

THE MEDIEVAL LATIN PLANCTUS AS A GENRE

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME ONE

by Janthia Yearley

submitted in part-satisfaction of the  
requirement for the degree of D.Phil.

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND RELATED LITERATURE

JANUARY 1983

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume One

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	v
DECLARATION .....	vii
ABSTRACT .....	viii
PREFACE .....	ix
GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS .....	xiii
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS .....	xv
SIGLA USED FOR MANUSCRIPT CITATIONS .....	xvii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. The Subject of Study .....	1
2. Previous Research on the <u>Planctus</u> .....	2
(a) The <u>planctus</u> and religious drama .....	3
(b) The <u>planctus</u> and funeral verse .....	20
(c) The <u>planctus</u> and European musical and poetic forms .....	34
3. The Definition of <u>Planctus</u> .....	41
(a) Rhetorical prescriptions for the writing of a <u>planctus</u> .....	44
(b) The meaning of the word <u>planctus</u> .....	45
(c) Method of study and outline of the thesis .....	47

CHAPTER TWO: THE MANUSCRIPTS

1. Introduction .....	50
2. <u>Planctus</u> Composed before 950 .....	53
3. <u>Planctus</u> Composed 950-1130 .....	65
4. <u>Planctus</u> Composed 1131-1300 .....	73
5. <u>Planctus</u> Composed 1301-ca.1405 .....	82
6. Conclusion .....	85

CHAPTER THREE: POETIC FORM AND METRE

1. Introduction .....	87
2. <u>Planctus</u> Composed before 950 .....	89
3. <u>Planctus</u> Composed 950-1130 .....	96
4. <u>Planctus</u> Composed 1131-1300 .....	106
5. <u>Planctus</u> Composed 1301-ca.1405 .....	122
6. Conclusion .....	128

CHAPTER FOUR: MELODIC MODE, FORM AND STYLE

1. Introduction .....	131
2. <u>Planctus</u> Composed before 950 .....	133
3. <u>Planctus</u> Composed 950-1130 .....	143
4. <u>Planctus</u> Composed 1131-1300 .....	148
5. <u>Planctus</u> Composed 1301-ca.1405 .....	176
6. Conclusion .....	180

EXCURSUS ONE .....	182
--------------------	-----

CHAPTER FIVE: LITERARY MATTER AND STYLE

1. Introduction .....	201
2. <u>Planctus</u> about an Historical Personage .....	202
3. <u>Planctus</u> about a Biblical Personage .....	217
4. <u>Planctus</u> about a Classical Personage .....	233
5. <u>Planctus</u> about the Destruction of a City .....	237
6. Conclusion .....	240

CHAPTER SIX: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORDS AND MUSIC

1. Introduction .....	243
2. Responsories and Antiphons .....	245
3. Strophic Songs .....	252
4. Sequences and <u>Lais</u> .....	269
5. Through-Composed Songs .....	289
6. Conclusion .....	298

EXCURSUS TWO .....	300
--------------------	-----

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE LATIN PLANCTUS AS A MEDIEVAL GENRE

1. The Generic Unity of the Latin <u>Planctus</u> .....	311
2. The <u>Planctus</u> and Scholarship .....	319
3. Epilogue .....	323

Volume Two

TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	ii
-------------------------	----

APPENDIX A: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PLANCTUS

Introduction .....	2
Abbreviations A .....	7
Abbreviations B .....	9
Bibliography of <u>Planctus</u> :	
I: Latin .....	18
II: Provençal .....	49
III: French .....	60
IV: German .....	70
V: English .....	80
VI: Italian .....	83
VII: Catalan .....	91
VIII: Gallego-Portuguese .	92
IX: Poly-lingual .....	94

APPENDIX B: NOTES ON MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING PLANCTUS COMPOSED  
BEFORE ca.1405

Introduction .....	96
Notes: A: Austria .....	97
B: Belgium .....	99
CH: Switzerland .....	101
CS: Czech/slovakia .....	105
D: Germany .....	106
DK: Denmark .....	116
E: Spain .....	116
EIRE: Ireland .....	117
F: France .....	118
GB: Great Britain .....	131
H: Hungary .....	141
I: Italy .....	141
LUX: Luxemburg .....	151

NL: The Netherlands .....	151
PL: Poland .....	151
S: Sweden .....	152
US: United States of America .....	153
USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ..	153
Private Ownership .....	153

APPENDIX C: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF PLANCTUS COMPOSED BEFORE  
ca.1405

Introduction .....	155
Texts and Translations .....	157

Volume Three

TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	ii
-------------------------	----

APPENDIX D: MUSICAL TRANSCRIPTIONS OF PLANCTUS COMPOSED BEFORE  
ca.1405

Introduction .....	2
Musical Transcriptions .....	6
Notes to the Musical Transcriptions .....	239

NOTES TO VOLUME ONE

Chapter One .....	253
Chapter Two .....	267
Chapter Three .....	274
Chapter Four .....	281
Chapter Five .....	286
Chapter Six .....	294
Chapter Seven .....	299

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity of thanking Professor John Stevens, Faculty of English, Cambridge, for his unceasing and invaluable help and advice over the last five years. It was his research on medieval song which inspired me to study the planctus. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor Derek Pearsall, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, for his encouragement, patience, and careful scrutiny of my work. I am furthermore indebted to the late Professor Elizabeth Salter, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, for her many useful criticisms of a draft of the first four chapters and for her guidance and personal kindness when we met by chance during my first visit to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Scholars of related disciplines have given specialist advice on particular subjects: Dr. Rosamond McKitterick, Faculty of History, Cambridge, read the first draft of each chapter and was especially helpful about the dating of Carolingian manuscripts and about the titles by which the nobility of that period were called; Dr. Peter Dronke spared much of his valuable time to discuss in detail a draft of the first four chapters and to advise me about important works on medieval Latin verse and prosody; Dr. Susan Rankin, Faculty of Music, Cambridge, read chapters four, six and seven in draft form and was particularly helpful concerning French musical notations and planctus from liturgical drama.

The expertise of the following was much appreciated in the compilation of Appendix A: Dr. Mary Berry, Faculty of Music, Cambridge; Dr. David Hiley, Department of Music, Royal Holloway College, London; Dom Jacques Hourlier, Solesmes; Dr. Peter Johnson, Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages, Cambridge; and Dr. June Salmons, Department of Romance Studies, University College, Swansea.

The curators of the following libraries provided me with microfilm, photographs, and, in some cases, details of manuscripts which I could not come and see personally: the Stiftsbibliothek, Admont; the Bürgerbibliothek, Berne; the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich; the Státní Knihovna ĀSSR, Universitní Knihovna, Prague; the Stadtarchiv, Hildesheim; the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe; the Bayrische Staatsbibliothek,

Munich; the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart; the Stadtbibliothek, Trier; the Herzog August Bibliothek and the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Wolfenbüttel; the Universitätsbibliothek, Würzburg; the Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen; the Bibliothèques Municipales of Arras, Evreux, Grenoble and Rouen; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence; the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Perugia; and the Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

I am particularly grateful to the staff of the following libraries whose manuscripts or collections of printed books I have consulted: Cambridge University Library; the Cambridge College libraries of Corpus Christi, Downing, Gonville and Caius, St. John's and Trinity; the Brotherton Library, Leeds; the British Library, London; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the University Library, York (I am especially grateful to the staff of the Inter-Library Loan Scheme for their invaluable help); the Bibliothèques Municipales of Evreux and Rouen; the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the Bibliothèque Mazarine, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Universitätsbibliothek, Basle; the Bürgerbibliothek, Berne; the Stiftsbibliothek, Engelberg; the Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gall; the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich; the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe; the Bayrische Staatsbibliothek and the Universitätsbibliothek, Munich; and the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.

The following kindly permitted me to consult their special collections of books, microfilms, or photographs: The Palaeography and The Music Departments of the University Library, London; the Department of Music, Royal Holloway College, London; the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris; and the Abbaye de St. Pierre, Solesmes.

Special thanks are also due to the Photography Department of the University Library, York; to the Fellows of Downing College for electing me to the Graham Robertson Research Fellowship, in order that I could continue my work on the planctus; and to my parents who very thoughtfully bought me an electric typewriter and personally conveyed it to me from Northern Ireland.

Finally, although expressly forbidden to do so, I would like to thank my husband, Steven, for his generous, good-humoured support, for his logical, practical disposition, and for his numeracy.

## DECLARATION

An earlier version of Appendix A entitled 'A bibliography of planctus in Latin, Provençal, French, German, English, Italian, Catalan and Galician-Portuguese from the time of Bede to the early fifteenth century' is included in JPMMS, 4 (1981) (in the press).



## ABSTRACT

The problem of defining a genre is the central issue addressed in this thesis. I aim to establish through empirical investigation whether the medieval Latin planctus, a lament normally composed at the death of important personages, constitutes a genre, and to isolate the terms of its definition. In order to be designated a genre, it must be found to possess an underlying unity, otherwise the term will be purely taxonomic. Hitherto, references to the planctus have occurred predominantly in discussions of funeral verse, the origins of the Passion play, and the interrelation of European verse and musical forms. However, its general features have never been studied systematically.

Initially I discuss the problem of gathering together a corpus of planctus when a generally accepted definition is lacking. For theoretical and pragmatic reasons I restrict myself to planctus composed at the death of historical, biblical and classical personages, or at the destruction of cities, written in verse or as song. My analyses consider its status as a genre with respect to its social environment, poetic form, musical style, subject matter, language and the relationship between words and music. They indicate that it represents a public statement of grief, is typified by eulogy and formal exclamatory language, and was normally intended to be sung. It is also characterised by a number of different musical styles, poetic forms, and social purposes. Despite this, it is nevertheless generically distinct, since genre can be described as a collectivity or family which retains a nucleus of common features, but also changes gradually through time.

I thus demonstrate that the planctus can be designated a genre, illustrate the diversity of its literary and musical style, and discuss the aesthetic of a genre which survived for over six centuries.

## PREFACE

The relationship between words and music in medieval song is a subject which has yet to be fully investigated. Although some previous scholars such as Hans Spanke scrupulously took into consideration the formal relationship between words and music, and did much to pave the way for future literary scholars and musicologists, questions of musical style and aesthetic, particularly of medieval monophonic, extra-liturgical music have remained relatively unexplored. This can be attributed not only to the difficulty of dealing justly with both words and music, when a scholar's training is almost invariably in one field or the other, but also to the inevitable focus of interest on the music editor's problem of interpreting the notation of both monophonic and polyphonic melodies, in order to determine their rhythm. Either the words must provide the musical rhythm, it has been contended, or the system of rhythmic modes. Even though the rhythmic modes were designed for polyphonic music, they are often applied to monophonic song. The problem then becomes a purely technical one, the outcome depending on the interpretation of prosodic rhythm on the one hand, or of notational ligatures on the other. The results have often been unsatisfactory for both historical and musical reasons. Frequently the modal system, not theoretically expounded until the thirteenth century is applied to songs which, while often written in thirteenth-century manuscripts, sometimes close to sections of polyphonic song, were nevertheless composed in the twelfth century. Even if their later style of performance were influenced by the rhythmic modes, their rhythm could hardly have been conceived originally in this idiom, and indeed they could have been metrical. There has also been a considerable amount of disagreement as to which rhythmic mode a particular melody might belong. That some interpretations are simply unmusical is often self-evident. However, objective criteria for judging this question will ultimately depend on a greater understanding of medieval musical style.

Only recently has the problem been considered from a different point of view; by way of both explanation and acknowledgement I would like to take this opportunity of describing this approach briefly.

The research of central importance to my thesis is that of Professor John Stevens. He has demonstrated through discussions of the chansons of Adam de la Halle ('"La Grande Chanson Courtoise": The Chansons of Adam de la Halle', PRMA, 104 (1977-78), 11-30), and of the trouvère chanson, the French refrain, and the Latin lai ('Medieval Song: "Number", Speech and Movement', a paper given at the Conference of Medieval and Renaissance Music, Cambridge, 1979), that the problem of rhythm can be approached through stylistic and aesthetic considerations. In the former he argues that the concept behind the syllabic structure of a text is 'number' and that in effect both the musician and the poet were realising a numerical pattern, not responding to one another's art. The possibility of an expressive relationship between words and music is thus precluded by the method of composition. In the second paper he argues that the trouvère chanson, the French refrain, and the Latin lai each conform to the features of a different rhythmic style or genre. His general conclusion is that the most hopeful approach to the rhythmic problem may be through genre rather than through chronological divisions.

In the course of my investigations into the style of Latin planctus melodies the conclusions of these articles have gradually emerged as the necessary assumptions of my own approach. Planctus are frequently typified by melodic patterning of various types; however, this is essentially a musical phenomenon. Even though one might expect that there would be an expressive relationship between the words and music of a song about sorrow, this is not normally the case. The results of my study of the words and music of Latin planctus, covering the period s.vii-ca.1405, might be seen as an extension of his idea of musical genre. Apart from investigating the social context and identifying the literary characteristics of Latin planctus, I isolate several different musical styles in which its melodies are composed. The majority of these depend on 'number' for their organisation, while a significant proportion are also closely related to music composed for narrative, another musical genre, seen at its most sophisticated in the twelfth-century lai.

I originally intended to present a comparative study of planctus in Latin and European languages; however, my preliminary bibliographical work revealed that a surprisingly large number of Latin planctus are extant, many with music; it was thus necessary to give them separate treatment. I also had high hopes that my investigations, particularly of the relationship between words and music, might shed positive light on the expression of emotion in the Middle Ages, both musically and poetically, as well as on the development of what Peter Dronke has termed

'poetic individuality' in his Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1970). However, since the relationship between words and music is almost consistently 'number'-based, it is normally non-expressive. Nevertheless, a significant number of the texts of planctus betray a distinctly personal note. One might doubt that the ambitions of the monastic writers of planctus would extend to 'poetic individuality', when the employment of conventional devices serve a didactic or devotional purpose quite adequately. However, a number of planctus are both unusual and worthy of high praise for their literary achievement. Thus, contrary to previous contentions, the planctus in Latin is not uniformly typified by 'impersonality' and the adherence to 'convention'.

I have not dealt with planctus which belong to verse narrative unless they are prosodically distinct from the rest of the work, since they inevitably depend on their narrative context for their frame of reference. Nor have I included complaints, often called planctus, mostly by modern editors, unless they represent a response to death. Of the large corpus of Marian crucifixion verse I have included only those examples which are first person laments of the Virgin, since the remainder, such as 'Stabat mater dolorosa', are primarily descriptive accounts of her grief designed to stimulate meditation on the Passion. There is thus an element of predefinition of the term planctus from the outset. However, in retrospect this can be justified: the history and the development of the lament written in verse or as song at a death or destruction reveal a significant consistency in literary and musical treatment which permits one to designate it a genre, or literary family. The existence of related types indicates that in time more distant branches develop a distinct identity of their own.

I have, however, included some discussion of melodies found in sequentiaries which are called planctus in their manuscript rubrics. Although their extant texts are not planctus at a death, their precise origins remain unknown and could conceivably have been associated with funeral lamentation. More importantly, the stylistic characteristics of each have not been considered before in detail in relation to planctus composed at a death, with the exception of the melody planctus cygni. This is discussed by Bruno Stäblein ('Die Schwanenklage. Zum Problem Lai-Planctus-Sequenz', Festschrift K.G.Fellerer (Regensburg, 1962), 491-502), who relates it to the twelfth-century lai.

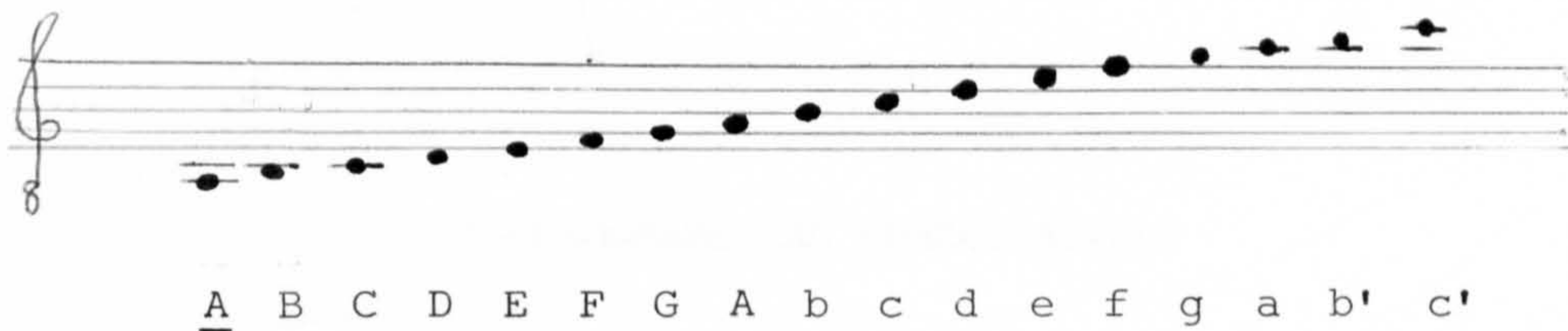
The four appendixes included in the Table of Contents are each preceded by a short introduction which explains their purpose and arrangement. Mention is made in the text or in the notes when it is

necessary for the reader to consult them in connection with the development of the argument. Manuscript citations are given in the sigla listed below. The system of references and general presentation follows the recommendations outlined in the MHRA Style Book.

## GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

<u>A</u>	Antiphon
a.	<u>anno</u>
ca.	<u>circa</u>
col., cols	column, columns
ex.	<u>exeunte</u>
f.	folio
ff.	following pages
facs.	facsimile
fig.	figure
in.	<u>ineunte</u>
L	Latin (see Appendix A: Introduction)
l., ll.	line, lines
mid.	mid-century
Mo	<u>motetus</u>
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
MT	Musical Transcription (see Appendix D: Introduction)
n.	note
n.d.	no date
no.	number
P	Provençal (see Appendix A: Introduction)
p., pp.	page, pages
<u>R</u>	responsory
r	<u>recto</u>
ref.	reference
s.	<u>saeculo</u>
st., sts.	stanza, stanzas
STC	Short Title Catalogue
T	<u>tenor</u>
Tr	<u>triplum</u>
<u>V</u>	Verse (in a responsory)
v	<u>verso</u>
vol., vols	volume, volumes

Note A: references to musical notes are indicated as follows:



Note B: the following signs are employed:

- |     |                                |
|-----|--------------------------------|
| +   | died                           |
| (J) | an unheighted musical notation |
| J   | a heighted musical notation    |

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- AfMw: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft
- AH: Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, edited by G.M.Dreves and C.Blume  
55 vols (Leipzig, 1886-1922)
- AM: Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnis horis (Tournai, 1934)
- An.Mus.: Annales musicologiques
- Archiv: Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde
- BEC: Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes
- BJb: Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis
- C: U.Chevalier, Repertorium Hymnologicum, 6 vols (Louvain, 1892-1920)
- CB: Carmina Burana, edited by A.Hilka and O.Schumann, 2 vols (Heidelberg, 1930ff.)
- CC: Carmina Cantabrigiensia, edited by W.Bulst, Editiones Heidelbergenses, 17 (Heidelberg, 1950)
- CCM: Cahiers de civilisation médiévale
- EETS: Publications of the Early English Text Society:
- EHR: English Historical Review
- Hesb.: R.J.Hesbert, Corpus antiphonarium Officii, Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series major fontes, 7-12, 6 vols (Rome, 1963-79)
- Hist.litt.: Histoire littéraire de la France
- HVjs: Historische Vierteljahrschrift
- IMSCR: International Musicological Society Congress Reports
- JAMS: Journal of the American Musicological Society
- JEGP: Journal of English and Germanic Philology
- JPMMS: Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society
- LU: Liber usualis with Introduction and Rubrics in English (Tournai, 1950)
- MARS: Medieval and Renaissance Studies
- MD: Musica Disciplina
- Med.et Hum.: Mediaevalia et Humanistica
- Med.Stud.: Mediaeval Studies
- Mélanges d'Arch.: Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome



- MGG: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, edited by F.Blume, 14 vols  
(Kassel, 1949-).
- MGH AA: Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi
- MGH SS: Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores (in folio)
- Mlat.Jb.: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch
- MLN: Modern Language Notes
- MP: Modern Philology
- MQ: Musical Quarterly
- MT: Musical Times
- NA: Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde
- NG: The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, edited by S.Sadie,  
20 vols (London, 1980)
- NOHM: The New Oxford History of Music, edited by E.Wellesz, J.A.Westrup  
and G.Abraham (London, 1954ff.)
- PBB: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur
- PL: Patrologia Latina, edited by J.P.Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-66)
- Poetae: Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini Medii Aevi
- PRMA: Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association
- RB: Revue Bénédictine
- RdM: Revue de Musicologie
- RES: Review of English Studies
- RISM: Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (Munich-Duisburg)
- Rlr: Revue des langues romanes
- S: E.A.Schuler, Die Musik der Osterfeiern, Osterspiele und Passionen  
des Mittelalters (Kassel, 1951)
- SR: H.Spanke, G.Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes, neu  
bearbeitet und ergänzt (Leiden, 1955)
- Strecker, CC: K.Strecker, Carmina Cantabrigiensia (Berlin, 1926)
- Stud.Med.: Studi Medievali
- W: H.Walther, Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina I: Initia carminum  
ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum (Göttingen, 1959)
- Young: K.Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols (Oxford, 1933)
- ZfdA: Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum
- ZfFSL: Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur
- ZfrP: Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

Note: Additional abbreviations employed in Appendix A are provided  
before this appendix.

SIGLA USED FOR MANUSCRIPT CITATIONS

A: AUSTRIA

As Admont, Stiftsbibliothek  
Imf Innsbruck, Museum Ferdinandeum  
Isa \_\_\_\_\_, Statthaltereiarhiv  
Iu \_\_\_\_\_, Universitätsbibliothek  
KLA Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibliothek  
KN Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift  
SI Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek  
Ssp Salzburg, St.Peter Benediktiner-Erzabtei  
VO Vorau, Chorherrenstift  
Wn Vienna, "Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

B: BELGIUM

Br Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er / Koninklijke  
Bibliotheek Albert I  
LVu Louvain, Bibliothèque de l'Université  
M Mons, Bibliothèque publique de la Ville  
N Namur, Musée Archæologique

CH: SWITZERLAND

Bu Basle, "Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität  
BEsu Berne, Bürgerbibliothek  
E Einsiedeln, Benediktinerkloster  
EN Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek  
Lz Lucerne, Zentralbibliothek  
SGs St.Gall, Stiftsbibliothek  
Zz Zurich, Zentralbibliothek

CS: CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Pu Prague, Státní knihovna ČSSR, Universitní knihovna

D: GERMANY

- B Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (formerly Königliche Bibliothek; Preussische Staatsbibliothek; "Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek) (E.Berlin)
- Bkuf Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (W.Berlin)
- BAs Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek
- DO Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek
- DS Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek
- ER Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt
- F Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek
- FRIs Freiburg; Stadtarchiv
- Gs Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
- GI Giessen, Justus Liebig-Universitätsbibliothek
- GUB Guben, Kirchenarchiv
- Hls Hildesheim, Stadtarchiv
- HAu Halle an der Saale, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
- HEu Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek
- HVkb Hanover, Königliche Bibliothek / Stadtbibliothek
- Ju Jena, Universitätsbibliothek der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität
- Kl Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek
- KA Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek
- KIEu Kiel, Universitätsbibliothek
- Li Lichtenthal, Kloster
- Mbs Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
- Mu \_\_\_\_\_, Universitätsbibliothek
- "  
MUp Münster, Bischöfliches Priesterseminar
- "  
MUsa \_\_\_\_\_, Staatsarchiv
- MZs Mainz, Stadtbibliothek und Stadtarchiv
- Ngm Nuremberg, Germanisches National-Museum
- Sl Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek
- TRs Trier, Stadtbibliothek
- W Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek
- Wa \_\_\_\_\_, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv
- WRz Weimar, Zentralbibliothek
- "  
WUu Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek
- Z Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek

DK: DENMARK

Kk Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek  
Ku \_\_\_\_\_, Universitetsbiblioteket

E: SPAIN

Ag Ager, L'iglesia  
Bac Barcelona, Corona de Aragón  
Bc \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Central (formerly de Catalunya)  
Bic . \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans  
BUlh Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas  
E El Escorial, Real Monasterio de S.Lorenzo  
Mn Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional  
Mu \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca de la Universidad  
VI Vich, Museo Episcopal

EIRE: IRELAND

Dm Dublin, Marsh's Library  
Dtc \_\_\_\_\_, Trinity College

F: FRANCE

A Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale  
AIXm Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Municipale, Bibliothèque Méjanes  
AM Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale  
AS Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale  
B Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale  
CA Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale  
CCa Carcassonne, Archives départementales de l'Aude  
CF Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale  
CFp \_\_\_\_\_, Archives du Puy-de-Dôme  
CH Chantilly, Musée Condé  
CV Charleville, Bibliothèque Municipale  
DOU Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale  
EV Evreux, Bibliothèque Municipale  
G Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale  
LUNEL Lunel, Bibliothèque Municipale  
LA Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale  
LM Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale

LYm Lyons, Bibliothèque Municipale  
 MZ Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale  
 O Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale  
 Pa Paris, Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal  
 Pm \_\_\_\_\_, Bibliothèque Mazarine  
 Pn \_\_\_\_\_, Bibliothèque Nationale  
 Psg \_\_\_\_\_, Bibliothèque Ste. Genevieve  
 Rm Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale  
 RSm Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale  
 SOM St. Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale  
 SQ St. Quentin, Bibliothèque Municipale  
 T Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale  
 TO Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale  
 TLa Toulouse, Archives de l'Académie des Jeux floraux  
 VI Vitry-Le-François, Bibliothèque Municipale  
 VL Villefranche-de-Lauragais, Arch. dép. Haute-Garonne

GB: GREAT BRITAIN

Ccc Cambridge, Corpus Christi College  
 Cgc \_\_\_\_\_, Gonville and Caius College  
 Cjc \_\_\_\_\_, St. John's College  
 Ctc \_\_\_\_\_, Trinity College  
 Cu \_\_\_\_\_, University Library  
 En Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland  
 Gu Glasgow, University Library  
 Lbl London, British Library  
 Lpro \_\_\_\_\_, Public Record Office  
 LO Longleat, Library of the Marquis of Bath  
 NO Nottingham, University Library  
 Ob Oxford, Bodleian Library  
 Obal \_\_\_\_\_, Balliol College  
 Ouc \_\_\_\_\_, University College  
 SA St. Andrews, University Library  
 SHs Shrewsbury, School Library  
 WO Worcester, Cathedral Library

H: HUNGARY

Bn Budapest, Országos Széchény Könyvtára

ERE Erlau - Eger, Főegyházmegyei Könyvtára

I: Italy

Ac Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale  
AQ Aquileia, Archivio della Basilica  
ARsm Arezzo, Fraternita di S. Maria  
Bas Bologna, Archivio di Stato  
Bu \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Universitaria  
BGc Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai  
BV Benevento, Archivio Capitolare  
BOZ Bolzano-Bozen, Padri Minori Francescani / Franziskanerbibliothek  
Civ Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale  
CADm Cadore, Museo di Pieve  
CAPES Capestrano, Convento  
CEc Cesena, Biblioteca Comunale Malatestiana  
CT Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca  
Farch Florence, Archivio dei signori Compagni  
Fl \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana  
Fn \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale  
Fr \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana  
FEc Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea  
Gc Genoa, Biblioteca Civica Berio  
GUB Gubbio, Laudi dei Disciplinati  
IV Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare  
Lc Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana  
Ma Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana  
Mb \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense  
Mt \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Trivulziana  
MAC Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale  
MC Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia  
MOe Modena, Biblioteca Estense  
MZ Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare  
Nn Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III  
NOC Norcia, Biblioteca Comunale  
Pc Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare  
Pci \_\_\_\_\_, Museo Civico, Biblioteca Civica e Archivio Comunale  
PAas Parma, Archivio di Stato  
PAbp \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Palatina  
PAVu Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria

PCc Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi  
 PEc Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta  
 PESo Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana  
 PIa Pisa, Archivio di Stato  
 PLn Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale  
 PSbc Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare  
 PSg \_\_\_\_\_, Convento Giaccherino  
 Ra Rome, Biblioteca Angelica  
 Rc \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Casanatense  
 Rli \_\_\_\_\_, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana  
 Rn \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele III  
 Rvat \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana  
 Sc Siena, Biblioteca Comunale  
 SUL Sulmona, Archivio Capitolare di S.Panfilo  
 Tn Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria  
 TOD Todi, Biblioteca Comunale Lorenzo Feoni  
 TVco Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale  
 UDsm Udine, Confraternita di S.Maria dei Battuti  
 Vmc Venice, Museo Civica Correr  
 Vnm \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana  
 VEcapp Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare  
 VIP Vipiteno-Sterzing, Biblioteca Capitolare

LUX: LUXEMBURG

— Luxemburg, Bibliothèque Nationale

NL: THE NETHERLANDS

DHk The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek

P: PORTUGAL

La Lisbon, Palácio Nacional da Ajuda

PL: POLAND

Kj Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska  
 Kz \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteka Czartoryskich  
 Wn Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa

WRap Wroclaw, Archiwum Panstwowe

WRu \_\_\_\_\_, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka

S: SWEDEN

Sk Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket

US: UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

NYcu New York, Columbia University Library

NYpm \_\_\_\_\_, Pierpont Morgan Library

NYvg \_\_\_\_\_, Wildenstein Gallery

USSR: UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Lbp Leningrad, Biblioteka Publichnaja/ Gosudarstvennaya Ordena  
Trudovovo Krasnovo Znameni Publichnaya Biblioteka imeni  
M.E.Saltikova-Shchedrina



## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1. The Subject of Study

References to planctus almost exclusively occur in three main areas of research, namely, studies of medieval religious drama, histories of funeral verse and investigations into the development and interrelation of European poetic and musical forms. However, the specialist working in each of these different areas naturally emphasised the aspects of planctus which were of most importance to his particular investigations. He did not therefore aim at a comprehensive treatment of all extant planctus: the dramatic character of planctus Mariae was of special importance in the development of the now questioned thesis that the lament of the Virgin at the cross provided the germinal point of the Passion play;<sup>1</sup> in histories of funeral verse the planctus stands apart from the conventional epitaph and elegy because of its concentration on the expression of emotion;<sup>2</sup> Spanke's discovery<sup>3</sup> that one of Abelard's six planctus, each written in sequence form, has a metrical and musical structure similar to that of a French lai, emphasised formal considerations, and placed this planctus at the centre of the sequence-lai debate.<sup>4</sup> The result is that the planctus appears to have three different and unrelated histories.

