

# VIRGIL, ABELARD AND HELOISE, AND THE END OF NEUMES

Jan M. Ziolkowski

The forms of musical notation which are designated collectively today as neumes were employed in many manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries to help convey information about the performance of melodies that accompanied non-liturgical texts such as classical Latin poetry.<sup>1</sup> Both the neumes simply by their presence and the melodies when those can be reconstructed afford insights into how the texts were read and sung. In the twelfth century the neumatization of non-liturgical Latin poems fell into desuetude. Manuscripts are no longer outfitted with neumes, which suggests that the practice of singing the texts ceased. Since the gradual decline of neuming took place considerably more than a millennium after Virgil died in 19 BCE, it would be preposterous to argue that the Roman poet constituted a contributing factor — but it is not at all absurd to examine the treatment of his poetry in medieval manuscripts as a gauge of complex shifts in poetic and musical tastes in the twelfth century, since the disappearance of neumes was one of those changes.

<sup>1</sup> My principal foray into this field has been a monograph; Ziolkowski, ‘*Nota bene*’: *Reading Classics and Writing Melodies*. Other studies include, in reverse chronological order, Ziolkowski, ‘Il libro e la nota’; Ziolkowski, ‘Between Text and Music’; Ziolkowski, ‘*Nota bene*: Weshalb klassische Texte’; and Ziolkowski, ‘*Nota bene*: Why the Classics were Neumed’.

---

Jan M. Ziolkowski (jmziolk@fas.harvard.edu) is Arthur Kingsley Porter Professor of Medieval Latin at Harvard University and Director of Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC.

**Abstract:** From the tenth through the twelfth centuries some manuscripts containing Virgil’s poems contain the musical notation known as neumes. Thereafter such notation of Virgil apparently ceases for centuries. The neumes (and singing) may have fallen by the wayside as new practices developed of singing Latin rhythmic poems or vernacular songs based on Virgil, rather than excerpts from Virgil’s own quantitative poetry. In prefaces to the *Paraclete Hymnbook* Peter Abelard quotes observations by Heloise on the need for a more regular syllable count than in quantitative hymns. Virgilian reception and musical notation may have evolved together away from quantitative Latin.

**Keywords:** neumes, Peter Abelard, Virgil, Heloise, *Paraclete Hymnbook*, Bernard of Clairvaux, Cistercians, *Neues Lied*

By the same token, the controversial dialectician, *magister*, monk, and theologian, Peter Abelard (1079–1142), and the brilliant student, nun, and abbess, Heloise, with whom his name has been coupled ever since their romantic involvement, lived during a period when neumes were losing ground rapidly, but the two likewise had no personal responsibility for the demise of neumes. Nonetheless, the observations about the metre of hymns in the liturgy that Heloise uttered and that Peter reported in writing may shed fascinating light on why the practice of recording neumes to complement texts of classical poetry dropped off in the twelfth century.

In a broadside addressed to Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), Peter's criticisms of the Cistercians for their hymnody illuminate both the choices about poetic form he made in three *libelli* of hymns he later composed and the pronouncements about hymns he made in the prefaces to introduce each of the 'little books'.<sup>2</sup> Peter's statements in his missive to Bernard speak to shifts in perceptions and tastes about the ways in which music and the Latin language should be coordinated. Ultimately Peter's views may belong in the backdrop to the profound changes that took place as classical texts came to be read ever more outside monasteries, first in cathedral schools and later in universities.

A final set of data that warrants consideration are passages in vernacular literature from the twelfth and early thirteenth century that raise questions about how changes in tastes both textual and musical as well as in sociolinguistic circumstances might have affected the fate of Virgil and other classical poets, parts of whose verse were neumed.<sup>3</sup>

The three ranges of evidence that I have identified — manuscripts in which texts of Virgil are neumed, discussions by Abelard of attitudes towards poetic forms, and passages in vernacular literature — have propelled me to pose a group of intricately interlocking questions and to construct an equally complex framework in the hopes of answering them.

Peter Abelard makes a good starting point for my reconnaissance, but not specifically owing to his use of Virgil. True, Peter betrays a slight but recurrent fascination for the so-called Messianic fourth eclogue of the Roman poet. Beyond quoting generous excerpts from the first seventeen lines of the eclogue in the *Theologia 'scholarium'* and *Theologia Christiana*, he refers extensively to it

<sup>2</sup> Abélard, *Letters of Peter Abelard: Beyond the Personal*, trans. by Ziolkowski. In some of the discussion below I have drawn upon my introductions to Letter 10 and to the prefaces to the Paraclete Hymnbook.

<sup>3</sup> *The Virgilian Tradition to 1500*, ed. by Ziolkowski and Putnam. The examples cited below will be found there, but without the context that I provide here.

in Letter 6 of the correspondence with Heloise (around 1100–64).<sup>4</sup> Yet Peter is relevant to this discussion not for his citations of Virgil, but rather for the elaborate observations on hymns that he articulates in Letter 10 (not to Heloise but to Bernard of Clairvaux) and in the prefaces to the three books of the *Hymnarius Paraclitensis* (Paraclete Hymnbook). This hymnbook was composed for the Paraclete (ultimately from the Greek for ‘Comforter’), an appellation of the Holy Spirit (John 14. 16 and 14. 26) that Peter bestowed upon an oratory that he first founded and later gave to Heloise and her fellow nuns after their previous convent of Argenteuil had been expropriated.

Letter 10 calls for a little background. Once, when Peter is staying at the Paraclete with the nuns, Heloise tells him (according to his report) about the long-desired visit or visitation that Bernard of Clairvaux, the future saint and the present notability of the Cistercian order, paid to the convent. In her report she lets drop to Peter how Bernard criticized the nuns for using a non-standard text of the Lord’s Prayer, particularly because their wording of the imperative ‘Give us this day our daily bread’ incorporated the adjective *supersubstantialem* (super-substantial) where the one normally applied was *quotidianum* (daily). None other than Peter himself had supplied Heloise and her nuns with their version of the prayer, and Bernard must have been aware that the wording the women followed had been drawn from this source. Consequently, Peter feels obliged to explain and defend his rationale in following a phraseology that differs from the usual one. He writes a letter that sheds invaluable light on his *modus operandi* as a philologist, on his relations with Bernard, and on his attitudes towards the Cistercian order.

