Musica sanat corpus per animam': Towards an Understanding of the Use of Music in Response to Plague, 1350-1600

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Submitted March 2008
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Abstract

In recent decades the study of the relationship between the human species and other forms of life has ceased to be an exclusive concern of biologists and doctors and, as a result, has provided an increasingly valuable perspective on many aspects of cultural and social history. Until now, however, these efforts have not extended to the field of music, and so the present study represents an initial attempt to understand the use of music in Western Europe's response to epidemic plague from the beginning of the Black Death to the end of the sixteenth century. This involved an initial investigation of the description of sound in the earliest plague chronicles, and an identification of features of plague epidemics which had the potential to affect music-making (such as its geographical scope, recurrence of epidemics, and physical symptoms). The musical record from 1350-1600 was then examined for pieces which were conceivably written or performed during plague epidemics. While over sixty such pieces were found, only a small minority bore indications of specific liturgical use in time of plague. Rather, the majority of pieces (largely settings of the hymn Stella coeli extirpavit and of Italian laude whose diffusion was facilitated by the Franciscan order) hinted at a use of music in the everyday life of the laity which only occasionally resulted in the production of notated musical scores. Many of the pieces associated with plague show traces of both Galenic medical learning and Pythagorean musical teaching, and this evidence—combined with musical and medical material gleaned from domestic household books—hints both at the use of music as an integral part of an eclectic 'Regimen sanitatis' and at the enormous impact that musical ideas and practices had upon a broad spectrum of late medieval social interaction.
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Acknowledgements

The author would like to extend special thanks to: Bronach Kane and Dr Philippa Hoskin for the application of their paleographical expertise; Karen McAulay for her personal inspection of Glasgow Hunter MS 432; Ehren Mierau for advice on, and proofreading of, Latin translations; Marcia Pinzon for help with formatting matters; Dr Rosemary Horrox for her comments concerning the episcopal letters of Winchester; Gerard McBurney, Liudmila Kovnatskaya, and Anastasia Belina for assistance tracking manuscripts in Russia; Dr Gary Towne for sending unpublished modern editions of the music of Gaspar de Albertis; Dr Sarah Long for kindly allowing me to see her unpublished doctoral dissertation on liturgical practice in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Paris; Ms Mary E Larew and Drs Jonathan Wainwright, Sally Harper, and Nicky Losseff for their comments on early drafts; and, above all, to Dr John Potter for his indefatigable good cheer and invaluable comments and assistance at all phases of this project.
Chapter 1. Introduction

Works of art are not objects of experience, so much as ways of putting it into question—means of inciting us to attend to discrepancies between particulars and totalities, contents and forms, facts and schemes, objectivities and subjectivities. Works of art are invitations to notice the complexity, multiplicity and precariousness of our ordinary perception of the world. They succeed in their work when they bring it home to us that the identities and continuities that confront us in the world are our inventions as well as our discoveries.¹

Illness and History

A seldom-considered correlate to the relatively late appearance of the human species in biological history is that the entirety of human culture has unfolded in relation, and to some degree in response, to an intricate backdrop of interactions with other forms of life. Until the second half of the twentieth century, this ecological narrative, described by one prominent researcher as ‘a precarious equilibrium between the microparasitism of disease organisms and the macroparasitism of . . . other human beings’ (McNeill, 1976: 5), was but a peripheral concern in historical inquiry, garnering attention only in exceptional cases when epidemic disease was linked to a catastrophic drop in population such as the Eurasian gran mortalyte of 1347-50 now known as the ‘Black Death’, the devastation of smallpox among the Native American populations in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and the cholera and tuberculosis epidemics of Western Europe in the nineteenth century.²


² This is not to dismiss the importance of earlier scholarship, which helped make the future systematisation of the historicity of disease possible. See in particular Lynn Thorndike, "The Blight of Pestilence on Early Modern Civilization," *The American Historical Review* 32, no. 3 (1927): 455-
However, following the publication of McNeill's groundbreaking work *Plagues and Peoples* in 1976, a more concerted effort was made to integrate the interaction between man and microbe into a larger framework of historical discourse. Authors such as Alfred Crosby (1986; 1994), and Jared Diamond (1997) have argued that geographical variations in humanity's relationships with disease-causing microparasites are partially responsible for the dominance of European settlers across continents, while in the preface to his work on the impact of disease on Tudor and Stuart England, Paul Slack wrote, 'Decimating communities, destroying families, bringing grief and pain to individuals, it [plague] deserves study in its own right as a fundamental part of man's experience in history' (Slack, 1985: 3).

Medicine, in all its complexity and interdependencies, is 'now too important (and expensive) a component of the human story to be left entirely to medical experts and specialists whose gaze may be narrowly focused: certainly they cannot tell the whole story of suffering' (Rousseau, 2003: 13).

Illness and Artistic Culture

One of the first to use art produced in the wake of an epidemic to argue for specific shifts in the style of narration of this story was Millard Meiss, who argued in an influential study of fourteenth-century Tuscan art that the Black Death of 1347-50 precipitated a shift away from an optimistic view of human life and towards a pessimistic, abstracted perspective marked by a fascination with the macabre (Meiss, 1951). While his conclusions were not without detractors (c.f. Os, 1981), Meiss'
research had an enormously beneficial generative impact in provoking and inspiring other researchers to investigate more fully the artistic and iconographic legacy of disease in general and plague in particular. Among the scholars thus inspired was Louise Marshall, whose analysis of Renaissance Italian sacred art brought to light a fascinating array of images produced specifically either as a consequence, or in anticipation, of the arrival of plague in a locality, and highlighted the importance of a subset of saints (in particular St Sebastian, St Roch, and the Virgin Mary) in the artistic response to plague. 4 This work has been expanded by Christine Boeckl, who has compiled a litany of 110 intercessionary saints whose appearance in devotional art can be linked with outbreaks of illness, as well as a dictionary of plague-related iconographic symbols in artwork produced across five centuries (2000; 2001: 29-40).

While the study of iconography can provide insight into the social and psychological fabric of the past (Lord, 2000; Macklin, 2007; Gray, 2000), others have turned to literature for insight into the psychological impact of disease, arguing that 'as the repository of the solitary expressive voice it has no competitor, especially in the face of pain, malady, suffering, death, and the annihilation of the self' (Rousseau, 2003: 12). The emotional validity of these words is evident even in works of fiction in which disease plays a pivotal role, such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez's *El Amor en los Tiempos del Cólera*, Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg*, and Daniel Defoe's *Diary of the Plague Year*. The effect is multiplied when the authors themselves lived through the horror of an epidemic and set the action of their writing against its macabre backdrop, as is the case in the ancient Greek author Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, the *Canzoniere* of Francesco

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Petrarch, and most famously in Boccaccio’s *Decameron*. Edward LeComte (1954) and Renee Watkins (1972) have both written eloquently on the literary repercussions of the Black Death in the writings of Petrarch, and more recently the impact of illness has been explored in the poetry of the English friar John Grimestone, the French polymath Guillaume du Machaut, the Welsh bards Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn and Tudur Aled, the Victorian Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and numerous novelists of the French enlightenment. If Jonathan Rée is correct in thinking works of art are invitations to notice the precariousness of our ordinary perception of the world (see epigraph prefacing this chapter), then studies such as these which focus on illness’s ability to shape the delicate fulcrum upon which balance life and death, productivity and quiescence, are performing a valuable service in enriching our understanding both of historical necessity and the pressures which constrain and define artistic/creative production.

**Illness and Music**

The trailblazing exemplified by such artistic and literary scholarship prompts the question of whether a similar path might be found through the cultural landscape of music. Certainly commentators in the nineteenth century had music close to hand when the horrors of epidemic disease imposed themselves on everyday life. One thinks of the intensity of the experience of the young poet Antoine Fontaney, whose

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diary painted a vivid picture of life in Paris during a cholera epidemic in the spring of 1832 and describes how 'in certain places hearse stood in ranks like cabs' in the deserted streets, while in the huge communal trenches dug to receive the dead, old coffins with half-rotted contents were broken up to make way for the new as the bright skies and spring sunshine seeming to mock the suffering of the stricken city. On one particularly memorable day (16 April), after visiting the Hôtel-Dieu where the dead where laid out like mummies, Fontaney attended a gathering at the residence of Victor Hugo, where Franz Liszt gave an impromptu performance of a funeral march by Beethoven. Reflecting afterwards, Fontaney wrote, 'It was magnificent! What a wonderful scene you could set to it! All those dead from cholera marching to Notre Dame in their shrouds!'

On a more theoretical level, Jonathan Rée stated that there is a natural tendency to associate music with two correlates of illness: loss and decay. In I see a Voice he wrote, 'if there are such things as natural symbols, then sounds are surely the natural symbol of transience and the lostness of past time. They are essentially evanescent . . . They seem to be nature's way of mourning', and thus potentially an ideal way to communicate many of the emotions roused by the expectation and experience of disease. Our curiosity increases even more when we come across references in the more distant past such as the notes in the court records of Henry

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6 [1 April] La peur devient contagieuse. On parte de Paris; moi-même, j'ai eu une espèce de terreur. – Rues obscures et désertes. . . [15 April] Les corbillards stationnent sur certaines places comme des fiacres.' These and countless other vivid evocations of Parisian life through the cholera epidemic are in Antoine Fontaney, Journal Intime, ed. Henri Girard, Bibliothèque Romantique (Paris: Les Presses Francais, 1925), entries from the fifteenth of November 1831 to the eighteenth of April 1832 (p. 76-135).

7 'On les range dans le caveau des morts dans leurs draps blancs chacun sur la terre. – On dirait des momies'. Ibid., 132.


9 Rée goes on to muse that 'perhaps that is why, as some would have it, beautiful music is always sad', though we need not agree with this later value judgement to be in sympathy with the symbolic equation of music and impermanence. See Jonathan Rée, I See a Voice: A Philosophical History of Language, Deafness, and the Senses (London: Flamingo, 2000), 23-4.
VIII which indicate that when fear of the plague prompted the king to dismiss his entire court and to remain in quarantine at Windsor, the only people who remained with him were his physician, his three favorite gentlemen, and the Italian composer and organist Dionisio Memo. Given that Memo is not known for anything besides his musical ability, we must conclude that he was retained in this capacity, and that in other words, during a plague epidemic so deadly that the English court was dissolved, the only people the reigning monarch felt he could not do without were his three most trusted courtiers, his doctor, and . . . his composer. What accounts for this behaviour? Under what conditions was music performed during epidemics? To what extent is sickness reflected in musical works, and what can modern audiences learn from their study?

Constructing a Framework for the Discussion of Music and Illness: The Example of Plague

Large questions such as these cannot be answered all at once, of course, and before proceeding any further it is important that we carefully delineate the grounds on which we propose to lay foundations, and what tools are available for the conceptual engineering which lies ahead. Pioneering work investigating the changing relationship between music and physical well-being was undertaken by scholars such as Dorothy Schullian, Max Schoen, and Werner Kümnel, who sought to contextualise the modern discipline of ‘music therapy’ by linking historical concepts of the connection between music and the body with empirical

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10 A letter from Sebastian Giustinian to the Council of Ten dated 27 August 1517 reads in part, 'His majesty is at Windsor with his physician, Dionysius Memo, and three favorite gentlemen. No one is admitted, on account of the disease, which is now making great progress. The Cardinal has been ill until now, which is the fourth time.' Later that same year, on 11 November, Giustinian wrote to the Doge of Venice that 'The King is abroad, and moves from place to place an account of the plague, which makes great ravages in the royal Household. Some of the pages who slept in his chamber have died. None remain with him except three favorite gentlemen and Memo.' See J.S. Brewer, ed., Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., 21 vols., vol. 2, part 2, (London: Longman & Co, 1864), 1149, 1188.
investigations of music in clinical practice. Others have investigated the link between musical creativity and mental illnesses such as depression, though such studies have tended to focus on the ‘canonical’ musical figures of the nineteenth and twentieth century and in their zeal to unravel the aetiology of creative production have provided little discussion of wider medical and social currents. Yet to understand the roles played by music in social and cultural responses to disease, a more systematic interrogation of the repertoire is necessary, and to this end, the following research is dedicated to the collective experience of one particular illness now practically synonymous with the misery of ages past: plague.

Dorothy Schullian and Max Schoen’s *Music and Medicine* (New York: Henry Schuman Inc., 1948), while primarily dedicated to the exploration of the scientific reality of the efficacy of music therapy in the present, contains an essay by Bruno Meinecke (pp. 47-95) about the medicinal use of music in ancient Greece which represents one of the earliest systematic attempts to analyze the medical implications of historical ideas regarding the relationship between the body and sounding music. Some of these ideas were followed up in Nancy Siraisi’s article in 1975 on the music of pulse (*Speculum* 50, no. 4, pp. 689-710), which looked at the diffusion of ideas about the ‘musicality’ in the proportions of heartbeats found in Galen and which made their way into the academic writing of Western Europe via the *Canon* of Avicenna, though she (quite justifiably) deals with pulse music only in the abstract. Kümmel’s magisterial *Musik Und Medizin: Ihre Wechselbeziehungen in Theorie Und Praxis* (Freiburg/München: Verlag Karl Alber, 1977) performed an invaluable service by charting references to music in theoretical medical writings and medical references in theoretical music writings from A.D. 900 to 1900, while most recently, Peregrine Horden has highlighted the need for further research on the historicity of music therapy, both in general as editor of the 2000 volume *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), and in medieval hospitals in particular in her article in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler. York Studies in Medieval Theology: (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), 135-154.


There is actually considerable debate about the precise biological agent or agents responsible for the string of epidemics in Western Europe between 1348 and 1722, which unfortunately is beyond the scope of this discussion. For the purposes of the current analysis, the term ‘plague’ is defined as an illness characterized by swellings (‘buboes’), black spots or ‘apostumes’ on the body, and the coughing up of blood, possibly accompanied by ‘a burning heat’ and/or ‘an intolerable stench’; Marchione di Coppo Stefani, “Cronaca Fiorentina,” in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Niccolò Rodolico (Castello: 1903-1913), 757. Regardless of its exact biological nature, the epidemiology suggested by a multitude of plague chronicles written by eyewitnesses has led most experts to conclude that the same agent (or constellation of agents) was responsible for the epidemics in Europe throughout the medieval and renaissance periods. For further reading see Samuel K. Jr. Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* (London: Arnold, 2002), 62.
Besides its emotional cachet through association with the calamity of the Black Death, this disease demonstrates a number of characteristics which lend themselves well to its use in exploring the musical culture of the medieval and renaissance periods. First, unlike many epidemic diseases which have been familiar to humanity since at least the dawn of agriculture (Preston, 2002), plague is a relatively young human affliction. Gabriele de Mussis described in his chronicle *Historia de Morbo* how a new illness followed by putrid fever' emerged from the steppes of Asia in 1347 to infect Italian merchants in the Crimean peninsula (Horrox, 1994: 17). These traders then took the disease back to Italy on their return voyage, and from Genoa and Venice, the plague swept through the immunologically naïve population of Europe in a well-documented pandemic then referred to as 'the Big Death' or 'huge mortalité' (Cohn, 2002: 104), but now more commonly known as 'the Black Death.' With knowledge of the precise timetable of the plague's progression across Europe, it becomes possible at least in theory to correlate aspects of its epidemiological history with notable features of the cultural landscape. After this initial explosion, plague epidemics became a regular if episodic feature of European life, sporadically afflicting cities and villages across the continent until at least the eighteenth century.\(^{14}\)

A second advantage to studying the disease (hinted at by these lurid appellations it received in the fourteenth century) is that the plague was an extremely salient feature of life in Europe. Its combination of distinctive symptoms and staggering mortality ensured that people noticed it and more importantly documented both the initial appearance of plague in their communities and its

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\(^{14}\) The plague of Marseille in 1721-22 is traditionally considered the last great European plague epidemic; however, some scholars have argued this has less to do with epidemiological reality than with a Francocentric construction of the European narrative. See Daniel Gordon, "The City and the Plague in the Age of Enlightenment", 77-87; and Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, 8 and n.6.
subsequent reoccurrences in fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century epidemics. This makes research into the effects of plague easier than examining something less tangible like, for example, the effect of the spread of democratic ideals which were also ‘infecting’ the countryside at roughly the same time. From an artistic perspective, the plague is also of interest in terms of the extremely strong emotions it evoked in those who survived its passing. The written records of the medieval and renaissance periods contain heartfelt expressions of the complete spectrum of human affect—from the abject hopelessness of the Irish friar John Clynn, ‘waiting among the dead for death to come’ and leaving parchment at the end of his account ‘in case anyone should still be alive in the future’ as he watched his entire abbey succumb to plague before dying himself (Horrox, 1994: 82-84), to the jubilation of the Venetian Senate declaring the end of an epidemic in 1631 (Moore, 1984: 323). How might this have manifested in music?

Unfortunately, the determination of ‘raw material’ for a discussion such as this is far from obvious. We may well ask ourselves: what constitutes ‘essential’ evidence (the ‘gold standard’ of source material, as it were) in this kind of history? One obviously wishes to discuss material which meets the criteria of this gold standard, but, like its metallurgical counterpart, such evidence holds value precisely because it is scarce.

A thought-experiment elaborating the range of sources relevant to the question at hand is illustrative. One might suggest the evidentiary gold standard in this case is a letter, in the composer’s own hand, stating that an attached piece of music was written specifically for performance during, or as a result of his/her personal experience in, the plague epidemic of [year] in [city name]. Although it is possible to find documents filling similar roles in, for example, the ‘composer’s
notes' prefacing some modern music, the probability of finding such a document in the fourteenth or fifteenth century is extremely low, and it would be a historical study indeed that did not have to broaden its dataset to include other material. A list of other types of potential evidence includes:

- Personal letters saying that there was an epidemic, and gives clear indications of what music was performed during it—comments which circumstantially, though not causally, link the music to the epidemic
- Notes in a hand other than the composer's that indicate a specific piece is to be performed in time of plague
- Account records specifying payment to musicians for performance of a named piece during an epidemic
- Account records of known geographic provenance for a known plague year specifying payment to musicians for performance of a named piece
- Vocal music whose text specifically mentions plague
- Vocal music whose text mentions illness
- Vocal music whose text mentions death
- Vocal music whose text treats a theme that is not plague, illness or death, but is relevant to the discussions of known plague chroniclers
- Music (vocal or instrumental) whose known provenance indicates to a high degree of certainty it was composed during an epidemic
- Music (vocal or instrumental) whose known provenance indicates to a high degree of certainty it was composed shortly after an epidemic
- Music (vocal or instrumental) whose known provenance indicates to a high degree of certainty it was composed shortly before an epidemic
- Music (vocal or instrumental) whose provenance indicates to a low degree of certainty it was composed during an epidemic
- Music (vocal or instrumental) whose provenance indicates to a low degree of certainty it was composed shortly after an epidemic
- Music (vocal or instrumental) whose provenance indicates to a low degree of certainty it was composed shortly before an epidemic
- Music (vocal or instrumental) which bears a similarity to some other piece of music which more exactly meets one or more of the above criteria.

Each of these factors can be factorially combined with most of the others (creating factors such as, for example, vocal music whose text specifically mentions plague whose known provenance indicates to a low degree of certainty it was composed shortly after an epidemic) to produce a spectrum of evidentiary utility whose precise formulation is inescapably limited by the imagination of the person who made it and more importantly their subjective valuation of qualitatively different types of information. Moreover, seen in this light a truly 'complete survey of materials of potential relevance' (even within the limited confines of a geographical 'case study') seems not only impractical, but also undesirable, as the further one moves the 'inclusion point' down the spectrum, the less likely it is that the material will have the coherence necessary to contribute usefully to any other thread of scholarly debate and discourse.

Clearly decisions regarding the inclusion and exclusion of source material must be made both in reference to the continuum of possibilities the author recognizes in the chosen topic, and to the discrete number of scholarly topical conversations to which he/she feels the work can usefully contribute. The first is demonstrated by the framing and successful addressing of a central thesis topic, the
second by the ease with which common threads linking the sources can be found. In
the chapters that follow, my aim will be to demonstrate that as plague progressed
from being an unexpected biological catastrophe to being a quotidian hazard of life
in late medieval Europe, a range of pre-existing genres of largely liturgical music
was adapted to meet the physical and spiritual needs of the epidemically stressed
population. This kind of ‘re-focusing’ of existing classes of material is an issue
commonly encountered in art history, and following the models developed within
that discipline (and in particular the work of Boeckl and Marshall), I will illustrate
the practices antedating the Black Death with discussions of earlier repertoires
before showing how similar kinds of structured liturgies, musical votive petitions,
and communal music-making were adapted for use during plague epidemics. In so
doing, I hope to demonstrate that, although it is obscured by the miasma of a past
even more viscerally dead than that typically grappled with by musicologists, the
tracing of this particular strand of auditory experience through the tapestry of
cultural and artistic history offers a viable way to illuminate the indefatigable and
exquisitely exuberant vitality of a historical life which flickers just beyond the pages
of our written records.
Chapter 2. Plague

Like a cancer the fell disease ate at the vitals of European civilization. Like an incubus it weighed upon the human imagination and spirit. Like some crawling venomous worm it has left its foul trail across the face of history.¹⁵

Plague as Subject of Historical Inquiry

Epidemic plague has held a powerful grip on historical attention and imagination for centuries, and for the modern researcher seeking to refine a facet of our understanding of the disease, this scholastic profile presents both advantages and drawbacks. On the one hand, it has meant that modern editions have been made of a large number of primary sources, and that archives all over Europe have been scoured for information relating to the time period. One thinks in particular of the early work of Charles Creighton (1891), augmented in later years by J.F.D. Shrewsbury (1970) and Jean-Noël Biraben (1975), who painstakingly sifted through the records of thousands of far-flung parishes for references to illness and disease. Such research has allowed scholars to construct an unusually detailed picture of the geographical progression of this long bygone calamity and to advance many theories about how the plague interacted with political, commercial, and social networks in medieval Europe.

On the other hand, the sustained and frenetic pace of Black Death scholarship has meant that the very abundance of historical information now available can be used to construct a virtually unlimited number of mutually incompatible arguments and thus impede the formation of academic consensus. Disagreements and misinterpretations can also arise from the fact that for many scholars an

understanding of the epidemics of 1348-52 is predicated on an assumed mechanism of transmission revolving around the lifecycle of the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*. This single-celled organism was first isolated by the eponymous Alexandre Yersin in an 1894 epidemic on the island of Hong Kong, where hundreds of people were suffering from an illness characterized by 'a bubo . . . which very quickly reaches the size of a hen's egg', and subsequent details about the bacterium's transmission via rat-borne fleas, and the infections this caused, were worked out slowly over the next half-century (Cohn, 2002: 8-12). From the outset, Yersin was quick to note the similarities between his bacteria-borne plague and the pandemic of 1348, writing that 'the current plague presents all the symptoms and clinical characteristics of the ancient *peste à bubons*, which many times over the centuries has decimated the people of Western Europe and the Levant until it disappeared at Marseilles in 1720, after which the disease became restricted to Persia, Arabia, and the Chinese province of Yunnan', and this fact became a part of the received wisdom regarding the late medieval and early modern pestilences. While this is seldom problematic in and of itself, difficulties arise when researchers begin to judge the veracity of chroniclers of historical epidemics and their records by how well their accounts fit the biological history of the flea-borne *Y. pestis*. Shrewsbury, for example, frequently concluded that fourteenth-century physicians and chroniclers who classified any epidemic occurring between December and March as plague were in error because the rat flea *Xenopsylla cheopis* hibernates in low temperatures such as those found during

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17 'la maladie . . . présente tous les symptômes et les caractères cliniques de l'ancienne peste à bubons qui a décimé maintes fois, dans les siècles passés, les peuples de l'Europe occidentale comme ceux du Levant. La fameuse épidémie de Marseille, en 1720, fut la dernière en date dont la France ait eu à souffrir. Depuis cette époque, le fléau est resté à peu près confiné en quelques foyers limités de la Perse, de l'Arabie et de la province chinoise du Yunnan.' Ibid.: 662-63. Translation adapted from Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, 8-9.
English winters,\(^{18}\) and that the causative disease therefore had to have been a different agent such as typhus fever (see Shrewsbury, 1970: 104). In recent years numerous other alternatives have been proposed for the disease organism (or organisms) causing the infamous epidemics of the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries, including a combination of bubonic plague and viruses such as smallpox, typhus and measles (Carmichael, 1986: 21; Carmichael, 1991: 213-256), Ebola virus (Scott and Duncan, 2001), and a pathogen hitherto undescribed in the scientific literature and possibly no longer in existence (Twigg, 1984; Cohn, 2002). In deference to the continued vitality of these debates, I will refrain from using the term 'bubonic' plague in subsequent references to these historical scourges and instead use the terms 'epidemic' or 'historical' plague.

However, it is important at the same time not to lose track of the fact that the term 'plague' itself is no mere anachronism, but is indeed well-documented in its Latin and vernacular forms of *pestis, peste, plague*, and *pla* in the historical sources.\(^{19}\) These choices in terminology should thus be interpreted less as a statement of biological causation than as a generic term for an illness noted by medieval and early modern chroniclers for its diagnostic profile of striking physical symptoms, rapid rate of spread, and wide geographic scope. Following the work of Twigg, Scott, Duncan, and Cohn, I have also elected not to 'second-guess' the diagnoses of contemporary commentators of medieval and early modern epidemics, and to give equal weight to all records of historical plague without recourse to

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\(^{18}\) *X. cheopis* is the most common host of *Y. pestis*; see Graham Twigg, *The Black Death: A Biological Reappraisal* (London: Batsford Academic, 1984).

\(^{19}\) Samuel Cohn surveyed 407 chronicles, annals, and calendars and documented the frequency of use of various appellations for the disease, and while *mortalitas* was by the most frequently used, words like *pest* do appear in accounts of the original fourteenth-century epidemic and in subsequent infections in later centuries. See Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, 104.
modern biological models of particular diseases. After all, our concern is with plague as a factor influencing artistic production, and not as an object of study in its own right.

The Aesthetics of Plague Narratives

So how was the plague 'experienced' by medieval audiences? We can learn much about the sensory dimension of the response to the plague by taking a close look at the initial descriptions of the plague's arrival, starting with the Black Death's first chronicler: Gabriele de Mussis. De Mussis is chiefly remembered today for his careful description of the symptoms of the illness, which he claims to have included in his 'History of Sickness' (Historia de Morbo) 'so that the conditions, causes and symptoms of this pestilential disease should be made plain to all'. However, as Horrox noted, de Mussis intended his description of the physical marks of illness as but a single facet of a larger 'extended meditation on the plague as an expression of divine anger' (1994: 14). The full text appears on pp. 180-226 in Appendix A, and while the account is fascinating on a number of levels most relevant for current purposes is its rigorous grounding in a vocabulary of sensory experience. The visual elements of this characterization (which also inform the subsequent depictions of the plague in visual art) have already been described in detail elsewhere, and include a liberal use of the iconography of the Biblical Apocalypse and in particular of the symbolic association between illness and arrows seen in ancient literature from Homer's Iliad to the Book of Psalms. The auditory dimension of de Mussis'

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21 'ut condictiones cause et accidencia, morbi huius pestiferi, omnibus patissent'. See Appendix A, p. 219, sentence 206.
22 Apollo looses the arrows of plague to 'ravage the Acheans' for ten days at the beginning of the Iliad (1. 44-52), and Psalm 38: 1-3 reads, 'O Lord,rebuke me not in thy anger, / nor upbraid me in thy wrath. / For thy arrows are stuck fast in me, / and thy hand has come down upon me. / There is no health in my flesh because of thy indignation' (English from the King James edition of the Bible;
account, however, is no less prominent. Large stretches are in the form of a verbal
dialogue between an angry God and the Earth (sentences 3-47) or between God and
a hypothetical and generalized 'sinner' (sentences 71-82), and the account of the
plague's first appearance in Italy even opens with a display of Homeric oratorical
flair in its series of auditory verbs, as the chronicler exhorts his 'Muses' of divine
retribution to 'Speak, Genoa, of what you have done. Describe, Sicily and Isole
Pelagie, the judgements of God. Recount, Venice, Tuscany and the whole of Italy,
what you have done' (sentences 88-90; trans. Horrox, 1994: 19). De Mussis even
goes so far as to articulate the cries of the afflicted (sentences 154-166), describing
how 'when the sick were in the throes of death, they still called out piteously to their
family and neighbours, 'Come here. I'm thirsty, bring me a drink of water. I'm still
alive. Don't be frightened. Perhaps I won't die. Please hold me tight, hug my wasted
body. You ought to be holding me in your arms' (Horrox, 1994: 22).

Less heart-rending, yet no less immediate, are the evocations of sound in the
introduction to the Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio (1300-1375), which was
composed between 1349 and 1351 in the aftermath of the Black Death in Florence.
Boccaccio described how the threat of impending plague infection 'caused various
fears and fantasies to take root in the minds of those who were still alive and well'
and while the responses ranged from those who adopted a lifestyle of 'moderate
living and the avoidance of all superfluity... living entirely separate from everybody
else... and passing the time in music and suchlike pleasures' to the immoderate
excess of those who 'thought the sure cure for the plague was to drink and be merry,
to go about singing and amusing themselves, satisfying every appetite they could,

unless otherwise noted, this translation is the source of all subsequent Biblical quotations in English
throughout the thesis). The association between arrows and illness, and the corresponding impact this
had on the visual iconography of the plague, is discussed in great detail in Marshall, "Waiting on the
Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague", 14-114.
laughing and jesting at what happened', all involved some degree of deliberate auditory, and indeed even musical, production.  

Accounts of the arrival of the plague in England are also marked by an emphasis on auditory production which drew upon the ancient practice of liturgical psalm-singing. For example, Bishop Robert of Shrewsbury of the diocese of Bath and Wells wrote a letter to his deacons on 17 August 1348, in which he describes how:

since a catastrophic pestilence from the East has arrived in a neighbouring kingdom, it is very much to be feared that, unless we pray devoutly and incessantly, a similar pestilence will stretch its poisonous branches into this realm, and strike down and consume the inhabitants. Therefore we firmly order each and every one of you to expound the present order in English in your churches at a suitable time, and then urge the regular and secular clergy and laity subject to you (or see that they are so urged by others) in the bowels

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of Jesus Christ to come before the presence of the Lord in confession, reciting psalms and performing other works of charity.²⁴ Unfortunately, Bishop Robert does not specify which psalms were to be performed, and communal recitation of the entire set of 150 psalms in the Old Testament each week formed a core component of the monastic Offices.²⁵ However, certain subgroups of psalms were singled out for more frequent recitation, the most prominent being the ‘seven penitential psalms’ (psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142 in the Septuagint numbering) named as a unified group by the sixth century monk Cassiodorus, and the fifteen gradual psalms (Psalms 119-133 in the Septuagint numbering) associated with ascending the temple steps in Jerusalem and made the focus of a unified Christian devotion by the French saint Benedict of Aniane (c. 747-821).²⁶ By the tenth century the Regularis Concordia compiled circa AD 970 at Winchester includes a devotion in which ‘each monk was to say, sitting in his stall, the fifteen gradual psalms in three divisions in the same manner as the seven penitential psalms had just been recited’.²⁷ It thus comes as little surprise to observe that, while Bishop Robert of Shrewsbury left unspoken the selection of psalms to be recited, episcopal mandates

²⁷ It is also worth noting that in the tenth century the seven daily psalms were part of a daily horarium at the monastery of Cluny. See Tolhurst, ed., Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, 65-7.
containing greater detail highlight the performance of the penitential and gradual psalms. For example, a letter by Bishop of Winchester William Edenton’s to the clergy of his diocese on 24 October 1348 notes how:28

cities, towns, castles and villages, which until now rejoiced in their illustrious residents (their wisdom in counsel, their splendid riches, their great strength, the beauty of their womenfolk), which rang with the abundance of joy, to which crowds of people poured from far and wide for succour, pleasure and comfort, have now been suddenly and woefully stripped of their inhabitants by this most savage pestilence, more cruel than a two-edged sword. . . .

But because God is benign and merciful, long-suffering, and above malice, it may be that this affliction, which we richly deserve, can be averted if we turn to him humbly and with our whole hearts, and we therefore earnestly urge you to devotion. We beg you in God’s name, and firmly command you by the obedience which you owe us, that you present yourselves before God through contrition and the proper confession of your sins, followed by the making of due satisfaction through the performance of penance, and that every Wednesday and Sunday, assembled in the choir of your monastery, you humbly and devoutly chant [decantentes] the 7 penitential psalms and the 15 gradual psalms [graduali psalmus] on your knees. We also order that every Friday you should go solemnly in procession through the marketplace at Winchester, performing these psalms and in similar fashion the great litany [a vobis simili modo dictis letaniam maiorem] instituted by the fathers of the church for use against the pestilence and performing other exercises of

28 This letter is now known as the ‘Vox in Rana’ letter for its opening evocation of the famous lines from Matthew 2.18 and Jeremiah 31.15; see Horrox, ed., The Black Death, 115.
devotion \( \text{orationum suffragia} \), together with the clergy and people of the city, whom we wish to be summoned to attend.\textsuperscript{29} They are to accompany the procession with bowed heads and bare feet, fasting, with a pious heart and lamenting their sins (all idle chatter entirely set aside), and as they go they are to chant \( \text{psallanti} \) devoutly, as many times as possible, the Lord’s Prayer and the Hail Mary. They are to remain in earnest prayer until the end of the mass which we wish you to celebrate in your church at the end of each procession, trusting that if they persevere in their devotions with faith, rectitude and firm trust in the omnipotence and mercy of the Saviour they will soon receive a remedy and timely help from heaven.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{29} The use of the verb dicere in Latin is ambiguous, as writers in classical and literary Latin frequently used words for ‘speech’ and ‘song’ interchangeably. Thus the word carmen can mean ‘saying,’ judgement, ’motto,’ ‘poem,’ or ‘song,’ Horace (Odes IV, xii. 10) talks of Arcadian shepherds ‘speaking a song’ (\textit{dicunt in tenero gramine pinguum / custodes ovium carmina fistula}), and Boethius appears to use the words for ‘poet’ (poeta, poetria, vates) and ‘singer’ (cantor, acroama) interchangeably in his writings. For more information on the ambiguity of speech and song in Latin and European vernaculars, see Christopher Macklin, "Speech, Song, and Instrumental Performance in Medieval Wales," \textit{Journal of the Royal Musical Association}, 2nd issue of 2009 (in press). For the use of \textit{dicere} in Horatian verse, see Horace, \textit{The Odes of Horace}, ed. Betty Radice and Robert Baldick, trans. James Michie, Penguin Classics (Middlesex: Penguin, 1964).

\textsuperscript{30} 'civites urbes castra et villi edificis nobilibus et fulgidis complantata, que inclitis hortatoribus, in consilio providis, divitiis opulentis, robore fortissimus, matronarum et virginum venustate, solet hactenus copiosa multitudine chorustare, in quibus cuiuslibet populi delonge lateque pro suis relevandis, nutritatibus et fruendis consolationibus con}luebat, iam eorum incolis dicte pestilenzie crudelissime ferocioris omni gladio ancipiti calamitatis repente et dolente peremptis. ... Quia tamen benignus et misericors est Deus paciens ac prestabilis super maliciam, ut huius flagella que iuste merimus avertat si ad ipsum toti corde humiliter convertamus, vestram devotionem attente rogamus hominem et in virtute obedientie firmiter inuigendo mandamus, quainius factem dei preoccupatam contricione ac confessione ocui usorum omni peccatorum cum sequenti satisfacine debita per efficacem operam provenient salutari et omnibus dominicis et singulis quartis feriis in choro monasterii vestrum insimul congregati septem penitentiales et quindecim graduali psalmos, flexis dicatis genibus humiliter, devote necnon singulis sextis feriis, huius psalmis a vobis simuli modo dictis leataniam maiorem contra huius pestilenzias a sanctis parribus institutam per medium mercatus civitatis nostre Wynt una cum clero et populo civitatis eiusdem quos ad hoc per vobis evocavi solenmniiter decantantcs processioncs faciatis sollemnes, ac alla devotionarum orationum suffragia exercer, necnon populum, huius processiones inequentem sollicitie invitari, ut huius processionibus quibusdem demissis capitibus, et radiis pedibus, incedentes, ieuni, pio corde et faculo sua plangentes, variis fabulis penitus omnis orationem dominicam cum salutatione angelica quotidie poterius devote psallant, in missis quas dictis processionibus finicis in ecclesia vestra per vos volumus celebrari usque ad finem iugeris orando persistant finam fiduciam optinentes, quod si cum fidei rectitude et spe solidae de omnipotentia et misericordia salvatoris in huius sui devotionibus perseverent, cito de celo sentient remedium et auxilium opportunam. ' Hampshire Record Office, Reg. Edyngdon, 21M65 AU9 fo. 17. Translation adapted from Horrox, ed., \textit{The Black Death}, 116-17. Emphasis added.
The Archbishop of Canterbury Simon Islip's letter to the Bishop of London the following year on 28 December 1349 clearly prescribes the performance of very similar repertoire:

we require and order you, our most loving brother in the Lord, and firmly urge you, to bring the king's victory and the remembrance of the pestilence to your people's notice so that everyone can ask for the safety of the realm with proper reverence, and at the same time advance the general rejoicing.

For these reasons, order the seven penitential psalms and the litany to be specially recited [edicant] twice every week in parish churches for the peace of the realm, for the lord king and for the obedience of the people, and the usual processions around the churches and churchyards to be carried out on the same days, by which means the people, sincerely contemplating the past and present gifts of God, should be better able to serve and please him.°

These episcopal mandates are notable not only for their specification of particular devotions for performance during plague time, but also for the care taken to delineate the geographic, temporal, and situational contexts of their performance. The subset of days of the week singled out for devotional activity (namely, Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday) by Edenton have strong associations with penitential reverence. 32 The importance of Sunday as the Sabbath of course requires

31 "Fraternitatem igitur vestram charissimam in Domino requirimus et hortamur, vobis nihilominus firmiter injungentes, ut quod tam ad salutem vestram publicam, quam ad laetitiam processerit generalum, a cunctis cum reverentia debita veneretur, praedictam regis victoriam cum recordatione pestilentiae suprascriptae deducifst?)

32 Although Archbishop Islip does not specify which two days of the week he wished the litany and penitential psalms recited, the emphasis placed on Wednesday and Friday as a time for penitential
little elaboration, but Wednesday and Fridays also enjoyed special status as so-called 'station days' (stationem diebus) for which the sixty-ninth Apostolic Canon specifies that a fast be kept until the hour of None (between twelve and three o'clock).\footnote{33} It seems likely that these days were further characterized by processions or other events where the faithful were required to remain standing (stantes), since in a sermon on Lent the fourth-century St Ambrose justified the term stationes for 'fast' by explaining that 'Our fasts are our encampments against the attacks of the devil; they are called stationes because we remain standing'.\footnote{34} The combination of processions and the recitation of penitential psalms, gradual psalms, and the litany may have also called to mind the ritual associated with the viaticum, the giving of the Eucharist to the dying. At least one bishop specified that priests delivering the

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\footnote{33} The sixty-ninth Apostolic canon reads, 'If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or reader, or singer, does not fast the fast of forty days, or the fourth day of the week [Wednesday], and the day of the Preparation [parasceve; Friday], let him be deprived, except he be hindered by weakness of body. But if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended'. References to fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays also appear in the third-century martyr Victorinus' 'On the Creation of the World' and in Chapter 15 of the Apostolic Constitutions. Philip Schaff, \textit{The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325} ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Council Ethereal Library, 2004), 514, 662, 757.

\footnote{34} 'castra enim nobis sunt nostra jejunia, quae nos a diabolic a oppugnatione defendunt. Denique stationes vocantur, quod stantes et commorantes in eis, inimicorum insidias repellamus.' Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., \textit{Ad Opera Sancti Ambrosii}, vol. 17, in "Patrologia Latina. Series Prima", 17 (Paris: J-P Migne, 1844), col. 0644C.
eucharist to the dying should make their way through town chanting the seven penitential psalms and (if the way was long) the gradual psalms and the litany.\textsuperscript{35}

Accounts like these allow us to build an image of the soundscape of medieval communities in the weeks and months leading up to the arrival of the Black Death, and on this basis it scarcely seems an exaggeration to say with Eric Wilson that while all epidemics represent times of social disquiet, ‘plague seemed flat-out loud’, as the sick, the ‘worried well’, and the clerics attending to both groups articulated their plight in a symphony of sound which can now only be heard as the faintest of echoes in their writings (Wilson, 1995: 8). Like negative space in a tenebrist painting, the tension between the sensory immediacy of aural experience and the timelessness of its written counterpart paradoxically communicates ‘the hollow sounds of vacancy, of vagrancy, of death beyond crying’, as de Mussis exploited to great effect in the \textit{Historia de Morbo} (Wilson, 1995: 13). Immediately after the evocation of the cries of the dying in Genoa is the eloquently spare declaration, ‘No prayer, trumpet or bell summoned friends and neighbours to the funeral, nor was Mass celebrated (\textit{celebrata}) in commemoration of the dead, which in the necessity of its writing implies that for de Mussis, such acts were ordinarily an integral part of the funerary rite.\textsuperscript{36}

Why the change in practice? One possible explanation for this apparently noteworthy silence is that there was a plague-induced decrease in able-bodied and willing performers; after all, as John Gower (c. 1330-1408) noted in his \textit{Vox Clamantis}, the making and enjoying of music are quite beyond the dead, and


\textsuperscript{36} ‘\textit{Non prece, non tuba, non Campana, nec Missa solemniter celebrata ad funus amicos et proximos Inuitabant’}. See Appendix A, pp. 212-213, sentence 170.
'singing is nothing to him now, and nor is dancing, for he no longer has a throat or a foot to stand on' (Book VII, Ch. 15; trans. Horrox, 1994: 351). One well-documented case of such plague-related changes in performance practice is found in the documents of the sojourn of the papal court in Noli (now Savona, Italy), where a record dated 27 June 1406 indicates how fear in the choir was so great after the death of one of their members that sufficient singers could not be found to perform the scheduled High Mass, resulting in the substitution of a spoken Low Mass for the day. However, it is also possible that choices regarding the presence or absence of musical activity at funerals were made on psychological or aesthetic, rather than purely practical, grounds. If music was an integral part of the funerary rite, one could imagine how the sheer volume of the chanting of the requiem mass and the pealing of funeral bells might start from a background level (based on the municipal demographic) which the population is accustomed to, and dramatically crescendo in volume and prominence in the early phases of the epidemic as casualties from the plague mounted, until a decision was made to change the practice due to its effect on the populace. Such a view of the soundscape of the Black Death is confirmed by a series of remarkable laws passed by the comune and contado of Pistoia on 2 May 1348 and amended a month later on 4 June. According to the first set of legislation, these ordinances were passed ‘So that the sickness which is now threatening the region around Pistoia shall be prevented from taking hold of the citizens’ (Horrox, 1994: 195), and amongst a number of new measures designed to limit social interaction were the following:

9. No crier, summoner or drummer of Pistoia shall dare or presume to invite or summon any citizen of Pistoia, whether publicly or privately, to come to a funeral or visit the corpse; nor shall anyone send the same summoner, trumpeter, crier or drummer; penalty 10 pence from each crier, trumpeter, summoner or drummer, and from the people by whom they have been employed.

10. So that the sound of bells does not trouble or frighten the sick, the keepers of the campanile of the cathedral church of Pistoia shall not allow any of the bells to be rung during funerals, and no one else shall dare or presume to ring any of the bells on such occasions; penalty 10 pence, to be paid by the keepers who allowed the bells to be rung and by the heirs of the dead man, or his kinsmen should he have no heirs. When a parishioner is buried in his parish church, or a member of a fraternity within the fraternity church, the church bells may be rung, but only on one occasion and not excessively; same penalty.

12. No one shall dare or presume to raise a lament or crying for anyone who has died outside Pistoia, or summon a gathering of people other than the kinsfolk and spouse of the deceased, or have bells rung, or use criers or any other means to invite people throughout the city to such a gathering; penalty 25 pence from each person involved.

However it is to be understood that none of this applies to the burial of knights, doctors of law, judges, and doctors of physic, whose bodies
can be honoured by their heirs at their burial in any way they please.\textsuperscript{38}

While the ninth and twelfth ordinances are justifiable purely on medical grounds (i.e. a decrease in social congregation also decreases the opportunities for person-to-person contagion), the tenth ordinance on bell ringing indicates a clear psychological motive and deserves special comment. Again, the fact that the legislation was deemed necessary at all is an indication of the likely veracity of its converse, which in this case highlights the probable pervasiveness of the sounds of bells in areas affected by the epidemic. It is also striking that in this initial proclamation, some forms of funerary music (namely, the ringing of a single bell for those buried in their parish or fraternity church, and the commemoration of knights, lawyers, physicians and judges in any form) were permissible, perhaps indicating that the measures were an attempt to reduce, but not eliminate, these aural reminders of plague death. If this

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\textsuperscript{38} IX. Item providerunt et ordinaverunt, quod nullus prece bapnitor aut naccarinus dicti communis Pistorij audeat vel presumat publice vel occulte bapnire aut invitare aliquos eives Pistorij, ut vadant ad funera vel ad mortuum; nec aliqua persona eidem bapnitori tabatori preconi aut naccarino committere predicta, sub pena librarum decem denariorum auferenda cauilibet tali preconi tabatori bapnitori aut naccarino invitante aut bapnienzi, quam etiam illi cuias parte bapnum seu invitatio facta fuerit, vice qualibet. X. Item providerunt et ordinaverunt, ad hoc ut sonus campanarum non invadat infirmis, nec contra eos timor insurgat, quod campanarij seu custodes stantes super campanile maioris ecclesie caethedralis civitatis Pistorij non permitcant pulsare aliquam campanam occasione funeris mortuorum existentem super dicto campanile, nec aliqua alia persona audeat vel presumat pulsare de ipsis campanis nec aliquam eorum dicta occasione, pena librarum decem denariorum auferenda tam pulsante quam ipsius custodibis et cauilibet eorum predictum pulsante, sub pena predicta etiam auferenda heredibus seu successoribus aut propinquioribus talis persone defunte, si heredes non exitent. Ad ecclesias quoque parocchiales dictorum defunctorum, et fratum, si apud ecclesias ipsorum fratum sepelliri contigerit, possint campane ipsius ecclesie parochialis ec ecclesie fratum pulsari, dum tamen pulsetum solum una vice tantum et modicum, sub pena predicta auferenda modo predicto. . XII. Item providerunt et ordinaverunt, quod nulla persona audeat vel presumat eleverae aut elevarifacere aliquem piantum vel clamorem de aliqua persona, vel occasione alicuius persone, que decessit extra civitatem et districtum vel comitatum Pistorij, nec dicta occasione alicuius personam adunari in aliquo loco, exceptis tamem consanguineis et consortibus talis persone defunte, nec dicta occasione aliquam campanam pulsari vel pulsari facere, vel bapniri per civitatem Pistorij per precones, vel aliter dicta occasione invitata aliquam fieri sub pena librarum vigintiquinque denariorum auferenda, tam elevante piantum vel clamorem et campanam pulsare, et preconi bapnienzi vel persone invitante, quam etiam ipsam adunationem vel facienti invitare, et campanam pulsari facienti, et cauilibet et qualibet vice. Hoc tamen intellectio in qualibet scriptorum ordinamentorum loquentium de defuntis et honorandis segnuluris mortuorum, quod predicta non vendicent sibi locum in supulturis corporum alicuius militis de corrodo, legum doctoris, judicis et medici fisici, quorum corpora ex dignitatis eorumdem liceat ipsorum heredibus in eorum supulturis honorare ut placet. 'Alberto Chiappelli, "Gli Ordinamenti Sanitari Del Comune Di Pistoia Contro La Pestilenza Del 1348, 2 Maggio- 4 Giugno 1348," Archivio Storico Italiano 20 (1887): 3-22, at 11-12. English translation in Horrox, ed., \textit{The Black Death}, 197-98.
is the case, the measures evidently did not work; on 4 June the comune of Pistoia passed several new ordinances among which were the following:

30. At the burial of anyone no bell is to be rung at all, but people are to be summoned and their prayers invited only by word of mouth; penalty 25 pence from the heirs or next of kin of the deceased.

