



THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

PETER ABAELARD AS MUSICIAN — I

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Introduction

ALL too frequently, essays on Abaelard begin by reciting the unhappy love story of the thirty-eight-year-old philosopher and his Héloïse. But if it is justifiable and appropriate to mention at all this tragic event in Abaelard's life, it is in a consideration of his musical activity. For this activity was almost completely bound up with Héloïse: the first love poems composed for her, the hymns commissioned by her after she had become an abbess, and finally the planctus, those songs of lament that Abaelard possibly dedicated or sent to her.

Abaelard is praised in Héloïse's first letter for his poetry and compositions. But regardless of how this collection of letters is evaluated¹ —

¹ Concerning the authenticity of the letters, see J. T. Muckle, "The Personal Letters Between Abelard and Heloise," *Mediaeval Studies*, XV (1953), 47 ff. [a critical attitude]; G. Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1959), Vol. III 2, 1, pp. 541 ff. and 630 ff. [positive]; J. Monfrin, *Abélard — Historia Calamitatum* (Paris, 1960), pp. 18 and 60 [positive]; D. Schaller, "Probleme der Überlieferung und Verfasserschaft lateinischer Liebesbriefe des hohen Mittelalters," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch*, III (1966), 33 [meticulous differentiation, revised text]; M. M. McLaughlin, "Abelard as Autobiographer: The Motives and Meaning of his 'Story of Calamities,'" *Speculum*, XLII (1967), 484, n. 81 [undecided]; W. von den Steinen, "Les sujets d'inspiration chez les poètes latins du XIIe siècle, Part II: Abélard et le subjectivisme," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale (CCM)*, IX (1966), 363 ff. [letters are genuine, but not published by Abaelard].

as genuine testimony, stylistic revisions of a real correspondence, or as later exercises in style — we cannot overlook the fact that the philosopher himself considered his musical compositions noteworthy.

While we can precisely trace discussions of his theological-philosophical works, the source history of his melodies has been poorly explored. For a long time one could not form an independent evaluation but could only lament the loss of his music.²

But a small ray of light has been shed on Abaelard's sacred songs; since the discovery of the planctus by Carl Greith in 1838 and the hymns by Emile Gachet in 1840, we have possessed at least the texts of these songs. And now that we have the music for one hymn and two manuscripts containing the melody for a planctus, we may attempt to determine more precisely than before Abaelard's position in the history of music.

It is perhaps strange that nowhere in his theological and philosophical works does Abaelard express himself on musical matters. In his letters there are only a few scattered remarks that are at all informative and that contribute anything to an attempt to construct a chronology.

Two phases of musical activity need to be distinguished in Abaelard's life (1079-1142): (1) the period of his love poems, *circa* 1115, and (2) the period of his preoccupation with sacred songs, 1130-1135. But it must be pointed out that there is no direct source tradition for the first phase, and that we are informed about the early songs only by remarks made at a later time.

The Love Songs for Héloïse

Around the year 1131, Abaelard wrote the following about his earlier love songs in the *Historia Calamitatum*:³ "If I was able to create songs, they were love songs — not the secrets of philosophy. As you know, most of these songs continue to be sung today in many regions, particularly by those who are attracted to a similar way of life."

This opinion appears again, splendidly reinforced with rhetoric, in the so-called first Héloïse letter:

Thou didst have, I confess, two divine gifts with which thou wert able to conquer readily the heart of any woman: the gift of poetry and the gift of song. I know that

² E.g., E. de Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (Paris, 1847), p. 435: "Les complaintes devaient sans doute leur principal mérite à la musique qu'Abailard y avait ajoutée."

³ J. T. Muckle, ed., "Abelard's Letter of Consolation to a Friend (*Historia Calamitatum*)," *Mediaeval Studies*, XII (1950), 184 (cap. 6).

other philosophers are not at all blessed with them. With these gifts thou hast found recreation, as in a game, from the strains of philosophical activity and then composed quite a number of metrical and rhythmic lovesongs. By virtue of their great charm and sweetness in language and music, they were quite often sung and thus kept thy name on the tongues of all, so that the soft attractiveness of the melody obliged even the unlettered to think of thee. For just this reason women sighed their love for thee. And since most of these songs told of our love, they quickly made me well known in many regions and filled many women with burning envy of me.⁴

Evidently, none of these love songs, nor any other secular songs, has been preserved. Several poems have been attributed to Abaelard,⁵ but these attributions are contradictory and are concerned exclusively with poems without musical notation; they can therefore be ignored here.

One poem may be discussed, however, for it serves as an admonishment to caution: *Parce continuis*⁶ designated *Planctus amatorius* by Vecchi.⁷ Wilhelm Meyer of Speyer attributed this anonymous poem to Abaelard.⁸ And as late as 1951, Vecchi argued for this attribution, despite a considerable body of opposing opinion.⁹ He based his argument on the "development hypothesis"; that is, that Abaelard must have composed this poem in his youth, before having quite mastered the technique of rhyme. His "technique had to improve"¹⁰ until he was able to write such formally perfect planctus. If Vecchi is correct, then Abaelard's love songs are very imperfect products. But we need not be so hasty.

Meyer's attribution is a peculiar affair. He had so "improved" a difficult passage in the Florentine codex that the passage could be taken for Abaelard. What was said of Amor now became the words of the poet: "freed from the fetters of unhappy love."¹¹ According to Meyer,

⁴ Edited by Muckle in *Mediaeval Studies*, XV (1953), 71 f.

⁵ Most recently: P. Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* (Oxford 1965/66), 2 vols., I, 313 ff., II, 341 ff.

⁶ Dronke, *Love-Lyric*, II, 341 ff.

⁷ G. Vecchi, *Pietro Abelardo. I "Planctus."* *Introduzione, testo critico, trascrizioni musicali. Collezione di Testi e Manuali No. 35* (Modena, 1951), p. 72.

⁸ W. Meyer, "Zwei mittellateinische Lieder von Florenz," *Studi letterari e linguistiche dedicati a Pio Rajna* (Milan, 1911), p. 151.

⁹ F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1957), pp. 315, 325.

¹⁰ Vecchi, "*Planctus*," p. 28: "La tecnica di Abelardo si dovette affinare, in accordo col progresso formale dei ritmi latini e romanzeschi ai suoi tempi."

¹¹ MS. Flor.: "evasit nexus infortunii. Tui sola compede stringor adamante"; Meyer: "evasit nexus infortunii, qui sola," etc. or: "qui nulla compede stringor amicitie," or: "ab amante"; the Augsburg MS reads: "evasit nexus infortunii. Tui sola compede stringor et amantes."

"only an old man or a eunuch could have said that. Abaelard was castrated around 1119."¹² Therefore, he was undoubtedly the poet. But Meyer was not certain of his reading, only of his interpretation.

However, in the older, considerably shorter version of the song,¹³ a version unknown to Meyer, the text renders Meyer's conjectures impossible. Thematic reminiscence and autobiographical reference to Abaelard (and Héloïse) are absent, and there are certain difficulties involved in attempting to place the original poem chronologically.¹⁴ The later expanded version of *Parce continuis*, the only one known to Meyer, stands indeed in a close, but inverse, relationship to Abaelard, for the anonymous poet of the 12th century quoted and incorporated Abaelard's *Placitus VI* several times.¹⁵ We will not attempt to solve here the question of why he included David's lament for Jonathan in his enumeration of great pairs of lovers,¹⁶ but call attention to the fact that in the Augsburg version there is no mention of David and Jonathan.

Our knowledge of Abaelard's love songs is so hazy that there exist clever discussions on whether these songs were written in Latin or French. Some scholars seek refuge in analogies, namely that certain characteristics

¹² Meyer, "Zwei Lieder," p. 159.

¹³ Augsburg, Bischöfliches Ordinariat, Ms. 5. The provenance of the codex (saec. IX) is the St-Mang monastery at Füssen, Bavaria. The poem was later entered on the front end paper.

¹⁴ Dronke (*Love-Lyric*, II, 351 f.) refers to an assignment of the Augsburg MS by B. Bischoff (saec. XII inc.) in support of his suggested dating of the poem (end of the 11th century). Professor Bischoff has been kind enough to inform me in a personal correspondence that his assignment is based on general palaeographic factors which allow Meyer's thesis considerable latitude.

¹⁵ Dronke's arguments are indeed vulnerable in many details. I do not accept his conjecture that the Orpheus saga has a happy ending in the Augsburg MS (cf. also Dronke, "The Return of Euridice," *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XXII (1962), 198 ff.) The concluding words "rettulit Euridicem" do not mean "[he] brought back Euridice" but rather (corresponding to Vergil, *Georgics* III, 526) "he echoed, or he spoke about." Professor Bischoff brought this to my attention, and I thank him for his assistance. I also agree with him that Dronke does not explain why the second hand in the Augsburg MS added the beginning of the new layer. I am inclined to agree with Dronke only in regard to the mutual interdependence of both poems (*Love-Lyric*, p. 352): "The alternative possibility, that Abaelard should have been the borrower, seems barely conceivable. If we except the Old Testament sources themselves, I know of no point at which any of the six *planctus* — in form, matter and language surely the most independent Latin poetry of their age — can be shown to be derivative." Here I disagree with Bischoff, who considers the *Parce continuis* to be a unified whole and thus considers Abaelard's *Placitus VI* to be derived from it.

¹⁶ Perhaps Honorius Augustodunensis provides a clue when, in his *Elucidarium*, he regards David and Jonathan as the prototype of two friends: "... amici, ut David Jonathae, quem dilexit ut animam suam" (III 18. Migne, PL 172, col. 1170).

of these songs appear in other songs of Abaelard. In the case of J. G. Sikes,¹⁷ this approach leads to very problematic constructions: "Something of the character of his love-poems may be gathered from the following verses (73-92, 105-110) of his *Planctus* of David over Jonathan with its felicity of rhythm and rime." Of course, not much can be done with such verdicts. They only tell us that Abaelard was doubtless an articulate poet.

We still know nothing about the structure and content of the love songs, however, except that we recognize in Héloïse the woman for whom the songs were intended,¹⁸ but that is not sufficient to determine their position in music history. Even a careful analysis of the passage from the *Historia Calamitatum* (and of the first Héloïse letter) does not bring us much further. Understandably, Abaelard speaks with great reserve about his songs. We must remember that there was a gap of more than a dozen years, and that in the meantime his interests had turned to the genre of sacred poetry. The Héloïse letter, too, is more reflective than narrative in character. It was written, at the earliest, during the period in which the abbess Héloïse asked the abbot Abaelard to compose both the text and the music for a hymnal to be used in her convent of the Paraclete.

The Cistercian Hymnal and Abaelard's Hymn Book

With the creation of a new hymn book Abaelard found himself in a conflict, for, owing to his objections to the Cistercian hymnal, his hands were now somewhat tied.

Around 1131 — either before or after the encounter of January 20, 1131, in Morigny — he had quite openly reproved "his admired friend and fellow monk" Bernard of Clairvaux¹⁹ for introducing a new hymnal among the Cistercians.²⁰ Although (perhaps because) this hymnal made

¹⁷ J. G. Sikes, *Peter Abailard* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 11.