The letter was probably composed in 1131, certainly before 1135, but after 20 January 1131, when Peter had travelled from the monastery of St Gildas, where he was then abbot, to that of Morigny (south of Paris, near Étampes) to attend Pope Innocent II’s consecration of an altar in the abbey church. Also present at the ceremony, alongside eleven cardinals and many bishops from the Paris region, was Bernard.<sup>5</sup> Opinions on the tenor of Peter’s missive have ranged considerably. Some readers have seen it as dripping with sarcasm and hostility, others as being even-tempered and lacking any personal edge.<sup>6</sup> Yet in either case Peter’s expendi-

<sup>4</sup> See *Theologia ‘scholarium’*, in Abelard, *Opera theologica*, ed. by Buytaert, III, book 1.191 (l. 2325); *Theologia Christiana*, in Abelard, *Opera theologica*, ed. by Buytaert, II, book 1.128 (l. 1738); and Heloise, ‘The Letter on Religious Life’, ed. by Muckle, p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, pp. 207–08.

<sup>6</sup> For references, see Abelard, *Letters IX–XIV*, ed. by Smits, pp. 120–36. Two who perceived the relations between Peter and Bernard as having been cordial are Arno Borst (Borst, ‘Abälard

ture of effort on the letter betokens the seriousness with which he greeted negative judgements from Bernard upon the liturgy of the Paraclete. Although the convent was not a Cistercian foundation and therefore not strictly subject to the opinions and directives of even the most prestigious White Monk, few institutions would not have felt vulnerable to criticism from an ecclesiastic authority as powerful as Bernard of Clairvaux. Such susceptibility would have been especially keen at the oratory of the Paraclete, whose nuns had received apostolic privilege only towards the end of 1131, probably after Bernard's visitation) had taken place. Heloise and her nuns were in too precarious a position to afford being charged with any taint of heterodoxy.

Beyond parrying Bernard's attack on his Lord's Prayer, Peter's letter also modulates into a counter-critique of the Cistercians for themselves being too innovative in their liturgy.<sup>7</sup> Novelty and innovation, which seem often to be viewed as intrinsic goods in the modern-day world, were held suspect in the Middle Ages, as they had been in antiquity. To do something new in Latin was to foment social upheaval. Thus when Peter taxes the White Monks with unjustified innovation, the charges he levels are extremely grave.

To identify the particulars, Peter accuses the Cistercians of being aberrant for relying unrelievedly upon the same hymns throughout the year for the vigils, and for not practising special devotions for the saints, even the Virgin. His roll call of other deviancies in the Cistercian liturgy includes the near absence of processions and changes in the liturgy of Holy Week, particularly the presence of the alleluia all the way to Easter, whereas usually it was set aside during Lent as a token of mourning. With magnanimity redolent with typically Abelardian irony, he offers to be tolerant of the White Monks for their odd practices if they allow him to abide by the words and spirit of Christ in his version of the Lord's Prayer. According to him, diversity is good so long as its practitioners remain aware that common practice matters less than logical method, custom less than truth. These final assertions make the letter consonant with the method for resolving contradictions between authorities that Peter sets forth in the prologue to the *Sic et non*, his famous sourcebook of conflicting passages from authoritative texts.

In Letter 10 Peter takes the Cistercians to task for 'novelties that are profane and contrary to faith' (1 Timothy 6. 20). Not too much later (1132–35) he composes for the Paraclete three books of completely new hymns. Although on the

und Bernhard'), pp. 500–09, and Edward Little (Little, 'Relations between St. Bernard and Abelard before 1139'), but their stance seems not to have found exponents lately.

<sup>7</sup> Letter 10, Abelard, *Letters IX–XIV*, ed. by Smits, pp. 244–46. See in particular Waddell, 'Peter Abelard's Letter 10'.

one hand Peter's editorializing in Letter 10 against innovation in hymnody and on the other his later hymn-writing seem to display a glaring inconsistency, the appearance of contradiction is only superficial. He takes the Cistercians to task for having instituted hymns that are 'unheard of among us, unknown to almost all the Churches, and less adequate'. As Peter shows in Letter 10, a word or feature that appears to be new may actually be older than one that looks traditional. More important, he lays emphasis upon appraising whatever is being examined, whether words for the paternoster or of old or new hymns, on the basis of an adequacy that can be ascertained by logical analysis.

When Peter cites Heloise it is hard to pinpoint how many of her actual words come through and how much he reworks them or even fabricates them so as to project his own preoccupations through her voice, in a fit of intentional or unintentional ventriloquism. Whatever the answer to that conundrum, a fascinating aspect to the *Hymnarius Paraclitensis* is a set of comments by Heloise that Peter reports by way of explaining why he has had the audacity to devise new hymns when so many old ones already exist. According to him, Heloise stated that early hymns, by being structured according to the quantitative principles of classical Latin poetry, failed to achieve the regularity of syllable count that was necessary for reuse of a melody from one verse or strophe to another. To express Heloise's concerns in the technical terminology employed nowadays in metrology, the chief reason for the disjunction in this case between the prosody of quantitative and rhythmic poetry is that in the former elision (omission of a sound or syllable) or synaloepha (contraction of two syllables into one by omission of a vowel) was allowed or even required, under specific circumstances, while in the latter the need for regularity in syllabic count mostly precluded it. To translate into plain English the heart of Heloise's critique, the old quantitative hymns no longer succeed musically because 'the inequality in syllable count is often so great that the songs can hardly accommodate the melody; and without melody a hymn (the definition of which is 'praise of God with song') can in no way exist'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The passage translated can be found in *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, ed. by Waddell, II, 5–6. For a definitive exposition of the differences between Medieval Latin quantitative and rhythmic poetry, see Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*. The specific wording for the definition of 'Psalm' that Heloise cites was conventional in Psalm commentaries: for example, it is found in Bede, *De titulis psalmorum*, ed. by Migne (also known as *De Psalms libris exegesis*), at col. 868C; Strabo, *Liber psalmorum*, ed. by Migne, col. 955D, and Haimo of Halberstadt, *In omnes Psalmos pia*, ed. by Migne, col. 193D. The wording that Heloise and these earlier authors employ rings only a slight change upon the phraseology in Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, ed. by Dekkers and Fraipont, 148.17: p. 2177, ll. 6–7: 'Laus ergo Dei in cantico, hymnus dicitur'.

