and the day of commemoration for parents, shares characteristics of Heloise's compositions as well but is mostly an expression of her grief over Abelard's death in fairly conventional terms rather than having any particular liturgical agenda like the Easter pieces do. Wulstan explains it best:

"*De profundis* is an accomplished piece, yet the Heloise who inspired a whole series of liturgical dramas, whose verse techniques influence Walther von der Vogelweide and others, whose verbal originality, blandiloquently commented upon by Hugh Metel, stimulated and even surpassed that of Abelard, and whose musical innovations were praised by Peter the Venerable; this Heloise is silent."⁹⁹

Instead, he suggests that *De profundis* is "the single plaint of a bereft widow, making use of conventional phrases from the psalms and elsewhere, albeit with consummate

⁹⁸ Mews, "Heloise and Liturgical Experience," 27.

⁹⁹ Wulstan, "*Novi*," 22.

artistry.”¹⁰⁰ Heloise’s penchant for repeated notes is put to good use and as Wulstan notes, “the repetition is as insistent as the tolling of the death-knell.”¹⁰¹ The *planctus* is beautiful, and, while using an expression of her grief for Abelard in the liturgy did contribute something toward her goal of accepting and reclaiming human love in addition to divine love as appropriate parts of life for nuns, *De profundis* seems to have been more of a personal endeavor.

All of these pieces share Heloise’s compositional goals and style. In all five the text is the highest priority and is set skillfully, and there is no real sense of a dichotomy between physical and spiritual existences. The Easter pieces, however share a thematic coherence that allow us to trace the development of Heloise’s ideas from her time at Argenteuil until her time as abbess at the Paraclete. Heloise’s main goal was to create music that was liturgically honest – it had to be appropriate and authentic to the experiences of her nuns. Among other things, this meant defending the purity and perfection of human romantic love like her love for Abelard, and insisting that these feelings and experiences be taken into account in religious life. She rejected the idea that any kind of love was inherently base or flawed, and set Mary Magdalene, a redeemed sinner, as the paradigm, rather than the Virgin Mary who was too young and pure an example for a community in which most of the nuns had entered the convent later in life. She then identified Mary Magdalene with the Bride in the Song of Songs, so that Abelard’s “bride of Christ” image ceased to be a generic type in order to allow for individuality. This also allowed her to interpret the erotic Song of Songs images in a way that was not purely allegorical.

¹⁰⁰ Wulstan, “*Novi*,” 22.

¹⁰¹ Wulstan, “*Novi*,” 22.

Her second major goal was to improve the fit of the music to the text. She accomplished this by using tension based on opposing chains of thirds and by the placement of melismas and use of syllabic passages. These efforts to make the music more appropriate for the text also help to clarify the text by emphasizing its structure. Contrast and balance play a major role in this aesthetic, and Heloise's careful treatment of the caesura helps to maintain this. The use of different music based on different chains of thirds to differentiate between characters also serves this goal by allowing the character of each part of the text to influence its musical setting. For example, the Maries and the Mercator have one basic melodic contour and there is another for Mary's encounter with the Angel in the *Verses pascales de iii. M.*

Finally Heloise arranged these pieces in the Paraclete's liturgy so that they were appropriate for the time of day and the occasion, and they did not exaggerate the deeds of saints or otherwise require the singers to lie. This is especially apparent in the way the liturgies fit together, with the references to both Miriam and Mary Magdalene as well as the parallel of the Exodus story with the Easter narrative. The reference to the Good Friday liturgy in *Verses pascales de iii. M.* also shows the great effort Heloise made to be sure the liturgy was as coherent and logical as possible. Based on these pieces, it is obvious that Heloise was not a young girl shut up in a convent writing songs to cheer herself up, but that these pieces represent the attempts of an intelligent and educated woman who found herself in a convent to create a more appropriate liturgy and symbolic world for her community.