¹⁸ This has been noted by von den Steinen in *CCM*, IX (1966), 364.

¹⁹ Abael. Ep. 10. (PL 178, col. 335): "Venerabili atque in Christo dilectissimo fratri Bernhardo, Claraevallensi abbati, Petrus compresbyter." Concerning the relationship between them at that time, see A. Borst, "Abälard und Bernhard," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXXVI (1958), 497-526. Borst, p. 504, dates Bernard's visit to Héloïse's convent of the Paraclete — a visit that predated this letter — in the period 1131-1135. See also A. Victor Murray, *Abelard and St. Bernard. A Study in 12th century "Modernism"* (New York, 1967). Murray's discussion of our problem is unfruitful, since, among other things, it was written without knowledge of Borst's essay.

²⁰ Cf. Stäblein, *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi (MMA)* (Kassel, 1956), I, 512 ff; P. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary* (London, 1912), trans. by A.M.Y. Baylay, p. 136; A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London, 1955), pp. 69 f.

use of the old tradition (specifically the Milanese, considered to be genuinely Ambrosian), Abaelard reproached Abbot Bernard because the hymns in general use were thus being scorned. In their place a few, quite inappropriate, songs were being introduced that were completely unknown in France and elsewhere.²¹ He objected, further, that the same hymn, *Aeterne rerum conditor*, was to be sung day after day, or night after night — a criticism that apparently seemed justified to Bernard, for it prompted him to change the rubrics. Exactly what Abaelard held to be “minus sufficientes,” he did not explain further. As will become clear, when we consider the melody of *O quanta qualia*, it was not necessarily the musical design of the new Cistercian compositions that disturbed Abaelard.

In the preface to his own hymn book ²² — which could not have been written more than a few years after his altercation with Bernard — Abaelard returns again to his previous conception. He recalls that he used to consider it a sacrilege to prefer the new songs to the old, and that it would be superfluous to create new hymns himself, since there was an abundance already available.

But now he would yield to Héloïse's argument that the Latin and Gallican churches were continuing a habit in singing psalms and hymns rather than following an “authority.” ²³ Abaelard is now convinced that the habit has become increasingly inconvenient. As a theologian he contends that many texts are unsuitable; however, as a musician, he holds that melodies were being transferred indiscriminately to completely different texts.

It is somewhat surprising, even in the light of this sharp criticism, that Abaelard rejects the entire corpus of hymns that had heretofore existed in the convent of the Paraclete and creates a completely new hymnal. The total break with tradition was quite bold, although in a way it was typical of him. His verdict is radical and, because of his generalization, unjust. If he so desired, a revision of the hymns would have been pos-

²¹ Abael. Ep. 10. (PL 178, col. 339): “Hymnos solitos respuistis, et quosdam apud nos inauditos et fere omnibus ecclesiis incognitos ac minus sufficientes introduxistis.” Clemens Blume, *Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi* (AH), Vol. 52, p. ix, dates the letter between 1120 and 1130. Stäblein (MMA, I, 513) extends the time span to 1115-1140. But the mention of Héloïse as an “abbatissa” makes an assignment before 1129 impossible.

²² PL 178, col. 1771 and AH 48, p. 142: “Censebam quippe superfluum me vobis novos condere, cum veterum copiam haberetis, et quasi sacrilegium videri antiquis sanctorum carminum nova peccatorum præferre vel æquare.”

²³ *Ibid.*, “Latinam et maxime Gallicanam ecclesiam, sicut in Psalmis ita et in ymnis magis consuetudinem tenere quam auctoritatem sequi.”

sible but he sought a complete and homogeneous repertory.

An author like Abaelard cannot object to having his hymns studied for their poetic content and compared with those they were intended to replace.²⁴ Opinions may differ; one observer may grant these hymns a wealth of substance and fertility of mind along with formal variety;²⁵ another may pass a harsher verdict, declaring that the hymns indulge in unbridled and unlimited subjectivism.²⁶ But what makes these songs interesting for us is their individual modes of thought and their new rhythms, qualities which were not particularly advantageous for their dissemination. It is not surprising that Abaelard's "liturgical reform," like several after him, failed; commissioned compositions were on the whole a sorry substitute for the variety found in the traditional hymns. Compared with this *Thesaurus musicae sacrae* collected over the centuries, Abaelard's hymns signified "un appauvrissement monstrueux." In fact, only the nuns at the convent of the Paraclete were denied the tradition by Héloïse, for only there were all of Abaelard's hymns used; other cloisters selected what they deemed worthy and thus enriched their liturgical repertory.

Abaelard wrote his hymns during the unhappy years of his tenure as abbot in St. Gildas-de-Rhuys between 1131 and 1135. But these poems do not reflect his personal life; they are conceived entirely with a view to their liturgical position.

What Abaelard says in his introduction about the music of the hymns is not particularly original. He defines the hymns after Isidore of Seville (Etym. VI, 19, 17) and the Psalter (Ps. 68, 31) as *laus dei cum cantico*, and emphasizes that music is an indispensable component of the hymn: *melodia sine qua nullatenus hymnus consistere potest* (*Praefatio*, p. 143). This remark is important, for it provides us with the certainty that Abaelard himself composed the melodies of his hymns.

Nevertheless, when he composed the hymns, he took into account the difficulties that the nuns would have in learning the unusual new rhythms and melodies and therefore did not set each hymn independently. He limited himself to one particular rhythm and melody for each group of

²⁴ Cf. the studies of F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1953), pp. 319 ff.; J. Szövérfy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung* (Berlin, 1964), II, 57-73; also W. von den Steinen, *Der Kosmos des Mittelalters. Von Karl dem Grossen zu Bernhard von Clairvaux* (Bern, 1959), pp. 300 ff.; F. Laurenzi, *Le poesie ritmiche di Pietro Abelardo* (Rome, 1911).

²⁵ Szövérfy, II, 66.

²⁶ Von den Steinen, *CCM*, IX (1966), 371: "donne cours à un subjectivisme sans freine et sans limite."

hymns: *sit una omnibus nocturnis melodia communis atque altera diurnis sicut et rhythmus* (*Praefatio libelli II*, p. 164).

Therefore, nine *hymni nocturnales* are followed by twenty *hymni diurni* in the first book, all with the same rhythmic strophic construction. This second group is completed with the hymnus *Sabbato ad vespas: O quanta qualia* (p. 163).

The hymn *O quanta qualia*

The hymn of the worldly and heavenly Sabbath, *O quanta qualia*, enjoys a special popularity even today, and is often included in modern anthologies.²⁷ Oddly, this is the only hymn — apart from three short hymns in the third book²⁸ — which is found as well in the liturgical manuscripts of other cloisters. It was part of the hymn repertory of the collegiate church Grossmünster in Zurich in the 14th century,²⁹ and was also used in the Cistercian abbey of Rheinau from the 12th century on.³⁰ It was, then, the Cistercians who carried the hymn eastward to the upper Rhine, thus transmitting to us the only melody of Abaelard's that we possess today.³¹

Ex. 1 (Rh 18, 12th century)



²⁷ H. Wadell, *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1948), pp. 162 ff.; G. Vecchi, *Poesia latina medievale*, 2nd ed. (Parma, 1958), p. 182; H. Kusch, *Einführung in das lateinische Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1957), I, 328 ff.; F. J. E. Raby, *Christian-Latin Poetry*, p. 323.

²⁸ *Hymni in festis beatae Mariae*, AH 48, nos. 77-79, pp. 191 ff. These hymns for the three nocturnes, however, have the usual Ambrosian structure.

²⁹ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 528.

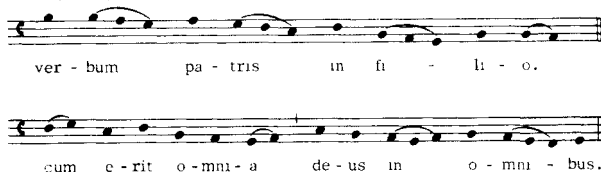
³⁰ Rh 18 (12th century); Rh 28 (13th-14th century); Rh 27 (14th century); Rh 21 and 22 (1459). See L. C. Mohlberg, *Katalog der Zentralbibliothek, Zürich. Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zurich, 1951).

³¹ The melody follows *MMMA* I, Mel. 590 and p. 592. The notation in Rh 21 and 22 enables a transcription of the neumes in Rh 18.

The melody of this hymn reveals a considerable regularity of structure. The dorian melody rises rapidly from its tonic to the fifth, and this ascent is complemented by the compact motion of the second verse where, after a brief melisma, the melody returns to the tonic. After the repetition of this melody, the middle section begins on the fifth and continues upward. The climax reached here is reinforced by repetition. The concluding lines, too, are joined closely by repeating a portion of the melody. Here the melody falls gently by step to the finalis.

The disposition of melismas in the melody is as irregular as one expects to find in early 12th-century French hymns. It is the same structure as that found in the new compositions of the Cistercian hymnal.³² One could perhaps see the sequential descent in the hymn *Mysterium ecclesiae*³³ as a correspondence to the concluding line of *O quanta qualia*.

Ex. 2 (Rh 18)



The concluding formula seems to have been quite popular at the time; it also forms the conclusion of the hymn *Ave maris stella* (Ex. 3).³⁴

Ex. 3



Abaelard's hymn was later sung in Rheinau with a more sharply profiled musical rhythm corresponding to the iambic verse rhythm. But this coincidence of metrical and musical accent evidently was not the intention of the composer, for he placed the neumatic formulas indiscriminately on accented and unaccented syllables alike.³⁵

³² Cf. *MMMA* I, 514.

³³ *MMMA* I, Mel. 66, Cistercian Hymnal, Heiligenkreuz, No. 45.

³⁴ *MMMA* I, Mel. 67, Cistercian Hymnal, Heiligenkreuz, No. 47.

³⁵ *MMMA* I, Mel. 590, follows Rheinau 21 and 22 from the year 1459.

Ex. 4



In general, Bruno Stäblein's characterization of Cistercian compositions applies to Abaelard's melody:

The forceful energy which creates an expansive melodic design and scatters modest, and at times less modest, melismas with a seeming irregularity, characterizes them as genuine children of their times. . . . Their use in feasts of a cheerful character suggests that such modern melodies were felt around 1130 to be more joyful (which accords with the trend toward emotivity — *Wandel zum Gefühlsmäßigen* — which is apparent at this time in other ways as well).³⁶

The Planctus — Attempts at Transcription

If, in his hymns, Abaelard is revealed as an innovator, this is even more true of his planctus,³⁷ which he may have composed at about the same time as the hymns. Whether they too were written at the instigation of Héloïse, we do not know, nor is it clear what purpose they were intended to fulfill. The planctus are singular in structure and testify to the originality of Abaelard, the poet. This judgment is strengthened by the thorough investigation of the genre of the planctus by literary historians, who at the same time uncovered a centuries-old tradition.³⁸ The lamentations of the Bible and the obituaries — those either for beloved or important personages — belong to such a tradition. And Abaelard's planctus are numbered among the first medieval Latin poems which make use of biblical texts. What is remarkable, then, is not that Abaelard composed planctus but how he composed them. His laments do not belong to the category of songs for the departed, that is songs written for an actual occasion. Abaelard's songs take eminently human situations in the Old Testament and fashion them anew for the man of the 12th century. The themes were as stirring then as they are today: Jacob's ravished daughter bewails her fate; Jacob, the father, tearfully takes

³⁶ *MMMA* I, 514.