Were Heloise and Abelard acquainted with neumed texts of classical poems or even just with the melodies that accompanied poems and sections of poems? Although we cannot achieve any certainty, it is a highly suggestive coincidence that one of the thirteen passages in Lucan's *De bello civili* for which neumes have been discovered — and the only that has been transmitted in eight manuscripts, as opposed to the one or two in which the other dozen survive<sup>9</sup> — contains the very speech by Cornelia, the wife of Pompey, that Heloise recited as she went to the altar at Peter's bidding to take the veil as a nun.<sup>10</sup> During her days as a student, could Heloise have heard this particular speech sung — or could she have sung it herself? The manuscripts that preserve the neumes have provenances that lead to France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, and Switzerland and that date from the ninth through the twelfth century. Thus the answer must be 'possibly'. More broadly, we can state that Heloise and Peter shared a special affinity for music and poetry and were bonded intimately through them. Heloise evinces pride in the popularity of the love ditties Peter composed for her early in their relationship.

Both Heloise and Peter perceived serious flaws in the match between the texts and the melodies of the old hymns that formed essential parts of the liturgy as they had received it.<sup>11</sup> Peter sought to remedy the failings by supplying the Paraclete with new compositions of his own making. Heloise's reactions to Peter's innovations cannot be determined exactly, but the extant liturgy of the Paraclete gives signs that she adopted a viewpoint distinct from his. Her eclecticism shows in the decision not to accept his hymnbook *in toto* but rather to make a selection. The Cistercian order initially insisted upon the use only of hymns, so-called Ambrosian hymns, known to Benedict of Nursia, and restricted the melodies to a single set. Although by 1147 the Cistercians had devised new melodies, even then they still struggled for a satisfactory match between syllables and melodies — and the struggle was still greater in earlier decades.

<sup>9</sup> For a full listing of the passages in Lucan manuscripts transmitted with neumes, see Ziolkowski, 'Nota bene': *Reading Classics and Writing Melodies*, pp. 258–60.

<sup>10</sup> Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. by Monfrin, p. 81 (ll. 634–38); Abelard, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, trans. by Radice, pp. 76–77. For discussion, see Southern, 'The Letters of Abelard and Heloise' pp. 93–94; von Moos, 'Cornelia und Heloise'; and Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 179–82.

<sup>11</sup> Chrysogonus Waddell wrote extensively on Cistercian influences on the Paraclete liturgy and in particular on the fusion of Cistercian and Abelardian features in it: see Waddell, 'Cistercian Influence on the Abbey of the Paraclete?'; and Waddell, 'Heloise and the Abbey of the Paraclete'. Waddell's work has been extended by other scholars, most notably in *The Poetic and Musical Legacy of Heloise and Abelard*, ed. by Stewart and Wulstan. Unfortunately, many of the determinations reached in this further scholarship rest upon interpretation of texts the authorship of which remains fiercely disputed.

Peter's opinions on the old hymns, with the incorporation of Heloise's views (which evidently influenced his own and which may well have been considerably more refined), raise questions about possible connections among the rise of the literary and musical movement that has been designated *Neues Lied* or *Nova cantica*, the cessation of neuming (and singing) the classics in Latin, and the eventual proliferation of vernacular versions of classical material. It is notoriously difficult to define individual genres, let alone to comprehend the reasons for which any given one has come into being, won favour, or fallen out of it; and yet to understand what happened in literature and music in the long twelfth century requires evaluating sociolinguistic and cultural changes that are bound up inextricably with slippery matters of taste and style.

No neat dates can be assigned to the repertory of neumed classics, yet the manuscripts confirm unimpeachably that a fad for neuming such texts ran from the tenth into the twelfth century, but that by 1200 it had concluded. Twenty-four codices have been located that transmit neumes to accompany sections of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and, above all, *Aeneid*. (These two dozen can be set against a tally of all Virgil manuscripts — with or without neumes — that indicates for the *Aeneid* alone 30 from the ninth century, 23 from the tenth, 46 from the eleventh, and 80 from the twelfth, for a grand total of 179.<sup>12</sup>) Although it is extraordinarily difficult to date when neumes were supplied (since often they arrived as a late layer, after the text and glosses), the fact that none of the manuscripts was produced later than the twelfth century and most of them in the tenth and eleventh centuries speaks volumes. For the musical notation of such poems and passages to have died out then may seem unexpected and even paradoxical, since the cultural climate and conditions of the so-called Twelfth-Century Renaissance would appear to have been favourable for both education and the copying of the classics.<sup>13</sup> A few plausible explanations come to mind, although it is important to avoid any facile inferences about a process that entailed (to degrees we have not yet understood fully) subtle changes in both music and notation.

As already hinted, one possible reason is that tastes were evolving in music, away from monophony towards polyphony — and consequently away from forms that could be notated with neumes between lines or in the margins. For the new music, new notation, as well as more spacious formats for texts that were to receive musical notation, were essential. Both the old music and the old way of notating

<sup>12</sup> Munk Olsen, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale*, p. 122.