These three areas of discussion have never been brought together before in one study. Even if considered in combination they fail to relate a coherent history of planctus. This is not only because of their differences of emphasis, and because planctus which are not relevant to the particular area of interest are necessarily excluded from consideration, but also because they are unable to present a consistently based definition of planctus: since previous scholars stressed dramatic, expressive or formal aspects of selected examples, it follows that their studies do not convey quite the same conception of planctus. There has yet to be a systematic attempt to investigate whether the planctus is a genre in the first place, and, if so, to ask what features properly characterise it and what constitutes stylistic development within it.

One aspect which has been particularly neglected is the surviving

musical settings. While attention has often been drawn to these and their musical form occasionally studied, many remain unpublished and few have been transcribed recently.<sup>5</sup> The musical form and, more importantly, the style of only a small number have therefore been investigated. Since, as Spanke's research<sup>6</sup> has amply demonstrated, there existed a unique degree of mutual dependency between poetic and musical form in medieval song, any study of the planctus, especially one investigating whether it constitutes a genre, would be seriously incomplete if it did not pay as much attention to the surviving music as to the literary texts. One could legitimately ask whether there is a musical genre of planctus, determined, for example, by the use of a particular musical mode, characteristic intervals or a special ornamental melodic line, or whether it is distinguished by a specific musical form. The possibility that there was some characteristic link between words and music has also to be investigated.

My interest in the planctus thus concerns the question of whether it has an underlying unity. The discovery of this would establish it as a distinct genre. Even if it is not found to possess a specific underlying unity a systematic study of the planctus will enable its different histories to be brought together for the first time and their relative significance to be assessed.

In this introduction an approach for a detailed investigation of the planctus will be outlined. I will begin with an account of previous research on the subject where I will argue that in the past important aspects have been overlooked primarily because of a lack of precise definition of terms. In the light of this discussion I will then consider the problem of devising a working definition of planctus for the purposes of investigating its literary and musical characteristics. This will precede a discussion of the method of study, a summary of the general argument advanced by this thesis and an outline of the types of analysis presented in the following chapters.

## 2. Previous Research on the Planctus

The presence of a corpus of scholarship on the planctus indicates that some conception of planctus must have guided the selection of examples. Thus by surveying previous studies it will be possible to uncover the definitions which previous scholars presupposed. At the same time I will discuss the achievements and limitations of these studies.

(a) The planctus and religious drama

The earliest scholars of the planctus were primarily concerned with its relationship to the Passion play and in finding the literary Urtypus of the vernacular planctus Mariae. Only relatively recently has the surviving music been brought into the discussion and consideration been given to planctus from non-Easter drama, including plays of the Holy Innocents and of St. Nicholas.

Schönbach<sup>7</sup> addressed himself to the problem of finding an Urtypus for the literary texts of German Marienklagen (written from s.xiii-s.xvi). His method was to reduce all laments in German to a series of basic themes. These he found were almost all present in 'Planctus ante nescia' (s.xii<sup>2</sup>) which he therefore concluded was the Urtypus. This deduction, he argued, was given support by the existence of a late twelfth-century translation of 'Planctus ante nescia' into German. He then postulated the origins of the German Passion play as follows:

1. The Latin text of 'Planctus ante nescia' was expanded from a monologue to a dialogue.
2. German texts were then added.
3. As more German material was added the Latin content was reduced.
4. Finally a Passion play, by now mainly written in German, was transmitted from the Rhein area in two directions: to Switzerland, S.Germany and Hungary; and to Central and N.Germany.

His work was important not only because he provided editions of texts (some of which have not yet been superseded), but also on account of the influence of both his descriptive method of analysis and his theory of the origins of the Passion play. However, a comparison of the date of composition of each Marienklage, which he did not take into account, should have indicated to him that a method of theme analysis which ignores chronology must necessarily produce inaccurate results. An examination of the manuscript context of each Marienklage would have drawn attention to the fact that some examples belong to Passion plays while others exist as independent compositions, and thus that his theory of the origins of the Passion play amounted to a simplification. Had he considered the musical settings more detailed information concerning the nature of the relationship between particular Marienklagen might have been forthcoming. While therefore Schönbach's definition of planctus based on themes was consistently applied it was misinformed in the first place, since important considerations about chronology and social context were not taken into account.

The limitations of Schönbach's theory were detailed by Brooks<sup>8</sup> in his study of the crucifixion scenes in the Frankfurt group of Passion

plays. By showing that one of these examples (not discovered until after Schönbach's book was published) contains none of Schönbach's themes and that other thematic parallels which he drew were in fact tenuous or non-existent, and by distinguishing between Marienklagen from Passion plays and those which exist as independent compositions, Brooks refuted Schönbach's theory and suggested that considerations of provenance, dating and manuscript context must also be taken into account.

Owing to the lack of published editions Schönbach did not include any other vernacular planctus in his study. The planctus in romance languages was however taken up by Otto, Wechssler, Linder, Salvioni, Langfors and Tanqueray, and the planctus in English by Fröhlich, Thien and Taylor. In these works the most important issue continued to be the discovery of an Urtypus of the vernacular planctus Mariae and the origins of the Passion play. However, the solution to this problem was gradually found to be more complicated than had been suggested by Schönbach. Other possible sources were investigated, including the Greek apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the tractatus de planctu beatae Mariae virginis (then wrongly attributed to St. Bernard), the Latin sequence 'Meste parentis' (C 11671) and, in the case of planctus Mariae in English, the Cursor Mundi.

Otto<sup>9</sup> proposed the Catalan planctus Mariae 'Auyats, seyos' a dialogue between the Virgin and Christ on the cross, as the Urtypus of the European planctus Mariae and argued that it was the planctus referred to in an extract (first published by Du Cange<sup>10</sup>) from a lost thirteenth-century Toulouse service book. The extract describes the performance of an unspecified planctus Mariae by two boys on Maundy Thursday after Matins during the office of Tenebrae. Du Cange identified it as 'Stabat mater dolorosa' (C 19416) but did not provide any explanation for his choice. Although it was considered to be the oldest planctus Mariae Otto argued that it could not have been the planctus sung at Toulouse since, as it contains no dialogue, two singers would hardly have been needed to perform it, and because it is not a lament of the Virgin in the first place, but rather a pious hymn addressed to her. 'Auyats, seyos', on the other hand, contains dialogue and could, in his opinion be dated to the twelfth century (the earliest manuscript is dated s.xiii). It was therefore old enough to be included in a thirteenth century service book. While in principle his disagreement with Du Cange has been supported by later scholars including Young,<sup>11</sup> neither his suggestion that 'Auyats, seyos' was the planctus Mariae sung at Toulouse, nor his proposal of it as the Urtypus of the European planctus

Mariae has been accepted.

Otto's theory might never have been advanced had he been aware of the range and diversity of planctus Mariae in romance languages, as Wechssler<sup>12</sup> soon discovered. He also hoped to trace the Urtypus of the romance planctus Mariae following the model of Schönbach and Otto. In a bibliography which remains useful he listed and dated, on the basis of available evidence, all planctus Mariae known to him in Latin, Italian, Rhetoromance, French, Provençal, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese. This permitted him to identify the oldest planctus Mariae in French, Provençal and Latin. However, he found that no single Urtypus could be traced since, in comparison to the German Marienklagen described by Schönbach, there was considerable variety in the treatment of romance planctus Mariae. He also observed that, in contrast to the German Passion play and Marienklage, vernacular religious drama and planctus Mariae in Italian grew out of the vernacular lauda<sup>13</sup> and not from a Latin model. Nevertheless he concluded in line with Schönbach that the planctus Mariae must have been the germinal point of the Passion play, not however because his investigations revealed a gradual development from lyric monologue to complete Passion play, but because the planctus Mariae was simply the only dramatisation of the Passion available in the Middle Ages. However, had his definition of planctus Mariae taken account of its various social environments, few of which permit one to assume that it had a dramatic context, he might have realised that the planctus Mariae was not in fact such an obvious source of the romance Passion play. Moreover, although he explained in his introduction that his definition of a planctus Mariae was the lament of the Virgin at the cross, including examples from Passion plays, his method of selecting them was not always consistent. He included several items in verse or in prose which, while often containing short passages of the Virgin's lament, are primarily narrative in character. His understanding of a planctus thus turns out to be less precise than he initially suggested and might more properly be described as reflecting an awareness of the growing medieval interest in the theme of the Virgin's lament at the cross, evidenced by lyric, dramatic and narrative devotional poetry and prose on the Passion.

The work of Linder,<sup>14</sup> Salvioni,<sup>15</sup> Langfors<sup>16</sup> and Tanqueray<sup>17</sup> supplements that of Wechssler by adding to his lists of planctus Mariae in Italian and French and, in the case of Linder and Tanqueray, by exploring other possible sources which were not considered by Wechssler. Linder believed that the Latin sequences 'Meste parentis' and 'Planctus ante nescia' were the chief sources of the European planctus Mariae and

argued that they must have derived their thematic material from the Greek Gospel of Nicodemus. He posited the tractatus de planctu . . ., which he described as a sermon, as the link between Greek and Latin traditions. Tanqueray, while accepting the importance of the tractatus as the source of the French lament with which he was concerned, took issue with Linder on two points. He believed that a Greek origin for the tractatus was highly unlikely since, although there are some thematic parallels, there are no clearcut instances of borrowing. If a Greek author could write a planctus Mariae without a literary model, he claimed, so too could a pious European. The planctus Mariae should thus be seen as a natural product of the developing cult of the Virgin. He also considered that the tractatus was not a sermon but a type of commentary on the Easter liturgy inspired by such sequences as 'Meste parentis' and 'Planctus ante nescia'. He thus reversed the priority of sequences and tractatus. His work bears witness to a declining interest in the planctus Mariae as the source of the Passion play. Schönbach's simple Urtypus method had to be abandoned in favour of detailed study of the sources of individual planctus Mariae. The most obvious source, medieval devotional literature, proved to be considerably more diverse and voluminous than the earliest scholars had suspected. Moreover, its precise social purposes and exact spheres of influence remained unresearched. The quest for sources thus became a difficult and uncertain procedure and assumed greater importance than the relationship between planctus Mariae and the Passion Play.

Ermini's study<sup>18</sup> of poems on the 'Stabat mater dolorosa' theme should be mentioned here since, although he does not address himself explicitly to the relationship between planctus Mariae and religious drama, his study provides further evidence of the relationship between planctus and devotional poetry of the Passion. His inventory of Latin poems on the 'Stabat mater dolorosa' theme, known at the time, contains planctus Mariae such as 'Meste parentis', 'Planctus ante nescia', 'Flete fideles anime', and 'O fratres et sorores' (the Cividale planctus Mariae) as well as narrative poems, some of which include short first person laments of the Virgin. He argues that the sequence 'Stabat mater dolorosa', attributed to Jacopone da Todi, was closely related to the Italian lauda. Although he discusses the possible connections between this sequence and Greek planctus Mariae and attempts to identify the 'Stabat mater dolorosa' theme with the laments of women in Greek tragedy and epic and in Virgil's Aeneid, he is unable to produce clear evidence of the relationship between Classical (or medieval Greek) and Italian

traditions beyond thematic similarities.

Investigating the planctus Mariae in English Fröhlich<sup>19</sup> and Thien<sup>20</sup> each listed all known examples and concentrated on documenting their sources. Thien noted that the Cursor Mundi, which he found was based on the tractatus de planctu ..., was particularly influential. As however is perhaps inevitable in detailed studies such as these, each writer is more concerned with tracing source material (and the derivation of this) than in providing a full account of the history of the planctus Mariae in English.

With much of the groundwork already prepared Taylor<sup>21</sup> addressed himself to the question of the interrelation of non-dramatic English planctus Mariae (including both the first person lament of the Virgin from narratives on the Passion and lyric planctus Mariae) and their relationship to English Passion plays. He found however that there was no clear interconnection between individual non-dramatic planctus Mariae, although there are thematic similarities, and that the only plays which unequivocally borrowed from non-dramatic examples were the 'N-Town' Easter plays and the 'Digby' Burial play. More important in the development of the York and Chester Passion plays he considered were prose narratives of the Passion in Latin, French or English, such as the Latin Meditationes Vitae Christi, which includes laments of the Virgin and also provides a ready made account of the Passion which could then be dramatised. He therefore concluded in contrast to Schönbach that it was very unlikely that the English planctus Mariae formed the kernel around which other elements accrued to create the English Passion play. Taylor's study is important because in effect he sees the Virgin's monologue of lament in the Passion play not as its germinal point but either as an insertion into an existing dramatic framework, ultimately informed by narrative literature of the Passion, or as a dramatisation of narrative material. It is also significant because it indicates that Passion plays may not necessarily have developed uniformly throughout Europe.

Young's contribution<sup>22</sup> to scholarship on the planctus occupies only a chapter of his large and influential study of the liturgical origins of religious drama. His preference for a descriptive rather than historical treatment of surviving material and his professed lack of interest in the Urformen of liturgical drama account for his emphasis on 'the manner and circumstances of [the] delivery' (p.503) of Latin planctus Mariae rather than on tracing their precise origins. He did however comment on the unlikelihood of a Greek source and on the probability that the planctus Mariae was merely one manifestation of the 'abundant

cult of the Blessed Virgin' (p.495). After listing representative examples of Latin poems on the Passion containing laments of the Virgin, or dialogue between the Virgin and Christ, the cross, John or bystanders he discusses three examples which belong either to Passion plays or to liturgical ceremonies: 'Planctus ante nescia', 'Flete fideles anime', and 'Qui per viam pergitis'. Stanzas from each of these are included in the Cividale planctus Mariae, while 'Planctus ante nescia' is used in two Regensburg planctus Mariae, in the short Benediktbeuern Passion play and, along with stanzas from 'Flete fideles anime', in the large Benediktbeuern play. One of his most important observations was that Latin planctus Mariae were 'sometimes found attached to parts of the authorised liturgy' (p.493). However the significance of this is perhaps limited since he is only able to cite three examples which are explicitly attached to the liturgy: the planctus Mariae performed at Toulouse (mentioned above) which was sung at Tenebrae and one from each of Regensburg and Friuli which were sung during the Adoratio Crucis. While he concluded that 'the composing of the planctus Mariae was the first step taken towards the dramatizing of the Passion' (p.538) he did not however regard it as the germ of the Passion play, since the three extant Latin Passion plays known to him are:

self-contained compositions based upon the Biblical narrative; and in the midst of these the traditional lament occupies an important, but hardly a commanding position. (p.538)

Young's judicious treatment of the planctus Mariae is unforced, but necessarily inconclusive both because his interest in it is incidental and because his descriptive method precludes detailed historical investigation. He thus raises issues which require further research. His definition of planctus Mariae is incomplete since although he discusses the social environment of examples attached to liturgical ceremonies he does not consider the social context of his other examples: details of this might be uncovered in a study of the type of manuscript in which they survive. The small number of extant examples of Latin planctus Mariae casts doubt on his assumption that it is a 'traditional lament': a study of the planctus composed for a deceased historical personage might provide evidence of such a tradition, but this line of enquiry was not mentioned. The significance of there being only three examples explicitly attached to the liturgy may only become clear in a comparative study of Latin and vernacular planctus Mariae; the precise meaning of 'attached to' might then also become more obvious. The development of the so-called cult of the Virgin and the place of the planctus Mariae in this is a further subject in need of investigation. Finally, although



Young usefully indicated which manuscripts contain musical settings he left this important source of evidence to be explored by subsequent scholars.

The studies which I have discussed so far concentrated on the planctus Mariae as the germ of the Passion play. Little interest had been shown in the relationship of the planctus Mariae to the liturgy, in seeing it as a composition independent of the Passion play, or in considering it as a member of the larger generic group of planctus, including planctus at the death of historical personages. Furthermore, although editions of a number of Latin and German planctus Mariae, or plays including planctus Mariae,<sup>23</sup> had already been published the musical settings had not been brought into the main discussion. Each of these issues was taken up by Lipphardt.

In the first of four articles on the Marienklage Lipphardt<sup>24</sup> concerned himself with the question of why the Marienklage as an independent composition arose in the first place, by examining its relationship both to the liturgy and to the depositio, elevatio and visitatio ceremonies. He defined it as a special type of Passion play which was normally performed at Vespers on Good Friday in German churches. Although it includes items derived from the liturgy of Holy Week, especially of Good Friday, in the original Latin or in German translation, and was certainly attached to the liturgy in some places, it was not, however, liturgical and might better be described as a type of dramatic preaching. It is otherwise informed by Biblical accounts of the crucifixion and thus differs from the depositio, elevatio and visitatio ceremonies which are almost entirely based on the liturgy. It did not therefore originate as a liturgical text. It was certainly closely related to these ceremonies since:

1. Most Marienklagen belong to manuscripts which also contain a visitatio ceremony, or were sung in churches in which Easter plays were also performed.
2. The Marienklage preceded or followed the depositio.
3. The rubrics prima, secunda and tertia Maria (or persona) are used for each type.
4. Rubrics and lines from the Bordesholm and Sterzing Marienklagen refer back to the earlier performance of the visitatio.
5. Laments are also included in visitatio and depositio ceremonies of Good Friday; these laments were sung by the three Marys.

However, the Virgin was not the central lamenting figure in these ceremonies. Thus they did not provide inspiration for the Marienklage. In conclusion Lipphardt proposed that its origins must lie in the removal of the planctus Mariae from Maundy Thursday (the occasion on which it was performed at Toulouse) to Good Friday: this change to the saddest

day of the liturgical year, he asserted, demanded drama. His solution clearly begs several questions. The Toulouse planctus Mariae is the only extant example of a planctus performed in connection with the liturgy of Maundy Thursday and is thus of limited significance. Its relevance to German traditions also needs some explanation. In addition the precise relationship between Latin planctus Mariae and Marienklagen requires clarification. Thus the question of the origins of the Marienklage remains undecided.

In a second article Lipphardt<sup>25</sup> then advanced the idea that the Marienklage was strongly influenced by the secular Totenklage. After providing an invaluable list of Marienklagen and Passion plays containing Marienklagen known to him and commenting on the similarity of their musical content (though he did not go into this in any detail here), he then traced the development of the Totenklage up to the twelfth century. In spite of the fact that laments for the dead (described by Burchard of Worms (+ 1024) as carmina diabolica) were forbidden by the church and condemned by ecclesiastics such as Adam of Bremen (in ca.1073) they continued to be composed and were included in vernacular epics, for example, Konrad's Rolandslied of ca.1170, and in the twelfth-century German courtly romance. On the basis of a comparison of the literary themes and gestures of these laments with those of Marienklagen Lipphardt concluded that, although the Marienklage is more reliant on liturgical material for its substance, its themes and gestures are closely linked with those of secular laments. The gestures in particular, also found in contemporary church art and sculpture, he suggested, indicate the emergence of a more subjective attitude to the crucifixion and provided a vehicle for greater expressiveness so that, as he puts it, the onlooker might be moved. This article represents the first attempt to see the planctus Mariae as part of a larger generic group of planctus. While Lipphardt's comparison of themes and gestures of Marienklagen and Totenklagen does not prove that the former were derived from the latter it strongly suggests that the two were related. A parallel study of Latin planctus, many of which predate these German examples, might strengthen his case.

In a further article Lipphardt<sup>26</sup> notes the epic style of 'O ihr lieben kint' and 'Durch Gott', songs from the Trier and Munich Marienklagen, respectively. The short phrases of these melodies are similar to the Satzmelodien of epic songs, such as the Nibelungenlied. The presence of an epic melody in the Munich Marienklage he considers to be particularly significant since, in his opinion, the music of this Marienklage is otherwise almost entirely derived from a French version of 'Planctus

ante nescia', the manuscript source of which he does not however specify. The Munich Marienklage begins with the text of the first double versicle of 'Planctus ante nescia', continues in German and subsequently includes a versicle from 'Flete fideles anime'. The opening melodies of both are closely related although in the French version the final is G and the mode mixolydian, thus including the tritone F-b, while in the German version the final is F, the presence of a b flat eliminating the tritone. Thus, Lipphardt contends, a primitive French melody was civilised by the removal of the tritone. The exact relationship between the other melodies of both versions is not discussed in detail and is not immediately apparent. Moreover Lipphardt does not specify clearly how the musical form of the Munich Marienklage relates to its text; it is not therefore possible to assess the accuracy of his comparison between the two settings. The French version adheres to the double versicle pattern of the sequence and includes a brief double cursus, which he believes is intended to represent the shape of a cross. Although the German version does not retain the formal regularity of the French version it follows its general pattern of successively differing melodies. Thus the German version is a reworking of the French melody and is intended as a self-contained composition rather than as part of a scene from a Passion play. Moreover the inclusion of a melody in epic style ('Durch Gott') represents a marked melodic contrast. Lipphardt argues that as a type of folk melody it conveys the devotional message of this scene to the people in their own terms and represents a more subjective type of piety. Lipphardt's description of the Munich Marienklage as a composition independent of the Passion play on the basis of musical evidence marks an important development in scholarship on the planctus Mariae. However in the absence of a detailed knowledge of contemporary musical style the accuracy or even the truth of his assertions about the tritone, the style of a series of melodies connected in some way to a French sequence and the significance of a so-called epic melody cannot be evaluated. There is undoubtedly a connection between the two planctus, but Lipphardt seems more interested in his theory about the rôle of an epic melody than in analysing the music of each song fully. The three other melodies which are not derived from the French version are either dismissed as 'unimportant' (unwichtig) or excluded from the discussion without further explanation: the style of these melodies might not necessarily support his argument about aesthetic unity. Whichever French manuscript source he is discussing must date from the thirteenth century at the latest (unless it is now lost), while the German version is from the early fifteenth

century. The absence of a b flat in melodies with a G final is quite characteristic of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century French lai, a style which seems to have been simplified by the fifteenth century.<sup>27</sup> The issue is not therefore simply one of transporting a melody over a wide geographical area, but also across up to two centuries. Lipphardt provides no indications of how the melody was transmitted. Thus the deliberateness and significance of the melodic changes cannot be estimated. The melismatic nature of the conclusion of many phrases might be, as he suggests, Mary's silent tears, but they might easily be a stylistic feature of the period of the Munich Marienklage's composition and have no expressive function. A detailed analysis of both 'Planctus ante nescia' (and its various settings) and the Munich Marienklage in relation to contemporary musical styles is therefore required.

Lipphardt's final article<sup>28</sup> on planctus melodies examines the role of Mary Magdalene in Easter plays. He argues that the melodies which she sings: 'Heu nobis', 'Heu redemptio', 'Cum venissem', 'Omnipotens' and 'Heu pius' are typified by the dorian mode, the interval of a descending fifth and an opening melisma, features which he claims belong to the tradition of the Totenklage. He is thus effectively arguing that these features belong to a musical genre of planctus. However, the evidence often seems forced and is occasionally inaccurately reported. In his discussion of several of the extant settings of 'Sed eamus' (the third stanza of 'Heu nobis') he offers a diverse range of argumentation to establish that, despite considerable variation in the intervals used, the descending fifth is a constant feature of each setting. His transcription of unheighted neumes turns out to be inaccurate and is unable therefore to support his contention that the opening phrases of the earliest examples are the most melismatic. Moreover, he does not explain how he knows the distinguishing characteristics of the Totenklage melody. Since there are no epic or romance Totenklage melodies extant and only one German lyric Totenklage melody it is evident that such information is not available. Finally his argument about the origins and transmission of 'Heu redemptio' seems strangely forced. He proposes Germany as its place of origin, the earliest manuscript sources from this area dating from the thirteenth century. However the earliest extant manuscript which is from Sicily is dated s.xii (ca.1130-38). Clearly precise dating of a composition such as this is impossible without external documentary evidence, since it may have been performed for some time before it was written down. However, to claim that it is 'unthinkable' (undenkbar) to consider Sicily as its place of origin and to leave it at

that is hardly illuminating when the surviving evidence points unequivocally the other way. Lipphardt's discussions of music in this article reflect the difficulty of interpreting musical style in the absence of points of comparison with, for example, the melodies of liturgical drama or contemporary secular music, and when little is known about the way in which particular types of melody were composed and transmitted. Each melody which he discusses requires more detailed examination: in particular its context within each of the plays to which it belongs and its style in relation to other items of the play need to be clear before claims about musical genre can be made.

The discovery of the Monte Cassino Passion play, first published in 1935,<sup>29</sup> cast further doubt on the theory that the Passion play originated in the planctus Mariae. Since it is a fully developed Passion play and dates from the twelfth century, thus antedating all other extant Latin Passion plays and planctus Mariae, yet contains only a short, concluding vernacular lament of the Virgin, it seemed clear that the planctus Mariae was not its germinal point.

Although the question of the relationship between planctus Mariae and Passion play has since been raised again by Sticca<sup>30</sup> subsequent contributions to the planctus and religious drama have tended to arise in the course of some other investigation. Consequently later scholarship on this subject does not follow a particular line of argument. Nevertheless planctus from non-Easter plays and their music are at last brought into discussion.

Abert,<sup>31</sup> whose main interest was in the melodies of the Minnesinger, demonstrated that the Bordesholm Marienklage (ca.1475) contains two contrafacta, one of Graf Peter von Arberg's Grosse Tagweise and one of Walther von der Vogelweide's Kreuzfahrerweise. She argues that the evident differences between the prosody and melody of von Arberg's song and those of the Marienklage 'Maria moder reyne schryn' (S 335) reflect the Marienklage composer's aim of making the lament more emotional and excited, since the text of 'Maria moder reyne schryn' is composed in shorter phrases and the melody is correspondingly abridged in parts to give an agitated effect. Echoing Lipphardt's views she suggests the significance of this is that, in contrast to the more objective and distanced mode of liturgical plays, a more subjectively expressed piety is inherent in the Marienklage: the listener was brought closer to the events of the crucifixion through the use of well-known melodies. Her discovery of these two contrafacta gives this idea some credibility since, unlike Lipphardt, she is able to identify the probable source of two Marienklage

melodies. These early thirteenth-century melodies are evidently not liturgical. Their inclusion in a fifteenth-century Marienklage strongly suggests that they had achieved the status of popular tunes. However, she assumes perhaps too readily that the melody of 'Maria moder reyne schryn' is intended to be expressive when technically the music of von Arberg's song, composed to fit three poetic lines, has to be broken up to accommodate a four-line stanza. The result is that the musical phrases are inevitably shorter. More evidence of music used expressively in Marienklagen is thus required if this conclusion is to be accepted.