³⁷ Editions of the text in Migne PL 178, col. 1817-24; *AH* 48, pp. 223-232; W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik* (Berlin, 1905), I, 340 ff.; G. Vecchi, *Pietro Abelardo, I "Planctus"* (Modena, 1951), pp. 41-77.

³⁸ Vecchi, "*Planctus*," esp., pp. 11 ff.; Von den Steinen, "Les idées d'inspiration," in *CCM*, IX (1966), 365 ff.; Von den Steinen, "Die Planctus Abaelards, Jephthas Tochter," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, IV (1967), 122-144, esp. 125 ff.

leave of his youngest son, Benjamin, as he departs for Egypt; young girls mourn the tragic sacrifice of their beloved; the people of Israel shed tears for the mighty Samson who gave his life for them; David holds wakes for his murdered supporter, Abner, for King Saul, and for his slain friend, Jonathan.

The poet Abaelard, who immersed himself in such elevating human conflicts, invented songs with myriad changes of rhythm in through-composed strophes. Their colorful shifts form a remarkable contrast to the uniformity of the hymns.

As is true of the hymns, the musical source history of the planctus compositions has been sparse. Only one codex, in which the songs were entered in staffless notation, was known to survive. The form and content, however, of Abaelard's planctus have repeatedly stimulated scholars of the past two centuries to uncover the secret of the staffless neumes in Codex Vat. Regin. lat. 288.³⁹ Indeed, the Maurist Dom Jean-François Clément designated the planctus simply as sequences in 1763,⁴⁰ but Greith's first edition of the planctus in 1838⁴¹ was more portentous, for he designated them as "Minnelieder." The biblical material and personages were understood to be symbols for the unhappy story of Abaelard and Héloïse. Although the planctus clearly cannot be the carmina mentioned by Héloïse, even today their connection with Abaelard's love songs has not been severed.

It was noted, further, that Abaelard's planctus deserve a significant position in musical history, filling the gap between the Latin liturgical sequence outside the Mass and the French secular lai. What could be more to the point than to try to decipher the neumes by some means or other? It was the spirited words of the first Héloïse letter that urged on the musicologists.

But in the end it seemed that it was neither possible nor — paradoxically (in view of their poor quality) — necessary to make further attempts at transcription. Armand Machabey, who has spent many years investigating the music of the High Middle Ages, published a solution

³⁹ For the individual stages in this enterprise, see my article, "Dolorum solatium. Text und Musik von Abaelards Planctus David," *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch*, V (1968), xxx ff. Since this publication is unfamiliar to American musicologists and rather inaccessible, I have incorporated a portion of the results described in that article in the present essay.

⁴⁰ *Histoire littéraire de la France, publiée par des Bénédictins de la Congrégation de St. Maur.* (Paris, 1763), XII, 134. Reprinted in Migne PL 178, col. 41/42.

⁴¹ C. Greith, *Spicilegium Vaticanum. Beiträge zur näheren Kenntnis der vatikanischen Bibliothek für deutsche Poesie des Mittelalters* (Frauenfeld, 1838), pp. 121 ff.

of the opening lines of Abaelard's *Planctus I* in 1961.⁴² Machabey no longer believed it would be possible to reconstruct a proper melody from the Vatican neumes. Only a "transcription schématique" (p. 90) was deemed possible. He therefore chose a "tonalité arbitraire"⁴³ and attempted to reproduce only the rhythmic lines of the melody according to his rhythmic theory (Ex. 5):

Ex. 5 Abaelard, *Planctus I*; transcription schématique du Ms. Vat. Reg. lat. 288, 63 verso.

The image displays a musical score for Abaelard's *Planctus I*. It consists of seven staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notes are connected by horizontal lines, indicating a continuous melody. Above each staff, there are rhythmic markings: vertical lines with flags, horizontal lines with flags, and curved lines with flags. These markings represent the rhythmic structure of the original neumes. The lyrics are written below each staff, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The lyrics are: "A - bra - he pro - les is - ra - el na - ta", "pa - tri - ar - cha - rum san - gui - ne cla - ra.", "In - cir - cum - ci - si vi - ri ra pi - na", "ho - mi - nis spur - ci fa - cta sum prae - da.", "Ge - ne - ris san - cti ma - cu - la sum - ma", "ple - bis ad - ver - se lu - dis il - lu - sa.", and "Ve mi - hi mi - se - re per me - met pro - di - te." The score ends with a double bar line and a sharp sign.

⁴² A. Machabey, "Les Planctus d'Abélard. Remarques sur le rythme musical du XIIe siècle," *Romania*, LXXXII (1961), 71-95, esp. 94. A somewhat different version of the opening, again by Machabey, is printed in his "Introduction à la lyrique musicale romane," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe -XIIe siècles*, II (1959), 288.

⁴³ To be sure, Machabey did not compose his melody completely arbitrarily. The examples he gives of a musical motif ("Introduction," *CCM*, II [1959], 290) reveal that he considers a connection with Abaelard's *Planctus I* to be possible.

Dolorum solatium laborum remedium
mea michi cithara Hunc quo maior do
lor est iustiorque me ior est plus est necessa
ria. Strages magna populi regis morietur
filii hostium victoria. Ducum desolatio
vulgi desperatione lucra replent omnia.
Amalech inualuit israel dum corruit infi
delis iubilat philistea dum lamentis maceratur
se uidea. Insultat fidelibus infidelis populus

ad excidium p[ro]p[ri]e d[omi]ni t[em]p[or]is cu[m] p[re]dicis. Planctus David

Asu per abneg[ati]o[n]e filio n[ost]ro. Ex[ist]it i[n] g[ra]t[ia] occidit.
buer fidelissime bello tremulissime. A mor ac delicie
oulicatis gl[ori]e. Quia p[ro]ualuit dolus in te potius.
p[ro] que p[ro]p[ri]e p[ar]t[is] et ac etur. Nullis dign[is] flecib[us] q[ui] cuius dat
omib[us]. Dolere b[er]it cal[or] miserabilis. Cogit ad conuincit ho
tem q[ui] lat[er]at. Dissoluit q[ui] pietas. mencei ad amanciat.
hostis regni d[omi]ni t[em]p[or]is manifest[is]. sep[ar]atis et cupit subli
mat. A uicis cl[ar]is nos multasti nulla pass[us] armit potes sen
tu pollet ut p[re]fecit. Israelis m[un]us fortis uide meo. n[ost]ri
i[n] am[ic] erat sum. Tand[em] m[un]us occidit uocit in b[er]i sedul
i[n] p[ro]p[ri]e p[ar]t[is] arma ponit male tut. d[omi]ni t[em]p[or]is t[em]p[or]is t[em]p[or]is
periclit[ur] cunctis pulchri. Fide n[ost]ra fident corruisti. q[ui]
de tua uir uerax p[er]uisti. Armati q[ui] horruit n[ost]ri
abner inermi p[ro]ualuit t[em]p[or]is. Nec in uia cong[re]di
teu[us] aulul porat in b[er]i polluit p[ro] hoc sedul. Milite
militie d[omi]ni t[em]p[or]is lacrimas plangit. ac p[ro]p[ri]e.
Principes iusticie sumant p[ro]p[ri]e in ta execrabile uim
dicandum. Planctus David sup[er] Saul et Ionatha.

Olece solatui lap[or]e remediui mea michi
cythara. Hic q[ui] maior dolor est iusticiaq[ue]
m[un]us est plus e[st] necessaria. Strages magna po
puli regis mor[is] et filij hostiu[m] uictoria. Quicun
desolatio uulgi desp[er]atio luctu replent omnia.
Amalech inualuit i[n] b[er]i d[omi]ni t[em]p[or]is corruit infidelis
iubilat philistea d[omi]ni t[em]p[or]is laments m[un]us cerat se uide.
Insultat fidelib[us] infidelis popl[us] in honore mari

Abaelard, *Planctus David super Saul
et Ionatha*

Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. 288

The melody derived by Machabey in this manner is not especially lively. The constantly repeated recitative produces at best an archaic impression. His rhythm seems artificial, not artful. The whole is actually dull and disappointing. One cannot imagine why Abaelard should have combined his new verse rhythms with such an old-fashioned melody. Even Machabey himself was not convinced of the correctness of his melody.

Since there is no other musical source for this planctus, we must, unfortunately — *rebus sic stantibus* — take leave of it with this negative result, and hope that new sources may turn up in the future. Machabey wanted his transcription, and to an extent all similar attempts, to lead *ad absurdum*. But one wonders if this is proper.

The situation with Abaelard's Planctus II is better, for there are several interpretations which build upon one another or which have been carried out independently. A comparison of the interpretations of Laurenzi, Vecchi, and Lipphardt is most instructive.

Laurenzi attempted to decipher Planctus II in 1911.⁴⁴ His premise was that this was a Gregorian melody.⁴⁵ In fact, when in doubt, Laurenzi decided against the manuscript and changed the melody, or constructed cadences taken from the traditional Gregorian repertory. The following example gives an idea of his procedure:

Ex. 6 Abaelard, *Planctus II*; lines 33-40.

Ms. Vat. Reg. lat. 288:	- 7 7 - 7 . 7	7 7 - - 7 -
	Pu - e - ri - les ne - ni - e	su - per o - mnes can - tus
	- 7 7 - 7 - 7	7 7 - - 7 -
	Or - ba - ti mi - se - ri - e	se - nis e - rant dul - ces

Laurenzi:

Pu - e - ri - les ne - ni - ae su - per can - tus o - mnes

Or - ba - ti mi - se - ri - ae se - nis e - rant dul - ces

Vecchi:

Pu - e - ri - les ne - ni - e su - per can - tus o - mnes

Or - ba - ti mi - se - ri - e se - nis e - rant dul - ces

⁴⁴ F. Laurenzi, *Le poesie ritmiche di Pietro Abelardo* (Rome, 1911).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114. Laurenzi is indefinite here and only says, "per varie ragioni m'è sembrato più adatto." The mode chosen is the dorian (protus authenticus).

Lipphardt:

Pu - e - ri - les ne - ni - ae su - per can - tus o - mnes
Or - ba - ti mi - se - ri - ae
se - nis e - rant dul - ces

In general, Laurenzi considered his melody impressive, “a song of sadness, charm, and tenderness, which reflects most wonderfully the despair in the heart of a forsaken father. It deserved its happy fate of enchanting all Paris and France at the time with the sweetness of its melody” (p. 114). In this phrase, to be sure, Laurenzi only repeats — though somewhat exaggeratedly — the judgment found in the first Héloïse letter.