31. When the corpse has been carried to the church, everyone who accompanied it there ought to withdraw, and when the next of kin leave no one ought to accompany them except their spouses and the neighbours, and also the dead man’s next of kin on his mother’s side. These people may go to the house of the dead man, or wherever the body is, but may not enter the building. ‘Neighbours’ are to be understood as people who lived within 50 arms length of the dead man during his lifetime; penalty 25 pence.39

Even after the May legislation, the sounds of mourning were evidently still oppressive, and thus the exceptions to the earlier law were rescinded and the social laws tightened further. This was a time of ‘dis-quiet’ indeed.

Problems Knitting Biological and Musical History Together

Accounts such as those discussed above indicate some of the ways that music, defined broadly as organized sound, figured both in the expectation, and the direct experience, of epidemic plague. However, musical sources of the Middle Ages and Renaissance can only very rarely be dated to the same level of temporal precision as accounts of epidemics. Far more often, for any given piece of music modern scholars are only able to establish a ‘terminus ante/post quem’ and a region of probable composition. We must therefore content ourselves in most instances with arguments of circumstantial probability, in which a notated musical example is (either through its composer or its provenance) chronologically and geographically associated with a locale under immediate or proximate threat of plague infection. Given the presence of musical practitioners in nearly all townships of sufficient size to possess archives and parish records, and the aforementioned popularity of the publication of material from archives relating to plague, a reasonably detailed picture of potential plague impact can be compiled through an analysis of the existing historical literature on the prevalence of the disease. While neither exhaustive nor definitive, such an examination is more than sufficient to give a general idea of patterns of epidemic plague and helps define the areas which will most benefit from more focused analysis. I therefore created a database of references to plague in published sources between 1346 and 1600, segregated by geographical region.40

40 See database on Supplemental CD. The year 1600 as a notional ‘cut-off’ date was chosen for the current discussion, in spite of the potential salience of seventeenth-century epidemics like the so-called ‘Great Plague of London’ in 1666 and the Venetian epidemics of 1630 and 1631, since the primary feature uniting the responses discussed is its grounding in doctrines of the Catholic Church incompatible with the ideals of the Protestant Reformation. Given that the Reformation (and the Counter-Reformation) took hold in Europe with varying strength at varying times in the sixteenth century, and were a fiercely political and social issue particularly in England into the final quarter of the 1500s, 1600 represented a chronological milestone that mediated between partially conflicting imperatives to include as much ‘Catholic’ music in countries affected by the Reformation as possible while maintaining some degree of doctrinal consistency. The year 1600 is also often used as a boundary for the end of the Renaissance and the beginning of the ‘Baroque’ period, but as
This database effectively represents an aggregate of reports of plague in the secondary literature, in which any report of plague in a particular year in a particular locality is reported once, regardless of how many chroniclers reported it or of how many times it was mentioned in subsequent publications. All together, a total of 5,504 epidemics were reported, as seen in Table 2.1:

Wainwright and others have pointed out, the use of such terms borrowed from visual art are more useful as a heuristic for the quick evocation of stylistic characteristics than they are as temporally discrete phases in musical development. Countless authors have pointed out the near futility of assigning limits to the Renaissance period due to the diversity of composition practiced across Europe (and indeed the New World, as cathedrals and viceregal courts of Mexico City and Guatemala gained prestige), and caution against the liberal use of the term especially when dealing with connections between the worlds of music and fine art given that the term Baroque also has a number of visual connotations. See L. Ronga: 'Un problema culturale di moda: il barocco e la musica', _L'esperienza storica della musica_ (Bari, 1960), 144–216; Arnold Salop: 'On Stylistic Unity in Renaissance–Baroque Distinctions', _Essays in Musicology: a Birthday Offering for Willi Apel_, ed. Hans Tischler (Bloomington, IN, 1968), 107–21; Claude Palisca: "'Baroque' as a Music-Critical Term', _French Musical Thought, 1600–1800, _ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor, 1989), 7–21; Jonathan P Wainwright, "From Renaissance' to 'Baroque'?" in _From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the National Early Music Association Conference Held, in Association with the Department of Music. University of York and the York Early Music Festival, at the University College of Ripon and York St John, York, 2–4 July 1999_, ed. Jonathan P Wainwright and Peter Holman (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005, 1–21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Epidemics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>2276</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iberian Peninsula</td>
<td>456</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>788</td>
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<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>838</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany &amp; Central Europe</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lowlands (Holland, Belgium)</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5504</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1. The Number of Plague Epidemics in Western Europe, 1346-1600

Since the majority of disease-causing microbes flourish in areas of high population density where there is ample opportunity for rapid transmission, it is not surprising that the areas which recorded the most epidemics of plague tended to be the prominent centres of Medieval/Renaissance population and culture (see Table 2.2.):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Number of Epidemics</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Number of Epidemics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Toulouse</td>
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<td>Iberian</td>
<td>Barcelona</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bourg-en-Bresse</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Peninsula</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Peninsula</td>
<td>Valladolid</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amiens</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Saragossa</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nantes</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>(Catalonia)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strasbourg</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Valencia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limoges</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>(Majorca)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Troyes</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Lisbon</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dijon</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Porto</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bordeaux</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>(Portugal)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rouen</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Coimbra</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tours</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>(Aragon)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avignon</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Villefranche-de-Rouergue</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>(Andalusia)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Angers</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 2.2. Localities reporting the highest numbers of plague epidemics, 1346-1600
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Number of Epidemics</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Number of Epidemics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Venise</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>City of</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Milan</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Genoa</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td>York</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Lombardy)</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Naples</td>
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<td>(Scotland)</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Tuscany)</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>Shrewsbury</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plaisance</td>
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<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Ferrara</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sardinia)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Exeter</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sicily)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tiverton, Yarmouth, Norwich</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2. (cont.) Localities reporting the highest numbers of plague epidemics, 1346-1600
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Number of Epidemics</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Number of Epidemics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany and</td>
<td>Bâle</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>The Low</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
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<td>Central</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
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<td>Countries</td>
<td>Mons</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>Bremen</td>
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<td>Anvers</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ypres</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Augsburg</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>(Flanders)</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Louvain</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Hainaut)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Magdeburg</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ath</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Styria)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Holland)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Liège</td>
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<td>(Silesia)</td>
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<td>Delft</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Erfurt,</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Brabant)</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Bohemia)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Stockholm</td>
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<td>(Iceland)</td>
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<td>(Norway)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Copenhagen</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>(Finland)</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uppsala</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2. (cont.) Localities reporting the highest numbers of plague epidemics, 1346-1600
A number of details with important implications for the psychological impact of the epidemics emerge if we examine the incidence of these plague epidemics plotted against time, as in Figure 2.1:\textsuperscript{43}

![Number of Plague Epidemics in Europe (excluding Scandinavia), 1346-1600](image)

Figure 2.1. Reported Plague Epidemics in Europe (excluding Scandinavia), c. 1346-1600

Most obvious is the periodic rise and fall in reports of plague from year to year, forming spikes on the graph. Since the height of the y-axis indicates the number of places, rather than simply people, reporting disease, these spikes represent the plague’s tendency to explode in outbreaks of increased geographic impact before once more reducing in scope. Moreover, the spikes do not appear at random, but instead are spaced at semi-regular intervals.\textsuperscript{44} Chronological regularity, if noticed, is

\textsuperscript{43} Due to the relatively small amount of evidence concerning plague infection in the region, Scandinavia was excluded from further analysis.

\textsuperscript{44} This aspect of plague epidemiology is seen more clearly in, and explored more fully by, Scott and Duncan, who charted plague deaths in individual cities such as London across the weeks of a single
equivalent to predictability—which in turn suggests that communities may have
been able to see plague epidemics developing and to take proactive steps to
ameliorate its impact. This impression is confirmed by an examination of the
chronicles of the fourteenth-century epidemics, which frequently included a
description of the locations plague reached before afflicting the chronicler’s region
(cf. Horrox, 1994: 14-84), and later records abound with examples similar to (if not
quite as colourful as) Samuel Pepys' diary entry of October 19, 1663 in which he
summarized a coffee-house conversation with Sir W. Batten in which the two
discuss rumours that plague in Amsterdam had led to a national ban on Dutch ships
sailing up the Thames. This epidemiological reality not only meant that municipal
authorities could take steps to prevent the spread of plague into their communities—
it also meant that the religious authorities could institute measures of preventative
'sacred medicine', in the form of masses, processions and prayers involving music.
Since ideas of divine causation and intercession weighed heavily on medieval
understandings of health and disease, it is not surprising that we should find
accounts such as the letter of William Zouche, Archbishop of York, to his deputy on
28 July 1348:

---

43 'much talk about the Turke's proceedings, and that the plague is got to Amsterdam, brought by a
ship from Argier—and it is also carried to Hambrough. The Duke says the King purposes to forbid
any [of their] ships coming into the River.' Samuel Pepys, "19 October, 1663," in *The Diary of
(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 340. For ease of reading alligator brackets < > in
Latham replaced with square brackets [ ].
46 Accounts of spiritual preventative medicine have already been encountered in the letters of Bishop
Edenton and Simon Islip (see pp. 26-28). On a more mundane level, physical barriers to plague spread
included such measures as the barring of city gates to individuals from infected areas until they
demonstrated no symptoms for periods of up to forty days (the 'quarantine') as was done, for
example, in many municipalities in fourteenth-century Italy and practiced widely throughout Europe
in the centuries thereafter. See Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early
Renaissance Europe*, 48; Ann G Cartwright, *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence*
There can be no one who does not know, since it is now public knowledge, how great a mortality, pestilence and infection of the air are now threatening various parts of the world, and especially England; and this is surely caused by the sins of men who, while enjoying good times, forget that such things are the gifts of the most high giver. Therefore we command, and order you to let it be known with all possible haste, that devout processions are to be held every Wednesday and Friday in our cathedral church, in other collegiate and conventual churches, and in every parish church in our city and diocese, with a solemn chanting [decantatione] of the litany, and that a special prayer be said in mass every day for allaying the plague and pestilence, and likewise prayers for the lord king and for the good estate of the church, the realm and the whole people of England, so that the Saviour, harkening to the constant entreaties, will pardon and come to the aid of rescue of the creation which God fashioned in his own image.

Returning to Figure 2.1., it is also apparent that every year after 1355, the number of reported plague epidemics is always greater than zero. This could mean one of two things: first, that some municipalities were continuously infected with plague (i.e. plague was endemic) for the entire duration, or second, that plague was constantly circulating through the populations of Europe, periodically subsiding to a small

---

48 'Quantae siquidem mortalitates, pestilentiae, et aeris infectio in diversis mundi partibus, et praesertim Anglicanis, immineant his diebus, non est, cum sit publicum, qui ignorer; et hoc quippe hominum peccata efficiunt, qui, arridentes prosperis, summi Largitoris beneficia negligunt reminisci. . . Discretioni itaque vestrae iungimus et mandamus quatenus faciatis cum omni celertate qua poteritis publicari, quod, tam in ecclesia nostra cathedrali, quam aliis ecclesiis collegiatis et conventualibus, ac singulis ecclesiis parochialiibus nostrae civitatis et dioecesios, singulis quattuor et sextis feris devote processiones fiant cum decantatione letantae solenni, et specialis oratio dicitur in missis pro pestilentia et infectione sedanda hujusmodi omni die, simili ter et pro domino rege et statu ecclesie atque regni totiisque populis Anglicani; ut frequentem pulsationem Salvator exaudiens, creaturae ignoscet et subveniat quam ad Suam formaverat imaginem ipsa Deus.' James Raine, ed., Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers, in "Rerum Britanniarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland", (London: Longman & Co, 1873), 396. English translation in Horrox, ed., The Black Death, 111-112, emphasis added. For the significance of Wednesday and Friday, see above, pp. 28-29.
number of widely-scattered locations which then served as seeding points for fresh epidemics in following years. An examination of the locations reporting plague at each of the local minima (the 'valleys' or 'troughs' of the graph) reveals that in no two minima are the reporting regions the same (see database on Supplemental CD). However, the topic merits further exploration, since the emotional effect of endemic or pseudo-endemic disease could conceivably be quite different from that of a disease which completely vanishes and resurfaces— one need only to think of contemporary responses to the threat of an epidemic disease like bacterial meningitis compared to that of an endemic disease, even of far greater mortality like heart disease to get a sense of how a sense of 'normality' influences the emotions of an epidemic (Reuters, 2008; Reports, 2008). Curiously, an examination of the reporting of plague epidemics within the regions of Table 2.3. reveals that a 'pseudo-endemic' of constantly cycling plague characterized some parts of Europe better than others (see Table 2.3.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of years with no reported epidemics, 1355-1600 (% of total years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>10 (4.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iberian Peninsula</td>
<td>112 (45.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>75 (30.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>69 (28.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany &amp; Central Europe</td>
<td>49 (20.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowlands</td>
<td>122 (49.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3. Years with no reported plague between 1346 and 1600, by region

How do these epidemiological features affect the performance of music during plaguetime? In answering this question, we must again consider that (to paraphrase once more the words of Jonathan Rée which prefaced Chapter 1) the identities and continuities that confront us are our inventions as well as our discoveries. Music and medicine are both heterogeneous systems which incorporate both a conceptual framework and a physical praxis pertaining to (respectively) the ordered patterning of sound and the biological integrity of individuals. The epidemiological data discussed above are only one facet of a very complicated equation, for which each of these elements can vary independently, and any conception of the relationship between the two systems is strongly dependent on our understanding of the societal role of music theory in relation to medical theory, and of the musician’s relationship with members of the medical establishment. It is to the factors influencing these latter equilibria that we now turn.
Chapter 3. The Sacred Relationship between Music and Medicine

Then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance.49

Early Epidemics and Patristic Scholarship

As is true for so many aspects of the Middle Ages, the interactions between music and medicine were strongly coloured by the educational and social agenda of institutional religion. Barbara Haggh has argued that 'to understand the creation and performance of music in this period is therefore to recognize culture shaped by religious life' (Haggh, 1996: 87), and on the topic of disease the architects of the religious sourcebook of all of Western Europe make their opinions quite clear. Illness and disease appear in a total of 183 verses in the King James translation of the Old and New Testaments,50 and the vast majority (88%) associate illness with a divine judgement or use its amelioration as a statement of supernatural compassion and benevolence.51 The clearest statement of this relationship is in Exodus 15:26, where the voice of God tells the Israelites, 'If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee.' Of course, the converse of this is also true, as is made apparent in Numbers 11:33 when 'the wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people, and the Lord smote the people with a very great plague'. The associations between physical and moral decrepitude receive further development in the thirteenth chapter of Leviticus, where

49 Deuteronomy 28:59.
50 See Appendix B, pp. 227-252.
51 Calculated on the basis of the classification of the verses in Appendix B.
the images evoked in the diagnosis of 'uncleanliness' of leprosy leave precious little
to the imagination:

When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh a rising, a scab, or bright spot,
and it be in the skin of his flesh like the plague of leprosy; then he shall be
brought unto Aaron the priest, or unto one of his sons the priests: And the
priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh: and when the hair in
the plague is turned white, and the plague in sight be deeper than the skin of
his flesh, it is a plague of leprosy: and the priest shall look on him, and
pronounce him unclean . . . And the leper in whom the plague is, his clothes
shall be rent, and his head bare, and he shall put a covering upon his upper
lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean. All the days wherein the plague shall be
in him he shall be defiled; he is unclean: he shall dwell alone; without the
camp shall his habitation be.

The converse of a strong association between illness and divine disfavour is that the
cessation of illness can then be read as the result of divine benevolence and kindness.
This is made explicit throughout the New Testament, where Jesus' divinity and
compassion is made manifest by the frequent accounts of his 'healing all manner of
sickness and all manner of disease among the people' (Matthew 4:23). More
importantly for later cultural history, with the Bible's account of how Jesus later
'called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all
devils, and to cure diseases' (Luke 9:1), the precedent was established for the
concrete corporeal interpretation of the might of intercessionary figures which was to
play such an important role in the development of visual and musical votive art.

53 See for example Christine M. Boeckl, Images of Plague and Pestilence, (Kirksville, Missouri:
Truman State University Press, 2000); Christine M. Boeckl, "Georgio Vasari's 'San Rocco
The persistent identification of Jesus and the apostles as healers whose example should be followed further meant that for later generations of Christians, 'care of the sick, even in time of pestilence, was for them a recognized religious duty', and McNeill has argued in Plagues and Peoples (1976) that this was one of the factors leading to the early spread of western Christianity. According to this theory, the emphasis on ministration to the sick led to proportionally more early Christians recovering from illness than pagans, and 'those who survived with the help of such nursing were likely to feel gratitude and a warm sense of solidarity with those who had saved their lives. The effect of disastrous epidemic, therefore, was to strengthen Christian churches at a time when most other institutions were being discredited' (Macneill, 1976: 121).

Another important consequence of the devotional reading of illness was that it made life more meaningful in hard times. The early medieval ramifications of this were set out in the eighth century by the Venerable Bede, who wrote 'that many bodily sicknesses arise from sins, and so it is, perhaps, that sins are first forgiven so that once the causes of sickness are removed, health may be restored. People suffer bodily afflictions for five reasons: to increase their merits, as Job and the Martyrs; to preserve their humility, as Paul by Satan's messenger; or in order that they should perceive and correct their sins, as Miriam, the sister of Moses, and this paralytic; for the glory of God, as the man born blind and Lazarus; or as the start of the pains of damnation, as Herod and Antiochus' (cited by Melling, 1999: 48-9). This idea remained current throughout the Middle Ages; one of the formal declarations of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 was that 'sickness of the body may sometimes be the result of sin' ('Cum infirmitas corporalis nonnumquam ex peccato proveniat': 29-40; Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague"; Marshall, "Manipulating the Sacred: Image and Plague in Renaissance Italy"; and this thesis, Ch. 4, pp. 79-107 and Ch. 6, pp. 147-175.)
Constitution 22; Alberigo, et al., 1962: 221; trans. Tanner, 1990: 245), and the author of the Ancrene Wisse (or Ancrene Rewle), which is a guide for anchorites and anchoresses written around the same time (sometime between 1225 and 1240) declared:

God so tests His beloved chosen, as the goldsmith tests gold in the fire. False gold perishes therein; the good [gold] comes out brighter. Sickness is a flame hot to suffer, but nothing cleanses gold as [well as] it does the soul. . . . Thus sickness is the healing of souls, salve for her wounds, a shield, so that she receive no more, as God sees that she would, if sickness did not prevent it. Sickness makes a person to understand what he is, to know himself—and, like a good teacher, [sickness] beats in order to teach well how mighty God is, [and] how vile the world’s joy is. Sickness is your goldsmith, who in the joy of heaven [will] gild your crown. The greater the sickness, the busier is the goldsmith—and the longer it lasts, the more quickly he shining her to be a martyr’s equal through a temporary suffering. What is a greater grace to those who had deserved the pains of hell, world without end? Would not one account him the stupidest of all men who would refuse a blow for a spear’s wound? a needle’s prick for a beheading? a beating for a hanging on the gallows of hell, forever in eternity? . . . Whoever can then escape that same grisly suffering, the horrific pains, through a sickness which passes, through any disease that is here [in the world] she can call [herself] fortunate. 54

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54Wel is hit i-seid, for alswa pruveth Godd his leove i-corene, as the golf-smith fondeth that gold i the fure. Thet false gold forwurtheith th’rin. Thet gode kimeth ut brithire. Secnesse is a brune hat for-te thollen, ah na thing ne cleseth gold as hit deth the sawle . . . Thus is seenesse sawlene heale, salve of hire wunden. scheld, thet ha ne keche ma, as Godd sith thet ha schulde, yef seenesse hit ne lette. Seennesse makeith mon to understonden hvet he is, to crawen him-seolven—ant, as god meister, beat for-te leorni wel ha mihit is Godd, hu frakel is the worlde blisse. Secnesse is thi gold-smith the i the blisse of heovene overguldeth thi crune. Se the seennesse is mare, se the golf-smith is bizgre, ant se hit lengre least, so he brihteth hire swithere to beo martirs evening thrurh a hwilinde wa. Hvet is mare grace to theo the hefde ofeamet the pinen of helle, world abuten ende? Nalde me tellen him alre
Concepts of physical health, and their interaction with music

Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that throughout this entire period, natural explanations of health and disease (when considered at all) were ‘strongly Greek in character’ and based on the writings of Hippocrates (late fifth or fourth century BC), his intellectual successor Galen (d. circa AD 200) and that of a rich heritage of natural philosophy developed by figures such as Empedocles (c. 490-430 BC), Plato (c. 424-328 BC, and Aristotle (384-322 BC). A detailed treatment of the Hippocratic/Galenic theory is beyond the scope of this discussion, though a few of its concepts are key to the understanding of medieval medicine and thus bear review. According to Hippocrates and Galen, the fundamental building blocks of nature were held to be the ‘four elements’ of earth, water, fire, and air, which combined to give rise to everything else in the universe. Each of these elements is associated with two of four qualities based on a pair of fundamental dichotomies: hotness- coldness and dryness- moistness. Fire, for example, is hot and dry, while water is cold and moist, air is hot and moist, and earth is cold and dry. The relative proportions of the four elements were believed to differ in every living thing, which meant that all creatures possessed a unique balance of qualities (termed their complexion) which regulated how they responded to the environment. However, since it is obvious that living things are not actually physically made from the elements (i.e. people do not see fire or water when they view a decomposing body), the elemental combinatorics of living things were thought to occur via the

\textit{monne dusegest, the forseke a buffet for a spere wunde? a nele pricchunge for an beheldunge? a beautunge for an hongunge on helle wearti-treo, aa on ecnesse? . . . The mei thenne edstearten thet ilke grisliche wa, the eateliche pinen thurh seccnesse the augeath, thur ei uvel thet her is, seliliche mei ha seggen.} Robert Hasenfratz, ed., \textit{Ancrene Wisse}, in "Middle English Texts Series", (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), 208-09.

55 An excellent introduction to these figures and their importance for understanding medieval medical thought can be found in Nancy G. Siraisi, \textit{Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 78-152.
intermediate step of four fluids (first found as a canonic group in Hippocrates' *On the Nature of Man*) known as the humours upon which the physical functioning of the body depended. The four humours were blood, phlegm, yellow bile (also called choler) and black bile (or melancholy), and these four fluids in varying ratios combined to form every other part of the body. Like the elements, each humour was associated with two qualities; blood is hot and moist, phlegm is cold and moist, yellow bile is hot and dry, and black bile is cold and dry. This construction of the body from combinations of the humours further dictated that each part of the body was thought to have its own predominating complexion (for example, the heart was thought to be predominantly hot, the brain predominantly cold, etc.), which added together to give the complexion of the body as a whole. Furthermore, since the parts of the body were created from, and thus in equilibrium with, the humours, the overall complexional balance of an individual could be adjusted by changing the relative proportions of their humours through the ingestion of foods which selectively enhanced one humour or through physical manipulations of the body such as the letting of blood.

To use a mathematical metaphor, then, Galenic (and hence medieval) medical theory viewed the body as an interlocking network of proportional relationships whose changing values over time were made manifest through changes in the physical body. This philosophy grants music an exalted place in the hierarchy of sensory experience, as ever since the legendary experiments of Pythagoras in the sixth century BC which defined the ratios of musical consonance, music has been viewed as 'proportion made audible,' the sensual experience of an all-embracing rational order of the Divine. One consequence of the theory is that it allows for mutual influence between the human microcosm and the macrocosm of the natural
world.\textsuperscript{56} Isidore of Seville claimed that "no discipline can be perfected or completed without music; indeed, without it nothing at all can be" ("\textit{sine musica nulla disciplina potest esse perfecta, nihil enim sine illa}");\textsuperscript{57} and countless treatises contain paens to the vaunted powers of music. Greek authors made repeated reference to the varied powers of music. These could be physical, as when Pratinas described how "in the seventh century BC, when Sparta was suffering from a plague, an oracle recommended summoning Thaletas, who was a noted composer of paens from Gortyn in Crete. This was done, and Thaletas successfully delivered the city from the pestilence by means of his music".\textsuperscript{58} Alternatively the effects could be mental, as in the account of the Roman doctor Soran of Ephesus in his work on acute and chronic diseases, which was preserved for posterity in the Latin edition made by Caelius Aurelianus in the fifth century A.D. which indicated that "in the case of illness varying measures should be played upon the flute: the phrygian mode should be applied to enliven depressive patients, while on the other hand the "Dorian" would calm and stabilise "overheated" sick people";\textsuperscript{59} with the more Biblically minded seizing upon David's musical ministrations to Saul in the first book of Samuel as further support for the theory.\textsuperscript{60} One of the most articulate formulations


\textsuperscript{60} 1 Samuel 16:23: 'Whenever the spirit from God came upon Saul, David would take his harp and play. Then relief would come to Saul; he would feel better, and the evil spirit would leave him.' This
of the idea can be found in the Roman statesman and monk Cassiodorus' sixth-century work *Institutiones*, where he argues that 'The science of music, therefore, is diffused through all acts of our life for this reason; if, in the first place, we do the will of the Creator . . . Indeed, whatever we say or whatever is inwardly moved by the pulsing of the veins is proved to be associated through musical rhythms with the power of harmony'.

Liturgical Medicine

For the first several centuries of Christianity, there is no recorded intersection between the thematic strands of complexion/medicinal theory with that of musical performance, and indeed, it is clear that not all Christian authors were comfortable with all of the ramifications of this 'pagan' philosophy. Niceta of Remesiana, for example, wrote in *De utilitate hymnorum* that David 'subdued the evil spirit working in Saul. Not that there was any kind of power in the harp, but, with its wooden frame and the strings stretched across, it was a symbol of the Cross of Christ' (Niceta, 1949: 68) while the third century bishop of Carthage St Cyprian, referred to the salutatory effects of both music and of illness, though never at the same time.

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62 In Chapters XV-XVI of *De mortalitate*, Cyprian wrote, "Many of us are dying in this mortality, that is many of us are being freed from the world. This mortality is a bane to the Jews and pagans and enemies of Christ; to the servants of God it is a salutary departure. As to the fact that without any discrimination in the human race the just are dying with the unjust, it is not for you to think that the destruction is a common one for both the evil and the good. The just are called to refreshment, the unjust are carried off in torture; protection is more quickly given to the faithful; punishment to the
However, in the fourth century AD St Augustine forcefully made the argument that ‘we must nevertheless not shun music because of the superstition of the heathen, if we are able to snatch from it anything useful for the understanding of the Holy Scriptures’ (*De doctrina Christiana*, II, xviii, 28; *PL* xxxiv, 49; *CCL* xxxii, 53) and that ‘Indeed, an ignorance of certain musical questions shuts off and conceals much . . . we find both number and music honorably placed in many passages of the sacred Scriptures’ (*De doctrina Christiana* II, xvi, 26; *PL* xxxiv, 48-9; *CCL* xxxii, 51-2).

Accordingly, in time the relationship between music and the medicine apparently grew closer. Niceta of Remisiana (d. after 414) extolled the psalm as a ‘medicine, powerful enough to cure the wounds of sin, yet sweet to the taste by reason of the melody’ (Niceta, 1949: 69), while the hagiographer of the sixth century Frankish bishop Caesarius of Arles noted the saint’s sensitivity to the restorative potential of liturgical song as he ‘had a very great concern for the sick and came to their assistance. He granted them a spacious house, in which they could listen undisturbed to the holy office [being sung] in the basilica. He set up beds and bedding, provided for expenses, and supplied a person to take care of them and heal them.’ (Klingshirn, 1994: 18)

faithless . . . How suitable, how necessary it is that this plague and pestilence, which seems horrible and deadly, searches out the justice of each and every one and examines the minds of the human race’ (*Multi ex nostris in hac mortalitate moriuntur, hoc est, multi ex nostris de saeculo liberantur. Mortalitas ista, ut Judaes et gentilibus et Christi hostibus pestis est, ita Dei servis salutaris excessus est. Hoc quod, sine ullo discriminate generis humani, cum injustis moriuntur et justi, non est quod putetis bonis et malis interitum esse communem: ad refrigerium justi vocantur, ad supplicium rapiantur injusti; datur velocius tutela fidentibus, perfidis poena. . . quam pertinens, quam necessarium, quod pestis ista et lues, quae horribilis et feralis videtur, explorat justitiam singulorum, et mentes humani generis examinat*’). trans. Mary Louise Hannon (Washington, D.C., 1933), pp. 15-16; English cited in William H McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York: Doubleday, 1976), 122; St Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, *Sancti Thascii Caecilii Cypriani Episcopi Carthaginensis Et Martyris Opera Omnia*, Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina (Turnholt: Brepols, 1944), cols 592-93. St Cyprian is also known to history as one of the earliest Christian writers to discuss music, as he calls for a psalm at a banquet and advises the performer, ‘You will better nurture your friends, if you provide a spiritual recital for us and beguile our ears with sweet religious strains’ (*Magis charissimos pasces, si sit nobis spiritualis auditio, prolectet aures religiosa mulced*’) in his Epistola ad Donatum. Cyprian, *Sancti Thascii Caecilii Cypriani Episcopi Carthaginensis Et Martyris Opera Omnia*, col. 223; English translation in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 49.
The degree to which these Greek ideals affected the liturgical use of music is unknown. However, it does seem suggestive that by the sixth century AD, as the Platonic and Pythagorean theories of music were being enshrined in the writings of the Roman philosopher, scholar, and theologian Boethius whose texts *De institutione musica* and *De consolatio Philosophiae* formed the touchstone of musical learning and practice for over a millennium, music was playing a key role within the ritualized Christian context of liturgies specifically dedicated to medical intercession.

Interposed between the human supplicant and God in these devotional exercises were the saints and martyrs, who according to Catholic doctrine, 'being more closely united to Christ . . . fix the whole Church more firmly in holiness' and 'do not cease to intercede with the Father for [the sinner], as they proffer the merits which they acquired on earth through the one mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus' (Council, 1964: 49). According to medieval accounts, the 'Great Litany' of the Catholic Church and a mass to be sung 'against human infirmity' (*contra mortalitatem hominum*) were composed by Pope Gregory I ('the Great') during the Roman epidemic of A.D. 590 known as the 'Plague of Justinian'. The singing of these pieces, according to the widely-read account in the thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* by the Genoese bishop Jacobus de Voragine (also known as Iacopo da Varazze), resulted in the appearance of 'an angel of the Lord standing atop the castle of Crescentius [now known as the mausoleum of Hadrian], wiping a bloody sword and sheathing it. Gregory understood that that put an end to the plague, as, indeed,

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Iacopo da Varazze, "De Sancto Gregorio," in *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Firenze: Sismel, 1998285-307, 290. This epidemic is commonly cited in the historical and epidemiological literature as the first of three major bubonic plague pandemics, the second being the Black Death and the third being the Asian plague of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which led to Yersin's isolation of the causative bacterium in Hong Kong. However, the assignation of *Y. pestis* as the causative organism of these historical epidemics has a number of problems, as has been noted earlier (see Ch. 2, pp. 19-22), and for the current research the musical legacy of the 'Plague of Justinian' will only be considered in so far as its music and records were adapted by the populations of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries to address the onslaught of the late medieval plague.
happened', and the building was renamed the Castel Sant'Angelo or 'Castle of the Angel'. History also credits Gregory I as the formal architect of the doctrine of intercession (initially proposed by Augustine) which made sung votive masses to saints canonically permissible (Pelikan, 1978: 32-3), and by the end of the century there is evidence that such plainsong devotions were being performed with an eye toward the remission of epidemic diseases such as fever. For example, in the last decade of the sixth century Gregory of Tours noted that 'whenever people suffering from chills piously celebrate a mass in his [the Burgundian martyr St. Sigismund's] honour and make an offering to God for the king's repose, immediately their tremours cease, their fevers disappear, and they are restored to their earlier health', and the diffusion of a votive mass to St Sigismund pro febribus (for fever) has been traced by Frederick Paxton in liturgical books dating from the sixth to the eleventh century.

64 'Tunc Gregorius uidit super castrum Crescentii angelum domini qui glaudium cruentatum dergens in uaginam reuocabat; intellexitque Gregorius quod pestis illa cessasset et sic factum est. Vnde et castrum illud castrum angeli deinceps uocatum est.' Ibid.; English translation adapted from William Granger Ryan, ed., *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols., vol. 1, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 174. De Voragine's account of the lives of the saints was wildly popular across Europe, having been translated from Latin into Italian and most other modern languages by the middle of the fourteenth century, and some have claimed that 'in the late Middle Ages, the only book more widely read was scripture.' Boeckl, *Images of Plague and Pestilence*, 39-40.


66 The preface of a ninth-century version of the Mass found in the sacramentary of Angoulême with the rubric 'Missa sancti Sigismundi regis quae pro febribus cantare deber; begins, 'Father, all-powerful and ever-living God, we do well always and everywhere to give you thanks through Jesus Christ our Lord, you who assail our servants in the flesh so that they might grow in spirit, revealing clearly the glorious cure of your love, when you arrange it so that sickness itself can work in us health.' *Vere dignum et iustum est, aqucum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique grátiás ágere: Dómine, sancte Pater, omnipotens atérme Deus: per Christum Dóminum nostrum. Qui famulos tuos ideo corporaliter uesteras, ut mente proficiant, patenter ostendens quod sit pietatis tuae praecelsa salvato, dum praestas, ut operetur nobis etiam ipsa infirmitas salutem.' See Patrick Saint-Roch, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis*, vol. 159C, in "Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina" (Turnholt: Brepolis, 1987), 251. English translation in Frederick S. Paxton, *"Liturgy and Healing in an Early
Might the use of music in votive performance be related to the influence of the Pythagorean/Platonic philosophy? It is not impossible, especially given the reverence medieval scholars had for Boethius and the way that these ideas were amplified in the centuries preceding the Black Death. For example, Robert Grosseteste, thirteenth century bishop of Lincoln, wrote a book called *De artibus liberalibus* (On the Liberal Arts) in which he said:

> In natural philosophy the remedy of music is no less useless for healing, because the healing of sickness consists of bringing order and regularity to the *spiritus*, and every sickness, which can be healed through the bringing of order and regularity to the *spiritus*, is healable through musical knowledge and sound . . . that is to say, the soul follows the circumstances of the body and the body is affected by the sounding proportions of music, and the *spiritus* itself implements these same proportions. Also knowledgeable is he who is familiar with the interrelationships of the human body, by which I mean, he who knows in which proportions the Elements, the moist component parts, the very important *spiritus* and the Soul relate to the Body, and he who knows that these same proportions manifest as audible sound; and who knows how attackers of the soul are laid now and how from disorder without measures everything returns to the proper measured order. Also knowledgeable is he, who knows how the *spiritus* might be brought to joy, how it might be assembled against sadness, how it gallivants about in those affected by rage, how it moves and impels the brave, how in quiet people it holds them in a certain stillness, and finally that those who know

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how to call forth well-proportioned sounds from musical instruments will find themselves easily capable to alter emotions as he desires.  

This philosophy is also expressed in Chapter 14 of the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo. The chapter is entitled ‘On the tropes and on the power of music’ (*de tropis et virtute musicae*), and he ascribes the power of music (as displayed, for example, in the Greek physician Asclepiades curing a patient of insanity and by the example of David calming Saul) to a mechanism whereby ‘through the windows of the body the sweetness of apt things enters wondrously into the recesses of the heart. Hence it is that the well-being of both heart and body is lessened or increased’ (d’Arezzo, 1978: 69-70). Similarly, the fourteenth-century music theorist Engelbert von Admont states quite categorically, ‘The spirit of Man is changed more by musical song than by simple words. The reason for this is that Nature exults in that which is similar to itself. A rational and orderly action is agreeable to Nature, and such movement is provided through musical song, where different voices sound in harmony with each other according to musical proportions. The natural complexion

of Man exults in this harmony, since itself is composed of opposing elements
brought into proportionate relationship. 68

Certainly music was used to comfort the sick, as is evident even in the rather
grudging language of Thomas Chobham (c. 1160-1236) in his Summa Confessorum:
there are two varieties [of minstrel who play musical instruments to entertain
people]. Some go to public drinking places and wanton gatherings so that
they may sing wanton songs there to move people to lustfulness, and these
are damnable just like the rest. There are others, however, who are called
ioculatores, who sing the deeds of princes and the lives of saints and give
people comfort either when they are ill or when they are troubled, and who
are not responsible for too much shamefulness as male and female dancers
are and others who play in deceitful mummeries and cause what appear to be
certain phantoms to be seen through incantations or in some other way. If,
however, they do not do this, but sing the deeds of princes and other useful
things to their instruments to give comfort to people, as has been said, then
such entertainers may be tolerated. . . 69

68 "Quod cantu musico magis immutantur animi quam verbis. Cuius ratio secundum ipsum est, quod
natura gaudent in omni eo, quod est secundum naturam: motus autem ordinatus est secundum
naturam. Tali vero motus est in cantu musico, ubi voces diversae secundum musicas proportiones
sibi invicem consonant, cui consonantiae condelectatur naturalis complexio, quae est ex contrariis
habentibus proportionem ad invicem." Engelbertus Admontensis, "De Musica, Tractatus Quartus," in
Scriptores Ecclesiastici De Musica Sacra Potissimum, ed. Martin Gerbert (St. Blaise: Typis San-
Blasianis, 1784; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1963),338-69, Capitulum III, 341. Accessed online at
69 talium duo sunt genera [histrionum qui habent instrumenta musica ad delectandum homines].
Quidam enim frequentant publicas potationes et lascivas congregationes ut cantent ibi lascivas
cantilenas, ut moveant homines ad lasciviam, et tales sunt damnabiles sicut et alii. Sunt autem alii
qui dicuntur ioculatores qui cantant gesta principum et vitae sanctorum et faciunt solatia hominibus
vel in eruditibus suis vel in angustiis suis et non faciunt nimias turpitudines sicut faciunt saltatores
et saltatrixes et alii qui ludunt in imaginibus inhonestis et faciunt videri quasi quaedam phantasmata
per incantationes vel alio modo. Si autem non faciunt talia sed cantant instrumentis suis gesta
principum et alia ut faciant solatia hominibus sicut dictum est, bene possunt sustineri tales . . .
From F. Broomfield, ed., Thomae De Chobham Summa Confessorum, in "Analecta Mediaevalia
Namurcensia", 25 (Louvain, Paris: Editions Nawuelaerts, 1968), 292; English translation in
Christopher Page, The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300
From there it is but a small step to this passage from the *Summa de penitencia* of the thirteenth-century Franciscan friar Thomas Docking:

Some minstrels [mimi], however, are harpists [cithariste] and string players [viellatores] and others playing musical instruments; if they spend their efforts, and exercise their trade so that they may provoke people to sloth or wantonness, they are to be shunned and kept apart from any benefit; if, however, they are poor, and use their trade to earn their food and with the intention of giving people comfort against anger, sadness, weariness or sloth, or against bodily infirmities, they are to be given benefits like the poor of Christ [pauperes Christi].

Even among the *pauperes Christi* of the many orders of cloistered monks, who renounced secular lifestyles to concentrate on a life of the spirit, we find evidence of music being used as an adjunct to medical practice. Consider the following quote from a thirteenth-century Customary from St. Augustine’s Abbey in Canterbury:

In the infirmary, there should be no disturbing clamour at any time, but nor in that same place should there be any music of any musical instrument played openly in general hearing. But, for reasons of greater need, if it be judged very useful for improving someone’s condition—as when it happens that any brother be so weak and ill that he greatly needs the sound and harmony of a musical instrument to raise his spirits—that person may be led into the chapel by the *Infirmarius*, or carried there in some manner, so that,

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70 De mimis autem cuiusmodi sunt cithariste et viellatores et alii utentes instrumentis musicis; si hac intencione utuntur labore et officio suo ut provocent homines ad oculum vel lasciviam, repellendi sunt et prohibendi a beneficio; si autem indigentes sunt ut utuntur talibus pro victu suo adhispicio hac intencione ut faciant hominibus solacium contra iram, tristiciam, tedium et accidiam, vel contra infirmitates corporales, tanquam pauperes Christi ad beneficia sunt recipiendi. A.G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1943), 24; English translation adapted from Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300*, 24. Emphasis added.
the door being closed, a psaltery [psalterium] may be sweetly played before him by any brother, or by any reliable and discreet servant, without blame.

But great care should always be taken lest music or melody of this kind be heard at any time in the hall of the infirmary or—perish the thought—in the chambers of the brothers.71

Page also notes that the Customary of St Augustine’s specifically forbids any musical instruments to be played in the infirmary hall, suggesting that such performances had been taking place. Elsewhere in England, a passage in the register of Adam of Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, expresses disapproval that in 1318 the canons of Wigmore Abbey were similarly being diverted with ‘wanton songs’ (cantilenis in honestis) while undergoing bloodletting, presumably in the infirmary.72

Unfortunately, the historical record for this period is famously impoverished; indeed, the best collection of English music before 1350 (the so-called ‘Worcester fragments’) survived only by virtue of their utility for stiffening the bindings of other manuscripts—as shredded pieces of parchment. Nevertheless, even within this limited sample, we find some intriguing references to medical theory and practice.

According to Luther Dittmer, ‘the survival of these fragments in the bindings of

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manuscripts of Worcester provenence attests to the fact that this music was sung in Worcester, undoubtedly at the Cathedral, from the beginning of the thirteenth century (the earliest fragments) to the middle of the fourteenth century (the latest fragments)

Chronologically, the Worcester sources can thus serve as a snapshot of the musical life in one community just before the Black Death. An index of the medically significant passages appears in Appendix C (see pp. 253-254). While there are a number of evocations of medical practice and doctors, this material is of limited use due to the large number of lacunae and it is difficult even to get the sense of the text, let alone to discern its potential function when set to music. This is highly regrettable, as might be illustrated by taking a closer look at just one of these fragments. Fragment 34 (Salve fenestra [lacuna] Granits fumi virgula) is an apparently freely composed motet with no known concordances in other manuscripts (Dittmer, 1957: 29-31). Both of the surviving voices of this three-voice motet make reference to some kind of seed (granum/grantis), which both is both fragrant (bottom voice: fumus ex aromatibus) and has some sort of relationship through strength (utum) with contagio (middle voice: Granum ex utum pa[lacuna] contagio). This last word has a variety of meanings in Latin ranging from infection and contagion to influence and social contact, and to make matters worse there is a lacuna in the second voice precisely where the verb is in the sentence. However, the reference to balsamus (balsam) in the next sentence is suggestive. This term was used generically to refer to a group of plants prized since Biblical times for the sweet

73 Luther A Dittmer, The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonne and Transcription, ed. Armen Carapetyan, vol. 2, Musicological Studies and Documents (American Institute of Musicology, 1957), 9. All references to 'fragment numbers' in this and in succeeding paragraphs follow that used by Dittmer, who in turn included explanatory notes in his introduction (pp. 18-56) about how his organizational scheme relates to others used in the scholarly literature. Since its publication Dittmer's work has been refined and supplemented, but never entirely supplanted, by continuing scholarly interest, and there is a large literature available to the interested reader. For a more current overview of the field, see the bibliography of Nicky Losseff, The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York: Garland, 1994).
odour of their resin, and throughout the centuries was used widely in perfuming and medicinal ointments. This remained common knowledge throughout the Middle Ages; the plague tractate *A Little Book for the Pestilence* (originally written c. 1364 by John Jacmé and adapted by Swedish bishop Bengt Knutsson and subsequently translated into English by the end of the fifteenth century) offhandedly reminds the reader that ‘as by the sweet odour of balsam the heart and the spirits have recreation, so of evil savours they be made feeble’ (trans. Horrox, 1994: 176). The association between (at least some kinds of) music and medicine was apparently sufficiently entrenched in clerical life that the Franciscan friar and theologian Richard of Middleton saw fit to investigate the issue of ‘whether herbs or harmonies are capable of preventing a demon from afflicting mankind’ during a *quodlibet* (a debate on ‘whatever you please’) at Paris in 1287’ (Page, 1989: 160). Richard concludes that ‘music can mollify the effects of bodily sickness, and that it can influence human disposition,’ though a demon, being a malign spirit ‘has no body to be prevailed upon by sensations such as those produced by musical sound’.74

74 "Quaestio. Utrum herbae vel harmoniae possint impedire daemonem in vexando homines . . . [Solutio]: Possunt, sed in vexatum a daemone, non autem in ipsum daemonem agendo. Question: whether herbs or harmonies are capable of preventing a demon from afflicting mankind . . . [Solution]: they can, but by reacting upon him who is afflicted by the demon, not by acting upon the demon itself." *Quodlibeta . . . Ricardi de Mediavilla* (Brixiae, 1591), pp. 97-8, trans. Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300*, 160. Similar ideas can be found in the writings of fellow Franciscan Astesanus de Ast of Piedmont, Italy, whose *Summa de casibus conscientiae* (‘Cases of conscience’) of 1317 contains a section which ‘asks whether certain herbs and musical sounds can drive away devils, and therefore the maladies which possession can cause. The friar begins by saying that herbs and musical sounds cannot, by their own power, completely suppress a physical or spiritual trial produced by a demon—at least not if that trial is permitted by God or a good angel. Some herbs and melodies can mitigate the demon’s effect, but they do not accomplish this by working upon the malign spirit (who, being pure spirit, has no bodily substance); they act upon the troubled individual, lifting his spirits and so giving him extra resources to combat his assailant’.

Chapter 4. Plague and the Expression of Devotion

Liturgical monophony in Plague-Associated Masses

With the sustained popularity of the *Legenda Aurea* throughout the Middle Ages and the continued importance of Greek natural philosophy, the combination of the Gregorian legacy of intercessionary doctrine with active votive performance in the face of physical illness set an important precedent which helped shape the fourteenth-century ecclesiastical response to the Black Death. As we have already observed in the letters from Archbishop Zouche of 28 July 1348 to the deputy archbishop of York, from Bishop Edenton to the clergy of Winchester on 24 October 1348, and from Archbishop Islip to the Bishop of London of 28 December 1349 (see pp. 26-28), expectation of the plague was greeted by the performance of Gregory’s Great Litany in dioceses across England, as the clergy prescribed public acts of devotion in the form of public prayer and processions as an antidote to the corporeal and spiritual uncleanness implied by the devastation of the epidemic. The celebration of the mass formed a natural adjunct to these public displays of piety, and although these letters from episcopal authorities do not specify which particular chants and prayers the clergy should perform during the Black Death processions of 1349, similar instructions sent by bishops during later epidemics of the plague do provide this level of detail. The public register (*Registrum Commune*) of the diocese of Exeter contains a letter from Archbishop of Canterbury William Courtenay which was received by the Bishop of London Robert Braybrooke on 3 June 1382 and forwarded to Thomas de Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter, two days later. This letter directs that a Mass with 'special prayers' [*oraciones specialiter*] and processions be performed throughout the province of Canterbury, again on the penitentially
significant Wednesday and Friday, to secure divine clemency. More importantly, three prayers are written at the bottom of the letter, with indications of the point in the liturgy each should be recited (namely, recitation as the Oracio, Secreta, and Postcommunio of the liturgy. From a musical standpoint this initially appears of limited interest, since these sections of the mass are largely chanted upon a single pitch (Solesmes, 1961: 124). However, these three prayers, in the same liturgical positions, are listed as part of a full ‘Mass against human mortality’ (Missa contra mortalitatem hominum) in the large numbers of printed missals of the fifteenth and sixteenth century for the Salisbury (Sarum) rite. Of course, over time many small

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75 Vestre, igitar, Fraternitati injungimus et mandamus quatinus cum celeritate possibili, omnibus et singulis nostris Confratribus et Ecopeiscopis, nostre Cantuariensis Ecclesie Suffraganeis . . . Missas celebrabunt in quibus oraciones subscriptas specialiter dicant; predicaciones, eciam, diebus et locis competensibus, et processiones singulis quartis et sextis feris faciant, seu procurrent fieri, aliaque pie placacionis officia excercant humiliter et devote, ut Deus noster Omnipotens, eorum precibus complacatus, Populum Anglicanum de tribulationibus hujusmodi eripiat, Sueque gracie sibi prestet auxilium, atque a tempestatibus vel aidas nostris Confratribus et Coepiscopis, nostre Cantuariensis Ecclesie Suffraganeis, Missas celebrent in quibus oraciones specialiter dicant; predicaciones, eciam, diebus et locis competensibus, et processiones singulis quartis et sextis feris faciant. Et, ut mens multitude noster Provincia ad premissa propensi excircantur, omnibus Christianis per dictam nostram Provinciam constituientis, de peccatis suis vere contritis, pro premissis Missas celebrabunt, predicaciones vel processiones facientibus, ut ipsius devote interesse nobis et orantibus, necon non illis qui, propter locorum distanciam aut alia impedimenta, [start of p. 463] dictis quartis et sextis feris processiones faciant inserat interesse non poterunt, quinque partes noster et Ave Maria devote dicentur, quibus adeo praepositi, quibus ad processiones faciant inserat interesse non poterunt.