Concerned primarily with the origins of the Minnesang, Geering<sup>32</sup> argues that the concluding melody of the early fifteenth-century Trier Marienklage 'Nu hebet sich gross weynen' may date back to the era of epic songs. More tentatively he suggests that it may have been derived from the melody of a posited sung version of the Nibelungenlied, which however survives without music as a literary epic. Normally it has been assumed that the literary Nibelungenlied stanza (4 x 2 half-lines) was derived from a strophic form popular with Minnesinger. Heusler<sup>33</sup> however suggested that it was originally a sung epic. As in other early German epics the stanza form would have been 2 x 2 half-lines. The Trier Marienklage 'Nu hebet sich gross weynen' has the same poetic form as the literary Nibelungenlied stanza. Its melody is however closely related to that of an epic stanza since it corresponds to the first two pairs of half-lines of the lament and is then repeated for the last two. Geering thus sees it as evidence that the traditional two-line epic melody could be repeated to accommodate a four-line stanza and therefore that the literary Nibelungenlied might once have been sung to an epic melody, possibly this very one! To fit it to the Nibelungenlied stanza a singer would only have to do what is well-known in German Minnesang composition, that is, fill out the line with extra notes or extended cadential figures. The implications of this are thus that the Nibelungenlied was originally sung, that Minnesinger derived their pseudo-epic stanzas from the Nibelungenlied (and not vice versa) and that rather than imitating liturgical recitation melodies they were influenced by epic melodies. The very complexity of this argument and its restricted range of evidence in proportion to the claims which are made rather casts doubt on the validity of its conclusions. It is quite possible that with investigation of the musical style of Minnesang and Marienklagen further evidence of the survival of epic melodies will be adduced. However Geering offers no concrete proposals of how this might be accomplished.

Seewald's investigation<sup>34</sup> of Syriac, Greek, Latin, German, Norse and English planctus Mariae and related poetry and prose of the Passion (which are listed in a useful though unsystematic bibliography) complements Wechssler's study of romance texts by bringing together material in Byzantine and Germanic languages. His approach, though mainly descriptive, enables him to retrace the steps of previous scholars and to detail some of their only half-documented discoveries. For example, he places the texts of 'Planctus ante nescia' and its German translation 'Horet mine clage' side by side and thus clarifies their relationship (first noted by Schönbach). He also investigates the relationship between Byzantine planctus Mariae and Latin examples, including 'Planctus ante nescia' and prose meditations on the Passion which contain laments of the Virgin. He concludes however that there is no substantial proof of Byzantine influence and that until the relationship between Byzantine and western medieval literature has been studied in detail the question cannot be answered satisfactorily. His most significant contribution was to link the planctus Mariae to a tradition of meditations on the Passion. He attributed its origins and development to an increasing interest in the sufferings of Christ on the cross which existed at least as early as the eleventh century. No amount of available source material or literary models would have been able to initiate the composition of a planctus Mariae, he argued, were there not already a sympathetic attitude towards the compassio Mariae and a recognition that by meditation on this scene Christ's sufferings could be more deeply understood. He is however obliged to suspend judgment on the precise implications of this on account of the absence of a detailed study of eleventh- and twelfth-century devotional literature. Nevertheless, his emphasis on this tradition of meditation on the Passion suggests a relatively specific area for further investigation of the relationship between planctus Mariae and devotional literature.

Introducing for the first time planctus from non-Easter plays Wagenaar-Nolthenius<sup>35</sup> argues that the Jew's lament 'Vae perii' (Young, II, p.346) from the Fleury Iconia Sancti Nicolai may be based on the Alenu, a strophic song about thirty-four Jewish martyrs who were burnt in Blois in 1171. 'Vae perii', which has a G final, is written in sequence form and is thus not a contrafactum of the Alenu. However, according to Wagenaar-Nolthenius, the music of 'Vae perii' recalls some of the Alenu melodies and also includes the opening and concluding formulae of the la-modus of Jewish cantillation. The influence of Jewish chant on Gregorian chant has long been an uncertain area

and is thus more problematic when related to the equally uncertain subject of medieval non-liturgical music. Although the Alenu may have been composed before 'Vae perii' and seems to have originated in the same locality its earliest surviving musical setting dates from the sixteenth century and is thus not an accurate record of a twelfth-century melody. Wagenaar-Nolthenius's argument is therefore extremely tenuous. A study of the music of 'Vae perii' in relation to sequences and lais with a G final might have been a more useful approach.

In a further article<sup>36</sup> she discusses the question of aesthetic unity in a number of non-Easter plays including Filius Getronis in which particular melodies are used to distinguish individuals or groups of individuals. Interestingly in Filius Getronis, Euphrosina's son takes over his mother's melody when expressing his desire for death and his misery at being in captivity. Here he echoes the words of lament which she sang earlier when she thought he was dead. This article usefully illustrates the need to consider planctus from religious drama in relation to the overall design of the plays to which they belong. However, Wagenaar-Nolthenius does not perhaps make it clear that each of the plays which she discusses is written entirely in verse, in contrast to many of the Easter liturgical plays which are often made up of prose texts, some liturgical, and thus that the use of melody to identify particular individuals may not be typical of all liturgical dramas. Therefore, the treatment of the planctus in Filius Getronis assumes greater significance than it should. Furthermore her concept of aesthetic unity is based on an analysis of the formal plan of the melodies and their allocation to particular individuals: the style of the music and how this might affect aesthetic unity is not taken into account.

Dealing very briefly with the planctus in her study of the liturgical depositio, Corbin<sup>37</sup> argues that the planctus Mariae most likely originated through the influence of the eastern Apocryphas. Typified by a warmth of religious feeling, touching material details and rhetorical eloquence they were introduced to the west around the eleventh century. Since there has been no recent study of the relationship between the Apocryphas and the planctus Mariae she is unable to develop this line of argument in detail. However, she suggests in conclusion that although various other traditions may have influenced planctus Mariae composed in other parts of Europe, in Italy the vernacular lauda acted as an intermediary between eastern and western traditions. Reflecting the style of the Apocryphas, it expressed a characteristically affective type of religious devotion which was addressed to Christ or to the



Virgin. It often took the form of a planctus or included laments of the Virgin in an otherwise narrative framework and was written in the language of the people. Under the influence of the lauda the Latin planctus Mariae emerged and gradually found its way into religious ceremonies which were not, however, liturgical. Although this may appear to be over-speculative it takes due account of the fact that the lauda (including some planctus Mariae) survives from the twelfth century, whereas Latin planctus Mariae from Italy date from the fourteenth century. Thus a study of the relationship between the Apocryphas and the planctus Mariae and an investigation of the Italian lauda might provide evidence to support Corbin's hypothesis.<sup>38</sup>

The relationship between planctus Mariae and Passion play was taken up again by Sticca<sup>39</sup> in his study of the Latin Passion play. He contended that the planctus Mariae could not have been the germinal point of the Passion play because the twelfth-century Monte Cassino Passion play contains only a short planctus Mariae which could hardly have been the creative impulse of the play, because it predates extant planctus Mariae, and because it would be dramatic even without a planctus Mariae. Aware perhaps of the tacit acceptance of this argument he also advanced the theory that the Passion play originated in a non-Marian 'Christo-centric' devotional urge in the twelfth-century.<sup>40</sup> In contrast the genesis of the planctus Mariae can be attributed to the twelfth-century cult of the Virgin. However, this twist in the argument is not based on reliable evidence. There has been no thorough, recent investigation of twelfth-century devotional practices and he was therefore obliged to invoke a wide range of secondary literature, including the early work of Wechsler and de Gourment.<sup>41</sup> More seriously he completely ignores the musical settings of planctus Mariae and Passion plays and the potential of musical style to provide sound facts about the relationship between the two.

Interested primarily in the question of aesthetic unity in religious drama, which she describes as essentially 'impersonal, stylised and narrational rather than truly dramatic', Brandel<sup>42</sup> argues that dramatic unity, naturalistic portrayal and the immediate and personal were not the aims of this type of drama. Although it was composed by the piecing together of texts and music, often from liturgical sources, this process was paradoxically the basis of its aesthetic unity since the music is made up of a 'formula-like patterning' of melodic motifs. As an example of this she cites the Cividale planctus Mariae which is made up of a small number of recurring melodies. These she suggests form a type of

'microhomogeneity'. In contrast the spice merchant scene of the Tours Resurrection play derives its aesthetic unity from the arrangement of similar melodies in the form of the ballade. She believes that both these examples are based on a series of melodic archetypes epitomised by the first and sixth Gregorian psalm-tones and the tonus peregrinus. She perhaps wisely concludes that:

further information is required on the secular music of the very early Middle Ages, to evaluate more precisely the relationship of this music to the liturgical psalm-tones.

Included in Steven's discussion<sup>43</sup> of the function of music in some medieval plays is the lament of Rachel from the Fleury Massacre of the Holy Innocents. He argues that the style of the music in this play 'exercises a strong unifying and stabilizing effect'. Despite the presence of non-liturgical melodies in Rachel's laments (for example, the four-note refrain which takes up the last four notes of each line of 'Heu teneri') these elements blend with the liturgical melodies and thus do not unbalance the overall musical order. The liturgical associations of the chant melodies and texts also increase the 'symbolic force of the story'. Ultimately the restraint of the liturgical melodies prevents the listener from becoming 'too involved in humanity, in personality' while it also raises one 'above the misery and the flux of this mutable world'. The function of music in this play is thus not to express personal emotion but is in effect 'iconographical' since the participants of the drama are identified as individuals through selected details which then 'relate them to the universal scheme of things'.

In a recent article Taubert<sup>44</sup> shows not only that thematic material from 'Planctus ante nescia' is included in a substantial number of Marienklagen (as Schönbach originally pointed out), but also that three stanzas from each of the twelve earliest Marienklagen share the poetic form of its first three versicles (1a, 1b and 2a). She claims that the music of these versicles is also borrowed although this assertion is based on a comparison of 'Planctus ante nescia' with only one Marienklage (the Munich Marienklage) and thus the melodies of the same stanzas in other Marienklagen still need to be examined. She concluded that considerably more Marienklagen may have originated from 'Planctus ante nescia' than was previously thought and that it was adapted and expanded (through the addition of both spoken and sung stanzas) in different ways according to the place of composition. She also offers a convincing clarification of the meaning of Young's description of some planctus Mariae which are 'attached to the official liturgy'. In two of the three examples cited by Young which are connected to a liturgical

ceremony and in a further two examples of German provenance which have since been discovered<sup>45</sup> the rubrics describing the performance of a planctus Mariae include the phrase si placet. The significance of this she suggests is that in these religious centres the planctus Mariae was a special type of ornamentation of the Adoratio Crucis, not an essential element.

In his discussion of the Tours lament of Mary Magdalene 'Heu me misera' and its relationship to the sequence 'O quam magno' (C 13526) Hughes<sup>46</sup> challenges Smoldon's assertion<sup>47</sup> that the latter is 'a well-known medieval prose' by pointing out that it has only two surviving manuscript sources. He then reveals that Smoldon failed to appreciate the extent to which the Tours composer relied on its music in the melodies of 'Heu me misera'. Two lines joyfully celebrating the Resurrection, derived from 'O quam magno', occur in the middle of Mary Magdalene's lament. Hughes demonstrates not only that these lines are set to its opening melody, transposed however a fifth lower, but also that this provides the melodic material for almost every line of lament and that it is broken up into smaller melodic units which recur throughout the piece. Thus the composer prepared for the outburst of joy through careful anticipation of its melodies. In effect the melody is a strategy for trying to make a smooth transition between two contrasting moods. While the composer might not necessarily have been responding to the meaning of the words, but simply borrowing an appealing melody which was also set to a text appropriately on the theme of the Resurrection, it is certainly puzzling that there should be such an abrupt change of mood in a text which begins as a lament. Perhaps Hughes assumes too readily that the grief of a lament must be sustained at all costs when the Resurrection is in fact an occasion for rejoicing, not sadness, and the lament thus ultimately a device for emphasising this through contrast. Since, as he remarks, the Tours composer is noted for his manipulation of musical motifs, it would be interesting to know whether any of the melodies of the lament, especially those which are not derived from 'O quam magno', occur in other parts of the play, an investigation which he does not actually carry out.

\* \* \* \* \*

The history of scholarship on the planctus and religious drama began with a fundamental problem of definition arising through a narrow treatment of subject matter. Since chronology, manuscript context, provenance, poetic form and musical style were not taken into consideration important distinctions between planctus Mariae as independent compositions and

as items from Passion plays, on the one hand, and between self-contained planctus Mariae and narrative literature of the Passion containing short laments, on the other, were not recognised. A theory of the origins of the Passion play in the planctus Mariae and attempts to refute it then became the main interest until the discovery of the Monte Cassino Passion play. Subsequently issues which earlier scholars had overlooked were brought into discussion but normally only as part of some other investigation, with the result that only limited aspects of the subject area of planctus were considered. Although scholars now appear tacitly to agree that the planctus in religious drama is an emotional, self-contained lament which did not develop uniformly in all parts of Europe the question of generic unity remains untested. Scholarship on the relationship between planctus and religious drama remains relatively undeveloped since the planctus has frequently been treated as an aspect of some other investigation and not as a genre in its own right.

(b) The planctus and funeral verse

Scholars of the planctus as a type of funeral verse concentrated at first on the Provençal planh and German Totenklage and their relationship to classical, Germanic and medieval Latin traditions. Subsequently planctus in Latin and in vernacular languages, including Gallego-Portuguese, French and English, were introduced and consideration given to the music of a small number of Latin examples.

In his study of the Provençal planh Springer's main interest<sup>48</sup> was in surveying its literary themes, though he also mentioned poetic form and music very briefly and provided editions of a number of texts which had not already been edited. He usefully divides the planh into two main types: those of a personal nature (including examples composed at the death of a lady, a poet, a friend or a patron) and those with a political theme, and then isolates their literary matter as follows: (1) lament, (2) eulogy of the deceased and (3) intercession for his soul. He also noted that the poetic form of the planh was normally strophic, though he does not discuss metre, and suggested that although the planh was clearly related to the sirventes, since both types deal with contemporary events, it nevertheless differed from it: the sirventes was composed to a contrafacted melody, whereas, according to the author of the Leys d'Amors, the planh was supposed to be set to an original melody. His other contentions are however less convincing since they are based on insufficient evidence. He asserts that although there was some

connection between medieval Latin planctus and Provençal examples the planh was nevertheless an original creation of troubadour art. His justification is that it was typified by pure lyric expressiveness, the singular product of the particular social milieu of Provence. He also believed that it differed from the Latin planctus since the latter was sung in church, whereas the planh was performed at court. However both these arguments amount to speculations: they depend on a knowledge of the Latin planctus, a study of which had not been carried out at this time. While therefore he put forward a number of interesting ideas, some of which are important on account of their influence on subsequent scholars, several of his central claims are vitiated by what in retrospect can be seen to be premature generalisations.

In unpublished theses Clauss<sup>49</sup> and Heinemann<sup>50</sup> investigated the literary themes of the Totenklage of the German Minnesinger and argued that it was derived from the medieval Latin planctus. Clauss contended that the Latin planctus, rather than the Provençal planh, represented an intermediary between the Totenklagen of the Old High German epic and those of the Minnesinger since the literary themes of the Latin planctus accord with those of Old and Middle High German Totenklagen, whereas the planh is typified by introspection, exaggerated feelings and devotional details and has thus much less in common with them. Heinemann, in contrast, believed that the Latin planctus acted as an intermediary between laments from classical literature and the medieval German Totenklage. This was because, of the four themes (the deceased's name, the lament, the eulogy and the intercession or good wishes for the dead) characteristic of most classical epitaphs, elegies and laments for deceased animals, the last three themes are also found in the Latin planctus and medieval German Totenklage. However, although their works are useful as introductory surveys of German material evidence based on analyses of literary themes alone is inconclusive. Their generalisations about the Latin planctus are premised on a study of a mere selection of Carolingian examples whose representativeness is not discussed. They effectively assume that it remained unchanged throughout the Middle Ages. No indication is given as to how the few surviving classical examples influenced the Carolingian planctus. If they had had access to a thorough survey of the medieval Latin planctus they might have regarded the results of their analyses more critically.

Had Clauss been aware of the nature of the development of the German epic Totenklage, subsequently studied by Leicher,<sup>51</sup> he might have appreciated the limitations of his theory. Leicher distinguished three

main types of primitive lament which he argued were the forerunners of the epic Totenklage: the lament associated with exorcism at burial, glorifying hymns sung as the fallen were carried away from the battlefield and songs praising the deceased at the funeral. Each of these types was performed by a chorus. While the first is documented in Old High German and Old Saxon glosses there are no surviving examples of it. The other two are exemplified both in Jordanes's Getica and in Beowulf. Tacitus seems to refer to a different tradition of funeral practices in his De Germania in which there is no report of a formal lament but instead an account of spontaneous outbursts of grief which soon gave way to restraint. Here lamentation is associated with women while the men remain silent. Laments performed by individuals rather than by a chorus are found in both Beowulf and the songs of the Elder Edda. Since the Germanic tradition of death laments extended from the southern Goths to the northern Anglo-Saxons and was typified by the same subject matter (the name of the deceased, the eulogy and the manner of death) he postulated that laments from both cultures originated from a single prototype. Leicher brings together a considerable amount of literary, philological and historical evidence in support of his claims. Though there are few surviving records of the earliest death laments his treatment of them is unforced and thus persuasive.

In a brief chapter on the Provençal planh, to which a useful handlist of extant examples is appended, Jeanroy<sup>52</sup> records that it was often written in decasyllabic stanzas and that its subject matter consists of an exordium, a lament, a eulogy and an intercession, thus including one theme more than Springer did. Developing some of Springer's ideas he concluded that though the planh was related to the Latin planctus it was an original creation of the Provençal troubadours. In contrast to the Latin planctus, which he asserts is characterised by a religious tone, the planh is often typified by complaint and satire. Nevertheless the latter was also distinguished by a more personal tone both through descriptions of the deceased and through the way in which occasions associated with him are recalled in order to move the listener. While it often suffered from the abuse of literary clichés it was normally a simple, emotional and spontaneous type of lament. In contrast to the Latin planctus the planh is not characterised by a refrain. The Latin planctus was composed by clerics for ecclesiastical dignitaries with probably a place in the funeral liturgy; in contrast the planh was composed by the laity for the laity and was performed before the family of the deceased. Although there is no evidence to support Jeanroy's claims

that the Latin planctus was typified by a refrain or that it had a place in the funeral liturgy he is more responsive than Springer to the variety of treatments which the troubadours gave the planh. His preliminary bibliographical survey of extant planhs, compiled on the basis of a systematic application of a clearly stated definition, ensured that he considered every example and not just a selected few and may therefore be partly responsible for his more flexible approach.

Hengstl<sup>53</sup> surveys Latin funeral poetry and prose from Antiquity to the Middle Ages in a study of death laments and memorials to the dead, relating the Latin planctus to the classical tradition of grave inscriptions and epitaphs and to a lesser extent to the threnody and nenia. In classical Greek literature there was the choral song praising the dead (for example, in Homeric epic), the threnody, the elegy, the encomium of epideictic literature, the epitaph and the grave inscription. These traditions continued in classical Latin literature although the nenia,<sup>54</sup> which she considers replaced the threnody, did not achieve the status of a literary genre. In the Middle Ages the planctus developed, sharing with the threnody and nenia the theme of lament, while in monastic communities prose consolationes, in imitation of Ambrose's de obitu Valentiniani consolatio, and rotuli mortuorum were also written. The classical epitaph and grave inscription, normally written in quantitative metres and typified by such clichés as the opening formula hic iacet, consisted simply of the name, title, status and deeds of the deceased, occasionally followed by good wishes for the dead. The planctus, characterised normally by a lament, eulogy, occasionally by consolation and often by a concluding prayer, differed from the epitaph not only because it contained an expression of grief but also because it was normally written in accentual metres and set to music. Unlike previous scholars of the planctus as a type of funeral verse who rarely discussed fictional planctus, Hengstl includes these in her discussion. She also considers the metre of the planctus although only generally in order to establish that it is rarely composed in quantitative metres. Some of her conclusions are however less convincing since she is obliged to draw on a wide range of secondary literature and often fails to appreciate the tentativeness of its authors' conclusions. For example, she has no difficulty in stating both that the planctus Mariae was performed during the liturgical ceremony of the Adoratio Crucis (on the basis of Young's carefully qualified remarks) and that the non-fictional planctus composed at the death of an important personage was the Urtypus of the planctus Mariae. In contrast to Jeanroy she does not provide a handlist of the large amount of material

which she invokes in her discussion. Had she provided this she might have been aware that there were significant gaps in her treatment of the planctus, including the absence of many examples from the twelfth century, the period in which the majority of planctus were composed: for example, planctus from the Notre Dame repertory, and lais such as Abelard's six planctus and 'Samson dux fortissime'. Her treatment of the planctus is nevertheless more wide-ranging and detailed than that of previous scholars. That she did not investigate the social context, the manuscripts and the musical form and style of the planctus is perhaps therefore understandable. However, her otherwise useful study must still be regarded as incomplete.

Drawing on the works of Springer, Clauss, Heinemann and Leicher, Fernis<sup>55</sup> considered the question of why Totenklagen ceased to be composed after the era of the Minnesinger through an investigation of Middle High German Totenklagen. He argues that though the Germanic Totenklage and Latin planctus differed from the Provençal planh and the Middle High German Totenklage, since the latter two stressed individuality, whereas the former two emphasised the communal, both types shared in common the idea of men being subordinate to their overlords: in Germanic tradition men served their 'leader' (Führer); in twelfth century courtly culture knights served their feudal lord. This relationship was the product of a society at war which upheld heroic values. When superseded by the bourgeois society of the Meistersinger the bond between man and his leader was broken and heroic values were no longer relevant. Thus there was no place for the Totenklage. If Fernis's emphasis on the heroic values of societies at war appeared self-evidently correct in the Germany of 1937, it now seems exaggerated. His examination of the reasons for social change is shallow and his typification of planctus from a wide range of historical periods, countries and social milieux as upholding heroic values is superficial. Nevertheless he draws attention to the fact that non-fictional planctus ceased to be composed after the fourteenth century and offers the beginnings of an explanation of this.

Becker<sup>56</sup> treats a large number of non-fictional Latin planctus composed from the Carolingian era to the Ottonian period as short historical songs or poems (Kurzlieder) in a study of the style and social context of this type of verse. He discusses each in some detail, bringing to bear a considerable amount of historical information, and points out that many historical songs were composed long after the event: not only were details sometimes forgotten, but often the songs were intended to reflect a particular political bias, with the result that the facts were not



always accurate. He distinguishes the short historical poem from the short epic since the former was composed by monks and was usually in Latin, whereas the latter was the product of minstrels (Spielmänner) and was normally in the vernacular, like many narratives of the Bible and lives of saints. Although he adduces evidence that the short historical poem may occasionally have been the Urlied of the short epic he considers that the two types normally retained separate identities. The roots of the longer epic are not, he believes, to be found in either type. It is perhaps a pity that his study did not include an investigation of the manuscripts and musical settings of his examples. Nevertheless, although some of his information is now in need of review in the light of recent scholarship his critical treatment of historical details is exemplary and helps to place early Latin planctus in their social context.

Introducing the Gallego-Portuguese planctus or pranto for the first time Filgueira Valverde<sup>57</sup> surveys the history of the Latin planctus, discusses Latin planctus composed at the death of Spanish and Portuguese personages, examines the Provençal planh and finally provides a detailed account of the verse form, subject matter and historical context of the small number of extant prantos in Gallego-Portuguese. He considers that the pranto is closely related to the Latin planctus, rather than to the Provençal planh, since both are characterised by the same type of literary style. Each is divided into sections beginning with exclamatory outbursts of grief which are followed by an account of the deeds and virtues of the deceased, by rhetorical questions, a prayer and renewed outbursts of grief. The language is rhetorical, including the use of parallelism to emphasise exclamatory phrases; obsessive reiteration of the same word or phrase of lament; and hyperbole in the eulogy of the deceased. Filgueira Valverde's study is thorough and detailed, although he is admittedly dealing with only a very small repertory for which there is also no surviving music. Moreover compared to previous scholars who placed most emphasis on subject matter, he draws attention to the rhetorical style of the pranto and planctus and thus indicates how the subject matter was organised to create a particular effect.

In one of the first discussions of the music of Latin planctus Schrade<sup>58</sup> refers to some monophonic and polyphonic examples from the Notre Dame repertory of conductus.<sup>59</sup> He argues that contrary to the general assumption of the time monophonic and polyphonic coronation conductus contain quotations from the music of the coronation liturgy. These he suggests indicate that coronation conductus may have been sung during

the liturgy of the coronation, preceding or following the liturgical item quoted. He concludes that the Notre Dame planctus may also contain quotations, this time from the funeral liturgy, and may therefore have had a place in the funeral liturgy. These are certainly interesting suggestions which have yet to be investigated. It is however doubtful that musical evidence alone is sufficient to prove that a conductus had a place in the liturgy.

In an article which also includes discussion of selected Latin planctus, Vecchi<sup>60</sup> edits the text of 'Hactenus tetendi liram' and transcribes two versions of its melody, both of which are found in copies of the Liber argumentorum, a commentary on Guido of Arezzo's Micrologus. Although different in their formal organisation (the form of one is ABA; the other AAB) they share almost the same musical material. Vecchi then argues that the conductus 'Congaudentes celebremus' from the Beauvais Play of Daniel (Young, II, pp.290-301) is a contrafactum of 'Hactenus tetendi liram'. This might well be the case. Like the two versions of the latter 'Congaudentes celebremus' ends with a D final. There are however very few clearcut agreements between it and either of the two versions of 'Hactenus tetendi liram'. One is thus left with the impression that the apparent similarities may have resulted through the combination of stock D mode melodies arranged to accommodate one of the commonest metres of medieval Latin verse.

In a discussion of the Provençal planh which follows his edition of Pons de Capdoill's 'De totz caitius' Lucas<sup>61</sup> argues that it is a conventional type of lament written in decasyllabic stanzas, consisting of an expression of grief, praise of the deceased and intercession for his soul (as outlined by Springer) and that these themes are expressed through hyperbole and apostrophe. Nevertheless the reader is left with the impression of 'a warm, sincere and spontaneous expression of personal grief'. What is important is that the poet 'has succeeded in conveying the impression of sincerity'. Although the planh may be criticised for an excessive use of hyperbole and the triteness of its sentiments these two features result from the fact that the planh is a subjective type of poetry on a theme which it is often difficult to put into words. By combining conventional elements in a variety of ways 'the poet gave a new twist to old themes'. Although he overstates the importance of the decasyllabic stanza, since several other forms were also used, Lucas's study is valuable because it represents the first critical account of the planh, and offers a balanced assessment of its conventional nature.

Dealing exclusively with the non-fictional Latin planctus

Cohen<sup>62</sup> describes it in terms of its subject matter. She finds that the contents of a selected eight planctus ('Mecum Timavi' ca. 799; 'A solis' ca.814; 'Hug dulce' ca.844; 'O Fulco' ca.900; 'Lamentemur' ca.1024; 'Hactenus' ca.1025; 'Qui habet' ca.1039 and 'Flete viri' ca. 1087) can be reduced to seven main themes, a considerable advance on the three or four proposed by previous scholars:

1. invitation to lament
2. lineage of the deceased
3. enumeration, or description of the countries and persons in mourning
4. eulogy of the deceased
5. the mourning of Nature
6. description of the body and allusion to the tomb
7. prayer

However an investigation<sup>1</sup> of the examples which she discusses reveals that only the eulogy is characteristic of each and that 'the mourning of Nature' and 'description of the body and allusion to the tomb' are extremely rare. She concludes that the planctus is made up of a set of conventional themes and also comments on its limited range of vocabulary as evidenced in its exclamatory expressions of grief. On account of the fact that some examples conclude with a prayer she suggests that it was attached to the liturgical Office of the Dead. However a concluding prayer is no proof that the planctus had a liturgical function. While usefully highlighting its conventional nature and, perhaps unintentionally, the fact that it was given different types of treatment her analysis provides an incomplete definition of the planctus. She pays no attention to the tone and attitudes portrayed in her examples, or to their social context and neither considers whether their themes were arranged in a conventional order, nor questions why the two themes mentioned above are infrequently included. Since five of the eight examples survive with music, several containing lines which allude to the performance of planctus as a song, it is surprising that this was not mentioned. Moreover evidence afforded by an analysis of a mere eight examples which were composed over a period of almost three hundred years is insufficient to prove that the planctus is a genre, however conventional, especially when no indication is given as to whether they are representative.

In a structuralist analysis of the themes of planctus in French epic and chanson de geste Zumthor<sup>63</sup> argues that the first five laments of the Chanson de Roland prefigure the final lament at the death of Roland typologically. He demonstrates that the laments increase in length throughout the poem in preparation for the final one. The last lament includes all the themes present in the previous laments:

1. lien narratif: a passage linking the planctus to the story
2. apostrophe
3. prayer
4. eulogy of the dead
5. exterior signs of grief
6. inward feelings of grief
7. allusion to the distant native land
8. the topic ubi est?
9. acceptance of death
10. mare fustes: a phrase expressing how unlucky it was that the deceased was ever born.