<sup>13</sup> Particularly revealing is to examine the number of manuscripts listed by century in the tabulation offered in the work just cited, Munk Olsen, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale*, pp. 117–22.

it became lost arts. Or, to study the situation from a slightly different perspective, notation in the twelfth century became almost universally diastematic, and music that had been purveyed mainly by cantors, librarians, and teachers failed to make the passage into a notational system that provided its users with more exact information about pitch and less about interpretative nuances. The neumed classics persisted for a while longer in the German-speaking centres where nondiastematic notation remained in use after it had been abandoned elsewhere.

Especially in the context of a volume that pays tribute to Mary Carruthers, it bears noting that the changes in style of singing and type of notation coincided with prolonged shifts in the relationship between music and memory. Musical notation evolved from being prompts to help singers recall songs they had already heard and sung to enabling them to perform music they had never known before.

Looking at the situation from the vantage point of transformations in musical taste and notational style leads to the hypothesis that as music gained in importance, composers grew less willing to confine themselves to the awkwardnesses of a verse system that had varying numbers of syllables and a metre out of step with the rhythmic metres in vogue in their own day. This supposition would help to account for the appearance of vernacular songs and rhythmic Latin texts based on the same episodes in (to take one illustrious example) the *Aeneid* as had been neumed not long before.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps developments in schooling and intellectual outlook meant that as the twelfth century wore on, the neumed classics were no longer as gratifying either verbally or musically as had been the case previously. Furthermore, they may have become associated with a monastic culture that valued grammatical learning and classical poetry as was decreasingly the case, in the shift from Benedictinism to Cistercianism (and other newer orders). Or maybe it would be more judicious to suppose that the metres and prosody of the classics seemed more awkward when people tried to chant or sing them. After all, the twelfth century witnessed a stark division between those who favoured and those who shunned such classicizing prosodic features as elision in their new Latin compositions.<sup>15</sup> To the classicizing, the non-metrical handling of the classics would have been anathema. The neuming accorded well with an interpretive system that privileged close reading, word-for-word analysis, and rumination — in other words, with the culture that Mary Carruthers delineated illuminatingly in *The Craft of Thought: Meditation*,

<sup>14</sup> The impact of changes in Latin liturgical poetry on vernacular poetry have been studied preliminarily, as in Switten, “Versus” and Troubadours around 1100’.

<sup>15</sup> On these developments, see Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*, and Martin, ‘Classicism and Style in Latin Literature’.



*Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*.<sup>16</sup> To state a fairly obvious point, many readers in the twelfth century derived from texts distinctly different meanings from those their predecessors in earlier centuries had elicited. New texts that constituted new interpretations would have had special appeals, particularly since new texts would have simultaneously enabled the composition of syllabically set songs.<sup>17</sup> Finally, it may hold significance that the neumatization of the classics ceased just when rhyme became predominant in much secular song.

But maybe it is too negative to consider the cessation of the neuming as the demise (or even the killing) of a tradition, since the neumed passages may have become the victims of their own success but may have lived on in the imitations and adaptations they inspired. After being enjoyed and appreciated, they could have exercised potent effects on later literature, promoting original compositions on some of the same topics first in Latin and then in the vernacular languages, and thereby preparing court audiences for the laments and other highlights in subsequent courtly romances, especially the romances based on Roman epics.

Even if the poems and passages that were once neumed continued to be esteemed, over time the musical appreciation for them may have been channelled to Latin *rhythmi* or vernacular equivalents that allowed for freer melodic expression. In effect, the Latin poems and passages could have suffered eclipse because of changes in tastes in poetic and musical forms. There would have been irresistible incentives to compose fresh texts (whether in Latin or vulgar tongues) according to syllabic principles, accentual principles, or both rather than to be restricted to quantitative texts, especially if to be comprehended the quantitative texts tended anyway to be treated syllabically and accentually, at least on an initial approach.<sup>18</sup>

For reasons that need little belabouring, metres in which the tally of syllables may vary from line to line (and that would be the case with dactylic hexameters, for example) are not well suited to adaptation into a tradition in which song is rhythmical and built on syllable-counting. The friction between a quantitative system based on syllable length and a rhythmic system built on syllable accent or stress was, and is, enormous. We need only sound out the third word of the *Aeneid*, *cano* ('I sing'): rhythmically it is *cá-no*, quantitatively it must be

<sup>16</sup> Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*.

<sup>17</sup> Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*, p. 106.

<sup>18</sup> My hypothesis here is not directly related but still complementary to the view that the experimentation with syllable-counting, rhythm, and rhyme that can be traced from the mid-eleventh through the twelfth century, especially in sequences, was distinctly new: see Kruckenberg, 'Two "Sequentiae Novae" at Nidaros'.

read *cǎ-nō*.<sup>19</sup> Against this backdrop, we can appreciate readily how poets who were aesthetically predisposed to rhythmic-accentual song would have balked at being confined by old quantitative forms. Indeed, a preponderance of data suggests that the people who composed melodies for the neumed classics or at least who brought the two into conjunction routinely treated the verse in disregard of essential prosodic features such as elision and syllable length. In a sense, the composers appear to have been drawn to the classics because of the poetic power they emanated — but celebrating poetic language and conforming to the principles of a strict prosodic system are two separate matters.

The poetic potential of the classics constituted an alluring alternative to the prose texts that had provided the undergirding for the melismas of earlier times; but the rarefied nature of quantitative metres was far too remote from the practical realities of Latin speech in the Middle Ages for the classics to compete with newly composed texts once forms based on syllable-counting and isosyllabism arose to attain hegemony. How much more enticing it would have been to create (as did Peter Abelard) new texts with rhythms that were syllabic or accentual! The attraction of the rhythmic, syllabic, and accentual would have been compounded by the option of experimenting with strophic structures that allowed for the rhyme and assonance. Such structures had not been a regular feature of classical verse but entered into vogue in the Middle Ages. An additional circumstance that worked to the advantage of the new forms was a matter of *mise-en-page*, the layout of the folio sides in the manuscript: the rhythmic forms did not have the relative fixity in their graphic representation that had come to characterize the metrical poems of classical poets. Thus there were new rigours but also novel freedoms even in the physical writing out of the *cantica nova*.<sup>20</sup>

To give examples, the setting to music of speeches by Dido taken verbatim from the *Aeneid* could have yielded to the more recently composed melodies and texts of *lai*-like compositions on Dido in Latin rhythmic form, such as the one in the *Carmina Burana* that was both illustrated and neumed, or to the *lai* or *Leich* in native languages.<sup>21</sup> In his Middle High German romance of *Tristan* (about

<sup>19</sup> Stroh, 'Arsis und Thesis oder', pp. 87–88.