Appendix A: Edition of *Ortolanus*

Ortolanus

Maria

Rex in a - cu - bi - tum iam se con - tu - le - rat

4

et me - a re - do - lens nar - dus spi - ra - ve - rat;

7

In or - tum ve - ne - ram in quem de - scen - de - rat,

10

at il - le tran - si - ens iam de - cli - na - ve - rat.

13

Per noc - tem i - gi - tur hunc que - rens ex - e - o,

16

huc il - luc tran - si - ens nus - quam re - pe - ri - o.

19

Angelus

Mu - li - er, quid plo - ras? Quem que - ris?

22

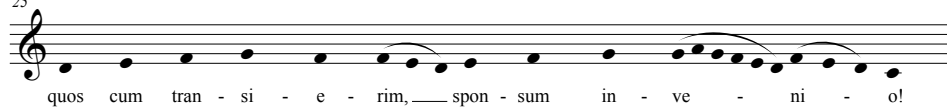
Maria

Oc - cur - runt vi - gi - les ar - den - ti stu - di - o,

2

Ortolanus

25



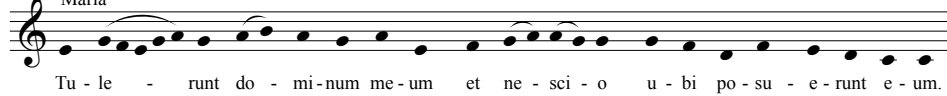
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Ortolanus:

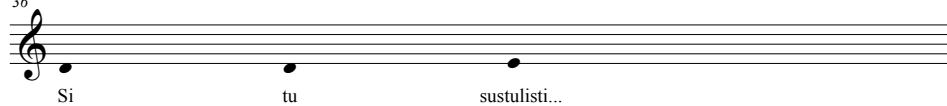


31

Maria



36



Appendix B: Edition of *Verses Pascales de iii. M.*

Verses Pascales de iii M.

"Easter Verses of the three Maries"

<Maries:>

E - a - mus mir - ram e - mer - e cum li - qui - do a - ro - ma - te

5
Ut va - le - a - mus un - ge - re cor - pus da - tum se - tu - re.

9
Om - ni - po - tens pa - ter al - tis - si - me

12
An - ge - lo - rum rec - tor mi - tis - si - me

15
Quid fa - ci - ent is - te mi - se - ri - me!

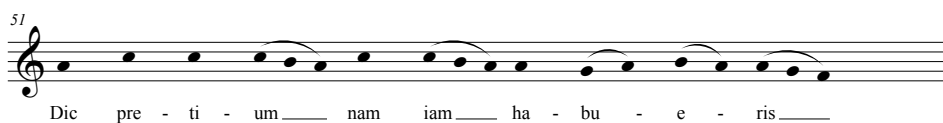
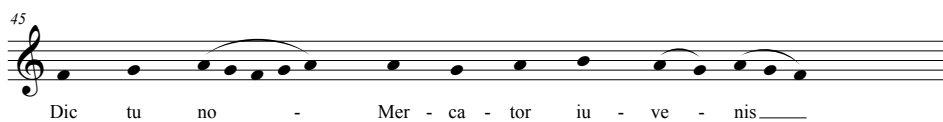
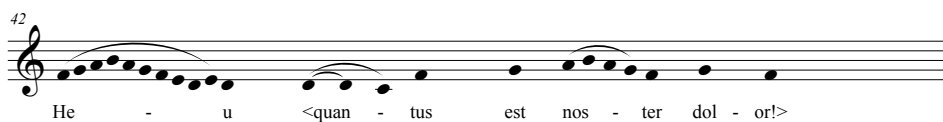
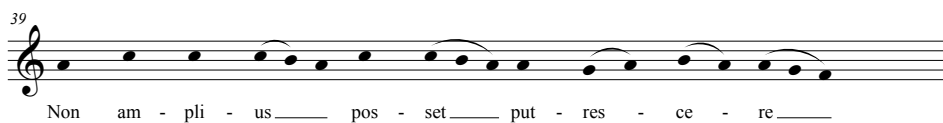
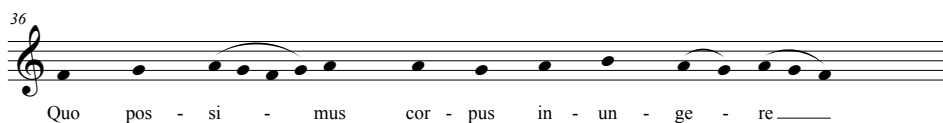
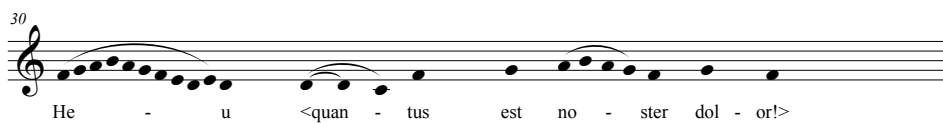
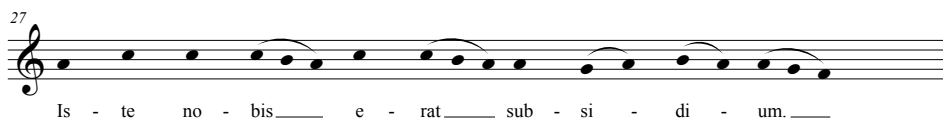
18
He - u <quan - tus est no - ster dol - or!>