Thus the planctus not only functions as an expression of grief but also as a narrative device. In a further article<sup>64</sup> in which five chansons de geste are treated in the same manner, Zumthor concludes that the planctus was a conventional device in this type of narrative. He suggests that this technique may be the result of 'un phénomène remarquable de fonctionnalisation ornementaire d'un genre peut-être originellement indépendant'. Whatever the model may be he observes in a footnote that the planctus from these narratives have little in common with the Carolingian planctus analysed by Cohen. This last comment highlights some of the difficulties raised when the conclusions of scholars of the planctus, whose methods of analysis differ, are compared. Since Cohen emphasises the subject matter of self-contained planctus, whereas Zumthor treats each lament section by section in relation to its position in a narrative, it is not perhaps surprising that there appear to be relatively few similarities between the two. If both scholars had used the same terms of reference it is possible that there might have been more agreements between them.

In his discussion of the manuscripts, music and poetry of St. Martial de Limoges Chailley<sup>65</sup> surveys the contents of F-Pn lat.1139, which includes the Lamentatio Rachelis 'O dulces filii', and F-Pn lat.1154, which contains the planctus 'Mecum Timavi', 'A solis' and 'Hug dulce'. Each of these planctus is in strophic form in an accentual metre. His discussion of the music of the three examples from F-Pn lat.1154 is however confined to an analysis of their musical form since their notation is only semi-heighted. His brief comments on 'O dulces filii' and its relationship to liturgical drama are expanded in a further work,<sup>66</sup> where he notes that it is a trope of the responsory 'Sub altare Dei', although he does not examine the nature of their relationship, (and thus that it may not be related to other plays of the Holy Innocents, since they do not appear to have originated as tropes).

Following his transcription of the melody of 'Flete viri', which is written in alphabetical notation and in the D mode, Huglo<sup>67</sup> provides the

first discussion of the style of a non-fictional planctus melody. He argues that the melody, while ungregorian, was consciously modelled on the Gregorian D mode. Although the melody is based on the structure of the protus authenticus, with the interval of the fifth D-A followed by the third A-c, the composer departs from Gregorian convention with the interval A-d and the cadence figure CDD. The D mode, Huglo notes, was regarded by a number of music theorists as the mode most expressive of sadness.<sup>68</sup> Since theorists' descriptions of the modes tended to adopt a conventional format it may be necessary to regard this typification of the D mode with scepticism. They also confine themselves to the study of the chant, rather than including non-liturgical melodies. An investigation of the modes of planctus melodies is therefore necessary in order to establish whether theorists' comments are relevant to them and thus whether the D mode is a generic feature of planctus melodies.

A further treatment of the planctus in narrative is offered by Richmond.<sup>69</sup> She aims to find out whether there was an English tradition of laments for the dead prior to the birth of Elizabethan tragedy. She restricts her study however to an investigation of examples from non-religious literature since, in her opinion, laments from medieval religious literature are 'less immediately applicable'. Through a discussion of the distinguishing features of laments from narrative (their style, ideas and dramatic elements) she demonstrates that such a tradition existed. By then comparing these with examples from selected Elizabethan dramas she argues that both types belong to the same tradition. However her treatment of the tradition of death laments is unduly restricted since, apart from excluding material from religious literature on the basis of an extremely artificial distinction between religious and non-religious, she also omits self-contained laments written in English and, except for her discussion of Geoffrey de Vinsauf's planctus 'Neustria sub clypeo', ignores Latin examples altogether. Since these types of lament as well as those in works by rediscovered classical authors would also have been available to the Elizabethan tragedians her comparison of laments in narrative and in Elizabethan drama is of only limited significance.

Hoste's survey<sup>70</sup> of the non-fictional Latin planctus in prose should be mentioned here since, although it does not include an investigation of planctus in verse, it indicates the existence of a tradition of prose planctus from the time of the early patristic writers, which was closely related to the consolatio.<sup>71</sup> This tradition thus preceded that of the Latin planctus in verse and subsequently represented a

parallel tradition. After listing examples of prose planctus and commenting on the absence in these of allusions to classical consolatory writings Hoste then illustrates that the principal sources of Aelred of Rievaulx's Epitaphium Simonis were the Bible, a number of works by early patristic writers and St. Bernard's Lamentatio super obitum domni Girardi fratris sui. Whether this tradition was related to that of the planctus in verse remains to be investigated.

Using the work of Cohen as a basis for his study Aston<sup>72</sup> reopened the discussion about the relationship between the Provençal planh and the Latin planctus. In two related articles he shows that laments written at the death of a prince and of a lady retain most of the characteristics of the Latin planctus as identified by Cohen. The elements missing are the 'lineage of the deceased', 'the mourning of Nature' and the 'description of the body and allusion to the tomb', while the eulogy and prayer remain constant elements. Aston concludes, in contrast to Springer, that the planh should be seen as a sub-species of the genre of planctus and that its more worldly outlook can be explained with reference to the standard moral and social virtues of the period. Cohen's study however is confined to selected examples of the early Latin planctus. Thus if the historical period to which she confined her study were extended in order to include Latin planctus contemporary with the Provençal planh Aston's argument might be strengthened.

While most studies of the planctus have tended to suggest that it was a conventional type of poetry with a limited range of subject matter Dronke<sup>73</sup> has put forward an interesting case for 'individuality' in its composition in a discussion of Abelard's original treatment of conventional biblical themes in his six planctus. He is also one of the few scholars who includes fictional planctus in studies of funeral verse. In a further article, written in collaboration with Alexiou,<sup>74</sup> he links Abelard's lament for Jephtha's daughter to a fourth-century Greek lament on the same subject. He illustrates that although an account of the story in the form of a planctus was not necessarily the product of Abelard's imagination alone his particular treatment of it is original. It would be interesting to know whether the same type of 'individuality' is also characteristic of the melodies of these laments. Dronke's emphasis on originality is perhaps misleading since although he rightly points out the exceptional nature of Abelard's treatment of the planctus, especially as compared to its treatment in other twelfth-century examples, he is effectively claiming, like Lucas, that originality results from unusual treatments of the conventional, rather than proposing that Abelard was

an innovator.

Apart from studies by Alexiou, Woolf, Thiry, Haas and Schulze-Busacker there have otherwise been few new contributions to scholarship on the planctus and funeral verse. Although the planctus has been discussed in Adler's study<sup>75</sup> of medieval European verse and treated by Szöverffy,<sup>76</sup> van d'Elden,<sup>77</sup> De Riquer,<sup>78</sup> Rieger<sup>79</sup> and von Moos<sup>80</sup> these works rely on the research which I have just described and do not develop it further.

Alexiou's study<sup>81</sup> provides an excellent account of the Greek ritual and literary lament from Antiquity to the present day. She illustrates that in Greece, where literary tradition has remained unbroken from the time of the first written records, the ritual lament has always retained its vitality and spontaneity because it has remained part of a living folk tradition. It has thus continually nourished the literary lament.

Woolf<sup>82</sup> argues that although The Wanderer and The Seafarer, written in Old English, are commonly referred to as elegies they 'may more helpfully be seen to belong to the distinctively medieval genre of planctus or complaint'. She claims that the characteristics which distinguish the planctus, and therefore The Wanderer and The Seafarer, from the elegy are that the speaker is fictional and that its subject, though often death, can be any kind of loss. In these terms The Wanderer can be seen as a genuine planctus. The speaker represents a type, that of an exile, who laments the loss of his lord and his homelessness and eventually realises that earthly life is itself a perpetual state of loss. In contrast, The Seafarer exploits the genre of planctus. The speaker is not simply a type but an exemplary figure who has deliberately chosen the life of earthly deprivation. His complaints which are not motivated by a sense of loss but by a desire to be rid of worldly transience are explicitly didactic. Thus the two poems present the same moral (that the world is transient and God the only stable force) in different ways. However Woolf's knowledge of the planctus seems to be extremely limited. Her assumption that the speaker of a planctus is fictional seems to result from her brief discussion of the laments in Beowulf, a fictional epic. Her confident assertion that its subject was any kind of loss seems to be based on her knowledge of Old English poetry alone in which, apart from the fictional planctus in Beowulf, Judith and Guthlac B, there are no other extant examples of laments for the dead. Thus by confining her study to Old English literature and ignoring contemporary medieval Latin tradition she has defined the planctus in a rather eccentric manner. Nevertheless, since the terms of her definition are consistently applied

her interesting discussion is not undermined.

While also alluding to Latin and Provençal planctus Thiry<sup>83</sup> focuses on the plainte funèbre and the early elegy in French and brings together a considerable amount of material which has rarely been discussed before. On the basis of an investigation of definitions of planctus suggested by Geoffrey de Vinsauf in his Poetria Nova, outlined by the author of the Leys d'Amors and implied in allusions to the writing of a lament in some Provençal and French planctus he concludes that the planctus and its vernacular manifestations represented a genre which was regulated less by a 'théorie explicite' than by a 'poétique immanente'. It had no specific poetic form or metre; it was often though not always sung; and it could either be self-contained or part of a narrative. It was thus not composed in imitation of a single model but rather adopted the rhetorical features appropriate to the expression of pathos (amplification, repetition, apostrophe and periphrasis and the topics of panegyric). It is otherwise identified by its content which is in turn dictated by its main theme: unfortunate and untimely death. The emphasis of Thiry's definition, which has still to be tested, differs considerably from that of preceding scholars who normally stressed the main themes of the planctus and had little to say about its style. Although much of what Thiry says does not contradict previous descriptions of planctus it should be noted that he derives his information about it from sources dating from the thirteenth century onwards. His definition is not therefore generally applicable. It is thus possible that his emphasis on rhetorical style and his treatment of subject matter reflect the specific nature of the planctus in French from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, rather than the planctus as a whole. Moreover from his account it is evident that though the first French elegies were closely related to the earlier plainte funèbre they differed from it in that they were usually considerably longer and more rhetorical and also normally allegorical in conception.

In a recent study of the planctus in English Haas<sup>84</sup> illustrates with some thoroughness that it was influenced by Old English, biblical, classical, medieval Latin and French laments. Concentrating on planctus in romances she argues that compared to examples composed in other languages it is less passionate and rhetorical and more impersonal. This she attributes both to a certain restraint on the part of the English and to the fact that many English romances were written for an unsophisticated audience. Since, as she argues, the laments in the alliterative Morte Arthure and those by Chaucer deal with fundamental questions of human



existence and affirm the position of the individual, she suggests that the medieval English lament reflected or may even have increased the growing interest in the individual. While Haas's discussion of the relationship between planctus in English and planctus in other languages is inevitably dependent on previous studies, some of which do not treat the planctus with her thoroughness, she is specific about the nature of the relationship, rather than relying entirely on thematic similarities: for example, she is often able to cite instances in English planctus of allusions to earlier Latin or French laments. However, if, as she argues, the English planctus was more impersonal and less emotional than examples in other languages, it seems unlikely that it reflected a growing interest in the individual, let alone increased it.

In the first historical investigation of the development of the Provençal planh-Schulze-Busacker<sup>85</sup> distinguishes three main types of lament in which different emphases are placed on the themes of lament, eulogy and prayer: the moral planh, which is represented by twelve examples composed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the true lament, which is exemplified by eleven planhs composed in the thirteenth century; and the courtly planh which was composed in the second half of the twelfth century. In a further article<sup>86</sup> she identifies three main types of planctus in French Arthurian romance: the 'reduced' lament, which is reported in the narrative or in direct speech and alludes to the themes of lament and eulogy; the 'elementary' lament, a monologue, of which some examples are thematically related to the Provençal planh while others contain the themes which Zumthor found in the epic lament (except the prayer); and the 'developed' lament, which is found in scenes of despair at a supposed or feigned death and is made up of the same themes as the 'elementary' lament with an emphasis on the display of courtly virtues. The planctus in Arthurian romance, she argues, is important as a device for highlighting the hero's development. At the death of a relative or friend he has to assume greater responsibility. Though related to the Latin, Provençal and epic planctus it differs from these in its arrangement of themes and since it belongs to a narrative context. As a typology of the planctus in romance this study offers a useful point of departure, although it is possible that the significance of the planctus as a narrative device is over-estimated, and that the death scene, in which there may also be a planctus, is of greater importance in the structure of the narrative.

\* \* \* \* \*

As in the case of the planctus and religious drama the study of

planctus and funeral verse began with a problem of definition. This seems to have arisen in four main ways: through a loose treatment of subject matter, in relation to examples from often different historical periods and social contexts; through the lack of a consistent set of terms of reference; through a tendency to generalise on the basis of an insufficient number of examples; and through over-emphasis of the non-fictional planctus. By excluding considerations of literary style and social and historical context and concentrating on subject matter alone the earliest scholars were able to propose often unlikely relationships between different traditions of lament. Although these scholars invoked previous studies of the planctus and claimed to be dealing with the same literary type they rarely noted or explained discrepancies between their definitions of it and those proposed by their predecessors. Whether these discrepancies reflect false or genuine distinctions between planctus from different historical periods or in different languages is therefore difficult to assess since the terms of reference applied in each case are somewhat different. Generalisations about the nature of planctus in a particular language were frequently made on the basis of insufficiently many examples, and without a preliminary survey of extant material, or a subsequent attempt to provide representative examples. Although occasionally mentioned the fictional planctus has rarely been included in discussions. This situation may have arisen because the first studies of planctus and funeral verse concentrated on Provençal examples or the influence of these. Since the five fictional Provençal planctus represent a very small proportion of extant planhs, the rest of which are non-fictional, and do not belong to the troubadour repertory of manuscripts it is not perhaps surprising that these examples were omitted. However, the result is that an artificial separation of fictional and non-fictional planctus appears to have emerged, the justification for which was assumed rather than explained. From the outset therefore these differing types of definition hindered the development of a coherent history of the planctus. Though most recent scholars have offered useful definitions of limited areas of the subject many examples, especially in Latin, remain undiscussed while certain aspects, particularly social and historical context, metre and musical form and style, have still received little attention. Thus although in this area of research the planctus has at least been treated in its own right its generic status still remains untested.

(c) The planctus and European poetic and musical forms

While some planctus, including those of Abelard, have occasionally been brought into discussions of poetic and musical form there has been no complete study of this aspect of the planctus. Of the small number of examples included in this type of discussion the majority are in strophic forms while a small number are either sequences or through-composed.<sup>87</sup> As a result of Spanke's discovery that the metre and melody of Abelard's third planctus 'Ad festas', the lament of the virgins of Israel for Jephtha's daughter, have much in common with those of the French lai 'Coraigeus' (SR 1012), which survives with a melody entitled lai des pucelles his planctus have occupied a central position in the search for the origins of the sequence<sup>88</sup> and lai.<sup>89</sup>

In one of the earliest studies of the origins of the lai Wolf<sup>90</sup> argued that it developed from the earlier liturgical sequence to which it remained closely related. The terms lai and sequence and the titles of these types of song, he noted, refer to the melody rather than to the content of the text. They were thus musical terms. He then proposed that the narrative Breton lai was originally a lyrical work often accompanied by the chrotta or crwth. He thus distinguished two distinct periods in the history of the lai: that of the popular folksinger's ballad (which preceded the lyric lai of the twelfth century) and that of the narrative lai which was composed by skilled poets and ultimately adapted to the taste of a courtly society.

Though in agreement with his view that the lai was a musical genre Jeanroy, Brandin and Aubry<sup>91</sup> contested his theory that it had liturgical origins, proposing that it had Celtic roots. However although their theory has become the accepted explanation of the development of the lai they neither produced convincing evidence in support of it, nor studied its formal design in detail and in relation to that of the sequence.

Also agreeing with Wolf's description of the sequence and lai as primarily musical genres Spanke<sup>92</sup> argued that the lai developed through the addition of words to melodies originally composed for instrumental music,<sup>93</sup> a technique he considered was also used in the composition of the estampie.<sup>94</sup> The origins of the sequence on the other hand were more complex.<sup>95</sup> While the placing of a text syllabically beneath an alleluia melisma, which was then divided into phrases, was a specifically ecclesiastical practice, he contended, the repetition of these phrases of differing lengths was derived from the somewhat earlier non-liturgical archaic sequence<sup>96</sup> and was ultimately of Byzantine origin.<sup>97</sup> Thus the liturgical sequence was influenced by an existing tradition of non-liturgical sequences.<sup>98</sup> Discussion of the planctus centred

on six sequence melodies from the early sequence repertories of St.Gall and St.Martial, each of which has rubrics containing the word planctus:<sup>99</sup>

- |                                  |                              |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <u>planctus cygni</u> ...     | 4. <u>planctus publicani</u> |
| 2. <u>planctus sterilis</u> ...  | 5. <u>planctus Bertanae</u>  |
| 3. <u>planctus pueri captivi</u> | 6. <u>planctum</u> (sic)     |

These, Spanke argued, pointed to the existence of sequences on secular subjects since (with the exception of planctus publicani) they do not allude to a religious theme and since, as there was no programme music in the Middle Ages, they could hardly be descriptive titles of instrumental melodies.<sup>100</sup> To have been included in the earliest sequence repertories they must have existed before the liturgical sequence. His subsequent discovery<sup>101</sup> that Abelard's 'Ad festas' is metrically and musically related to 'Coraigeus' led him to conclude that, while essentially sequences, Abelard's planctus are related to the secular lai. They thus provide evidence of the survival of the old art of adding words to instrumental melodies practised outside the spheres of liturgical composition, as in, for example, the archaic sequence and in a number of sequences from the Cambridge Songs manuscript,<sup>102</sup> and link the sequence to the later lyric lai. Abelard's sequences differ somewhat from the ecclesiastical sequence on account of their greater formal freedom.<sup>103</sup> Though his planctus adhere to the sequence's general plan of consecutively differing pairs of stanzas and melodies each stanza and its corresponding melody can be repeated more than once. Within each stanza the melody consists of a series of short, repeated musical themes. One particularly interesting feature of Abelard's planctus, he noted, is the treatment of metre. The lines of some stanzas are broken up into equal syllable groups, for example:

Ad festas	choreas	celibes	3 + 3 + 3 (syllables)
Ex more	venite	virgines!	3 + 3 + 3
Ex more	sint ode	flebiles,	3 + 3 + 3
Et planctus	ut cantus	celebres!	3 + 3 + 3

The number of syllables in each stanza-line-group varies from stanza to stanza. Whether this metrical pattern corresponds to the short, repeated musical themes has yet to be fully investigated. Although the poetic and musical forms of 'Ad festas' and 'Coraigeus' do not correspond exactly the two stanza forms used in each are the same<sup>104</sup> and are rare in both Latin and French verse. The poetic form of several passages corresponds exactly (including the division of lines of nine syllables into 3 + 3 + 3) and their respective melodies are closely related. Although he does not discuss whether one song was derived from the other Spanke comments that they may be related in a further respect since they both may have been dance songs and thus related to the estampie.<sup>105</sup>

Vecchi<sup>106</sup> subsequently attempted a transcription of the melody of 'Ad festas' by comparing its unheighted neumes with the heighted notation of 'Coraigeus', in order to reconstruct its pitch and intervals. He then discussed the similarities between the two songs, ignoring however many of Spanke's observations about their differences, and suggested that though one may have been a contrafactum of the other it was more likely that they each shared a common source. However not all of the planctus' melodies are used in the lai, yet he offers no explanation for this. Moreover his transcription of the lai melody is frequently inaccurate and thus provides an unreliable basis for his reconstruction of 'Ad festas'. While Spanke and Vecchi are most likely correct in assuming a close relationship between the two songs a full analysis of each will be required before any sound conclusions can be drawn about its precise nature.

Maillard<sup>107</sup> revitalised the discussion of the relationship between sequence and lai in a musico-literary study of the lyric lai. Here he argues that both forms had Celtic origins and traces them back to early medieval Ireland. The Celtic cognates of lai refer to melodies without words, for example, the Irish word for lai: loid, originally meant the song of the blackbird. Latin accentual verse developed in Ireland in a monastic culture which continued to flourish when the rest of Britain was being subjected to Norse and Saxon invasions. The syllabic nature of this verse was a characteristic inherited by both sequence and lai. Notker later told of how a monk from Jumièges introduced to St.Gall the technique of setting words to alleluia melismas. Before its destruction, the religious community of Jumièges was in close communication with many of the larger Irish monasteries in which accentual Latin verse was written. Jumièges was thus an intermediary between Ireland and St.Gall in the development of the sequence, rather than its place of origin. Abelard's planctus 'Ad festas', he observes, was probably composed at St.Gildas in Brittany around 1135. Abelard was thus in direct contact with Celtic techniques of song composition. However since 'Coraigeus' cannot be dated accurately he suspends judgment on which song served as the model for the other, though he suggests that Vecchi's solution of a common source is more likely. Maillard provides a transcription of 'Coraigeus' and attempts a partial reconstruction of 'Ad festas'. However, both because his interest in Abelard's planctus is incidental and because he is understandably more concerned with the common features of the two songs, in order that he can reconstruct the melody of 'Ad festas', he, like Spanke and Vecchi, does not investigate or define the nature and

significance of the differences.

The problem of defining the place of the planctus in the development of the sequence and lai was taken up again by Stäblein.<sup>108</sup> He centres his discussion on planctus cygni, one of the six sequence melodies mentioned above. This melody is however preserved with a text which contains the lament of a swan and thus reflects its rubric. Stäblein argues that there are two different musical styles present in this sequence: the first is more akin to that of the conventional church sequence in structure and tonality: the second is characterised by elements of repetition and, he claims, a non-liturgical E modality. The lament of the swan is prefaced by a narrative introduction and followed by a more joyful conclusion. The lament, he argues, is characterised by the second musical style, while the introduction uses the first style and the conclusion some of the second, followed by some of the first. He interprets the changes of style as indications that the lament melody was derived from outside the church, but that it was rendered suitable for liturgical purposes by the addition of an introduction and conclusion. These, in fact, give the swan's lament an allegorical perspective.<sup>109</sup> Stäblein then shows that the repeated elements in the lament section can be compared to the short, repeated melodies characteristic of the lyric lai and suggests that the composition of lais of a less complex nature than the lyric lai may therefore date back to this period. He then has no hesitation in assuming that Abelard derived the melody of 'Ad festas' from the lai des pucelles. He then contends that the swan's lament was probably not the original text of the melody. Perhaps, he comments, its original text was that of a genuine Totenklage. However this pushes the argument further than existing evidence can support. Nevertheless it is possible that he has identified an early style of music, characterised by the repetition of short musical phrases, which may have some affinities with the style of the lyric lai. Whether the other five sequence melodies are also typified by short, repeated melodies remains to be seen.

More recently Weinrich<sup>110</sup> has attempted to draw together scholarship on Abelard's six planctus and put forward the view that Abelard was an original composer. In the first of two articles he reviews the problem of transcribing them since, except for 'Dolorum solatium', they are preserved in a single manuscript source in unheighted neumes. 'Dolorum solatium' has a further two sources, both heighted, one of which, F-Pn n.a.1.3126, a prosarium from Nevers, he claims was intended for liturgical use. Although the original purpose of Abelard's six planctus is unknown he concludes that 'Dolorum solatium' was performed as a liturgical

sequence at Nevers. He suggests that the differences between transcriptions by previous scholars of the other planctus melodies reflect their subjective opinions rather than the now irrecoverable nature of their original melodies. Subsequently he argues that 'Ad festas' provided the model for 'Coraigeus'. For linguistic reasons, he asserts, 'Coraigeus' cannot be dated before the thirteenth century. In the light of Maillard's study, he considers it is unlikely that it originated before the twelfth century on formal grounds. As the melody title lai des pucelles (lai of the virgins) does not characterise the subject matter of the song its melody must have belonged originally to another piece. Since 'Ad festas' is rubricated planctus virginum ... (lament of the virgins ...), a title which describes the theme of the text, it must be the musical source of the lai des pucelles. If, as Spanke suggested, the lai melody was composed through the expansion of an existing musical framework, the lack of a precise formal relationship between the two songs can be explained. He thus contests Stäblein's view that Abelard borrowed an existing lai melody.<sup>111</sup> It should however be noted that Weinrich's evidence is not decisive. It could also be taken to suggest that both melodies were derived from a common source.

In his second article<sup>112</sup> he argues that the three somewhat differing versions of 'Dolorum solatium' are organic wholes and thus that they did not arise through copying errors. Discussing the notation of this planctus and its rhythmic interpretation he argues that a modal transcription by Lipphardt<sup>113</sup> is anachronistic since the notation provides no means of distinguishing long and short notes, while transcriptions by Machabey<sup>114</sup> and Vecchi,<sup>115</sup> based on the belief that each syllable has the same duration, produce unmusical results. Thus he reasonably presents his transcription of 'Dolorum solatium', including a reconstruction of its unheighted version, without rhythmic indications in black notes without tails. However, it should perhaps be said that in his judgment of Machabey and Vecchi's transcriptions his aesthetic standards seem no less subjective than those of his predecessors. Finally he considers the influence of Abelard's planctus. Apart from providing the melody of 'Coraigeus', he contends, Abelard also influenced the composers of planctus Mariae. In support of this he notes melodic parallels between 'Planctus ante nescia', also a lai, and the Cividale planctus Mariae. Although his articles are undoubtedly useful they have a number of weaknesses. In the first place he assumes too readily that 'Dolorum solatium' had a liturgical function at Nevers when there is no indication of this in the manuscript. He does not explain why the three versions

of this planctus are each organic wholes by referring, for example, to its method of composition, transmission or performance. How Abelard developed his lai technique is also left undiscussed. It is inconceivable that Abelard was the first composer of lais and Weinrich does not entertain this implausible view. Yet since Abelard was therefore using a style already well-known his originality is somewhat in doubt unless his treatment of the lai was in some way distinctive. However Weinrich does not discuss this. His evidence of Abelard's originality ultimately depends much on his contention that Abelard's planctus were influential on subsequent composers. However he leaves a close analysis of the relationship between 'Dolorum solatium' and 'Planctus ante nescia' for subsequent scholars to carry out, relying instead on an impressionistic description of their common features.

Agreeing with Weinrich that many of the melodies of 'Dolorum solatium' and 'Planctus ante nescia' are related Harrison<sup>116</sup> notes that they both have a G final and argues that the melodies common to the two are simply formulae which pervade sequence, lai and planctus composition in the G mode. If Abelard influenced Geoffrey of St. Victor, the composer of 'Planctus ante nescia', it was, he asserts, by transmitting an oral tradition of lyric lai from its place of origin, most likely Brittany.

\* \* \* \* \*

From this account of the sequence-lai debate it can be seen that while there is general agreement that a number of planctus are in lai style there has been no entirely satisfactory explanation of why this should be so. In fact, in many ways the planctus contributes only a limited amount to this debate and possibly only succeeds in confusing an already complicated problem which needs to be treated in relation to the total pattern of the history of sequence, lai and planctus. In the course of this debate the problem of definition again comes to the fore. On the basis of a small number of examples the planctus is seen as a formal type, rather than as a song which is also characterised by particular subject matter and a specific literary style. If however the majority of planctus were found to be sequences or lais then there might be reason to accept this. Since there has been no complete study of the poetic and musical forms of planctus, especially in Latin, it is not possible to assess the importance of form in its definition.

#### (d) Conclusion

In this discussion of previous research on the planctus I have aimed to



show that the history of planctus scholarship has moved in three more or less unrelated directions, each emphasising different aspects of its development. Since these areas of research remain incomplete and have never been brought together in a coherent history of planctus it is possible that important aspects of its development have been overlooked. I have also argued that the received definitions of planctus, especially in studies of the planctus and religious drama and funeral poetry, are ultimately grounded in the earliest planctus scholarship. At that time the idea of a genre of planctus was either implicit, but subordinated to a search for the sources of literary texts, or uncritically assumed, in the attempt to map out the field of study and to compare vernacular examples with Latin planctus. Later generations turned to this early work and since their concern with the planctus was not always an interest in it for its own sake they simply extracted the information they required and thus perpetuated the inherent weaknesses of former definitions of planctus. There have undoubtedly been a number of extremely useful, detailed studies of aspects of the planctus but there is still a need for a straightforward attempt to define it, paying attention to both text and music, in order to investigate its poetic and musical forms and styles and its social context, and ultimately to relate its development to contemporary music and poetry. In this way the main controversies in which the planctus has become crucially embroiled may either be illuminated or possibly simplified, and the question of whether it has an underlying literary or musical unity may be resolved.

### 3. The Definition of Planctus

An investigation of the characteristics and development of a literary or musical type presupposes a corpus of texts which can be studied in detail. From an early stage in many areas of research, for example, medieval romance,<sup>117</sup> the first studies included not only surveys of extant material but also the compilation of bibliographical lists. While the modern scholar may have to expand or update these in the light of new discoveries, or sift out what is relevant to his own concerns, most of the characteristic material has already been assembled according to the criteria of a clearly specified and reasonably consistently applied definition. However no single collection of planctus has been prepared; nor has a definitive bibliographical list been compiled, specifying the texts which should be included in this. As I have already demonstrated

the definitions of planctus employed by previous scholars arose from the specific nature of their particular areas of interest and were almost invariably based on an incomplete corpus of texts. While these studies were usefully suggestive their definitions do not provide a set of generally applicable criteria which can be employed for the selection of planctus from the vast corpus of medieval poetry.