<sup>20</sup> Bourgain, 'La Poésie lyrique médiévale', p. 165.

<sup>21</sup> The standard edition is *Carmina Burana*, ed. by Hilka, Schumann, and Bischoff, 1.2: *Die Liebeslieder*, pp. 135–138. For an edition, translation, and discussion, see Dronke, 'Dido's Lament', pp. 432–35; repr. in Dronke, *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe*, pp. 431–56. For a facsimile, see *Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift der Carmina Burana*, ed. by Bischoff. For want of any extant manuscript with notation that enables a reconstruction, the melody is not included in *Carmina Burana*, ed. by Korth. The *Carmina Burana* receive only fleeting reference in Desmond, *Reading Dido*, p. 49. Although the *Carmina Burana* are not considered, Dido

1210) Gottfried von Strassburg has the title character at one point perform a lay of Dido to the accompaniment of his harp: 'My friend, play me first the Lay of Dido. You play your harp so well that I am greatly obliged to you for it. Now play it well for my lady.'<sup>22</sup> Such a lay would have overlapped inevitably in content with the *Aeneid* itself. It could also have borne resemblances melodically to the portions of Virgil's epic that were neumed.

Reducing to nil the chance that the lay of Dido was the figment of Gottfried's fantasy and not an actuality of court life, other independent references to such compositions survive from the thirteenth century. Around 1215–20 the troubadour Guiraut de Calanson (Guirautz de Calansó) composed in Old Occitan the *Fadet joglar*, a title meaning roughly 'Minstrel Fadet', which is half satiric invective (*sirventes*) and half *ars poetica* or art of poetry (*ensenhamen*). In it Guiraut, while castigating a singer for being ignorant, describes both the sorts of episodes from the *Aeneid* and tales about legendary feats of Virgil himself that a legitimate *joglar* (performer) would be expected to know and to have in his repertoire. Among the scenes from the epic he alludes to the need to be able to sing

e d'un'amor  
qu'es de dolor  
de Dido can se volc ausir.<sup>23</sup>

(and of a love  
that is of sorrow,  
of Dido when she wished to kill herself.)

Later in the thirteenth century, another Occitan poet, the author of the romance of *Flamenca*, named after its heroine (whose name could be translated loosely as 'Flaming' or 'Flamboyant'), enumerates the types of entertainment at a court, which comprehend acrobatics and instrumental music but above all song. Of the performers we are told that

L'autre contava d'Eneas  
E de Dido, consi remas  
Per lui dolenta e mesquina.<sup>24</sup>

laments in other periods receive stimulating treatment in Woods, 'Weeping for Dido'.

<sup>22</sup> von Strassburg, *Tristan*, ed. by Bechstein, II, 109, ll. 13350–54; von Strassburg, *Tristan*, trans. by Hatto, p. 217 (compare p. 267). On this passage, see Liuzzi, 'Due frammenti dell'Eneide musicati', p. 266; Gnaedinger, *Musik und Minne*, pp. 82–83; and Dronke, 'Dido's Lament', p. 436.

<sup>23</sup> Guiraut de Calanson, *Fadet joglar*, ed. by Pirot, p. 572, ll. 142–44.

<sup>24</sup> *The Romance of Flamenca*, ed. by Porter, pp. 58–59, ll. 628–30 (translation is mine).

(Another told of Aeneas  
and of Dido, how she remained  
sorrowing for him and pitiable.)

Although the Latin Dido poems have been appraised sensitively, they have not been brought into conjunction with the earlier neumatation. Nor have all the sundry laments in the voices of ancient heroes and heroines been examined together to determine which were never more than texts composed as school exercises or models for literary purposes and which on the contrary may have been sung in court circles or other extracurricular milieux.<sup>25</sup> Medieval culture has often been split into such dichotomies as learned and popular, Christian and secular, and Latin and vernacular. Nowhere have such discrete divisions persisted more rigidly than in studies on the reception of the classics, especially owing to the persisting legacy of the great Domenico Comparetti (1835–1927) in the study of Virgilian reception.<sup>26</sup> The Italian scholar distinguished starkly between a learned, esoteric Virgil who was purveyed through the schools and a popular Virgil who lived in legends and folklore, accessible to the common folk. Recent scholarship has begun very productively to break down the barriers and to recognize that permeation took place in both directions.<sup>27</sup> In this regard the neumed classics take on an intense relevance. The grammar school would have been a locus in which techniques and tastes could have filtered naturally between one world and another.

In a paradoxical fashion the special fondness and respect felt for the classical poems that contained laments and similar rhetorico-emotional crescendoes could have led to the eventual supplanting of the originals by newly composed poems, first in Latin and later in vernacular languages, that responded to the perceived demand for recastings of them in forms more compatible with the song-making and aesthetics of the day. To cite two instances from the *Aeneid*, the song contained in the many manuscripts in which Aeneas's dream of Hector (*Aeneid* II.268–97) was neumed could have relinquished its place to later Medieval Latin laments on the death of Hector, and the singing implied by the neuming of Evander's lament for the departure of Pallas (*Aeneid* VIII.560–67) could have given way to later Medieval Latin and vernacular laments on the same theme.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Thiry, *La Plainte funèbre*, p. 65.

<sup>26</sup> See Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Benecke.

<sup>27</sup> Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, pp. 13–15.