21
A - mi - si - mus e - nim so - la - ti - um

24
Ihe - sum Chris - tum Ma - ri - e fi - li - um

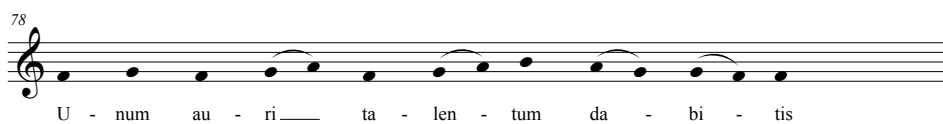
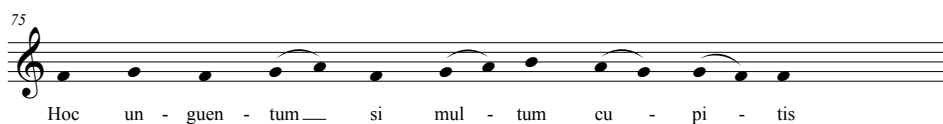
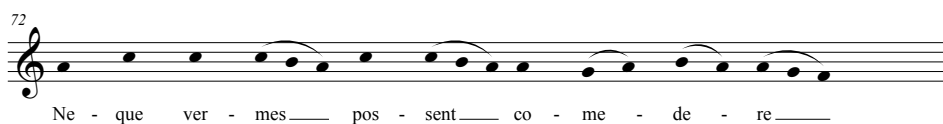
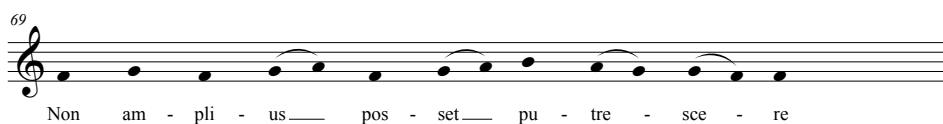
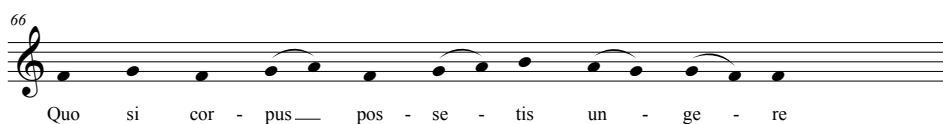
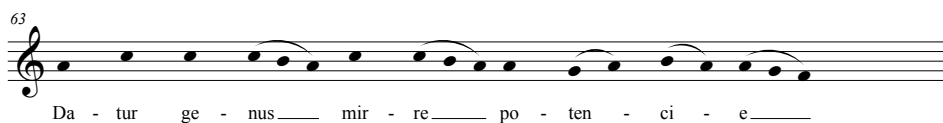
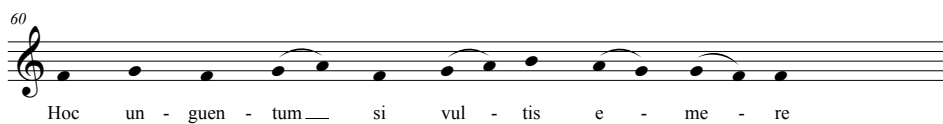
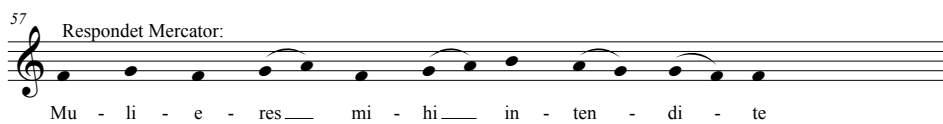
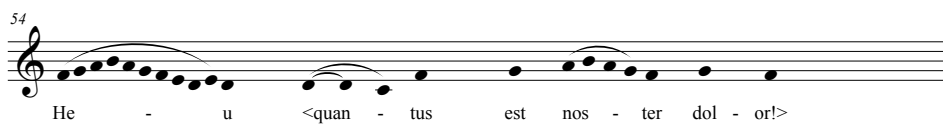
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Verses Pascales de iii M.