76 Ibid., 465.

differences accumulated in the liturgical practices between different Christian communities, which meant that by the eleventh century there existed a multitude of similar but distinct rites for celebrating the mass. In light of the fact that each bishop could specify the rite used in his diocese, and the Salisbury or Sarum rite (i.e. the Mass as it was performed in the Cathedral at Salisbury), was one of the most widely-adopted liturgies in England, it is reasonable to surmise that this full set of chants was performed not only in Canterbury and Exeter in the closing decades of the fourteenth century as their bishops requested, but throughout the dioceses that looked to Salisbury as a liturgical model.  

Printed Sarum missals, as well as missals the Roman rite used in much of continental Europe, also include *Missa pro mortalitate evitanda* ['Mass for the avoidance of sickness'], whose rubric states that a fully sung plainsong Mass was authorized (and allegedly composed) during the Black Death by Pope Clement VI (1291-1352), who further ensured its performance by granting 260 days of indulgence to all who heard it. The Mass was also said to have prophylactic
powers; the same rubric states that for all ‘those hearing the following mass [who] should hold a burning candle while they hear mass on the five following days and keep it in their hand throughout the entire mass, while kneeling . . . sudden death shall not be able to harm them’. The texts for both of these masses appear in Appendix D (see pp. 255-269).

We can now begin to combine the multiple strands of research which have coursed through this investigation of the musical experience of plague. Based on the epidemiological examination of plague reports in Chapter 2 and summarized in the database, we know that the celebration of either of these two masses would have been situationally appropriate, and at times episcopally mandated, in expectation of and during any of the 5,504 plague epidemics which struck Western Europe between 1350 and 1600. Further information is available on the appearance of the Black Death in Avignon in 1348, where in his study of Avignonese ritual during the papacy’s residence Tomasello noted that the papal chaplain ‘Johannes de Sinemuro was dead before September 1348, when one of his benefices was requested by a new
chaplain, Johannes de Bralli. Johannes de Bralli and Johannes Hyera had already entered the chapel as of 25 April 1348. In the month of June, the names of three new members appear [in the records of the papal capella]: Johannes de Athies, Laurentius de Abbatisvilla, and Matheus de Barbino. On 9 August, Guillelmus Rastelrii joined their ranks’ (Tomasello, 1983: 55-6). In light of the fact that plague mortality often reached a peak in the summer months (cf. Scott and Duncan, 2001), it is reasonable to conclude that this turmoil in the capella staff is due in some part to the Black Death, and that the Missa pro mortalitate evitanda was celebrated, if not indeed composed de novo or assembled, around this time. We also know that as plague cycled through Europe, epidemics tended to explode in periodic outbreaks of increased geographic impact approximately once every five to ten years, which gave the disease an element of predictability and allowed communities to make physical and spiritual provisions for its arrival (see Ch. 2, pp. 41-42). We might therefore reasonably expect that at least one of these two plague masses would be included in western European liturgical books which postdate the Black Death, and that, given the fact that the proper of each mass was always sung, an examination of these liturgical books would give a clear indication of the sacred music sung during plague epidemics.

However, it quickly becomes apparent that the chants for the Salus populi mass propers are of insufficient liturgical specificity to serve as reliable indicators of plague performance. All of these propers for this mass also reappear as propers in various feasts of the Temporale, as seen in the following table (Table 4.1):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper</th>
<th>Textual incipit</th>
<th>Cross-referenced liturgical use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introit</td>
<td>Salus populi</td>
<td>Temporale- 19th Sunday after Pentecost⁶; Vigil of the Ascension⁷, Barberini 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm</td>
<td>Attendite populum meam</td>
<td>Temporale- 19th Sunday after Pentecost⁶; Vigil of the Ascension⁷, Barberini 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradual</td>
<td>Liberasti nos</td>
<td>Temporale- 4th Sunday after Pentecost⁶; 1st Saturday of Lent⁷; Thursday of the 2nd week of Lent⁷; 4th or 5th Trinity of Trinity⁷; Vigil of Pentecost⁷, Vallicellian D 5⁷; Saturday of Pentecost⁷, Paris Bibl. Nat. 17436⁷; Octave of Pentecost⁷, Barberini 1854⁷; Tuesday of Rogation⁷, Thomasius Opera⁷, Saturday of the 5th week of Lent⁷, Angelica B.3.18⁷, Mens sept. iv⁷, Westminster and Hereford uses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia Verse</td>
<td>Domine, refugium</td>
<td>Temporale—13th Sunday after Pentecost³³³; 11th Sunday of Trinity⁵³³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1. Cross-referencing of chant propers for Salus populi mass
Although the inclusion of these propers in the cycle of temporal feasts limits their utility as flags of plague-related liturgical celebration, some useful information can nevertheless be gleaned from them. First, the ubiquity of the chants highlights the root of the auditory response to plague in the cultural stratum of everyday life.

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Table 4.1. (cont.) Cross-referencing of chant propers for *Salus populi* mass

Although the inclusion of these propers in the cycle of temporal feasts limits their utility as flags of plague-related liturgical celebration, some useful information can nevertheless be gleaned from them. First, the ubiquity of the chants highlights the root of the auditory response to plague in the cultural stratum of everyday life.

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82 Guide to superscripts:


Superscript numbers after initial 'a' or 'b' = page number of relevant source.

Superscript words after initial 'a' or 'b' = Manuscript in which Frere *et al.* found concordant item of chant.
experience. The annual performance of these chants in Sunday services and important vigils likely rendered them familiar, if not to the laity, to clergy of all kinds and not just those who lived in cloistered religious communities. This highlighting of quotidian, everyday experience is seen in other repertoire connected to the plague, as is discussed below (see below, pp. 75-78, and Ch. 5, pp. 131-135).

Second, the availability of these propers and the relative ease with which they can be combined with the oraciones specialiter specified by Archbishop Courtenay to form a full Salus Populi mass make it all the more remarkable that a second liturgy such as the Recordare Domine mass would be deemed necessary. After its apparent composition in the mid-fourteenth century, this second mass found its way into a large variety of service books, on equal terms with the Salus populi mass as a saint-nonspecific Missa votiva. This expansion after the Black Death parallels the growth seen in the visual arts in the amount and diversity of votive art dedicated to plague saints (see below, pp. 79-83), and highlights the intensity of the psychological impact of plague epidemics.

A somewhat different pattern of annual performance regularity emerges from a study of the propers of the Recordare Domine, as seen in the following table (Table 4.2.):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper</th>
<th>Textual Incipit</th>
<th>Cross-referenced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introit</td>
<td>Recordare domine testamenti</td>
<td>None*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Psalm:)</td>
<td>Qui pascis Israel ausculta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradual</td>
<td>Misit Dominus</td>
<td>Temporale—2nd Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Verse)</td>
<td>Confiteantur domino</td>
<td>after Epiphany(^a) 485; 10th Sunday after Epiphany(^b) Zürich, Fonds Rheinau 30; Feast of the Transfiguration(^b) Vallicellian B. viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia verse</td>
<td>Salvabo populum</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tract</td>
<td>Domine non secundum</td>
<td>Temporale—Ash Wednesday(^a) 89; b,31;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offertory</td>
<td>Stetit pontifex</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communion</td>
<td>Multitudo languentium [et qui vexabuntur]</td>
<td>Sanctorale—Feast of Sts Fabian and Sebastian(^a) 416; b, 218; *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2. Cross-referencing of chant propers for Recordare Domine mass.\(^83\)

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\(^83\) Guide to superscripts:
\(^b\) = Frere, Walter Howard. Graduale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century with a Dissertation and Historical Index Illustrating Its Development from the
The liturgical promiscuity of the *pro mortalitate evitanda* Gradual, Gradual verse, and Tract is akin to that seen in the *Salus populi* mass, and sheds little additional light on plague-specific musical practice. A search of the 101 antiphonaries, graduals, breviaries, and missals which constitute the data set of the CANTUS project further reveals that a chant on the *Multitudo languentium* text appears as the Matins responsory for celebration of the feast of Sts Fabian and Sebastian on folio 162v of a fourteenth-century antiphoner from a monastery in Einsiedeln, Switzerland (Musikbibliothek 611), and the *Recordare domine* text is used listed as a Matins responsory for the summertime liturgical celebration of Histories from the Book of Kings in fifty-seven service books from monasteries across Europe (Bailey, 2007). Both of these Office chants are in the same modes (Dorian and Hypophrygian, respectively) as their Missa *pro mortalitate evitanda* counterparts, though a more detailed melodic comparison of all the variants has yet to be performed.

Based on these observations a number of inferences are possible. First, the use of the *Multitudo languentium* text in both the votive mass for the avoidance of sickness and the Mass and Office associated with the feasts of Sts Fabian and Sebastian may reflect Sebastian's reputation as a healer of plague. The doctrine of

(cont from p. 73) *Gregorian Antiphonale Missarum*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1894. Reprint, 1966, Gregg Press Limited. Superscript numbers after initial 'a' or 'b' = page number of relevant source. Superscript words after initial 'a' or 'b' = manuscript in which Frere et al. found concordant item of chant. * = additional concordance with Office chants; see discussion on this page. 84 This is a particularly interesting substitution, since beginning in the eighth century Sebastian was venerated as a saint particularly renown for intercession against plague. See below (pp. 79-85). 85 Terence Bailey, *Cantus*, 2007. Accessed 27 January 2008, <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>. The only 'melodic' information collected as a matter of course for the CANTUS project was the chant's modal classification and thus further comparisons may not be made, though there is reason to suspect that this hides substantial variation in melodic contour. Two of the servicebooks indexed in CANTUS (Worcester, Cathedral Chapter Library, F. 160; and Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile 601) were analyzed by Bryden and Hughes for their *Index of Gregorian Chant* (1969), and they describe differing melodic incipits for the Hypophrygian chant found in these Office chants and that in the Graduale Romanum votive mass. See John R Bryden and David G Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).
intercession formalized by Pope Gregory I and Alcuin in the sixth century offered a structure through which so-called 'votive' petitions and offerings to saints could become a part of the medieval religious vocabulary of earthly and celestial salvation (Pelikan, 1978: 32-33), and over time a number of saints gained a reputation as 'plague saints' for their special efficacy in intercession against plague or other illnesses. The saints' lives provided numerous (if not always obvious) opportunities for medieval congregations to see their struggle against plague symbolically inscribed in the struggles of their virtuous predecessors. Sebastian was known and venerated from the sixth century onwards and his reputation as a plague saint is documented beginning in the late eighth century. Although the commemoration of Sebastian was frequently combined with that of the papal (and medicinally undistinguished) martyr St Fabian, it is easy to imagine a scenario whereby a chant from this yearly commemoration (especially one whose text specifically mentions healing, as this one does) might be singled out and for special use as a votive petition and/or be subsequently incorporated into another mass. In support of this view we might note that, in addition to use on the feast of Sts Fabian and Sebastian, the Multitudo appears as one of several Communion chants in the Common for Several Martyrs in the Common of Saints in a missal for the Parisian usage printed by Simon [86] Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague". Many missals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries include two masses in Sebastian’s honour: a diocesan feast day on the 20 January which he shares with St Fabian, and a special votive mass which in Sarum missals is prefaced with the rubric pro tempore pestis (in time of plague). This special votive mass to Sebastian will be discussed below, on pp. 76 and 79-85, and the text is in Appendix D, on pp. 270-275. [87] The establishment of a secure chronology and direction of transmission for such votive chants is complicated by the fact that St Sebastian’s feast was added to the Sanctorale at widely different times across Europe and was subject to diocesan mandate, while the addition of votive masses in his honour to missals and graduals may be more reflective of pre-existing popular devotion. In the sole study to examine their relationship, Sarah Long found that in Parisian servicebooks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the festal mass to Sts Fabian and Sebastian has ‘virtually no relationship’ to the votive masses to the saint found at the end of diocesan books or in manuscripts owned by confraternities. However, the acknowledgement that transmission of chant repertoire is more complicated than a simple diffusion from ‘old’ to ‘new’ is not a reason to dismiss the dual use of the Multitudo languentium chant in Sebastian’s festal celebration and the Recordare Domine mass. For more information on the veneration of Sebastian in Parisian sources, see Long, "The Chanted Mass in Parisian Ecclesiastical and Civic Communities", 204-215.
Vostre in 1504, and in Sarah Long's study of the chanted mass in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Parisian communities this chant is one of two items from the diocesan feast to appear in a special votive mass appealing for the intercession of St Sebastian.\textsuperscript{88}

Second, the texts used for the Alleluia verse and the Offertory of the Missa pro mortalitate evitanda appear to be uniquely associated with this mass, and thus reliably associated with times of epidemic stress. Further research might thus profitably concentrate on settings of these texts to shed light on the degree of de novo liturgical composition which occurred with the arrival of the plague and the corresponding degrees, and lineages, of melodic borrowing involved in devising the new masses.\textsuperscript{89} A full map of the melodic variants for this mass, particularly across differences in the usages of major dioceses such as Sarum, York, Paris, and Rome, would be a valuable research tool, particularly for the investigation of vocal music whose text implies an association with plague or epidemic disease but which cannot otherwise be associated with a clear liturgical celebration. This scenario not only characterizes large amounts of polyphonic devotional music for religious communities (which will be discussed below, on pp. 85-91); it also applies to monophonic settings of texts which are not found in conventional service books. For example, MS Hunter 432 in the collection of the University of Glasgow is a thirteenth-century compilation likely of French provenance containing grammatical

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 206 and 210. Special votive masses to Sebastian were found by Long in a number of Parisian servicebooks, including Ars. MS 620, BN MS lat. 10506, Ars. MS 204 (text and music), BN MS lat. 859, and the Vostre missal of 1504 (text only). The Multitudo is listed as one of the options for Communion for the Sebastian votive mass in the 1504 Vostre missal, and the prosa Mirabilis deus appears in BN MS. lat 859 in both the Sebastian votive mass and the celebration of the feast of Sts Fabian and Sebastian on 20 January. Otherwise, Long notes that there are no similarities between the two masses. For further information, see Long, "The Chanted Mass in Parisian Ecclesiastical and Civic Communities", ch. 4, esp. pp 204-15.

\textsuperscript{89} For example, Sarah Long found that the melodies of the alleluia verses used in the Sebastian votive masses in Ars MS 204 and 620 are both taken from the chants for the feast day of local Parisian saint Louis IX. See Long, "The Chanted Mass in Parisian Ecclesiastical and Civic Communities", 233.
works by Priscian (*Artis Grammaticiae Libri XVII et XVIII*), Donatus (*De Barbarismo*), and an unknown author (*De arte grammatica*).\(^{90}\) Musical notation with textual underlay is written in a sixteenth-century hand in the margins of three consecutive pages, and a fourth contains apparent musical notes without text.\(^{91}\) Upon further inspection the texts on two of these pages closely parallel the full set of propers of the *Missa pro mortalitate evitanda*, and the third a variant of the *Salvator mundi* focusing on the Virgin Mary (see Appendix F for photographs, pp. 293-295). However, the versions for the mass propers in Hunter 432 are strikingly different from those contained in both the Solesmes *Graduale Romanum* and the 1490 gradual of the monastery of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (DMA 1011, fols 282r-v).\(^{92}\) This can be illustrated by a side-by-side comparison of the Alleluias from the three sources (see Appendix E, pp. 288-289).

Beginning with the texts, it is apparent that although they are broadly similar, the three versions are distinguished by large numbers of single-letter modifications and the addition or substitution of small descriptive words and phrases. Thus, in the second half of the verse, the majority of the text is consistent across all editions with only the pronoun (*eis* in the GR, *illis* in Hunter 432, and *illi* in DMA 1011) distinguishing the texts. In the first half of the text the differences are more

\(^{90}\) See John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1908), 356.

\(^{91}\) Ibid. Approximately 25-30% of the pages of this manuscript are covered in brown ink marginalia which occupy the majority of the page space. For this information the author thanks Karen McAulay of the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Dance, who inspected the manuscript. [McAulay, personal communication].

\(^{92}\) The mass in DMA 1011 is prefaced with the rubric *Officium contra pestilenciam*. These two graduals were selected for comparison by virtue of being fully notated servicebooks easily accessible to the general public (the Solesmes edition serving as the standard edition for modern Catholicism, the Augsburg edition available in facsimile at no charge through the University of Regensburg [http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_J/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/microfilm/dmal011/index.htm]). While a more detailed examination of servicebooks is highly desirable, and a focused research project to accomplish this is in initial planning stages, this initial analysis provides a sense of the types of diversity encountered in the study of votive music performed during epidemics and why its unraveling is an important avenue for investigating the role played by music in times of social stress.
elaborate, though still recognizably congruent in that all depict an active god tending
his flock in the chosen land (*Jerusalem* in Hunter 432 and DMA 1011, *Israel* in the
GR). In general the text of Hunter 432 is closer to that of DMA 1011 than it is to the
GR. Both chants locate the action *in medio Jerusalem* (in the midst of Jerusalem)
where the GR generalizes to the people *Israel in die malo* (Israel on the wicked day),
and *illi* and *illis* are so similar as to allow the possibility of scribal error. However,
other relationships are suggested by the fact that the possessive *meum* is found DMA
1011 and the GR but not in Hunter 432, and that Hunter 432 and the GR share a
similar initial verb *salvare* which is widely divergent from DMA 1011’s
*congregare*. The conjugated forms of the verbs *congregare* (to gather), *salvare* (to
save) and *sanare* (to heal) form a continuum of medical specificity, which could
indicate the relative age of the chant’s association with the plague mass.
Unfortunately, while the verb *sanare* is particularly evocative, underscoring a likely
association of this chant with medical exigencies, both directions of mutation seem
equally plausible. We can rule out simple scribal error, since while this could could
conceivably transmute a hastily written ‘lv’ to an ‘n’ without any deeper meaning
than a momentary lapse of concentration, the substitutions of larger, less easily
confused words later in the text argues against such an easy dismissal of the
variation. However, is it more likely that the initial word of this setting became more
medically specific as its association with the plague mass became more familiar, or
that the meaning of the text would be widened so the verse would be appropriate for
more occasions? Some additional light is shed by the fact that this same phrasing of
the text incipit is found in a *Missa pro mortalitate [e]vitanda* contained in a Italian
gradual dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century of uncertain provenance
(now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. MS 40608; hereafter
abbreviated Bs 40608),\textsuperscript{93} suggesting the latter may be a stronger possibility, but any conclusions are far from certain.

Turning now to the music itself, it is immediately apparent that the melodies themselves are strikingly incongruent, differing in the syllables with melismatic elaboration (The Alleluia in Hunter 432 lacks even a jubilus), modal classification, melodic contour for textually equivalent passages, and even the contents of their basic vocabulary of motivic patterns used to construct the phrases.\textsuperscript{94} The differences between these three Alleluia melodies are such that it is impossible to construct a stemmatic tree of relationships, though other chants such as the Gradual 	extit{Misit Dominus} and the Offertory chant 	extit{Stetit pontifex} reveal a closer relationship, particularly the versions found in the GR and DMA 1011 (see Appendix E, pp. 285-287 and 290-291).\textsuperscript{95} This is in line with the finding of Long and others that the Alleluia verse is a highly variable chant genre and represents an important locus for the study of regional performance practice.\textsuperscript{96} However, as is apparent from the large variation also apparent in the Introit, it may be this mass is less the result of the exertion of the authority in a single compositional milieu (for example, that of Clement VI's Avignon) than a site for the adoption of local practices to meet new demands.

\textsuperscript{93} Although Giulio Cattin is convinced that the gradual reflects the usage of the Venetian cathedral of St Mark's, catalogues consulted through the 'Cantus Planus' project of the University of Regensburg reveal a diversity of opinion about the precise Italian source of this manuscript, with cases made for both the Udinese cathedral of Aquileia and the Lombardian city of Monza. For further information see Cattin, 	extit{Musica E Liturgia a San Marco}, 442; David Hiley, 'Cantus Planus', 2009. Cantus Planus, University of Regensburg. Accessed 21 February, 2009, <http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/index.htm>.

\textsuperscript{94} Similar observations can be made about the Introit 	extit{Recordare Dominum}, whose melodic differences between variants appear equally large and unsystematic. The single exception to this is that the melody of the Psalm 	extit{Qui regis Israel} is the same as that in DMA 1011, though not the GR.

\textsuperscript{95} With the exception of the psalm, no concordances have been found between the melodies of Hunter 432 and any other chant source, leaving their provenance and use in a codex whose marginalia seems to have served the purpose of a household book obscure.

\textsuperscript{96} See Long, "The Chanted Mass in Parisian Ecclesiastical and Civic Communities", partic. 223, and the additional sources described in n. 156.
Votive liturgical monody: Sebastian and Roch

Of course, in the later Middle Ages, these masses were not the only liturgical options available to medieval congregations who desired deliverance from plague. Individual saints could be prevailed upon for intercession, and cultural historians such as Christine Boeckl have identified paintings and illuminations which credit over 110 different saints with a role in mediating the heavenly scourge of disease in different localities (Boeckl, 2000: xii). The analysis of these works is leading to an ever-expanding comprehension of the iconographical associations which acted as a symbolic lexicon linking concepts of local identity, religion, art, and medicine. In this pantheon of plague saints, however, the figures of Saints Sebastian and Roch enjoy particular prominence as foci of disease-related popular devotion. As we have already identified a chant in the Mass and Office for Sebastian’s feast on 20 January as a point of concordance with the Missa pro mortalitate evitanda, it behooves us to investigate this relationship further.

According to his fifth-century biographer and the account in the widely read medieval Legenda Aurea, Sebastian was a member of the Praetorian Guard in the third century AD under the Roman Emperor Diocletian who was sentenced to death...
for destroying idols and encouraging Christians to remain faithful in the face of martyrdom. Archbishop Antoninus of Florence (c. 1389-1459) claimed that in the ensuing trials Sebastian actually earned 'two crowns of martyrdom', first tied to a post and having so many arrows shot 'into his body that he looked like a porcupine' and then, after being miraculously revived by God, clubbed to death and thrown in the Roman sewers.  

In her doctoral thesis Louise Marshall presented the argument that it was this element of Sebastian's martyrdom, in addition to his association with arrows and their venerable iconographical links with disease, which was seized upon by medieval commentators and led to his perceived efficacy in negotiating with an angry and judgemental Jesus. In her view the medieval Sebastian was a spiritual 'lightning rod', drawing the divinely-launched arrows of the plague away from humanity and 'grounding' them harmlessly in his own body. Then, 'in direct analogy with Christ's redemptive death, Sebastian's martyrdom by the arrows of the plague . . . demonstrates satisfaction of the demands of divine justice, secured for all time by the merit of his vicarious sacrifice'.

99 'Ut quasi ericius ita esset hirsutus ictibus saggitarum.' Although the Latin quote is from the fifth century Passio S. Sebastiani of the Acta Sanctorum (now available through publications from the Société des Bollandistes), Jacobus de Voragine used the same phrase in the Legenda Aurea and the English translation is taken from his work. See Société des Bollandistes, Passio S. Sebastiani' (1643-1940) ed. (Accessed 2 November 2007), <http://acta.chadwyck.com>, 124-25; Wylyam Caxton, Legenda Aurea Sanctorum, Sive, Lombardica Historica', 1483. Early English Books Online, ProQuest CSA. Accessed 16 September 2007, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgthumbs.cfg&ACTION=ByID&id=22616559&FILE=.session/1189946071_23677&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=ALPHA>. It is also important to note that the Virgin Mary is also frequently depicted iconographically shielding her supplicants from the arrows of plague, and like Sebastian and Roch was the subject of intense devotion, with potential musical ramifications, during epidemics. The association between the Virgin Mary and plague is discussed more fully on pp. 91-94 and 134-135.

For his part, the fourteenth-century St Roch (also known as Roche, Rock, Rocco, and Rocchus) seems to have acquired his reputation as a plague saint on the strength of accounts of numerous miraculous cures after he contracted and lived through a plague epidemic in plague chronicler Gabriele de Mussis' home town of Piacenza. Upon returning to his native France he was unjustly imprisoned as a spy and died after five years in captivity, and when his body was discovered 'bathed in a saintly light, a tablet under his head "written in a divine way in gold letters" proclaimed his status as an intercessor against plague'. 101 Within a century there is evidence of votive art (in the form of two Venetian altarpieces) being produced in his honour, and the adoption of the day after Assumption (16 August) as his official feast day. 102

Together, Sebastian and Roch formed a bulwark against the physical and spiritual deprivations of plague, sheltering the pious against the worst of their afflictions. The emotive and creative potential of this intercessionary vocabulary is made wonderfully explicit in a panel described by Marshall which was made by Bartolomeo Montagna in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century for the parish church of S. Rocco in Vincenza and now held in the Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice (see Figure 4.1.):


Figure 4.1. Christ between St Sebastian and St Roch, late fifteenth century.
Bartolomeo Montagna (1450-1523) Gallerie dell'Accademia (Venezia, Italy).

As Marshall noted, 'Pierced with arrows and clad only in a loincloth, Sebastian is strongly identified with the similarly naked and wounded Christ. Roch, too, prominently displays his bleeding bubo. The painting is thus a triple *ostentatio vulnerum* that vividly articulates the Renaissance conception of the plague saints as specially privileged [sic] intercessors before Christ. Sebastian and Roch willingly imitated Christ's sufferings in their own flesh. Now they present their wounds to him as demonstrative tokens by which they entreat his mercy. In turn, Christ himself displays his wounds before God the Father, as proof that the requirements of divine
justice have been satisfied and to petition for the intervention of divine mercy' (Marshall, 1980: 111).

However, while it is clear that these two saints were the focus of intense devotion which could and did take the form of powerful artistic production in times of plague, the history of their musical veneration is only beginning to be unravelled. The festal mass to Roch in the Graduale Romanum is taken entirely from the Common of Saints (Solesmes, 1961: [46], 82**), while in the Sarum missals analyzed by Dickinson there is a separate votive mass to Roch after the votive mass to Sebastian (Dickinson, 1867: 895*-896*). Strikingly, the text of the Prefatio of the Missa de Sancto Roccho in the Sarum missal bears a very strong resemblance to the Oratio of the Missa contra mortalitatem hominum (see Table 4.3.):

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103 As is made very clear by a Scottish annalist who, in the course of describing the devastation of the plague in 1349, wrote that 'the greatest health is to be had through devotion to Saint Sebastian' (cuja summa salus est devotionem ad sanctum Sebastianum habere); see Felix J.H. Skene, ed., Liber Pluscardensis, 2 vols., vol. 1, in "The Historians of Scotland", 7 (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1877), 295. Louise Marshall also noted the intensity of devotion in the form of votive art to plague saints, and in particular the growth of the cult of Saint Roch when Saint Sebastian already seemed to fill the role of plague mediator. She suggests that the cult of St Roch should 'be thought of less in terms of some presumed lack in Sebastian than as a measure of the sheer constancy of the threat of plague, and the consequent need for as many avenues of access to celestial protection as possible'. If this is accurate, such belief would constitute a framework in which music, as well as visual art, might be expected to flourish. See Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague", 193.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oratio, Missa contra mortalitatem</th>
<th>Prefatio, Missa de Sancto Roccho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>hominum</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deus, qui imminentem Ninivitis</td>
<td>æterne Deus, qui imminentem Ninivitis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interitum sola misericordia removisti;</td>
<td>interitum sola misericordia revocasti;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quibus ut misericors existeres,</td>
<td>quibus ut propugnator existeres cum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conversionis pœnitetiam praœstitisti;</td>
<td>orationis pœnitetia praœstitisti, et huic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respice, quaœsumus, populum tuum ante</td>
<td>populo tuo ante conspectum glorie tuæ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conspectum misericordiæ tuæ</td>
<td>prostrato orandi tribue puritatem, et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prostratum;</td>
<td>quem desiderat præta liberationis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ut quos Unigeniti tui sanguine redemisti,</td>
<td>effectum, ut quos Unigeniti tui pretioso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non patiaris propter misericordiam tuam</td>
<td>sanguine redemisti, non patiaris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mortalitatis interire supplicio.</td>
<td>misericordia tua mortalitatis interire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>supplicio.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3. Side-by-side comparison of passages from the *Missa contra mortalitatem hominum* and the *Missa de Sancto Roccho* in the Sarum Missal printed by Regnault in 1526 used as the standard in Dickinson’s study.\(^{104}\)

It seems likely that the transmission of recited material like the preface from the Recordare Domine mass would be accompanied or paralleled by similar borrowing of other elements from the mass such as the chanted propers. Such a comparison has not yet been satisfactorily performed, but remains an intriguing avenue for future research.\(^{105}\)

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\(^{104}\) See Dickinson, *Missale ad usum insignis et praecclare et ecclesie Sarum*, xvii.

\(^{105}\) A future study along these lines is being planned by the author, with particular attention paid to the melodies in fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century missals and graduals flagged by F.H. Dickinson in the *Missale ad Usum Insignis Et Praeclare Ecclesie Sarum* (1867) and the monks of
Liturgical polyphony for plague-associated masses

While monophonic chants represent one source of information on liturgical performance during plague epidemics, the masses and offices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were sites for increasingly elaborate polyphonic settings of liturgical texts whose study provides their own set of opportunities and obstacles.

What are we to make, for example, of the fact that in the sixteenth century the *Recordare Domine testamenti tui* enjoyed some popularity as a motet text, particularly among Franco-Flemish composers working at home and abroad? Do these polyphonic elaborations represent the first fruits of an elaborate effort to 'bend the ear' (as the psalm associated with this Introit would have it) of a wrathful god to the plague-stricken sufferings of his people, or a ploy of court musicians to flatter their employers by adding pomp and splendour to a summer feast associated with great rulers? It is difficult to discount either possibility, though in at least one instance, corroborating evidence exists to strengthen the former case that the motet was indeed intended for performance during a plague epidemic. Philippe Verdelot's (c. 1480s- before d. 1552) setting of *Recordare Domine testamenti tui* was published

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Solesmes in their critical edition of the Roman gradual (1957). I am also grateful to Dr Sarah Long for calling my attention to Paris Ars. MS 204, a fifteenth century manuscript formerly belonging to the Confraternity of St Sebastian for the Bourgeois Archers and containing votive masses in the Parisian use dedicated to Sts Sebastian, Roch, Anthony, and Geneviève as well as a Mass *pro mortalitate substantia evitanda*.

106 Printed Franco-Flemish musical settings of this text include the motet attributed to Pierre Vermont (c. 1495-1533) in the *Liber undecimus XXVI. musicales habet modulos quatuor et quinque vocibus* published by Attaingnant in 1535, a setting by Pierre Colin (fl. 1538-72) in the *Quartus liber modalorum, quatuor, quinque et sex vocum, (quos vulgus voteta vocat) a quibusvis celeberrimis authoribus excerptus, & nunc primùm in lucem aeditus* published by Du Bosc and Guéroulde in 1555 in the *Quintus tomus Evangeliorum, et piarum sententiarum: quinque vocum. Continens historia & doctrinam, qua in Ecclesia proponi solet: de Poenitentia* published by Montanus and Neuber in 1556, and one by Pierre de Manchicourt in the *Liber XIIII. ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. De uno tono. Antea nunquam excusus* published by Susato in 1557. An additional setting by Rogier Patier (Roger Pathie, c. 1510-after 1565) on the single folio Mus pr. 1567/7 (owned by the Bavarian State Library, Munich) is associated with the sixteenth century chapel court of Mary of Hungary in Antwerp. See Glenda G. Thompson, "Music in the Court Records of Mary of Hungary," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 34, no. 2 (1984): 132-173147.
in 1534 in the volume *Liber quartus XXIX. musicales quatuor vel quinque parium vocum modulos habet* by Attaingnant with the superscript ‘against plague’ (*contra pestem*) (Bragard, 1973: XI). Interestingly, while one would expect a piece whose text is drawn from the liturgy to be based on plainchant, the *cantus firmus* of Verdelot's *Recordare Domine* is a quotation the tenor part of Jacob Obrecht's (c. 1458-1505) motet on the penitential text *Parce domine*. Obrecht famously contracted the plague in an epidemic raging in the city of Ferrara in the summer of 1505, where he had replaced Josquin as master of the court chapel of the duke Ercole d'Este and perhaps contracted the illness in the course of pastoral care to the sick. Verdelot also had ample reason to be thinking about deliverance from plague, having arrived in Florence from northern Italy in 1521—just in time for the longest sustained assault of plague in Florentine history. Plague is documented in the city of the

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108 See Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 350; and Paul Merkley, "Josquin Desprez in Ferrara", *The Journal of Musicology* 18, no. 4 (2001): 544-583, at 548. Some commentators have raised the possibility that Josquin may have written music of his own in response to this event; Josquin's own Ferrarese tenure left him no stranger to the horrors of the epidemic; plague struck Ferrara a total of 19 times in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries (1348, 1361, 1382, 1398, 1410, 1436, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1463, 1482, 1483, 1485, 1487, 1499, 1503, 1505, 1527, and 1572), and a number of compositional and stylistic considerations make *Absolve, quaesumus, Domine* preserved in Toledo MS 21 a viable candidate for use as a funerary tribute from Josquin to his unfortunate successor at the ducal chapel Obrecht. For devotees of Josquiniana, the plague outbreak of greatest significance is the epidemic in the summer of 1503 shortly after the Franco-Flemish master took over leadership duties of the ducal chapel. Evocatively, Josquin’s setting of Psalm 50, *Miserere mei Deus* (with its well-known petition ‘Asperges me Domine, hysopo, et mundabor’, ‘Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean’) dates from precisely this period. The so-called penitential psalms (including Psalm 50, as well as Psalms 6, 31, 37, 101, 129, and 142) were often singled out for performance during plague epidemics (see the letter from Bishop Edenton of Winchester in Chapter II, p. 26-27), and the eschatological themes of Psalm 50 which deal with ‘the mortality of the individual and the imminence of the Last Judgement’ were well-developed in north Italian plague iconography of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Further information on these topics can be found in Boeckl, *Images of Plague and Pestilence*, esp. 38-39, Willem Elders, "Josquin's "Absolve, Quaesumus, Domine": A Tribute to Obrecht?," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* D. 37 (1987): 14-24, and Paul Merkley, "Josquin Desprez in Ferrarra," *The Journal of Musicology* 18, no. 4 (2001): 373-378.
Medici every year between 1522 and 1528, including 2 separate outbreaks in both 1527 and 1528, and reappeared after a year’s hiatus again in 1530 and 1531.\textsuperscript{109}

Given this epidemiological profile one might also wonder about the setting of the \textit{Recordare testamenti tui} published by the famed Venetian music printer Gardano in 1549 and attributed to the putatively Flemish Jacques Arcadelt (c. 1507-1568), who was active in northern Italy by the late 1520s and in Rome by the late 1530s who ‘was said by the Florentine diplomat-scholar Cosimo Bartoli (d 1572) to have “followed in the footsteps of Verdelot”’, having based his style (and perhaps elements of his professional career) on his countryman.\textsuperscript{110}

A similar situation exists in the study of polyphonic music dedicated to Sts Sebastian and Roche. A number of motets, which scholars have traditionally argued would have been sung as interpolations (perhaps at Vespers) on the saint’s feast day, would be equally well-suited to performance during the actual onslaught of an epidemic.\textsuperscript{111} Take, for example, the three-voice motet \textit{O beate Sebastiane}, which was likely composed by Guillaume Dufay (c. 1397-1474) while he was a member of the papal chapel and is now contained in two fifteenth-century manuscripts of northern Italian provenance.\textsuperscript{112} The text reads, ‘O blessed Sebastian, great is your...
faith. Intercede for us to our Lord Jesus Christ to free us from epidemics of plague and sickness. Amen'.

It is worth noting that Dufay moved around a great deal at this point in his life and seems to have been chased by a succession of plague epidemics. A plague epidemic in Rome in 1428 marked the beginning of his tenure in Rome at the papal chapel, and when he next appears in the record books as a choirmaster of the court of Savoy at Chambery in 1434, an epidemic flared along the nearby Drôme river. From 1435 to 1437 Dufay was back with the papal chapel, which may have itself moved to Florence to avoid an epidemic raging in Rome, although to no avail; from 1436 to 1448 a succession of plague outbreaks ravaged Florence, and the composer seems to have moved to Bologna by April of 1436 (Berger, 1989: 343). Although Berger (following Hamm and Scott) assumed that the motet was written 'probably as an interpolation at vespers of the saint's feast' (1989: 354), alternative explanations are possible, especially since Sebastian's musical commemoration was apparently a task Dufay felt was worth doing well and often. Dufay also made an elaborate four-voiced isorhythmic setting of a prayer to St Sebastian, the text for which can be found in many Books of Hours and which (in the translation of Rosemary Horrox) reads:

O St Sebastian, guard and defend me, morning and evening, every minute of every hour, while I am still of sound mind; and, martyr, diminish the strength of that vile illness called an epidemic which is threatening me. Protect and keep me and all my friends from this plague. We put our trust in God and St Mary, and in you, O holy martyr. You, citizen of Milan, could, through God's power, halt this pestilence if you chose. For it is known to many that

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113 'O beate Sebastiane, magna est fides tua: Intercede pro nobis ad dominum Jesum Christum, ut a peste epidemicæ et morbo liberemur. Amen.' See modern editions of the versions from both manuscript sources in Berger, "The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian", 344-345 and 348-349.
you have that merit: to Zoe, whom you miraculously healed and restored to health, and to Nicostratus her husband. You comforted martyrs in their time of trial, and promised them the eternal life which is the reward of martyrs. O martyr Sebastian! Be with us always, and by your merits keep us safe and sound and protected from plague. Commend us to the Trinity and to the Virgin Mary, so that when we die we may have our reward: to behold God in the company of martyrs.114

Although less specific, the motet *Fiat pax in Virtute tua* by Alessandro Coppini (c. 1465- c. 1527) occupies a similar niche, echoing the psalm from the *Salus populi* mass in calling upon Sebastian’s influence to ‘incline [God’s] ears’ to the plight of his people and save them from the ‘arrows of epidemics and of death’.115

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114 *O sancte Sebastiane, semper vespere et mane, horis cunctis et momentis, dum adhuc sum sane mentis me protege et conserva, et a me, martir, enerva infirmitatem nostram vocatam epidimiam. Tu de peste huisusmodi me defende et custodi et omnes amicos meos, qui nos configemur reos deo et sancte Marie et tibi, o martir pie. Tu mediolanus civis hanc pestilenцияm sivis, potes facere cessare et a deo impetrare quia a multis est scium quod de hoc habes meritiwm. Zoe mutam tu sanasti et sanatam restaurasti Nicostrato, eius viro, hoc faciens modo miro. In agone consolabas martyres et promittebas eis sempiternam vitam et martiribus debiam. O martir Sebastiane, tu semper nobis cum mane atque per tua merita nos, qui sumus in hac vita custodi, sana et rege et a peste nos protege, presentans nos trinitati et virgini sancte matri et sic vitam finiamus quod mercedem habeamus et martirium conforcium et deum videre plium.’ A modern edition of this piece is in Guillaume Dufay, Heinrich Besseler, and Guglielus de Van, eds., *Opera Omnia*, 6 vols., vol. 2, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 1. (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1947), 17-22. English translation in Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 125-126. The geographical reference to Milan in this text raises the question of to whom the original prayer, and Dufay’s motet, was dedicated. Although Dufay’s presence in Tuscany (particularly Florence) is well-attested, he is not known to have spent any time in the city of the Visconti. This suggests that either Dufay was working with a fixed text (perhaps selected from the Book of Hours) or that Sebastian’s association with a northern Italian city was considered sufficiently proximate to his patron’s environs that its invocation was still desirable. More generally, the study of Books of Hours has provided a great deal of valuable insight into the concerns and preoccupations of everyday life in the Middle Ages, as these volumes, which containing eight services to the Virgin Mary and a variable number of other texts (devotional and otherwise), were owned by the literate and semi-literate laity and used both for private reflection and in social contexts such as weekly church services. The diffusion of devotions across large areas in this volumes is quite astounding; for example, an obscure text to Saint Roch appears more or less simultaneously in a Bergamasque motet from northern Italy and in a Book of Hours from the diocese of York (see below, p. 91-92). For an introduction to this important genre of medieval and early modern literature, see and Roger S Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller, 1988); Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

115 The text is, ‘Fiat pax in virtute tua et intercessione tua, o beate Sebastiane. Deus nostri misereatur et non despiciat opera manuum suarum; inclinet aures suas et audiat, aperiat oculos suos et videat tribulationem nostram et propitius fiat terre populi sui clamantis ad te cotidie, ut ipsum pro nobis deprecieris. Domine Deus omnipotens, terribilis et fortis, justus et misericors rector humani generis
Caracciolo even interrupts the progression of secular love songs in his 1582 Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci to voice a similar prayer to the saint pleading for his aid in securing clemency from an angry God during the plague of Milan in 1576, which emphatically suggests extra-liturgical use in contexts divorced from regular calendrical celebrations.\(^1\) As for devotion to Saint Roch, it is of note that during the winter of 1523-1524 a plague epidemic swept through the ancient hill-top town of Bergamo, where the composer Gaspar de Albertis was working as a singer and maestro di capella at the Basilica Santa Maria Maggiore. Shortly afterwards (perhaps in December of 1524), de Albertis copied a four-voice setting of the Ordinary he had composed and explicitly dedicated to Saint Roch into one of the three choirbooks owned by the cathedral, and a four-voice anonymous motet (also likely composed by de Albertis) was copied into another of the other choirbooks shortly afterward (Crawford and Messing, 1994: 90).\(^2\) The text of this piece translates as ‘O blessed confessor Roch, how great are your merits before God, by which we believe you are able to free us from the sickness of epidemics and grant us

\begin{verbatim}
 et auctor, qui nos a morte roseo salvasti sanguine tuo, exaudi orationes nostras. Nec nos tempore malo [afflige], sed fac nobis cum secundum multituidinem miserationum tuarum. Et sicut invictissimum martirium tuarum Sebastianum a sagittarum interitu eruisti, ita nos sua ope a sagitta epidemie eta morbo tuearis. ‘ (‘Let peace come of your virtue and your intercession, O blessed Sebastian. May our Lord take pity and not disdain the work of his hand; may He bend his hear and listen, may he open his eyes and see our tribulations and be well-inclined His people who daily cry unto you, who intercede on our behalf. Almighty Lord God, terrible and strong, just and merciful leader and founder of the human species, whose crimson blood saved us from death, hear our prayers. Afflict us not with hard times, but show your mercy with the multitudes. And as your most invincible martyr Sebastian triumphed over the death and ruin of the arrows, even thus may Your power protect us from the arrows of epidemics and from death.’) A modern edition of the Coppini motet appears in Frank D’Accone, ed., Music of the Florentine Renaissance, vol. 2, in “Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae”, (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1966-74), 52-58.
\end{verbatim}

\(^1\) Paolo Emilio Carapezza, 'Carocciolo, Paolo' ed. L Macy [Accessed 23 October 2007], <www.grovemusic.com>. I have not been able to view an edition of this piece personally, but a full set of the partbooks for Caracciolo’s original Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci published in Venice by Girolamo Scotto in Venice in 1582 have been deposited in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, while a copy of the cantus partbook alone is also in the British Library. See Karlheinz Schlager, ed., Einzeldrucke Vor 1800, 15 vols., vol. 2, in "Repertoire International Des Sources Musicales", A/I2 (München: G. Henle Verlag, 1972).

\(^2\) The choirbooks in question are now in Bergamo’s Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MS BergBC 1207 and 1209. The Missa de Sancto Roccho is in BergBC 1207, fols. 81v-94, while the motet O beate confessor Roche is in BergBC 1209, fol. 104v- 105. Particular thanks should be said to Gary Towne, who was kind enough to share his working drafts of his editions of these two works with me.
a well-tempered atmosphere [aeris temperiem'], calling to mind both the
'temperaments' of Galenic medical theory and the mixing of elements and ratios in
medicine and in music. Although apparently unattested in Italian sources, this
same text appears both as the verse for the Alleluia of the Missa de Sancto Roccho in
the Sarum Missal and a sixteenth century York Book of Hours (Wordsworth, 1920:
131; Dickinson, 1867: footnote to 895*). Further musical examples can be found
which mention illness in the context of a prayer to Christ or God the Father without
mentioning the names of any specific mediating figures. For example, Bragard called
attention to how in the midst of the political and epidemiological upheaval in the
Florentine republic of 1527, Verdelot composed the motet Sint dicte grates Christo,
'in which is sung the fervent hope that "cessabit bellum externum, penuria, pestis"'
(Bragard, 1973: XI). Equally suggestive is the same composer's Infirmitatem
nostram, which is a plea to God to listen to 'all the saints' (omnium sanctorum)
interceding on behalf of Mankind for remittance from infirmities. The Virgin Mary and the intersection of the body and the spirit

Central to all discussions of late medieval popular devotion, and figuring
prominently in many accounts of physical as well as spiritual healing, is the Virgin
Mary. Evidence for particular regard for the saint dates back to the early patristic

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118 'O beate confessor Roche, quam magna apud Deum sunt merita tua quibus credimus nos a morbo
epidemiae posse liberari et aeris temperiem concedi'. Bergamo Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai MS
1209, folios 104v-105r.

119 The text of this motet is 'Infirmitatem nostram quesumus Domine propitius respice et mala omnia
que luste meremur omnium sanctorum intercessionibus adverte per Christum Dominus nostrum.' (We
beseech you, O God, grant us respite from our infirmities and all evils through the merits of all the
saints for intercede on our behalf through Christ our Lord). Bragard, ed., Philippe Verdelot: Opera
Omnia, 6-9.

120 For an introduction to the sprawling literature on medieval Mariology, the two classic works
remain Hilda Graef, Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion. Parts I and II (London: Sheed &
Ward, 1985); and Marina Warner, Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary
(London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd., 1976; reprint, 1990). The following discussion presents a
mere sampling of highlights with particular relevance to the study of illness and music; however, it
should be noted that the exploration of the cult of Mary through these and more recent works is richly
rewarding for musicologists interested in understanding the larger context which Marian musical
period, as commentators such as Irenaeus (d. c. 202) paralleled the acceptance of
Mary of her divine pregnancy with the defiance of Eve in the Garden of Eden.  

Scarcely a century later this metaphor had acquired medical connotations, as the
Syrian deacon Ephraem (c. 306-73) described the birth of Christ and the consequent
redemption of Eve through the agency of Mary as 'the medicine of life', and in the
centuries that followed Mary acquired a reputation as a merciful healing saint both as
a conduit linking the human and the divine and as a uniquely blessed member of
God's anointed capable of autonomous action.  