<sup>28</sup> The lament on the death of Hector with the refrain 'Heu, male te cupimus' and the incipit 'Hector, pugnae victor Graiae' appears in Roma, BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 1984, fol. 14<sup>r</sup>; has been edited by Maria de Marco (De Marco, 'Un "planctus"'), edited and translated by Peter Dronke

Perhaps not coincidentally, the neuming of the Latin classics tapers off almost simultaneously with the advent of the *romans d'antiquité* in Old French and their equivalents in medieval Germanic dialect. With or without melodies, the *Roman d'Eneas*, composed by an Anglo-Norman anonymous around 1160; the *Eneasroman*, completed between 1184 and 1186 by Heinrich von Veldeke; and the *Roman de Thèbes*, written about 1152, could have co-opted the kind of attention formerly lavished upon the ornamentation of the *Aeneid* and *Thebaid* themselves. The 'romances of antiquity' in various vernacular languages certainly revolve around dialogue and monologue to an extent that could not help but have enticed readers who had singled out for special focus speeches in the classical originals.<sup>29</sup>

If we look not so much for textual as for musical developments that occurred in inverse proportion to the rate at which the neumed classics receded from prominence in manuscripts, we find that in the twelfth century more and more notated manuscripts were produced in which Latin poetry with only a loose connection to the liturgy begins to spread widely: music takes precedence.<sup>30</sup> Polyphony is notated, often in manuscripts intended for specialists. Even beyond the polyphony (an enormous leap in its own right) there is a pluralism of form.

(Dronke, 'Hector in Eleventh-Century Latin Lyrics', pp. 391–93; and appears in Yearley, 'A Bibliography of *Planctus*', at p. 18, L47 (incipit 'Hector pugnae victor Graiae'). Dronke finds plausible the suggestion made by the poem's first editor that it was associated with the papal *Schola cantorum* (Dronke, 'Hector in Eleventh-Century Latin Lyrics', p. 405); see also Monaci, 'Per la storia della *Schola cantorum* lateranense'. 'Sub vespere Troianis menibus', another poem on this theme, has been edited and translated in Dronke, 'Hector in Eleventh-Century Latin Lyrics', pp. 401–02. The unique manuscript in which it is preserved, Brussels, BRB/KBB, MS 3897–3919, fol. 119<sup>v</sup>, contains musical notation for at least one other secular Latin poem, although not for this one. The lament of Evander, with the incipit 'Dulcis fili, quem hostili specto cesum dextera', which is Yearley, 'A Bibliography of *Planctus*', p. 17, L31 (incipit 'Dulcis fili, quem hostili specto cesum dextera'), appears (without neumes) in at least two manuscripts, Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 39.21 (S. XV), fol. 143<sup>v</sup>, and Plut. 39.24 (S. XII), fol. 35<sup>v</sup>. Laments for Hector are found in Middle English in both the *Laud Troy Book* and Lydgate's *Troy Book*: see Richmond, *Laments for the Dead in Medieval Narrative*, pp. 63–66 (for discussion) and pp. 145–47 (for edition of *Laud Troy Book*) and pp. 152–53 (for edition of Lydgate's *Troy Book*). Related poems without specific counterparts in the neumed classics would be the 'Pergama flere volo' attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin, a lament on the destruction of Troy that is extant in many manuscripts but without neumes (Yearley, 'A Bibliography of *Planctus*', pp. 24–25, L122), and a brief poem on the death of Palinurus, incipit 'Principis Aeneae male nauta fuit Palinurus' (De Marco, 'Un "planctus"', p. 123).

<sup>29</sup> Henkel, 'Vergils "Aeneis" und die mittelalterlichen Eneas-Romane', p. 130.

<sup>30</sup> Hughes, 'Music and Meter in Liturgical Poetry', pp. 32–33.

*Conductūs*, free poems set to new music and not closely tied to the liturgy, seem to win special favour.<sup>31</sup> But tropes, versus, and sequence also see relentless innovation. One feature that all of these genres have in common is that they were surely meant to be sung, which is not always evident with older forms — such as the neumed classics. Rhythm looms ever larger in the new compositions. *Musica mensurabilis*, measured music that rested on repeated rhythmic patterns, grew in importance as *musica plana*, plainchant, receded. This recession may have spelled the end for older music recorded only in the notational system associated with it, when the music in question was not a fixture of the liturgy. In sum, the musico-literary phenomena of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries that are known collectively as *Neues Lied* or *Nova cantica* could have seduced singers and composers away from texts and musical forms that had seemed fresh and attractive to preceding generations.<sup>32</sup>

The ascendancy of the New Song should not be (and thus far has not been) portrayed simplistically as a case of the proverbial ‘out with the old, in with the new.’ The Virgilian tradition was by no means teetering in the twelfth century. Although eventually Medieval Latin poems secured places in the curriculum that displaced some classical texts, the corpus of Virgil’s poetry thrived in the centuries to come, being presented with a rich accompaniment of glosses, commentaries, biographies, images, and more. Furthermore, legends about the poet proliferated from the second half of the twelfth century. Thus larger and larger swaths of society became aware of Virgil, with the name here referring both to poems actually composed by the poet and to the legendary figure associated with the name who acquired an existence all his own. That awareness may have been gained sometimes and maybe even often through songs about Virgil as well as about the events and characters made famous in his poems. But those songs were ever likelier to be in vernacular languages or in Latin recastings, rather than in the original Latin words in their original hexametric arrangements. Recognizing this movement away from the singing of Virgil’s own poetry verbatim helps to explain the dwindling and cessation of neuming. In turn, Peter Abelard’s perception that

<sup>31</sup> See Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*: for a guide to the texts, see Szövérfy, *Lateinische Conductus-Texte des Mittelalters*.