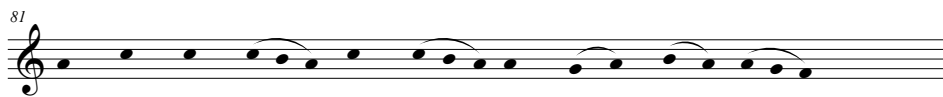
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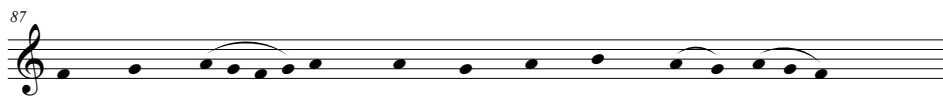
Verses Pascales de iii M.



Nec a - li - ter — um - quam — por - ta - bi - tis —



O Mer - ca - tor un - guen - tum li - be - ra —



Ec - ce ti - bi da - bi - mus mu - ne - ra —



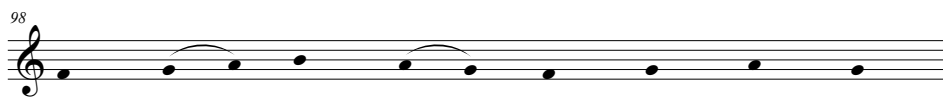
I - bi - mus — Chri - sti — un - ge - re vul - ne - ra —



He - u quan - tus est nos - ter do - lor!



Tan - ta, so - ro - res gau - di - a



de - flo - rent in — tris - ti - ci - a




Cum in - no - vens op - prob - ri - a





Fert et — cru - ces — cus - pen - di - a


Verses Pascales de iii M.

5

104

 Iu - de - o - rum _____ in - vi - di - a


106

 Et prin - ci - pum _____ per - fi - di - a

108

 Quid an - ge - mus _____ et qua - li - a

110

 Li - cet so - ro - res, plan - ge - re


112


 Plan - gen - do Chris - tum que - re - re

114

 Que - ren - do cor - pus un - ge - re,

116

 Un - gen - do men - te pas - ce - re

118 A<ngelus>:

 De fle - tu vi - so vul - ne - re,

120

 Di - lec - to mag - no fe - de - re

6

Verses Pascales de iii M.