Indeed, Laurenzi considered verses 33-40 of his melody to be monotonous. However, his stopgap method — to replace them with a completely different melody — discredits the whole transcription. A revision was necessary, and in 1951 it was eventually undertaken by Giuseppe Vecchi,⁴⁶ who correctly discarded Laurenzi’s substitute melody. But, astonishingly, even Vecchi interprets some neumes peculiarly: he reads every two-note rounded flexa as a three-note porrectus, and therefore has to alter the melody considerably.⁴⁷

In his esthetic evaluation of this planctus, Vecchi entirely shares Laurenzi’s opinion. But Walther Lipphardt has a completely different interpretation of this passage.⁴⁸ He approaches these lines from the standpoint of their textual-rhythmic structure. Because they are Goliardic lines — the earliest, by the way — he interprets them musically like the later Goliard songs. His transcription enables him to declare: “We find in the melody the folklike character of the pastorelle of c. 1150” (p. 128). Lipphardt certainly has “nimble” verses here (p. 130), but is it still Abaelard?

One cannot escape the suspicion that it is the subjective orientation of each transcriber that determines what melody is read into the neumes. Fortunately, scholarship has proceeded beyond these subjective attempts. We are indebted to Hans Spanke for bringing us an enormous step

⁴⁶ Vecchi, “*Planctus*,” pp. i-vi.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xvii: “rivedendola e dandole una maggiore aderenza al testo neumatico.”

⁴⁸ Lipphardt, “Unbekannte Weisen zu den Carmina Burana,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XII (1955), 129.

forward. A “Lai des pucelles” from the end of the 13th century provides “despite all its differences, a striking similarity of its sections in terms of structure and organization, especially, in the musical design.”⁴⁹ Vecchi undertook, and in 1950 published, a transcription of *Planctus III*,⁵⁰ which exhibits large gaps that do not appear in the lai (Ex. 7).

Ex. 7a *Planctus virginum Israel super filia Ieptae Galadite*, Ms. Vat. Reg. lat. 288, 63 verso-64 recto.
Introduzione

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 A

I 3+3+3
1. Ad fe - stas cho - re - as ce - li - bes

III A
3. Ex mo - re sint o - de fle - bi - les

V B
5. In - cul - te sint me - ste fa - ci - es

VI C
6. plan - gen - tum et flen - tum si - mu - les!

Parte prima (a)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 (12) D

I 4+4+(4)
9. Ga - la - di - te vir - go le - pte fi - li - a (1)

Ex. 7b *Lai des pucelles*, Par. B. N. fr. 126, 71 recto.

3+3+3 A

(1) Co - rai - geus sui des geus k'amors viaut.

4+4+(4) B

(1) En mes bel - les a - mo - rel - les lais i - chi.

C

(2) Qu'autre amors n'a nul cors ki tant ait.

D

(3) de va - lors, car amors vient et vait.

⁴⁹ H. Spanke, “Sequenz und Lai,” *Studi medievali*, NS XI (1938), 30.

⁵⁰ Vecchi, “Sequenza e lai. A proposito un ritmo di Abelardo,” *Studi medievali*, NS XVI (1943-50), 86-101.

Vecchi certainly believed that he could prevail in the face of Spanke's⁵¹ careful remarks: "Egli non pronuncia la vera, attesa parola: si tratta della stessa melodia."⁵² But even he conceded that the transcription was at least "melodicamente più esatta, per un buon numero di temi."⁵³ It certainly is not more than that, especially since even here Vecchi's rather inexact transcription considerably distorts the melody.

But, as Machabey demonstrated,⁵⁴ Vecchi also conveys a false impression of the melodic relationship of planctus to lai. The opening theme of this tune is not as simple as the transcription suggests. The quilisma-type note on *corai-geus* was supposed, perhaps, to be sung as a porrectus⁵⁵ or as a torculus as sung on the second syllable of *fe-stas*. The final syllables of *fle-biles* in line three are not so highly florid: there are only two-note flexae for this passage in the source.⁵⁶

There are considerable discrepancies between planctus and lai in these first lines, and even more so in the lines that follow where the lai takes off on a completely independent course. The cadences in lines five and six of the planctus are both constructed with sensitivity, while in the lai each phrase concludes with a fall of a second. But there is no trace in Vecchi's planctus of the beautiful contrasts in melodic direction nor of the equally well-wrought climaxes found in the lai. Vecchi's planctus is paltry in comparison. This raises the question whether Vecchi's melody is historically correct and whether Abaelard therefore composed in this fashion. Here again the discovery of another manuscript would no doubt shed light on several different readings.

The priority relationship of planctus and lai, however, has recently

⁵¹ Spanke, "Sequenz und Lai," p. 30: "Insofar as it is possible to compare the melodies, it seems to me that there are similarities, especially between the 11-syllable lines."

⁵² Vecchi, "*Planctus*," p. 24.

⁵³ Vecchi, "*Poesia latina medievale*," p. 90.

⁵⁴ Machabey, "*Les Planctus*," pp. 84 ff. J. Maillard, *Evolution et esthétique du lai lyrique* (Paris, 1963), pp. 262-268, provides a more recent transcription of the "*Lai des pucelles*."

⁵⁵ Thus Maillard, *Evolution*, p. 262.

⁵⁶ Maillard re-collated Vecchi's transcription but printed the same mistakes again. It is interesting, too, that he reproduces the planctus in trochaic rhythm although he agrees with H. Husmann and J. Chailley in establishing the period ca. 1180 as the terminus a quo for modal music (*ibid.*, p. 187):

Ex. 8



been reversed. Bruno Stäblein⁵⁷ considers it to be a fact, though no proof, that Abaelard composed the text of his *Planctus virginum* to the melody of a secular lai. This is a serious problem, for it raises the question to what extent Abaelard was at all an independent musician.

We may assume that Stäblein formed his opinion on the basis of new material, but since he says nothing about it, a thorough discussion of his thesis is difficult.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, there were important facts that argue against his opinion, and so long as Stäblein has not refuted these arguments, one can hardly follow him.

First, for linguistic reasons, it is impossible to date the "Lai des pucelles," as it is preserved today, at any time other than the 13th century. From the standpoint of form, too, it would be improbable, in the light of Maillard's investigations, that the composition originated before the 12th century.⁵⁹ Abaelard's *Planctus III* and the "Lai" could therefore only share a common source. The fact that the title "*Lai des pucelles*" does not characterize the content of the song (which is a dialogue between two lovers) appears to confirm the assumption that this melody was taken from another piece.⁶⁰ Abaelard's song, interestingly enough, is called "*Planctus virginum*."

Spanke had already pointed out that "style and expression [in the Lai] are so plain and uncultivated that one clearly recognizes the process of origin as the filling in of a given musical frame."⁶¹ It remains mere speculation whether there was an original Celtic melody to which, in the end, one may trace the "Lai des pucelles," for "the documents fail entirely to support such an assertion."

At most it is possible to maintain, with Maillard (p. 105), that Abaelard was inspired to compose his *Planctus virginum* by using pre-existent musical material. According to Vecchi's analysis⁶² of Abaelard's *Planctus III*, the external form of its rhythm and music obeys an internal order: it forms a perfect whole. While the introduction and conclusion exhibit dance motifs — corresponding to the text — the principal part is composed more in a sequence style.

Regarded in this light, Stäblein's thesis that the opening melody with

⁵⁷ B. Stäblein, "Die Schwanenklage. Zum Problem Lai-Planctus-Sequenz," *Festschrift K. G. Fellerer* (Regensburg, 1962), pp. 491-502.

⁵⁸ For a recent discussion of this entire complex see Maillard, *Evolution*, esp. pp. 261 ff.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117 ff.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁶¹ Spanke, "Sequenz und Lai," p. 59.

⁶² Vecchi, "Sequenza e lai," pp. 87 ff.; also his "*Planctus*," p. 24.

its short, repeated melodic particles possesses a "secular" character offers nothing new and only illustrates the prevailing notion. But the conclusion that he draws from this planctus opening, namely, "Abaelard considered the layout and melody of a secular lai to be thoroughly adequate for his Planctus III (p. 498)," is more than a logical deduction can support.⁶³

What we have noted before in our discussion of the hymns and their preface seems to be corroborated in Abaelard's planctus: Peter Abaelard, a true artist, had a fine sensitivity for the relation of word and tone.

The melody of Planctus III, as it survives today, provides no more than a first impression of the manner in which Peter Abaelard may have set these elegies. With our present knowledge of the sources, we are unable to give a more precise interpretation, for we have yet to discover a manuscript with staff notation for any of these planctus which could demonstrate the correctness or incorrectness of a transcription. Only for Planctus VI, *Dolorum solatium*, is there such an additional source tradition; fortunately in fact, a double tradition. With that, we at last arrive on more solid ground.

In the second part of this essay, the question of Peter Abaelard as musician will be investigated by considering Planctus VI, the *Planctus David super Saul et Ionatha*.

(To be concluded)

⁶³ Stäblein, who criticizes the shortcomings of earlier editions of the "Lai des pucelles" (p. 492), himself presents a false picture of the lai. The "ornament" on the third note described above appears in his transcription as a double note, which must be interpreted as a mere sustained note, and in the second line the word "lais" has acquired an additional note. With that, Stäblein has veiled "historical veracity" for the sake of his thesis.

PETER ABAELARD AS MUSICIAN — II

By LORENZ WEINRICH

The Neumes of the Manuscripts of Planctus VI

UNTIL now the only known manuscript for Abaelard's six planctus has been:

V: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Regin. lat. 288, fols. 63^v-64^v. The codex is described in detail in the Vatican library catalog.⁶⁴ The planctus are entered in a supplement which Bannister dated from the turn of the 13th century.⁶⁵ This supplement may well have been written by a German scribe in Flanders. The manuscript contains the name Petrus Abaelardus in the margin before the first planctus and also lists the titles of the individual planctus. The neumes are *in campo aperto* and vaguely diastematic.

For Planctus VI, *Planctus David super Saul et Ionatha*, the two following sources can now be added:

O: Oxford, University Library, MS Bodl. 79, fols. 53^v-56^r. This English codex from the end of the 13th century contains poems to the Trinity and the saints, followed by a second part containing mostly Marian hymns and Marian sequences. Before the end of the century Peter Abaelard's Planctus VI was inserted in the manuscript before the Marian pieces.⁶⁶ A four-line staff with a C clef renders the square notes easily legible.

P: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, NAL 3126, fols. 88^v-90^v. This Prosarium from Nevers was acquired several years ago from private

⁶⁴ A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini* (Vatican City, 1945), II, 106.

⁶⁵ E. M. Bannister, "Monumenti Vaticani di Paleografia musicale Latina," *Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi* (Leipzig, 1913), Vol. XII, Text, p. 88 (No. 254).

⁶⁶ F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1922), Vol. II, Part 1, p. 286 (No. 2267). The catalogue does not state expressly that the planctus, too, is notated. In the Index Volume of 1953 only the following comment appears: "Abelard (Peter). Paraphr. of 2 Sam. I 19-27 in verse (XIII)."

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property and has been described by Michel Huglo.⁶⁷ It dates from the second half of the 12th century. The entire manuscript was intended for liturgical use.