One might expect to find such criteria suitably isolated in the descriptions of planctus published in literary or musical dictionaries or in general histories of verse.<sup>118</sup> However this is not always the case since these descriptions are necessarily dependent on the tradition of research which I have just discussed. They also vary in their degree of thoroughness and in their particular emphases since they are inevitably subject to the particular interests of the general field which they are intended to serve. Corbin's definition<sup>119</sup> for example is presented in an article about religious drama. Although she indicates that the planctus Mariae is not the only type of lament in the Middle Ages she leaves other types to the one side and concentrates on it. In contrast Dronke's discussion<sup>120</sup> of the main types of elegiac and lament poetry in medieval Europe under the rubric of planctus does not provide a detailed description of each type and is thus over general. Jammers<sup>121</sup> on the other hand simply lists a number of examples. The majority are planctus composed at the death of important personages though he also includes planctus ecclesiae, penitential laments, complaints of Christ and laments at the capture of Jerusalem. Strangely he does not mention the planctus Mariae. Since he does not offer a definition of planctus it is difficult to deduce the criteria he used in selecting his examples. More usefully Stevens<sup>122</sup> and Maillard<sup>123</sup> describe the planctus as a song of lamentation, Maillard also alluding to its limited range of subject matter. However neither provides sufficient information on which to base the compilation of a bibliographical list.

Medieval genres have indeed proved difficult to define. In fact it is not certain that generic distinctions are always useful or proper. While certain linguistic patterns and poetic themes often seem to be used together, suggesting that they belong to a recognised genre, some apparently conventional forms borrow features traditionally associated with other genres, for example, the dream allegory. Spearing<sup>124</sup> is not therefore prepared to describe it as an autonomous genre. Writers of medieval Latin poetry often show a tendency to borrow epithets and poetic forms from other poets, sometimes for the purposes of irony or parody, as Lehmann<sup>125</sup> has demonstrated, or often, as Norberg<sup>126</sup> explains,

for authority. In such cases there is no underlying sense of genre, rhetorical figures and topics and allusions to other works providing a generally available literary vocabulary.

Nevertheless genre seems to have been an essential aspect of musical and poetic art. A few poetic genres are typified by their general content alone, for example the alba,<sup>127</sup> while the most significant generic distinctions seem to have been based on musical and poetic formal patterns, which may themselves have been determined by the original function of the form. The most important examples of this type of genre are the formes fixes: the rondeau, virelai, ballade and carol.<sup>128</sup>

In order to establish a literary type as a genre it is necessary to know its history, so that it can be distinguished from other types of composition. However in theory its history cannot be known until the nature of the genre has itself been defined. As Warren and Wellek state:<sup>129</sup>

The dilemma of genre history is the dilemma of all history: i.e. in order to discover the scheme of reference (in this case, the genre) we must study the history; but we cannot study the history without having in mind some scheme of selection.

If previous research is unable to provide the necessary definition of planctus some other means of formulating it must therefore be sought. However there is no simple solution to this problem. On the one hand, generic terms used to designate a particular type of writing may not always have had the same meaning throughout the Middle Ages, for example, lai, romance and carol.<sup>130</sup> To trace the usage of such terms, to understand their range of reference and shifts of meaning, and thus to be able critically to distinguish normal usage from deviations or mistakes are reasonable goals of one approach. However in practice detailed knowledge of the subject is an essential prerequisite if a balanced account is to be achieved. On the other hand if modern terminology is applied to medieval styles it is likely that assumptions about intentions, conditions and resources, which might not be relevant to medieval literature, may be brought to bear. The task of maintaining theoretical consistency and categorial logic will be made more simple, but at the expense of an understanding of medieval usage, and with the likelihood that a false impression of generic purity will be conveyed.

The search for a definition of planctus is thus a circular procedure. At best the circle is hermeneutical. A trial and error approach seems to be the only way forward.<sup>131</sup> By beginning with a working definition, which can be revised, material can be collected on the basis of a consistent set of criteria. In order to ensure that this working definition

is relevant to medieval perceptions of planctus it is necessary to consider contemporary descriptions of how to write a planctus and the history of the word.

(a) Rhetorical prescriptions for the writing of a planctus

There are unfortunately very few accounts of how to write a planctus. It was not a recognised classical genre and thus does not feature in classical rhetorical treatises.<sup>132</sup> There are otherwise only a few extant accounts dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and these seem to reflect more the particular interests of their authors than an attempt to describe in detail how a planctus should be composed.

Geoffrey de Vinsauf's famous planctus 'Neustria sub clypeo' from his Poetria Nova,<sup>133</sup> the only Latin rhetorical treatise in which the art of writing a planctus is considered, is hardly a prescription of how to compose a lament. It is intended as an illustration of the rhetorical figure of amplification and is a deliberate virtuoso demonstration piece for would-be poets, rather than a faithful attempt to provide a model planctus which can be imitated topic by topic.<sup>134</sup> Moreover, that the planctus was already well-known in the schools of rhetoric and thus that Geoffrey's deliberate exaggeration of amplification would have been obvious to an informed reader is perhaps attested by Chaucer, who wryly mocks it in his Nun's Priest's Tale.<sup>135</sup> Although overdone, Geoffrey de Vinsauf's treatment of the planctus is at least indicative that it was considered to be a rhetorical type of lament.

The characteristics of the planh are briefly discussed in three treatises in vernacular languages: the early fourteenth-century Provençal Leys d'Amors;<sup>136</sup> the slightly later Catalan Doctrina de compondre dictats;<sup>137</sup> and the mid-fourteenth-century Provençal Compendi de la con-  
exença dels vicis que.s podon esdevenir en los dictats del Gay Saber,<sup>138</sup> a treatise written by Joan de Castellnou, which was strongly influenced by the Leys d'Amors<sup>139</sup> and in fact derives its short description of the planh from this earlier work. In both the Leys d'Amors and the Doctrina the planh is discussed very briefly. The author of the former comments laconically that it was a poem written not only at the loss or misfortune of a man or woman but also at the loss or destruction of a city in war. It is normally strophic and was supposed to be set to a newly composed melody, in long notes, though on account of the difficulty this presented to singers contrafacta were permitted. He stresses that his definition is deliberately general since he wishes to draw attention to the fact

that a planh can be composed at the destruction of a city as well as at a human loss. He thus writes as though he recognises that his readers will assume that the planh was normally composed at someone's death, which indeed seems to have been the case, but wishes to make it clear that it could have other uses too.

The author of the Doctrina includes laments written on both sad and amorous subjects in his description of the planh, insisting that the poet must aim to keep to his chosen theme, and suggesting that the planh was set to a well-known melody, as long as it was not a dança.<sup>140</sup> His main emphasis is, however, on the fact that the planh could be composed in almost all of the many poetic forms which he discussed earlier in his treatise. He is thus more interested in the technique of verse composition than in the particular characteristics of the planh, assuming, like the author of the Leys d'Amors, that his reader already knows its normal constituents.

The small differences between these two accounts concerning the type of melody and subject matter of the planh may therefore simply reflect the particular interests of their respective authors. Since they postdate almost all extant planhs, one might argue that they include the planh, not because it was still popular, but for the sake of completeness, or on account of an antiquarian interest in what has become an old-fashioned genre. However, it is possible that the author of the Leys d'Amors gives an accurate account of changes in the composition of planh melodies, since there is no twelfth-century example composed to a borrowed melody, yet a number of late thirteenth century-planhs are contrafacta.<sup>141</sup> The wider application of the term planh, referred to by both these authors may therefore indicate that by the fourteenth century it no longer alluded exclusively to the conventional death lament, but that it had taken on a new identity, perhaps such as is associated with the courtly chansons of Machaut.

Since these descriptions of the planctus from rhetorical treatises both postdate the majority of planctus written in Latin and in vernacular languages, and are not very specific about its characteristics, their value in the compilation of a working definition is limited. Nevertheless, they serve to underline the fact that the planctus was regarded as a rhetorical type of lament and that certainly later in its history it was not always confined to the subject of death.

(b) The meaning of the word planctus

The word planctus is derived from the past participle of the classical verb plango (generally: to strike or beat; and specifically: to beat the breasts; or to lament aloud or wring the hands).<sup>142</sup> The earliest recorded usage of the word planctus dates from the first century . . . when it was used by such late classical authors as Statius, Seneca, Juvenal and Lucan, normally in poetry, and meant generally 'a striking or beating accompanied by a loud noise', and, more specifically, either the sounds associated with mourning (breast-beating and wailing), or a song or poem of lamentation.<sup>143</sup> Perhaps the most significant work in which it occurs is the Vulgate.<sup>144</sup> Here it means either 'mourning and lamentation' or 'song of lamentation', the latter of which is associated with the ritual lament or dirge.<sup>145</sup> These usages would have been known throughout Christendom from the end of the fourth century, the period when the Vulgate was written.

It gradually seems to have lost its most general meaning, though examples of its specific meanings occur from the seventh century to the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>146</sup> As in the Vulgate, when referring to a song or poem of lamentation, or to mourning and lamentation, it is normally in connection with death, funerals, or the destruction of cities or settlements.<sup>147</sup> However, the titles of the sequence melodies mentioned above seem to indicate that by the ninth century it was already applied to laments of women (for example, planctus Bertanae and planctus sterilis), although the occasion of these is unknown, and to complaints on subjects other than death (for example, planctus cygni, planctus pueri captivi and planctus publicani).<sup>148</sup> Although it may also have been used of the penitential lament I have found only one such example, dating from the tenth century.<sup>149</sup>

Its meaning seems to have been extended further, particularly from the twelfth century, to include planctus Mariae, composed at the death of Christ, the lament at the destruction of Troy, 'Pergama flere volo', and in a few instances laments on subjects other than death or destruction, for example, the planctus ecclesiae - a complaint of the church at the corruption of its clerics.<sup>150</sup> While other types of complaint were also composed from at least the late eleventh century, including one of 'a man in desperation',<sup>151</sup> of Christ,<sup>152</sup> of a nun,<sup>153</sup> of the jilted lover,<sup>154</sup> and of classical personages,<sup>155</sup> I have found no examples which are entitled planctus in manuscript rubrics, and very few in which the speaker of the complaint describes his utterances as planctus.<sup>156</sup>

Three late medieval usages of planctus should also be mentioned.

Firstly, as will have been noted earlier, the word was used of the Marienkloge, which centres on the lament of the Virgin at the cross, but includes dialogue with other personages. Secondly, prose and verse meditations on the Passion (which occasionally contain short laments of the Virgin) are sometimes rubricated planctus.<sup>157</sup> The reason for this seems to be that in this period meditation on the Passion tended to focus on the Virgin's grief as a means of making the sufferings of Christ more moving.<sup>158</sup> Hence, in this context, the word planctus alludes to the occasion of her lament and not necessarily to her utterances of grief. Examples include the prose tractatus de planctu beatae Mariae Virginis,<sup>159</sup> attributed to St. Bernard, and a number of prose works as yet unpublished.<sup>160</sup> Occasionally verse meditations are also entitled planctus,<sup>161</sup> though these are more often called de compassione beatae Mariae Virginis.<sup>162</sup> Thirdly, in one instance, a votive mass in a fifteenth-century missal from Utrecht is entitled Officium de planctu beatae Mariae Virginis.<sup>163</sup>

In vernacular languages the cognates<sup>164</sup> of planctus normally mean either death lament or complaint, the latter usage being particularly frequent in both French and English.<sup>165</sup> Latin rubrics were however often used in works of a devotional nature, such as the Marienkloge, and the Provençal Jeu de Sainte Agnes.<sup>166</sup> While in the latter the word planctus is frequently applied to death laments or complaints it is also used to describe a large number of items which have nothing to do with lament or complaint whatsoever.<sup>167</sup>

The history of the word planctus indicates that its most important usages refer either to mourning and lamentation associated with death or destruction or to a song or poem of lamentation often at a funeral. However, its usage was gradually extended to include complaints of various types in response to other kinds of loss, particularly from the twelfth century. It therefore seems reasonable on both theoretical and pragmatic grounds that a study of the planctus should begin with the death lament.

### (c) Method of study and outline of the thesis

I thus started from the following working definition:

The planctus is a conventional lament written at the death of a king, poet or patron, or at the destruction of a city, or about the death of a personage from classical or biblical history, a definition informed by previous studies of the planctus, medieval rhetorical prescription and the history of the word planctus. This

was used in bibliographical searches for planctus in Latin, French, Provençal, German, English, Italian, Spanish, Catalan and Gallego-Portuguese composed between ca.560 and ca.1500.<sup>168</sup> This entailed consulting inventories and indexes of poetry,<sup>169</sup> anthologies of verse and the manuscript catalogues of the larger libraries, that is, in Paris, London, Munich, Oxford and Cambridge. As a result of a preliminary investigation of the material which I had listed the working definition was expanded to:

The planctus is a formal lament containing an utterance of grief composed at the death of a king, poet, patron, bishop or other important personage, or at the destruction of a city, or about the death of a personage from classical or biblical history. It is usually written in syllabic verse (including a number of sequences), is occasionally in prose and was normally set to music.

However, the establishment of a group of poems or songs which share similar characteristics is in itself of limited value. It provides no indication as to the significance of the relationship between the members of the group. In other words, in the first instance, the bibliographical list is a taxonomic class. Its members do not necessarily constitute a genre. The question remains: are the shared characteristics shaped by the same controlling idea, an idea which provides the basis of generic unity, and, across time, the genesis of an identifiably homogeneous tradition? Or are they conventions which are dictated by other organising principles?

An investigation of whether the planctus is a genre must therefore begin with the question: does it have an underlying unity? In this thesis an attempt is made to answer this question in relation to the Latin planctus.<sup>170</sup> The argument advanced is that the Latin planctus can be established as a genre on literary grounds, its underlying unity deriving from the fact that it expresses grief primarily at a public death. I also demonstrate that it is typified by considerable variety, particularly in its musical settings, and suggest that the patterned nature of a large number of these may provide important clues about the nature and aesthetic of early medieval monophonic song.

The results of my investigations are discussed in the following chapters. Through an examination of the manuscript sources of planctus I aim to discover what can be learnt from these about its social context. Its poetic form and metre, and the relative significance of the sequence in its composition are then considered. The form, mode and style of its extant musical settings are investigated next. A discussion of its subject matter and literary style then follows, where I



provide a typology of the Latin planctus and illustrate the diversity of its treatment. In my chapter on the relationship between words and music I consider whether there was an expressive link between the two and address myself to the question of rhythmic interpretation. In conclusion, I discuss the relationship between the planctus and contemporary monophonic song.

## CHAPTER TWO: THE MANUSCRIPTS

### 1. Introduction

The role of the palaeographer has been compared to that of the archaeologist.<sup>1</sup> Both approach their objects of study with the assumption that, even on the basis of incomplete evidence, a relatively coherent picture of the past may be reconstructed. The archaeologist knows that he cannot rely on all aspects of a culture having been preserved; he is aware that what survives is not necessarily precisely representative of the life of that culture; rather it may be a function of the enduring physical properties of the surviving object, its individual history and how it was finally preserved, or some other fortuitous factor. While he realises that caution must be exercised in the assessment of the importance of surviving pieces, such that undue emphasis is not placed on particular, possibly atypical objects, he can be fairly confident that he will be able to explain the significance of what has survived.

The palaeographer likewise accepts that much original material has not survived and, in addition, that much may not even have been written down. He can neither make meaningful statements about material which can only be assumed to have existed, nor be certain that what has been preserved has the potential to provide a continuous history of the subject under examination. He also has to contend with the fact that the surviving material may have been copied for purposes other than those which it was originally intended to serve. While the history of planctus manuscripts which have not survived and the history of planctus which were never written down are inaccessible to us, the extant manuscripts containing planctus have survived for reasons and these may be deducible. An understanding of these reasons should therefore suggest valuable information about the social environment of the planctus. The content and layout of individual books have also been the result of particular circumstances, the details of which may furnish significant disclosures about the role of the planctus. In a chapter on the social environment of the planctus it is therefore essential not to overlook what can be

learnt from the fact of a manuscript's survival, as well as from the contents and arrangement of the individual book.

A general picture of the origins and dissemination of the planctus can to some extent be inferred from a comparison of the date and provenance of each manuscript containing a planctus. The purpose of a manuscript can be deduced from its type and quality: these can be ascertained from its general contents; its size; the amount of space available for each item and corresponding size of script; the extent of decoration and the nature of the binding, if it is the original one; and the general condition of the book. Where there are rubrics these may give precise indications of the purpose of a planctus, although they are not always explicit or entirely reliable, as they are often added later by a rubricator unfamiliar with the precise nature of the manuscript's contents and the compiler's conception of its general design.

Since not all planctus survive as an integral part of the book to which they belong, it will be necessary to distinguish between those that do and those which are later additions or space fillers and therefore not in keeping with the theme or purpose of the book's other items. Whether a planctus was part of a book's original design can be assessed by an examination of the scribe's presentation of it. Important considerations include: its position in a quire and its relationship to the other items of the book; the space which was apparently available for it; the size and carefulness of the script and whether it is in the hand used in the rest of the manuscript; the attention paid to the poetic line in setting out the planctus and corresponding usage of initial capitals and punctuation; the use of decoration; and whether leaves containing planctus are numbered according to the foliation or foliations of the rest of a book. Where a planctus survives with a musical setting it is also necessary to examine whether both the text and the musical notation were written by the same scribe.<sup>2</sup>

There are clearly difficulties which arise in making generalisations about a corpus of manuscripts which span some six hundred years and originated from all over Europe. As one might expect when dealing with what is primarily an occasional type of verse there is no distinct repertory of planctus manuscripts, as there is, for example, in the case of the sequence.<sup>3</sup> Planctus are found in a wide range of books containing repertories of differing types, in miscellanies, or as relatively isolated items in books whose contents are unrelated to them.

Allowances must be made for the likelihood that manuscripts containing planctus may have been lost, or that some planctus may not have

been written down; it must also be borne in mind that precise information concerning the date and provenance of those manuscripts which are extant cannot always be established. Nevertheless, it is only reasonable and practical that a discussion of the social environment or the planctus should centre on the tangible details which are available; it must, however, be understood that the evidence on which this chapter is based is necessarily incomplete. While, where appropriate, evidence derived from historical sources will be invoked there is unfortunately only a limited amount of this. To some extent therefore the conclusions which will be drawn must be regarded as tentative.

One further difficulty which constantly arises concerns the fact that the probable date of composition of a planctus (that is, some time shortly after the death of the deceased in the case of non-fictional planctus, and, of course, within the lifetime of the author, where this is known) is often a hundred to one hundred and fifty years earlier than the date of the first or only extant manuscript in which it survives.<sup>4</sup> Except normally in the case of liturgical books, there can therefore be no certainty that a manuscript indicates the original social environment of a planctus. However the surviving evidence has the potential to indicate the type of social environment in which planctus continued to be found.

This chapter will be divided up according to the following chronologically arranged periods:

- (a) Planctus composed before 950,
- (b) Planctus composed 950-1130,
- (c) Planctus composed 1131-1300,
- (d) Planctus composed 1301-ca.1405.

This is both in order to provide an historical basis for my discussion (thus highlighting particular changes which took place in the role of the planctus), and for pragmatic reasons, deriving from the need to devise a systematic means of organising a large corpus of material. However, where copies of a planctus survive in manuscripts dating from a period later than that during which it was composed I will include these in my discussion of the period in which it originated, unless, as in a few instances, it is a planctus which was adapted or 'recreated' for some other purpose in a later period. Manuscripts are referred to using the sigla listed above under Sigla used for Manuscript Citations. For a brief outline of the relationship between planctus and their manuscript sources, and of the nature and contents of each manuscript the reader should consult Appendix B: Notes on Manuscripts containing Planctus Composed before ca.1405.

With the qualifications which were made above, I will argue that the manuscripts containing planctus indicate that it was mainly of monastic provenance, that is, apart from surviving in books which belonged originally to religious houses, it was normally composed by monks for deceased members of the community, ecclesiastical leaders, or secular patrons, primarily for monastic use; and that it served a number of different purposes, for example, as a liturgical item; as a teaching exemplum, or school exercise; as a gloss on history in chronicles or collections of historical writings; as a piece of edifying, imitable or instructive verse in anthologies; as a sung or spoken tribute to an ecclesiastical leader or patron; and, especially from the twelfth century, as part of a religious drama and as a meditation on the Passion. However, as I will demonstrate, although the reason for copying a planctus is often given explicitly in manuscript sources, or can be deduced with reasonable certainty, there are frequently grounds for doubting that this reflects the purpose for which it was originally composed.

## 2. Planctus Composed Before 950

Table One lists the planctus composed in this period. Half are planctus composed at the death of a personage from biblical history; the other half were written either about recently deceased kings, nobles, or ecclesiastical leaders, or about the destruction of a city. The planctus on a biblical theme belong unambiguously to the following types of manuscript:

- (a) the antiphoner (L90, L139, L67, L27, L89, L28, L142, L128a, L128)
- (b) the troper (L134)

There is however no uniformity in the type of manuscript and therefore in the repertory to which the remaining examples belong. They survive either as integral parts of the following types of manuscript:

- (a) the anthology of verse on mainly religious themes which often forms part of a composite book:

B-Br 8860-67 (s.x in.)	(L1)
B-Br 10615-10725 (s.xii)	(L87)
CH-BEsu 455 (s.x)	(L86)
D-Fulda (s.x) (destroyed)	(L1)
D-TRs 133c (s.xi-s.xii)	(L1)
F-CF 240 (s.ix ex.-s.xii in.)	(L80)
F-Pn lat.1154 (s.ix-s.x)	(L1, L66, L86)
GB-Cu Gg 5.35 (s.xi mid.)	(L19)
I-VEcap 90 (s.ix ex.)	(L1)

<u>Music</u>	<u>Ref.no.</u>	<u>Incipit/Author</u>	<u>Event/Deceased</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Date of earliest and latest MSS</u>	<u>No. of MS sources</u>
<u>PLANCTUS OF A BIBLICAL PERSONAGE</u>						
J	L90	Montes Gelboe <u>R</u>	David's lament for Saul & Jonathan	>s.viii in.	s.ix <sup>2</sup> ff..	x
J	L139	Rex autem David <u>A</u>	David's lament for Absalom	?	s.ix <sup>2</sup> ff..	x
J	L67	In excelsis <u>A</u>	David's lament for Saul & Jonathan	?	s.x ex. ff..	x
J	L27	Doleo super te <u>A</u>	"	?	s.x ff..	x
J	L89	Montes Gelboe <u>A</u>	"	?	s.xi mid. ff..	x
J	L28	Doleo super te <u>R</u>	"	?	s.xi ff..	x
J	L142	Saul et Jonathas <u>A</u>	"	?	s.xi ff..	x
J	L128a	Planxit autem <u>R</u>	"	?	s.xi ff..	x
J	L128	Planxit autem <u>A</u>	"	?	s.xii in. ff..	x
J	L134	Quid tu Virgo (Notker Babulus + 912)	Rachel's lament for her sons.	ca.880	s.x <sup>2</sup> - s.xvi in.	x
<u>PLANCTUS AT THE DESTRUCTION OF A CITY</u>						
	L7	Ad flendos (Paulinus of Aquileia + 802)	Destruction of Aquileia in 454	s.viii ex.	s.ix - s.x	2
<u>PLANCTUS ABOUT AN HISTORICAL PERSONAGE</u>						
(J)	L86	Mecum Timavi (Paulinus of Aquileia)	Eric, Count of Friuli	799	s.x	3
(J)	L1	A solis ortu (Columbanus of St.Trond	Emperor Charlemagne fl.785-815)	814	s.ix - s.xii	6
	L127	Plangite quaeso (Radbert of Corbie + ca.865)	Adalhard, Abbot of Corbie.	826	s.x - s.xviii	3
(J)	L66	Hug dulce nomen	Hugh, Abbot of St. Quentin	844	s.x	1
	L87	Mente tristamur (Sedulius Scottus fl.848-858)	Hartgar, Bishop of Liège	854	s.xi	1
	L33	Ecce Judas	Adelhard, Count of Paris	s.ix ex.	s.x	1
	L100	O Fulco (Sigloard of Rheims fl.s.ix ex. - s.x in.)	Fulk, Archbishop of Rheims	900	no MS extant	-
	L19	Cordas tange	William, Earl of Aquitaine	918	s.xi mid.	1
	L80	Laxis fibris	William Longsword, Count of Normandy	942	s.ix - s.xi	2

TABLE ONE: PLANCTUS COMPOSED BEFORE 950

- (b) the chronicle (L100: no MS extant)
- (c) the miscellany of religious writings:

B-Br 7569 (s.xvii ex.- s.xviii)	(L127)
F-AM 461 (s.xiv ex.)	(L127)
F-Pn lat.18296 (s.x)	(L127)

or, in the case of a significant number which belong to books to which they are not related, as:

- (d) items on flyleaves:

CH-BEsu 394 (s.x)	(L86)
-------------------	-------

- (e) space fillers either at the beginning or at the end of a book:

A-Wn 891 (s.x)	(L7)
F-Pn lat.2683 (s.ix - s.x)	(L33)
F-Pn lat.10440 (s.ix)	(L1)
NL-DHk 830 (s.ix)	(L7)

- (f) a marginal addition:

I-F1 Libri 30 (s.ix-s.xi)	(L80)
---------------------------	-------

I will therefore discuss the manuscripts containing planctus on a biblical theme first.

#### (a) Planctus on a biblical theme

The nine planctus found in antiphoners (and subsequently in breviaries from the eleventh century when this type of book began to be compiled) were initially monastic compositions: they are either responsories or antiphons ex evangelio which belonged to the Historia Regum. While they remained in usage throughout the Middle Ages only the antiphon 'Montes Gelboe' (L89) is still in use today.<sup>5</sup> The Historia Regum formed part of the Office on the first Sunday (or Sundays) after Pentecost, and contained chants which correspond with the Gospel reading for this particular day, taken from the Book of Kings (including David's lament for Saul and Jonathan and also his lament for Absalom).<sup>6</sup> As is evident from the differing combinations of chants included in each antiphoner<sup>7</sup> and from the fact that they were not necessarily sung on the same day<sup>8</sup> there was a certain amount of variance from place to place in the organisation of this Office, although it conforms generally to the conventional structure of the liturgy for this period.

Owing to the fact that antiphoners were not compiled until the end of the eighth century, during the period of the Carolingian Renaissance, and because the chants of the Historiae were not always included in the earliest antiphoners, it is not possible to deduce from manuscript evidence how long these planctus had been in the liturgy, let alone where and when they were originally composed. One, at least, the responsory,

'Montes Gelboe' (L90), is alluded to by Bede in his Aliquot quaestionum liber,<sup>9</sup> indicating that it was already in use by the early eighth century, before the advent of the antiphoner. The distribution of this and other examples in the earliest extant antiphoners presents an incomplete picture of their history:

MS	L90	L139	L67	L27	L89
Charles the Bald's (unnotated) antiphoner F-Pn lat.17436 (ca.860-80) from St. Corneille de Compiègne (earliest complete antiphoner):	x	x			
The Hartker Codex CH-SGs 390-91 (ca.980-1011) (the earliest east Frankish antiphoner):	x	x	x		
The gradual-antiphoner of Mont-Renaud, Private Collection (s.x), from St.Denis in Paris (second earliest west Frankish antiphoner):	x	x		x	
'Leofric Collectar' GB-Lbl Harley 2961 (s.xi) from Exeter (an early English source of Office chants):					x
'Portiforium of St.Wulstan' GB-Ccc 391 (1065-66) a monastic breviary from Worcester:	x	x			x

The wide geographical range of these manuscripts and of manuscript sources of the remaining examples (L28, L142, L128a and L128) indicates that these antiphons and responsories must already have been part of the Office for some considerable time in the main religious houses of Europe.<sup>10</sup>

The early antiphoner contained the antiphons and other choir chants sung at the services of the Office and sometimes also the chants for the Mass. While the chants for the period between Advent and Easter were grouped into Offices according to the liturgical calendar the responsories and antiphons for the sequence of Sundays after Pentecost, when also included,<sup>11</sup> were arranged differently: the responsories were normally copied separately from the antiphons in five groups, according to the months from July to November, when the prophetic and sapiential books were read; the antiphons were however grouped according to Sundays, corresponding with the Gospel readings. This may suggest that antiphons ex evangelio were not originally included in the antiphoner, and that they may not therefore belong to the earliest layers of chant composition.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, although some of the antiphons under discussion may, relatively speaking, have been later additions to the chant, it seems more than likely that they formed part of the Office by at least the tenth century. In the case of these nine planctus it is evident that their manuscript sources indicate unambiguously that their function was



liturgical.