122
Cor mon - stra - tur _____ in o - per - a

124 <Maria:>
Cor - dis so - ro - res cre - du - li

126
Si - mus _____ et be - ne se - du - li

128
Ut no - stri cer - nant o - cu - li

130
Cor - pus _____ do - men - te pa - sce - re

132
De fle - tu vi - so vul - ne - re

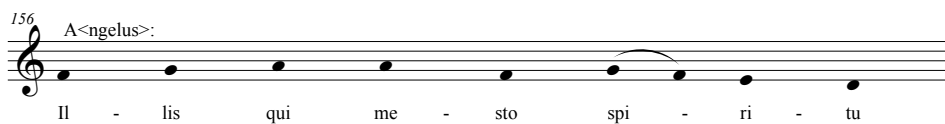
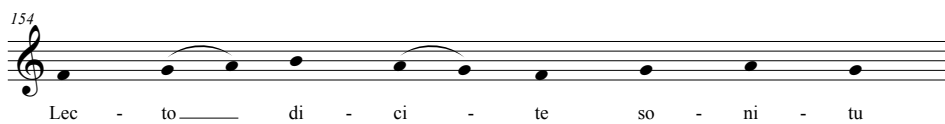
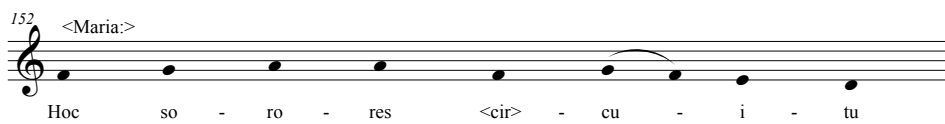
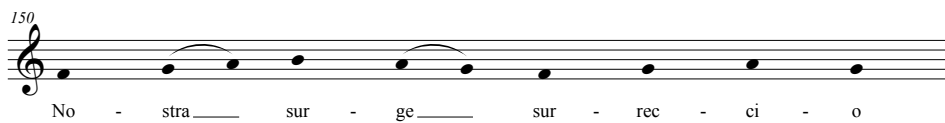
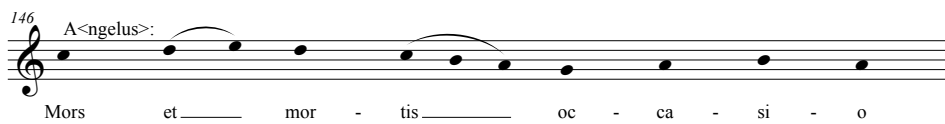
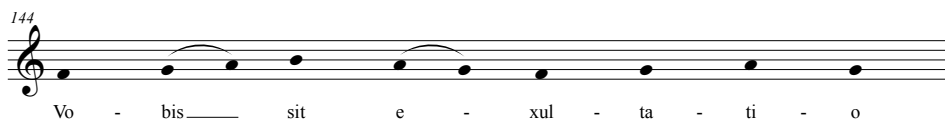
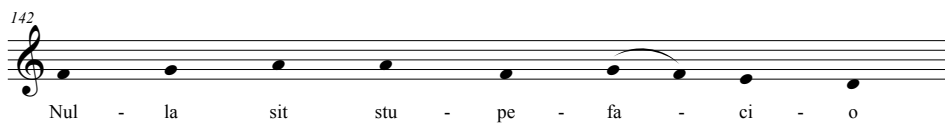
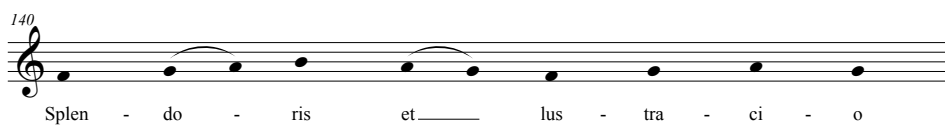
134
Di nam si - ve _____ vim po - pu - li

136 A<ngelus>:
Vir - tus _____ ce - les - tis e - pu - li

138 <Maria:>
Tan - ta so - ro - res vi - si - o

Verses Pascales de iii M.