Since manuscript P is both temporally and geographically closest to Abaelard, we might expect it to preserve an earlier version of the poem than do V and O. This is indeed the case.⁶⁸ If V preserves a later and less faithful form of the melody, a transcription of its neumes would not be as significant as has always been thought. Nonetheless, such a transcription would still be valuable, for with it we have an additional source for the melody. It would be incorrect to assume that the staffless notation in V indicates *eo ipso* either a substantially older source or simply a conservative scribe. Staffless neumes required little room, and their use allowed a scribe to enter a great deal of text in a limited space.⁶⁹ Besides, writing a melody on a staff with a clef was a somewhat novel method in the 12th century that only gradually took hold in the scriptoria.⁷⁰

A precise transcription of the neumes in V, therefore, can alone reveal whether its melody is closer to the melody in P or to that in O. But before turning to the actual transcription, several basic questions must be clarified. We shall begin with the notation in the latest manuscript, O.

Melodic intervals in O are completely unambiguous. In each section the melody is repeated, but with slight variations in each strophe — a characteristic usual also in *lais* and *troubadour* songs.⁷¹ But in order to evaluate the character of the song it is important to establish whether the *planctus*, like the *lais*, were to be sung “modally,” i.e., mensurally. Manuscript O often notates a rhombus rather than a square punctum when the melody descends, but this principle is not followed strictly. There are no rhythmic reasons for this inconsistency, only paleographic ones. As a rule when writing a descending melody, the scribe simply held the quill on a slant, thus producing rhombus-shaped notes rather

⁶⁷ M. Huglo, “Un nouveau prosaire Nivernais,” *Ephemerides liturgicae*, LXXI (1957), 3-30.

⁶⁸ Cf. the critical edition of the text in my article, “*Dolorum solatium*.” (See note 39, above.)

⁶⁹ P requires four pages for a single *planctus*; O requires five and a half; while V requires only three pages in all for all six *planctus*.

⁷⁰ P. Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1912), Teil II: *Neumenkunde. Paläographie des liturgischen Gesanges*, pp. 285f.

⁷¹ Cf. Gennrich, *Formenlehre*, p. 137. The change in Verse 82 at the word “reddere” (D, D-E, C instead of D-E, D, C), however, is surely the result of a copying error.

than squares.⁷² The notation of the melody in O is rhythmically neutral; accented and unaccented syllables carry the same symbols (punctum or rhombus).

The neume types found in P are naturally closer to those in V. They are the thin, indeed elegant, French neumes of the 12th century. Melodic intervals are not so clear at first glance as in O, since only the F line is drawn (in red ink), the other lines being merely scratched with the bare quill point.⁷³ A correspondence of virga and punctum with ascending and descending motion is characteristic in this manuscript. However, if we accept the "opinio communis," namely, that punctum and virga are always employed in reference to the relative pitch of the preceding note,⁷⁴ we will find that this rule is broken thirty times in Planctus VI alone. As regards manuscript P, the rule must be modified as follows: in an ascending line the first, i.e., lower, note is normally written as a punctum, the following notes as virgae—no matter whether the first note is higher or lower than the one before, if that preceding note is considered as part of a different melodic phrase.

Two forms of flexa are used; the first was developed from the angular type, the other from the loop-shaped type.⁷⁵ Again, this purely palaeographic variant has neither rhythmic nor intervallic significance; however, the loop-shaped flexa is used when the first note is higher than the one preceding — a relic from the usages of staffless neumes.

Now if, as seems to be the case, the notational idiosyncrasies of P are also valid for V, a number of old assumptions become untenable; the alternation of virga and punctum is still an indication of a change in melodic direction, but not necessarily one denoting an individually higher or lower note.⁷⁶ In the case of V we must take into consideration the diastematic differentiation rather than staff lines. Machabey has examined the differences in the vertical placement of the neumes in this

⁷² G. Suñol, *Introduction à la paléographie musicale grégorienne* (Paris, 1935), p. 64.

⁷³ The yellow C line, which is part of the Guidonian system, is almost entirely illegible now.

⁷⁴ The standard works on musical palaeography can hardly be held responsible for this widely circulated opinion, since these works describe particular codices for which the rule is indeed valid. Cf. P. Wagner, *Einführung*, II, 116f., 318; also Suñol, *Introduction*, p. 64.

⁷⁵ Wagner, *Einführung*, II, 261.

⁷⁶ Cf. the cautious formulation in A. Mocquereau, *Le Nombre musical grégorien ou rythmique grégorienne* (Rome and Tournai, 1908), I, 213-231. The usage of virga and punctum is surely most clear in the last part of Section V at the words "stravit impia."

codex with millimeter-ruled graph paper and has established that at the beginning of Planctus III the scribe is quite reliable when notating smaller units, but that only the relative size of intervals is evident.⁷⁷ This last conclusion is not surprising, since the musical scribe had very little room at his disposal; forty-one lines of text had been written in an area of nineteen centimeters, leaving in general only about two to three millimeters room for the neumes. The scribe was able to dispose the notes with an elegant gesture only in the first line on the page, where the notes are distributed over a space of eight millimeters. The following comparison of the melody in the three sources reveals, however, the astounding precision with which the melodic contours were notated by the scribe of manuscript V. Still, a small number of intervals is uncertain in Section V, and could not be fully determined even with the aid of P and O.

Planctus VI: A Melodic Analysis

Section I.

I	1 Dolorum solatium, laborum remedium mea michi cithara	7 Strages magna populi, regis mors et filii, hostium victoria,
	4 nunc, quo maior dolor est iustiorque meror est, plus est necessaria.	10 ducum desolatio, vulgi desperatio luctu replent omnia.

As a consolation for sorrow, as a healing for distress, my harp for me (now that sorrow is heaviest and sadness most fitting) becomes more than necessary.

The great massacre of the people, the death of the king and his son, the victory of the enemy, the desolation of the leaders, the despair of the multitude, [these events] fill all places with mourning.

In all three manuscripts Planctus VI begins with a repeated theme (theme A) that moves in small intervals and forms a descending arch. The range extends from d to c'. The melody is in the eighth tone, the hypomixolydian mode. The version of theme A preserved in V is almost the same as the version in P except that the melisma on "so-látium" is shifted to the accented syllable; in this position it is then effectively

⁷⁷ Machabey, "Les Planctus d'Abélard," pp. 89ff. On p. 87 Machabey points out that Brambach's interpretation of the two forms of the flexa is not accurate (see W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, p. 366); neither is the angular form of the flexa necessarily an indication of stepwise motion, nor the loop-shaped form necessarily an indication of a larger interval. Rather, the same principles are operative here as were described above for manuscript P.

Abaelard, *Planctus David super Saul et Ionatha*, Section I

Paris,
NAL 3126

1

[A] [A] [B]

Do-lo- rum so-la - ti-um, la-bo - rum re-me - di-um me-a michi ci - tha - ra.

vatican,
Cod.Regin.
lat.288

Do-lo- rum so-la - ti-um, la-bo - rum re-me - di-um me-a michi cy - tha - ra.

Oxford,
MS Bodl.
79

Do-lo- rum so-la - ti-um, la-bo - rum re-me - di-um me-a michi ci - tha - ra

P

4

[A] [A] [B]

nunc, quo ma-ior do-lor est iusti - orque me -ror est, plus est ne-ces-sa-ri - a.

V

nunc, quo ma-ior do-lor est iusti - orque me -ror est, plus est ne-ces-sa-ri - a.

O

nunc, quo ma-ior do-lor est iusti - orque me -ror est, plus est ne-ces-sa-ri - a.

P

7

[A] [A] [B]

Strages ma-gna po-pu-li, regis mors et fi - li-i, hosti-um vic-to-ri - a,

V

Strages ma-gna po-pu-li, regis mors et fi - li-i, hosti-um vic-to-ri - a,

O

Strages ma-gna po-pu-li, re-gis mors et fi - li-i, hosti-um vic-to-ri - a,

F

10

[A] [A] [B]

du-cum de-so-la - ti-o, vul-gi de-spe-ra - ti-o luctu replent o-mni - a.

V

du-cum/ de-so-la - ti-o, vul-gi de-spe-ra - ti-o luctu replent o-mni - a.

C

du-cum de-so-la - ti-o, vul-gi de-spe-ra - ti-o luctu replent o-mni - a.

(The asterisk indicates the author's reading of Manuscript V.)

Section II, lines 13-24

[C] [C]

P 13 A - ma - lech in - va - lu - it, Is - ra - hel dum cor - ru - it;

V A - ma - lech in - va - lu - it, Is - ra - hel dum cor - ru - it;

O A - ma - lech in - va - lu - it, Is - ra - hel dum cor - ru - it;

[D] [D]

P in-fi-de-lis iu-bi-lat Phi-li-ste-a, dum la-mentis ma-ce-rat se Iu-de-a.

V in-fi-de-lis/iu-bi-lat Phi-li-stea, dum la-mentis ma-ce-rat se Iu-de-a.

O in-fi-de-lis iu-bi-lat Phi-li-ste-a, dum la-mentis ma-ce-rat se Iu-de-a.

[C] [C]

P 19 In - sul - tat fi - de - li - bus in - fi - de - lis po - pu - lus.

V In - sul - tat fi - de - li - bus in - fi - de - lis po - pu - lus.

O In - sul - tat fi - de - li - bus in - fi - de - lis po - pu - lus.

[D] [D]

P In ho-no-rem ma-xi-mum plebs ad-ver-sa, in de-ri-sum o-mni-um fit di-vi-na.

V In ho-no-rem ma-xi-mum plebs ad-ver-sa, in de-ri-sum o-mni-um fit/di-vi-na.

O In ho-no-rem ma-xi-mum plebs ad-ver-sa, in de-ri-sum o-mni-um fit di-vi-na.

Section II, lines 25-36

P [C] [C]
 25 In-sul - tan - tes in - qui-unt: Ec-ce, de quo gar - ri - unt,
 V In-sul - tan - tes in - qui-unt: Ec-ce, de quo gar - ri - unt,
 O In-sul - tan - tes in - qui-unt: Ec-ce, de quo gar - ri - unt,
 [D] [D]
 P qua-li-ter hos pro-di-dit de-us su-us dum a multis occidit diis prostratus.
 V qua-li-ter hos pro-di-dit de-us su-us dum a multis occidit diis pro-stratus.
 O qua-li-ter hos pro-di-dit de-us su-us, dum a multis occidit diis pro-stratus.
 P [C] [C]
 31 Quos pri-mum his pre - bu - it, victus rex oc - cu - bu - it,
 V Quem pri-mum his pre - bu - it, victus rex oc - cu - bu - it.
 O Quem pri-mum his pre - bu - it, victus rex oc - cu - bu - it.
 P [D] [D]
 Ta-lis est e - lec-ti-o de-i su-i Ta-lis con-se-cra-ti-o va-tis magni.
 V Ta-lis est e - lec-ti-o de-i su-i Ta-lis con-se-cra-ti-o va-tis magni.
 O Ta-lis est e - lec-ti-o de-i su-i Ta-lis con-se-cra-ti-o va-tis magni.

Section III

[E] [E] [F] [F']

P 37 Saul regum fortissime, virtus invicta Ionathe, qui vos nequirit vincere, permissus est occidere.

V Saul regum/fortissime, virtus invicta Ionathe, qui vos/nequirit vincere, permissus est occidere.

O Saul regum fortissime, virtus invicta Ionathe, qui vos nequirit vincere, permissus est occidere.

[E] [E] [F] [F']

P 41 Quasi non esset oleo consecratus dominico, scelestus manus gladio iugulatur in prelio.