The one other planctus on a biblical theme from this period, the sequence 'Quid tu Virgo' (L134), is found in proser or copies of Notker's Liber hymnorum which form part of a troper, or occasionally an appendage to a gradual, for example, A-Wn 1845 (ca.1040-61). The textless melody of this planctus, entitled virgo plorans,<sup>13</sup> is found in sequentiaries which also belong to tropers, for example, CH-SGs 484 (s.xi in.).

The troper was usually a small book (230-265mm x 105-170mm) probably used by a solo singer and normally contained tropes of the Proper and Ordinary, processional antiphons, a tonary, a proser and a sequentiary.<sup>14</sup> It is rarely decorated, rubrics and initial capitals generally being written in red. The functional nature of the presentation and signs of wear and discoloration at the corners of leaves suggest that the troper was frequently used. The music of the St.Gall troper is written in the adiastematic notation characteristic of this religious centre: though pitch is not indicated some suggestions are given concerning this and about rhythmic interpretation in those manuscripts which include significant letters.<sup>15</sup>

The texts of the proser are normally associated with particular seasons, feasts, or saints' days, corresponding to those of the liturgical year. When, however, the sequence was first sung in the Mass as the item immediately following the alleluia remains a matter of uncertainty. That Notker originally composed sequences to fit melodiae longissimae in order to aid the singer's memory is attested in his Preface to the Liber hymnorum.<sup>16</sup> These were probably the extended melismas which grew from the jubilus, a short melisma traditionally attached to the end of the alleluia and its verse. However, Notker neither explains what the melodiae longissimae were, nor indicates whether his sequences were performed in the Mass. Interestingly, he relates how he first copied his little verses (versiculos, versicles?) onto rolls (rotulas). These were then distributed to the pupils of Marcellus, his teacher. Only later was he requested to make a fair copy for the Bishop of Vercelli.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the earliest manuscript sources of his sequences postdate the time of their composition (ca.880) by almost a century. In these Notker's sequences are assigned to particular liturgical occasions - 'Quid tu Virgo' (L134) to the Mass de uno martyre, indicating probably that by this time (the late tenth century) they were performed during the Mass. However, there is no evidence that Notker's sequences

were initially intended as anything other than teaching devices.

It is not therefore certain that 'Quid tu Virgo' would have been sung at Mass during the period with which I am concerned at present. However, some time after 950 it is probable that it would have formed an important constituent, remaining in liturgical use until the Council of Trent (1545-63), when nearly all sequences were abolished.

(b) Planctus about recently deceased personages and the destruction of a city

While it is clear that planctus on a biblical theme from this period - monastic compositions of monastic provenance - belonged to particular types of repertory, the purpose of which is self-evident (the specific role of each example normally being indicated unambiguously in rubrics), this is not the case with the remainder. Although they are normally composed by monks about ecclesiastical leaders or patrons and are preserved in books of monastic provenance they do not belong to a distinct repertory; nor are the reasons why they were copied always suggested by the particular types of manuscript in which they survive, or specified in rubrics. These factors suggest that there was no uniformity in the social environment of these examples. However, this cannot be assumed. Two further features of the manuscript history of the early planctus must also be taken into consideration: firstly, the manuscripts postdate the probable date of composition of the planctus which they contain normally by at least fifty years; secondly, a significant number of the manuscripts are of German or Swiss provenance, and thus often far removed from the places where the planctus which they contain were composed (that is, in French, Norman or Belgian monasteries).

There is nothing unusual about these discrepancies of time and place. However, they strongly suggest that planctus were transmitted orally and written down later, or, in some cases, either that they initially belonged to books which have since been destroyed, or that they were circulated on single leaves of parchment or bifolia, which were subsequently bound into manuscripts containing works on subjects unrelated to them, or destroyed through wear and tear. There is therefore no guarantee that a knowledge of the purpose of its manuscript source or sources necessarily points to the invariable or original social environment of a planctus; nor is there any means of establishing whether the posited original purposes of planctus were similar or varied. These uncertainties are furthermore enhanced by the fact

that there are so few planctus extant from this period: it is thus all the more difficult to make meaningful generalisations about their role.

Since, compared to planctus which are contained in verse anthologies or which are unrelated to the contents of the book to which they belong, those found in the chronicle and in the miscellany of religious writings, and one example which acts as a space filler, are the least problematic I will discuss these first.

Sigloard of Rheims' planctus (L100) for Archbishop Fulk of Rheims survived as an item in an abridged version (now destroyed) of the Historia Remensis Ecclesiae,<sup>18</sup> a chronicle of Rheims, written by Flodhoard (+ 966). In other copies of it a brief account of Fulk's life and murder at the hands of Winemar, Ewerard and Ratfrid precedes a copy of Fulk's epitaph.<sup>19</sup> Only in this destroyed manuscript was the epitaph followed by Sigloard's planctus, where it was described as rhythmus.<sup>20</sup> While the copyist of this version of Flodhoard's chronicle might have composed the planctus himself, inserting his own work after the epitaph, there seems no basis for doubting his attribution of it to Sigloard, a canon of Rheims, who was a direct contemporary of Fulk. Had he wanted to give his own creation greater authority a more auspicious poet could have been cited. Since Fulk's funeral is described in some detail in this planctus it seems likely that it was not composed until after the burial had taken place. While, as a moral interpretation of recent history, this planctus is well-placed in a chronicle, where it effectively provides a gloss on events which are otherwise reported laconically, Sigloard's reason for composing it in the first place is not illuminated. That it was intended for use in the funeral liturgy, as Cohen<sup>21</sup> suggested, seems highly unlikely, on account of Sigloard's detailed account of the funeral; whether it was performed in commemorative Masses cannot be established one way or the other, owing to the lack of evidence. Since it is written in syllabically regular four-line stanzas, it seems quite possible that it may have been sung. To Sigloard the planctus is a conventional type of poem, such as is associated with the occasional verse of the Poet Laureate; not only is it a means of extolling the deceased's virtues, but it is also an opportunity to recount a treacherous murder, where the moral that evildoers will be punished can be expounded. One might speculate, therefore, that this planctus represents the informal tribute of a monk to a local ecclesiastical dignitary, with whom he worked closely; it was possibly recited or sung as a form of entertainment and

instruction in monasteries in the Rheims diocese, and eventually included in a copy of a chronicle about that locality.

Radbert of Corbie's planctus for Adalhard of Corbie (L127) follows the same author's Vita Sancti Adalhardi<sup>22</sup> in each of the religious miscellanies to which it belongs. This implies that it was regarded as a suitable epilogue to the Vita, its length and allegorical sophistication suggesting that along with the Vita it was not written immediately after Adalhard's death. Like Sigloard's planctus it represents a commemoration of an important ecclesiastical leader, this time a monastic one: the founder of New Corbie. It could be regarded as an informal tribute to a local saint who would also have been commemorated in special Masses immediately after his death and then annually.<sup>23</sup> Whether it was intended for silent reading or for performance is not indicated in the manuscript rubrics. Since it takes the form of a dialogue or debate the latter is not unlikely. Although it is in a quantitative metre and survives without musical notation this does not necessarily mean that it was not sung.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, as an allegorical debate in the idiom of a pastoral eclogue it seems more likely that it would have been spoken. This planctus was clearly composed by a monk for a monastic leader and remained as an item in monastic books, its earliest extant source belonging to the monastery of Corbie, the place where both Adalhard and Radbert spent most of their lives.

Paulinus of Aquileia's planctus about the destruction of Aquileia (L7) acts as a space filler, followed by another poem on this city,<sup>25</sup> at the end of the two manuscripts in which it survives. Although unrelated to the other contents of the books to which they belong the two poems make up a pair: both are abecedarians, Paulinus's poem recounting the city's fall at the hands of Attila in 454, the other celebrating its glories. Paulinus's poem - a moral historical work - looks back to the past and is not a response to recent events. Both its moral sentiments and status as part of a two-piece anthology on Aquileia would have appealed to the compiler who wished to fill the remaining leaves of his book with a short item which had thematic unity.

However, the remaining manuscript sources provide little indication of the role of planctus about recently deceased personages. It might be safest to conclude that either as items of various types of anthology, or as space fillers, flyleaf items or marginalia they must surely have been conventional commemorative poems like those of

Sigloard and Radbert, or possibly merely school exercises. While it cannot be proved conclusively this deduction would not be contradicted by the nature of the manuscript sources. The main types of anthology are as follows:

- (a) the collection of hymns and verse on religious themes including also classical extracts and metrical works by Boethius in most instances (B-Br 8860-67 (s.x in.) (L1); CH-BEsu 455 (s.x) (L86); D-Fulda (s.x) (destroyed) (L1))
- (b) the collected poetical works of an author (Sedulius Scottus: B-Br 10615-10725 (s.xii) (L87))
- (c) the collection of hymns and verse as described in (a) belonging to a composite book (F-Pn lat.1154 (s.ix-s.x) (L1, L66, L86))
- (d) the collection of verse in a miscellany of religious writings (D-TRs 133c (s.xi-s.xii) (L1); F-CF 240 (s.ix ex.-s.xii in.) (L80); I-VEcap 90 (85) (s.ix ex.)(L1))
- (e) the collection of secular and religious verse in a florilegium (GB-Cu Gg.5.35 (s.xi mid.) (L19))

Sedulius's planctus for Bishop Hartgar of Liège (L86) has presumably survived since it represents part of this author's collected poetical works, which were esteemed for their literary and devotional qualities. Like the other examples already discussed it is a conventional commemorative poem. Sedulius's verse was written in quantitative metres, none of it surviving with a musical setting. It therefore seems likely that this planctus was not intended to be sung. Although its only extant manuscript source comes from the monastery of St. Eucharius in Trier, a religious centre not far removed from Liège (the place where Sedulius was a monk in orders and Hartgar a bishop), it is a twelfth-century book and thus considerably later than the date of Sedulius's oeuvres. The most likely explanation of this is that some intermediary manuscript source has now been lost.

If the reason why Sedulius's planctus was copied in a manuscript written long after the date of composition of the poem is fairly clear, and its original purpose comparable to that of the planctus composed by Sigloard and Radbert, the same cannot be said about the planctus composed at the death of William of Aquitaine (L19). Although it survives in a florilegium, the Cambridge Songs section of GB-Cu Gg.5.35 (s.xi mid.), the educational purpose of which is at first sight obvious, there are no rubrics for this poem and therefore no indications of the purpose it was intended to serve. Whether it (or the other songs in the collection) was copied as a model of a particular rhetorical topic or figure, a grammatical point or poetic metre is therefore left open to speculation. The Cambridge Songs collection was probably copied from

a Rhenish exemplar. What is therefore puzzling is that while the other poems in this collection based on historical material allude to events from east Frankish history, this planctus clearly treats of a west Frankish personage, once the Earl of Aquitaine. Furthermore, compared to the other historical items of the collection, which all allude to events from the late tenth century and early eleventh century, this piece refers to an event which took place some one hundred and thirty years before the manuscript was copied. Either it was transmitted orally or its other manuscript sources have now been lost. That it was simply a school exercise is not impossible, though it seems unlikely that anyone from Germany, or from Canterbury (where the Cambridge Songs were copied) would have wished to do his homework on someone from a place so far afield as Aquitaine. Even if the specific reason why this planctus was included in the Cambridge Songs collection were known, it is moreover unlikely that it would reflect its previous or original social environment.

Though contained in differing types of manuscript, the remaining anthologies are made up of similar kinds of verse, often the same items,<sup>26</sup> and present the same sorts of problem: they postdate the date of composition of the planctus which they contain by fifty to two hundred years; they originated from religious centres far removed from the place where the planctus which belong to them were composed; and they give little indication in their occasional rubrics as to why the planctus was copied. Although their general purpose is also unclear it can to some extent be inferred from the nature of the anthologies' contents.

Since they contain chiefly religious verse they can reasonably be associated with extra-liturgical religious devotion. This conclusion holds good even when, as in a number of instances, classical excerpts or some of the metrical songs of Boethius are also included: since such works were esteemed for their moral worth they would not have been out of keeping with religious verse. It should however be remembered that the bibliographical practices of the tenth and eleventh centuries affected the manuscript compiler's choice of material. Though he would no doubt have aimed to select material according to some principle of unity, he may often have been obliged to avail himself of whatever happened to be accessible at the time, whether in written form or as remembered by a member of the community or a visiting monk. A study of the different texts of 'A solis ortu' (L1) indicates that it was either very badly recalled or that it was occasionally revised.<sup>27</sup>

Accordingly, little can be inferred from these manuscripts about the role of a planctus before it was included in them. However, although they provide no positive proof they do not contradict the suggestion made earlier that planctus at the death of recently deceased personages were composed as informal tributes to local dignitaries. In fact this suggestion is given strong support in connection with 'A solis ortus' (L1), with reference to the one specific rubric provided for it: Hymnus Columbani ad Andream episcopum de obitu Caroli. Since this is recorded only in a seventeenth-century printed copy of the now destroyed Fulda manuscript (D-Fulda) the authenticity of the rubric has rarely been accepted.<sup>28</sup> On the assumption that poets do not talk to themselves in their verse the apostrophe 'O Columbane' in this example has been interpreted as an invocation to St. Columbanus. Since he was the patron saint of the monastery of Bobbio in Italy a long line of scholars have deduced that this planctus must have been composed by an anonymous monk of Bobbio.<sup>29</sup> However, Lapidge<sup>30</sup> has recently argued convincingly that it was written by Columbanus of St. Trond who was abbot of this monastery at the time of Charlemagne's death. As such, he would probably have been present at the funeral, since St. Trond is in the same diocese as Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Emperor died. Lapidge suggests that Columbanus, an Irishman, composed this planctus shortly after the funeral as a token of his respect for a monarch who had shown especial hospitality to Irishmen at his court; he then sent it to a fellow Irishman, a certain Cadac-Andreas, who was then Bishop of Bourges. It thus seems reasonably clear that this planctus was originally composed for a personal reason and that it was later included in verse anthologies on religious themes.

However, if the surviving manuscript sources lend some support to this suggestion and do not contradict it, they similarly provide some grounds for believing that a small number of planctus, notably those which survive with music (L1, L66, L86) and one other (L33), may have been associated with the funeral liturgy or with commemorative Masses for the deceased. Although this hypothesis should not be pressed too far arguments in its favour can be advanced with reference to two manuscripts each containing a planctus which functions as a space filler and by considering both the nature of the contents of the anthologies and the types of rubrics employed in them.

'Ecce Judas' (L33) survives in its only known manuscript source - F-Pn lat.2683 (s.ix-s.x), from the monastery of St. Germain d'Auxerre - as a space filler. The main works of this book, an exemplar, are two treatises on Hebrew names by Hieronymus. The planctus, grouped with

two other tenth-century additions, is preceded by an unidentified item on the subject of baptism and followed by an alleluia from the Mass,<sup>31</sup> each in different hands. The alleluia is not recorded in any contemporary liturgical books; Gastoué considers that its approximate date of composition is s.x/s.xi.<sup>32</sup> It is thus quite likely that this manuscript represents one of the earliest records of it and that it indicates that newly composed liturgical items which were not added to existing liturgical books may have been written down as space fillers in non-liturgical books. That 'Ecce Judas' might also have been a liturgical or para-liturgical item, on account of the company it has kept, is therefore a possibility.

A similar situation exists with respect to one of the earliest manuscript sources of 'A solis ortu' (L1) - F-Pn lat.10440 (s.ix), from Echternach. This planctus, which functions as a space filler at the beginning of the book, is also followed by an alleluia,<sup>33</sup> written in a different hand. Gastoué considers that it was composed s.x ex..<sup>34</sup> This planctus might therefore also have been associated with the liturgy. However, since in both instances the liturgical items were added in different hands this deduction can only be put forward tentatively.

It can to some extent be reinforced with reference to the nature of the contents of the anthologies and their rubrics. A discussion of F-Pn lat.1154 (s.ix-s.x), from Aquitaine, will serve to illustrate this. Its twenty-two items are mainly on religious themes, for example, penitential songs, sequences, and hymns, including the liturgical hymn 'Pange lingua gloriosi proelium' by Fortunatus (+ ca.610); as well as the three planctus there are also some metrical poems by Boethius, which are notated, and an historical song. Apart from their generally devotional theme, the main feature which most of these songs have in common is the rubric versus. The only exceptions are two of the three planctus, three hymns, two items called ritmus (rhythmus), and one entitled carmen. As Stäblein<sup>35</sup> points out the items rubricated carmen or ritmus have no formal or substantial qualities which distinguish them from the versus, a term with several different meanings,<sup>36</sup> but here used in the plural to signify a poem or song, often with a refrain, written in either quantitative or non-quantitative metres. The rubric for the planctus of Paulinus of Aquileia for Count Eric of Friuli, 'Mecum Timavi' (L86), is versus, as it is in each of its two other manuscript sources. Although the other two planctus in this collection are called planctus, one can reasonably conclude, following Stäblein's reasoning,



that they are also versus. Stäblein considers that versus such as 'Sacrata libri dogmata' from CH-SGs 381 (s.x) represent forerunners of the conductus.<sup>37</sup> Like a great many twelfth-century conductus it is a para-liturgical composition. In this instance it is preserved in a liturgical book and preceded by the rubric: versus Hartmanni ante Evangelium cum legatur canendi. Though not indicated in the manuscript, this versus would probably have been performed when the person reading the Gospel moved to the lectern. Stäblein is not prepared, however, to relate the versus of F-Pn lat.1154 (s.ix-s.x) to the conductus, because it is not a liturgical book; but this assumes that there was a conventional format for writing down para-liturgical compositions in this period, which seems highly unlikely, considering that parts of the canon liturgy were still being written down for the first time even in the late tenth century. It is probable that many para-liturgical pieces would not have been written down at all, or if so, only where they could be conveniently fitted in. Moreover, the hymn 'Pange lingua gloriosi proelium' is included in the verse anthologies of both I-VEcap 90 (85) (s.ix ex.) and F-Pn lat.1154 (s.ix-s.x); it properly belonged to the Adoratio Crucis from the late ninth century,<sup>38</sup> yet it has been included in manuscripts which are not technically liturgical books. It is therefore possible that the versus, including the so-called planctus of this anthology, may also be precursors of the para-liturgical conductus.

Although this hypothesis lacks demonstrable proof, it is, like the previous suggestion concerning the role of the planctus as a conventional commemorative piece, in accordance with the manuscript evidence and contradicted by none of it. Thus the verse anthology and manuscript containing a planctus which is unrelated to its other contents can be used to support two different arguments. The two lines of thought are not however mutually exclusive, as can be demonstrated with reference to 'A solis ortu' (L1). If, as seems likely, this planctus was originally composed for a personal reason and sent to the Bishop of Bourges on parchment, it is apparent that this copy has now been lost. Two of its earliest extant manuscript sources - F-Pn lat.10440 (s.ix) and F-Pn lat.1154 (s.ix-s.x) - suggest that it was used as a para-liturgical item, but somewhat later in its history: the latter postdates its probable date of composition by around a century. Its remaining sources, most of which are later still, may have been intended as collections of devotional or educational verse, reflecting the tastes of individual compilers and the type of material

<u>Music</u>	<u>Ref.no.</u>	<u>Incipit/Author</u>	<u>Event/Deceased</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Date of earliest and latest MSS</u>	<u>No. of MS sources</u>
<u>PLANCTUS OF A BIBLICAL PERSONAGE</u>						
J	L95	O dulces filii	Rachel's lament for her sons	?	s.xi	1
<u>PLANCTUS AT THE DESTRUCTION OF A CITY</u>						
	L122	Pergama flere (Hildebert of Lavardin + 1133)	Destruction of Troy	?	s.xii - s.xv ex.	ca.74
<u>PLANCTUS OF A CLASSICAL PERSONAGE</u>						
	L47	Hector pugnae	On the death of Hector of Troy	?	s.xii	1
	L31	Dulcis filii	Evandrus's lament for Pallas his son.	?	s.xii - s.xv	2
<u>PLANCTUS ABOUT AN HISTORICAL PERSONAGE</u>						
	L129	Plasmator (Ralph Glaber + 1046-49)	Hugh Capet, King of France	996	s.xi - s.xvi ex.	4
	L135	Quis dabit (Leo of Vercelli fl.999-1018)	Otto III, King of	1002	s.xi - s.xvi	4
	L5	Ad carmen	Raimon, Count of Barcelona.	1018	s.xii	1
	L133	Qui principium	Heribert, Archbishop of Cologne.	1021	s.xi mid.	1
	L77	Judex summe	Henry II, King of Germany	1024	s.xi mid.	1
	L78	Lamentemur	"	1024	s.xi mid.	1
	L112	Omnis etas	Boleslav I, King of Poland.	1025	s.xiv - s.xv	3
J	L46	Hactenus (Gudino of Luxueil)	Constance of Luxueil	1025	s.xii in. - s.xv	6
	L101	O Gauzline	Gauzlinus, Abbot of Fleury	1029	s.xi - s.xviii	4
	L131	Qui habet (Wipo, chaplain to the King + 1050)	Konrad II, King of Germany	1039	s.xi - s.xvi ex.	3 (5)
	L8	Ad fletus (Jotsald of Cluny)	Odilo, Abbot of Cluny	1049	s.xi	2
	L62	Heu quam (Jotsald of Cluny)	"	1049	s.xi	2
(l)	L9	Ad te namque (Jotsald of Cluny)	"	1049	s.xi	2
	L83	Luget mundus	Pope Leo IX	1054	s.xii	2
	L16	Cesar tantus	Henry III, King of Germany.	1056	s.xi - s.xv <sup>2</sup>	17 +
(l)	L14	Armonicae (Adelman of Liège, + 1028)	Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres & others	1028-57	s.xii	2

TABLE TWO: PLANCTUS COMPOSED 950-1130 (1)

<u>Music</u>	<u>Ref.no.</u>	<u>Incipit/Author</u>	<u>Event/Deceased</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Date of earliest and latest MSS</u>	<u>No. of MS sources</u>
	L45	Floriacensis	Rainaldus, Abbot of Fleury	s.xi	s.xi	1
	L15	Bellatorum	William the Con- queror, King of England	1087	s.xvii	2 (1)
J	L44	Flete viri	"	1087	s.xii - s.xiii	2
	L26	Doctorum (Baudri de Bourgueil + 1130)	Hubert of Orleans	s.xi ex.	s.xii <sup>1</sup>	1
	L49	Heu eheu	Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury	1089	s.xii	1
J	L110	Omne quod	?Roger of Moissac	s.xi	s.xi	1
	L75	Jerusalem (Godfroy de Bouillon)	For the dead at the Capture of Jerusalem	1099	s.xii ex. - s.xiii	3
	L43	Flete mecum	Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury.	1109	s.xiii	2 (1)
	L130	Proh dolor	Charles the Good, Count of Flanders	1127	s.xii ex. - s.xvii	3
	L12	Anglia ridet	"	1127	s.xiv in.	1
	L17	Carole tu mea	"	1127	s.xii	1
	L65	Huc ades	"	1127	no MS extant	-
	L76	Jocus et leticia	Dolça, Countess of Provence.	ca.1127-30	s.xii ex.	1

TABLE TWO: PLANCIUS COMPOSED 950-1130 (continued)

available at the time. That the planctus about a recently deceased personage served differing purposes during the period when it was still being copied is therefore highly likely. Exactly why most of them were composed in the first place remains, however, a matter of speculation.

### 3. Planctus Composed 950-1130

Planctus composed in this period are listed in Table Two. All but four are planctus about a recently deceased personage. Of the remainder one is on a biblical subject, the massacre of the Holy Innocents (L95), and three are on classical themes - the destruction of the city of Troy (L122), the death of Hector (L47), and the death of Pallas (L31).

Planctus from this period belong to the following types of manuscript:<sup>39</sup>

(a) the troper:

F-Pn lat.1139 (s.xi-s.xiii) (L95)

(b) the collection of annals and monastic chronicles:

L16: MSS containing William of Malmesbury's Gest.reg.Angl., II.

L65: no MS extant

D-KA no number (s.xvi ex.) (L131)

F-DOU 798 (s.xiv in.) (L12)

F-Pn lat.6190 (s.xii) (L129)

F-Pn lat.10912 (s.xi) (L129)

F-Pn lat.12696 (s.xvii) (L15)

F-Pn lat.13834 (s.xvi ex.) (L129)

GB-Lbl Cotton Otto B.IV (destroyed) (L15)

I-Rvat Reg.lat.618 (s.xv) (L129)

PL-Kz 1310 (s.xv) (L112)

PL-Kz O.1311 (s.xv) (L112)

PL-Wn Cimelia 28 (s.xiv) (L112)

(c) the miscellany of religious writings:

B-Br 5576-5604 (s.xii) (L14)

F-Pn lat.2627 (s.xi) (L8, L9)

F-Pn lat.10092 (s.xviii) (L101)

F-Pn lat.17192 (s.xviii) (L101)

F-Pn lat.18304 (s.xi) (L8, L9)

GB-Ccc 299 (s.xiii) (L43)

I-Rli 1104 (s.xviii) (L101)

I-Rvat Reg.lat.592 (s.xi) (L101)

(d) the verse anthology:

CH-E 34 (s.x-s.xii) (L122)

D-B Phillipps 1694 (s.xii ex.) (L16)

D-Gs Theol.105 (s.xiii) (L122)

D-Mbs Clm 4660 (ca.1220-30) (L122)

D-Mbs Clm 17142 (s.xi-s.xii) (L16)

DK-Ku Fabr.81 (s.xii ex.) (L122)

F-DOU 318 (s.xii) (L122)

F-Lym 168 (s.xv) (L16)

F-RSm 1275 (s.xiii ex.) (L16)

- (d) F-Pn lat.6389 (s.xiv) (L16)  
 F-Pn lat.6630 (s.xiii) (L16)  
 F-Pn lat.14867 (s.xii) (L16)  
 GB-Ccc 450 (s.xiii-s.xiv) (L122)  
 GB-Cu Gg.5.35 (s.xi mid.) (L77, L78, L131, L133)  
 GB-Lbl Cotton Titus D.XXIV (ca.1200) (L122)  
 GB-Lbl Harley 3202 (s.xiii) (L122)  
 GB-Lbl Harley 3222 (s.x/s.xi) (L16)  
 GB-Lbl Harley 3716 (s.xv) (L16)  
 GB-LO 4<sup>o</sup>m (s.xiii-s.xiv) (L43)  
 GB-Ob Bodley 570 (s.xiv) (L122)  
 GB-Ob Bodley 851 (s.xiv ex.) (L122)  
 GB-Ob Bodley Additional A 44 (s.xiii in.-s.xv) (L122)  
 I-Rvat Reg.lat.1351 (s.xii<sup>1</sup>), f.38r (L26)  
 PL-WRu R 58 (a.1473), (L16)
- (e) the miscellany of historical works:  
 F-AS 639 (s.xii) (L17)  
 F-DOU 367 (s.xii ex.) (L75)  
 F-DOU 880 (s.xii ex.) (L122)  
 F-DOU 882 (s.xii ex.) (L75, L130, L122)  
 F-Pn Baluze 43 (s.xvii) (L130)  
 F-Pn lat.5129 (s.xiii) (L75)  
 GB-Lbl Additional 35295 (s.xv) (L122)  
 I-Rvat Reg.lat.712 (s.xii ex.) (L130)  
 I-Rvat Vat.lat.1984 (s.xi-s.xii) (L47)
- (f) the collection of musical treatises:  
 F-Pn lat.7211 (s.xii-s.xiii) (L46)  
 GB-Ctc O.9.29 (s.xv) (L46)  
 I-Fn conv.soppr.F.III.565 (s.xi/s.xii in.) (L46)  
 I-Fr 652 (s.xiv) (L46)  
 I-Rvat Vat.lat.9496 (s.xi) (L46)
- (g) the collection of classical verse:  
 DK-Kk 2007 (s.xii) (L122)  
 F-Pn lat.6348 (s.xiv) (L16)  
 I-F1 Pluteo 39.21 (s.xv) (L31)  
 I-F1 Pluteo 39.24 (s.xii) (L31)
- (h) the collection of rhetorical treatises:  
 D-Mbs Clm 14784 (s.xii) (L83)  
 GB-Gu Hunt.511 (s.xiii in.) (L122)  
 USSR-Lbp O.V.XVI.3 (s.xii) (L83)

Planctus also survive as:

- (i) items on single leaves or bifolia bound into a manuscript at the end of the book, or quire:  
 F-Pn lat.1772 (s.xii) (L46)  
 F-Pn lat.5941 (s.xiii) (L5)  
 F-Pn lat.8625 (s.xiii-s.xv) (L44)
- (j) items on flyleaves:  
 D-HAu-Ra72 (s.xvi) (L135)  
 D-Mbs Clm 14516 (s.xi) (L135)  
 GB-Cjc G 16 (s.xiii) (L122)
- (k) space fillers:  
 B-Br 5540 (s.xi/s.xii) (L16, L131, L135)

(k)	B-M 48 (s.xii-s.xiii)	(L16)
	DK-Kk 1905 (s.xii)	(L14)
	F-CV 30 (s.xiii)	(L122)
	F-DOU 852 (s.xii-s.xiii)	(L49)
	F-Pn lat.2286 (s.xii)	(L44)
	F-Pn lat.2627 (s.xi)	(L110)
	F-Pn lat.3719 (s.xii ex.)	(L76)
	F-Pn lat.6348 (s.xiv)	(L16)
	F-Rm U 52 (s.xv)	(L122)
	F-Rm U 107 (s.xi-s.xii)	(L122)
	GB-Cu Ee.2.29 (s.xv)	(L122)
	GB-Gu Hunt.417 (s.xv <sup>2</sup> )	(L16)
	I-Rvat Vat.lat.3827 (s.x/s.xi)	(L16)

(l) marginal additions:

A-Wn 1322 (s.x-s.xi)	(L135)
I-Rvat Reg.lat.596 (s.xi)	(L45)

Since there are more planctus extant from this period than from the previous period it is possible to make some generalisations about the main areas from which they originated. The majority were composed in central France (L8, L9, L26, L45, L46, L61, L75, L76, L101, L110, L129) and northern France or Belgium (L12, L14, L15, L17, L44, L65, L122, L130). A significant number also survive from Germany (L16, L77, L78, L131, L133), while isolated examples originated in Italy (L83, L135 and possibly L31 and L47), Spain (L5), Poland (L112), and England (L49, L43). It is evident that planctus were written over a much wider geographical area than in the previous period, and possible that the extant examples from Italy, Spain, Poland, and England represent only a small proportion of the number actually composed.<sup>40</sup> That the majority of planctus from this period were monastic compositions is evidenced by the fact that the authors of over half of them were monks in orders, or can be deduced with reasonable certainty from the manuscript sources.