Belief in Mary's medical efficacy can be traced as far back as the tenth century, as attested by the account of a healing apparition which allegedly appeared to the ninth- and early tenth-century bishop Radbod of Utrecht (d. 917) and chronicled by a cleric of the same city about AD 972. According to the Vita Radbod, when the bishop was stricken with an
devotion occurred. See in particular the essays in R.N. Swanson, ed., The Church and Mary,

121 In Against the Heresies, Irenaeus wrote: "And if the former [Eve] disobeyed God, yet the latter
[Mary] was persuaded to be obedient to God, so that the virgin Mary might become the advocate of
the virgin Eve. And thus, as the human race fell into bondage to death through a virgin, so it is
rescued by a virgin; virginal disobedience having been balanced in the opposite scale by virginal
obedience." Irenaeus, Ch.5, 19, 1; cited in Graef, Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion, 40.

122 "Let Eve rejoice in Sheol. For lo, the Son of her daughter has descended as the medicine of life to
raise the mother of his mother. The blessed child crushes the head of the serpent which had wounded
her." Ephraem, De Nativitate, 13, 2; quoted in Graef, Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion.

Parts I and II, 61.

The sixth-century Akathistos hymn of the Eastern Orthodox Church hails Mary as both the
'Celestial ladder, by whom God came down' and the 'Bridge leading earthly ones to heaven,' a view
of Mary as an incarnate 'Jacob's ladder' (Genesis 28:12) which was developed by writers such as the
eighth-century St Andrew of Crete, who wrote that the Virgin is 'the mediatrix of law and grace, she
is the mediation between the sublimity of God and the abjection of the flesh,' and the twelfth century
St Bernard of Clairvaux, who wrote that she is the one "through whom we ascend to him who
descended through her to us". See W. Christ and M. Paraniakas, eds., Anthologia Graeca Carminum
Christianorum (Leipzig: B.G. Teubneri, 1871), 140-47; Bernard, Sermo de Aquaeducto, In Nativate
Beatae Mariae Virginis, in Migne, Patrologia Latina, 183, col. 1013-14 cited in Warner, Alone of All
Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary, 391. Some care should be taken, however not to
overstate claims of the Virgin's independent agency. Donna Ellington has argued that 'to suppose that
Mary was seen fully autonomous in the minds of the people is to perhaps introduce a mental
dichotomy that did not exist at the time,' while Virginia Reinhurg has cautioned that 'a sharp
distinction between prayer to God and prayer to other heavenly persons was probably not clear to
ordinary lay people, for God's presence permeates prayers to the saints'. See Donna Spivey Ellington,
From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe
(Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 43-4; Virginia Reinhurg, "Hearing
Lay People's Prayer," in Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in
Honour of Natalie Zemon Davis, ed. Barbara B Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor: University
apparently deadly illness, the Virgin Mary appeared to him with two consorts in a blaze of light and told him he would get well. She left behind a cloud of exquisite perfume, and the bishop's illness was cured immediately. This recognition of Mary's reputation as a healing saint eventually influenced nearly every aspect of her veneration, and by the thirteenth century, the association between the Virgin Mary and physical health figured prominently in the burgeoning number of devotional pieces of music composed in her honour. This is particularly evident in compositions intended for lay, rather than clerical, performance; as Marcia Epstein noted, the French trouvères who composed and performed the Marian paeans contained in the Chansonnier de La Vallière MS 59 (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Fr. 24406) and the Chansonnier de Clairambault (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale N.A. Fr. 1050) made repeated use of verbs such as saner, garir, and mediciner (to restore to health, to cure, and to heal, respectively) in their characterization of her attributes (Epstein, 1997: 37-8), and indeed one of the greatest artistic achievements of the medieval period, the collection of 400 songs (cantigas) made under the direction of King Alfonso X of Spain between 1270 and 1290, is dedicated entirely to the praise of the Virgin and to the recounting of her miraculous physical and spiritual healing powers (Angles, 1943). The prominence of this theme in 'uncloistered', popular devotional music is striking; within the 461 songs of the Cantigas and the

124 Stephan Beissel, Geschichte Der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland Während Des Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag Zur Religionswissenschaft Und Kunstgeschichte (Berlin: Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 90, citing the Vita Radbod, Mon. Germ., Script., 15, 571B. The tenth century also marked the beginning of the tradition of celebrating Mary's feast of the Assumption on 15 August by incensing and blessing the year's supply of medicinal herbs such as periwinkle, verbena, and thyme. According to Mario Righetti, 'It is not uncommon to find an electuary of the more important [medicinal herbs] in liturgical books' dating from after the tenth century, and as late as 1499 the Princess Anna of Brandenburg sent her brother Federico a gift of a garland of herbs which had been taken into the church on the feast of the Assumption. Mario Mons. Righetti, L'anno Liturgico: Nella Storia, Nella Messa, Nell'ufficio, 3rd ed., 4 vols., vol. 2 (Milan: Editrice Ancora, 1969), 379. These brief vignettes highlight the association between Mary, physical health, and the sense of olfaction which went on to characterize much of votive Marian composition, as will be particularly evident in the discussion of the music of the laudesi (see Chapter 5).
Chansonniers de la Vallière and Clairambault, reference is made linking Mary to the healing of sickness 158 times.\(^{125}\)

The mendicant friars, and the Marian hymns of the flagellants

All of these facts make it extremely probable that the onslaught of epidemic plague was greeted in some quarters by music dedicated to the Virgin Mary asking for relief from the disease. We might further surmise that the odds of finding written record of such Marian music will be greatest in documents which can make a claim to capturing the voice of popular, lay devotion and were not limited to circulating purely within clerical circles. It is thus extremely fortunate that in the century preceding the Black Death, the devotional landscape of Europe was transformed by the formation of the brotherhoods of mendicant friars, who completely renounced all claims to material wealth so they could better exemplify the maxim ‘\textit{non sibi soli vivere sed et aliis proficere}’ (not to live for one’s self only, but to serve others) (Oliger, 1911). There were four major (‘great’) orders of mendicant friars which were recognized by the Second Council of Lyons in 1274—the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, and the Hermits of St. Augustine—and the ministries of these orders (particularly the Dominicans and the Franciscans) have been associated with growth in popularity of expressions of medieval lay piety such as the Books of Hours and the genres of Italian and English vernacular religious song known as the \textit{lauda} and the \textit{carol} (Wilson, 2007; Duffy, 2006; Stevens, 2001). The \textit{lauda}, in fact, takes its name from the songs of praise (\textit{laudare}) dedicated to the Virgin performed by companies of laypeople thus known as \textit{laudesi} which began to form in the mid-

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\(^{125}\) Figure based on author’s own unpublished analysis of the cantigas as they appear in the edition of Walter Mettman, ed., \textit{Cantigas De Santa Maria}, 4 vols., in "Acta Universitatis Coimbrigensis", (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras, 1959). See also the postscript to this chapter, pp. 127-130.
thirteenth century under the influence of the mendicant friars. 126 It was through their influence on another manifestation of lay piety and Marian devotion that the mendicants had their greatest influence on the soundscape of the Black Death: namely, the organization of penitential processions which prominently featured the singing of penitential hymns and self-flagellation. Groups dedicated to these practices were called *flagellati, disciplinati, or battuti*, and their rise in the second half of the thirteenth century has been linked with the mendicant movement’s emphasis on ‘imitation of the God-man from the cradle to the cross’ (Barr, 1988: 3). Whatever the cause, it is well-established that in A.D. 1260 the Franciscan friar Raniero Fasani organized a public procession of a group of self-scourging laymen calling themselves the ‘*Disciplinati de Gesù Christo*’ (‘Practitioners of the Discipline of Jesus Christ’), and that the initial demonstration sparked a wave of penitential fervour which spread throughout northern Italy (Weissman, 1982: 50). Crucially, the singing of these groups seemed to be one of their most salient features; in his chronicle of the thirteenth-century processions, the Franciscan Salimbene degli Adami (also known as Salimbene of Parma) noted that “in their [the *flagellati*’s] mouths sounded the words of God and not of men, and their voice was as the voice of multitudes. Men walked in the way of salvation and composed godly songs of praise in honor of the Lord and the Blessed Virgin Mary” before commenting rather off-handedly that ‘these they sang as they went and scourged themselves’. 127 Yet

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126 According to Ronald Weissman, ‘of the 20 confraternities founded in the thirteenth century, at least 11 were founded in mendicant churches, sponsored by mendicant orders, or established by penitential groups informally linked to the mendicant movement’. See Ronald F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 44.

our only glimpse of the musical material used in these thirteenth-century processions comes from a reference in the *Annales Genuenses*, whose chronicler stated that the flagellants sang the Marian invocation, 'St Mary, our Lady / have mercy on us sinners; / and petition Jesus Christ / that he might spare us'.

The uniquely demonstrative combination of physical mortification and supplicatory vocal performance of the *flagellati* experienced an enormous spike in popularity with the arrival of the Black Death in 1347 as townspeople, in a gruesome evocation of the text of the *Oratio* of the *Missa pro mortalite evitanda* which exhorts God, 'in as much as they [his people] are devoted to you, you should mercifully withdraw the flail of your anger from them' ('ut dum tibi devotus existisit, iracundiae tue ab eo flagella clementer amoveas') (Troy, 1804: lxii-iii) joined *disciplinati* confraternites in droves. This time, however, the phenomenon spread well beyond its spiritual home in Perugia, and chroniclers noted with wonder the occurrence of processions characterized by song and self-flagellation in areas as far-flung as London and southern Austria. The singular integration of music into the ritual of the *flagellati* is particularly evident in the account of Henricus de Hervordia, and thus worth quoting at length:

In 1348 a race without a head aroused universal wonder by their sudden appearance in huge numbers. They suddenly sprang up in all parts of Germany,

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129 According to one study, of the Florentine companies founded between 1240 and 1300, 59% were *laudesi* companies compared to 18% *disciplinati* companies and 18% charitable groups, while in the fifty years after the Black Death, *disciplinati* groups comprise 62% of all new companies. However, it is important to note that by the fourteenth century distinctions between confraternities of *laudesi* and *disciplinati*, with the exception of ritual use of flagellation, had begun to fade, and both groups drew upon a similar repertory of music. See John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 40-41.
calling themselves cross bearers or flagellants . . . They were called flagellants because of the whips [flagella] which they used in performing public penance. Each whip consisted of a stick with three knotted thongs hanging from the end. Two pieces of needle-sharp metal were run through the centre of the knots from both sides, forming a cross, the ends of which extended beyond the knots for the length of a grain of wheat or less. Using these whips they beat and whipped their bare skin until their bodies were bruised and swollen and blood rained down, spattering the walls nearby. I have seen, when they whipped themselves, how sometimes those bits of metal penetrated the flesh so deeply that it took more than two attempts to pull them out. Flocking together from every region, perhaps even from every city, they overran the whole land. In open country they straggled along behind the cross in no particular order, but when they came to cities, towns and villages they formed themselves into a procession, with hoods or hats pulled down over their foreheads, and sad and downcast eyes, they went through the streets singing a sweet hymn [cum cantu devoto dulci melodia]. In this fashion they entered the church and shut themselves in while they stripped off their clothes and left them with a guard. They covered themselves from the navel down with a pleated linen cloth like the women's undergarment which we call a kirtle, the upper part of the body remaining bare. Then they took the whips in their hands. When that was done, the north door of the church, if it had one, was opened. The eldest came out of the church first and threw himself to the ground immediately to the east of the door, beside the path. After him, the second lay down on the west side, then the third next to the first, the fourth next to the second and so on. Some lay with right hand raised, as though taking an oath, others lay on their belly or back, or
on their right or left side, representing in this way the sins for which they were performing penance. After this, one of them would strike the first with a whip, saying, 'May God grant you remission of all your sins. Arise'. And he would get up, and do the same to the second, and all the others in turn did the same. When they were all on their feet, and arranged two by two in procession, two of them in the middle of the column would begin singing a hymn [cantio] in a high voice, with a sweet melody. They sang one verse and then the others took it up and repeated it after them, and then the singers sang the second verse and so on until the end. But whenever they came to the part of the hymn which mentioned the passion of Christ they all suddenly threw themselves down prostrate on the ground, regardless of where they were, and whether the ground was clean or filthy, whether there were thorns or thistles or nettles or stones. And they did not lower themselves gradually to their knees or steadying themselves in some other way, but dropped like logs, flat on their belly and face, with arms outstretched, and, lying there like crosses, would pray. A man would need a heart of stone to watch this without tears. At a sign given by one of them they would rise and resume their procession as before. And usually they sing the hymn [cantio] three times, and prostrate themselves, as described, three times. And then, when they have returned to the same door by which they left the church, they re-enter and resume their clothes, taking off the linen cloths. As they leave the church they ask for nothing, requesting neither food nor lodging, but accepting with gratitude the many offerings freely made to them.130

130 Eodem anno gens sine capite, sui multitudine et adventus sui subitatione mirabilis universis, ex omnibus subito Theutonie partibus exsurgunt, cruciferos se vel flagellarios appellantes. . . Cruciferi autem dicebantur, vel quia crucem in viis suis ante se ferebonti [start of p. 281] et illam sequabantur, vel quia ad modum crucis in processione prosternebantur, vel quia cruce super vestes suas assuta
Records of the flagellant processions elsewhere in Europe similarly indicate the prominence of the singing; a 1348 account from the monastery of Neuberg, in southern Austria, describes the procession of men ‘singing beautiful hymns [cantilenas] in honour of the Passion in their mother tongue and beating themselves so hard with knotted whips that drops of blood spattered the roadway’, 131 while the chronicle of Fosses contains a brief rhyme which details how ‘pilgrims’ (pellerins)

scourged their bodies while singing fine songs to God and Mary.\textsuperscript{132} The clerk Robert of Avesbury, who was a part of the retinue of the Archbishop of Canterbury, described a similar scene at the arrival of a group of 120 flagellants, ‘mostly from Zeeland or Holland,’ in London from Flanders in 1349, noting particularly how ‘four of them [would be] singing in their own tongue and the rest answering in the manner of the Christian litany [\textit{ad modum letaniae a Christocolis decantandae}]. Three times in each procession they would all prostrate themselves on the ground, with their arms outstretched in the shape of a cross. Still singing, and beginning with the man at the end, each in turn would step over the others, lashing the man beneath him once with his whip, until all of those lying down had gone through the same ritual’.\textsuperscript{133}

The flagellant processions of 1349 thus seem to offer an ideal way to explore the use of music in response to plague. Here, at last, we have a set of well-defined events, linked both geographically and chronologically with outbreaks of disease, for which contemporary observers are unanimous in proclaiming the centrality of the music (here, singing) in the event. Yet even in this most ideal of situations, our ability to grasp the nature of these performances is constrained by the priorities of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{133} ‘Dicto vero anno Domini millesimo CCC\textsuperscript{XLIX}, circiter festum sancti Michaelis, plus quam \textit{v} homines, pro majore parte de Selond et Houland oriundi, per Flandriam venientes Londoniae, aliquando in ecclesia sancti Pauli et aliquando locis alitis ejusdem civitatis, bis in die, in conspectu populi, a femoribus usque ad talos panno lineo cooperti, toto residuo corporis denuadato, supra caputque singuli habentes singulos capellos cruce rubea ante et retro signatos, singulique habentes in manu dextera flagellum cum tribus cordulis, singulis habentibus unum nodum (per mediumque cujuslibet nodi illac et istac quasi acus acuti infizi fuerant), per medium processionis quilibet post alium nudo pede incedente, seipsum cum dictis flagellis in nudo sanuginolento corpore flagellarunt, ipsorum iii\textsuperscript{ii} cantantibus in idiomate proprio, ceteris omnibus dictis iii\textsuperscript{ii} respondentibus ad modum letaniae a Christocolis decantandae; et omnes simul trina vice in hujusmodi processione se ad terram, per modum crucis extensis manibus, prosternebant. Continue, ut proferetur, cantantes, et ultimo ipsorum sic jacentem inchoando, quilibet ultra alium passum faciens cum suo flagello sub se jacentem semel percussit: sicque de uno ad relinquum, usque ad compellunt numerum sic jacentium, similem ritum quilibet observavit.’ Cited in Paul Fredericq, ed., \textit{Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae}, 5 vols., vol. 2, (Gent: J. Vuytske, 1896), 121; English in Horrox, ed., \textit{The Black Death}, 154.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the chroniclers who decide which elements should be recorded for posterity. In the case of those observing the *flagellati*, those priorities apparently varied widely. Of all the written accounts of public processions involving self-flagellation made during the Black Death, I have only encountered three which make a claim to recording either the texts or the music actually used in performance, and only a single source contains both. The sources consist of:

- A manuscript in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France which contains an account of ‘the tenor of a prayer sung [by the flagellants] as they beat themselves with their scourges’ (‘*Item s’ensuit la teneur d’une prière qu’ilz (les flagellans) disoient en chantant, quant ilz se batoient de leurs escourgees*’) in the Walloon region of modern Belgium,

- A text of a fourteenth-century flagellant song (*Geisslerlied*) found on the reverse sides of parchment containing medical recipes now in the Berliner Staatsbibliothek,

- An account of the rituals of the flagellants in 1349 in the German city of Reutlingen containing (for the only time) both verbal and melodic indications

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134 This figure does not include chronicles which contain parenthetical references to content in the song texts, such as the reference to the Virgin Mary in the *Annales Fossenses* previously mentioned or the reference to eschatological themes in the performance of the flagellants attested by an anonymous author in the fifteenth century Breslau MS (described by Martin Erbstösser, *Soziale religiöse Strömungen im Späten Mittelalter: Geissler, Freigeister und Waldenser im 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. G. Heitz, et al., *Forschungen Zur Mittelalterlichen Geschichte* (Berlin: Academie-Verlag, 1970), 27-28). It also does not include the material which was ‘institutionalized’ through continued performance of the designated *disciplinati* and *laudesi* companies in Italy; those songs will be discussed further in Chapter 5 (pp. 131-146).

135 *Bibliothèque Nationale* MS. fr. 2598, fol. 57v-58, from the *Chronique des rois de France par frère Guillaume de Nangis*. A revised edition is included in Paul Fredericq, ed., *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae*, 5 vols., vol. 3, (Gent: J. Vuyltsteke, 1906), 23-27. A portion of the song also appears in Baron Joseph-Marie-Bruno-Constantin Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Histoire De Flandre*, 6 vols., vol. 3 (Bruxelles: A. Vandale, 1847), 354-355; reproduced in Fredericq, *Corpus Documentorum Haereticae* vol. II, p. 139-140. As many commentors have noted, the text is divided into two parts, with the second section marked by the use of excerpts from popular Latin prayers. Might this represent the scribal amalgamation of two songs which were separate in performance?

written by Hugo Spechtsart and now in the National Library of Russia.\textsuperscript{137} Hugo’s account is also unique in that it is broken into several distinct songs (labelled \emph{canticas}), which are occasionally glossed in Latin. The glosses break the account into seven basic sections: 1) An introductory melody sung upon entrance (\emph{Quando intrabant aliqua loca, cantabant}), 2) a melody sung ‘by others’ (\emph{Alia cancio}), followed by a responsory sequence with indications for the singing of ‘Kyrie eleison’ and ‘Alleluia’ between successive strophes, followed by a brief, unglossed melodic fragment; 3) A set of three melodies sung ‘when the flagellants wish to scourge themselves’ (\emph{quando flagellatores uolebant se flagellare}); 4) a hymn to be sung ‘at the second genuflexion’ (\emph{Ad secundam genuflexionem}); 5) two melodies sung ‘at the third genuflexion’ (\emph{Ad tertiam genuflexionem}); 6 a collection of prayers written without musical notation; 7) a closing notated ‘Alleluia’.

The two ‘Germanic’ song texts in the Meusebach parchment and the chronicle of Hugo are clearly related, though the links between the two are indicative more of oral transmission than of purely scribal copying.\textsuperscript{138} For ease of orientation, the song from the Meusebach parchment is also reproduced below, with a rhyming English translation by Carl Hecker (Table 4.4.):

\textsuperscript{137} Hugo’s \textit{Cronica metrificata de Regibus Romanorum ab Octavian ad Carolum IV}, National Library of Russia, O. Ood XIV. No 9, mbr. see XIV. An edition of the texts and portions of the melodies was published in Paul Runge, Heinrich Schneegans, and Heino Pfannenschmid, \textit{Die Lieder Und Melodien Der Geissler Des Jahres 1349: Nach Der Aufzeichnung Hugos Von Reutlingen} (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900), 24-42.

\textsuperscript{138} In his original discussion of the Meusebach parchment Massmann stated that the flagellant song was written in ‘Saxon’ (\textit{Sassisch}), though his conclusion has since been challenged by other authors who argue that the language is very similar to the Middle Dutch spoken in the area around Overijssel and Geldern. See Fredericq, ed., \textit{Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae}, vol. II, 139.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sve siner sele wille pleghen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Whoe'er to save his soul is fain,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De sal gelden unde weder geuen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Must pay and render back again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So wert siner sele raed</td>
<td></td>
<td>His safety so shall he consult.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des help uns leue herre goed</td>
<td></td>
<td>Help us, good Lord, to this result.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nu tredet here we botsen wilte</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yet that repent your crimes, draw nigh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vle wi io de hetsen helle</td>
<td></td>
<td>From the burning hell we fly,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucifer is en bose geselle</td>
<td></td>
<td>From Satan's wicked company.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sven her hauet</td>
<td></td>
<td>Whom he leads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mit peke he en lauet</td>
<td></td>
<td>With pitch he feeds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datz vle wi ef wir hauen sin</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>If we be wise we this shall flee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des help uns maria koninghin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maria! Queen! We trust in thee,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das wir dines kindes hulde win</td>
<td></td>
<td>To move thy Son to sympathy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus crist de wart ke vanghen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jesus Christ was captive led,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An en cruce wart he ge hanghen</td>
<td></td>
<td>And to the cross was riveted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat cruce wart des blodes rod</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>The cross was reddened with his gore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wer klaghen sin marter unde sin dod</td>
<td></td>
<td>And we his martyrdom deplore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunder war mide wilt tu mi lonen</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Sinner, canst thou to me atone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dre negele unde en dornet crone</td>
<td></td>
<td>Three pointed nails, a thorny crown,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das cruce vrone en sper en stich</td>
<td></td>
<td>The holy cross, a spear, a wound,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunder datz leyd ich dor dich</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>These are the cruel pangs I found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was wltu nu liden dor mich</td>
<td></td>
<td>What wilt thou, sinner, bear for me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So rope wir herre mit luden done</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lord, with loud voice we answer thee,=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4. Song of the German flagellants, as it appears in the Meusebach parchment
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unsen denst den nem to lone</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accept our service in return,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be hode uns vor der helle nod</td>
<td></td>
<td>And save us lest in hell we burn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des bidde wi dich dor dinen dod</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>We, through thy death, to thee have sued.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor god vor gete wi unse blot</td>
<td></td>
<td>For God in heaven we shed our blood:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat is uns tho den suden guot</td>
<td></td>
<td>This for our sins will work to good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria muoter koninginghe</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blessed Maria! Mother! Queen!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor dines leuen kindes minne</td>
<td></td>
<td>Through thy loved Son's redeeming mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al unse nod si dir ghe klaghet</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Be all our wants to thee pourtrayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des help uns moter maghet reyne.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aid us, Mother! Spotless maid!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De erde beuet och kleuen de steyne</td>
<td></td>
<td>Trembles the earth, the rocks are rent,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebe hertze du salt weyne</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fond heart of mine, thou must relent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wir wenen trene mit den oghen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tears from our sorrowing eyes we weep;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unde hebben des so guden Iouen</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Therefore so firm our faith we keep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mit unsen sinnen unde mit hertzen</td>
<td></td>
<td>With all our hearts - with all our senses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor uns leyd crist vil manighen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Christ bore his pangs for our offenses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smertzen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ply well the scourge for Jesus' sake,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nu slaed w sere</td>
<td></td>
<td>And God through Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor cristus ere.</td>
<td></td>
<td>your sins will take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor god nu latet de sunde mere</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>For love of God abandon sin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor god nu latet de sunde varen</td>
<td></td>
<td>To mind your vicious lives begin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se wil sich god ouer uns en barmen</td>
<td></td>
<td>So shall we his mercy win.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria stund in grotzen noden</td>
<td></td>
<td>Direful was Maria's pain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4. (cont.) Song of the German flagellants, as it appears in the Meusebach parchment
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do se ire leue kint sa doden</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>When she beheld her dear One slain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En svert dor ire sele snet</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pierced was her soul as with a dart:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunder dat la di wesen led</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinner, let this affect thy heart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In korter vrist</td>
<td></td>
<td>The time draws near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God tornich ist</td>
<td></td>
<td>When God in anger shall appear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus wart gelauet mid gallen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jesus was refreshed with gall:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des sole wi an en cruce vallen</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Prostrate crosswise let us fall,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Er heuet uch mit uwen armen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Then with uplifted arms arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat sic god ouer uns en barme</td>
<td></td>
<td>That God with us may sympathize.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus dorch dine namen dry</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jesus by thy titles three,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nu make uns hir van sunde vry</td>
<td></td>
<td>From our bondage set us free.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus dor dine wndern rod</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Jesus, by thy precious blood,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be hod uns vor den gehen dod</td>
<td></td>
<td>Save us from the fiery flood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat he sende sinen geist</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lord, our helplessness defend,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Und uns dat kortelike leist</td>
<td></td>
<td>And to our aid thy Spirit send.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De vrowe unde man ir e tobreken</td>
<td></td>
<td>If man and wife their vows should break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat wil god selven an en wrecken</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>God will on such his vengeance wreak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sveuel pik und och de galle</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brimstone and pitch, and mingled gall,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat gutet de duuel in se alle</td>
<td></td>
<td>Satan pours on such sinners all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vor war sint se des duuels spot</td>
<td></td>
<td>Truly, the devil’s scorn are they:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor vor behode uns herre god</td>
<td></td>
<td>Therefore, O Lord, thine aid we pray.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De e de ist en reyne leuen</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Wedlock’s an honorable tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De had uns god selven gheuen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Which God himself doth sanctify.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4. (cont.) Song of the German flagellants, as it appears in the Meusebach parchment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ich rade uch vrowen unde mannen</td>
<td></td>
<td>By this warning, man, abide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor god gy solen houard annen</td>
<td></td>
<td>God shall surely punish pride.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des biddet uch de arme sele</td>
<td></td>
<td>Let your precious soul entreat you,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorch god nu latet houard mere</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Lay down pride lest vengeance meet you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor god nu latet houard varen</td>
<td></td>
<td>I do beseech thee, pride forsake,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So wil sich god ouer uns en barmen</td>
<td></td>
<td>So God on us shall pity take.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cristus rep in hemelrike</td>
<td></td>
<td>Christ in heaven, where he commands,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinen engelen al gelike</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thus addressed his angel bands:--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De cristenheit wil mi ent wichen</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>“Christendom dishonors me,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des wil lan och se vor gaen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Therefore her ruin I decree.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie bat ire kint so sere</td>
<td></td>
<td>Then Mary thus implored her Son:--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leue kint la se di boten</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Penance to thee, loved Child, be done;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat wil ich sceppen dat se moten</td>
<td></td>
<td>That she repent be mine the care;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekeren sich.</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Stay then thy wrath,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des bidde ich dich</td>
<td></td>
<td>and hear my prayer.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gi logenere</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ye liars!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gy meynen ed sverer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ye that break your sacrament,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gi bichten reyne</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shrive ye thoroughly and repent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>und lan de sunde uch ruwen</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Your heinous sins sincerely rue,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So wil sich god in uch vor ruwen</td>
<td></td>
<td>So shall the Lord your hearts renew.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owe du arme wokere</td>
<td></td>
<td>Woe! Usurer, though thy wealth abound,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du bringst en lod up en punt</td>
<td></td>
<td>For every ounce thou mak’st a pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat senket din an der helle grunt</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shall sink thee to the hell profound.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4. (cont.) Song of the German flagellants, as it appears in the Meusebach parchment
Table 4.4. (cont.) Song of the German flagellants, as it appears in the Meusebach parchment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ir morder und ir straten rouere</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Ye murd’rors, and ye robbers all,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir sint dem leuen gode un mere</td>
<td></td>
<td>The wrath of God on you shall fall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir ne wilt uch ouer nemende barmen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mercy ye ne’er to others show,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des sin gy eweliken vor loren</td>
<td></td>
<td>None shall ye find; but endless woe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were dusse bote nicht ge worden</td>
<td></td>
<td>Had it not been for our contrition,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De cristenheit wer gar vorsunden</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>All Christendom had met perdition,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De leyde duuel had se ge bunden</td>
<td></td>
<td>Satan had bound her in his chain;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria had lost unsen bant</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mary hath loosed her bonds again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunder ich saghe di leue mere</td>
<td></td>
<td>Glad news I bring thee, sinful mortal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunte peter is portenere</td>
<td></td>
<td>In heaven Saint Peter keeps the portal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wende dich an en he letset dich in</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Apply to him with suppliant mien,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He bringhet dich vor de koninghin</td>
<td></td>
<td>He bringeth thee before thy Queen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leue herre sunt Michahel</td>
<td></td>
<td>Benignant Michael, blessed saint,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du bist en plegher aller sel</td>
<td></td>
<td>Guardian of thy souls, receive our plaint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be hode uns vor der helle nod</td>
<td></td>
<td>Through thy Almighty Maker’s death,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat do dor dines sceppers dod.^</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Preserve us from the hell beneath.^</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of these lines appear in the account of Hugo of Reutlingen; however, unlike the concordances in the Walloon flagellant songs, the lines appear in a different order, and in a different Germanic dialect. The following tables indicate

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these concordances, which first occur in the melody following the responsorial sequence in the second section (*Alia cancio*; see Table 4.5):
**Section 2 in Hugo von Reutlingen (Alia cancio)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text</th>
<th>Concordant Line in Meusebach</th>
<th>Meusebach Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U tret herzuo der bössen welle.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Vle wi io de hetson helle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiehen von die haissun helle.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lucifer is en bose geselle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucifer ist böss geselle.</td>
<td>8, 9</td>
<td>Sven her hauet / Mit peke he en lauet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen er behapt mith bech er lap</td>
<td>10 (first half)</td>
<td>Datz vle wi ef wir hauen sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dez flichen wir in</td>
<td>10 (second half)</td>
<td>Datz vle wi ef wir hauen sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hab wir den sin.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
Section 3 in Hugo von Reutlingen (*Quando flagellatores uolebant se flagellare*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Concordant Line in</th>
<th>Meusebach Text&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Der unser büzze welle pflegen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sve siner sele wille pleghen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>der sol gelten und wider gegen.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>De sal gelden unde weder geuen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Er biht und lass die sunde uarn,</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Dor god nu latet de sunde varen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so wil sich got übr in erbarn</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Se wil sich god ouer uns en barmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus crist der wart geuangen.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Jesus crist de wart ke vanghen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un ain crüez wart er gehangen.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>An en cruce wart he ge hanghen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der crüez daz wart des bluotes rot.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Dat cruce wart des blodes rod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wir clagen gots marter und sinen tot.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Wer klaghen sin marter unde sin dod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durch got vergiess wir unser bluot.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Dor god vor gete wi unse blot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daz ist uns für dir sünde guot.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Dat is uns tho den suden guot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text</th>
<th>Concordant Line in Meusebach</th>
<th>Meusebach Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dez hilf uns lieber herre got,</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Des help uns leue herre goed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des bit wir dich dufh dinen tot.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Des bidde wi dich dor dinen dod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunder wa mit wilt du mir lonen.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sunder war mide wilt tu mi lonen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dri nagel und an dûnen cronen.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Dre negele unde en dornet crone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das creuze fron. An sper. Ain stich.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Das cruce vrone en sper en stich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunder, daz laid ich als durch dich</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sunder datz leyd ich dor dich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waz wilt du nu lieden durh mich.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Was wltu nu lieden dor mich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So rösen wir in lutem done.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>So rope wir herre mit luden done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unser dienst geb wir ze lone</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Unsen denst den nem to lone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durh dich vergiess wir unser bluot.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Das

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text</th>
<th>Concordant Line in Meusebach Text</th>
<th>Meusebach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ut supra usque ad illum locum: Sunder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir lügener ir mainfwörere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir sint dem lieben got ummere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir bihtend dhaine sunde gar.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dez mosd ir in die helle warn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da sind ir eweclich verlorn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darzuo so bringt Ûch gottes zorn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da vor behöt uns herre got.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Dor vor behode uns herre god</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. (cont) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Concordant Line in</th>
<th>Meusebach Text&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dez bit wir dich durch dine tot.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Des bidde wi dich dor dine dode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus wart gelast mit gallen.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Jesus wart gelaet mid gallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des füln wir an ain creuze vallen</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Des sole wi an en cruce vallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U hebent us die üwern hend.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daz got daz grozze sterben wend.</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Er heuet uch mit uwen armen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nu reggen us die uwren arm</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Dat sic god ouer uns en barme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>um daz sich got über uns erbarm</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Jesus dorch dine namen dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus durch diner namen dri</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Nu make uns hir van sunde vry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du mach uns herre vor fundenfri</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Jesus dor dine wden rod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus durch dine wnde rot.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Be hod uns vor den gehen dode</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
**Section 4 in Hugo von Reutlingen (Ad secundam genuflexionem)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text</th>
<th>Concordant Line in Meusebach</th>
<th>Meusebach Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maria stuont in grossen nötten</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Maria stond in grotzen noden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do si ir liebes kind sach tötten</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Do se ire leue kint sa doden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un swert ir durch die sele snaft.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>En svert dor ire sele sneth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sünder das las dir wesen laí</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Sunder dat la di wesen led</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dez hilf uns maria kunigin</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Des help uns maria koninghin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daz wir dins kindes huld gewin</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Das wir dines kindes hulde win</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus rúft in himelriche</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Cristus rep in hemelrique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinen engeln al geliche</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Sinen engelen al gelike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dū cristenhait wil mir entwichen.</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>De cristenheit wil mi ent wichen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Texta</th>
<th>Concordant Line in</th>
<th>Meusebach Textb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dez wil ich lan die welt zergan</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Des wil lan och se vor gaen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da uor behätt uns herre got.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Dor vor behode uns herre god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dez bitt wir dich durch dinen tot.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Des bidde wi dich dor dinen dod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria bat ir kint so süssen</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Marie bat ire kint so sere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vil liebes kind la si gebüssen</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Leue kint la se di boten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So wil ich schiggen daz si mössen</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Dat wil ich sceppe dat se moten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bekeren sich dez bitt ich dich.</td>
<td>80, 81</td>
<td>Bekeren sich. / Des bidde ich dich</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Des hilf uns maria *ut supra*

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text(^a)</th>
<th>Concordant Line in Meusebach</th>
<th>Meusebach Text(^b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wel man und vrow ir e zerbrechent.</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>De vrowe unde man ir e tobreken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daz wil got selber an si rechen.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Dat wil god selven an en wreken (60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swebel. Bech. Und auch die galle.</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Sveuel pik und och de galle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daz güsd der tieffel in si alle</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Dat gutet de duuel in se alle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sůrwar si sint des tieffels spot.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Vor war sint se des duuels spot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da uor behött uns herre got <em>ut supra</em></td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Dor vor behode uns herre god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus wart gelapt mit galle.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Jesus wart gelaut mid gallen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ut supra usque ad illium locum*: Maria stunt u.

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
Section 5 in Hugo von Reutlingen (*Ad tertiam genuflexionem*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text <em>a</em></th>
<th>Concordant Line in Meusebach</th>
<th>Meusebach Text <em>b</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O we dir arme wvchere</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Owe du arme wokere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dû wag ist dir an tail ze swere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du lihst die mark all umm ein pfunt.</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Du bringst en lod up en punt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daz zùht dich in der helle grunt.</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Dat senket din an der helle grunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da bist du eweclich verlorn ue</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Des sin gy eweliken vor loren</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ut supra in primo:* Ir lûgener.

| Ir morder und ir strazrôbere. | 90                          | Ir morder und ir straten rouere |

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text(^a)</th>
<th>Concordant Line in Meusebach</th>
<th>Meusebach Text(^b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>div rede ist iv an tail ze swere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir went iuch über niemen erbarn.</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>Ir ne wilt uch ouer nemende barmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dez mosd ir in die helle uarn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da sind ir eweclich verlorn ue</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Des sin gy eweliken vor loren</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ut supra in fine primi.*

 Wer den fritag nit enuaftät.
und den suntag nit enrastet
zwar der mois in der helle pin.

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text\textsuperscript{\textnotemark{a}}</th>
<th>Concordant Line in Meusebach</th>
<th>Meusebach Text\textsuperscript{\textnotemark{b}}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unt eweclich verflüchtet sin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da uor behött uns herre got.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Dor vor behode uns herre god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dez bitt wir dich durch dinen tot.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Des bidde wi dich dor dinen dod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dû e dû ist ain raines leben.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die hat got selber uns gegeben</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der die entert der wirt verlorn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darzü ue \textit{ut supra in primo in fine}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ich ratt iv vrow und mann en allen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text*</th>
<th>Concordant Line in Meusebach Text*</th>
<th>Meusebach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daz ir lant die hohfart vallen.</td>
<td>Durch got so lant die hohfart varn</td>
<td>so wil sich got über ıch erbarn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dez hilf uns maria k. <em>Ut supra in II.</em></td>
<td>Wissent euch das ganze röwe</td>
<td>we die hat mit rehter trüwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitt biht mit püss mit wider geben</td>
<td>dem wil got gen an ewig leben</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des hilf uns maria künighin</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Des help uns maria koninghin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Hugo Text</strong></th>
<th><strong>Concordant Line in Meusebach</strong></th>
<th><strong>Meusebach Text</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daz wir dins kindes huld gewin</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Das wir dines kindes hulde win</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di erd erbidemt, zercleibent die steine.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>De erde beuet och kleuen de steyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jr hertů herz ir fülenent wainen.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Lebe hertzte du salt weyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winent tügen mit den ougen</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Wir wenen trene mit den oghen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habt in herezen cristes smercen</td>
<td>paraphrase of 36-37</td>
<td>Mit unsen sinnen unde mit hertzen / Dor uns leyd crist vil manighen smertzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flaht ūch ser durch cristes ere.</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td>Nu slaed w sere / Dor cristus ere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daz ist uns für die sunde gut.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Dat is uns tho den sunden guot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dez hilf uns liber herre got</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Des help uns leue herre goed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugo Text&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Concordant Line in Meusebach</th>
<th>Meusebach Text&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jesus wart gelapt mit galle etc.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Jesus wart gelauet mid gallen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ut supra in primo usque ad illum locum:* Maria stunt

Table 4.5. (cont.) Concordances between Flagellant Songs in the Meusebach Parchment and in the Chronicle of Hugo von Reutlingen

Guide to superscripts:


Although the texts clearly draw from a common source of rhyming couplets, the order of the material differs widely in the two versions preserved by the Meusebach parchment and the Reutlingen chronicle. Such variation is highly characteristic of texts which first circulated through oral transmission (Johnston, 2003; Lord, 1991), and implies that the people in these flagellant groups were teaching each other the words and melodies of these songs by ear, without necessarily writing things down. There is even some indication that groups in widely disparate parts of Europe were sharing material. Consider the quatrain ‘Jesus, through your three names/ free us from sin/ Jesus, through your red wound/ Save us from our incipient death’, which appears in closely-related forms in the two Germanic texts (Jesus dor dine wddn rod /Be hod uns vor den gehen dod / Dat he sende sinen geist /Und uns da kortelike leist in Meusebach; Jesus duhch diner namen dri / Du mach uns herre vor fundenfri / Jesus durch dine wnde rot. / behött uns vor dem gehen tot in Hugo von Reutlingen). The content and syntax of this passage is strikingly similar to that of the quatrain repeated throughout the Wallonian flagellant song, ‘Jhesus, par tes trois dignes noms, / Fay nous de noz péchiez pardons; / Jhésus, par tes cinq rouges playes, / De mort soudaine nous deslayes. (Jesus, by your three worthy names / grant us freedom from our sins / Jesus, through your five red wounds / deliver us from sudden death). 140

140 The translation of the second invocation as above depends on the interpretation of playes as an intelligible pluralisation of plaie (sore or wound, in modern French) However, this word is not found in Frédéric Godefroy’s magisterial 10 volume Dictionnaire De L’ancienne Langue Franpaise Et Tous Ses Dialectes De Ixe Au Xve Sii cle (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1889), while cing is a virtual homonym of sang (blood). Reference to the ‘sang rouge’ of the incarnate Christ is a common trope religious composition. Such substitutions are a hallmark of oral transmission, and indeed of ‘oral composition’ in the model of Milman Parry and Albert Lord—one wonders whether the scribe, as he tried to remember the songs he heard, transcribed the couplets as they occurred to him, in a way that may or may not resemble their original performance, and when he was not entirely sure, simply composed something afresh which worked contextually and metrically. However, even if this were the case, additional factors are obviously at work. The presence of lines in the Germanic song texts which lack rhyming partners imply either that Hugo von Reutlingen and/or the scribe of the Meusebach parchment was copying an existing written document or was inconsistent in transcription from
Another common feature of these songs is that, although they are all in vernacular languages, they make direct references to Latin texts of Marian devotion. In the Wallonian songs, this occurs by direct quotation in Latin of a number of Marian epithets which figure prominently in devotional poetry and music (Ave regina [coelorum], maris stella, Ave [Maria, gratia plena]). In the Germanic songs, the allusion occurs through a paraphrasing translation made of the opening invocations of the hymn *Stabat Mater* (table 4.6.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Germanic flagellant text</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Latin <em>Stabat Mater</em> text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maria stund in grotzen noden</td>
<td>Mary stood in great pain</td>
<td>Stabat mater dolorosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do se ire leue kint sa doden</td>
<td>Where she saw her dear child slain.</td>
<td>Iuxta crucem lacrimosa, Dum pendebat Filius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En svert dor ire sele snet</td>
<td>Her soul was pierced by a sword</td>
<td>Cuius animam gementem, Contristatem et dolentem, Pertransivit gladius.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6. Comparison of lines from Germanic flagellant songs with opening of *Stabat Mater* hymn

memory. The question of Hugo’s methodology is especially tantalizing, since in his indications of melodic contour he utilized a baffling mixture of fully heightened, four-line staff notation, an ambiguous neumatic notation of limited pitch resolution, and unadorned text. Future research working towards the resolution of these questions has enormous potential to reshape our understanding not only of musical performance during epidemics, but of the musical documentary practices which shape the modern concept of medieval music as a whole, and further developments are eagerly anticipated.
Conclusions

What general conclusions can be drawn from this eclectic body of evidence? The most important observation to emerge has been that even in focusing on the response to plague in liturgical music (a genre which is, after all strongly associated with strong social inertia and regulation by the Church hierarchy), our attention has repeatedly been drawn to the chaotic and flexible realm of personal and domestic performance in the late Middle Ages. The absence of rigid institutional control is first suggested by the many chants for the Recordare Domine and votive masses which cannot be associated with the calendrical cycle of the Temporale and Sanctorale, and instead reflect more time-specific, 'personal' concerns. Such a view is further supported by the large amount of local variability of the melodies and texts used in propers such as the Alleluia verse. The variation in the texts and chants of the votive masses is also paralleled by a diversity in chants and texts characteristic of oral transmission in the songs of the flagellants. A variety of additional avenues also suggest that personal experience and emotion, exemplified in the musical tribute to the plague sufferer Obrecht in Verdelot’s setting of the Recordare Domine, figure prominently in this repertoire. Carraciolo’s inclusion of a motet to St Sebastian in a collection of madrigal settings intended for entertainment highlights the domestic, extra-liturgical element, as does the copying of the Recordare Domine mass propers in the margins of the grammatical texts in Hunter MS 432. The wording of the texts set in this repertoire (in particular Hunter MS 432 and Bs 40608’s use of sanare in the Alleluia verse, and the reference to the aeris temperiem in the devotions to St Roch in the Books of Hours and the Bergamasque Mass to the saint) additionally hint at the converge of natural philosophy and medicine with musical and liturgical liturgical life.
Behind these few surviving relics of music associated with disease and epidemics, we thus can catch fleeting glimpses of a much larger aural culture in which Latin hymns and vernacular songs mixed and reconfigured to meet the needs of a devout and musically-sensitive populace. While the degradations of the plague may evoke images of fear, isolation through the imposition of quarantines and the stifling of natural commerce, the music reveals an alternative world of social exchange and diffusion prompted by the displays of communal solidarity in the face of the universal threat.
Postscript to Chapter 4

The relationship between music and medicine in thirteenth century Iberia, and particularly in the Cantigas de Santa Maria, is a topic which although lying chronologically beyond the scope of this dissertation, would benefit enormously from an investigation along similar lines to those delineated here. The patronage of Alfonso X extended across wide swathes of intellectual and artistic culture, and in addition to the production of the codex containing the Cantigas his reign was distinguished by the creation of a range of historical, legal, scientific, and medical prose texts in the Castilian vernacular. There is general agreement that these prose works such as the Libros del saber de astronomia, reflect the work not only of scholars from the familiar Christian scholastic tradition of northern and western Europe, but also that of thinkers from the Jewish and Muslim scientific traditions who were able to take advantage of the liminal position between East and West of Alfonso's court. Opinions regarding the extent to which Arabic or Moorish musical practice influenced the Cantigas range widely, and studies of the available strictly musical and iconographical sources allow for a multitude of interpretations. However, a consideration of the relationship between music and medicine in Islamic scholarship suggests hitherto unexplored avenues for investigating Arabic influence on this important corpus of medieval song.

To illustrate the point, one of these potential avenues is described below. It is well established that 'the Muslim conquests that began in the seventh century were followed in the eighth and ninth centuries by assimilation of Greek philosophy and science into an Islamic intellectual context', which was then translated into Latin in 'the endeavour to secure access to the whole range of Greco-Arabic philosophy and science so characteristic of western learning between the late eleventh and early
thirteenth centuries' (Siraisi, 1990: 11, 15). Most significant for medicine were the works of Galen, Hippocrates, and Ptolemy (particularly the compendium of four books known to medieval medical commentators simply as the *Tetrabiblos*), which described the effects that the celestial motion described in the cosmogony of the *Almagest* had on the Earth based on their ability to heat, cool, moisten, and dry and thus to affect the complexion of living things. The synthesis of the ideas of these scholars is apparent in the *Kitāb al-lahw wa 'l-malāḥī* (Book of diversion and musical instruments) by Ibn Khurradādhbih (c. 205/820-300/911)\(^1\), which discusses the effect of music on the intellect and the soul, how 'the philosophers made the four strings of the 'ud [an Arabic instrument widely considered to be the physical and etymological ancestor of the European lute] correspond to the four humours' and 'the influence of music on the body and the soul, its therapeutic effect, and its influence on animals, including philosopher’s sayings and tales about King David' (Shiloah RISM p. 193-194). These ideas are developed more fully in the epistle on music attributed to the 'Ikhwān al-Saṭrā' (Brethren of Purity), a fraternity based in Basra in the later tenth century 'dedicated to the pursuit of holiness and truth, especially the truth of (ancient) Greek science' (Horden, 2001: 140). Their writings greatly clarify and expand the remarks of some of the earlier authors, explaining how (in the words of the *Ikhwān al-Saṭrā*, as translated by Amnon Shiloah) 'melodies which are composed of notes and rhythms (aswāt wanaghamāt) leave an impression on the soul similar to that made by the artisan's work on the material which is the substratum of his art.' (Shiloah 'Dimension, p. 12). More specifically, 'The high sounds are hot; they heat the mixture of humours of the compact chymes and mitigate them. The low sounds are cold; they moisten the

\(^1\) For chronologies relating to Muslim authors, I have followed the convention of indicating the year in the format 'hidjra date/common era date'.

mixture of humours of the hot and dry chymes. The middle sounds, placed between
the high and the low, maintain the humours of the temperate chymes in their proper
state, so that they do not deviate from their perfect equilibrium. Deafening,
terrifying and incoherent sounds, in pouncing on the ears all at once and suddenly,
alter the humours, break the equilibrium and cause sudden death... Moderate,
proportionate and consonant sounds equilibrate the mixtures of the humours, gladden
human nature, bring pleasure to the spirit and joy to the soul.' (ibid. p. 25). This
physical property of sound is related to the elemental associations between the four
strings of the 'ūd, such that the tones produced on a given string have specific
cosmological consequences. As it says in the epistle:

In effect, the first string is comparable to the element of fire, and its sonority
corresponds to the heat and its intensity. The second string is comparable to
the element of air and its sonority corresponds to the softness of air and its
gentleness. The third string is comparable to the element of water and its
freshness. The fourth string is comparable to the element of earth and its
sonority corresponds to the heaviness of earth and its density. These diverse
qualities are given to bodies in terms of their regional relations and the
effects that their notes exercise on the mixtures of the temperaments of those
who listen to them. In effect, the sonority of the first string reinforces the
humour of yellow bile, augments its vigour and its effect; it possesses a
nature opposed to that of the humour of phlegm, and softens it. The sonority
of the second string reinforces the humour of the blood, augments its vigour
and its effect; it possesses a nature opposed to that of the humour of black
bile, it refines it and makes it more tender. The sonority of the third string
reinforces the humour of phlegm, augments its force and its effect; it
possesses a nature opposed to that of yellow bile, it is suited to break its irascibility. The sonority of the fourth string reinforces the humour of black bile, augments its vigour and its effect, is opposed to the humour of blood and attenuates its boiling. If the notes produced by these strings merge into one harmony in the melodies that correspond to them and if these melodies are used during the various parts of the day and night whose nature is opposed to that of the illnesses and ailments in force, these melodies would appease the illnesses and ailments in question, would break their violence and alleviate the pains of the sick, for things similar in their natures, once multiplied and united, gain in strength, exercise an evident effect and overcome what is in opposition to them. (Ibid, p. 43-44).