V Quasi/non esset oleo consecratus dominico, scelestus manus/gladio iugulatur in prelio.

O quasi non esset oleo consecratus dominico, celestus munus gladio iugulatur in prelio.

[E] [E] [F] [F']

P 45 Plus fratre michi, Ionatha, in una mecum a-nima, que peccata, que scelera nostra sciderunt viscera.

V Plus fratre michi, Ionatha, in una mecum a-nima, que peccata, que/scelera nostra sciderunt viscera.

O Plus fratre michi, Ionatha, in una mecum a-nima, que peccata, que scelera nostra sciderunt viscera.

[E] [E] [F] [F']

P 49 Expertes, montes Gelboe, roris sitis et pluvie, nec agrorum primicie vestri succrescant incole.

V Expertes, montes Gelboe, roris sitis et pluvie, nec agrorum/primicie vestros succurrant incole.

O Expertes, montes Gelboe, roris sitis et pluvie, nec agrorum primicie vestro succurrant incole.

Section IV

[G] [H] [I] [F'']

P 53 Ve, ve tibi madida tel-lus cede re-gi-a, qua et te, mi Ionatha, manus stravit im-pi-a.

V Ve, ve tibi/madida tel-lus cede re-gi-a, qua et te, mi Ionatha, manus stravit im-pi-a.

O Ve, ve tibi madida tellus cede re-gi-a, qua et te, mi Ionatha, manus stravit im-pi-a.

[G] [H] [I] [F'']

P 57 U-bi christus domini Israelque incliti morte mise-ra-bi-li sunt cum suis per-diti.

V U-bi christus domini/Israelque incliti morte mise-ra-bili sunt cum suis/perditi.

O U-bi christus domini Israelque incliti morte mis-ra-bili cum suis sunt per-diti.

[G] [H] [I] [F'']

P 61 Planctum, Si-on fili-e, super Sa-ul su-mite, largo cuius munere vos or-nabant purpure.

V Planctus, Sy-on fili-e, super Sa-ul su-mite, largo cuius munere/vos or-nabant purpure.

O Planctus, Syon fili-e, super Sa-ul su-mite, largo cuius munere vos or-nabant purpure.

[G] [H] [I] [F'']

P 65 Tu michi, mi Ionatha, flendus super omnia; inter cuncta gaudia perpes erit la-cri-ma.

V Tu michi, mi Ionatha, flendus super omnia; inter/cuncta gaudia perpes erit la-cri-ma.

O Tu michi, mi Ionatha, flendus super omnia; inter cuncta gaudia perpes eris la-cri-ma.

[K] [K] [K] [K]

69 He-u cur con-si-li-o adqui-e-vi pessimo, ut ti-bi pre-sidi-o non assem in pre-li-o,
He-u cur con-si-li-o/adqui-e-vi pessimo, ut ti-bi pre-sidi-o non assem in pre-li-o,
He-u cur con-si-li-o adqui-e-vi pessimo, ut ti-bi pre-sidi-o non assem in pre-li-o,
(IV) [G] [G],[H] [I] [F'']

73 vel confossus pariter morerer feliciter,cum,quid amor faciat, maius hoc non habe-at,
vel confossus pariter morerer feliciter,cum,quid/amor faciat, maius hoc non habe-at,
vel confossus pariter morerer feliciter,cum,quid amor faciat, maius hoc non habe-at,
(IV) [G] [G],[H] [I] [F'']

77 et me post te vivere mori sit assidu-e, nec ad vitam ani-ma satis sit di-mi-di-a.
et me/post te vivere mori sit assidu-e, nec ad/vitam ani-ma satis sit di-mi-di-a,
et me post te vivere mori sit assidu-e, nec ad vitam ani-ma satis sit di-mi-di-a.
[K] [K] [K] [K]

81 Videm amicici-e vel unam me reddere oportebat tempore summe tunc an-gu-sti-e,
Videm amicici-e vel unam me reddere oportebat tempore/summe tunc an-gu-sti-e,
Videm amicici-e vel unam me reddere oportebat tempore summe tunc an-gu-sti-e,
(IV) [G] [G],[H] [I] [F'']

85 triumphi parti-cipem vel ru-i-ne comitem, ut te vel e-riperem vel tecum occum-be-rem,
triumphi parti-cipem/vel ru-i-ne comitem, ut te vel e-riperem vel tecum/occum-be-rem,
triumphi parti-cipem vel ru-i-ne comitem, ut te vel e-riperem vel tecum occum-be-rem,
(IV) [G] [G],[H] [I] [F'']

89 vi-tam pro te finiens,quam salvasti tociens,ut,et mors nos iungeret magis quam disiungeret,
vitam pro te finiens,quam salvasti/tociens, ut,et mors nos iungeret magis quam/dis-iungeret,
vitam pro te finiens,quam salvasti tociens,ut,et mors nos iungeret magis quam disiungeret.

Section V, lines 93-104, and Section VI

[K] [K] [K] [K]

P 93 Infausta victori-a potitus inter-e-a quam vana quam brevi-a hinc percepi gau-di-a!

V Infausta victori-a potitus/inter-e-a quam vana quam brevi-a hic/percepi gau-di-a!

O Infausta victori-a poci-us inter-e-a tam vana quam brevi-a hic percepi gau-di-a!

(IV) [G] [G],[H] [I] [F'']

P 97 Quam cito du-rissimus est secutus nuntius,quem in suam animam locutum su-per-bi-am

V Quam cito durissimus est/secutus nuntius,quem in suam animam/locutum su-per-bi-am

O Quam cito duri-simus est secutus nuntius,quem in suam animam locutum su-per-bi-am

(IV) [G] [G],[H] [I] [F'']

P 101 mor-tu-is,quos nuntiat, illata mors ag-gre-gat, ut do-loris nuntius doloris sit so-ci-us.

V mor-tuos,quos nuntiat, illata mors ag-gre-gat, ut do-loris nuntius/doloris sit so-ci-us.

O mortu-is,quos nuntiat, illata mors ag-gre-gat, ut do-loris nuntius doloris sit so-ci-us.

[L] [M] [N]

P 105 Do qui-e-tem fidi-bus; vellem,ut et plancti-bus si possem et fle-ti-bus.

V Do qui-e-tem fidi-bus; vellem,ut et plancti-bus sic possem/et fle-ti-bus.

O Do qui-e-tem fidi-bus; vellem,ut et plancti-bus sic possem et fle-ti-bus.

[L] [M] [N]

P 108 Le-sis pulsu mani-bus, raucis planctu vo-ci-bus de-fi-cit et spi-ri-tus.

V Le-sis pulsu mani-bus, raucis planctu vo-ci-bus de-fi-cit et spi-ri-tus.

O Le-sis pulsu mani-bus, raucis planctu vo-ci-bus de-fi-cit et spi-ri-tus.

expanded in O. The weighty pressus on “me-a” in theme B is reduced in V and O to a simple climacus. A four-note cadence “*ci-thara*” is added in V, and again extended in O. The final tone in O is approached from below rather than from a to g, as is always the case in P. The repetitions in O do not provide a true enrichment of the melody; one could almost maintain that the concise eloquence in the version of P and V was later converted to loquaciousness. In addition, the tritone at the end, though verified several times, is extremely problematic. The version in V, like that in P, has preserved the old form.

Section II.

II 13 Amalech invaluit,
 Israhel dum corrui;
 infidelis iubilat
 Philistea,
 dum lamentis macerat
 se Iudea.
 19 Insultat fidelibus
 infidelis populus.
 In honorem maximum
 plebs adversa,
 in derisum omnium
 fit divina.

25 Insultantes iniquiunt:
 Ecce, de quo garriunt,
 qualiter hos prodidit
 deus suus,
 dum a multis occidit
 dis prostratus.
 31 Quem primum his prebuit,
 victus rex occubuit.
 Talis est electio
 dei sui,
 talis consecratio
 vatis magni.

Amalek grew in strength, while Israel fell to the ground; the faithless Philistine is jubilant, while Judah macerates itself with lamentations.

The faithless nation hurls insults at the faithful people. The inimical mob is held in highest esteem, while, by everyone, the Holy is held in derision.

The mockers say: Behold how their God, about whom they babble, has betrayed them!

Since the overthrown king is slain by the many gods.

The vanquished king, he whom He first gave [to the people] is dead. Thus stands the choice of their God! Thus the consecration of his Great Prophet.

The repeated theme C, which revolves around the high d, is balanced by theme D, for its two long lines, in which the skip of a fourth is prominent, have a low tessitura. V preserves the simpler melody. The version in O is an awkward expansion of P. By stopping its descent on a, the melody in P and V creates a tension that is lacking in O, where theme C descends directly to the finalis. Also, the harshness of b-natural as the final note of theme C is softened and made weaker in O. Like

theme A, theme D swings down to d in manuscript O. V, on the contrary, allows the melody here to rhyme, to a degree, with theme B, just as later on theme F'' concludes Sections IV and V with similar formulas. In P and V the repetitions of theme D have the same form, whereas they are varied in O. The version in V is at first simpler than P, then resembles P more than O.

Section III.

III	37 Saul regum fortissime, virtus invicta Ionathe, qui vos nequivit vincere, permissus est occidere.	45 Plus fratre michi, Ionatha, in una mecum anima, que peccata, que scelera nostra sciderunt viscera.
	41 Quasi non esset oleo consecratus dominico, sceleste manus gladio iugulatur in prelio.	49 Expertes montes Gelboe roris sitis et pluvie, nec agrorum primicie vestro succrescant incole.

Saul, thou mightiest of kings! O thou invincible manliness of Jonathan! He who was not able to vanquish you has been allowed to slay you.

[The king], as if he had not been consecrated with the oil of the Lord, is being killed in battle by the sword of an accursed hand.

O Jonathan, more than a brother to me, one with my soul! Through what sins, what crimes was our flesh torn asunder?

Ye mountains of Gilboa, thou shalt be without dew and rain, and the first fruits of your fields shall not grow for your dwellers.

Here the melody is marked by a rhythmic and musical contrast to the previous themes. The "iambes" that set eight-syllable lines skip up and down in thirds. The melody is purely syllabic. V, therefore, may here preserve the old form, while in P and O the two-note neumes introduce several expansions. To be sure, the strophes contain a number of discrepancies in the use of virga and punctum, the particulars of which are noted by Meyer. By no means, though, do they necessarily indicate melodic variants, since they can easily be accounted for in another manner: first of all, each new line in the manuscript begins with a virga; furthermore, a careful examination of diastematic qualities reveals that the scribe at times places virgae and puncta somewhat lower than the preceding neumes, and this occurs precisely where the melody in P and O would lead us to expect it to occur. This rule is also valid for the following strophes. The version in V is almost identical to P and O; it differs only in nuances.

Section IV.

IV 53 Ve, ve tibi, madida
tellus cede regia,
qua et te, mi Ionatha,
manus stravit impia!
57 Ubi christus domini
Israhelque incliti
morte miserabili
sunt cum suis perdit.

61 Planetum, Sion filie,
super Saul sumite,
largo cuius munere
vos ornabant purpure.
65 Tu michi, mi Ionatha,
flendus super omnia;
inter cuncta gaudia
perpes erit lacrima.