There is no significant correlation between the countries of origin of these planctus and their manuscript type. This can be illustrated with reference to 'Pergama flere' (L122) and its ubiquity in manuscripts of differing types dating from the twelfth to the late fifteenth century. It survives as the work of Hildebert of Lavardin (+ 1133) to whom it is attributed, for example, in D-Mbs Clm 17212 (s.xii-s.xiii), GB-Ob Digby 65 (s.xiv), and F-Pn lat.5129 (s.xiii); as an example of the Leonine hexameter, for example, CH-BEsu 710 (s.xii); as a short work preceding or following an historical work, especially the Historia Troianorum, for example, GB-Lbl Additional 35295 (s.xv) and F-DOU 882 (s.xii ex.); as a constituent of verse anthologies (where it is often associated with Goliath or Hugh Primas)<sup>41</sup> for example, GB-Ob Bodley 570 (s.xiv) and GB-Ccc 450 (s.xiii-s.xiv); and more rarely as an item

which follows a rhetorical treatise, for example, GB-Ctc R.14.22 (ss. xiii, xiv, xv), or as an exemplum in one, for example, GB-Gu Hunt.511 (s.xiii in.). That it was also regarded as a purple passage is suggested by the large number of instances when it survives as a space filler or flyleaf addition. It thus served a range of educational purposes and also provided a short companion piece to longer works on the history of Troy, a subject which became increasingly popular from the second half of the eleventh century, throughout medieval Europe.

In contrast to those of the previous period, the majority of manuscript sources of planctus from this period served purposes which are relatively obvious and give reasonably clear indications about why a planctus was included amongst their contents. However, only in three instances are there positive indications of why it was composed in the first place.

The one example on a biblical theme 'O dulces filii' (L95), the lament of Rachel for her sons, survives only in the troper F-Pn lat. 1139 (s.xi-s.xiii), from the Limoges area. It belongs to the earliest part of the manuscript and is a liturgical trope of the responsory 'Sub altare dei' (Hesb.7713), which was sung at the Feast of the Holy Innocents. Although the manuscript rubrics do not make this explicit, the planctus follows directly after the responsory and is in part derived from it.<sup>42</sup>

'O Gauzline' (L101) is included in the Vita Gauzlini,<sup>43</sup> which was written by André of Fleury, a monk from the monastery of Fleury in which Gauzlinus was Abbot. The earliest extant manuscript of André's Vita was also written at Fleury - I-Rvat Reg.lat.592 (s.xi). André reports that at the abbot's burial:<sup>44</sup>

Cujus super sepulchrum unus suorum spiritalium tyronum inter  
angores dolentium pede dactilico hos profudit versiculos:

O Gauzline pater ...

This planctus evidently served originally as an informal funeral oration during the burial service.

That 'Omne quod' (L110) was originally a school exercise is reflected by the fact that it is an exceptionally untidy addition to a book which otherwise contains religious writings - F-Pn lat.2627 (s.xi). The literary style of this piece is also reminiscent of school work which has been based on 'recent reading' of classical works. That the writing of a planctus was often set as homework (to practise encomium or apostrophe) is further suggested by the manuscript contexts of

the two planctus about the death of a classical personage, 'Dulcis fili' (L31) and 'Hector pugnae' (L47). The former is grouped with short verses or epitaphs which follow copies of the works of Virgil, while the latter is found amongst historical works, including a poem on Troy. Both are thus in keeping with the general matter of the books to which they belong, but represent supplementary material used to provide variety or fill up spaces. They were conceivably culled from students' better achievements, a small piece of immortality being the reward for diligence.

Although the manuscript sources of the remaining examples do not provide explicit information about why their planctus were originally composed they often give indications of what this may have been.

Like Sigloard's 'O Fulco' (L100), planctus included in chronicles from this period represent glosses on the particular death which is being reported; they either provide a celebration of the deceased's virtues and achievements or an eye-witness account of the mourning which took place at his death. It seems highly likely that 'Omnis etas' (L112) was composed especially for the chronicle to which it belongs, since its effusive style and occasional histrionic touches are strikingly similar to the preceding passage in the chronicle on Bolezlavus's death.<sup>45</sup> However, the remaining examples belong to chronicles which were written not long after the date of the deceased's death. On some occasions the planctus is quoted with little or no introduction;<sup>46</sup> but in three chronicles it is described as the work of a member of the community written shortly after the deceased's death.<sup>47</sup> Thus, in a number of instances planctus from chronicles may have been written as informal tributes to the dead, perhaps for his funeral, and then later incorporated into the monastery's annals.

'Ad fletus' (L8), 'Heu quam' (L61) and 'Ad te namque' (L9) belong to the same sequence of poems included in two religious miscellanies which commemorate the death of St. Odilo of Cluny and were composed by a monk from that monastery, named Jotsald. They follow the Vita Sancti Odilonis,<sup>48</sup> also the work of Jotsald, in two - F-Pn lat.2627 (s.xi) and F-Pn lat.18304 (s.xi) - of its four manuscript sources, completing the final quire occupied by the Vita. Neither book is from Cluny, one originating from the monastery of Moissac (F-Pn lat.2627 (s.xi)), the other from Saint-Arnoul de Crépy-en-Valois (F-Pn lat.18304 (s.xi)), each some two hundred miles from Cluny. Since both are contemporaneous with the date of Odilo's death it is likely that another source originally from Cluny, but now lost, was circulated around related religious houses



soon after Odilo's death, where copies were made. Although in each instance the scribe of the Vita also copied out the sequence of poems the three planctus are quite distinct from one another. 'Ad fletus' (L8) is, like Radbert's planctus for Adalhard, both in a quantitative metre and written in the form of a dialogue. 'Heu quam' (L61), a much shorter work, is also written in a quantitative metre and is rubricated epitaphium. The final item of the series, 'Ad te namque' (L9), in contrast, is in a non-quantitative verse form and is called rithmus. Unlike the other two it was evidently intended to be sung, since in F-Pn lat.18304 (s.xi) it is provided with musical notation. This suggests that each of these planctus initially served different purposes. Only later were they collected together along with a number of other panegyric poems about Odilo to form a suitable epilogue to the Vita.

'Jerusalem, luge' (L75), 'Proh dolor' (L130) and 'Carole tu' (L17) are each found in miscellanies of historical works which reflect the compiler's interest in achieving thematic unity in his book. The first normally follows works on the history of Jerusalem or the Crusades; the second - one of several planctus about Charles the Good - comes after Galbert of Bruges's account of his life;<sup>49</sup> and the third succeeds another Vita Caroli.<sup>50</sup> Yet why these planctus were composed in the first place is not immediately clear. The first two have affinities with the chanson de geste: both are long and relate heroic events, 'Proh dolor' (L130) elevating Charles the Good to the level of a secular saint. Thus, they may initially have been 'songs of heroic deeds'!

The main types of verse anthology to which planctus from this period belong include the collected works of an author; the anthology of secular and religious verse, often part of a florilegium or composite book; and the short collection of verse organised around a particular theme, which frequently functions as a space filler at the end of a manuscript. An example of the first is I-Rvat Reg.lat.1351 (s.xii<sup>1</sup>), a book containing the works of Baudri de Bourgueil. Compared to his other verse, Baudri's planctus, 'Doctorum' (L26), is remarkably personal in tone. This suggests that it was a private tribute to the deceased, his first teacher, a certain Hubert from Meung-sur-Loire.

As previously noted, the reason why items in the Cambridge Songs section of the florilegium GB-Cu Gg.5.35 (s.xi mid.) were copied is not indicated by rubrics. Of the four planctus from this period which are included in this collection, only one, 'Qui habet' (L131),

attributed to the presbyter Wipo, has other manuscript sources. One of these is the same author's account of the life of Konrad II, in whose honour the planctus was composed. Wipo relates<sup>51</sup> that the planctus was presented to the deceased king's heir, soon to be Henry III of Germany. His objective, one might speculate, was to obtain the new king's patronage for the monastery to which he was then attached. This planctus also survives as a space filler along with 'Cesar tantus' (L16) and 'Quis dabit' (L135) in a manuscript from the monastery of Gembloux, B-Br 5540 (s.xi/s.xii), while its first two lines are scribbled onto a flyleaf in a manuscript from the monastery of St.Gall, CH-SGs 627 (s.xi). These various manuscript sources, each from the eleventh century, indicate that 'Qui habet' (L131), or at least its opening couplet, was known over a wide geographical area soon after it was composed. Apart from the manuscript which contains Wipo's life of Konrad they survive, however, by chance as additions and space fillers in books to which they are otherwise unrelated. A similar fate and social environment might therefore be postulated for the remaining examples from GB-Cu Gg.5.35 (s.xi mid.) - 'Judex summe' (L77), 'Lamentemur' (L78) and 'Qui principium' (L133).

The majority of the manuscript sources of 'Cesar tantus' (L16) are verse anthologies, particularly the type which functions as a space filler. Here only the first stanza is normally included. Anthologies of this kind are frequently organised around a particular theme, for example, distichs (PL-WRu R 58 (a.1473)), epitaphs (F-Lym 168 (s.xv)), and epigrams (GB-Lbl Harley 3716 (s.xv), F-Pn lat.6389 (s.xiv) and F-Pn lat.6630 (s.xiii)). Normally they include works by classical authors: indeed in F-Pn lat.6389 (s.xiv) and F-Pn 6630 (s.xiii) 'Cesar tantus' (L16) is introduced as an epitaph for Julius Caesar and attributed to Virgil. That 'Cesar tantus' (L16) originated in a similar manner to 'Qui habet' (L131) is highly likely. However, it is evident that it served other purposes later in its long history.

'Luget mundus' (L83) and 'Hactenus' (L46) are found in manuscripts containing rhetorical and musical treatises, respectively. They are both clearly used as teaching exempla: the former as an example of the stanza of four lines, each with eight syllables and a penultimate accent, in Alberic of Monte Cassino's De rithmis;<sup>52</sup> and the latter as part of a lesson on the interval of the fifth in the Liber argumentorum,<sup>53</sup> a commentary on Guido of Arezzo's Micrologus.<sup>54</sup> Only the first stanza of these planctus is however provided. Since 'Luget mundus' (L83)

survives only in the two manuscripts which contain Alberic's De rithmis one might conclude that it was specially composed for it. However, the other stanzas which are cited as examples of other kinds of verse form are taken from well-known hymns. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the complete text of this planctus has either been lost or that it was never written down in the first place. Clearly, if this is the case, its manuscript sources do not reflect its original social environment.

'Hactenus' (L46) also survives on a bifolium which has been bound into the end of F-Pn lat.1772 (s.xii), a book to which it is thematically unrelated. It is more worn than the other leaves of this book and written by a different but contemporary hand. This suggests that 'Hactenus' (L46) was copied for the purposes of circulation. That other planctus from this period were also circulated, this time on single leaves, is attested by the manuscript source of 'Ad carmen' (L5), F-Pn lat.5941 (s.xiii), and by one of the manuscripts containing 'Flete viri' (L44), F-Pn lat.8625 (s.xiii-s.xv). Interestingly each is followed by a letter - an item which might also have been circulated - also written on a single leaf.<sup>55</sup> Although this process of circulation might imply that these items were intended for silent reading, 'Hactenus' (L46) is introduced by the rubric Ergo plange pium cantor modulando magistrum, while 'Flete viri' (L44) is provided with a musical setting in alphabetical notation: the two were undoubtedly intended to be sung. Moreover, both 'Ad carmen' (L5) and 'Flete viri' (L44) - 'Hactenus' (L46) to a lesser extent - relate the deeds of the deceased in some detail in the idiom of the chanson de geste. That they provided a source of edifying entertainment in the monasteries which owned copies of them seems quite probable.

The sources of planctus from this period thus indicate that it was included in a wide range of manuscript types where it served various purposes, for example, a liturgical trope, a gloss on historical events, a teaching exemplum and exercise, and a source of edifying entertainment. Moreover, the manuscript history of planctus which survive in a large number of sources makes it clear that during the course of time one planctus could be used for several different purposes. From the few instances where manuscript sources give explicit information about the previous social environment of a planctus it is evident that there was no uniformity in this. The large number of planctus composed for monastic leaders and teachers strongly suggests that it provided a means through which individuals could express devotion to a local saint or personal gratitude to a much-loved teacher. However, the manuscript

<u>Music</u>	<u>Ref.no.</u>	<u>Incipit/Author</u>	<u>Speaker</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Date of earliest and latest MSS</u>	<u>No.of MS sources</u>
PLAYS OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS						
	L51	Heu ... mens	The mothers for their sons.	?	ca.1220-30	1
(J)	L94	O dolor O patrum	Rachel for her sons	?	s.xii	1
	L96	O dulces innocentum	"	?	s.xiii	1
	L124	Planctus matrum	"	?	s.xiii	1
J	L53	Heu ... quid	"	?	s.xii - s.xiii	2
J	L63	Heu teneri	"	?	s.xii - s.xiii	2
J	L54	Heu ... quomodo	"	?	s.xii - s.xiii	3
FILIUS GETRONIS: A PLAY OF ST.NICHOLAS						
J	L52	Heu ... michi	Lament of Euphrosina for her son.	?	s.xiii	1
PLAYS OF LAZARUS						
J	L72	Jam moratur	Martha and Mary for Lazarus	?	s.xiii	1
	L107	O sors (Hilarius the Englishman fl.ca.1140)	Martha, Mary and others for Lazarus	1140	s.xii	1
	L36	Ex culpa (Hilarius)	Mary for Lazarus	1140	s.xii	1
	L91	Mors execrabilis (Hilarius)	Martha and others for Lazarus	1140	s.xii	1
EASTER PLAYS						
J	L22	Cuncta sorores	Lament of Mary Magdalene	?	s.xii	1
J	L56	Heu me misera	"	?	s.xiii	1
J	L79	Lamentemus	"	?	s.xiii	1
J	L59a	Heu miseri	Lament of the soldiers	?	s.xiii	1
J	L147	Tu pater	Lament of Mary Magdalene	?	s.xiii	1
J	L61	Heu pius	Lament of three Marys	?	s.xiii - s.xiv	4
J	L48	Heu dolor	The Virgin and Mary Magdalene	?	s.xiii	1
J	L59	Heu misere	Three Marys or Mary Magdalene	?	s.xii - s.xvi	30
J	L60	Heu nobis	"	?	s.xii - s.xvi	32
J	L111	Omnipotens	"	?	s.xii - s.xvi	23
J	L21	Cum venissem	"	?	s.xii - s.xvi	21

TABLE THREE A: BIBLICAL PLANCTUS COMPOSED 1131-1300 FROM LITURGICAL DRAMAS

<u>Music</u>	<u>Ref.no.</u>	<u>Incipit/Author</u>	<u>Event/Deceased</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Date of earliest and latest MSS</u>	<u>No. of MS sources</u>
(J)	L4	Abrahe proles (Peter Abelard + 1142)	Dina for Sichem	ca.1131-35	s.xiii in.	1
(J)	L70	Infelices (Peter Abelard)	Jacob for his sons	"	s.xiii in.	1
(J)	L6	Ad festas (Peter Abelard)	The girls of Israel for Jephtha's daughter	"	s.xiii in.	1
(J)	L2	Abissus (Peter Abelard)	Israel for Samson	"	s.xiii in.	1
(J)	L3	Abner fidelissime (Peter Abelard)	David for Abner	"	s.xiii in.	1
J	L30	Dolorum solatium (Peter Abelard)	David for Jonathan	"	s.xii - s.xiii ex.	3
J	L141	Samson dux	Lament for Samson	ca.1200	ca.1250 - s.xiv	4
	L57	Heu michi	Jacob for Joseph	?	s.xiii	2
	L40	Flere libet ac	Lament of Mary Magdalene	?	s.xii	1
J	L123	Planctus ante (Geoffrey of St.Victor fl.1170-90)	Lament of the Virgin	>1190	s.xii - s.xv	18 +
J	L42	Flete fideles (?Pope Gregory IX + 1241)	Lament of the Virgin	>1241	s.xiii - s.xiv	6

TABLE THREE B: BIBLICAL PLANCTUS 1131-1300 NOT COMPOSED ORIGINALLY FOR LITURGICAL DRAMAS

sources, the province of compilers with practical purposes to serve and economic considerations to make, give only an oblique view of this.

#### 4. Planctus Composed 1131-1300

Since the majority of planctus were composed during this period and because there is greater uniformity in the type of manuscript in which they are found, it might seem that an investigation of their social environment would be relatively straightforward. However, owing to the frequently large time-lapse between the composition of a planctus and the date of its earliest extant manuscript, and to the absence of rubrics in a large proportion of the manuscripts, this is not normally the case.

##### (a) Planctus on a biblical theme

Just under half the planctus from this period are on biblical subjects. A significant proportion of these belong to religious dramas (see Table Three A), while the remainder are self-contained (see Table Three B). The latter belong to the following types of manuscript:

##### (a) the collection of songs, sequences or verse in a miscellany of religious writings or florilegium:

B-Br II.2556 (s.xiii)	(L57)
D-KA St.Georgen 38 (s.xiv)	(L141)
F-EV 2 (s.xiii)	(L123)
F-EV 39 (s.xiii)	(L123)
F-Pm 1002 (s.xiii in.)	(L123)
F-Pn lat.2415 (s.xii)	(L123)
F-Pn lat.4880 (s.xiii)	(L42, L123)
F-Pn lat.15163 (s.xv)	(L123)
F-Rm A 506 (s.xii)	(L123)
F-Rm O 68 (s.xv)	(L123)
GB-Lbl Additional 15722 (s.xii-s.xiii)	(L40)
GB-Ob Bodley Additional A 44 (s.xiii in.-s.xv)	(L123)

##### (b) the miscellany of religious writings:

B-N 104 (s.xv)	(L123)
B-LVu IV,28 (s.xiii) (destroyed)	(L123)
CS-Pu XII.D.8a (s.xiv in.)	(L123)
I-Rvat Reg.lat.288 (s.xii-s.xiii)	(L2, L3, L4, L6, L30, L70)
I-Tn E.V.20 (s.xii/s.xiii)	(L123)

##### (c) the troper:

D-Sl HB I Asc.95 (s.xiii)	(L42, L141)
F-Pn n.a.lat.3126 (s.xii)	(L30)
I-PLn I.B.16 (s.xiii ex.)	(L141)

- (d) the anthology of religious and secular verse:  
 D-Mbs Clm 4660 (ca.1220-30) (L42)  
 GB-Ob Rawl.C 510 (s.xiii<sup>2</sup>) (L123)
- (e) the song collection (with musical notation):  
 GB-Lbl Harley 978 (ca.1250) (L141)
- (f) the anthology of devotional verse and prayers:  
 D-KA Reichenau pap.36 (s.xiv<sup>2</sup>-s.xv<sup>1</sup>) (L123)  
 F-Pn lat.3639 (s.xv-s.xvi) (L123)
- (g) the processional:  
 I-Pc C55 (s.xiv) (L42)  
 I-Pc C56 (s.xiv) (L42)
- (h) the collection of religious dramas:  
 D-Mbs Clm 4660a (s.xiii) (L123)

They are also included in books to which they are otherwise unrelated, as:

- (i) space fillers:  
 F-Pn lat.3495 (s.xiii) (L42)  
 GB-Ob Bodley 79 (s.xiii ex.) (L30)
- (j) items on bifolia or booklets:  
 GB-Lbl Additional 36881 (s.xii-s.xiii) (L123)  
 GB-Lpro 'Liber de Antiquis Legibus' (s.xiii) (L123)

The social environment of planctus in religious dramas is self-evident. However, their manuscripts present an incomplete picture of the range of geographical areas in which religious dramas with planctus were compiled and performed. The earliest contain plays on the Massacre of the Holy Innocents - D-Mbs Clm 6264 (s.xi-s.xii), from Freising; on the Raising of Lazarus - F-Pn lat.11331 (s.xii) (which apparently travelled with the itinerent scholar Hilarius the Englishman); and on the visitatio sepulchri - E-Mn Vitrina 20,4 (ca.1130-38), probably from Palermo, and E-VI 105 (s.xi-s.xii), from Vich Cathedral. However, most books containing plays on these subjects written before the fourteenth century originated from quite different geographical areas. The other plays on the Holy Innocents are both from northern France - F-O 201 (s.xiii) and F-LA 263 (s.xiii); visitatio sepulchri ceremonies, more complex Easter plays and Passion plays come from all over Europe:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Visitatio Sepulchri</u>	<u>Complex Easter plays</u>	<u>Passion Plays</u>
France	F-O 201 (s.xiii) F-T 792 (s.xiii ex.)	F-TO 927 (s.xiii)	
Germany	D-Li no number (s.xiii) D-Ngm 22923 (s.xiii) D-W novi 309 (s.xiii)		
Switzer-land	CH-E 300 (s.xii-s.xiii) CH-Zz Rh.18 (s.xiii)		

<u>Country</u>	<u>Visitatio Sepulchri</u>	<u>Complex Easter plays</u>	<u>Passion plays</u>
Austria	A-KLA Perg.32 (s.xiii)	A-KN 574 (s.xiii) D-Mbs Clm 4660a (s.xiii)	D-Mbs Clm 4660a (s.xiii) D-Mbs Clm 4660 (ca.1220-30)
Czecho- slovakia	CS-Pu 1.B.12 (ca.1384)		

There is, however, one exception. There is only one other extant manuscript of a play on the Raising of Lazarus - F-0 (s.xiii), the so-called Fleury playbook. Although its provenance is disputed<sup>56</sup> it certainly originated in the Loire area, an area which Hilarius is thought to have frequented.<sup>57</sup> Otherwise, it is apparent that a great many plays were either not written down or have been lost. It is therefore not possible to document where and when planctus were first included in religious dramas, though it is perhaps important to observe that their inclusion coincides with a stage in the development of liturgical drama when verse texts began to be added to a set of liturgical prose texts.<sup>58</sup> Judging from the large number of post-thirteenth-century visitaciones sepulchri, complex Easter plays and Passion plays which contain planctus it was greatly valued as a dramatic resource for some considerable time.

Not all planctus from religious dramas were originally composed for dramatic purposes. 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) and 'Flete fideles' (L42) both existed as self-contained planctus before they were included in Passion plays from Benediktbeuern - D-Mbs Clm 4660 (ca. 1220-30 and D-Mbs Clm 4660a (s.xiii), respectively. Moreover, the texts of 'Heu ... quid' (L53), 'Planctus matrum' (L124) and 'O dulces innocentum' (L96) are each derived from sequences.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, planctus which belong to plays which are written in verse - plays which are often as formally elaborate as the lai - were clearly composed specially for the play, for example, the two plays on the Raising of Lazarus. However, otherwise, especially in the case of four planctus - 'Cum venissem' (L21), 'Heu misere' (L59), 'Heu nobis' (L60) and 'Omnipotens' (L111) - which are ubiquitous in post-thirteenth-century Easter plays, and whose places of origin remain unknown, it is impossible to establish whether they were composed specially for a play, or were included as pre-existing material.

Whether contained in liturgical books,<sup>60</sup> playbooks,<sup>61</sup> or religious miscellanies<sup>62</sup> most visitatio sepulchri, complex Easter and non-Easter plays conclude with the 'Te Deum laudamus' of matins, indicating that they were probably performed after this item on the appropriate liturgical



or saints' day. However, there can be no certainty that a complex Easter play, such as that from A-KN 574 (s.xiii), which does not conclude in this way, was liturgical, or that it was performed inside the church.<sup>63</sup> While Young<sup>64</sup> considers that the short Benediktbeuern Passion play from D-Mbs Clm 4660a (s.xiii) may have been connected with the liturgy of Easter Sunday, like the visitatio sepulchri ceremony which precedes it, he finds it 'scarcely possible'<sup>65</sup> that the large Passion play from the same monastery in D-Mbs Clm 4660 (ca.1220-30) could have been liturgical.

The social environment of self-contained planctus on a biblical theme is less easy to define. Since they are all written in sequence or lai forms, and because the majority originated in northern France or England, one might expect to find that they shared a common purpose. However, not only do they survive in differing types of manuscript, but they are also rarely rubricated. There is, however, an account of the origin and composition of 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) in a florilegium - F-Pn lat.4880 (s.xiii) - from Fleury, but unfortunately its authority cannot be vouched for. In a prologue to this planctus a monk relates how, when the others had all returned to bed, one of his fellows used to stay behind after matins in order to meditate on the sorrows of the Virgin:<sup>66</sup> 'devotam mentem pane pascebat lacrimarum'. One day he had the idea of composing a religious poem about her sufferings at the Cross, which would move the other monks to shed tears with him: 'multos ad lacrymarum ymbres provocaret'. However, the Virgin appeared to him and told him that such an objective was beyond human resources. She was the only one who could describe what she suffered. She thus dictated the planctus to him! There is little point in questioning whether this prologue was the work of Geoffrey of St.Victor, the author of 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123). Although it may have been it is plainly a rhetorical device to authenticate the sentiments expressed in the poem, derived from a tradition of visions which act as explanations of the creative act. However, it is based on the assumption that 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) was intended as a form of affective devotion. This thus permits one to conclude that its role in this florilegium, and possibly that of 'Flete fideles' (L42) which is also found in this collection, was devotional.

It may also provide some indication of the role of the short collections of songs, sequences or verse from religious miscellanies. These are normally addressed to the Virgin, several of them originating from northern French nunneries.<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately no indications are given concerning the occasions on which they were performed or read. It is

also highly unlikely that they were liturgical, since they are not included in liturgical books, although it is conceivable that they could have belonged to the Office. It is therefore possible that they were used in a devotional context for the purposes of meditation. Indeed they often contain the type of material later found in the Book of Hours, which was designed to stimulate meditation particularly on the Passion.