The reason this is of interest is that, as we have already observed, the texts of a significant proportion of the Cantigas de Santa Maria link the Virgin Mary with healing. While many of the Cantiga melodies are comprehensible by the modal theories of plainchant, the theoretical writings of the Ikhwân al-Safâ suggest an alternative classification system could link melodic characteristics with textual characteristics independent of traditional word-painting. However, at this point such conjectures are all highly speculative, and await further research.142

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Chapter 5. The Music of the Disciplinati and Laudesi

Introduction

Let us now investigate the intersection between lay devotion, epidemic disease, and musical sociability in more detail by turning to brotherhoods of late medieval and early modern Italy, whose practices of communal expressions of penance in response to the threat of plague continued after the Black Death and into the sixteenth century. For example, the statute books of the Florentine disciplinati company of the Crocefisso di Santa Maria Maddalena dei Bianchi recorded the circumstances of their order’s foundation in the plague year of 1399 thus:

Men everywhere, in Scotland, England, France, and Spain, began to dress in humble white linen robes that reached their feet, robes that were closed and hid one’s face and head, leaving open a finger of light for one’s eyes. They marched in a great processional throng, fasting, whipping themselves, and singing hymns, following the standard of our Lord Jesus Christ, which preceded the multitude. The crowd sang hymns and psalms in popular meter and in Latin verse, frequently repeating the phrases composed by Pope S. Gregory, “Stabat mater dolorosa, iusta Crucem lagrimosa, dum pendebat filius” etc., and along with other pleas they shouted these words in the vernacular: “Misericordia eterno Dio, pace, pace, Signore pio”, and other similar prayers . . . And in our city, more devoutly and less disorderly than elsewhere, such solemnity was celebrated with many prayers and pious acts of charity. Every sort of man and woman . . . whipping and chanting prayers of supplication, all of which lasted nine days in Florence.143

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143 Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence, 51.; translation from the Italian in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Compagnie Religione Soppresse, vol 537, Statuti della compagnia del Crocefisso di Santa Maria Maddalena “dei Bianchi”, prologue. Although this account (whose original remains unpublished and was unavailable for consultation by the author) was written in the sixteenth
While there remained a distinction between the flagellation rituals practised by the disciplinati societies and the less violent public singing of the laudesi, by the fourteenth century, 'the styles of piety (apart from the actual flagellation) practised by both groups had become commingled . . . . Both types of confraternities elected divine patrons and buried the dead. Both groups sought to repair relations between man and God and between man and man', and (most importantly for our investigation) both groups musically expressed themselves through a similar corpus of devotional songs which fall under the general rubric of the lauda (Wilson, 2007: 58; Weissman, 1982). However, discerning what members of these communities actually sang during epidemics is fraught with difficulty, since all of the evidence suggests that the lauda was primarily an oral tradition which the written historical record can only evoke in fleeting glimpses. Modern understanding of this repertoire is largely dependent upon two late-medieval manuscripts belonging to northern Italian laudesi confraternities: the Franciscan 'Cortona laudario' (Cortona MS 91), now regarded as 'a collection of popular hymns from the general area of Siena, Arezzo, and Cortona' likely dating from the turn of the fourteenth century (Barr, 1988: 67), and the sumptuously illuminated Augustinian 'Florence laudario' (Florence Magliabechiano II I 122, Banco Rari 18) of the Compagnia di Santa Maria delle Laude apparently compiled in the city of the Medici around the time of the Black Death (c. 1350; Barr, 1988: 96). Despite their association with laudesi confraternities, each of these manuscripts contains melodies which can be

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century, the account Weissman gives of it corresponds closely with late-fourteenth century descriptions such as the chronicle for 1399 of 'the anonymous Florentine'. According to more contemporary account, at the time of the processions of the Bianchi in Tuscany 'all men of good humour [buon amore] embraced and kissed each other, and all sang that lauda which begins thus: "Have mercy, o eternal god, peace, peace, o charitable lord: look not upon our errors" [Misericordia, eterno Iddio, pace, pace, o Signor pio: non guardate al nostro errore]. And then all sang spiritual laude calling for peace [laude di Dio chiamando pace], and the Cross went in front'. See Elina Belloni, Giosue Carducci, and Ludovico Antonio Muratori, eds., Cronica Volgare Di Anonimo Fiorentino: Dall'anno 1385 Al 1409, in "Rerum Italicarum Scriptores: Raccolta Degli Storici Italiani Dal Cinquecento Al Millecinquecento", vol. 27, part 2 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1918), 241-2.
circumstantially linked with disciplinati performance in times of plague. The second stanza of the lauda ‘Regina pretiosa’ of the Florentine Magliabechiano codex contains the line, ‘if they [the supplicants] have a contrite heart let them go to the dance [in ‘the divine court of heaven’] whipping themselves’, ‘se egli avrà il cor pentuto, vadasi scorciando a questa danza [nella divina corte]’; and given the compilation date of the manuscript, it is easy to hypothesize that this represents the diffusion of music from a confraternity of disciplinati into a wider performing population. Further implications of the fluid nature of this repertory are found in the fact that a musically notated, seven-strophe lauda in the thirteenth century Cortona laudario reappears with additional strophes describing the act of self-flagelllation in a codex dating from 1356 in the archives of the civic hospital of Udine belonging to the Confraternità di Santa Maria dei Battuti [St. Mary of the Flagellants] (Fabris, 1907: 36-39; Liuzzi, 1935: 270-271). The text and music for these laude appear in Appendix G (see pp. 296-308).

Let us examine the structure and content of one of these laude in more detail. Regina pretiosa is composed in ballata form, with the melody of the refrain used to begin and end the piece and to separate each strophe. Each of the sections of the piece develops a single dominant idea: the refrain invokes the mercy of the Virgin Mary, the first strophe is directed primarily to the ‘king of heaven’ amidst the host of saints, the second strophe is a narrative about the moment of death for the penitent faithful, and the final strophe is directed to the still-living. Thus, when the piece is performed, Mary (through the vocal refrain) is quite literally placed between God the Father and the human multitudes who pray for her aid. Intriguingly, each of these elements is recapitulated in a subgenre of Marian votive art that seems to have
originated in the wake of the Black Death: the plague Madonna della Misericordia (see Figure 5.1):

Figure 5.1. Barnaba da Modena, Plague Madonna della Misericordia, 1370s. S. Maria dei Servi (Genoa, Italy).

In this image, 'a wrathful deity—who may be identified as either Christ or God the Father—appears in the upper area brandishing the plague arrows against a sinful humanity. In a striking reversal of traditional hierarchies of scale, the tiny figure of the enraged divinity is dwarfed by the Virgin, whose towering presence dominates the image. . . Plague arrows rain down uselessly and break upon her outstretched mantle. With a single act, the terrible anger of the divine judge is reduced to impotency: God's chosen victims are safe from punishment within the charmed circle of her protection' (Marshall, 1994: 506-508). There are also parallels between these visual and musical compositions in the use of a visual 'hierarchy of scale,' in which a figure's importance is communicated by its relative
size in the image (which clearly emphasizes the Virgin Mary is in Barnaba’s painting), and the musical hierarchy of importance implied through repetition (as does the Marian refrain of Regina pretiosa). While earlier art historians had cited the perceived naivety of “popular” faith for the development of visual genre, in her doctoral thesis Marshall documented the ‘involvement of a broad range of individuals and groups in commissioning images of the plague Madonna della Misericordia, including confraternities, communal officials, and secular and regular clergy of all ranks and orders’ (1980: App. 2, 267-272; 1994: 510). It is thus possible that penitential laude of the disciplinati and laudesi such as the Regina pretiosa represent an aural counterpart to the paintings of the Plague Madonna della Misericordia, as Italian parishes and lay communities under threat of epidemic plague expressed their desire for relief through artistic votive offerings grounded in a common belief in the doctrine of intercession and in contrition as an avenue to spiritual health.

Physicians and the lauda

However, spiritual health was not the only concern of these groups; the confraternities also demonstrated a preoccupation with the maintenance of physical well-being. At the organizational level, it is striking that in the sections of the statute books specifying the posts of the elected confraternity officials, it was not unusual for laudesi confraternities to make provisions for the election of a company physician (‘medico’) in addition to the expected positions for a president, secretary, treasurer, and other administrative posts.144 This is in addition to the appointed physicians.

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144 See for example the following excerpt from the 1382 statutes of the Compagnia di Sant’Agostino (Fas, CRS A VIII, 1, fol. 3v): ‘We ordain that our company . . . should always have one priestly governor, two counsellors, one procurer of supplies, one inspector, one secretary, one chamberlain, three masters of the novices, three inﬁmerers, three procurers of supplies for the inﬁrm . . . and a physician.’ “Ordeniamo che la nostra compagnia . . abbi sempre uno padre governatore due consiglieri uno provveditore uno apuntatore uno scrivano uno camarlingho tre maestri di novitii tre
"infermieri", for which there were usually several for each company, who were responsible for visiting the sick, aiding ill brothers with the management of their finances and personal affairs, and recording confession (cf. Weissman, 1982: 130).

What were these doctors doing? Is it possible to see their influence in the repertoire of the laudesi? One clue might lie in the sustained use of a vocabulary of fragrance and smell in the sung texts. A catalogue of lines containing images of olfaction in the laude of the Florence Laudario appears in Appendix H (see pp. 309-312), and while it is clear that in many cases the evocation of smell is part of a well-worn metaphoric pairing between a venerated figure and a cherished flower, these are many instances where this explanation appears insufficient. To take only a few examples, the lauda immediately following the disciplinati-related Regina pretiosa in the Florence laudario (item 37) describes the Virgin Mary as both a 'fragrant rose' and 'fine musk', 'aulente rosa et moscado fino' (Wilson and Barbieri, 1995: text on lxx, music on 43) while a lauda in honour of St George demonstrates the apparent validity of the opposite polarity of the image. According to the lauda, prior to the arrival of St George the people of Silena 'gave their children by lot / to the dragon, in order to escape death / from his poisonous stench', 'lorfigli davano per Sorte /a lo draco, per fugir la morte / dello suo fetor velenoso' (Wilson and Barbieri, 1995: text on lxxxiv, music on 80). Later laude take the olfactory symbolism to even more dizzying heights; a lauda which now exists as a contrafactum of a sixteenth-century canzonetta by Orazio Vecchi likens the Virgin Mary to 'musk-deer or ambergris',

infermieri tre proveditore d'infermi . . . e un medico." Cited in Barr, The Monophonic Lauda and the Lay Religious Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages, 154.
("muschio od ambra"; see Deford and Haussmann, 1993: 122), the latter of which is a pungent waxy secretion of the intestines of sperm whales.¹⁴⁵

These cryptic and somewhat alarming similes make much more sense with the knowledge that medical practice throughout the medieval and renaissance periods maintained that, in the words of the Parisian medical faculty of 1348, "corrupted air, when breathed in, necessarily penetrates to the heart and corrupts the substance of the spirit there and rots the surrounding moisture, and the heat thus caused destroys the life force, and this is the immediate cause of the present epidemic" of plague.¹⁴⁶ This concept of "bad air", or malaria, is implicit in many medieval references to 'poisonous stenches' arising from sources ranging from St George's enemy in the lauda above to the distasteful aromas of animal byproducts associated with the butchers' and tanners' professions and whose practitioners thus frequently found themselves the subject of legislation during epidemics.¹⁴⁷

Conversely, fragrant objects were believed to create a barrier against the malaria that caused illness, and doctors deemed it prudent to proscribe "inhaling aromatics every morning before leaving home: ambergris, musk, rosemary and similar things if you are rich; zedoary, cloves, nutmeg, mace and similar things if you are poor ... do

¹⁴⁶ Translated in Horrox, ed., The Black Death, 161. Similar comments can be found in countless medical tracts from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, including (most relevantly for our current purposes) the Consilium contra pestilentiam of Gentile da Foligno (d. 1348), a prominent Italian physician who taught at the universities of Bologna and Padua. According to da Foligno, "It must be believed that whatever may be the case in regard to the aforesaid causes, the immediate and particular cause is a certain poisonous material which is generated about the heart and lungs ... [which,] ... breathed up with the pestilential air, multiplies itself while feeding upon the moist humours of the body, till it reaches the heart and drives out the vital spirit." See Karl Sudhoff, ed., Festivriten Aus Den Ersten 150 Jahren Nach Her Epidemie Des 'Schwarzes Todes', vol. 5, in "Archiv Für Geschichte Der Medizin", (Leipzig: [s.n.], 1911); translated in Jon Arrizabalaga, "Facing the Black Death: Perceptions and Reactions of University Medical Practitioners," in Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death, ed. Luis Garcia-Ballester, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 237-288, 239; Campbell, The Black Death and Men of Learning, 37-54.
¹⁴⁷ For examples, see the legislation passed by the Comune of Pistoia in 1348 and that of the City of London in 1371 and 1388, translated into English in Horrox, ed., The Black Death, 198-206.
this as often as a foetid or bad odour can be detected in the air, and especially when the weather is foggy or the air tainted, and it can protect against the epidemic.\textsuperscript{148}

The references to aromaticity in these laude thus seem to be implying that the saints are benevolent protectors which can shield them from the foul pestilential influences of bad air, and may in fact represent one channel of the influence of physicians and medical theory on the ideology and performance of the singing confraternities.

But just how musically savvy were these physicians? An answer to this question is difficult to obtain, given the patchy nature of the historical record and the already noted tendency for this kind of performance to be transmitted through oral channels, but a few observations about the musical culture of prominent centres of medical training Italy suggest that those who received a medical education may have received more than a cursory background in music. It has been observed that some of the cities most noted for their faculties of arts and medicine (in particular the universities of Bologna, Padua, and Perugia) were also major centres of musical activity and innovation, and in fact the oldest known example of secular Italian polyphony was composed by pope Boniface VIII's physician Bonaiuto del Casentino at the turn of the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{149} Furthermore, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there are numerous examples of men achieving distinction in both

\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 187. Others were even more explicit: 'the first, for the king and queen, is an apple of pure and finest amber[gris], for amber, largely on account of its aroma, greatly cheers and invigorates, strengthening the principal organs and increasing the vital principle. But since amber is dear, the other three recipes are given; the simplest, that of the ninth-century Arab physician, John Mesue, prescribing equal parts black pepper, and red and white sandal, two parts of roses, half a part of camphor, and four parts of bol armeniac. All but the camphor are to be ground very fine, sifted and shaken, pounded during a week with rose water, then the camphor mixed with them, and the apples made with a paste of gum arabic and rose water. Gentile of Foligno suggests for the poor the smelling of any sort of odiferous herbs; and in his usual practical vein, while speaking of fires, he says that something which is useful for everyone is building a fire in the streets with material gotten by cleaning dirty houses and cities.' Campbell, The Black Death and Men of Learning, 67-68.

\textsuperscript{149} See Johannes Wolf, "Bonaiutus De Casentino, Ein Dichter-Komponist Um 1300," Acta Musicologica 9, no. 1/2 (1937): 1-51-5. For more information concerning the relationship between music and medicine in Italian universities at the beginning of the Ars Nova, see Nino Pirrotta, "Due Sonetti Musicali Del Secolo XIV," in Miscelhnea En Homenaje a Monsenor Higinio Angles (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1958-61651-62, 657-661.)
medicine and music. Perhaps the most illustrious example is that of Giordano Cardano (1501-76), a mathematician/physician who taught at the universities of Pavia and Bologna, maintained a highly regarded private medical practice, and wrote three treatises which deal extensively with music.\(^{150}\) It was not unheard even to move professionally from one field to another. A degree in medicine was awarded in 1487 to one 'Ulricus Pilcer de Constantia cantor ducis Ferrariae', with two of the three witnesses being fellow singers the *capella* of Ercole I D'Este.\(^{151}\) Unfortunately, as Nan Carpenter noted in a classic study of music in early universities, it is difficult to directly ‘evaluate the place of music among studies in the early university from academic statutes, for no such documents for the arts faculty exist from the fourteenth century and no references to music appear in the statutes for the *Facultas Artistarum et Medicorum* of 1405’ (Carpenter, 1958: 33). It nevertheless bears mentioning that in the university town of Padua music-making was so common that it had become an actual nuisance and necessitated the passing of an ordinance in 1339 which criminalized the making of noise “with musical instruments in the city and environs” from “the sounding of the evening bell-ringing to the morning bell-ringing”.\(^{152}\)

Music also had a place in the theoretical framework of medical practitioners; medieval medical tracts abound with comments like that of Ugolino of Orvieto (*floruit* late fourteenth- early fifteenth cent), who stated in his *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* (I, 1, pp. 15-16) that ‘Human music harmonizes the parts of the soul, the

\(^{150}\) Namely, *De subtilitate* (1550); *De proportionibus* (1570); and *De utilitate ex adversis capienda* (1561)' and *De musica* (1574). See Moyer, *Musica Scientia: Musical Scholarship in the Italian Renaissance*, 159.


\(^{152}\) "'con istromenti musicali nella città e nei borghi . . . [dal] . . . suono della campana di notte al suono di quella matutina’" Quoted in Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, 38.
sense's capacity to feel with the intellect's to perceive, and ... permits the elements
and parts of the body to be harmonized within itself.\textsuperscript{153} This idea of the proportions
of music unites the human \emph{microcosmos} and the greater \emph{macrocosmos}, of course,
stimns from the tradition of 'universal harmony' in ancient Greek and Roman
scientific thought which was espoused most articulately by Boethius (in fact the
preceding quote is a paraphrase of Boethius' \textit{De musica}),\textsuperscript{154} and it thus may not be
surprising that music theorists echo the sentiments in their own works. Amongst the
intellectual descendants of Boethius, the trumpeting of the all-encompassing powers
of music (including its power to fend off plague) became a well-worn trope in the
introductory sections of music theory texts,\textsuperscript{155} and while it is clear that in many cases

\textsuperscript{153} 'Humana vero musica, quam quisque insemnet intuendo cognoscit, animae partes, id est, potentias,
sua iubilatione concordat, ut, scilicet, intellectus possibilis a sensu perceptas species teneat, et . . .
elementa permixtas musicae harmonia coaptat.' Albertus Seay, ed., \textit{Ugolini Urbeuetanis, Declaratio
of Musicology, 1959), 16; English translation from Claude V Palisca, \textit{Humanism in Italian
Renaissance Musical Thought} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 164. Other examples
include the 1330 \textit{Speculum musicae} of pseudo-Johannes de Muris (likely Jacobus von Lütich) which
reads, "Music's reach extends to very nearly all things, to God and the creation, the incorporeal
and the corporeal, the celestial and the terrestrial and human, to both theoretical and practical subjects".
Quoted in Werner Friedrich Kümmel, \textit{Musik Und Medizin: Ihre Wechselbeziehungen in Theorie Und
(Freiburg/München: Verlag Karl Alber, 1977), 72. Ugolino of Orvieto and Gentile da Foligno, among
others, also wrote extensively on the utility of musical ideas in the functioning of the pulse,
developing ideas set forth by Galen and Avicenna and debating the merits of pulse is \textit{musica
mundana} or \textit{musica instrumentalis}. See Siraisi, "The Music of Pulse in the Writings of Italian
Academic Physicians (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)," 689-710.

\textsuperscript{154} "Our body and souls appear to be bound together and linked through the common use of the
harmonising melody of similar Proportion." Quoted in Kümmel, \textit{Musik Und Medizin: Ihre
Wechselbeziehungen in Theorie Und Praxis}, 146-7. See also the natural philosophy of Robert
Grosseteste and Engelbert von Admont discussed in Chapter 4, pp. 57-59.

\textsuperscript{155} For example, Martianus Capella's \textit{Marriage of Mercury and Philology (De nuptiis philologiae et
mercurii)} contained an account of how a man named Thaletas of Crete dispersed an epidemic of
'pestilence' through the playing of his cithara with was often repeated in late medieval and early
modern tracts. This story is also contained in Pratinas (\textit{Poetae Melici Graeci}, 713 (iii)) and in
pseudo-Plutarch, \textit{De musica}, 1146bc.) See West, "Music Therapy in Antiquity," (54-55. Similarly, in
Carlo Valgulio's \textit{Contra vituperatorem musicae} (1509), he mentions how in Greek times 'plagues
which could not be relieved by any other means were removed by music. Even common people know
that Homer tells of an army that was liberated from a severe plague by songs addressed to the
heavens.' See Palisca, \textit{Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought}, 104. Others, like
Girolamo Mercuriale in 1580, argued that "The music of Thaletas is . . . the confidence, joy, and
joovitliy though which one makes spirit and body stronger in their battle against the sickness of
plague." G. Mercuriale, 1580, fol. 46 rv, quoted in Kümmel, \textit{Musik und Medizin}, 325. These and
similar associations have been catalogued and explored in depth by historians of music therapy, and
an excellent overview can be found in Peregrine Horden, ed., \textit{Music as Medicine: The History of
Music Therapy since Antiquity}, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000). The bibliography in Schullian, Dorothy
the idea is intended merely as a rhetorical identification of the theorist’s craft with the lofty ars of the Pythagoreans, it is equally apparent that the idea was not a purely theoretical construction. For example, in his Consilium contra pestilentiam the indefatigable Gentile da Foligno advised those facing an impending plague epidemic `to avoid rage, sadness and solitude, because these accidents of the soul negatively influenced the bodily complexion and favoured the appearance of diseases' and to cultivate a good disposition by means of `melodies, songs, stories, and other similar pleasures' since ‘pleasure, although it sometimes moistens the body, strengthens the spirit and the heart’. Or, as concisely stated later by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), “Medicina sanat animam per corpus, musica autem corpus per animam” (Medicine heals the soul through the body; so likewise [does] music the body through the soul). Werner Kümmel also draws attention to a manuscript of the “Regime du corps” made in the thirteenth century by Aldebranchino of Siena, where an illumination of the capital of the chapter on ‘How one should guard against rage’ depicts a man playing a fiddle (Kümmel, 1977: 161). It is also suggestive that in a fifteenth-century manuscript (now Vipiteno (Sterzing), Archivio Comunale, s.s) which apparently was created somewhere in the vicinity of Bepiteno (Tirol region of northern Italy), medical and cosmetic recipes alternate with

M. and Max Schoen, eds. *Music and Medicine*. New York: Henry Schuman Inc., 1948 is also a valuable resource for becoming acquainted with the range of panegyric associated with the topic in musical writing.

As scathingly noted by Johannes de Grocheo in De Musica when he characterized all those who make a distinction between the musica mundana, humana, and instrumentalis as people who ‘wish to obey the Pythagoreans or others more than the truth’. Johannes de Grocheo, De Musica (Concerning Music), ed. Albert Seay, trans. Albert Seay, 4 vols., vol. 1, *Colorado Music Press Translations* (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1974), 10.


items of music theory. 159 To this we might add the evidence for the wide diffusion of a couplet found in the *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum*, a didactic poem written in the thirteenth century associated with the Greco-Arabic theory of medical teaching in Salerno in southern Italy, which specifically associated blood and the corresponding sanguine temperament with singing: The temperaments’ characteristics are listed as ‘Bountiful, friendly, cheerful, laughing, red of colour, / singing, fleshy, rather reckless in character but affable as well’ (*Largus, amans, hilaris, ridens, rubeique coloris / Cantans, carmosus, satis audax, atque benignus*). 160 As part of an eight-line poem describing the four complexions (a couplet for each of the sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, and melancholic temperaments), these lines were known across the continent. A Middle English translation was made sometime before 1400 as "For iocund [jolly] and amorous and laykand [playful] the rede is and mery; / Fleschely enowhe and synghand [singing], myld and full hardy [brave]"), and the verses were frequently copied in domestic household books throughout the Middle Ages. 161 It is

159 After a 'Compendio di teoria degli intervalli (mutilo) on fol 3va, on fol 4 there are 'Tre ricette di cosmesi seguita da una tavola delle mutazioni e da elementi di teoria musicale in versi.' Then on fol 6 are written 'Tre ricette mediche seguite da manoscritto musicale (in marg.: Manu hant. G dat bedurum c naturalem f-que bemollem'). ' See Christian Meyer, ed., *The Theory of Music, Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to C. 1500*, 6 vols., vol. 6, in 'Repertoire International Des Sources Musicales', B.116 (München: G. Henle Verlag, 2003), 634.


this type of thinking that likely was behind the decision of Boccaccio’s protagonists in the *Decameron* to end each day singing to the accompaniment of the lute.

Given this level of interaction between musical and medical thinking, and given the very organization of the *laudesi*'s orientation to the simultaneous pastoral care of both bodily and spiritual health noted above, it seems highly significant that contained in the library of the Dominican monastery of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, the very same place which founded the first *laudesi* society in 1244 and which served as the initial meeting and starting off point for the ten gentlefolk in the *Decameron*, is a manuscript dating from the twelfth century explicating elements of Pythagorean music theory and containing a 'planetary scale' similar to that found in Boethius' *De musica* (Santosuosso, 1994: fol 76 r-v). Furthermore, in later years we find *laude* which owe something to the corpus of medieval medical education. One of the most striking was composed by the Florentine Girolamo Benivieni (1453-c.1542), a poet and close associate of the Dominican reformer Girolamo Savonarola. Savonarola's advocacy of the oral tradition of *lauda* singing is well-documented, both in words and arguably (through quotations in the polyphonic compositions of Phillippe Verdelot, Jean Richafort, Nicolas Gombert and Jean Mouton) in music;162

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Anthology (B.L. Add MS 60577), a household miscellany which contains a fascinating mixture of medical recipes, scientific treatises, devotional poetry, and even vocal and instrumental music with concordances to material in the Ritson manuscript (BL Add MS 5665; see below) and documents such as the Lant Roll (Cambridge, King’s College, Rowe Music Library MS. I) which suggest that the material in BL Add. MS 60577 constitutes a set of freeze-frame pictures of an oral musical and intellectual culture which was constantly using these texts and tunes in their own ways and outside of the historical record. The study of these and other household miscellanies represents a rich seam for the further investigation of the intersection between music and medicine in the Middle Ages, which must, unfortunately, for the present remain conjectural. See F.W.E Roth, "Mittheilungen Aus Mittellateinischen Handschriften Der Hofbibliothek Zu Darmstadt," *Romanische Forschungen* 6, no. 2 (1889): 239-270263; and Edward Wilson and Iain Fenlon, eds., *The Winchester Anthology. Facsimile of British Library Add. Ms 60577.* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1981), esp 5-46.

162 An early sixteenth-century biography of Savonarola contains an account of how the Dominican friar would sing *laude* informally after dinner in the monastery of San Marco, and how he created a new way of singing the first verse of Psalm 132 ('Ecce quam bonum') which became a touchstone for Savonarola's followers. The case for the identification of this melody (which was unspecified by the biographer) with that which forms the canonic tenor in Verdelot's *Letamini in Domino*, the *secunda pars* of Richafort's 'O quae dulcis', and various parts of Gombert’s *Ecce quam bonum* and its parody
and Benivieni wrote several polyphonic laude which were sung by several thousand people in Florence in the famous Carnival processions of 1497 and 1498 which culminated in the 'bonfires of the vanities'. (Macey, 1992: 444; Macey, 1999: xxxii-xxxiii, 38-39). Moreover, both of these years were marked by plague epidemics, and this did not go unmarked in Benivieni's music. The third verse of the lauda 'Da che tu ci hai Signore', which is known to have been performed during the Carnival procession on 16 February 1497, contains a reference to the use of plague as a divine punishment for the sins of mankind, while in the lauda 'Io vo darti anima mia' Benivieni uses an extraordinary medical metaphor to explain the Christian mass by Mouton is laid out in Patrick Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," Journal of the American Musicological Society 36, no. 3 (1983): 422-452, esp. 426-434. One might also observe that all of the Verdelot motets which have associations with plague (Recordare Domine, Sint dicte grates Christo, and Infirmiutatem nostrum; see Ch. 4, pp. 85-91) were written during what Böker-Heil described as his 'mature phase', which in addition to being unified by fewer rhythmic contrasts and melismas in non-imitative passages, longer note values, short phrases often emphasizing one note and rarely exceeding a 5th or a 6th in compass, and close attention to the unifying of text and music, both accentually and symbolically all relate to the plague, famine and strife that beset Florence between 1527 and 1530' and 'celebrate Florentine revivals of Savonarola's theological and political doctrines during the last republic' See H. Colin Slim and Stefano La Via, Verdelot, Philippe. Works' ed. L. Macy [Accessed 24 October 2007], <www.grovemusic.com>; emphasis added. Furthermore, Patrick Macey noted how 'the memory of Savonarola was especially venerated in Florence during the second republic of 1527-30, when the Medici had once more been expelled' Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 427-428. and also at the court of Ferrara, where editions of the controversial Dominican reformer's sermons were published in 1513 and 1516 and where hymns in honour of Savonarola and settings of his meditations were published during the reign of Duke Ercole II d'Este Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 437. In point of fact Ferrara was the birthplace of Savonarola, and some have suggested that the influence of the Dominican can be seen in Josquin's much celebrated setting of Psalm 50, Miserere mei, Deus. The argument is that a contemporary of Josquin's named Teofilo Folengo wrote a chronicle in 1521 in which he stated, "illud compositum miserere' Duce rogitante Ferrariae,' and this Duke, the first Ercole d'Este, is known to have corresponded with Savonarola, condoned the first printing of Savonarola's meditation on Psalm 50 in 1498, and instituted reforms in Ferrara modeled on the preacher's own in Florence. These ideas are explored in greater detail in Patrick Macey, Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet", partic. 448-452. See also Paul Merkley, "Josquin Desprez in Ferrara," The Journal of Musicology 18, no. 4 (2001): 544-583, esp. 572-573. The strophe reads, 'Chi non sa che al peccato / Del tuo popol' ribello / In vendetta hai parato / Fame, peste e coltello. / De, fa che tuo flagello / A buoni torni in letizia / A rei in iustitia in breve / ira e furore. ' 'Who does not know that for the sins / of your rebellious people, / You have prepared in vengeance / famine, plague, and the sword? O see that Your scourge / brings happiness to good people, / and justice to the wicked, in [Your] swift anger and rage.' In Patrick Macey, ed., Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems, in "Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance", (Madison: A-R Editions, 1999), xxxii, 38-39.
condition. To concoct the ‘singular remedy that is effective against every ill’ (‘rimedio sol che vale . . . a ciascun male) which he terms ‘insanity’ (‘pazzia’), Benivieni advises listeners to ‘Take at least three ounces of hope, / three of faith and six of love, / two of tears and place them together / on the fire of fear. / Let it then boil for three hours / strain it at the end and add as much / of humility and sorrow as / suffices’.

Interestingly, the likening of the ‘divine medicine’ of Christianity to the physical ministrations of corporeal physicians echoes the figurative language used by the Benedictine friar Dom Theophilus of Milan which survives on folios. 97v-98 of a fifteenth century Italian manuscript of medical remedies. In the words of Dom Theophilus:

Whenever anyone is struck down by the plague they should immediately provide themselves with a medicine like this. Let him first gather as much as he can of bitter loathing towards the sins committed by him, and the same quantity of true contrition of heart, and mix the two into an ointment with the water of tears. Then let him make a vomit of frank and honest confession, by which he shall be purged of the pestilential poison of sin, and the boil of his vices shall be totally liquified and melt away. (Theophilus, 1994)

Unlike that of Dom Theophilus, Benivieni’s ‘recipe’ then elaborates on this theme by specifying the precise quantities of the spiritual ingredients used (in the metaphysically nonsensical unit of ‘oncie’, or ounces). Interestingly, each of the ratios formed by a comparison of any two of these ingredients has musical

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165 The text and music also appear in Appendix G, pp. 305-308.
166 ‘To tre oncie almeno di speme, / Tre di fede e sei di amore, / Due di pianto e poni insieme / Tutto al fuoco del timore. Fa da poi bollir tre hore, / Premi enfine vi giugni tanto / Di humilità e dolor, quanto / Basta a far questa pazzia.’ Macey, ed., Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems, xxxix.
167 Now Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London: Western MS 668. See Horrox, ed., The Black Death, 149.
significance, as each is the numerical representation of a Pythagorean consonance, as is shown in the following table (Table 5.1.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Faith (3 oz)</th>
<th>Hope (3 oz)</th>
<th>Love (6 oz)</th>
<th>Tears (2 oz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faith (3 oz)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3:3 = 1:1</td>
<td>3:6 = 1:2</td>
<td>3:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unison</td>
<td>Octave</td>
<td>Fifth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope (3 oz)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3:6 = 1:2</td>
<td>Octave</td>
<td>3:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Octave</td>
<td>5th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love (6 oz)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>6:2 = 3:1</td>
<td>Octave + 5th</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tears (2 oz)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1. Pythagorean consonances used in Benivieni's *Io vo darti anima mia*

Conclusions

Such concordances reflect the interconnectedness of the theory of music and the natural philosophy of the educated laity in the sixteenth century, and raise the possibility that the maintenance of a 'well-tempered' body and spirit may have involved the prescription of music for more than just intercessionary antiphons. Rather, music may have played an integral role in contemporary programmes for the insurance of health. In addition to their performance in *disciplinati* processions during epidemics, the imagery of the laude further combine ideas drawn from medical theory associated with the plague (particularly in the emphasis on sweet smells) with the vocabulary of penitential and votive intercessionary prayers to Mary and the saints. As noted earlier (see Chapter 4, pp. 94-96), since the history of the *laudesi* societies overlaps substantially with the history of plague in Europe, the combination of these elements in the laude may best be interpreted as a generalized response to a prevailing social and emotional climate in which fear of, and experience with, plague played a key role.
Chapter 6. *Stella Coeli* and the Tracing of Plague Performance

The *laude* of the Italian confraternities reveal a sophisticated interdigitation of music and medical ideas, linked in a manifestation of collective (often Marian) piety in the devotions of communities under threat from epidemic plague. Bearing this in mind, let us now examine another formulation of Marian devotion which similarly combines ideas of religion, medicine, and music, but whose investigation leads us in rather different directions. Now commonly known as the *Stella celi extirpavit* by virtue of its incipit in Latin, this hymn might be best characterized as a family of strongly related pleas for divine clemency in the face of illness in general and plague in particular. Below is the most common version, as it appears in the late-medieval *Horae Eboracensis* at York Minster (see Table 6.1.):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stella coeli extirpavit</td>
<td>Star of Heaven,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qu[a]e lactavit Dominum</td>
<td>who nourished the Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortis pestem, quam plantavit</td>
<td>and rooted up the plague of death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primus pares hominum.</td>
<td>which our first parents planted;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipsa stella nunc dignetur</td>
<td>may that star now deign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sydera compescere;</td>
<td>to restrain the constellations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quorum bella plebem cedant</td>
<td>whose strife brings the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dire mortis vlcere.</td>
<td>the ulcers of a terrible death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O gloriosa stella maris,</td>
<td>O glorious star of the sea,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a peste succurre nobis,</td>
<td>save us from the plague.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audi nos: nam Filius tuus</td>
<td>Hear us: for your Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nihil negans te honorat.</td>
<td>who honours you denies you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nothing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6.1. Text and translation of the Stella coeli hymn**

The existence of this hymn has been known for over a century by scholars of the medieval- and early-modern periods without ever commanding any great interest, in part because references to it are thinly scattered across an enormous range of

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168 Spelling regularized; Latin in Christopher Wordsworth, ed., "Horae Eboracenses: The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, According to the Use of the Illustrious Church of York with Other Devotions as They Were Used by the Lay-Folk in the Northern Province in the Xvth and Xvith Centuries" *Publications of the Surtees Society* 132 (1920): 69.

material spanning several centuries. Samuel Hemingway, for example, offhandedly noted an allusion to it in the rubricated stage directions of the mid-fifteenth-century ‘Adoration of the Shepherds’ play from the dramatic ‘N-Town Cycle’ (formerly known as the Ludus Coventriae), describing it in 1909 as a ‘very little known’ piece which merited a mention in Chevalier’s Repertorium Hymnologicum of 1892 only as part of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in a small number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French missals. Such nonchalance has apparently endured among scholars of drama, as in discussing the same play Gail Gibson characterized the Stella coeli as ‘an obscure hymn rarely found in service books either in England or on the Continent’ (1981: 88). In contrast to this, Eamon Duffy called special attention to the Stella coeli, singling it out as as a ‘frequently recurring’ element in late medieval English Books of Hours. The invocation is also of interest to musicologists. Archival searches made in the last fifty years have revealed editions of the hymn featuring musical notation which had been copied in the margins and pastedown pages of collegiate and monastic manuscripts, and fully notated

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[170] See Samuel B. Hemingway, ed., English Nativity Plays (New York, 1909), p. 261; item 19438, Ulysse Chevalier, Repertorium Hymnologicum: Catalogue Des Chants, Hymnes, Proses, Sequences, Tropes En Usage Dans l’Eglise Latine Depuis Les Origines Jusqu’a Nos Jours, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Louvain: Imprimerie Polleunis & Ceuterick, 1897), 601. The reference in the N-Town Shepherds play appears at the top of folio 90r of the sole manuscript copy of the N-Town cycle (BL Cotton Vespasian D. viii), where after the shepherds have decided to ‘go fforthe fast on hye / And honowre pat babe wurthylye’ in Bethlehem, the anonymous scribe indicates that the shepherds are to process to the manger singing 'Stella celci extirpavit' (tunc pastores cantabunt · stella celci extirpavit · quo facto ibunt ad querendum christum). See Douglas Sugano, ed., The N-Town Plays, in "Middle English Texts Series", (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), 144.

[171] Books of Hours have been, and are in ever-increasing measure, a rich vein of source material mined by historical scholars from across the disciplinary spectrum. For an introduction to this important genre of medieval and early modern literature, see Wieck, Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life; and Duffy, Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240-1570.

[172] Noted for the first time by W. Barclay Squire, "Notes on an Undescribed Collection of English 15th Century Music," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft 2, no. 3 (1901): 342-392351. This work was greatly expanded and refined by Margaret Bent, who included a lengthy footnote on the ‘Stella celi’ in her 1968 article “New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony” for the Journal of the American Musicological Society (vol. 21, issue no. 2) based on an appendix in her doctoral dissertation “The Old Hall Manuscript: A palaeographic study” (Cambridge University, 1969). At time of writing these two sources remain the most thorough examinations of the history and significance of the hymn in print. Since that time, however,
polyphonic editions of *Stella coeli* figure in three of the most significant surviving collections of pre-Reformation English vocal music: the Old Hall Manuscript (British Library Additional MS 57950), the Eton Choirbook (Eton College Library MS 178), and on multiple occasions in the Ritson Manuscript (BL Add MS 5665). We thus have a single item figuring in works of late medieval literature, music, and drama—an exceptional range of use, particularly for an anonymous non-biblical text.

The questions posed by the *Stella coeli* only multiply with Margaret Bent's observation that the hymn 'occupied no official place in the liturgical books of the principal rites' and thus had no single official plainsong melody. Without official liturgical dissemination, how do we account for the diversity of use of this little-known plague hymn? More importantly, what does the multimodal adoption of *Stella coeli* indicate about musical performance and artistic activity in times of epidemic stress?

When a text enjoys distribution both as an autonomous verbal composition and as the underlay of a piece of vocal music (a madrigal is a good example), the

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134 Margaret Bent, "New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21, no. 2 (1968): 137-156147. This is not to say, of course, that *Stella coeli* did not have ANY plainsong melodies associated with it. In fact, plainsong versions plainsong for the hymn appear in radically different forms in different sources, as will be discussed below in pp. 160-162.
general assumption is that the text was written first as a poem and subsequently selected for musical elaboration. Such a pattern, if it held here, would posit that the *Stella coeli* was originally conceived as an unadorned verbal prayer whose popularity and applicability in the lives of laity led to its copying in Books of Hours, which then was mined as a source of verbal underlay by composers who perhaps 'were searching for texts of greater variety and a more personal expression' (Blackburn, 1967: 58). However, even given the difficulty of dating many of its appearances in writing, the evidence for the use of the *Stella coeli* hymn provides little support for such an interpretation (see Table 6.2):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Composer/author</th>
<th>MS Location (if different from published source)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>c. 1420</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Latin)</td>
<td>France/England</td>
<td>Anonymous (Book of Hours written for Charles of Orleans during English captivity)</td>
<td>France- Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1196, fol. 231v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>c. 1434?</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Middle English)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>John Lydgate</td>
<td>GB-London BL MS. Harley 2255, fol. 103r-v; copied with minor variations in Cambridge, Jesus Coll 56 fol. 73r-v; London BL Add. MS 34360, fols. 132v-133r; London BL MS Harley 2251, fols 9v-10r, and Cambridge Trinity Coll R. 3. 21, fols. 168v-169.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. Written references to Stella coeli extirpavit prior to 1600

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID&lt;sup&gt;cont&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Composer/author</th>
<th>MS Location (if different from published source)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>early 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; cent.</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Middle English)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>John Lydgate</td>
<td>GB-London BL. Rawl. C. 48, fols 133v-134r; FR-Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 469, fol 104v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>early 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; cent.</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Middle English)</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Anonymous (Book of Hours)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; c. (after 1450)</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Latin)</td>
<td>Flanders</td>
<td>Anonymous (Book of Hours)</td>
<td>FR-Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 18029, fol. 119v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7&lt;sup&gt;o&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; c. (c. 1492)</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Middle English)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>James Ryman</td>
<td>GB-Cambridge, University Library MS E.e. l.12., fol. 62v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; c. (c. 1494)</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Latin)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous (Book of Hours)</td>
<td>Printed on Vellum by Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster. 4 existing copies: GB Lambeth Archep. 25.1.23; Oxford Bold. D. subb. 59; Cambridge Univ. G.4.4.; Cambridge Univ. G.3.61.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. (cont.) Written references to *Stella coeli extirpavit* prior to 1600

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<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Composer/author</th>
<th>MS Location (if different from published source)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>15th c.</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Latin)</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>written on a piece of 15th c. parchment 'conservé comme relique au monastère de Santa Clara de Coimbre.' (Corbin p. 374)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>After 1526</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Latin)</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Little information known; Corbin describes this as 'un manuscrit provenant des Capucins, donc(e?) postérieur à 1526.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1536</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Latin)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous (Book of Hours)</td>
<td>Horae Eboracenses, end of quire G.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1536</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Latin and Middle English)</td>
<td>Printed in France for English market</td>
<td>Anonymous (Book of Hours)</td>
<td>GB-Oxford Bodl. Douce BB. 231(l)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. (cont.) Written references to Stella coeli extirpavit prior to 1600

'Christopher Wordsworth, ed., "Horae Eboracenses: The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, According to the Use of the Illustrious Church of York with Other Devotions as They Were Used by the Lay-Folk in the Northern Province in the Xvth and Xvth Centuries." Publications of the Surtees Society 132 (1920): 69.
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<tr>
<th>ID&lt;sub&gt;source&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Composer/author</th>
<th>MS Location (if different from published source)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>c. 1480</td>
<td>Hymn/Poem (Latin)</td>
<td>Italian or Spanish</td>
<td>Anonymous (addition in a book of Hours)</td>
<td>GB-Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 265 (Yates Thompson MS 20), fol. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15&lt;sup&gt;i&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>early 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; c.</td>
<td>Plainsong</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous (in a Sarum Processional)</td>
<td>GB-Norwich, Castle Museum MS 158.926.4e, ff. 133'-134.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>c. 1460-80</td>
<td>Plainsong? (words written in tenor of an otherwise unrelated motet)</td>
<td>Bohemia or Moravia</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Czech Rep-Prague, Strahov Monastery Library (Museum of Czech Literature, Strahov Library), D.G. IV 47, pp. 471-472 (fols. 236'-237)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; cent?</td>
<td>Plainsong</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>GB-Cambridge, University Library, Add. 6668, fols. 112-112'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;, early 16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; cent.</td>
<td>Plainsong</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>GB- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 46, fols. 152'-153'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; cent.</td>
<td>Plainsong?- Tenor cantus firmus of a 4-voice motet</td>
<td>Italy?</td>
<td>Anonymous (mostly copied from Petrucci prints of 1501-03)</td>
<td>Italy-Florence, Panc. 27, fols 69v-70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. (cont.) Written references to *Stella coeli extirpavit* prior to 1600

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Composer/author</th>
<th>MS Location (if different from published source)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>16th</td>
<td>Plainsong</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Portugal-Coimbra, Museo Machado de Castro, Antiphoner 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>?? (In a theory book published in 1685)</td>
<td>Plainsong</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Nunes da Silva</td>
<td><em>Summa da Arte de Canto-chaô</em> (Lisbon, 1685)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. (cont.) Written references to *Stella coeli extrpavit* prior to 1600

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID&lt;sup&gt;source&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Composer/author</th>
<th>MS Location (if different from published source)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; cent</td>
<td>Polyphony (countertenor? Appears to be the same melody as that in BL Royal 7.A.VI and BL Lansdowne 462)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>GB-Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 64, fol. 1v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>c. 1450?</td>
<td>Polyphony (at least 3-voices, bassus and incomplete tenor surviving)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>GB-Oxford, Christ Church Okes 253, back pastedown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>c. 1479</td>
<td>Polyphony (4 voices)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Walter Lambe</td>
<td>GB-Eton College, MS 178, fol. 97v-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; cent.</td>
<td>Polyphony (3 voices)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Sir William Hawte</td>
<td>GB-London, British Library Add. MS 5665, fol. 64*-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; cent.</td>
<td>Polyphony (3 voices)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>GB-London, British Library Add. MS 5665, fol. 3*-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; cent?</td>
<td>Polyphony (4 voices)</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Published in Petrucci, Motetti a numero trentatre (Venice, 1502).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. (cont.) Written references to *Stella coeli extirpavit* prior to 1600

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID(^{\text{source}})</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Composer/author</th>
<th>MS Location (if different from published source)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32(^{aq})</td>
<td>Late 15(^{th}) century</td>
<td>Polyphony (4 voices)</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Guillaume Le Rouge</td>
<td>Italy-Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte Codex 1375 (olim 88), fols. 11(^{r})-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33(^{f})</td>
<td>late 15(^{th})/ early 16(^{th}) cent.</td>
<td>Polyphony (3 voices)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Rober Cowper</td>
<td>GB-London, British Library R.M.24.d.2., fol. 162(^{v}}-164(^{r})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34(^{i})</td>
<td>Early 16(^{th}) cent.</td>
<td>Polyphony (5 voices)</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Pie(t)ro da Lodi</td>
<td>Petrucci, <em>Laude Libro Secondo</em>, (pub. 1507), fol. 37v-38r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36(^{i})</td>
<td>c. 1551</td>
<td>Polyphony (3 voices)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>John Thorne</td>
<td>GB-London, British Library, RM 24 d 2, fols. 161(^{v}}-163(^{r})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37(^{ii, v})</td>
<td>15th cent</td>
<td>Reference to public performance</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous- Reference to its singing by students in the Oxford Halls</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. (cont.) Written references to *Stella coeli extirpavit* prior to 1600


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID&lt;sup&gt;source&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Composer/author</th>
<th>MS Location (if different from published source)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38&lt;sup&gt;°&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>15th cent</td>
<td>Reference to public</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous- Reference to its singing by the choristers of Eton College</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39&lt;sup&gt;xy&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1487</td>
<td>Reference/Implication of public performance</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous- Boards with it were made for Magdalen College, Oxford</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40&lt;sup&gt;°&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1527-1528</td>
<td>Reference/Implication of public performance</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous- Payment made to the precentor of New College, Oxford for 'noting' the piece</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. (cont.) Written references to Stella coeli extirpavit prior to 1600

<sup>°</sup> James Heywood and Thomas Wright, The Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century for King's College, Cambridge, and for the Public School of Eton College (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850), 556.
<sup>°</sup> Douglas Sugano, ed., The N-Town Plays, in "Middle English Texts Series". (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), 144.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID&lt;sup&gt;source&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Composer/author</th>
<th>MS Location (if different from published source)</th>
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<tr>
<td>41&lt;sup&gt;a2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1538</td>
<td>Reference/Implication of public performance</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous- 'Boards' with it were repaired at Magdalen College, Oxford</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42&lt;sup&gt;as&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Early 16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; century</td>
<td>Reference/Implication of Private recitation</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Anonymous (Addition in Book of Hours)- Superscript of 'Stela celi' added to autonomous prayer against plague and famine, and on facing page note in English reading 'At the levation time say 'Stella celi extirpavit.'</td>
<td>GB-Cambridge Univ. Lib. Ii 6 2, fol. 102v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. (cont.) Written references to *Stella coeli extirpavit* prior to 1600

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As seen in the table, the earliest known appearance of the hymn as a nonmusical text is in the Book of Hours of Charles d'Orléans, which was apparently written during his captivity in England circa 1420 (Ouy, 1955; Corbin, 1952: 375). At this same time or perhaps even earlier, the text was copied as the underlay of a three-voice descant motet attributed to (and possibly in the handwriting of) John Cooke in the Old Hall Manuscript (BL Add MS 57950), and in a variety of other early- to mid-fifteenth-century manuscripts whose provenance cannot be dated more precisely. These include a plainsong melody in a Liber Cantus now in Cambridge, a separate plainsong in a Sarum processional in Norwich, three parts from a likely four-part polyphonic setting in Oxford, an isolated tenor part in mensural notation in a Sarum Gradual now in London, and two nonmusical Middle English verse translations (one with Latin glosses in the margins referencing the hymn text) attributed to John Lydgate. In other words, within a single generation of the first surviving written edition, the Stella coeli plague hymn was being copied.