Woe! Woe unto you, thou soil still moist with kingly blood, where thou also, my Jonathan, hast been felled by an unholy hand.

There where the annointed of the Lord and where the glory of Israel lie destroyed, with their people, by lamentable death.

Ye daughters of Zion, begin the lamentation over Saul, whose bountiful gifts once clothed you in purple.

For you, my Jonathan, above all, I will have to lament; henceforth, in the midst of every joy there will always be a tear.

In these strophes the melody surges upward in a large arc; it is in the seventh tone, the mixolydian mode. The character of the melody in P is more syllabic than in O. In V, the melody is set forth in its simplest and most convincing form; postponing the finalis until the last note of the section heightens the unity and effectiveness of the entire phrase. P gives the impression of a more artificial version, especially in theme I with its extended length and its anticipation of the finalis; together these characteristics sacrifice the forcefulness of the version found in V. In this section O follows V, but makes greater use of the flexa in accordance with its inclination to embellishment. In O, the alteration of theme G increases its similarity to theme H and coarsens the fine melody that is transmitted in V. The version in V may be regarded as more authentic than P and O.

Section V.

V 69 Heu cur consilio
adquievi pessimo,
ut tibi presidio
non essem in prelio,
73 vel confossus pariter
morerer feliciter,
cum, quid amor faciat,
maius hoc non habeat,
77 et me post te vivere
mori sit assidue,
nec ad vitam anima
satis sit dimidia.

81 Vicem amicitie
vel unam me reddere
oportebat tempore
summe tunc angustie,
85 triumphi participem
vel ruine comitem,
ut te vel eriperem
vel tecum occumberem,
89 vitam pro te finiens,
quam salvasti tociens,
ut et mors nos iungeret
magis quam disiungeret.

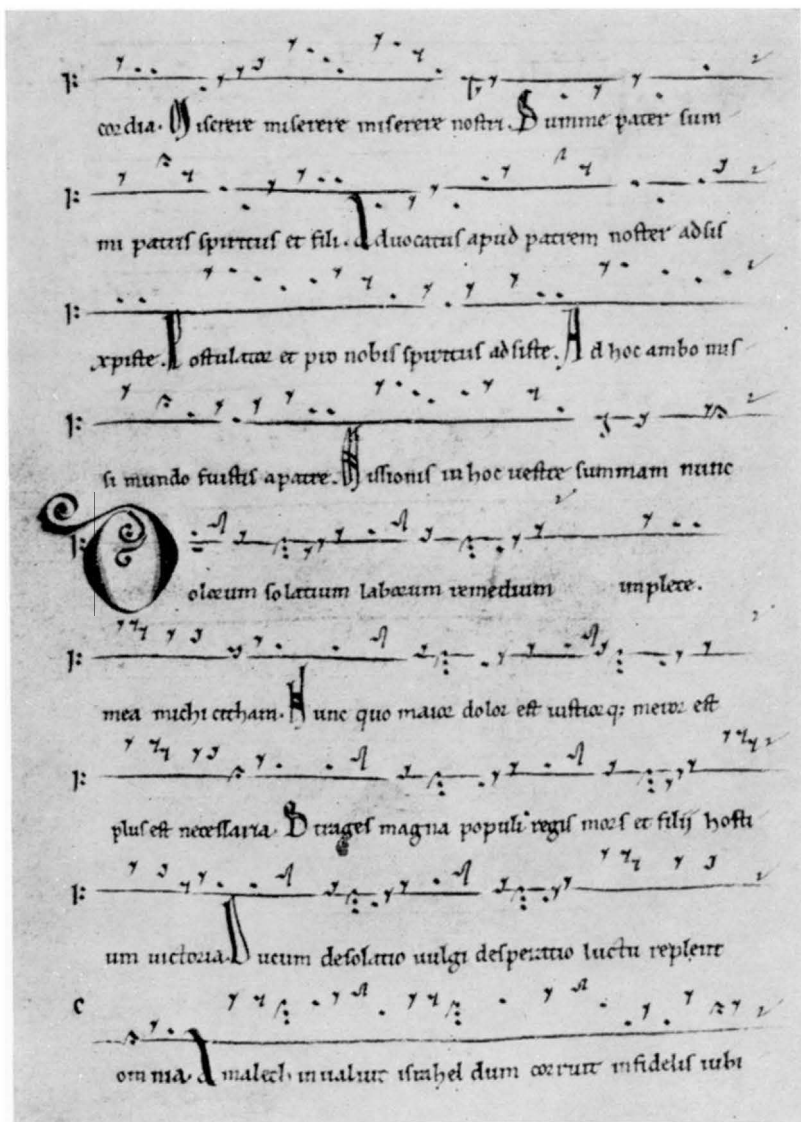
- 93 Infausta victoria
 potitus interea
 quam vana quam brevia
 hinc percepi gaudia!
- 97 Quam cito durissimus
 est secutus nuntius,
 quem in suam animam
 locutum superbiam,
- 101 mortuis, quos nuntiat,
 illata mors aggregat,
 ut doloris nuntius
 doloris sit socius.

Alas! O why did I acquiesce to such an evil resolution, that thus I was not able to be a shield in battle for you; or if also wounded, I could then have died happily, because whatever love might do, this it cannot surpass, while my surviving you is but to die continuously, nor is half a soul enough for life.

At that time, then, of extreme anguish, the mutual turns of friendship commanded me to be either a partaker in your triumph or a companion in your defeat, so that I could snatch you away from death or rest with you among the dead, ending that life for you which you had saved so many times, that thus death, which separates, may bind us inseparably.

Meanwhile, I obtained an ill-fated victory; hence, how vain and short-lived the joy I had gathered. How swiftly followed the grimmest of messengers, one who brought death when speaking with pride in his own heart, whom death also added to the dead whose death he was reporting, so that the messenger of sorrow may also be the companion of sorrow.

The beginning of this section is marked by the high entrance that follows the leap of an octave. The strophes in this section have a completely different structure from that of the preceding strophes: the first four lines are sung to what is essentially the same theme (theme K), yet each time it is slightly varied. After this, the melody of Section IV is recalled for the next eight lines, this melody being presented twice. It is clear from the manuscripts that Abaelard conceived the twelve verses as one strophe, for a capital letter appears only at the beginning of these lines and a period only at the end. Instead of the previous grouping of four strophes, this section consists of a three-strophe group. All three codices vary theme K according to the same scheme; but V again preserves the melody in the simplest and so to speak most folklike form, while O provides the most ornate form. With the return of the melody from Section IV, manuscript V apparently keeps strictly to the original version, while P and O vary the melody somewhat. They thus present theme G twice and omit H. (Manuscript O, to be sure, presents



The opening of Abaelard's *Dolorum solatium*, as found in Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, NAL 3126, fol. 88^r

theme H in every repetition of the melody from Section IV.) The version in V probably preserves the melody most faithfully.

Section VI.

VI	105 Do quietem fidibus; vellem, ut et planctibus sic possem et fletibus.	108 Lesis pulsu manibus, raucis planctu vocibus deficit et spiritus.
----	--	--

I give rest to my harp; would that thus I could my lamentation and bewailing. My hand is wounded from striking, my voice is hoarse from lamenting, and my breath, too, is ceasing.

This final section corresponds in its range to the plagal modality of the opening melody of Section I. The first two themes (themes L and M) have something of a recitative character, which appears most strongly preserved in P. The large neume at the end of theme M does not appear in V until the repetition in the last strophe. Both times O has only a climacus instead. The ambitus of the closing theme (theme N) is somewhat smaller in V and O than in P. The version in V shares a number of features with O, but it is in general closer to P.

This analysis, which may have seemed rather dry and tedious to some readers, makes possible some important conclusions: we find that the variants between the three codices are musically organic; they did not originate as copying errors. There are enough good reasons for us to consider the reading of manuscript V as the original melody, P as a tasteful, somewhat later "edition," and O as a much later and stylistically foreign arrangement,

The Rhythm

The question of the rhythm in which Abaelard sang his planctus settings ushers us into a very controversial area, for scholars have by no means arrived at a consensus concerning the basic rhythmic problems in music before 1200.⁷⁸ Various theories, therefore, have been applied in modern transcriptions of this music. Laurenzi published his Planctus II transcription in Gregorian square notation and thus apparently decided on even values for single notes. Lipphardt, however, applied 13th-century modal principles and constructed a mensural melody with a

⁷⁸ For a general discussion, see G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), pp. 140ff.

strict subdivision into measures.⁷⁹ Machabey rejects this as anachronistic, arguing in addition that such a trochaic melody, as, say, Section VI of Planctus VI would lead to thoroughly improbable readings.⁸⁰ On the basis of the variants in the Vatican codex, Machabey has developed a theory which he demonstrates with the opening verses of Planctus I.⁸¹ According to Machabey, the simple neumes (punctum and virga) in Abaelard's planctus are *long*, compared with the compound neumes, whereas the latter, whether they contain two notes or even five, fill no more than one temporal unit.⁸² In his opinion, not to accept this conclusion would be to assume that parallel verses with the same number of syllables had different musical dimensions.⁸³ Machabey believes he has found in manuscript V a link between the equalistic principle of the 11th century and the mensural principle of the late 12th century. He regards the notation of Abaelard's planctus as a harbinger of the notational and performance practice of the *Liber Calixtinus* from Santiago di Compostela.

Machabey's theory, according to which all the syllables have the same length, but the notes have various time values, is not far removed from Vecchi's conception of musical rhythm in the 12th century; Vecchi calls the system "ritmicosillabico."⁸⁴ Vecchi, too, rejects the mensural interpretation, mainly because punctum and virga have melodic functions only, not rhythmic ones. For him, too, each syllable has the same duration, regardless of the number of notes it carries. But, he maintains, in practice songs of the 12th century were sung quite freely; he therefore refrains from writing the triplets which Machabey is obliged to notate consistently.

Since Machabey tested his rhythmic theory only on the relatively unproblematic verses of Planctus I (he refrained from presenting further examples in order, as he says, not to tire the reader) although his theory claims to apply to all planctus settings, we may be permitted to transcribe Section I from Planctus VI here, according to his system. Machabey surely had a different idea of the course of this melody from the one verified by the new manuscripts, for he characterizes the opening

⁷⁹ Cf. Ex. 6 in Part I of this article.

⁸⁰ Machabey, "Les Planctus d'Abélard," p. 88.

⁸¹ Cf. Ex. 5 in Part I of this article.

⁸² For a three-note climacus to be as long or as short as a punctum, it would have to be sung as a triplet.

⁸³ The medieval treatment of the *syllaba hypermetrica* in the hymns reveals, however, that such differing verse lengths did not raise any objections.