<sup>32</sup> The initial work was von den Steinen, *Der Kosmos des Mittelalters*, pp. 231–52 (‘Das Neue Lied’). The foundation was laid in two key articles by Wulf Arlt: Arlt, ‘Sequence and “Neues Lied”’; and Arlt, ‘Sequence and “Neues Lied”’. Arlt’s terminology reached its broadest audience thanks to a recording of *Nova cantica*, performed by Vellard and Bonnardot. More recently, the complex of issues has been reopened and advanced through a research project described in Björkvall and Haug, ‘Altes Lied — Neues Lied’.

to be accommodated to melodies hymn texts need to have regular syllable counts helps to confirm what was happening. Neither Virgil nor Peter killed neuming. At the same time, when Peter propounded Heloise's (and apparently his) views on the inequality of syllables, he gave voice to a conviction about text-melody relations that had begun to condition irrevocably both the reception of Virgil and the nature of musical notation. In the Middle Ages, even in a phase as ebullient as the long twelfth century, the name of the game was to renew the old or maybe to lend the weight of the old to the new. The transition has everything to do with the gradations in memory culture and in performance that have excited strong interest in scholarship thanks to the oeuvre of Mary Carruthers.

## Works Cited

### Manuscripts/Documents

- Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MSS 3897–3919  
 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MSS Plut. 39.2, Plut. 39.24  
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Lat. 1984 A (S. XI–XII)

### Primary Sources

- Abelard, Pierre, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. by Jacques Monfrin (Paris: Vrin, 1962)  
 —, *Letters IX–XIV: An Edition with an Introduction*, ed. by Edmé Smits (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit, 1983)  
 —, *The Letters of Abélard and Héloïse*, trans. by Betty Radice (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974)  
 —, *Letters of Peter Abelard: Beyond the Personal*, trans. by Jan M. Ziolkowski (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008)  
 —, *Petri Abaelardi opera theologica*, ed. by Eligius Buytaert, Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis, 13, 6 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969)  
 Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, ed. by Eligius Dekkers and J. Fraipont, Corpus Christianorum, series latina, 38–40, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), III  
 Bede (or Pseudo-Bede), *De titulis psalmodum*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), xciii (1862), cols 477–1098  
*Carmina Burana*, ed. by Alfons Hilka, Otto Schumann, and Bernhard Bischoff, 2 vols in 4 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1941)  
*Carmina Burana: Lateinisch-deutsch. Gesamtausgabe der mittelalterlichen Melodien mit den dazugehörigen Texten*, ed. by Michael Korth (München: Heimeran, 1979)  
*Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift der Carmina Burana und der Fragmenta Burana [Clm. 4660 und 4660a] der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, ed. by Bernhard Bischoff (München: Prestel, 1967)  
 Guiraut de Calanson, *Fadet joglar*, ed. by François Pirot in *Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: les 'sirventes-ensenhamens' de Guerau de Cabrera, Guirau de Calanson et Bertran de Paris*, *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 14 (Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1972), p. 572  
 Haimo of Halberstadt, *In omnes Psalmos pia, brevis ac dilucida explanatio*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), cxvi (1852), cols 193–696  
 Heloise, 'The Letter of Heloise on Religious Life and Abelard's First Reply', ed. by Joseph Thomas Muckle, *Mediaeval Studies*, 17 (1955), 240–81



- Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, ed. by Chrysogonus Waddell, 2 vols (Gethsemani Abbey, Trappist, KY: Cistercian Publications, 1989)
- Nova cantica*, performed by Dominique Vellard and Emmanuel Bonnardot; booklet ed. by Wulf Arlt (Harmonia mundi, 77196–2-RC) [on CD]
- The Romance of Flamenca: A Provençal Poem of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. by Marion E. Porter, trans. by Merton Jerome Hubert (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962)
- Strabo, Walahfrid, *Liber psalmorum*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), CXIII (1852), cols 483–1098
- Strassburg, Gottfried von, *Tristan*, ed. by Reinhold Bechstein, 5th edn, 2 vols (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1930)
- , *Tristan*, trans. by A. T. Hatto (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967)

## Secondary Sources

- Arlt, Wulf, 'Hymnus und "Neues Lied": Aspekte des Strophischen', in *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter*, ed. by Andreas Haug, Christoph März, and Lorenz Welker, Monumenta monodica medii aevi, Subsidia, 4 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), pp. 133–36
- , 'Sequence and "Neues Lied"', in *La sequenza medievale*, ed. by Agostino Ziino (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1992), pp. 3–18
- Baswell, Christopher, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- Björkvall, Gunilla, and Andreas Haug, 'Altes Lied – Neues Lied: Thesen zur Transformation des lateinischen Liedes um 1100', in *Poesía latina medieval (siglos v–xv): actas del IV congreso del 'Internacionales Mittellateinerkomitee' (Santiago de Compostela, 12–15 de septiembre de 2002)*, ed. by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz and José M. Díaz de Bustamante, Millennio medievale, 55: Atti di convegni, 17 (Firenze: SISMEL, 2005), pp. 551–93
- Borst, Arno, 'Abälard und Bernhard', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 186 (1958), 497–526
- Bourgain, Pascale, 'La Poésie lyrique médiévale', in *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, ed. by Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin (Paris: Cercle de la Librairie-Promodis, 1990), pp. 165–68
- Carruthers, Mary, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- , *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Clanchy, Michael T., *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997)
- Comparetti, Domenico, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, trans. by E. F. M. Benecke, with a new introduction by Jan M. Ziolkowski (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997)
- De Marco, Maria, 'Un "placatus" sulla morte di Ettore', *Aevum*, 29 (1955) 119–23
- Desmond, Marilyn, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval 'Aeneid'*, Medieval Cultures, 8 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994)