202 The music of the Old Hall Manuscript was apparently transcribed over a long period of time, with the activity of the first and primary scribe occurring ca. 1410-15. The Stella coeli occurs in the 'second layer' musical transcription, which was likely executed by members of Henry V's royal household chapel between 1415 and 1420. Most scholars agree that the music was composed between 1370 and 1420, and much of the repertoire is characterized by a conservative, retrospective style. Cooke's Stella coeli, in particular is written in archaic, strict discant style very seldom used in the fifteenth century, which has led some scholars to propose that its composition or addition to household chapel's repertoire was occasioned by 'Henry IV's physical precautions in 1407 to avoid the plague centre of London' Others have posited a later date of composition and argued that the rigidity of its composition implies its use in a didactic, educational setting. However, in the absence of further corroborating information, all that can safely be said is that the music was composed before the manuscript was compiled in its present form prior to 1421. See Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript—a Re-Appraisal and an Inventory," Musica Disciplina 21 (1967): 97-147104; Margaret Bent, 'Old Hall Manuscript' ed. L. Macy [Accessed 20 February 2008]), <www.grovemusic.com>.


205 Oxford, University College MS 16, fol. 150-153v.

206 London, BL Lansdowne 462, fol. 152v.

207 The first of these poems is London BL MS. Harley 2255, fol. 103r-v, with copies containing minor emendations in Cambridge, Jesus Coll 56 fol. 73r-v; London BL Add. MS 34360, fols. 132v-133r; London BL MS Harley 2251, fol. 9v-10r, and Cambridge Trinity Coll R. 3. 21, fols. 168v-169. The second poem, containing Latin glosses, exists only in a single copy in London BL Rawlinson C. 48, fols 133v-134r. Both are discussed in Henry Noble MacCracken, "The Minor Poems of John Lydgate," Early English Text Society 107 (1910): xxviii, 294-96.
nonmusically in both formal Latin and the English vernacular, and musically in both monophonic and polyphonic vocal arrangements. Such diversity could imply that this Marian invocation had been in circulation for some time before these initial written records, either through now-lost textual exempla or through oral transmission. Certainly the melodies of the three monophonic versions in the Norwich and Cambridge manuscripts share little resemblance beyond their modal classification, as is apparent in this side-by-side comparison of their incipits (see Figure 6.1.):

Figure 6.1. Comparison of monophonic Stella coeli incipits in fifteenth-century British MSs.

Also suggestive of a substantial period of obscured dissemination is wide geographical dispersion of the hymn, appearing on a piece of fifteenth-century parchment in Portugal preserved amongst the relics of the monastery of Santa Clara of Coimbra (Corbin, 1952: 374), in a manuscript associated with the cathedral in the Italian city of Trento,\textsuperscript{209} and the copying of the words Stella ce\_i\_\_i ulcere at the end of the cantus firmus tenor of the otherwise unrelated motet \textit{N/V}obis iustat carminis odas laudibus in a central European codex which likely dates from c. 1460-80.\textsuperscript{210}

\textsuperscript{208} A full comparison of these melodies is found in Appendix I, pp. 313-314.
\textsuperscript{209} Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte Codex 1375 (olim 88), fols. 11^c-13. See Gerber, ed., \textit{Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent: Trent, Museo Provinciale D'Arte, Codex 1375 (Olim 88)}, 2-4.
\textsuperscript{210} Prague, Strahov Monastery Library (Museum of Czech Literature, Strahov Library), D.G. IV 47, pp. 471-472 (fols. 236'-237). This tenor is, in fact, related to the tenor of the Trento cathedral Stella coeli as well as the chanson 'So ys emprentid', as discussed below (pp. 168-169).
The inference of a period of oral transmission and cross-regional diffusion might also help explain the striking style of the earliest known polyphonic *Stella coeli* in the Old Hall Manuscript. The rigid, note-for-note homophony of the setting attributed to John Cooke in Old Hall appears anachronistic and anomalous in the context of early fifteenth-century English liturgical music, but it is unexceptional compared to the popular devotional tunes of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such as the carol in England and the lauda in Italy, which like the *Stella coeli* itself could be monophonic or polyphonic, in Latin or the vernacular (see Figure 6.2).211

We may well raise the possibility that, like the laude with their associations with the mendicant friars, the tradition of the Stella coeli is most representative of the music-making and exchange of cultural ideas which occurred at the interface between the clergy and the laity. Consider, for example, the striking allusion to the ‘strife of the stars’ ('sidera bella') in the text of the hymn. This evocation of astrology as an explanation of the plague reflects the legacy of a scheme of ancient natural philosophy which dominated scientific thought throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, with a particular debt to the scientific writings of the Hellenistic astronomer and mathematician Ptolemy (fl. mid-2nd century AD).²¹² Ptolemy's works were first translated from Greek to Arabic in the seventh and eighth centuries and from Arabic to Latin between the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries, from which point it exercised an enormous influence across the continuum of medieval medical practice, from the highly educated university-trained physician to the rough-and-ready empiricism of barbers, surgeons, and other lay practitioners.²¹³ Although clerics often were familiar with the fundamentals of astrological theory, it is highly unusual to see such ideas articulated so plainly, in Latin, either as a verbal prayer or in music.

It may also not be a coincidence that a number of Stella coeli settings known to us have mendicant (particularly Franciscan) associations. Charles d’Orléans is

²¹² For more on Ptolemaic natural philosophy and its effect on medieval medical theory, see the postscript to Chapter 4, pp. 127-130. See also Carole Rawcliffe, Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England (London: Sandpiper, 1999); and Siraisi, Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine, esp. 78-152. A modern translation of a selection of writings which apply these scientific and astrological theories to explain the plague epidemics of the fourteenth century can be found in Horrox, ed., The Black Death, 158-73.

²¹³ One of the key texts of officially prescribed university instruction was a simplified textbook of Ptolemaic planetary theory, and generally a ‘measure of astrological competence was indeed one of the marks separating an educated practitioner from an empiric’ (Siraisi, Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine, p. 67-8). However, as Faye Marie Getz has pointed out, ‘interest in “university medicine” was not solely the province of the graduate physician’ and that ‘graduate physicians ... owned fifteenth-century medical texts in English, and their less formally educated brothers had texts containing large chunks of medical material in Latin’. Faye Marie Getz, “Gilbertus Anglicus Anglicized,” Medical History 26 (1982): 436-442, 437.
known to have associated with the Franciscans during his English captivity, and made copies of poetic works by the Franciscan friar John of Hovedean which are still extant (Ouy, 1955: 284-85). James Ryman, who made a vernacular English translation of the hymn in the late fifteenth century was a Franciscan friar (Zupitza, 1892), and the Ritson Manuscript (BL Add MS 5665), which contains two separate editions of the hymn, was apparently compiled at a Franciscan friary in Devon and intended for use at services with lay congregations (Miller, 1948; Sandon, et al., 2001).

Further insight into the cultural milieu of the *Stella coeli* can be gleaned from an examination of the references to performances of the hymn in Table 6.2 which cannot be paired with specific literary or musical documents. The fact that the denotation of the bare incipit of the hymn was deemed sufficient to evoke performance by the scribe of the N-Town ‘Adoration of the Shepherd’s’ play strongly indicates that the tune was well-known to the performers of the dramatic cycle. The records of Oxford University also provide evidence of a robust (if not necessarily enthusiastic) popular performance tradition amongst the students. Frank Harrison noted that the *Stella coeli* was one of the five antiphons whose performance was required in the fifteenth century at the ringing of the curfew bell for students living in the Oxford Halls (and thus not affiliated with colleges) on vigils of the five feasts of the Virgin Mary. In a similar vein, in 1487-8 Magdalen College

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214 As with nearly everything else about the N-Town cycle, the meaning and significance of this ascription remains a matter of debate. Although Rosemary Woolf saw the shepherd’s performance *Stella coeli* as ‘incongruously learned’ and thus indicative of an educated original performance setting, Eamon Duffy has argued that such a reading misses the essential point of both works, which in his view is the laity’s expression of spiritual devotion in communally constructive ways. Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1942), 183; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, C. 1400-1580*, 257.

215 ‘Item, quod quilibet specialiter assit in aula singulis diebus sabati et quinque vigilis beate Marie immediate post primam pulscacionem ignitiegii in ecclesia beate Marie quando cantatur antiphona Beata Marie, omni excusacione postposita, nisi gravis infirmitas aut alia racionabilis causa prius per propriam personam alligata et per principlaem approbata eum excusaverit, sub pena quadrantis. Ei
purchased two boards (now lost) indicating the notes of *Stella coeli*, which were repaired in 1538 and presumably used in the performance of the Marian antiphon by the entire college after Compline on Saturdays and vigils of the Virgin specified in their college statutes.\(^{216}\) Strikingly, both of these payments occurred in years where there was documented concern for the ravages of plague; Macray noted that in 1486-7 'the plague was in Oxford, and the fellows and scholars were consequently sent to Witney and Harwell; for their expenses at the former place £3 15s. 8d. were paid to Roper, one of the fellows, and at the latter £5 9s. 4d. to Wythys', while in 1538 beds were carried from Magdalen to the village of Water-Eaton and back, likely on account of plague-fear (1894: 17; Macray, 1897: 18).

These allusions suggest that fifteenth-century performances of the *Stella coeli* plague hymn were marked by an inclusive, 'congregational' performance aesthetic, whether in the symbolic form of the common shepherds of the Nativity story or literally in the form of the academic communities of Magdalen and the Oxford Halls. One might therefore expect that the musical material itself (i.e. the melodies) would reflect a debt to popular musical culture, especially given the fact noted above that there was no universally accepted canonic plainsong which enjoyed institutional

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\(^{216}\) 'Solut. xxix Decembris [1487] pro factura duarum tabellarum in quibus figuratur rotulae antiphonicae. Stella celii, iii, iii.\(^2\)' William Dunn Macray, *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. New Series*, vol. 1 (London: Horace Hart, 1894), 16. In Volume II of his publication of the *Magdalen register* (1897), Macray also called attention to how 'tables hanging in the hall with antiphons were repaired, and the organs in the chapel' (p. 18). The antiphon was also evidently part of the repertoire of at least the college chapel of New College by 1528, as their records indicate a payment to the precentor for the 'noting' of the piece, though whether this was in the form of boards as at Magdalen, or of more standard choirbook pages, remains unclear as none of the existing copies of the *Stella coeli* have been linked with this institution. This and the other details concerning the paratextual evidence of performance were highlighted in the magisterial work by Frank J. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, ed. Egon Wellesz, *Studies in the History of Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), esp. 85-88, 158.
approval which could constrain performance. In this light, many other features of
the musical settings become suggestive, and mini-families of settings with different
spheres of distribution begin to emerge. For example, Manfred Bukofzer noted that
the tenor of the *Stella coeli* setting attributed to Le Rouge in Trent, Museo
Provinciale d’Arte Codex 1375 (*olim* 88) is identical to that of the chanson *So ys
emprentid* (Hughes and Abraham, 1960: 131-32) (see Figure 6.3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenor: Frye, <em>So ys emprentid</em></th>
<th>Tenor (excerpt): Le Rouge [?] <em>Stella coeli</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[\text{Music notation}]</td>
<td>[\text{Music notation}]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.3. Comparison of fifteenth-century tenors in *chanson* attributed to Walter
Frye, and in setting of *Stella coeli* attributed to Guillaume le Rouge.

Both are similar to the tenor line of the motet *[N/V]obis iustat carminis odas
laudibus* in Prague, Strahov, D.G. IV 47, which as noted above has the words *Stella
celi ... ulce* copied at the end of the music—a coincidence which Margaret Bent
169

says 'surely invites speculation on the sacred or secular origins of [the] tenor: is it yet another example of contrafactum?' (Bent, 1968: 148). Guillaume Le Rouge (fl. 1450-65) was a singer in the chapel of Charles d'Orléans, whom we have already encountered as the owner of the earliest known Book of Hours containing the Stella coeli text (Corbin, 1952: 375; Gerber, 2007: 20), and one of the very few additional compositions attributed to him is a three-voiced mass on the same melody (Dean, 2001). Adding to the confusion are the multiple attributions surrounding secular settings of this tune; most often set to the words So ys emprentid, it appears in some manuscripts attributed to Walter Frye (d. before 1475), in others attributed to Johannes Bedynghym (d. 1459-60), and in still others without any compositional ascription, or indeed any text, at all (Kenney, 1960: II).

Another set of pieces which share important musical similarities are the fragments of polyphonic settings of the Stella coeli found in Oxford Lincoln College MS 64, BL Royal 7.A.VI, and BL Lansdowne 462. All three are of fifteenth-century provenance, although little else is known about their origins. All three depict the same melodic line, which Sandon described as in his study of Royal 7.A.VI as 'having no melodic integrity of its own but leaping about as if to produce a counterpoint below another voice which moved largely by step; in fact it behaves like a typical early fifteenth-century supporting part below a melodic cantus firmus (Sandon, 1982: 53). Most interestingly, while the fragment in Lansdowne 462 is in ordinary fifteenth-century measured notation, the fragments in both Lincoln College

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217 This is particularly true of the Lincoln College notation, which was found on the back of a piece of endpaper used to strengthen the binding of another manuscript, and for which the only chronological information comes from the handwriting. See the description of the manuscript in Andrew Wathey, 'Oxford, Lincoln College Ms Lat. 64' ed. Julia Craig Mc-Feeley [Accessed 21 February 2009], <www.diamm.ac.uk>. Slightly more is known about the other two sources; Lansdowne 462 is a Sarum Gradual which may have belonged to Norwich Cathedral, while Royal 7.A.VI is a devotional collection compiled at the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St Cuthbert in Durham, with the Stella coeli one of the last things entered in the manuscript in the first half of the fifteenth century. See Sandon, "Mary, Meditations, Monks and Music: Poetry, Prose, Processions and Plagues in a Durham Cathedral Manuscript," 47.
MS 64 and in Royal 7.A.VI are in stroke notation, a graphological technique used in late medieval England to enable singers who may not be familiar with the symbology of mensural notation to sing polyphonic music (Sandon, 1982: 53; Bent, 1968: 149) (see Figure 6.4.):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lansdowne 462</th>
<th>Lincoln Lat MS 64 (incipit)</th>
<th>Royal 7.A.VI (excerpt)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Figure 6.4. Notation of melody common to BL Lansdowne 462, BL Royal 7.A.VI, and Oxford Lincoln Lat 64
Transcribed Melody Common to All Three Sources:

Figure 6.4. (cont.) Notation of melody common to BL Lansdowne 462, BL Royal 7.A.VI, and Oxford Lincoln Lat 64
These two notational styles are combined in another fragmentary polyphonic
Stella coeli, unrelated to these three settings and surviving only by virtue of its being
recycled as binding reinforcement for a copy of St Augustine’s De Civitate Dei, in
which the bass part is written in a white mensural notation, while the tenor part
(which follows the bass part immediately on the staff) is in stroke notation (Figure
6.5.):

![Figure 6.5. Back Pastedown of Oxford, Okes 253](image)

Interestingly, Andrew Hughes noted that the single manuscript which
contains the greatest number of pieces written in stroke notation is none other than
the Ritson Manuscript (BL Add MS 5665), a collection to which we have already
called attention for its distinction of holding multiple Stella coeli settings, its
association with the Franciscans, and its intimation of use in lay devotional
contexts. Based on his study of the Ritson Manuscript and other exempla, Hughes

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219 Ritson manuscript pieces in stroke notation (what Hughes termed 'playnsong' notation) include the
cycle of the Ordinary of a Mass lacking the Kyrie (fols. 111v ff.), Salve festa dies (fol 119), [Sancta] Maria virgo intercede (fol 119v), Salve regina misericordie (fol 121v), Anima mea liquefacta (fol
argued that the use of stroke notation to craft 'a beginner’s style of polyphony'
reflects the democratization of multivocal performance, enabling singers with a non-
specialist set of skills to engage with a larger part of the musical canon.

Conclusions

The Stella coeli thus appears across a wide swathe of documentary sources
pertaining to domestic and everyday life in the late Middle Ages. From scraps of
parchment to cathedral choirbooks, and from primers to play manuscripts to Oxonian
statute books, this hymn with its allusions to the astrology of natural philosophy and
medical knowledge appears interwoven throughout the fabric of fifteenth- and
sixteenth-century devotional life, both inside and outside of cloistered foundations.

We might well marvel that Stella coeli is as well-represented as it is in this phase of
the history of choral performance, given its lack of established plainsong and the fact
that, as the primer printed by Robert Redman in 1537 testifies, it was singled out for
condemnation during the English Reformation. Such durability is a testament to
its as-yet ill-glimpsed significance in late medieval devotional and musical life.

Seen in the proper light, this heartfelt ode to powerlessness in the face of divine and

126v), and Nunc Jesu te petimus (fol. 128v). Andrew Hughes, "The Choir in Fifteenth-Century
on His 70th Birthday, ed. Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977127-
145.

220 The preface to this primer states that the Stella coeli does not appear within its pages because in
the minds of the English reformers it diminished the importance of God as the sole empowered agent
of salvation. Redman writes, 'I here touch the more apertly by occasion of this english Prymar of
Sarum use which when it was first imprinted, like as it lacked not the vituperation and dispraise of
some, so had it again the favour and commendation of the more learned sort. Howbeit when it came
so to pass that it was not utterly misliked of the better party, but that also it seemed to men of
authority not inconvenient to pass among the common people, it hath animated the setters forth
thereof not a little, to communicate the same eftsones again to the reading of other, being more
diligently corrected, more purely imprinted, and meetly well purged of many things that seemed no
small faults therein . . . Likewise in “Stella caeli extirpavit, quae lactavit Dominum, mortis pestem
quam plantavit primus parens hominum,” i that our Lady hath extirped the mortal pestilence which
our first father hath planted, with divers other things applied to the praise of Saints and their merits,
which have proceeded of to immoderate affection of some men towards Saints, and therefore ought
not be admitted into any part of our belief, because they seem to derogate the due honour of God not a
little and the faith that we should have in him.' Cambridge St John’s College T.9.27(1); cited in Edgar
Hoskins, Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers With Kindred Books and
celestial influence has the potential to demonstrate just how rich the sensual vitality of life in the shadow of the plague could be.
Chapter 7. Conclusions

Figure 7.1. Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi), St Jerome in Meditation (c. 1605).
Oil on canvas, 118 x 81 cm. Museo del Monasterio de Santa Maria, Monserrat.
Image courtesy of the Web Gallery of Art (www.wga.hu/index1.html).

The preceding chapters represent a first effort to situate the discipline of music within the epidemiological narrative of Europe’s struggle with plague. Beginning with the initial investigation of the description of sound in the earliest chronicles of the Black Death, the ears were an essential medium for the experience of life in the shadow of the plague, bombarded as they were both by paramusical elements of the soundscape such as funeral bells and by tailor-crafted acoustic artifacts which sought to address the physical and spiritual needs of the fear-fevered populace. Much of this cultural production was mediated through the didactic and social agenda of the Church, as bishops mandated the performance of liturgies such as the Missa pro mortalitate evitanda and votive masses to saints such as Sebastian and Roch, and groups of laypeople such the laudesi and the flagellants sublimated the association between sickness and divine anger implicit in biblical and patristic writing into exquisite communal displays of penitence and musical supplication.
Moreover, seen as the bridge between the human microcosm and the macrocosm of the natural world through the system of 'scientific' physical philosophy inherited from the ancient Greeks, music found a ready place within the medical ideas of the time, though the very sensory immediacy and vibrancy which may have formed the basis of its appeal in the sensual realities of a plague epidemic do not lend themselves well to the fixing and ossification necessary for successful transmission in the historical record. Compositions which were written down were those which found relevance in a multitude of settings, such as the Stella coeli plague hymn and the invocation of the Recordare Domine, and reflect a wide variation of local variation.

Yet what purpose has our macabre foray through the disease-ridden hinterlands of cultural history and 'plague musicology' in the preceding pages served? At the very least, these preliminary efforts at gathering documents which speak to the sonic experience of plague epidemics, and more directly the importance of singing and response in many communities' response to plague, indicate that scholars of oral/aural experience have an important part to play in the study of disease in history. The songs of the flagellants, the laude of the disciplinati communities, the plainsong and polyphony of Clement VI's Missa pro mortalite evitanda, and the many different renditions of the Marian Stella coeli extirpavit all reflect the use of music during this crisis point in European history, and the elucidation of the performance of such works is a historical narrative at least as worthy of attention as the dramatic arcs of illness and art manipulated so deftly by Boccaccio and Petrarch.

Moreover, the absence of this tale in the collective consciousness of historical awareness has keen consequences. Deaf to the ringing challenge implicit
in Lynn Thorndike's assertion that plague, 'like an incubus . . . . weighed upon the human imagination and spirit. Like some crawling venomous worm it has left its foul trail across the face of history' (1927: 455), musicologists have left the discussion of artistic life during epidemics to scholars of literature and visual art, and thus biased the evolving modern understanding of the historical shadow of the Black Death towards an undue preoccupation with the artifacts of visual experience. This is, of course, to some degree inevitable, as the study of history is dependent upon the study of surviving artifacts which (at least prior to the invention of the phonograph) can only be experienced visually. However, the inclusion of essentially ephemeral music and auditory production in the dialogue on the creation of artistic culture in plague forces modern scholars to confront the fact that, regardless of the primary material, the artistic constructs can only indirectly shed light on the topics of our primary interest and are themselves the products of minds whose perspectives differ from our own in unknown and unknowable ways. This is no bad thing; just as tenebriist artists of the seventeenth century such as Caravaggio recognized that the absence of light possesses its own artistic radiance, the study of ephemeral art in times of plague demands recognition of the communicative import of silence. While the musical examples of this study came from many times and places, they all stood on the brink of much larger pools of performance, tempting us with their intimations of the musical culture of lay congregations which only occasionally ventured within the illuminatory sphere of written documents. Like the darkness surrounding the careworn face of Caravaggio's Saint Jerome; such records can only be a melancholy invitation to contemplate the rest of the masterpiece, forcing us as modern observers to question both our experience of history and of our own perceptions of artistic creation. If (as Jonathan Rée suggests) works of art are invitations to notice the
complexity, multiplicity and precariousness of our ordinary perception of the world, then such elucidations of the role of plague the essential evanescence of music will have lasting value. We have here a rich opportunity to appreciate how these inventions and discoveries shape the delicate fulcrum upon which the mundanity of universal physical necessity, and the transcendence of uniquely human creativity, find balance. It would be a shame to let it pass unnoticed.
Appendix A. Account of the arrival of the Black Death in Gabriel de Mussis,

*Historia de Morbo*

1 *In nomine domini amen.* In the name of God, amen.

2 *Incipit ystoria de Morbo siue* Here begins an account of the
*mortalitate que fuit anno domini* disease or mortality which occurred
*MCCCXLVIII. Compylata per* in 1348, put together by Gabriele de'
*Gabrielem de Mussis placensem.* Mussis of Piacenza.

3 *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam Noverint* May this stand as a perpetual
*uniuersi presentes, pariter et futuri,* reminder to everyone, now living
*quod omnipotens deus, rex celestis qui* and yet to be born, how almighty
*uiuorum dominator et mortuorum, in* God, king of heaven, lord of the
*cuius manu sunt omnia, ex alto* living and of the dead, who holds all
*respiciens, uniuersum genus ad omnia* things in his hand, looked down
*scelera pronum et lubricum,* from heaven and saw the entire
*criminibus obuolutum, innumeris* human race wallowing in the mire of
*perseuerancie delictis, et in omni* manifold wickedness, enmeshed in
*genere uiciorum inextimabili malitia* wrongdoing, pursuing numberless
*usque ad Interiora dimersum, omni* vices, drowning in a sea of depravity
*bonorum gracia denudatum, dei* because of a limitless capacity for
*Judicia non exhorrens, ad omnia* evil, bereft of all goodness, not
*malla opera prosilleret, tot* fearing the judgements of God, and
*abominabilia, tot horribilia ulterius* chasing after everything evil,
ferre non ualens, clamuit ad terram.  
regardless of how hateful and  
loathsome it was.

Quid agis terra, miserorum captiuata  
Seeing such things he called out to  
ceteruis, peccatorum sordibus  
the earth: 'What are you doing, held  
maculata,  
captive by gangs of worthless men,  
soiled with the filth of sinners?

Tota es Ineffecta?  
Are you totally helpless?

Quid agis.  
What are you doing?

Cur humano sanguine madefacta non  
Why do you not demand human  
postulas ultionem.  
blood in vengeance for this  
wrongdoing?

Cur hostes et aduersarios meos  
Why do you tolerate my enemies and  
pateris.  
adversaries?

Debuisses jam Inimicos meos,  
When confronted by such  
producta libie (libidine?) suffocasse,  
wantonness you should have  
swallowed my opponents.

Prepara te ut possis exercere  
Make yourself ready to exercise the  
uindictam.  
vengeance which lies within your  
power.'
11 *Et ego terra, tuo Imperio fundata, postquam jubes, apperiam venas meas et infinitos degluciam criminosos. negabo fructus solitos. blada, vina et olea non effundam.*
And the earth replied, 'I, established by your power, shall open and swallow up the countless criminals as soon as you give the word.

When the enraged Judge gives the signal, with violent thunder from heaven, and leads the elements, the planets, the stars and the orders of angels against the human race in an unspeakable judgement, enlisting all forms of life to wipe out the sinners at one savage stroke, I shall refuse the usual harvest, I shall not yield grain, wine and oil.'

13 *Inquit meum est exercere Justiciam.*
God said, 'The exercise of justice belongs to me.

14 *Ego sum uita uiuencium.*
I am the life of the living.

15 *Ego mortis cle[a]gero.*
I bear the keys of death.

16 *Ego retribuo, reddens unicuique, quod suum est.*
I bring retribution, giving each individual his due.
17 *Manus mee formauerunt celos.* My hands shaped the heavens.

18 *Lucem fabricauj, mundum constitui,* I formed light, created the world and *omnia ornamenta concessi.* adorned it.

19 *O, peccator infelix, et cunctis* Oh you sinner, wretched and yet *infelicior, cur mihi resistere* more wretched, why have you *decreuisti, mandata mea, leges et* chosen to resist me and to scorn all *omnes Justicias contemptisti.* my commands, laws and judgements?

20 *Ubi fides baptismi, et mee* Where is the faith of baptism and the *redemptionis merces.* price of my redemption?

21 *O, condam mea creatura, non de ea* When I fashioned my creation I *forte consideraueram, ut in has plagas* never imagined that you would fall *et in hoc exitium peruenires.* into these snares and come to this end.

22 *Paradixum tibi paraueram, non* I had prepared heaven for you, not *Infernun, et ecce quo te perduxisti* hell, and look where you have *substinui globos veteri virginalis,* brought yourself.

23 *Ubi me descendere compulsisti,* When you compelled me, who *substinui globos veteri virginalis,* upheld the spheres, to descend into
famem, situm, labores, crucis, the womb of a virgin I endured
patibulum et mortem pertuli, quid hunger, thirst, toil, crucifixion and
fecisti Ingratissime, adhuc me death – and your deeds, you ingrate,
postulas crucifigi condemn me still to the cross.

24 debuissem eternis te punire supplicijs, I ought to have punished you with
fateor me pietas. eternal death, but pity conquered me.

25 En ego tuj misertus fui, et me tuum Behold, I have been merciful
saluatorem minime cognouisti towards you, and you have barely
acknowledged the salvation you have gained through me.

26 Indignus es beatitudinis eterne, te You are unworthy of eternal bliss,
dignum constituisti tormentorum showing yourself instead to be
Infernij worthy of the torments of hell.

27 egredere de terra mea, te desero Leave my earth, I abandon you to be
draconibus lacerandum. torn into pieces by dragons.

28 Ibis ad tenebras, ubi perpetuus You shall go into the shadows,
gemitus, et dencium stridor erit. where there will be perpetual wailing
and gnashing of teeth.

29 Jam tue calamitatis terminus adest. Now disaster is at hand; your
desinant vires tue. strength must have an end.

30 uanitates et voluptates quibus te in omnibus dedicasti. conspicio ipsis ad iram me non modicam pruocasti. The sight of the vanities and lecheries to which you have abandoned yourself has provoked me to fury.

31 Accedant maligni spiritus, te deuorandi eisdem concedatur potestas, May evil spirits arise with the power to devour you.

32 non sit tibi libertas ulterius May you have no escape from this time forward.

33 Ago Judicia, gaudia tua convertantur 'I pronounce these judgements: may ju luctum. prospera conturbentur your joys be turned to mourning, aduersis. nullus uite ordo. sed your prosperity be shaken by sempiternus horror Inhabitet adversity, the course of your life be passed in never-ending terror.

34 Ecce mortis vmago Behold the image of death.

35 Ecce caracteres et portas Infernales Behold I open the infernal apperio floodgates.

36 Fames captiuitos prosternat. Pax a Let hunger strike down those it
mundi finibus euellatur. Scandalla seizes; let peace be driven from the
consurgant. Regna adversus regna ends of the earth; let dissensions
odio execrabili consumentur. pereat arise; let kingdoms be consumed in
detestable war; let mercy perish
in terris misericordia. clades, pestes, throughout the world; let disasters,
uiolencie, latrocinia, lites, et omnia plagues, violence, robberies, strife
genera scandalorum nascantur. and all kinds of wickedness arise.

Post hec nutu meo, planete Aerem Next, at my command, let the planets
Infficient, atque vniuerssam terram poison the air and corrupt the whole
corrumpant, vbique sit dolor et earth; let there be universal grief and
gemitus. lamentation.

Vndique mortis jacula Impietatis Let the sharp arrows of sudden death
morsibus dominentur have dominion throughout the world.

Nemini parcatur. non sexui non etati. Let no one be spared, either for their
pereant cum nocentibus innocentes. sex or their age; let the innocent
Nulli sit ex euadendo libertas. perish with the guilty and no one

Sed quia pastores mundi quos escape.
constitui, greges suos lupis rapacibus 'Because those I appointed to be
dimiserunt et uerbum deij non shepherds of the world have behaved
towards their flocks like ravening
predicant, cuib[is] negligentes wolves, and do not preach the word
of God, but neglect all the Lord’s business and have barely even urged repentance, I shall take a savage vengeance on them.

I shall wipe them from the face of the earth.

The enemy and adversary will seize their hidden treasure.

They, along with all other wrongdoers, will bear the heavy burden of their offences.

Their office — acquired through deceit— will not avail them, and because they feared men rather than God, and valued their grace more highly, they will be branded as hypocrites.

Religion, turned out of doors, will grieve.

The treacherous and maleficent
clericalis, falsa et inimica societas
suis pericilata defectibus Interibit.
fellowship of priests and clergy,
imperilled by their own failings, will be destroyed.

47 Nulli dabitur requies. singulos sagita
uenenata percuciet. febres superbos
deicient. et morbus Incurabilis
fulminabit.
No one will be given rest, poisoned arrows will strike everyone, fevers will throw down the proud, and incurable disease will strike like lightning.'

48 Sic sic monitione premissa mortalibus
ubrata omnipotentis lancea, duris
aculleis undique destinatis, egressus
morbus, totum genus Infecit
humanum.
After this warning had been given to mortals, disease was sent forth; the quivering spear of the Almighty was aimed everywhere and infected the whole human race with its pitiless wounds.

49 Nempe Orion illa stella crudelis et
seua cauda draconis. et gelus ueneni
fiailis precipitatis in mare. et Saturni
horribilis et indignata tempestas,
quibus datum est nocere terre et mari,
hominibus et arboribus, ab oriente in occidentem, pestiferis gradibus
incedentem, per mundi uaria climata.
Orion, that cruel star, and the tail of the dragon and the angel hurling vials of poison into the sea, and the appalling weather of Saturn were given leave to harm land and sea, men and trees; advancing from east to west with plague-bearing steps they poured out the poisoned vessels
uenenata pocula detullerunt. bullas throughout the countries of the
igneas infirmantibus relinquentes world, leaving fiery tokens on the
sick.

50 Ex quibus mortis impetus horribilis And so the terrible violence of death,
discurrens mundi comminans ruinam, running through the world
mortales subita percussione threatening ruin, devoured mortals
consumpsit ut infra patebit. by a sudden blow, as I shall describe
below.

51 Plangite plangite populi manibus, et Mourn, mourn, you peoples, and call
dei misericordiam invocate. upon the mercy of God.

52 Anno domini MCCCXLVI. in partibus In 1346, in the countries of the East,
orientalis, Infinita Tartarorum et countless numbers of Tartars and
Saracenorum genera, morbo Saracens were struck down by a
inexplicabii, et morte subita mysterious illness which brought
corruerunt. sudden death.

53 Parcium latissime regiones, Infinite Within these countries broad
prouincie, regna magnifica, vrbes, regions, far-spreading provinces,
Castra, et loca, plena hominum magnificent kingdoms, cities, towns
multiudine copiosa, morbo pressa, et and settlements, ground down by
horrende mortis morsibus, propriis illness and devoured by dreadful
Acollis denudata paruo tempore death, were soon stripped of their
deffecerunt. inhabitants.

54 Nan (!) locus dictus Thanna, in An eastern settlement under the rule
partibus orientis, uersus Acquilonem of the Tartars called Tana, which lay
Constantinopolitana contrada (!) sub to the north of Constantinople and
Tartarorum dominio constituta, ubi was much frequented by Italian
merchatores ytalici confluencebant, cum merchants, was totally abandoned
propter quosdam excessus, after an incident there which led to
superuenientibus Tartaris infinitis, its being besieged and attacked by
modic temporis Interuollo (!) obsessa, hordes of Tartars who gathered in a
et hostillier debellata, deserta penitus short space of time.
remaneret.

55 Accidit ut uiolenter christianj The Christian merchants, who had
merchatores expulsi, Intra menia been driven out by force, were so
terrified of the power of the Tartars
Terre Caffensis, quam ab olim illa that, to save themselves and their
regione Januenses extraxerant, belongings, they fled in an armed
fugientes christiani sese pro suarum ship to Caffa, a settlement in the
tutiose personarum et rerum, same part of the world which had
Tartarorum formidantes potenciam, been founded long ago by the
Armato Navigio receptatrent.

56 Ha deus. Ecce subito, gentes Oh God! See how the heathen Tartar
Tartarorum profane, vndique races, pouring together from all
confluentes, Caffensem vrbem sides, suddenly invested the city of
circundantes, inclusos christicolas Caffa and besieged the trapped
obsederunt, fere Triennio perdurantes. Christians there for almost three years.

57 Ibique hostium exercitu Infinito uallati, uix poterant respirare, licet Nauigio Alimenta ferrente illud talle subsidium intrinsecis spem modicam exhyberet There, hemmed in by an immense army, they could hardly draw breath, although food could be shipped in, which offered them some hope.

58 Et ecce Morbo Tartaros inuadente totus exercitus perturbatus longuebat et cottidie Infinita millia sunt extincta videbatur eis But behold, the whole army was affected by a disease which overran the Tartars and killed thousands upon thousands every day.

59 Sagittas euolare de celo, tangere et opprimere superbiam Tartarorum It was as though arrows were raining down from heaven to strike and crush the Tartars’ arrogance.

60 Qui statim signati corporibus In iuncturis, humore coagulato in Inguinibus, febre putrida subseuente, expirabant, omni conscilio et auxilio medicorum cessante All medical advice and attention was useless; the Tartars died as soon as the signs of disease appeared on their bodies: swellings in the armpit or groin caused by coagulating humours, followed by a putrid fever.

61 Quod Tartari, ex tanta clade et morbo The dying Tartars, stunned and
pestifero fatigati, sic defficientes
atoniti et vndique stupefacti, sine spe
salutis mori conspicientes

stupefied by the immensity of the
disaster brought about by the
disease, and realising that they had
no hope of escape, lost interest in the
sieg.

But they ordered corpses to be
placed in catapults and lobbed into
the city in the hope that the
intolerable stench would kill
everyone inside.

What seemed like mountains of dead
were thrown into the city, and the
Christians could not hide or flee or
ecape from them, although they
dumped as many of the bodies as
they could in the sea.

And soon the rotting corpses tainte
the air and poisoned the water
supply, and the stench was so
overwhelming that hardly one in
several thousand was in a position to
flee the remains of the Tartar army.
Moreover one infected man could carry the poison to others, and infect people and places with the disease by look alone.

No one knew, or could discover, a means of defence.

Thus almost everyone who had been in the East, or in the regions to the south and north, fell victim to sudden death after contracting this pestilential disease, as if struck by a lethal arrow which raised a tumour on their bodies.

The scale of the mortality and the form which it took persuaded those who lived, weeping and lamenting, through the bitter events of 1346 to 1348 – the Chinese, Indians, Persians, Medes, Kurds, Armenians, Cilicians, Georgians, Mesopotamians, Nubians, Ethiopians, Turks, Egyptians, Arabs,


CCCXLVIII in amaritudine Saracens and Greeks (for almost all
commorantes, extremum dei Judicium the East has been affected) – that the
suspicantur last judgement had come.

69 Sane, quia ab oriente in occidentem Now it is time that we passed from
transiimus, licet omnia discutere que east to west, to discuss all the things
uidimus et cognouimus probabilimus which we ourselves have seen, or
argumentis, et que possumus dei known, or consider likely on the
terribilia Judicia declarare basis of the evidence, and, by so
doing, to show forth the terrifying
judgements of God.

70 Audiant vniuersi et lacrimis Listen everybody, and it will set
habundare cogantur tears pouring from your eyes.

71 Inquit enim conctipotens, delebo For the Almighty has said: 'I shall
hominem quem creaui a facie terre wipe man, whom I created, off the
face of the earth.

72 Quia caro et sanguis est, in cinerem et Because he is flesh and blood, let
puluerem conviertetur him be turned to dust and ashes.

73 Spiritus meus non permanebit in My spirit shall not remain among
homine man.'
74 Quid putas bone deus, sic tuam
creaturam delere, et humanam genus,
sic jubes, sic mandas subito deppere
- 'What are you thinking of, merciful God, thus to destroy your creation and the human race; to order and command its sudden annihilation in this way?'

75 Vbi misericordia tua, vbi fedus patrum nostrorum. vbi est uirgo beata, que suo gremio continet peccatores. vbi martirum preciosus sanguis vbi confessorum et uirginum Agmina decorata, et tocius exercitus paradixi. qui pro peccatoribus rogare non desinunt. vbi mors Christi preciosa crucis, et nostra redemptio admirabilis
What has become of your mercy; the faith of our fathers; the blessed virgin, who holds sinners in her lap; the precious blood of the martyrs; the worthy army of confessors and virgins; the whole host of paradise, who pray ceaselessly for sinners; the most precious death of Christ on the cross and our wonderful redemption?

76 Cesset obsecro ira tua bone deus, nec sic conteras peccatores, ut fructu multiplicato penitencie. Afferas omne malum nec cum iniustis iusti dampnentur quia misericordiam vis et non sacrificium
Kind God, I beg that your anger may cease, that you do not destroy sinners in this way, and, because you desire mercy rather than sacrifice, that you turn away all evil from the penitent, and do not allow the just to be condemned with the unjust.'

77 Te audio peccatorem, uerba mei
- 'I hear you, sinner, dropping words
auribus instillantem into my ears.

78 Stille jubeo I bid you weep.

79 Misericordie tempora defecerunt The time for mercy has passed.

80 Deus uocor ulcioneum I, God, am called to vengeance.

81 Libet peccata et scelera vindicare It is my pleasure to take revenge on sin and wickedness.

82 Dabo signa mea morientibus præventi I shall give my signs to the dying, let studeant animarum providere saluti them take steps to provide for the health of their souls.'

83 Sic euenit a preffata Caffensi terra, As it happened, among those who nauigio discedente, quedam paucis escaped from Caffa by boat were a gubernata nautis, few sailors who had been infected with the poisonous disease.

84 Eciam uenenato morbo infectis Some boats were bound for Genoa, Januam Applicarunt quedam venecijs others went to Venice and to other quedam alijs partibus christianorum Christian areas.

85 Mirabile dictu. Navigantes, cum ad When the sailors reached these
terras aliquidus accedebant, ac si places and mixed with the people
maligni spiritus comitantes, mixtis there, it was as if they had brought
hominibus Intererint [ierunt]. omnis evil spirits with them: every city,
ciuitas, omnis locus, omnis terra et every settlement, every place was
habitatores eorum viariusque sexus, poisoned by the contagious
morbi contagio pestifero uenenati, pestilence, and their inhabitants, both
morte subita corruebant men and women, died suddenly.

86 Et cum uus ceperat Egrotari, mox And when one person had contracted
cadens et moriens vniuersam familiam the illness, he poisoned his whole
uenenabat. Iniciantes, ut cadauera family even as he fell and died, so
sepelirent, mortis eodem genere that those preparing to bury his body
corruebant were seized by death in the same

87 Sic sic mors per fenestra Intrabat. et Thus death entered through the
depopullatis vribus et Castellis, loca, windows, and as cities and towns
suos deffunctos acolas deplorabant. were depopulated their inhabitants
mourned their dead neighbours.

88 Dic dic Janua, quid fecisti. Speak, Genoa, of what you have
done.

89 Narra Sijcilia, et Insule pellagi Describe, Sicily and Isole Pelagie,
copiose, Judicia deij the judgements of God.
90  *Explica venecia, Tuscia, et tota ytalica, quid agebas*  
Recount, Venice, Tuscany and the whole of Italy, what you have done.

91  *Nos Januensis et venetus dei Judicia reuellare compellimus*  
We Genoese and Venetians bear the responsibility for revealing the judgements of God.

92  *Proli dolor Nostris ad vrbes, classibus applicatis, Intrauimus domos nostr.*  
Alas, once our ships had brought us to port we went to our homes.

93  *Et quia nos grauis Infinnitas detinebat. et nobis de Mille Nauigantibus vix decem supererant, propinqui, Affines, et conuicini ad nos undique confluebant*  
And because we had been delayed by tragic events, and because among us there were scarcely ten survivors from a thousand sailors, relations, kinsmen and neighbours flocked to us from all sides.

94  *Heu nobis, qui mortis Jacula portabamus*  
But, to our anguish, we were carrying the darts of death.

95  *Dum amplexibus et osculis nos tenerent, ex ore, dum uerba uerba loquebamur, venenum fundere cogebamur*  
While they hugged and kissed us we were spreading poison from our lips even as we spoke.

96  *Sic illi ad propria reuertentes, max totam familiam venenabant. et Infra*  
When they returned to their own folk, these people speedily poisoned
triduum, percussa familia, mortis  the whole family, and within three
jaculo subiaceba[n]t  days the afflicted family would
sufficiere non ualebant  succumb to the dart of death.

97  Exequias funeris pro pluribus  Mass funerals had to be held and
ministrantes, crescente numero  there was not enough room to bury
deffunctorum pro sepulturis terra  the growing numbers of dead.
sufficere non ualebant

98  Presbitiri et medici, quibus  Priests and doctors, upon whom
Infirorum cura maior necessitatis  most of the care of the sick
Articulis Iminebat, dum Infirmos  devolved, had their hands full in
uisitare satagunt, proli dolor,  visiting the sick and, alas, by the
time they left they too had been
recedentes Infirmi, deffunctos statim  infected and followed the dead
subsequuntur  immediately to the grave.

99  O, patres. O, matres, O filij, et vxores  Oh fathers! Oh mothers! Oh children
and wives!

100  Quos din prosperitas, Incollumes  For a long time prosperity preserved
conservuuit, nec Infelices et  you from harm, but one grave now
Infeliciores, pre ceteris, vos simul,  covers you and the unfortunate alike.
eadem sepultura concludit.

101  Qui pari mundo fruebamini leticia et  You who enjoyed the world and
omnis prosperitas aridebat. qui  upon whom pleasure and prosperity
gaudia uanitatibus miscebatis, idem
smiled, who mingled joys with

tumulus vos suscepit, vermibus esca
follies, the same tomb receives you
datos.
and you are handed over as food for
worms.

102 O mors dura, mors Impia, mors
Oh hard death, impious death, bitter
aspera, mors crudelis, que sic
cruel death, who divides
parents diuidis, dissipias coniugatos,
parents, divorces spouses, parts
filios Interficis, fratres separas, et
children, separates brothers and
sorores.
sisters.

103 Plangimus, miseri calamitates
We bewail our wretched plight. The
nostras. Nos preterite consumpsunt.
past has devoured us, the present is
presentes corrodunt viscera. et future
gnawing our entrails, the future
maiora, nobis discrimina
threatens yet greater dangers.
comminantur.

104 Quod Ardenti studio laborantes
What we laboured to amass with
percepimus, perdimus vna hora.
feverish activity, we have lost in one

105 Vbi sunt delicate vestes, et preciosa
Where are the fine clothes of gilded
Juventus
youth?

106 'Ubi nobilitas et fortitudo
Where is nobility and the courage of
pugnancium. vbi seniorum maturitas
fighters, where the mature wisdom
autiquata. et dominarum purpurata
of elders and the regal throng of
caterua. Vbi thesaurus et preciosis
lapides congregate

great ladies, where the piles of
treasure and precious stones?