⁸⁴ Vecchi, *Sequenza e Lai*, pp. 90f.

melody as “probablement: ouvert-ouvert-clos.”⁸⁵ In reality, however, all three phrases end on the tonic. According to manuscript P the isosyllabic interpretation would produce the following rhythmic result:



Theme B of this strophe would appear as follows according to manuscript V, the source that Machabey used:



When one recalls the tunefulness of such a melody, it becomes apparent that the entire aesthetic framework of the Planctus is affected by the various, mutually contradictory rhythmic interpretations.⁸⁶ The difficulty in our examples is that the powerful pressus (manuscript P on “me-a”) and the expansive virga subtripunctis at the close (manuscript V on “ci-thara”) lose their musical significance completely if sung rapidly. A very slow tempo must be taken to assure a soft melodic flow and to prevent the melody from becoming agitated and unvocal. Conversely, the hard iambic leaps in Section III, which are automatically emphasized and sung with a slight agogic accent, lose their effectiveness entirely in a strictly equalistic interpretation. Under these circumstances it seemed better not to offer an edition of the planctus melody with a personal rhythmic interpretation, but rather to limit the transcription to the melody alone.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Machabey, “Les Planctus d’Abélard” Concerning this characteristic of troubadour songs, cf. A. Hughes, “Early Medieval Music up to 1300,” *New Oxford History of Music*, II (London, 1961), 239.

⁸⁶ On the rhythm in songs of the 12th and 13th centuries in general, see Ronald J. Taylor, *Die Melodien der weltlichen Lieder des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1964), I, esp. pp. 34ff. This volume mentions further pertinent references.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of these editorial principles, see W. Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), pp. 208-214.

Abaelard's Musical Influence

The old notion that Peter Abaelard had a great, indeed, immeasurable influence as a philosopher, but caused no reverberations as a poet and musician,⁸⁸ is no longer tenable. The reason for the old thesis — Abaelard's suspect orthodoxy is supposed to have hindered the employment of his songs⁸⁹ — was itself hardly credible, for such caution would surely have been much greater in regard to his theological works. Nor is it at all probable that the wonderful new forms of his poems would have remained unnoted. In light of the sources that have come down to us, a "wallflower" theory is excluded.

Musicologists, in contrast to literary historians, have judged Abaelard's influence to be greater, even though they could draw only indirect conclusions. Heinrich Bessler conjectured, for example, that Abaelard's "love poems for Héloïse may have inspired the new minstrel dance-song and the *Gesellschaftslied* in the North."⁹⁰ He also emphasized Abaelard's influence on the strophic technique of the troubadours. And the following opinion of Friedrich Gennrich would be unjustified if Abaelard's poems and compositions had not been used and studied: "The truly paltry repertoire of forms available in Latin poetry before the 11th century was enriched to an unimagined degree by Abaelard's practice of accommodating the text to the musical structure of the song. This steered the art of poetry in completely new directions."⁹¹

That Abaelard's songs were actually performed is proven by the Rheinau source of *O quanta qualia*; the manuscripts from northern France and England provide like evidence for the planctus compositions. Moreover, it is possible to trace both a direct and indirect influence on other songs and poems. Insofar as these reminiscences and borrowings are purely literary and we possess no musical sources for them, they need not be dealt with any further here.⁹² But as Spanke and Vecchi have shown in regard to the "Lai des pucelles," the rhythmic structure and large portions of the melody from an elegy by Abaelard were incorporated into a love song. And this is most important.

Any connection with the St. Martial *Prosa de virginibus* and later

⁸⁸ Most recently, Szövérfy, *Die Annalen*, II, 75.

⁸⁹ J. de Ghellinck, *L'Essor de la littérature latine au XIIe siècle* (Brussels and Paris, 1946), II, 293f.

⁹⁰ H. Bessler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (*Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, ed. E. Bücken, Vol. II; Potsdam, 1931), p. 102.

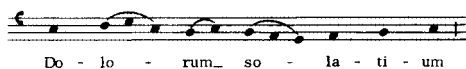
⁹¹ F. Gennrich in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I (Kassel, 1949), col. 14 ("Abaelardus").

⁹² Cf. my article, "Dolorum solatium." (See note 39, above.)

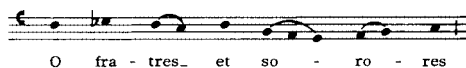
lais, such as Machabey considers likely with regard to Planctus I,⁹³ is doubtful in the extreme, because of the uncertainty of the intervals. On the other hand, it remains to be seen whether the melody of Abaelard's Planctus VI, which is now available, leads to the discovery of any as yet unsuspected influences on other poems and compositions. The possibility of an Abaelardian influence on the opening of Bernart de Ventadorn's "Ab joi mou le vers e.l comens" is at most a distant one.⁹⁴ Any judgment in the matter is made difficult by the highly differing source traditions. Let us return, then, to more closely related pieces. The most natural connection would be one with the later Marian laments. The beginning of the Cividale Marian Planctus⁹⁵ from the 14th century is very striking; apparently the same kind of musical idiom is used as in Abaelard's planctus:

Ex. 11

Abaelard,
Planctus VI,
MS. P



Marian
Planctus,
Cividale



This dramatic planctus, to be sure, is not an original composition, but for the most part an arrangement of various plaints. Its opening section reveals text borrowings from Gottfried's Marian lament *Planctus ante nescia*.⁹⁶ The possibility of any musical correspondences has not yet been investigated in detail. The source tradition for the melody is not uniform, and the available publications reproduce only the versions of particular manuscripts. An edition taking into account the entire source material would be most welcome, for this sequence can be considered the source for the melodies of the Marian Planctus as a whole.⁹⁷

In comparing the individual versions of the beginning of *Planctus*

⁹³ Machabey, "Introduction," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, II (1959), 288ff. (Cf. notes 42 and 43, above.)

⁹⁴ F. Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours (Summa Musicae Medii Aevi*, Vols. III and IV [Darmstadt, 1960]), I, 27 (Mel. 16); II, 31f.




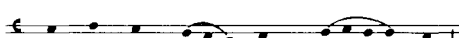
⁹⁵ Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, MS CI fols. 74^r-76^v. Both the text and music are printed in E. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge* (Rennes, 1860; reprint, New York, 1964), pp. 285ff. The text alone, with a facsimile of the first page, is printed in K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933; 2nd ed., 1951), I, 507ff.

⁹⁶ AH 20, p. 156. Concerning the authorship of this planctus (Gottfried of Breteuil or Gottfried of St. Victor), see Szövérfy, *Die Annalen*, 148.

⁹⁷ W. Lipphardt, *Die Weisen der lateinischen Osternspiele des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel, 1948), p. 18.

ante nescia, a remarkable fact emerges: the closer we come to Abaelard's planctus, the vaguer, apparently, do the similarities become.⁹⁸ The Munich version⁹⁹ clearly contains the same melody as the Cividale version, but the characteristic low-sweeping climacus is transposed up a third. In Evreux,¹⁰⁰ however, the entire melody is to be sung one tone higher, and this is also the case in Rouen.¹⁰¹ The distribution of the notes among syllables is not uniform, as can be seen in Dom Pothier's edition:¹⁰²

Ex. 12

Munich, Cgm 716 15th Century	
	Plan-ctus an - te - ne - sci - a
Evreux, Bibl. munic. 39 13th Century	
	Plan-ctus an - te - ne - sci - a
Rouen MS. A 506 13th Century	
	Plan-ctus an - te - ne - sci - a
Dom Pothier Edition	
	Plan-ctus an - te - ne - sci - a

But there are enough similarities in the remainder of the song. The conclusion of Melody II alone is reminiscent of the beginning of Abaelard's *Dolorum solatium* — especially the version in manuscript V:

Ex. 13 Evreux 39



con - fe - rens_ so - la - ti - um.

Regardless of what the details of Gottfried's melody may have been,¹⁰³ the change of tessitura for the individual strophes is the same every-

⁹⁸ I was not able to consult Evreux, Bibl. munic. cod. 2, fols. 3-4. Therefore I am not able to determine to what extent J. Pothier made use of this manuscript (see footnote 102).

⁹⁹ Cgm 716, 15th century; no modern edition exists.

¹⁰⁰ Bibl. munic. cod. 39 (13th century). Printed in Gennrich, *Grundriss*, pp. 143ff.

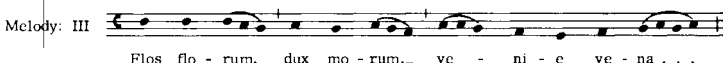
¹⁰¹ Bibliothèque de Rouen, MS A 506 (666), fols. 94^v-96^r. I am indebted to Prof. Bischoff for providing me with photocopies of this manuscript.


¹⁰² J. Pothier, "Planctus B. Mariae Virginis," *Revue du chant grégorien*, V (1896), 17-22. Unfortunately, Dom Pothier did not specify any readings of the particular manuscripts.


¹⁰³ For example, the sequential pattern characteristic for Evreux (cf. III 15/16, *Flos florum*, *dux morum*) does not appear in Abaelard, nor does it occur, apparently, in the version of the *Fragmenta Burana* (Clm 4660a, fol. 4a). Cf. the facsimile edition of the *Carmina Burana*, ed. B. Bischoff (Munich and Brooklyn, N.Y., 1964).

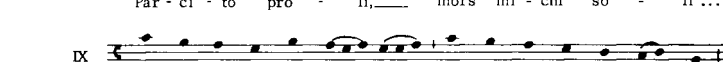
where, and it may be compared to the construction of Abaelard's *Planctus Dolorum solatium*:¹⁰⁴

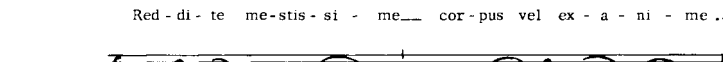
Ex. 14 Rouen MS. A 506

Melody: III  cf. Section II, Theme C

VI  cf. Section III, Theme E

VII  cf. Section IV, Theme I

IX  cf. Section V, Theme K

XIV  cf. Section VI, Theme L

Since there is a whole series of similarities between Abaelard's *Planctus VI* and the sequence *Planctus ante nescia* in both construction and melodic details, we may assume that Abaelard's composition provided the starting point, if perhaps only unconsciously, for the later composer. Textual identities and similarities reinforce this impression. Gottfried, therefore, probably knew and utilized Abaelard's *Planctus Dolorum solatium* when he created his Marian lament.

To summarize: two different developments can be distinguished. Abaelard's planctus, which were religious elegies in content and sequences in form, in one instance found a position in the liturgy and served as a model for the Marian *Planctus*, a sequence not belonging to the Mass. In another instance both the music and rhythmic structure were used in a French secular lai, a love song. Two new important poetic idioms thus took advantage of Peter Abaelard's bold creations. But Abaelard's musical *oeuvre* remained alive in its own right as well. After the early love songs for Héloïse had been forgotten, a planctus of Abaelard's continued to be heard. Monks and nuns sang of the heavenly Sabbath in Abaelard's hymn:

¹⁰⁴ Since this Marian *Planctus* consists of a "sequence with double cursus," the other, interposed melodies are merely repetitions (IV=II, V=III) or variants (VIII=VI', X=IV, XI=X' of the earlier melodies. XII and XIII are independent. In Line VIII, 63, "Quod crimen, que scelera," the melody resembles that of "Que peccata, que scelera" (Section III, theme F).

nec ineffabiles
cessabunt iubili,
quos decantabimus
et nos et angeli.

(Translated by Robert L. Marshall)

(In concluding this article, it is my warm desire to thank Professor Edward Lowinsky of the University of Chicago. At his suggestion I began this work; his encouragement helped me as it progressed; and through discussions with him I learned how to formulate a number of details more precisely. — L. W.)