- Dronke, Peter, 'Dido's Lament: From Medieval Latin Lyric to Chaucer', in *Kontinuität und Wandel: Lateinische Poesie von Naevius bis Baudelaire, Franco Munari zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ulrich Justus Stache, Wolfgang Maaz, and Fritz Wagner (Hildesheim: Weidmannsche, 1986), pp. 364–390 (repr. in Peter Dronke, *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe*, Storia e letteratura: raccolta di studi e testi, 183 (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1992), pp. 431–456)
- , 'Hector in Eleventh-Century Latin Lyrics', in Peter Dronke, *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe*, Storia e letteratura: raccolta di studi e testi, 183 (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1992), pp. 389–405
- , *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe*, Storia e letteratura: raccolta di studi e testi, 183 (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1992)
- Gnaedinger, Louise, *Musik und Minne im Tristan Gottfrids von Strassburg*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift 'Wirkendes Wort' (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Schwann, 1967)
- Henkel, Nikolaus, 'Vergils "Aeneis" und die mittelalterlichen Eneas-Romane', in *The Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Proceedings of the First European Science Foundation Workshop on 'The Reception of Classical Texts' (Florence, Certosa del Galluzzo, 26–27 June 1992)*, ed. by Claudio Leonardi and Birger Munk Olsen, Biblioteca di Medioevo Latino, 15 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), pp. 123–41
- Hughes, David G., 'Music and Meter in Liturgical Poetry', *Medievalia et humanistica: Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Poetry*, n.s., 7 (1976), 29–43
- Klopsch, Paul, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972)
- Kruckenbergh, Lori, 'Two "Sequentiae Novae" at Nidaros: "Celeste organum" and "Stola iocunditatis"', in *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repository and its European Context*, ed. by Lori Kruckenbergh and Andreas Haug (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006), pp. 387–411
- Little, Edward, 'Relations between St. Bernard and Abelard before 1139', in *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Canonization*, ed. by M. Basil Pennington, Cistercian Studies Series, 28 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977), pp. 155–68
- Liuzzi, Fernando, 'Due frammenti dell'Eneide musicati in Roma nel seicento', in *Atti del II° congresso nazionale di Studi romani*, 3 vols (Roma: Dott. Paolo Cremonese-Editore, 1931), II, pp. 265–75
- Martin, Janet, 'Classicism and Style in Latin Literature', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 537–68
- Monaci, Ernesto, 'Per la storia della *Schola cantorum* lateranense', *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, 20 (1897), 451–63
- Moos, Peter von, 'Cornelia und Heloise', *Latomus*, 34 (1975), 1024–59
- Munk Olsen, Birger, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale*, Quaderni di cultura mediolatina, 1 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1991)

- Norberg, Dag, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, ed. by Jan M. Ziolkowski, trans. by Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline Skubly (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004)
- Page, Christopher, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, Royal Musical Association Monographs, 8 (London: Royal Musical Association, 1997)
- Richmond, Velmond Bourgeois, *Laments for the Dead in Medieval Narrative*, Duquesne Studies: Philological series, 8 (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1966)
- Southern, R. W., 'The Letters of Abelard and Heloise', in R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), pp. 86–104
- Steinen, Wolfram von den, *Der Kosmos des Mittelalters: von Karl dem Grosse zu Bernard von Clairvaux* (Bern, Francke, 1959)
- Stewart, Marc, and David Wulstan, eds, *The Poetic and Musical Legacy of Heloise and Abelard: An Anthology of Essays by Various Authors*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 78 = Musicological Studies, 78 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2003)
- Stroh, Wilfried, 'Arsis und Thesis oder: wie hat man lateinische Verse gesprochen?' in *Musik und Dichtung: neue Forschungsbeiträge, Viktor Pöschl zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. by Michael von Albrecht and Werner Schubert, Quellen und Studien zur Musikgeschichte von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart, 23 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1990), pp. 87–116
- Switten, Margaret, "'Versus" and Troubadours around 1100: A Comparative Study of Refrain Technique in the 'New Song', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 16 (2007), 91–143
- Szövérfy, Joseph, *Lateinische Conductus-Texte des Mittelalters [Medieval Latin Conductus Texts]*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, 74; Musicological Studies, 74 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2000)
- Thiry, Claude, *La Plainte funèbre*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 30 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978)
- Waddell, Chrysogonus, 'Cistercian Influence on the Abbey of the Paraclete? Plotting Data from the Paraclete Book of Burials, Customary, and Necrology', in *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson*, ed. by Terry N. Kinder, Medieval Church Studies, 11; Studia et Documenta, 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 329–40
- , 'Heloise and the Abbey of the Paraclete', in *The Making of Christian Communities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mark Williams (London: Anthem, 2005), pp. 103–16
- , 'Peter Abelard's Letter 10 and Cistercian Liturgical Reform', in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History II*, ed. by John R. Sommerfeldt, Cistercian Studies Series, 24 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976), pp. 75–86
- Woods, Marjorie, 'Weeping for Dido: Epilogue on a Premodern Rhetorical Exercise in the Postmodern Classroom', in *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. by Carol Dana Lanham (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 284–94
- Yearley, Janthia, 'A Bibliography of *Planctus* in Latin, Provençal, French, German, English, Italian, Catalan and Galician-Portuguese from the Time of Bede to the Early Fifteenth Century', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, 4 (1981), 12–52

- Ziolkowski, Jan M., 'Between Text and Music: The Reception of Virgilian Speeches in Early Medieval Manuscripts', *Materiali e Discussioni*, 52, = 'Numero speciale in onore di Michael C. J. Putnam', ed. by Glenn W. Most and Sarah Spence (2004), 107–26
- , 'Il libro e la nota: il ruolo della musica nei manoscritti medievali (secc. x–xii) dell'Orazio lirico', in *'Liber', 'fragmenta', 'libellus' prima e dopo Petrarca: in ricordo di D'Arco Silvio Avalle; seminario internazionale di studi, Bergamo, 23–25 October 2003*, ed. by Francesco Lo Monaco, Luca Carlo Rossi and Niccolò Scaffai (Firenze: SISMELE, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006)
- , 'Nota bene': *Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007)
- , 'Nota bene: weshalb klassische Texte im Mittelalter neumiert wurden', in *Hymnum canamus socii: In memoriam Josef Szövérfy (1920–2001)*, ed. by Kurt Smolak, Wiener humanistische Blätter, special issue (Wien: Wiener Humanistische Gesellschaft, 2002), pp. 81–154
- , 'Nota bene: Why the Classics were Neumed in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 10 (2000), 74–114
- , 'Women's Lament and the Neuming of the Classics', in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 128–150
- , and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds, *The Virgilian Tradition to 1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008)