107 Proh dolor. omnes mortis Impetu
defecerunt.

Alas! All have been destroyed; thrust
aside by death.

108 Ad quem Ibimus. qui nimium
medebitur

To whom shall we turn, who can
help us?

109 Fugere non licet. latere non expedit

To flee is impossible, to hide futile.

110 Vrbes, menia, Arua, nemora vie, et
omnis aquarum materia, latronibus
circumdantur. Isti sunt maligni
spiritus, summi tortores Judicis,
omnia supplicia Infinita parantes.

Cities, fortresses, fields, woods,
highways and rivers are ringed by
thieves – which is to say by evil
spirits, the executioners of the
supreme Judge, preparing endless
punishments for us all.

111 Quoddam possumus explicare
pauendum, prope Januam, tunc
exercitu residente evenit.

We can unfold a terrifying event
which happened when an army was
camped near Genoa.

112 vi quatuor exercitus socij, Intencione
spoliandi loca et homines, exercitum
dimiserunt. et ad Riparolum pergentes

Four of the soldiers left the force in
search of plunder and made their
way to Rivarolo on the coast, where
in litorre maris, ubi morbus Interfecerat universos

the disease had killed all the inhabitants.

Domos clausas inuenientes, et nemine comparente, domum vnum apperientes, et Intrantes lectulum, cum lana obvolutum Inueniunt, aufferunt et exportant.

Finding the houses shut up, and no one about, they broke into one of the houses and stole a fleece which they found on a bed.

Et in exercitum reuertentes, nocte sequenti, quatuor sub lena [lana], in lectulo dormitiui quiescunt.

They then rejoined the army and on the following night the four of them bedded down under the fleece.

Sed mane facto, mortui sunt Inuenti.

When morning comes it finds them dead.

Ex quo tremor Inuasit omnes, ut Rebus et vestibus deffunctorum contemptis, nullus postea frui velet. nec eciam manibus atractare.

As a result everyone panicked, and thereafter nobody would use the goods and clothes of the dead, or even handle them, but rejected them outright.

Hec de Januensibus, quorum pars Septima vix Remansit.

Scarcely one in seven of the Genoese survived.

Hec de venetis, quorum In

In Venice, where an inquiry was
Inquisitione facta super defunctis assertur, ex centenario ultra Septuaginta. Et ex viginti quatuor medicis excellentibus, viginti, paruo tempore defecisse.  held into the mortality, it was found that more than 70% of the people had died, and that within a short period 20 out of 24 excellent physicians had died.

119 Ex alijs partibus ytalie, Sycilie, et Apulie, cum suis circumdantibus plurimum dessolatis congemunt The rest of Italy, Sicily and Apulia and the neighbouring regions maintain that they have been virtually emptied of inhabitants.

120 Florentini, Pisanij, lucenses, suis acollis denudati, dolores suos exagerant uelhementer. The people of Florence, Pisa and Lucca, finding themselves bereft of their fellow residents, emphasise their losses.

121 ‘Romana Curia, prouincie citra, et ultra Rodanum, hyspanie, Francia, et latissime Regiones, Allamaniae, suos exponent dolores, et clades, cum sit mihi in narrando difficulactas eximia. The Roman Curia at Avignon, the provinces on both sides of the Rhône, Spain, France, and the Empire cry up their griefs and disasters - all of which makes it extraordinarily difficult for me to give an accurate picture.

122 Sed quid acciderit Saracenis, constat By contrast, what befell the Saracens
Relatibus fide dignis.
can be established from trustworthy accounts.

123 Cum igitur Soldanus plurimos habeas subiugatos, ex sola Babilonis urbe vbi thronum et dominium habet, tribus mensibus non elapsis. In MCCCXLVIII. ccclxxxm. morbi cladibus Interempti dicuntur, quod innotuit ex Registro Soldani, ubi nomina mortuorum notantur, a quorum quolibet recipit bisancium vnum, quando sepulture traduntur.

In the city of Babylon alone (the heart of the Sultan’s power), 480,000 of his subjects are said to have been carried off by disease in less than three months in 1348 – and this is known from the Sultan’s register which records the names of the dead, because he receives a gold bezant for each person buried.

124 Taceo Damascum et ceteras urbes eius, quarum Infinitus extitit(n) numerus defunctorum.

I am silent about Damascus and his other cities, where the number of dead was infinite.

125 de alijs Regionibus orientis, que per triennium vis [vix written above] (!) poterunt equitari, cum tanta sit multitudo degentium, ut quando occidens vnum, genera X. M [10,000]
Oriens producat. et nos refferunt, Insulatos, credendum et

In the other countries of the East, which are so vast that it takes three years to ride across them and which have a population of 10,000 for every one inhabitant of the west, it is credibly reported that countless people have died.
Innumerabiles deffecisse.

126 Morbos et Interitus omnes studeant suis literis apperire. Verum quia placentinus plus de placentinis scribere sum hortatus, quid acciderit placencie, MCCCXLVIII. ceteris Inotescat

Everyone has a responsibility to keep some record of the disease and the deaths, and because I am myself from Piacenza I have been urged to write more about what happened there in 1348.

127 Quidam Januenses, quos morbus egredi compelebat, cupientes locis salubribus collocari, transactis

Some Genoese, whom the disease had forced to flee, crossed the Alps in search of a safe place to live and so came to Lombardy.

128 Alpibus ad lombardie se planiciem contullerunt.

129 Et quidam Mercimonia defferentes, dum in Bobio hospitati fuissent, vendictis (!) ibi mercibus, accidit ut Eemptor et hospes, cum tota familia, pluresque vicini subito Infecto morbo perierunt

Some had merchandise with them and sold it while they were staying in Bobbio, whereupon the purchaser, their host, and his whole household, together with several neighbours, were infected and died suddenly of the disease.

130 Quidam ibi suum volens condere Testamentum notario, et presbitero confessore, ac testibus omnibus auocatis mortuus est. et die sequenti

One man there, wanting to make his will, died along with the notary, the priest who heard his confession, and the people summoned to witness the
omnes pariter tumulati fuerunt will, and they were all buried
together on the following day.

131 Et tanta postmodum ibi calamitas
Invalavit, ut fere omnes habitatores
ibidem repentina morte conciderint.
quia post defunctos paucissimi
remansserunt. Hec de Bobiensibus, §
Ceterum in Estate, dicto millesimo

132 Alter Januensis, se transtulit ad
territorium placentinum, qui morbi
cladibus vexabatur

Another of the Genoese, who was
already suffering from the illness,
managed to reach Piacenza.

133 Et cum esset Infarmato, querens
fulchinum de lacrue, quem bona
amicicia diligebat, hunc suscepit
hospicio

Finding himself unwell, he sought
out his close friend Fulco della
Croce, who gave him shelter.

134 Qui statim moriturus occubuit. § post
quem in mediate dictus fulchinus, cum
tota familia, et multis vicinis expiravit

He immediately took to his bed and
died, and then straightaway Fulco,
with his whole household and many
of the neighbours, died too.

135 Et sic breviter morbus ille effusus
Intravit placentiam

And that, briefly, is how this disease
(spreading rapidly throughout the
world) arrived in Piacenza.
Nescio ubi possum Incipere  
I don’t know where to begin.

Vndique planctus et lamenta  
Cries and laments arise on all sides.

consurgunt

Videns continuatis diebus Crucis  
Day after day one sees the Cross and

defferi vexilla, corpus domini  
the Host being carried about the city,
deportari, et mortuos absque numero  
and countless dead being buried.

sepeliri

Tantaque fuit mortalitas subsecuta, ut  
The ensuing mortality was so great

vix possent homines respirare  
that people could scarcely snatch

breath.

Supersites esse sepulturas parabant,  
The living made preparations for

deficiente terra pro tumullis per  
their burial, and because there was

porticus et plateas ubi nunquam  
not enough room for individual

extiterat sepultura, fossas facere  
graves, pits had to be dug in
cogebantur.

nobody had ever been buried before.

Accidit quoque frequenter, vt vir cum  
It often happened that man and wife,
vxore, pater cum filio et mater cum  
father and son, mother and daughter,
filia. demum post modicum tota  
and soon the whole household and
familia, et plures conuicini, simul et  
many neighbours, were buried

Eadem fuerint sepultura locati  
together in one place.

Idem in Castro arquato, et vigoleno,  
The same thing happened in Castell’
et Alijs villis, locis, vrbibus et Castellis. et nouissime in valletidonj, ubi sine peste vixerant

Arquato and Viguzzolo and in the other towns, villages, cities and settlements, and last of all in the Val Tidone, where they had hitherto escaped the plague.

143 Plurimi ceciderunt Very many people died.

144 Quidam dictus Obertus de sasso, qui de partibus morbos processerat, iuxta Ecclesiam Fratrum minorum, dum suum vellet facere Testamentum, conuocatis notario testibus et uicinis, omnes cum reliquis, ultra numera Sexaginta, Infra tempus modicum migrauerunt

One Oberto de Sasso, who had come from the infected neighbourhood around the church of the Franciscans, wished to make his will and accordingly summoned a notary and his neighbours as witnesses, all of whom, more than sixty of them, died soon after.

145 Hoc tempore Religiosus vir frater Syfredus de Bardis conuentus et ordinis predicatuum, vir utique prudens et mague sciencie, qui Sepulcrum domini visitauerat cum XXIII eiusdem ordinis et conuentus

At this time the Dominican friar Syfredo de Bardis, a man of prudence and great learning who had visited the Holy Sepulchre, also died, along with 23 brothers of the same house.

146 Item Religiosus vir frater Bertolinus There also died within a short time
coxadocha placentinus, minorum

ordinis, sciencia, et multis virtutibus

decoratus, cum alijs XXIII° sui

ordinis, et conuentus, ex quibus

nouem una die. Item ex conuentu

heremitarum Vijd. Ex conuentu

Carmelitarum, frater Franciscus

todischue, cum Sex sui ordinis et

conuentus. Ex Seruis beate marie

III°. Et ex aliis prelatis et Rectoribus

Ecclesiariam ciuitatis et destrictus

placensis, ultra numero LX. Ex

nobilibus multi. Ex juuenibus Infiniti.

Ex mulieribus presertim pregnantibus,
innumerabiles, paruo tempore
defecerunt.

147  Tedet plura contexere, et tante

Calamitatis ulnera denudare

It is too distressing to recite any

more, or to lay bare the wounds

inflicted by so great a disaster.

148  Contremescat omnis creatura, Judicio

deij perterita

Let all creation tremble with fear

before the judgement of God.

149  Et suo creatori, humana fragilitas,

non resistat

Let human frailty submit to its

creator.
May a greater grief be kindled in all hearts, and tears well up in all eyes as future ages hear what happened in this disaster.

When one person lay sick in a house no one would come near.

Even dear friends would hide themselves away, weeping.

The physician would not visit.

The priest, panic-stricken, administered the sacraments with fear and trembling.

Listen to the tearful voices of the sick: ‘Have pity, have pity, my friends.

At least say something, now that the hand of God has touched me.’

‘Oh father, why have you abandoned
Do you forget that I am your child?

Mother, where have you gone?

Why are you now so cruel to me when only yesterday you were so kind?

You fed me at your breast and carried me within your womb for nine months.

'My children, whom I brought up with toil and sweat, why have you run away?'

Man and wife reached out to each other. 'Alas, once we slept happily together but now are separated and wretched.'

And when the sick were in the throes of death, they still called out piteously to their family and
sicco, aque gutam porrigite sicenti neighbours, 'Come here. I'm thirsty, bring me a drink of water.

165 Viuo Ego. Nolite timere. I'm still alive. Don't be frightened.

166 Forsitan viuere plus licebit. tangite me. Rogo, palpitate corpusculum Perhaps I won't die. Please hold me tight, hug my wasted body.

167 Certe nunc me tangere deberitis You ought to be holding me in your arms.'

168 Tunc quispiam, pietate ductus remotis ceteris, accessa in pariete candelam iuxta Caput fugiens Imprimebat (?) At this, as everyone else kept their distance, somebody might take pity and leave a candle burning by the bed head as he fled.

169 Et cum spiritus exalaret sepe mater filium, et maritus uxorem, cum omnes deffunctum tangere recusarent in capsia pannis obuolutum ponebant And when the victim had breathed his last, it was often the mother who shrouded her son and placed him in the coffin, or the husband who did the same for his wife, for everybody else refused to touch the dead body.

170 Non preco, non tuba, non Campana, nec Missa solemniter celebrata ad No prayer, trumpet or bell summoned friends and neighbours to
funus amicos et proximos Inuitabant the funeral, nor was mass performed.

171 Magnos et nobiles ad sepulturam Degraded and poverty-striken
gestabant viles et abiecte perssone wretches were paid to carry the great
conducte peccunia, quia deffunctis and noble to burial, for the social
consimiles, pauore percussi, accedere equals of the dead person dared not
non audebant attend the funeral for fear of being
struck down themselves.

172 Diebus ac noctibus, cum necessitas Men were borne to burial by day and
deposcebat, breuj ecclesie officio, night, since needs must, and with
tradebantur sepulcris.
only a short service.

173 Clausis frequenter domibus In many cases the houses of the dead
deffunctorum, nullus Intrare, nec res had to be shut up, for no one dared
deffunctorum tangere presumebat enter them or touch the belongings
of the dead.

174 Quicquid actum fuerit No one knew what to do.

Omnibus Inotescat, vno post Alium Everyone, one by one, fell in turn to
decedente omnes tandem mortis death’s dart.
Jaculo deffecerunt

175 O durum et triste spectaculum What a tragic and wretched sight!

176 Quis pia compassione non lugebat Who would not shed sympathetic
tends?

177 *Et superuenientis pestis cladis et morbi terribilibus non turbetur*  
Who would not be shaken by the disastrous plague and the terrors of death?

178 *Indurata sunt corda nostra et nullam futurorum memoriam computamus*  
But our hearts have grown hard now that we have no future to look forward to.

179 *Heu nobis. Ecce hereditas nostra uersa est, ad Alienos et domus nostre ad extraneos*  
Alas. Our inheritance has been diverted to strangers, our homes to outsiders.

180 *Addant si uolunt superstites, nempe lacrimas singultibus*  
It is only the survivors who can enjoy the relief of tears.

181 *Occupatus procedere non valeo*  
I am overwhelmed, I can’t go on.

182 *quia vndique mors, vbique amaritudo descriptur*  
Everywhere one turns there is death and bitterness to be described.

183 *plus et plus Iterato, manus omnipotentis extenditur*  
The hand of the Almighty strikes repeatedly, to greater and greater effect.
184 *Judicium teribile, continuatis* temporibus Inualescit

The terrible judgement gains in power as time goes by.

185 *Quid faciemus, o, bone yhesu, animas* suscipe defunctorum. Auerte faciem tuam a peccatis nostrijs. et omnes iniquitates nostras delle

– What shall we do? Kind Jesus, receive the souls of the dead, avert your gaze from our sins and blot out all our iniquities.

186 *Scimus scimus, quia quicquid patimur* peccata nostra merentur

We know that whatever we suffer is the just reward of our sins.

187 *Apprehendite igitur disciplinam, ne* quando Irascatur dominus, et pereatis de via iusta

Now, therefore, when the Lord is enraged, embrace acts of penance, so that you do not stray from the right path and perish.

188 *Humilientur ergo superbi*

Let the proud be humbled.

189 *Errubescant Auari, qui pauperum* detinent ellemosinas Impedias

Let misers, who withheld alms from the poor, blush for shame.

190 *Invidi caritate calescant*

Let the envious become zealous in almsgiving.

191 *Lusuriosi spreta putredine, honestatis*
regula decorantur

192 Effrenes, Irracundi, salutis sue

terminos non excedant

193 Gulosi Jeanijs temperentur

194 Et quibus accidia dominatur, bonis

operibus Induantur. Non sic, non sic

adolescentes et Juuenes, vestibus
deelectentur in cultu

195 Sit fides et equitas In Judicibus: Sit

legalitas Merchatorum

196 Notariorum parua et inordinata

condictio, priea discat, et sapiat,
quam scribere meditetur

197 Religiosorum abiciatur ypocrisy

habits and distinguish themselves in honest living.

Let the raging and wrathful restrain themselves from violence.

Let gluttons temper their appetites by fasting.

Let the slaves of sloth arise and dress themselves in good works. Let adolescents and youths abandon their present delight in following fashion.

Let there be good faith and equity among judges, and respect for the law among merchants.

Let pettifogging lawyers study and grow wise before they put pen to paper.

Let members of religious orders abandon hypocrisy.
Ordinetur in melius dignitas prelatorum

Let the dignity of prelates be put to better use.

Omnis populus viam salutis Impetrare festines

Let all of you hurry to set your feet on the way of salvation.

Et dominarum pomposa vanitas, que sic voluptatibus Imescetur, freno moderata procedat

And let the overweening vanity of great ladies, which so easily turns into volup tuousness, be bridled.

Contra quarum arroganciam ysayas, suo vaticinio resonabat. pro eo quod Isaiah inveighed: 'Because the的女儿 of Sion are haughty, and have walked with stretched out necks and wanton glances of their eyes, and made a noise as they walked with their feet, and moved in a set pace: the Lord will make bald the crown of the head of the daughters of Sion: and the Lord will discover their hair.

In die illa aufferet dominus, ornatum calciamentorum, lunullas et torques, monilia, et Armillas, mitras et

In that day, the Lord will take away the ornaments of shoes, and little moons: and chains, and necklaces,

Et erit pro suavi odore fetor, et pro Zonafuniculus, et pro crispanti crine caluicium, et pro fascia pectorali cillicium.

Pulcerimi quoque viri tui gladio cadent, et fortes tui in prelio.

Et moerebuntur atque lugebunt ponte eius. et dessolata terra manebit

Hec contra dominarum et Juuenum superbiam elleuatm

and bracelets, and bonnets and bodkins, and ornaments of the legs, and tablets, and sweet balls, and earrings: and rings, and jewels hanging on the forehead: and changes of apparel, and short cloaks, and fine linen, and crisping pins: and looking glasses, and lawns and headbands, and fine veils.

And instead of a sweet smell, there shall be a stench: and instead of a girdle, a cord. And instead of curled hair, baldness: and instead of a stomacher, haircloth.

Thy fairest men also shall fall by the sword: and thy valiant ones in battle.

And her gates shall lament and mourn: and she shall sit desolate on the ground'.

This was directed against the pride of ladies and young people.
206 Ceterum ut conditiones cause et accidencia, morbi huius pestiferi, omnibus patiunt libet litteris apperire

For the rest, so that the conditions, causes and symptoms of this pestilential disease should be made plain to all, I have decided to set them out in writing.

207 Existentes sanis, viribusque sexus, nec mortis pericula formidantes, IIIisset Ictibus asperimis carnibus vexabantur

Those of both sexes who were in health, and in no fear of death, were struck by four savage blows to the flesh.

208 Et primo eos quidem rigor algens, humana subito corpora commouebat

First, out of the blue, a kind of chilly stiffness troubled their bodies.

209 Que quasi lancea perforati sagittarum pungentes aculeos senciebant

They felt a tingling sensation, as if they were being pricked by the points of arrows.

210 Ex quibus quosdam, In Junctura brachij subter lagenam

The next stage was a fearsome attack which took the form of an extremely hard, solid boil.

211 quosdam in Inguinibus, Inter corpus et cossam, ad modum cuticelle durissime grosse

In some people this developed under the armpit and in others in the groin between the scrotum and the body.
Et quandoque grosioris, dirus Impetus affligebat, cuius ardore mox in febrem acutissimam et putridam, As it grew more solid, its burning heat caused the patients to fall into an acute and putrid fever, with severe headaches.

Cum dolore capitis Incidebant. qua nimium preualente, Alijs fetorem Intollerabilem relinquebat As it intensified its extreme bitterness could have various effects. In some cases it gave rise to an intolerable stench.

Alijs sputum ex ore sanguineum. Alijs Inflaturas iuxta locum precedentis humoris, post tergum, et circha pectus, et iuxta femur, et alia acerbitate precipua Ingerebat In others it brought vomiting of blood, or swellings near the place from which the corrupt humour arose: on the back, across the chest, near the thigh.

Quidam uero inebriati sopore, non poterant excitari Some people lay as if in a drunken stupor and could not be roused.

Ecce bulle domini comminantis Behold the swellings, the warning signs sent by the Lord.

Hij omnes, mortis periculis subiacebant All these people were in danger of dying.
221 Quidam prima die Inuasionis morbi, Some died on the very day the
alij sequenti die et alij pluriores illness took possession of them,
triduo 1. v° morituri cadebant others on the next day, others – the
majority – between the third and
fifth day.

219 Circha sanguinis vomitum nullum There was no known remedy for the
poterat adhiberi remedium vomiting of blood.

220 Dormientes Inflacti, et fectori Those who fell into a coma, or
corrupti, rarissime euadebant. suffered a swelling or the stink of
corruption very rarely escaped.

221 Sed febre descedente quandoque But from the fever it was sometimes
poterant liberari possible to make a recovery.

222 Sed circha fectorem ab Infimo I have, however, known a case
susceptum, noui quempiam sumpta where, although there was a stench
optima tyriaca, illatum expullisse arising from the patient, the use of
venenum, et mortale accidens euitasse the best theriac expelled the poison
and prevented it proving fatal.

223 Si humor ille tumens, duriciem If the tumid humour revealed itself
ostendebat, exterius nulla in numbness, but not by any external
superueniente molicie signum mortis growths, it was a sign of death,
erat. Et quia tunc ad venas cordis se
venenum transferens suffocabat
Infirmum

because then the poison, passing into
the veins of the heart, smothered the
patient.

224  
Et si exterius desuper, uel de subtus,
molicies apparebat. poterat liberari

But if swellings appeared externally,
on the upper or lower body, the
patient might be rescued.

225  
Illico si in superiori parte, ex brachio
pacientis penam gerente. Et si
Inferiori in clavicula pedis, partis
pacientis flebotomia subita curabatur.
He could be cured by immediately
letting blood from the appropriate
part of his body: from his arm if the
upper part of the body was affected;
from the tendon of the foot if it was
the lower part which was affected.

226  
Quandoque medicamine subsequente,
qui a loco Morbi, cum Aluina
[Malvina?], Emplastro Maluauischij,
cum maturitate Incisione et
euacuatione humoris, pacientes
graciam sanitatis habebant
When this was followed up with
medicinal means, using mallow or a
plaster of marsh mallow to ripen the
boil and draw the humours from the
seat of the illness, and then cutting
out the boil, the patients received the
blessing of health.

227  
Sed si febris acerbitas perdurabat,
omnino languentes, uita priuabat
But if the bitter fever persisted it
stole the life of its victims.
It can be asserted, on the clear evidence of experience, that the illness was more dangerous during an eclipse, because then its effect was enhanced, and it was at such times that people died in the greatest numbers.

In the East, in Cathay, which is the greatest country in the world, horrible and terrifying signs appeared.

Serpents and toads fell in a thick rain, entered dwellings and devoured numberless people, injecting them with poison and gnawing them with their teeth.

In the South, in the Indies, earthquakes cast down whole towns and cities were consumed by fire from heaven.

The hot fumes of the fire burnt up
certis locis, sanguinis habundancia

pluit et lapides ceciderunt

infinite numbers of people, and in some places it rained blood, and stones fell from the sky.

233 Verum quia tunc tempus erat

Truly, then was a time of bitterness and grief, which served to turn men to the Lord.

234 Dicam quid Actum fuerit

I shall recount what happened.

235 A quadam persona, sancta, visione

A warning was given by a certain holy person, who received it in a vision, that in cities, towns and other settlements, everyone, male and female alike, should gather in their parish church on three consecutive days and, each with a lighted candle in their hand, hear with great devotion the mass of the Blessed Anastasia, which is normally performed at dawn on Christmas Day, and they should humbly beg for mercy, so that they might be delivered from the disease through the merits of the holy mass.
Quidam beati domini martyris, suffragia postulabant. Alij ad Alios sanctos se conuertebant humiliter, vt martyr; and others humbly turned to other saints, so that they might escape the abomination of disease.

Nam ex prefactis (!) martiribus quidam, ut narrant hystorie, satis percussi, mortui dicuntur in nomine yhesu Christi. Ob quod oppinio multorum erat, ut contra morbi sagittas, possent prestare salutem people against the arrows of death.

Denique sanctissimus papa clemens In Consistorio sedis apostolice, Statuit Clement ordained a general Indulgenciam generalem, In MCCCL duraturam per annum, a pena et culpa omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis which remitted penance and guilt to all who were truly penitent and confessed.

Ob quod, Infinita gentium multitudo Finally, in 1350, the most holy Pope vtriusque sexus Rome multitudes of people made the peregrinationem peregit, basilicas pilgrimage to Rome, to visit with beatorum Apostolorum petri et pauli great reverence and devotion the et sancti Johannis Reuerentia et basilicas of the blessed apostles deuocione maxima vistando Peter and Paul and St John.
Eija Ergo dillectissimi non simus
viper, crudelitate peiores, manus
nostras leuemus ad celum. An
miserebitur nisi deus et pro omnibus
misericoriam Imploremus

Oh, most dearly beloved, let us
depend therefore not be like vipers, growing
ever more wicked, but let us rather
hold up our hands to heaven to beg
for mercy on us all, for who but God
shall have mercy on us?

Hijs explicatis finem facio.

With this, I make an end.

Celestis medicus uulera nostra curet
et plus Animaram, quam corpororum

May the heavenly physician heal our
wounds – our spiritual rather than
our bodily wounds.

Qui est benedictus laudabilis et
gloriosus in secula seculorum Amen.\(^a\)

To whom be the blessing and the
praise and the glory for ever and
ever, Amen.\(^b\)

Guide to Superscripts:

\(^a\) = Adapted from August Wilhelm Henschel. “Document Zur Geschichte des
Schwarzen Todes.” Archiv für die gesammte Medizin 2 (1841): 45-58.

\(^b\) = Adapted from Horrox, ed. The Black Death, 14-26.
Appendix B. Plague, Pestilence, and Disease in the Bible

**Illness as manifestation of divine anger** (total = 95)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter:Verse(s)</th>
<th>King James Translation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genesis 12:17</td>
<td>And the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai Abram's wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 5:3</td>
<td>And they said, The God of the Hebrews hath met with us: let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the Lord our God; lest he fall upon us with pestilence, or with the sword.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 9:3</td>
<td>Behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thy cattle which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the oxen, and upon the sheep: there shall be a very grievous murrain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 9:14</td>
<td>For I will at this time send all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people; that thou mayest know that there is none like me in all the earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 9:15</td>
<td>For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence; and thou shalt be cut off from the earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 11:1</td>
<td>And the Lord said unto Moses, Yet will I bring one plague more upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence: when he shall let you go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Exodus 12:13     | And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are: and when I see the blood, I will pass over you,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter:Verse(s)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 15:26</td>
<td>and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 30:12</td>
<td>And said, If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 32:35</td>
<td>When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them, when thou numberest them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 26:25</td>
<td>And the Lord plagued the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers 8:19</td>
<td>And I will bring a sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant: and when ye are gathered together within your cities, I will send the pestilence among you; and ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And I have given the Levites as a gift to Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to do the service of the children of Israel in the tabernacle of the congregation, and to make an atonement for the children of Israel: that there be no plague among the children of Israel, when the children of Israel come nigh unto the sanctuary.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chapter:Verse(s)</td>
<td>King James Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Numbers 11:33</td>
<td>And while the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people, and the Lord smote the people with a very great plague.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers 14:12</td>
<td>I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a greater nation and mightier than they.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers 14:37</td>
<td>Even those men that did bring up the evil report upon the land, died by the plague before the Lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers 16:46-50</td>
<td>And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly unto the congregation, and make an atonement for them: for there is wrath gone out from the Lord; the plague is begun. And Aaron took as Moses commanded, and ran into the midst of the congregation; and, behold, the plague was begun among the people: and he put on incense, and made an atonement for the people. And he stood between the dead and the living; and the plague was stayed. Now they that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, beside them that died about the matter of Korah. And Aaron returned unto Moses unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and the plague was stayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers 25:8-9</td>
<td>And he went after the man of Israel into the tent, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her belly. So the plague was stayed from the children of Israel. And those that died in the plague were twenty and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Numbers 31:16  Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Peor, and there was a plague among the congregation of the Lord.

Deuteronomy 7:15  And the Lord will take away from thee all sickness, and will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt, which thou knowest, upon thee; but will lay them upon all them that hate thee.

Deuteronomy 28:21-22  The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have consumed thee from off the land, whither thou goest to possess it. The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish.

Deuteronomy 28:59-61  Then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance. Moreover he will bring upon thee all the diseases of Egypt, which thou wast afraid of; and they shall cleave unto thee. Also every sickness, and every plague, which is not written in the book of this law, them will the Lord bring upon thee, until thou be destroyed.

Deuteronomy 29:22  So that the generation to come of your children that shall rise
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joshua 22:17</td>
<td>Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us, from which we are not cleansed until this day, although there was a plague in the congregation of the Lord,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua 24:5</td>
<td>I sent Moses also and Aaron, and I plagued Egypt, according to that which I did among them: and afterward I brought you out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Samuel 4:8</td>
<td>Woe unto us! who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty Gods? these are the Gods that smote the Egyptians with all the plagues in the wilderness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Samuel 6:4</td>
<td>Then said they, What shall be the trespass offering which we shall return to him? They answered, Five golden emerods, and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the Philistines: for one plague was on you all, and on your lords.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Samuel 24:13</td>
<td>So Gad came to David, and told him, and said unto him, Shall seven years of famine come unto thee in thy land? or wilt thou flee three months before thine enemies, while they pursue thee? or that there be three days' pestilence in thy land? now advise, and see what answer I shall return to him that sent me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Samuel 24:15</td>
<td>So the Lord sent a pestilence upon Israel from the morning even to the time appointed: and there died of the people from</td>
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<td>Chapter:Verse(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Samuel 24:21</td>
<td>Dan even to Beersheba seventy thousand men. And Araunah said, Wherefore is my lord the king come to his servant? And David said, To buy the threshing floor of thee, to build an altar unto the Lord, that the plague may be stayed from the people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Samuel 24:25</td>
<td>And David built there an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So the Lord was intreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kings 1:2</td>
<td>And Ahaziah fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber that was in Samaria, and was sick: and he sent messengers, and said unto them, Go, enquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron whether I shall recover of this disease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kings 8:8-9</td>
<td>And the king said unto Hazael, Take a present in thine hand, and go, meet the man of God, and enquire of the Lord by him, saying, Shall I recover of this disease? So Hazael went to meet him, and took a present with him, even of every good thing of Damascus, forty camels' burden, and came and stood before him, and said, Thy son Benhadad king of Syria hath sent me to thee, saying, Shall I recover of this disease?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chronicles 21:12</td>
<td>Either three years' famine; or three months to be destroyed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine enemies over taketh thee; or else three days the sword of the Lord, even the pestilence, in the land, and the angel of the Lord destroying throughout all the coasts of Israel. Now therefore</td>
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</table>
advise thyself what word I shall bring again to him that sent me.

1 Chronicles 21:14 So the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel: and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men.

1 Chronicles 21:22 Then David said to Ornan, Grant me the place of this threshing floor, that I may build an altar therein unto the LORD: thou shalt grant it me for the full price: that the plague may be stayed from the people.

2 Chronicles 7:13 If I shut up heaven that there be no rain, or if I command the locusts to devour the land, or if I send pestilence among my people;

2 Chronicles 16:12 And Asa in the thirty and ninth year of his reign was diseased in his feet, until his disease was exceeding great: yet in his disease he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians.

2 Chronicles 20:9 If, when evil cometh upon us, as the sword, judgment, or pestilence, or famine, we stand before this house, and in thy presence, (for thy name is in this house,) and cry unto thee in our affliction, then thou wilt hear and help.

2 Chronicles 21:14 Behold, with a great plague will the Lord smite thy people, and thy children, and thy wives, and all thy goods:

2 Chronicles 21:15 And thou shalt have great sickness by disease of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out by reason of the sickness day by day.

2 Chronicles 21:18-19 And after all this the Lord smote him in his bowels with an incurable disease. And it came to pass, that in process of time,
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<tr>
<td>after the end of two years, his bowels fell out by reason of his sickness: so he died of sore diseases. And his people made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 30:18</td>
<td>By the great force of my disease is my garment changed: it bindeth me about as the collar of my coat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 78:50</td>
<td>He made a way to his anger; he spared not their soul from death, but gave their life over to the pestilence;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 89:23</td>
<td>And I will beat down his foes before his face, and plague them that hate him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 106:29-30</td>
<td>Thus they provoked him to anger with their inventions: and the plague brake in upon them. Then stood up Phinehas, and executed judgment: and so the plague was stayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 14:12</td>
<td>When they fast, I will not hear their cry; and when they offer burnt offering and an oblation, I will not accept them: but I will consume them by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 19:8</td>
<td>And I will make this city desolate, and an hissing; every one that passeth thereby shall be astonished and hiss because of all the plagues thereof.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 21:6</td>
<td>And I will smite the inhabitants of this city, both man and beast: they shall die of a great pestilence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 21:7</td>
<td>And afterward, saith the Lord, I will deliver Zedekiah king of Judah, and his servants, and the people, and such as are left in this city from the pestilence, from the sword, and from the</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 21:9</td>
<td>He that abideth in this city shall die by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth out, and falleth to the Chaldeans that besiege you, he shall live, and his life shall be unto him for a prey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 24:10</td>
<td>And I will send the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, among them, till they be consumed from off the land that I gave unto them and to their fathers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 27:8</td>
<td>And it shall come to pass, that the nation and kingdom which will not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and that will not put their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, that nation will I punish, saith the Lord, with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 27:13</td>
<td>Why will ye die, thou and thy people, by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence, as the Lord hath spoken against the nation that will not serve the king of Babylon?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 29:17-18</td>
<td>Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Behold, I will send upon them the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, and will make them like vile figs, that cannot be eaten, they are so evil. And I will</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chapter:Verse(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 32:36</td>
<td>And now therefore thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, concerning this city, whereof ye say, It shall be delivered into the hand of the king of Babylon by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 34:17</td>
<td>Therefore thus saith the Lord; Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbour: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 38:2</td>
<td>Thus saith the Lord, He that remaineth in this city shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth forth to the Chaldeans shall live; for he shall have his life for a prey, and shall live.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 42:17</td>
<td>So shall it be with all the men that set their faces to go into Egypt to sojourn there; they shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: and none of them shall remain or escape from the evil that I will bring upon them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 42:22</td>
<td>Now therefore know certainly that ye shall die by the sword,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter:Verse(s) | King James Translation
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Jeremiah 44:13 | by the famine, and by the pestilence, in the place whither ye desire to go and to sojourn.
Jeremiah 44:13 | For I will punish them that dwell in the land of Egypt, as I have punished Jerusalem, by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence:
Jeremiah 49:17 | Also Edom shall be a desolation: every one that goeth by it shall be astonished, and shall hiss at all the plagues thereof.
Jeremiah 50:13 | Because of the wrath of the Lord it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate: every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues.
Ezekiel 5:12 | A third part of thee shall die with the pestilence, and with famine shall they be consumed in the midst of thee: and a third part shall fall by the sword round about thee; and I will scatter a third part into all the winds, and I will draw out a sword after them.
Ezekiel 5:17 | So will I send upon you famine and evil beasts, and they shall bereave thee: and pestilence and blood shall pass through thee; and I will bring the sword upon thee. I the Lord have spoken it.
Ezekiel 6:11-12 | Thus saith the Lord God; Smite with thine hand, and stamp with thy foot, and say, Alas for all the evil abominations of the house of Israel! for they shall fall by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence. He that is far off shall die of the pestilence; and he that is near shall fall by the sword; and
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 7:15</td>
<td>The sword is without, and the pestilence and the famine within: he that is in the field shall die with the sword; and he that is in the city, famine and pestilence shall devour him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 12:16</td>
<td>But I will leave a few men of them from the sword, from the famine, and from the pestilence; that they may declare all their abominations among the heathen whither they come; and they shall know that I am the Lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 14:19</td>
<td>Or if I send a pestilence into that land, and pour out my fury upon it in blood, to cut off from it man and beast:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 14:21</td>
<td>For thus saith the Lord God; How much more when I send my four sore judgments upon Jerusalem, the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 28:23</td>
<td>For I will send into her pestilence, and blood into her streets; and the wounded shall be judged in the midst of her by the sword upon her on every side; and they shall know that I am the Lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 33:27</td>
<td>Say thou thus unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; As I live, surely they that are in the wastes shall fall by the sword, and him that is in the open field will I give to the beasts to be devoured, and they that be in the forts and in the caves shall die of the pestilence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chapter:Verse(s)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 38:22</td>
<td>And I will plead against him with pestilence and with blood; and I will rain upon him, and upon his bands, and upon the many people that are with him, an overflowing rain, and great hailstones, fire, and brimstone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos 4:10</td>
<td>I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt: your young men have I slain with the sword, and have taken away your horses; and I have made the stink of your camps to come up unto your nostrils: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the Lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zechariah 14:12</td>
<td>And this shall be the plague wherewith the Lord will smite all the people that have fought against Jerusalem; Their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet, and their eyes shall consume away in their holes, and their tongue shall consume away in their mouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zechariah 14:18</td>
<td>And if the family of Egypt go not up, and come not, that have no rain; there shall be the plague, wherewith the Lord will smite the heathen that come not up to keep the feast of tabernacles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 9:20</td>
<td>And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 11:6</td>
<td>These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days</td>
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<td>Chapter:Verse(s)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 15:1</td>
<td>And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is filled up the wrath of God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 15:6</td>
<td>And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 15:8</td>
<td>And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power; and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 16:9</td>
<td>And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 18:8</td>
<td>Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.</td>
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</tbody>
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Illness in the context of simple statements of historical fact/neutral emotional valence (Total = 22)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter:Verse(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers 25:18</td>
<td>For they vex you with their wiles, wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi, the daughter of a prince of Midian, their sister, which was slain in the day of the plague for Peor's sake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers 26:1</td>
<td>And it came to pass after the plague, that the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, saying,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kings 8:37</td>
<td>If there be in the land famine, if there be pestilence, blasting, mildew, locust, or if there be caterpillar; if their enemy besiege them in the land of their cities; whatsoever plague, whatsoever sickness there be;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kings 15:23</td>
<td>The rest of all the acts of Asa, and all his might, and all that he did, and the cities which he built, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? Nevertheless in the time of his old age he was diseased in his feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles 6:28</td>
<td>If there be dearth in the land, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting, or mildew, locusts, or caterpillars; if their enemies besiege them in the cities of their land; whatsoever sore or whatsoever sickness there be:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles 24:25</td>
<td>And when they were departed from him, (for they left him in great diseases,) his own servants conspired against him for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest, and slew him on his bed, and he died: and they buried him in the city of David, but</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalm 38:7</td>
<td>For my loins are filled with a loathsome disease: and there is no soundness in my flesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 91:3</td>
<td>Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 91:6</td>
<td>Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 91:10</td>
<td>There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 28:8</td>
<td>The prophets that have been before me and before thee of old prophesied both against many countries, and against great kingdoms, of war, and of evil, and of pestilence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 32:24</td>
<td>Behold the mounts, they are come unto the city to take it; and the city is given into the hand of the Chaldeans, that fight against it, because of the sword, and of the famine, and of the pestilence: and what thou hast spoken is come to pass; and, behold, thou seest it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 34:4</td>
<td>The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 34:21</td>
<td>Because ye have thrust with side and with shoulder, and pushed all the diseased with your horns, till ye have scattered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter:Verse(s)</td>
<td>King James Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habbakuk 3:5</td>
<td>Before him went the pestilence, and burning coals went forth at his feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zechariah 14:15</td>
<td>And so shall be the plague of the horse, of the mule, of the camel, and of the ass, and of all the beasts that shall be in these tents, as this plague.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 24:7</td>
<td>For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 21:11</td>
<td>And great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences; and fearful sights and great signs shall there be from heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 16:21</td>
<td>And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 18:4</td>
<td>And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 21:9</td>
<td>And there came unto me one of the seven angels which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation 22:18</td>
<td>For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Chapter:Verse(s)** | **King James Translation**
--- | ---
removal of illness/healing as manifestation of divine compassion (Total = 20) | prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter:Verse(s)</th>
<th>King James Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 103:3</td>
<td>Who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 4:23-24</td>
<td>And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people. And his fame went throughout all Syria: and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatick, and those that had the palsy; and he healed them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 9:20</td>
<td>And, behold, a woman, which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years, came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 9:35</td>
<td>And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 10:1</td>
<td>And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter:Verse(s)</td>
<td>King James Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 14:35</td>
<td>gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark 3:10</td>
<td>And when the men of that place had knowledge of him, they sent out into all that country round about, and brought unto him all that were diseased;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark 5:29</td>
<td>For he had healed many; insomuch that they pressed upon him for to touch him, as many as had plagues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark 1:32</td>
<td>And straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up; and she felt in her body that she was healed of that plague.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark 1:34</td>
<td>And he healed many that were sick of divers diseases, and cast out many devils; and suffered not the devils to speak, because they knew him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark 5:34</td>
<td>And he said unto her, Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace, and be whole of thy plague.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 4:40</td>
<td>And he came down with them, and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people out of all Judaea and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, which came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter:Verse(s)</td>
<td>King James Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 7:21</td>
<td>And in that same hour he cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits; and unto many that were blind he gave sight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 9:1</td>
<td>Then he called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 5:4</td>
<td>For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 6:2</td>
<td>And a great multitude followed him, because they saw his miracles which he did on them that were diseased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts 19:12</td>
<td>So that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts 28:9</td>
<td>So when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_Illness as indication of spiritual uncleanliness (Total = 46)_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter:Verse(s)</th>
<th>King James Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Leviticus 13: 2-6 | When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh a rising, a scab, or bright spot, and it be in the skin of his flesh like the plague of leprosy; then he shall be brought unto Aaron the priest, or unto one of his sons the priests: And the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh: and when the hair in the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter:Verse(s)</th>
<th>King James Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plague is turned white, and the plague in sight be deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is a plague of leprosy: and the priest shall look on him, and pronounce him unclean. If the bright spot be white in the skin of his flesh, and in sight be not deeper than the skin, and the hair thereof be not turned white; then the priest shall shut up him that hath the plague seven days: And the priest shall look on him the seventh day: and, behold, if the plague in his sight be at a stay, and the plague spread not in the skin; then the priest shall shut him up seven days more: And the priest shall look on him again the seventh day: and, behold, if the plague be somewhat dark, and the plague spread not in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him clean: it is but a scab: and he shall wash his clothes, and be clean.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leviticus 13:9  
When the plague of leprosy is in a man, then he shall be brought unto the priest;  
Leviticus 13:12-13  
And if a leprosy break out abroad in the skin, and the leprosy cover all the skin of him that hath the plague from his head even to his foot, wheresoever the priest looketh; Then the priest shall consider: and, behold, if the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce him clean that hath the plague: it is all turned white: he is clean.  
Leviticus 13:17  
And the priest shall see him: and, behold, if the plague be
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter:Verse(s)</th>
<th>King James Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 13:20</td>
<td>And if, when the priest seeth it, behold, it be in sight lower than the skin, and the hair thereof be turned white; the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a plague of leprosy broken out of the boil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 13:22</td>
<td>And if it spread much abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a plague.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 13:25</td>
<td>Then the priest shall look upon it: and, behold, if the hair in the bright spot be turned white, and it be in sight deeper than the skin; it is a leprosy broken out of the burning: wherefore the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 13:27</td>
<td>And the priest shall look upon him the seventh day: and if it be spread much abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 13:29-32</td>
<td>If a man or woman have a plague upon the head or the beard; Then the priest shall see the plague: and, behold, if it be in sight deeper than the skin; and there be in it a yellow thin hair; then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a dry scall, even a leprosy upon the head or beard. And if the priest look on the plague of the scall, and, behold, it be not in sight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter:Verse(s)  King James Translation

deeper than the skin, and that there is no black hair in it; then
the priest shall shut up him that hath the plague of the scall
seven days: And in the seventh day the priest shall look on the
plague: and, behold, if the scall spread not, and there be in it
no yellow hair, and the scall be not in sight deeper than the
skin;

Leviticus 13:44-46  He is a leprous man, he is unclean: the priest shall pronounce
him utterly unclean; his plague is in his head. And the leper in
whom the plague is, his clothes shall be rent, and his head
bare, and he shall put a covering upon his upper lip, and shall
cry, Unclean, unclean. All the days wherein the plague shall
be in him he shall be defiled; he is unclean: he shall dwell
alone; without the camp shall his habitation be.

Leviticus 13:47  The garment also that the plague of leprosy is in, whether it
be a woollen garment, or a linen garment;

Leviticus 13:49-59  And if the plague be greenish or reddish in the garment, or in
the skin, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of
skin; it is a plague of leprosy, and shall be shewed unto the
priest: And the priest shall look upon the plague, and shut up
it that hath the plague seven days: And he shall look on the
plague on the seventh day: if the plague be spread in the
garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in a skin, or in
any work that is made of skin; the plague is a fretting leprosy;
it is unclean. He shall therefore burn that garment, whether warp or woof, in woollen or in linen, or any thing of skin, wherein the plague is; for it is a fretting leprosy; it shall be burnt in the fire. And if the priest shall look, and, behold, the plague be not spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; Then the priest shall command that they wash the thing wherein the plague is, and he shall shut it up seven days more: And the priest shall look on the plague, after that it is washed: and, behold, if the plague have not changed his colour, and the plague be not spread; it is unclean; thou shalt burn it in the fire; it is fret inward, whether it be bare within or without. And if the priest look, and, behold, the plague be somewhat dark after the washing of it; then he shall rend it out of the garment, or out of the skin, or out of the warp, or out of the woof: And if it appear still in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; it is a spreading plague: thou shalt burn that wherein the plague is with fire. And the garment, either warp, or woof, or whatsoever thing of skin it be, which thou shalt wash, if the plague be departed from them, then it shall be washed the second time, and shall be clean. This is the law of the plague of leprosy in a garment of woollen or linen, either in the warp, or woof, or any thing of skins, to pronounce it clean, or to pronounce it unclean.
And the priest shall go forth out of the camp; and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the plague of leprosy be healed in the leper;

This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy, whose hand is not able to get that which pertaineth to his cleansing.

When ye be come into the land of Canaan, which I give to you for a possession, and I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your possession: And he that owneth the house shall come and tell the priest, saying, It seemeth to me there is as it were a plague in the house: Then the priest shall command that they empty the house, before the priest go into it to see the plague, that all that is in the house be not made unclean: and afterward the priest shall go in to see the house: And he shall look on the plague, and, behold, if the plague be in the walls of the house with hollow strakes, greenish or reddish, which in sight are lower than the wall;

And the priest shall come again the seventh day, and shall look: and, behold, if the plague be spread in the walls of the house; Then the priest shall command that they take away the stones in which the plague is, and they shall cast them into an unclean place without the city:

And if the plague come again, and break out in the house, after that he hath taken away the stones, and after he hath
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter:Verse(s)</th>
<th>King James Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 14:48</td>
<td>And if the priest shall come in, and look upon it, and, behold, the plague hath not spread in the house, after the house was plaistered: then the priest shall pronounce the house clean, because the plague is healed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 14:54</td>
<td>This is the law for all manner of plague of leprosy, and scall,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 26:21</td>
<td>And if ye walk contrary unto me, and will not hearken unto me; I will bring seven times more plagues upon you according to your sins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuteronomy 24:8</td>
<td>Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you: as I commanded them, so ye shall observe to do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of verses = 183

Notes: As elsewhere throughout the thesis, King James Version of Bible was used as the English edition of Biblical verse. Numbers based on examination of King James text for clearly disease-related use of the 'plague', 'pestilence', 'murrain' or 'disease'.
Appendix C. Index of potentially medically-relevant phrases in the Worcester fragments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fragment</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26 (2)</td>
<td>['Virga Jesse floruit, cuius flos non marcuit,'] Vitae dans odorem</td>
<td>['The flowering rod of Jesse, whose bloom is not withering] is bestowing its perfume on lives'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 (1)</td>
<td>[Lacuna] Grantis fumi virgula fumus ex aromatibus</td>
<td>[Unclear because of the lacuna, but it concerns] aromatic odours of the sprouting seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 (2)</td>
<td>Granum ex utum pa[lacuna] contagio</td>
<td>Seed ??[Lacuna where verb would be] contagion/illness as a result of its strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34(2)</td>
<td>[lacuna] vitis irrigua Suavitatis balsamus</td>
<td>[??Some kind of] vine is well-watered by the sweetness of the balsam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 (2)</td>
<td>Agris medicina</td>
<td>Medicine of the sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 (3)</td>
<td>tu doctrina medicina serva sanitate</td>
<td>your [St Thomas of Canterbury] medical doctrine preserves health/reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 (3)</td>
<td>Te Raphael langoris medicus</td>
<td>You, Raphael, doctor to the feeble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 (2)</td>
<td>O Raphael langoris medicae</td>
<td>O Raphael, medicine of the feeble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragment</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number (voice part)</td>
<td>Tu nobis sis propitius, / Et omnis pestis eminus</td>
<td>May you be well-disposed towards us, and all distant plagues</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

Appendix D. Masses to be said in time of plague

Mass against human infirmity (contra mortalitatem hominum) = Salus populi Mass

Officium. Introit: I am the safety of the people, says the Lord; when they shall have cried to me from tribulation I will hear them, and I shall be their Lord for ever.