7



8

Verses Pascales de iii M.

158
E - a<n>t — pro do - mni tran - si - tu

160
dux vic - to sur - git o - bi - tu

162
Que - ran - tur le - to stre - pi - tu

164
Nunc scis - <ci - tur> — dux or - ti - tu!

Appendix C: Edition of *Epithalamica*

Epithalamica

Voice

E - pi - ta - la - mi - ca dic, spon - sa, can - ti - ca,

³
In - tus que con - spi - cis dic for - is gau - di - a,

⁵
et nos le - ti - fi - cans de spon - so nun - ti - a

⁷
cu - ius te re - fo - vet sem - per pre - sen - ci - a

⁹
A - do - les - cen - tu - le, vos co - rum du - ci - te;

¹¹
Cum vox pre - ci - ne - rit et vos suc - cin - it - e

¹³
A - mi - cos spon - si vos vo - ca - runt nup - ti - e.

¹⁵
Et no - ne mo - du - los op - ta - mus do - mi - ne

2

Epithalamica

17
In mon - ti - bus hic ec - ce sa - li - ens

19
ec - ce ve - nit col - les in can - ti - ca.

21
Per fe - ne - stras ad me re - spi - ci - ens

23
per can - cel - los di - cit pros - pi - ci - ens

25
A - mi - ca sur - ge pro - pe - ra

27
Co - lum - ba ni - tens a - vo - la

29
Hoe - rens e - nim hy - ens iam tran - si - it

31
gra - vis ym - ber re - cen - dens a - bi - it

33
Ver a - me - num ter - ras a - pe - ru - it

Epithalamica

3

35
pa - rent__ flo - res__ et tur - tur ce - cin - it

37
A - mi - ca__ sur - ge [pro - pe - ra

39
Co - lum - ba__ ni - tens a - vo - la]

41
Rex in ac - cu - bi - tum iam se con - tu - le - rat

43
et me - a re - do - lens nar - dus spi - ra - ve - rat

45
in hor - tum ve - ne - ram in quem de - scen - de - rat

47
at il - le tran - si - ens iam de - cli - na - ve - rat

49
Per noc - tem i - gi - tur hunc que - rens ex - e - o

51
huc il - luc an - xi - a que - ren - do cur - si - to

4

Epithalamica

53

 oc - cur - runt vi - gi - les ar - den - ti stu - di - o

55

 quos dum tran - si - e - rim spon - sum in - ve - ni - o.

57

 iam vi - de - o quod op - ta - ve - ram

59

 iam te - ne - o quod a - ma - ve - ram

61

 iam ri - de - o que sic fle - ve - ram

63

 plus gau - de - o quam do - lu - e - ram.

65

 Ri - si ma - ne, fle - vi noc - te

67

 ma - ne ri - si, noc - te fle - vi

69

 Noc - tem in - som - pnem — do - lor dux - e - rat

Epithalamica

5

71

 quem ve - he - men - tem ____ a - mor fe - ce - rat

73

 di - la - ti - o - ne ____ vo - tum cre - ve - rat

75

 do - nec a - man - tem ____ a - mans vi - si - tat

77

 Plau - sus di - e, plan - ctus noc - te

79

 di - e plau - sus, noc - te plan - ctus

81

 Ey - a ____ nunc co - mi - tes et sy - on ____ fi - li - e

83

 ad spon - se ____ can - ti - ca psal - mum ad - nec - ti - te

85

 quo mes - tis ____ red - di - ta spon - si ____ pre - sen - ti - a

87

 con - ver - tit ____ e - le - gos no - stros in ____ can - ti - ca.

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