Psalmus

Attendite, popule meus, legem meam: inclinate aurem vestram in verba oris mei.

Oratio.

Deus, qui imminentem Ninivitis interitum sola misericordia removisti; quibus ut misericors exsisteres, conversionis pœnitentiam præstitisti; respice, quæsumus, populum tuum ante conspectum misericordiæ tæ prostratum; ut quos Unigeniti tui sanguine redemisti, non patiaris propter misericordiam tuam mortalitatis interire supplicio.

Lectio Hieremiae prophetæ.

The Lesson (Jeremiah 14.7-8):
Si iniquitates nostræ contenderint contra nos, Domine, libera nos; fac, quæsumus, propter nomen tuum, quoniam multæ sunt aversiones nostræ. Tibi peccavimus, expectatio Israel, salvator noster in tempore tribulationis. Tu autem in nobis es, Domine, et nomen sanctum tuum invocatum est super nos; ne derelinquas nos, Domine Deus noster.

If our iniquities have testified against us, O Lord, do thou it for thy name's sake, for our rebellions are many: we have sinned against thee. O expectation of Israel, the Saviour thereof in time of trouble .... But thou, O Lord, art among us, and thy name is called upon by us: forsake us not.

Graduale

Gradual:

Propitius esto, Domine, peccatis nostris; nequando dicant gentes ubi est Deus eorum.

Verse: Help us, O Lord our salvation; and for the honour of your name, O Lord, free us.

Alleluia. V. Domine, refugium factus es nobis: a generatione et progenie.

Alleluia: Lord, you are our refuge, from generation to generation.

Secundam Lucam [cap. xi. B. (v. 9-13)].

The Gospel (Luke 11.9-13): At that time Jesus said to his disciples:

In illo tempore, Dixit Jesus discipulis suis; Petite, et dabitur vobis: quærite, et invenietis: pulsate, et aperietur vobis.

Omnis enim qui petit, accipit: et qui

The Gospel (Luke 11.9-13): At that time Jesus said to his disciples:

Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and you shall find; knock and it shall be opened to you. For everyone that
quærit invenit: et pulsanti aperietur. asketh receiveth; and he that
Quis autem ex vobis patrem petit panem, seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh
numquid lapidem dabit illi? Aut piscem: it shall be opened. And
numquid pro pisce serpentem dabit illi? which of you, if he ask his father bread,
Aut si petierit ovum: numquid porriget will he give him a stone? Or
illi scorpionem? Si ergo vos cum sitis a fish, will he for a fish give him a
mali, nostis bona data dare filiis vestris: serpent? Or if he shall ask an egg,
quanto magis Peter vester de cælo dabit will he reach him a scorpion? If you
Spiritum bonum petentibus se? then, being evil, know how to give
good gifts to your children, how much
more will your Father from
heaven give the good Spirit to them that
ask him?

Offertorium [Ps. ix (10, 11, 12)]
Offertory: All who know your name, O
Sperent in te omnes qui noverunt nomen Lord, trust in you; because you
tuum, Domine: quoniam non derelinquis do not abandon those seeking you; sing
quærentes te; psallite Domino qui habitat unto the Lord who lives in
in Sion quoniam non est oblitus Sion, for the cry of the poor is not
clamorem pauperum. forgotten.

Secreta.
Ecclesiae tuæ, quæsumus, omnipotens Secret: Almighty God, look, we beseech
Deus, munus placatus intende; et you, favourably upon the gift
misericordia tua nos potius quam ira of your church, and come before us in
præveniat; quia si iniquitates nostras your mercy rather than your
anger, for if you choose to take notice of
observare volueris, nulla poterit creatura our iniquities, no creature
subsistere, sed admirabili pietate qua nos could survive it; but for the sake of the
fecisti, opera manuum tuarum non sinas wonderful kindness with which
interire. Per Dominum. you made us, do not let the works of
your hand perish.

Communio [Marci xi. (24)]
Communion [Mark 11:24]: Amen I say
Amen dico vobis: quicquid orantes to you: whatever you seek with prayers,
petitis, credite quia accipietis: et fiet believe that you will receive it; and be it
vobis. done to you.

Postcommunio.
Postcommunion: Almighty and merciful
Omnipotens et misericors Deus, respice God, look upon the people
populum majestati tuae subjectum; et ne subject to your majesty; and may the
nos furor sævientis mortis inveniat,
sacramentorum tuorum perceptio sancta receiving of your sacrament
perficiat.
prevent the fury of cruel death from
coming upon us.

Notes:

Source of Latin text is Dickinson, Francisci Henrici, ed. Missale Ad Usum Insignis
Oxford: J. Parker & Soc., 1867, cols. 810*-812*. English translation is that of
Horrox, Rosemary, ed. The Black Death. Manchester: Manchester University Press,
1994, 121-22.
Mass for the avoidance of [sudden] death (pro mortalitate subitanea evitanda) =

*Recordare Domine Mass*

**Rubric.**

quam dominus Papa Clemens fecit et
dominus Papa Clemens et fait.

constituit in collegio cum omnibus
constituit in avo collegio cum omnibus

Cardinalibus, et concessit omnibus
Cardinalibus, et concessit omnibus

penitentibus, vere contritis et confessis,
penitentibus, vere contritis et confessis,

sequentem Missam audientibus, cclx.
sequentem Missam audientibus, cclx.

dies indulgentiae. Et omnes audientes
sequentem Missam debent portare in
sequentem Missam debent portare in

manu unam candelam ardentem dum
manu unam candelam ardentem dum

Missam audiunt per quinque dies
sequentes, et tenere eam in manu per
sequentes, et tenere eam in manu per

totam Missam, genibus flexis: et eis
mors subitanea nocere non poterit. Et
mors subitanea nocere non poterit. Et

hoc est certum et approbatum in
Avinione et in partibus circumvicinis.
Avinione et in partibus circumvicinis.

**Officium.**

Introit: Remember, O Lord, your
covenant, and say to the scourging angel,
‘Now hold your hand’, so that the earth
is not laid waste and you do not lose
every living soul.

*In tempore Paschali, Alleluya.*

In Easter time: Alleluya
Psalmus [Ps. Lxxix (lxxx, 1.)]
Qui regis Israel intende: qui deducis
velut ovem Joseph.

Oratio.
Deus, qui non [S = vis] mortem, sed
pœnitentiam desideras peccatorum,
populum tuum, quæsumus, ad te
revertentem propitius respice [S = ad te
converte propitius]: ut dum tibi devotus
exsistit, iracundiae tuae ab eo flagella
clementer amoveas.

Lectio libri Regum
In diebus illis, Immisit Dominus
pestilentiam in Israel, de mane usque ad
tempsus constitutum; et mortui sunt de
populo a Dan usque Bersabee
septuaginta millia virorum. Cumque
extendisset manum suam angelus Domini super Hierusalem ut disperderet
eam, misertus est Dominus super
afflictionem, et ait angelo percutienti
populum; Sufficit; nonc contine manum
tuam. Erat autem angelus Domini juxta

*Gradual* [Ps. Cvi (cvii. 20, 21)] Misit Dominus verbum suum et sanavit eos: et eripuit eos de interitu eorum. V. Confitantur Domino misericordiae ejus: et mirabilia ejus filliis hominum.

*Alleluia.* V. Salvabo populum meum [S = Israel] in medio Hierusalem [S = in die malo]: et ero eis in Deum in veritate et justitia.

*Sequentia.* Jubilemus pia mente,

Jebusite. And David said to the Lord, when he saw the angel striking the people: It is I. I am he that have sinned: I have done wickedly. These that are the sheep, what have they done? Let thy hand, I beseech thee, be turned against me and against my father's house. And Gad, the prophet of the Lord, came to David that day, and said: Go up, and build an altar to the Lord in the threshing floor of Areuna the Jebusite. And David went up according to the word of Gad, which the Lord had commanded him.

*Gradual* [Ps. 106: 20-21]: The Lord sent his word and healed them, and snatched them from their ruin.

Verse: They should acknowledge before the Lord his mercy and his marvellous deeds for the sons of men.

Alleluia: I will save my people in the midst of Jerusalem and I will be to them a God of truth and justice.

Sequence: With pious minds let us
voci corde concinente,
Trinitate collaudantes;
Patrem Prolemque precemur,
Sanctum Pneuma veneremur,
laudis melos concrepantes.
Omnes una proclamemus,
summum Deum imploremus,
misereri ut dignetur;
cor gravatur, mens languescit,
jam gens moret et plangescit.
pestis morsum dum veretur.
Aura lædit, furit pestis,
morbus urit, nulla mæstis
spes salutis redditur;
mare fluit mixtum felle,
jam tempestas, jam procellæ,
plebs ubique premitur.
Si pro malis irascaris,
tempus est ut revertararis;
pie Jesu, miserere;
leo lustrans, oves quaerit;
nisi præsis, ovis perit;
bone pastor, nos tuere.
Terra, mare, firmamenta,
quæque parent elementa,
tuo facta numine; and each obedient element,
mare novit te calcantem, thy hand divine declare:
dum te sentit ambulantem, As thou didst walk the sea confessed,
factor fertur flumine. thy footsteps on her waters pressed;
Cuncta sistunt, te jubente; the floods their Maker bare.
Non moventur, sed repente At thy command all tumults cease,
Redduntur pacifica; and in a moment there is peace,
Toto nisu, tota cura, nought moves, and all is still;
Omnis laudat te factura, All rests on thee, all reverence pays,
O virutus almifica. the whole creation thee doth praise,
Auras mitte nobis latas, O power of kindly will.
pestes prece procul pelle, Send us propitious gales, we pray,
transfer nos ad vitæ metas, and bear us to the goal of life;
ne nos turbent tot procellæ. the pestilence drive far away,
Olim culpa nos ligati and rid us of the tempest's strife.
Respirantes cedimus, We that were long time bound by sin,
Corde mæsto flagellati, turn back to thee, regaining strength;
tibi soli credimus. chastised, and sad of heart within,
Lex antiqua transgressores in thee alone we trust at length.
Conversos eripuit; Converted sinners the old law
 tuae legis abusores ne'er to receive refused;
pie dum corripuit. and mercifully did chastise
Joab Abner persequente, those who its grace abused.
et hunc armis insequente, As Joab after Abner went,
prece datur venia; pursuing him with fierce intent,
Joab vitam consecutus,
nocte viam transit tutus,
per montis cacumina. Joab, returning, marched by night,
Davidi prophetico In safety o'er the mountain height
directly,
Vita datur termino, good words for peace prevailed;
pro delicto gravi;
tersum fugit facinus, else life for all had failed.
dum fatetur vocibus,
inquiens, Peccavi.
Ezechias reddit fletum,
et peccatum est deletum,
statim ut pœnituit;
fletum fecit et profecit,
sibi Deus hinc adjecit
annos et constituit. His grievous crime is cleansed away,
Hezekiah's sore doth weep;
Ezechias's repentance deep,
his sin is put aside;
He weeps, and profits by his tears,
for God doth add unto his years
a longer term beside.
The gentle Esther seeks relief
of Assuerus in her grief,
her nation's life to win;
Hence Mordecai deliverance found:
on his own gallows, Haman bound,
doth expiate his sin.
Whilst heavenly valour from on high
Judith illuminates,
headless she leaves her enemy.
Mater ergo summi regis, and captives liberates.
tibi natus Christus verus, Thee, mother of the highest king, Vos signavit umbra legis, the true Anointed One we see, Hester tu, Hic Assuerus. you both the law prefiguring. Virgo Natum intercede, thou Esther, Assuerus he. ut afflictos liberet; O blessed virgin, intercede, salvet hos a pestis caede, us from the pestilence to save; quos pie redemerat. those whom thy Son redeemed and freed, Virgo mater, maris stella, let him deliver from the grave. Fons hortorum, Verbi cella, O virgin mother, the Word's cell, ne nos pestis aut procella star of the sea, thou garden-well, peccatores obruant. the pestilential storm dispel; Eia, mater, terge fletum, let us poor sinners live; tempestatis tolle fretum, O mother, wipe our tears away, cor moestorum redde laetum, the raging tempest still this day, jam preces subveniant. now in our trouble for us pray, Proles parcit si peroras, our drooping hearts revive. mater ergo rumpe moras; The Son doth spare if thou dost pray, posce tuum Filium; O mother, then, no more delay, / thy holy aura faeda rumpens pestis Child implore; simul cadant, confer moestis Let the fell plague, the deadly blast, salutis auxilium. together cease, and now at last Nostros tuus ipse Natus health to our land restore. Tollat penas es reatus, Our guilt and punishment, we pray, nobis presstans consolamen, let thy Son wholly take away.
Sui regni sempiterni, 
ubi cives sunt superni, 
personemus omnes, Amen.

and us with comfort greet; 
And grant us of his realm a share 
whose citizens eternal are: 
let all "Amen" repeat.'

Secundam Lucam [cap. iv. F. (v. 38-44)]
Gospel of Luke (4.38-44): In that time
In illo tempore, Surgens Jesus de 
synagoga, introivit in domum Simonis. 
Socrus autem Simonis tenebatur magnis 
febrisibus, et rogaverunt illum pro ea. Et 
stans super illam imperavit febri: et 
dimisit illam. Et continuo surgens 
ministrabat illis. Cum sol autem 
occidisset, omnes qui habebant infirmos 
variis languoribus, ducebant illos ad 
eum. At ille singulis manus imponens, 
curabat eos. Exibant autem daemonia 
multis, clamantia et dicentia; quia tu es 
Filius Dei. Et increpans non sinebat ea 
loqui: quia sciebant ipsum esse 
Christum. Facta autem die, egressus ibat 
in desertum locum; et turbæ requirebant 
eum, et venerunt usque ad ipsum. Et 
detinebant eum, ne discederet ab eis. 
Quibus ille ait; Quia et aliis civitatibus 
and us with comfort greet; 
And grant us of his realm a share 
whose citizens eternal are: 
let all "Amen" repeat.'
oportet me evangelizare regnum Dei: that he should not depart from them. To
quia ideo missus sum. Et erat prædicans whom he said: To other cities also must I
in synagogis Galilææ. preach the kingdom of God: for therefore
am I sent. And he was preaching in the
synagogues of Galilee.

Offertorium [(Num. Cap. xvi. v. 46-48)]
Stetit pontifex inter mortuos et vivos [S living and the dead, with a gold censer in
= viventes], habens thuribulum aureum his hand, and offering the sacrifice of
in manu sua: et offerens incensi incense he appeased the anger of the
sacrificium placavit iram Dei [S = Lord, and the plague ceased from the
Domini], et cessavit qussatio a Domino house and people of Israel.
[S = cessavit plaga a domo et a populo
Israel].

In tempore Paschali, Alleluya. In Easter Time: Alleluya.

Secreta.
Subveniat nobis [S = omit nobis], Secret: We beseech you, O Lord, let the
quaesumus Domine [S = Domine, operation of your present sacrifice
quaesumus] sacrificii præsentis oblatio [S = rescue the people, and powerfully release
= plebi tuæ sacrificii præsentis operatio], us from all faults and fears, and
quaæ nos et ab erroribus [S = et completely protect and defend us from
terroribus] universis potenter absolvat; et threatened damnation.
a totius eripiat [S = custodiat et defendat]
perditionis incursu.
Communio [(Luc. Cap. vi. 18, 19)]
Communion [Luke 6:18-19]: A crowd of the sick, and those troubled by unclean spirits came to Jesus, for power came out of him and healed them all.

Multitudo languentium et qui vexabantur a spiritibus immundis veniebant ad eum [S = Jesum]: quia virtus de illo exibat et sanabat omnes.

Postcommunion: Hear us, O God our salvation, and at the intercession of Mary, blessed mother of God, free your people from the terrors of your anger and in mercy let them be secure in your bounty.

Notes:
- Differences between the text of the Roman use of Italy and the Sarum use of Britain are indicated by the Sarum text appearing in closed brackets [ ]
prefaced by 'S ='. The source of the Latin text of the Sarum use is

Mass of Saint Sebastian in time of plague (de Sancto Sebastiano, tempore pestis)

Officium.

Introit:

Egregie martyr Sebastiane, princeps et propagator sanctissimorum præceptorum, ecce nomen tuum in libro vitae cælestis ascriptum est: et memoriale tuum non derelinquetur in sæcula.

Psalmus [Ps. Xxxiii (xxxiv. 1.)]

Psalm 33: I will bless the Lord in all times.

Oratio.

Collect:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui meritis beati Sebastiani martyris tui gloriosissimi, quandam generalem pestem epidemiæ hominibus pestiferam revocasti; præsta supplicibus tuis, ut qui pro simili peste revocanda ad ipsum sub tui confidentia confugerint, ipsius meritis et precibus ab ipsa peste epidemicæ et ab omni tribulatione liberentur.

Epistola.

Epistle: (Ecclesiasticus 14: 22-25)

Beatus vir qui in sapientia sua morietur et qui in iustitia sua meditabitur et in...
sensu cogitabit circumspectionem Dei, wisdom, and that shall meditate in his
qui excogitat vias illius in suo corde et in justice, and in his mind shall think of the
absconsis illius intellegens vadens post all seeing eye of God; he that considereth
illam quasi vestigator et in viis illius her ways in his heart, and hath
consistens, qui respicit per fenestras et in understanding in her secrets, who goeth
ianuas illius audiens, qui requiescit iuxta after her as one that traceth, and stayeth
domum illius et in parictibus illius figens in her ways; he who looketh in at her
palum statuet casulum suam ad manus windows, and hearkeneth at her door; he
illius et requiescunt in casula eius bona that lodgeth near her house, and
per aevum fastening a pin in her walls shall set up

Graduale.
O sancte Sebastiane,
Christi athleta gloriosissime,
qui pro Christo reliquisti
terrenae militiae principatum
et suscepisti magnum supplicium
intercede pro nobis ad Dominum.
V. O sancte Sebastiane,
Christi martyr egregie,
ejus meritis tota Lombardia
fuit liberata a peste mortifera,
libera nos ab ipsa et a maligno hoste.

Gradual:
O saint Sebastian,
most glorious contender for Christ,
who for Christ’s sake relinquished
military leadership
and took up the greatest of sufferings,
intercede with God for us.
Verse. O saint Sebastian,
esteemed martyr of Christ,
through whose merits all of Lombardy
was liberated from the fatal plague,
free us from the same and from the
wicked enemy.
Alleluya V. O sancte Sebastiane, nos trementes ac flentes [non habet 55P] imploramus tuum clemens auxilium ut possimus obtinere per te pestis mortifere apud Christum remedium.

Alleluia. O saint Sebastian, trembling and weeping we beseech your merciful aid, that we through you may obtain remedy before Christ for the mortal plague.

Sequentia.

Omnes una decantemus,
et martyris personemus
laudem Sebastiani;
hic a Deo est electus,
per quem morbus est ejectus
languoris pestiferi.
Nam se Christo totum vovit,
qui vult nos hunc venerari;
Christus eum nunc promovit
In patria cœlesti.
Cunctis hic subvenit mœstis,
statim est sedata pestis,
sui causa meriti;
ipsum si nunc deprecemur,
nomen quocue veneremur
martyris sanctissimi,
Morbus iste non nocebit,
sed mortiferum delebit

Sequence:

Let us all with voiceful ring,
our great martyr's praises sing,
praises of Sebastian.
Chosen out by God was he
sufferers from sad plague to free,
languor and infection.
He to Christ himself devoted,
be to him new reverence given,
Christ hath highly him promoted
in the realm of heaven.
He to sorrowers all brought aid;
instantly a plague was stayed
by his merits solely:
And if now his help we claim,
humbly honouring the name
of that martyr holy,
Us that sickness shall not kill
he will quell the deathful ill
populum qui tenuit; that hath seized our nation.
nos pro nostris tantis malis We for evil deeds now pay.
jam absorbet pestis talis, therefore plague our folk doth slay,
quam tota gens gemuit, cause for lamentation.
Sancte martyr Sebastiane, O Sebastian, martyr saint,
salva nos a peste epidemicæ; save us from the spreading taint.
nostra gravia ob peccata Let not for our sins’ sad weight
terra ista desolata this our land lie desolate,
non sit, pie quæsumus; we with prayer adore thee;
sed nos considera, Look on us with pitying eyes,
et in nobis cesssa, stay the plague that on us lies,
pestem jam te petimus. humbly we implore thee.
Ista per te gens sit tuta, Keep our people; not for ever
et ne noceat acuta let these arrows keen of fever
febris hæc in Anglia; waste our England’s plain:
ex quo nostra spes est tota All our hope on thee doth rest,
in te martyr, nunc remota martyr thou, of this our pest /
sit pestis mortifera. ward the deadly bane.
O sancte Sebastianæ, Saint Sebastian, be from ill
nostræ gentis Anglicanæ helper and defender still
conservator et tutor sis; of our English race.
et Dominum deprecare, Make thou now to God thy prayer
ut a nobis revocari [elongare—55P] that this raging plague his care
valeat vesana pestis. Soon away may chase.
Ex tua sancta prece May thy holy words prevail,
Ne sit morbus nobis nece, nor this sickness bring our bale;  
Sed recedat ab hac domo; let it from our homes refrain,  
Amen, dicat omnis homo. chant, ye people all, Amen.

_Evangelium_  
Gospel: John 12:24-26

_nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram_  
_Unless a grain of wheat falling into the_  
_mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet si_  
_ground die itself, it remaineth alone. But_  
_et autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum_  
_if it die it bringeth forth much fruit. He_  
_adfert qui amat animam suam perdet eam_  
_that loveth his life shall lose it and he_  
_et qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo_  
_that hateth his life in this world keepeth_  
in _vitam aeternam custodit eam; si quis_  
it unto _life eternal. If any man minister to_  
i _mihi ministrat me sequatur et ubi sum_  
_me me, let him follow me: and where I am,_  
_ego illic et minister meus erit si quis mihi_  
_there also shall my minister be. If any_  
_ministraverit honorificabit eum Pater_  
_man minister to me, him will my Father_  
_meus._  
honour.

_Offertorium._  
Offertory: Esteemed martyr, glory of the  
military, contender of faith, beseech the  
fidei, ora Natum Dei, ut avertat a nobis  
Born God, that he might remove his  
indignationem suam; martyr suffragia  
wrath from us; pour forth your pious  
effundens pia, ut epidemia nec sit noxia in  
judgement, o martyr, that the epidemic  
hac patria nec in alia, per subsidia posce  
be not harmful in this country or in  
tua; nos tibi talia damus praeconia, hic  
others; ask through your intercession; to  
prece præmia da nobis pia, miles eia,  
you we direct such pleas, to you we ask  
alleluyae.  
that you reward our piety, good soldier,
Secreta.

Subveniat nobis, Domine, tua misericordia, intercedente beato Sebastiano martyre tuo; ut ab immicentibus peccatorum nostrorum perinulis, te mereamur protegente salvari, et suis precibus a peste epidiemiae et ab omni tribulatione liberari. Per.

Communio.


Postcommunio. Da, quæsumus, Domine, populo tuo salutem mentis et corporis; ut, interventu beati Sebastiani martyris tui, bonis operibus inhaerendo, tuo semper munere et suorum meritorum interventione, a peste epidiemiae et ab omni tribulatione mereamur, tua protectione defendi. Per Dominum.

Secret:

Help us, Lord; by your mercy with your blessed martyr Sebastian interceding for us, that through his protective merits we are saved from our innumerable sins, and through his prayers free us from epidemic plague and from every tribulation.

Communion:

Blessed are you, and rightly so, esteemed martyr Sebastian, because you will rejoice with the saints and exult with the angels in eternity.

Postcommunion: We beseech you, Lord, give your people a sound mind and body; that through the intervention of your martyr Sebastian, whose good works cling to you and through whom his merits always offer tribute to you, we might merit your protection against epidemic plague and all tribulations.
Notes:

Missa de Sancto Roccho (footnote to columns 895*-896*)

Officium.

Congratulamini omnes in Domino, diem beati Rochi commemorantes, in cujus communione laetatur Ecclesia, plebs exsultat, et angeli dulcia dant melodia, dicentes gloria tibi, Domine, qui talem virum in confessorem elegisti.

Introit: All rejoice in the Lord, on this day commemorating the blessed Roch, in whose commemoration the Church takes delight, the people exult, and angels give forth sweet melodies declaring your glory, Lord, who chose such a great man as a confessor.

Psalmus [Ps. 118].

Psalm [Ps. 118]:

Beati immaculati in via qui ambulant in lege Domini. (Gloria Patri—15. 4L)

Immaculately blessed in life are they who walk in the way of the Lord.

Oratio.

Deus, qui es gloriosus in gloria sanctorum, et cunctis ad eorum patrocinia confingentibus suæ petitionis salutarem præstas effectum, concede plebi tuæ ut, intercedente beato Rocho confessore tuo, quæ in ejus celebritate se devota exhibet, languore epidemiae quam in suo corpore pro tui nominis gloria passus (sic) est, sit liberata, et tuo nominis semper sit devota.

Collect:

Lord, you who are glorious in the glory of the saints, and by the means of his combined petition and patronage bring about health, that with your blessed confessor Roch interceding, grant it to your people who display themselves in his devout celebration that from the feebleness of the epidemic which he suffered in his body for the glory of your name they may be liberated and may always be devoted to your name.
Epistola. Carissimi memor esto Iesum Gospel [Timothy 2:8-10; 3:10-12]:
Christum resurrexisse a mortuis ex
semine David secundum evangelium
meum; in quo laboro usque ad vincula
quasi male operans sed verbum Dei non
est alligatum; ideo omnia sustineo
propter electos ut et ipsi salutem
consequantur quae est in Christo Iesu
cum gloria caelesti. Tu autem adsecutus
es meam doctrinam institutionem
propositum fidem longanimitatem
dilectionem patientiam; persecutiones
passiones qualia mihi facta sunt
Antiochiae Iconii Lystris quales
persecutiones sustinui et ex omnibus me
eripuit Dominus; et omnes qui volunt pie
vivere in Christo Iesu persecutionem
patientur.

Graduale.
Tibi, pio sancto Rocho honor sit, et
gloria, et deprecantes apud caeleste
Numen tuis precibus morbo epidemiae
salvos redde.

Gradual: To you, pious saint Roch, may
there be honor and glory, and return the
saved people, begging before the
celestial divine will, from the sickness of
the epidemic by your merits.
V. Fac, quæsumus, beate confessor Christi, ut apud Deum preces nostræ non sint vane, et nobis aeris temperiem concede, ut in fine tecum in cælis congratulemur.

Verse. We beseech you, blessed confessor of Christ, that our prayers before God may not be empty, and grant us well-tempered air, that we, together with you in heaven, rejoice forever.

Alleluia. V. O beate confessore Roche, quam magna apud Deum sunt merita tua quibus credimus nos a morbo epidemici posse liberari et aeris temperiem concedi, alleluya.

Alleluia: Verse. O blessed confessor Roch, how great are your merits before God, by which we believe you are able to free us from the sickness of epidemics and grant us a well-tempered atmosphere

Evangelium:

Vigilate ergo quia nescitis qua hora Dominus vester venturus sit; illud autem scitote quoniam si sciret pater familias qua hora fur venturus esset vigilaret utique et non sineret perfodiri domum suam; ideoque et vos estote parati quia qua nescitis hora Filius hominis venturus est; quis putas est fidelis servus et prudens quem constituit dominus suus supra familiam suam ut det illis cibum in tempore? Beatus ille servus quem cum venerit dominus eius invenerit sic facientem; amen dico vobis quoniam

Gospel: (Matthew 24:42-47)

Watch ye therefore, because you know not what hour your Lord will come. But this know ye, that, if the goodman of the house knew at what hour the thief would come, he would certainly watch and would not suffer his house to be broken open. Wherefore be you also ready, because at what hour you know not the Son of man will come. Who, thinkest thou, is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath appointed over his family, to give them meat in season?

Blessed is that servant, whom when his
super omnia bona sua constituet eum. lord shall come he shall find so doing.
Amen I say to you: he shall place him over all his goods.

**Offertorium.**

Te beatum Rochum Christi confessorum confessor of Christ, we make entreaty,
exoratum facimus et preces ad te patrem and direct to you our Father prayers, that
nostrum dirigimus, ut tua intercessione a by your intercession we may be saved langueoribus epidemiæ salvemur et aeris from the feebleness of the epidemic and
temperiem potiamur. granted well-tempered air.

**Prefatio.**

Æterne Deus, qui imminentem Preface: Eternal God, who by mercy
Ninivitis interitum sola misericordia alone recalled the danger threatenin to
revocasti, quibus ut propugnator the Ninevites, to whom you revealed
exsisteres cum orationis penitentia yourself in order that you might be a
præstitisti, et huic populo tuo ante defender with penitence of prayer, aboth
conspectum gloræ tuae prostrato orandi grant purity of praying to this your
tribue puritatem, et quem desiderat people prostrate before the sight of your
præsta liberationis effectum, ut quos glory, and effect the liberation which he
Unigeniti tui pretioso sanguine redemisti, had desired, that you may not for the
non patiaris misericordia tua mortalitatis sake of your mercy allow those ones
interire supplicio. whom you redeemed with the precious

**Secreta.**

Secret: Spare us, Lord, and mercifully
Parce nobis, Domine, et flagella iræ tūæ
quæ peccata nostra merentur, precibus et
meritis beatissimi confessoris tui Rochi,
a nobis misericorditer averte. Per Dominum.

Communio.
O quam magnificum est nomen tuum,
beate Roche, qui tuis intercessionibus
multitudinem languentium nostri sanare,
et nomen tuum gloriosum
commemorantibus omnibus te propitium
exhibere, veni et salva nos a morbo
epidemīæ et aeris temperiēm concede.

Postcommunio.
Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut qui cœlestia sacramenta percepimus,
intercedente beato Rocho confessore tuo,
per hæc contra omnia adversa mundi
muniamur, et ab omni morbo et peste ac
a subitanea morte liberemur.

Communion: O how wondrous is your
name, blessed Roch, through whose
intercession many who languish are
made healthy, and we always remember
to favorably exhibit your glorious name;
come and save us from the sickness of
epidemics and grant us well-tempered air.

Postcommunion:
We beseech you, all-powerful God, to
make it that, with the blessed Roch your
confessor interceding, we who reaped the
heavenly sacraments be strengthened
against all adversities of the world, and
that we may be freed from all sickness
and plague and from sudden death.
Notes:

Appendix E. Melodic comparison of *Missae pro mortalitate evitanda*

**Introit**

Glasgow, MS Hunter 43

Graduale Romanum

DMA 1011
Psalm verse.

Quae regis Israe! in tenue quaeducis velut orem. Joseph

Quae regis Israe! in tenue quaeducis velut orem. Joseph

seph.
Gradual Verse

Con-fi-te-an-tur do-mi-no [mie] e-is.

Con-fi-te-an tur do-mi-no

et mi-se-ri-bi-li-a ei-us fi-li-is.

et tur Do-mi-no

mi-se-ri-cor-di-e e-

ho-mi-num

mi-se-ri-cor-di-a-e

us et mi-ra-bi-li-a ei-

us et mi-ra-bi-li-a e-

us fi-li-is ho-mi-num.
jus filiis hominum
Alleluia

Glasgow, MS Hunter 43

Graduale Romanum

DMA 1011

Alleluia

Alleluia verse

(Scratched out)

In the manuscript, the lines are written as:

Salvabo populum in medio libe

Con grebo populum me

Renem et eis il

In die ma lo et e

Um me chiro rus sa

Lis in dem un in veritate et justitia

Ren eis in Deum in verita

Ren et
Glasgow, Offertory

MS Hunter 4320.

Ste supponit pontifex
inter mortuos et vivos

Ste supponit pontifex

Ste supponit pontifex

Ste supponit pontifex

Ste supponit pontifex

Manus ssa reum et off erens in cen si sacri

Ste supponit pontifex

Ste supponit pontifex

Ste supponit pontifex

Ste supponit pontifex

Sancti fici um prope
dum et cen sa vit plia

Ste supponit pontifex

Ste supponit pontifex

Glasgow, Graduale Romanum

DMA 1011
PRAESTARE domine testimonium eum et Dei Angelorum omnipotentem

San mundus tuae et tuorum serva et se per tua omnia aminam

Vivament do precem reverentiam tuam tibi quin tu orominus

Bene noster tu. Sua mansit onse et dominus in medio istis.

Itaque in verbum tuae sanctum ego et etum esse tua.

S. Concedamus tibi qua praenotat hanc et mundum ipsum suis

Et nam. Adiit Salam. ipse in medio theou et u.

Hoc s dixit in tempore et audit. Dei sanctum panesci unde nunc

Cunctum habes et teourni internum inaud it et uirea eorum

Inaudit faciunt misit in et tempus regna a domin


Appendix G. *Laude* of plague interest

Example 1—Florence Bibl. Nat. Cent., Magliabechiano II I 122, Banco Rari 18

Florence Laudario, fol. 51r-52v

Refrain:

Re-gi-na pre-ti-o-sa ma-bre del glo-ri-o-so, no' vin-che-ram mer-ze-de

Strophe 1:

No' vi fac-ciam pre-gie-ro [e]all' al-to re del cie-lo, che ne chon-du-ca a que-sta lu-ce

chie-ra, la ve son-no li van-ge-ni-sta e Mar-

co e Lu-car et so-nn-ri tut-t' il san-ti; che fan-no i dol-zii can-ti, da-van- ti al-la re-gi-na fan-no dan-za.
Regina pretiosa,  
madre del glorioso,  
no v'incheram merzede con pietanza.

Precious queen,  
mother of the glorious one,  
devoutly we beg you for mercy.

No vi facciam pregiero  
[e] all'alto re del cielo, che nne  
chonduca  
a questa luce chiera,  
là 've sonno li vangelista Marco e Luca  
et sonni tutt'i sancti  
che fanno i dolzi canti;  
davanti alla regina fanno danza.

We pray to you  
and to the high king of heaven, that he  
might lead us  
to this clear light,  
where the evangelists Mark and Luke,  
and all the saints,  
are singing sweet songs  
and dancing before the queen.

Nella divina corte  
n'aspecta ciascum giorno; inmantenente  
aperte son le porte:  
chi bene à facto vada sicuramente,  
sarà ben ricevuto;  
se egli avrà il cor pentuto,  
vadasi scorlando a questa danza.

In the divine court  
they wait for us every day; suddenly  
the doors are opened  
let those who acted rightly go in  
confidently: they will be well received;  
if they have a contrite heart  
let them go to the dance whipping  
themselves.

Audite, buona gente,  
voi che questo sermone avete audito,  
penitentia prendete  
et agiate sempre il vostro cor contrito,

Listen, good people  
who have heard this sermon,  
be penitent
ché m'è apparito un segno  
and always keep a contrite heart,
c'a fine vien questo regno:  
because a sign has appeared
lasùti state omai vostra argoglianza.  
that this kingdom is coming to an end:
abandon your pride now.

From Wilson, Blake, and Nello Barbieri. The Florence Laudario: An Edition of
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 18. Madison,: A-R

Example 2- Cortona, Biblioteca del comune, MS 91

\[\text{Madonna santa Maria, mercé de noi peca-}\]
\[\text{to-ri; fai-te pre-go al dol-ce Cristo ke ne de-gia per-}\]
\[\text{-do-na-re.}\]

Notes:

Additional stanzas describing self flagellation:

Strophe 11  

Io si son stado pecadore  
Et ai offeso al mio signore  
Battome per lo suo amore  
Ch'el me debia perdonare.  

I have been a sinner  
And have offended my Lord,  
And thus will scourge myself for  
his love so he will pardon me.

Strophe 12  

Et alegro e gaudente  
Battome le spalle e'l ventre,  
per descazar quel serpente  
che me volea devorare.  

And joyously and happily  
I scourge my shoulders and belly  
To escape the serpent  
Who wants to devour me.

Strophe 14  

Oimé, carne topinella,  
come tu è fresca e bella,  
tu dei andar sotto la terra  
e li vermi t'averá manziare.  

Alas, miserable flesh,  
How fresh and beautiful you are,  
But you must go under the earth,  
And the worms will have you to eat.

Strophe 15  

Non sia nessun sí duro  
Che si vergogni d'andar nudo  
Gesú Cristo fo batudo  
Per li peccatori salvari.  

Let no one be so hard  
That he is ashamed to go naked.  
Jesus Christ was beaten  
In order to save sinners.

Notes:

From Fabris, Giovanni. *Il Più Antico Laudario Veneto; Con La Bibliografia Delle Laude*. Vincenza: Tipografia S. Guiseppe, 1907, 23.
Example 3: Girolamo Benivieni, "Da che tu ci hai Signore"

Girolamo Benivieni, 'Da che tu ci hai Signore'

Cantus

Tenor

Bassus

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Refrain
Da che tu ci hai Signore
Iesù per gratia electi
E nostri pecti infiamma hor del
tuo amore

Since You have chosen us, Lord
Jesus, through grace
inflame our hearts now with
your love.

Strophe 1
Excita Signor mio
La tua potentia e vieni
Monstra che tu se' Dio
Signor perché più peni?
Perché non leghi enfreni
Quella insanabil turba
Che'l ben disturba alla città del
fiore?

Rouse forth, my Lord,
Your might and come,
show that you are God;
Lord, why more sufferings?
Why don’t you tie up and restrain
this incurable mob
which disturbs the well-being of
the city of flowers?

Strophe 2
Tu sai dolce Iesù
Che la nostra città
Re non ha in terra hor più
Fuor' della tua bontà.

You know, sweet Jesus,
that our city
has no king on earth any more
except for your goodness.
Dunque quella pieta
Signor che ci fa degni
Che tu in noi regni vinca el nostro errore.

Therefore, let that mercy,
Lord, which renders us worthy
to be ruled by you, vanquish our sin.

Strophe 3
Chi no sa che al peccato
Del tuo popl’ ribello
In endecta hai parato
Fame, peste e coltello.
De, fa che el tuo flagello
A buoni torni in letitia
A rei in iustitia in breve ira e furore.

Who does not know that for the sins of your rebellious people,
you have prepared in vengeance famine, plague, and the sword?
O see that your scourge brings happiness to good people,
and justice to the wicked, in [your] swift anger and rage.

Strophe 4
Se el mal nutrito ingegno
D’alchun superbo o stolto
Ha el tuo governo a sdegno
Perché ne vitii i involto,
Allui sia el fructo tolto
De tuoi promessi doni,
Che vita è buoni, a rei morte e dolore.

If the poorly nourished brain of someone proud or stupid holds your rule in disdain because he is immersed in vices, then let be taken from him the fruit of your promised gifts, which are life for the good, death and sorrow for the wicked.

Strophe 5
Apri el tuo fonte e piovi
Iesù benigno hor quella

Open your font and rain down now, good Jesus, that
Gratia che in te rinnuovi  
gracy of yours by which you

La tua Florentia bella  
renew your beautiful Florence.

Noi in questa età novella  
We, in this new age

Del corpo e della mente  
make a present of our body and

Facto un presente hor te 'l  
mind, now we offer [them] to

doniamo e 'l core.  
you, and our heart.

Notes:

From Macey, Patrick, ed. Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems, Recent 


Text on p. xxxii-xxxiii, music on 38-39.
Example 4: Girolamo Benivieni, ‘Io vo darti anima mia’

Cantus

Tenor

4

dio sol che va le Quan - t'ogn'al - tra cia - scun ma - le

8

Che si chia - ma la paz - zi - a.

12

To tre on - ci-al - men di spe - me, Tre di fe - d'e

16

sei d'a - mo - re, Due di pia - n - t'e pon' in -

20

sie - me Tut - tal fuo - co del ti - mo - re
Refrain
Io vo darti anima mia
Un rimedio sol che vale
Quanto ogni altro à ciascun male
Che si chiama la pazzia.

Strophe 1
To tre oncie almeno di sperme,
Tre di fede e sei di amore,
Due di pianto e poni insieme
Tutto al fuoco del timore.
Fa da poi bollir tre hore,
Premi enfine vi aggiungi tanto
Di humiltà e dolor, quanto

I want to give you, O my soul,
only one remedy that is effective
more than any other against every
ill, and its name is craziness.

Take at least three ounces of
hope,
three of faith and six of love,
two of tears and place them
together on the fire of fear.
Let it then boil for three hours
strain it at the end and add as
Basta a far questa pazzia. much humility and sorrow as suffices to make this craziness.

Strophe 2
Questo unguento così fatto
This ointment thus prepared
Impazzar fa tutti e savi
makes every wise man crazy
Et fa savio ogn' huom ch'è matto,
and makes wise the mad, the evil
Buoni e tristi, e recti e pravi,
good, and the wicked upright,
E leggieri fa tardi e gravi,
and the light slow and serious,
Gli iracundi mansueti,
and the wrathful gentle,
Fa gli afflitti nel mal lieti,
the ill it makes happy,
Savia e sancta la pazzia.
this wise and holy craziness.

Strophe 3
O pazzia mal conosciuta
O poorly understood craziness
Da color che t'han per piazza,
by those who say you are crazy,
Chi ti spregia, odio, e rifiuta
those who scorn, hate, and refuse
Pel suo troppo senno inpazza,
you because of excessive sense go
Ma chi teco si sollazza
crazy. But those who take
Si trastulla e si compiace,
pleasure in you, amuse
In te trova quella pace
themselves and take delight, in
Che non è in altra pazzia.
you they find peace that is lacking in other craziness.

Strophe 4
O Iesù per quello immenso
O Jesus, through the immensity
Tuo amor che si ti strinse
of your love that bound you so
Che a salir fuor d'ogni senso
that it led you, beyond all reason,
Per noi in croce ti sospinse,
De, se mai pietà ti vinse
to climb on the cross for us,

Dammi priego solo ch'io ama
ah, if mercy moves you,

Chi conosca, seguа e brama
grant me, I pray, only that I love

Questa tua sanctа pazzia.
and desire this, your holy
craziness.

Notes:
From Macey, ed., Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems. Text on pp. xxxix-xl,
music on pp. 48-49.
## Appendix H. Catalogue of Fragrance Imagery in Florence Laudario

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lauda Title (page of text; page of music)</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sovrana si ne' sembianti (liv; 12)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>quella rosa che aulorisce</td>
<td>[the more pleasing] that fragrant rose becomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>ke soave aulor mena</td>
<td>Emanating gentle fragrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piange Maria cum dolore (lvii; 19)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>fresco giglio aulente d'orto</td>
<td>O fresh fragrant garden lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nat'è in questo mondo (lxv; 32-33)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>poi ven'el flore aulente</td>
<td>Then came the fragrant flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Con umil core salutiamo (lxviii; 39)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>aulente più che giglio</td>
<td>more fragrant than the lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vergine donzella (lxx; 43)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aulente rosa et moscado fino</td>
<td>Fragrant rose and fine musk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave, virgo Maria (lxxi; N/A)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>delli prophete se' aulore</td>
<td>[You are] the fragrance of the prophets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina sovrana di grande pietade (lxxi-ii; 46)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>O sole lucente et rose aulente</td>
<td>O shining sun and fragrant rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vergen pulzella, per merzé (lxxiv; 49)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>nova donna, novel aul[è]</td>
<td>new woman, noble fragrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Aulentissimo giglio</td>
<td>Most fragrant lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephano sancto, exemplo (lxxi; 5)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>flore aulente</td>
<td>O fragrant flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauda Title (page of text; page of music)</td>
<td>Line</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>se' lucente</em> (lxxii; 74)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>se' aulente flore</em></td>
<td>you are a fragrant flower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sancto Lorenzo, martyr d'amore,</em> (lxxii; 75)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>Martyr glorioso, aulente flore</em></td>
<td>Glorious martyr, fragrant flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sancto Vincentio, martire amoroso</em> (lxxiii; 78)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>ben si convene di te, flore aulente</em></td>
<td>it is indeed acceptable [to sing] to you, fragrant flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O sancto Blasio, martyre beato</em> (lxxxiii-lxxxiv; 79)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>rosa vermiglia et aulente flore</em></td>
<td>O red rose and fragrant flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sancto Giorgio, martyr amoroso</em> (lxxxiv-lxxxv; 80)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td><em>dello suo fetor velenoso.</em></td>
<td>[to escape death] from his [the dragon's] poisonous stench.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Alla regina divoto servente</em> (lxxxvi; 87)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>fructo del flore c'a la madre aulia</em></td>
<td>fruit of the flower that was fragrant to the mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Da tucta gente laudato</em> (lxxxvi-lxxxvii; 88)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td><em>rosa aulente [sanza pruno]</em></td>
<td>fragrant rose [without thorns]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sancto Allexio, stella risplendente</em> (lxxxix-xc; 38)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>giglio bianco, aulente flore</em></td>
<td>O white lily, fragrant flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>N/A</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>che tu fossi aulente flore</em></td>
<td>that you were a fragrant flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A sancto Jacobo</em> (xc; 92)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td><em>Aulente giglio</em></td>
<td>Fragrant, white lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauda Title (page of text; page of music)</td>
<td>Line</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>candidato</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>aulente flore di giardino</td>
<td>O fragrant garden flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sancto Bernardo amoroso (xc; 93)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>giglio aulente</td>
<td>delightful, fragrant lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novel canto, tucta gente (to St Genobius) (xc-xci; 94-95)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>San Zenobio, flore aulente</td>
<td>Saint Zenobius, fragrant flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogn'omo canti novel canto (to St John) (xci; 96)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a san Giovanni, aulente flore</td>
<td>to Saint John, fragrant flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A sancta Reparata (xcvi; 107)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>A sancta Reparata, rosa aulente</td>
<td>to Saint Reparata, fragrant rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A tutta gente faccio prego e dico (xcvi-xcvi; 108)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>che laudi meco Margarita aulente</td>
<td>laud with me the fragrant Margaret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sancta Agnesa da Dio amata (xcviii; 110)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>d'ogne fiore cosa non aulente</td>
<td>adorned with every nothing unfragrant cosa non aulente could enter your castle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>aulente ornata de l'aulente flore granata.</td>
<td>fragrant virtue [caught] by the fragrant fruitful flower</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lauda Title (page of text; page of music)

Verbum bonum et suave 19 aromatum virga smoking rod of fragrance
(cii-ciii; 119) fumi

Notes:

Appendix I. Melodic comparison of *Stella coeli* in fifteenth-century English settings

CUL Add. MS 6658

Florence II, MS 36

Norwich Castle MS 1454 (54.d)

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313
te filius nihil negans bono rat. Salvus nos Jesus, pro quibus

virgo mater te o rat.
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