The same argument can be applied to planctus found in sequence or song collections which belong to tropers. Although it might appear obvious that sequences of this type were performed in the Mass - a suggestion made by Weinrich<sup>68</sup> concerning Abelard's 'Dolorum solatium' (L30) - this deduction is not given support by the manuscripts. There is no indication given as to the occasion on which any of the planctus from tropers were performed. Furthermore, although the Nevers troper - F-Pn n.a.lat.3126 (s.xii) - contains liturgical sequences the section to which 'Dolorum solatium' (L30) belongs is a supplement to the main proser and contains 'recent', twelfth-century compositions (including several Marian sequences) which are by no means all for liturgical use. Similarly, while the Weingarten troper - D-S1 HB I Asc.95 (s.xiii) - includes a liturgical proser, 'Flete fideles' (L42) and 'Samson dux fortissime' (L141) are included in a series of quires which contain songs - both secular and religious - which are associated with the Notre Dame conductus repertory. It is therefore premature to conclude that they were liturgical. There are other reasons for doubting Weinrich's proposal. By the twelfth century sequences were also used in the Office, while the sequence form had long been used for non-liturgical, non-religious songs. Furthermore, sequences were not included in the Mass throughout the year. During occasions of a sombre nature the alleluia was dropped and replaced by a tract, thus removing the cue for the sequence.<sup>69</sup> In principle, therefore, it seems most unlikely that a planctus, which is after all written on a sombre subject, would be included in the Mass. Moreover in the extant customaries and ordinaries from Saint Ouen de Rouen - the provenance of F-Rm A 506 (s.xii) and F-Rm O 68 (s.xv) - there is no mention of 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) whatsoever.<sup>70</sup> That Abelard's planctus were performed during the Office when the Historia regum was being read, or that each of these examples was performed as a processional conductus are possibilities for which, however, evidence is completely lacking. Huglo<sup>71</sup> has recently argued that Abelard's planctus were, like his hymns, written for Eloise's nunnery, the Paraclete, in the Nevers diocese, where they would have been performed as plays. Indeed, Dronke<sup>72</sup> has already described

<u>Music</u>	<u>Ref.no.</u>	<u>Incipit/Author</u>	<u>Event/Deceased</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Date of earliest and latest MSS</u>	<u>No. of MS sources</u>
	L138	Requiescat	Peter Abelard	1142	no MS extant	-
	L84	Magni Thedbaldi (Etienne de Rouen fl.1151-66)	Thibaut IV, Count of Blois	1152	s.xiii	1
J	L125	Plange Castella	Sanxo III, King of Castile	1158	ca.1300	1
(J)	L81	Libram Phebus (Rahewin of Freising, fl.1144-70)	Otto, Bishop of Freising.	1158	s.xii - s.xv	12
J	L87	Mentem meam	Raimund Berengar, Count of Barcelona	1162	s.xiii	1
	L114	Orba suo	Thomas a Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury	1170	s.xiii <sup>1</sup>	1
	L115	Orbata patre	"	1170	s.xiii	1
J	L113	Omnis in lacrimas	Henry, Count of Champagne	1181	s.xiii in. - ca.1240	2
a2 J	L35	Eclipsim patitur	Geoffrey, Count of Brittany.	1186	ca.1240 - s.xiii mid.	2
	L64	Heu voce	The dead at the surrender of Jerusalem	1189	ca.1220-30 / s.xiii	2
	L126	Plange planctu	William II, King of Sicily	1189	s.xii-s.xiii	1
a2 J	L69	In occasu	Henry II, King of England	1189	ca.1240 - s.xiii <sup>2</sup>	3
	L23	Da plaudens	"	1189	s.xiii in.	1
J	L11	Anglia planctus	"	1189	ca.1240	1
a2 J	L121	Pange melos	Frederick Barbarossa I King of Germany	1190	ca.1240 - s.xiii mid.	3
	L74	Jerusalem luge	"	1190	s.xv	1
J	L148	Turmas arment	Adalbert of Louvain, Bishop of Liège.	1192	ca.1240	1
J	L25	Divina providentia	William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely	ca.1192	ca.1240	1
J	L73	Jerusalem, Jer.	Henry II, Count of Champagne and his mother	1197-98	s.xiii in - ca.1240	2
J	L34	Eclipsim passus	Pierre le Chantre	1197	ca.1240	1
	L37	Expirante	Richard I, King of England	1199	ca.1220-30	1
	L93	Neustria (Geoffrey de Vinsauf)	"	1199	s.xiii - s.xv	5 +
J	L24	De profundis	Commemoration of the Dead	s.xii	s.xii - s.xv	3

TABLE THREE C: PLANCTUS ABOUT HISTORICAL PERSONAGES: 1131-1300 (1)

<u>Music</u>	<u>Ref.no.</u>	<u>Incipit/Author</u>	<u>Event/Deceased</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Date of earliest and latest MSS</u>	<u>No. of MS sources</u>
	L41	Flere libet pro	Philipp, King of Schwabia	1208	s.xiii in.	1
	L32	Dum Philippus	"	1208	ca.1220-30	1
a3 J	L97	O felix Bituria	William, Archbishop of Bourges	1209	ca.1240 - s.xiii mid.	2
a2 J	L137a	Regi regum	"	1209	ca.1240	1
J	L140	Rex obiit	Alfonso VIII, King of Castile	1214	ca.1300	1
J	L104	O mors	Philipp Augustus, King of France	1223	ca.1240	1
J	L10	Alabastrum	"	1223	ca.1240	1
	L118	Pange ... det.	Richard Marshal, 5th Earl of Pembroke	1243	s.xiii-s.xiv	1
(J)	L116	Organa letitie	Frederick, Duke of Austria	1246	s.xiii	1
(J)	L153	Voce triste	"	1246	s.xiii	1
J	L145	Sol eclipsim	Ferdinand III, King of León and Castile	1252	s.xiii <sup>2</sup>	1
	L82	Lucifer ecclesiae	Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln	1253	ca.1300	1
	L68	In nomine Domini	Ambrose and other grammarians of s.xii	s.xiii	s.xiv	1
	L117	Oro Deum patrem	Ambrose (+ 397)	s.xiii	s.xiv	1
	L108	O transeuntes	Ambrose and other grammarians of s.xii	s.xiii	s.xiv	1
	L149	Ubi fuit mons	Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester	1265	s.xiii ex.	1
	L39	Flebilis	Gregory of Montelungo, Patriarch of Aquileia	1269	s.xiv	1
	L146	Suecia suspira	Ladhalaas, King of Sweden	1290	s.xiv-s.xvi	1
	L103	O monialis	María Gonzalez	s.xiii	ca.1300	1
	L136	Quis dabit	unknown	s.xiii	ca.1300	1

TABLE THREE C: PLANCTUS ABOUT HISTORICAL PERSONAGES: 1131-1300 (continued)

'Samson dux fortissime' (L141) as a play. There is, however no evidence which would support this idea, although it would undeniably work in practice. On balance, it seems more likely that planctus from tropers were not liturgical, and quite possible that they reflect changes in the nature of religious devotion. By meditating on the experiences and suffering of biblical personages and saints a deeper understanding of Salvation is possible, and ultimately religion becomes a more personal matter.

However, even if one of these suggestions could be proven convincingly the manuscript history of 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) and 'Flete fideles' (L42) - both of which have a large number of extant manuscript sources - indicates that there was little uniformity in their social environment. In its earliest manuscript sources, which are of French provenance, 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) is associated with meditation on the Passion. In thirteenth-century England it is found in books which contain a large number of items from the Notre Dame conductus repertory,<sup>73</sup> while in contemporary Austria it belonged to a Passion play. Thus even in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries its purpose varied from place to place, according to the interests and requirements of the particular community. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it is associated with meditation on the Passion not only in France, but also in Germany;<sup>74</sup> is included in part in a Marienklage;<sup>75</sup> and is found as an optional liturgical item in manuscripts from southern Germany and northern Italy.<sup>76</sup> 'Flete fideles' (L42) is similarly associated with meditation on the Passion<sup>77</sup> and included in a Passion play before the fourteenth century. Subsequently some of its versicles are found in Marienklagen,<sup>78</sup> while it is also used as a liturgical item in an Easter procession in Padua.<sup>79</sup> Rather than beginning as a liturgical item these two planctus evidently became liturgical later in their history, a feature which is characteristic of a number of other twelfth-century compositions.<sup>80</sup>

(b) Planctus about recently deceased personages

Planctus of this kind are listed on Table Three C. Although they are found in a wide range of manuscript types almost half belong to books which contain collections of conductus (with music), especially from the Notre Dame repertory:

- |     |                              |                           |
|-----|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) | D-W Helmst.628 (s.xiii mid.) | (L35, L69, L97, L121)     |
|     | E-BULh no number (ca.1300)   | (L103, L125, L136, L140)  |
|     | I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240)   | (L10, L11, L25, L34, L35, |

L69, L73, L97, L104, L113,  
L137a, L140, L145, L148)

or which are closely related to the Notre Dame repertory:

- (b) GB-Ob Bodley Additional A 44 (s.xiii in.-s.xv) (L23, L73,  
L93, L113)  
GB-Ob Rawl.C 510 (s.xiii<sup>2</sup>) (L69, L121)

The remainder belong to the following types of manuscript:

(c) anthologies of verse:

D-Mbs Clm 4660 (ca.1220-30) (L32, L37, L64)  
F-Pn lat.14146 (s.xiii) (L84)  
F-SOM 351 (s.xiii<sup>1</sup>) (L114)  
GB-Ctc B.14.39 (ca.1300) (L82)

(d) small collections of verse or song in miscellanies of religious  
or historical works:

D-WUu M.ch.fol.131 (s.xv) (L74)  
F-Pn lat.5132 (s.xiii) (L88)  
GB-Ob Bodley 656 (s.xv) (L93)

(e) chronicles:

L81: all MS sources, but one, which contain the Gesta Friderici  
I-MC 450 (s.xii-s.xiii) (L126)

(f) collections of rhetorical treatises:

GB-Lbl Additional 37495 (s.xiii) (L93)  
GB-Lbl Cotton Cleo.B.IV (ca.1397) (L93)  
GB-Lbl Royal 12.B.XVII (s.xv) (L93)

(g) sequence collections in liturgical books:

CH-Zz C63 (s.xiii) (L24)  
F-LM 223 (s.xv-s.xvi) (L24)  
F-Pn n.a.lat.3126 (s.xii) (L24)

A number survive as:

(h) space fillers:

A-As 94 (s.xii-s.xiii) (L116, L153)  
A-As 165 (s.xi-s.xii) (L81)  
CH-EN 1003 (s.xii mid.-s.xiv) (L41)  
E-E O.3.17 (s.xiv) (L68, L108, L117)  
F-Pn lat.8960 (s.xii) (L64)

(i) items on flyleaves or covers:

GB-Cgc 85 (s.xiii ex.) (L149)  
S-Sk A 21 (s.xiv-s.xvi) (L146)

(j) marginalia:

GB-Lbl Arundel 507 (s.xiii-s.xiv) (L118)

(k) items on a bifolium bound into a manuscript:

F-Pn lat.2414 (s.xii-s.xiii) (L115)

It is only 'Orbata' (L115) and planctus from rhetorical treatises and  
chronicles whose purpose is clear from their manuscript context. The  
first is assigned to Vespers<sup>81</sup> and may thus have been liturgical. Geoffrey  
de Vinsauf's 'Neustria' (L93), which belongs to his Poetria Nova, survives  
as an extract in several manuscripts containing rhetorical treatises. Here

it is glossed in some detail, attention being drawn to the role of apostrophe in it in GB-Lbl Cotton Cleo.B.IV (ca.1397), and to the use of colores in both GB-Lbl Additional 37495 (s.xiii) and GB-Lbl Royal 12.B.XVII (s.xv). Evidently it was employed in the teaching of rhetoric.<sup>82</sup>

The planctus in chronicles gloss the events to which they allude. The author of the Monte Cassino annals<sup>83</sup> claims that he wrote 'Plange planctu' (L126) himself, at the time of William II, King of Sicily's death. There seems no reason to doubt this, though unfortunately he does not explain if and when it was performed. Rahewin of Freising also says that he wrote the planctus, 'Libram Phebus' (L81), included in his chronicle, the Gesta Friderici,<sup>84</sup> and that it was to be inscribed on Bishop Otto's tomb. Since this chronicle covers much of the life of Frederick Barbarossa I, there might be reason to doubt Rahewin's claim. However, this planctus also survives as a space filler added in s.xii to A-As 165 (s.xi-s.xii) where it has musical notation. It may thus have been well-known in the Bavarian area as a song in its own right (composed by Rahewin), and later included in the chronicle when Rahewin came to recount events of 1158.

Otherwise, however, there are considerable difficulties in establishing the social environment of planctus from this period, since the majority survive in conductus manuscripts or books associated with the Notre Dame conductus repertory. The main problems can be summed up with reference to I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240), the manuscript which contains the largest number of planctus composed during this period. As Falck<sup>85</sup> has argued the items of this collection do not represent part of a central Parisian repertory of conductus. Firstly, the deceased personages commemorated by the planctus it contains often had no connection with Paris, for example, Frederick Barbarossa I, and Ferdinand III, King of León and Castile; this implies that the planctus originated from different places and were not all composed in Paris. Secondly, in each fascicle of one- two- and three-voice conductus the planctus occur in approximately chronological order; moreover, 'Sol eclipsim' (L145) - the most recent planctus included in I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240), one with which the fascicle of monophonic conductus concludes - is an addition of s.xiii<sup>2</sup>. These factors suggest that a collector was at work, gradually accumulating material over time from whatever sources were available to him. Thirdly, the majority of planctus in this book were composed between 1181 and 1198, with two examples written in 1209, two in 1223 and one in 1253. The manuscript was, however, written in

ca.1240. This points to the possibility that the manuscript was copied from an exemplar, now lost, which may in turn have been based on several different sources. Rather than representing a collection of Parisian compositions it is more likely that I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240) reflects several layers of material derived from different sources and originating from various places in England, France, Germany and Spain.

Since most of the planctus in this manuscript are unique to it this is difficult to corroborate. However, a number do survive in more than one source, as illustrated below:

no.of voices	1	2	2	2	1	3
incipit	Omnis	Eclipsim	In occasu	Pange	Jer.Jer.	O felix
ref.no.	(L113)	(L35)	(L69)	(L121)	(L73)	(L97)
date of death	1181	1186	1189	1190	1197-98	1209
MSS						
GB-Ob Additional A 44 (s.xiii in.) (Wigmore Abbey?)	1				2	
↓ I-F Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240) (Paris?)	x	1	2	3	x	x
↓ W-D Helmst.628 (s.xiii mid.) (St.Andrew's Priory)		1	2	3		
GB-Ob Rawl.C 510 (s.xiii <sup>2</sup> ) (Bardney Abbey)			1	2		

It is evident that these planctus occur in chronological order in each manuscript (bearing in mind that in the two music manuscripts one- two- and three-voice planctus are in different fascicles). Although 'Da plaudens' (L23) - also from GB-Ob Bodley Additional A 44 (s.xiii in.)<sup>86</sup> precedes both 'Omnis in lacrimas' (L113) and 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (L73), but was composed after 'Omnis in lacrimas' (L113), it is not found in any French manuscript sources and is quite likely an insular composition. Moreover, it is about the deceased English king, whereas the other two are both about nobles from Champagne.

Since these manuscripts are anthologies of collectors' items it is not perhaps surprising that those which include rubrics - the Wigmore and Bardney manuscripts - provide no indication of the occasion on which they were performed. 'O felix' (L97) concludes with a double cauda the second part of which is a benedicamus Domino. It is therefore possible that it was originally a liturgical, processional conductus. However, it is only in I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240) that it has a double cauda: in D-W Helmst.628 (s.xiii mid.) there is only one.<sup>87</sup> Moreover,



<u>Music</u>	<u>Ref.no.</u>	<u>Incipit/Author</u>	<u>Event/Deceased</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Date of earliest and latest MSS</u>	<u>No. of MS sources</u>
<u>PLANCTUS OF A BIBLICAL PERSONAGE</u>						
	L132	Qui per viam	Lament of the Virgin	?	ca.1319	1
J	L29	Doleo/Absolon/ Unknown	David's laments for Jonathan & Absalom	?	ca.1330	1
	L20	Cum de cruce	Lament of the Virgin	?	s.xiv	2
	L38	Filii praesentia	"	?	s.xiv	1
	L50	Heu heu Christe	"	?	s.xiv	2
	L13	Ante crucem	"	?	s.xiv - s.xv	8
J	L99	O fratres	"	?	s.xiv	1
	L54a	Heu heu virgineus	"	?	s.xv	1
J	L55	Heu infelices	Lament of the three Maries in the Origny- Sainte-Benoite Easter play	?	s.xiv	1
J	L71	Infelix ego	Lament of Mary Magdalene ? from the same.	?	s.xiv	1
	L58	Heu misereri	Lament of the soldiers ? from the Sulmona fragment	?	s.xiv	1
<u>PLANCTUS ABOUT AN HISTORICAL PERSONAGE</u>						
	L144	Scotia plange	Duns Scottus	1308	s.xiv - s.xv	3
	L151	Vexilla regni	Peter Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall	1312	s.xv ex.	1
	L120	Pange ... necem	"	1312	s.xv ex.	1
	L85	Me cordis	Gilbert III of Clare, Earl of Gloucester	1313	s.xiv <sup>2</sup>	1
J	L143	Scariotis/Jure/ Superne	Henry VII, King of Luxemburg	1313	s.xiv	1
	L105	O quam dolet	Duke Eric and Wald- marus of Sweden	1319	s.xvii	1
	L102	O. jam Christi	Thomas, Earl of Lancaster	1322	s.xiv	1
	L119	Pange ... glor.	"	1322	s.xiv	1
	L137	Quis meo capiti	Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York	1405	s.xiv ex. - s.xv	2

TABLE FOUR: PLANCTUS COMPOSED AFTER 1300

the subject matter of a great many songs included in each of these manuscripts is far from religious. Thus, they can only be regarded as conductus in the loose sense, that is, as songs written in verse; whose social role was probably quite varied.

#### 5. Planctus Composed 1301-ca.1405

As can be seen from Table Four, relatively few planctus are extant from this period. Planctus on a religious theme survive in the following types of manuscript:

(a) the collection of devotional verse and prose:

CS-Pu XII.D.10 (a.1319)	(L132)
D-KA Reichenau pap.36 (s.xiv <sup>2</sup> -s.xv <sup>1</sup> )	(L20, L38)
D-Mbs Clm 14094 (s.xv)	(L54a)
F-TO 348 (s.xv)	(L13)
I-Ac 506 (s.xiv)	(L13)
I-Bas 4019 (s.xv)	(L13)
I-BGc Delta.2.20 (a.1472)	(L13)
I-MAc E.I.27 (s.xv)	(L13)
I-Tn E.V.17 (s.xiv)	(L13)
I-VEcap 823 (s.xiv)	(L13, L50)
I-VEcap 825 (s.xiv)	(L50)

(b) the book of hours:

F-LUNEL 5 (s.xv)	(L13)
------------------	-------

(c) the processional:

I-Civ CI (s.xiv)	(L99)
------------------	-------

(d) the breviary and ordinary:

D-Mbs Clm 26947 (s.xv)	(L54a)
------------------------	--------

(e) the miscellany containing an Easter play:

F-SQ 86 (s.xiv)	(L55, L71)
-----------------	------------

(f) the roll:

I-SUL Fascicolo 47, n.9 (s.xiv)	(L58)
---------------------------------	-------

(g) the miscellany containing a collection of notated motets:

GB-Cgc 512 (ca.1330)	(L29)
----------------------	-------

Although found in a variety of different kinds of manuscript, planctus of this type are normally clearly rubricated, or their social environment is obvious from their manuscript context. The one exception to this is the motet 'Doleo'/'Absolon'/? (L29), which belongs to a short collection of motets in a manuscript containing religious and medical writings. No indication is given about its purpose. Although the triplum and duplum are adaptations of the antiphons 'Doleo super te' (L27) and 'Rex autem' (L139) these antiphons belonged to different liturgical days. It therefore

seems unlikely that it was liturgical.<sup>88</sup>

Several of the others are included in miscellanies of devotional writings, often associated with meditation on the Passion, as for example, 'Fili praesentia' (L38) and 'Cum de cruce' (L20), from D-KA Reichenau pap.36 (s.xiv<sup>2</sup> - s.xv<sup>1</sup>). Here they are included in the hours of the cross. This is not, however, a liturgical book. It is nevertheless possible that these items were para-liturgical and used as supplements to the Office. One of the manuscript sources of 'Ante crucem' (L13) - F-LUNEL 5 (s.xv) - is interestingly a book of hours. In this manuscript 'Ante crucem' (L13) is included in the hours of the cross. By the fifteenth century it was apparently used in private religious devotion.

The majority of the remainder are contained in liturgical books. Although the complex Easter play from F-SQ 86 (s.xiv) does not survive in a liturgical book and does not conclude with the 'Te Deum laudamus', it is incomplete and contains a number of Easter antiphons. Young thus considers that it was probably performed inside the church before matins on Easter Sunday.<sup>89</sup> However, the Sulmona fragment - I-SUL Fascicolo 47, n.9 (s.xiv) - which provides the part of 'the fourth soldier' written on a roll, bears witness to a much longer work comparable in scale to the large Benediktbeuern Passion play, and was not probably attached to the liturgy.

Both 'O fratres' (L99), which is based on 'Flete fideles' (L42) and 'Heu heu virgineus' (L54a), which continues as 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) are liturgical items. The occasion on which the former was performed is not precisely given in the rubrics of I-Civ CI (s.xiv), although they indicate that it was performed on Good Friday. Although the complete text of 'Heu heu virgineus' (L54a) survives in a non-liturgical religious miscellany from Regensburg - D-Mbs Clm 14094 (s.xv) - it is mentioned along with 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) as an optional liturgical item in a contemporary Regensburg ordinary - D-Mbs Clm 26947 (s.xv) - where it was attached to the Adoratio Crucis of Good Friday

Apart from two examples - 'Scariotis'/'Jure'/'Superne' (L143) and 'O quam dolet' (L105) - planctus about recently deceased personages are mostly protest or satirical songs about political executions. Planctus of this type are found in the following types of manuscript:

(a) the anthology of verse:

GB-Ctc O.9.38 (s.xv-s.xvi)	(L120, L151)
GB-Lbl Cotton Titus A.XX (ca.1367-1400)	(L85)
GB-Ob Bodley 851 (s.xiv ex.)	(L137)
S-Sk F.b.6 (s.xvii)	(L105)

(b) the collection of motets:  
F-Pn fr.146 (s.xiv) (L143)

(c) the collection of philosophical writings:  
F-A 328 (s.xv) (L144)

they also survive as:

(d) space fillers:  
GB-Lbl Cotton Faustina B.IX (s.xv)(L137)  
GB-Lbl Royal 12.C.XII (ca.1320-40)(L102, L119)  
I-CEc Plut.XVII.II (s.xiv) (L144)

(e) items on flyleaves:  
GB-Cu Ff.3.26 (s.xv) (L144)

However, unfortunately the manuscripts give little indication of the social environment of the planctus which they contain. This is because they are either anthologies which contain material collected over a period of time, or because they are items in books to which they are unrelated, for example, space fillers or items on flyleaves. However, although 'Scotia plange' (L144) survives in the latter two forms it is always included in books which contain philosophical works by Duns Scottus, the personage whose death it commemorates. It appears therefore to represent a verse epilogue to these.

Of particular interest is the manuscript context of 'O jam Christi' (L102) and 'Pange ... glor.' (L119). They are both included in the so-called Office of St.Thomas of Lancaster in a manuscript which is otherwise a verse anthology. Although it is not a liturgical book the Office is in fact a space filler written on the first recto leaf. It contains entirely newly composed material, including a rhymed antiphon, a prayer, a prosa, a sequentia (the name given to a text), and the two planctus which are unrubricated. It treats Thomas as a martyr and was perhaps an Office written specially for him by one of his supporters. On the other hand, the absence of any of the conventional elements of the Office of the Dead, and the rather loose use of terms in the rubrics may indicate that it was a well-intentioned parody of the Office of the Dead, designed to express great bitterness at the untimely execution of Thomas.

The small number of planctus extant from this period strongly suggests that it was declining in popularity. There is a notable shift of interest from France to Germany and Italy in the planctus about a biblical personage. This overlaps with the growth of the Italian lauda, written in the vernacular, and with the development of the vernacular Passion play in northern Italy and Germany. It also anticipates the vernacular Marienklage which developed in Germany in

the fourteenth century and gave a new lease of life to the planctus Mariae. The surprisingly large proportion of planctus about recently deceased personages from England, at a time when planctus in Latin and in vernacular languages were rarely composed on the continent,<sup>90</sup> may suggest that England was something of a cultural backwater. However, it seems most likely that the planctus was valuable to English clerics because it provided them with a vehicle for political propaganda during a particularly troubled period of English history.

## 6. Conclusion

The problems of determining the social environment of Latin planctus from their manuscript sources have proved numerous, since so much of the evidence is inconclusive. Just as the archaeologist can date natural substances approximately by radio carbon dating techniques but not an artefact made from them, the palaeographer can arrive at the approximate date of a manuscript through an examination of its script, parchment or paper, quiring and binding, but is unable to determine exactly when its contents were composed by using the same method. Yet the difference in date between, for example, the natural wood used in the building of a canoe and the design and construction of the vessel are negligible to the archaeologist who is dealing in hundreds of years; however in a study of the contents of a manuscript the time difference between composition and compilation can be crucial.

Clearly planctus are not consistently found in any single type of manuscript; indeed they are frequently scribal afterthoughts, used to fill up spaces. Moreover, the frequent discrepancy between the probable date of composition of a planctus and its manuscript date implies that the surviving sources may not reflect its original social environment. The conclusions which may be drawn from the manuscript of the Latin planctus can therefore only be tentative.

The history which emerges is one reflecting a type of verse or song which could be adapted to new environments or revised to suit the needs or changing tastes of different monasteries and historical periods. It first appears as a liturgical responsory and antiphon; as a sequence which eventually became liturgical; as a gloss on historical events related in a chronicle; and as an informal tribute to a deceased patron or ecclesiastical leader, which was sung, or in some instances spoken, and possibly related to the para-liturgical conductus.

Subsequently it was also used as a teaching exemplum in lessons on music or rhetoric, as a school exercise, and conceivably as a small scale chanson de geste, designed for instructive entertainment. Later still it is unequivocally found as a liturgical trope, as part of a liturgical drama, complex Easter play and Passion play, and as a means of stimulating meditation on the Passion. Finally it becomes associated with para-liturgical religious devotion and meets its end in the small corners of commonplace books or flyleaves as a form of political complaint. Throughout its long history the Latin planctus served a variety of different purposes in the monasteries where it was composed and performed. Clearly it cannot be defined as a genre according to its social function.

While it is just to emphasise the importance of the unity of the European Middle Ages effected through the European church, the variety of different environments enjoyed both by the planctus as a whole, and by particular planctus, indicates that individual religious centres nevertheless devised their own practices within this general scheme.

A brief survey of the dates of vernacular planctus suggests not only that the Latin planctus began to lose favour from the late thirteenth century, but also that this is so of vernacular laments, with the exception of the planctus Mariae. Thus, the monastic Latin planctus was not 'replaced' by vernacular compositions, which were moreover normally of courtly provenance; rather the aesthetic of this formal type of occasional song was superseded by new fashions such as the spoken elegy and complainte, associated with authors such as Froissart, Chaucer and Machaut.

## CHAPTER THREE: POETIC FORM AND METRE

### 1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the metre and verse forms of Latin planctus in order to determine whether they are typified by a particular poetic form, and thus to establish whether the planctus can be defined according to its verse form.<sup>1</sup> The resulting analysis of form and metre will also enable an assessment to be made of the place of the sequence and lai in its composition, and whether the form of a planctus is related to its social function.

*in /* I will argue that since no single verse form or metre is used with significant consistency in the composition of planctus it cannot be defined according to form. I will also show that in the past the number of planctus written/sequence and lai forms have been overestimated, and that, with a few clear, but ultimately unimportant exceptions, form and function are not significantly related.

To present an argument of this type it is essential that a sense of chronology is maintained: the assertion that no single verse form is typical of the planctus must be true not only statistically, but also from century to century. I therefore adopt the chronological periods employed in the previous chapter.

Some explanation of the method of analysis is necessary at this point. As will become evident, the majority of examples are written in non-quantitative metres, the forms of which are typified by syllabically regular lines; only occasionally are quantitative metres, prosa,<sup>2</sup> or prose employed. There is no consensus about the origins of non-quantitative verse.<sup>3</sup> Although it is no longer treated as an impoverished imitation of classical achievements, the impression given by the various existing hypotheses is that scholars often assume that there can be only one explanation of its origins: on the basis of selected examples different solutions can be proposed with apparent conviction. That there may be several types of non-quantitative verse each with its individual history, rules and standards of excellence is rarely considered.<sup>4</sup> Of particular interest is the fact that

non-quantitative verse is often set to music. The terms which are usually employed to describe it - 'accentual' and 'rhythmical' - reflect certain assumptions about its origins, the accuracy of which remain to be proven. As used by Chailley, Norberg and Meyer<sup>5</sup> these terms carry with them the general idea that non-quantitative verse developed as the ictus of quantitative metre began to coincide with the natural accent of syllables as they would be pronounced in speech. According to this theory accent gradually became the dominant principle in the organisation of a poetic line, rather than quantity, though for some time, from at least the period of the Ambrosian hymn to the Carolingian era, double scansion was characteristic of many examples.<sup>6</sup> However, although there is disagreement concerning early medieval Latin verse as a whole, the specific examples with which I am concerned are not normally typified by systematic regularity of accent patterns:<sup>7</sup> 'accentual' and 'rhythmic' are thus inaccurate descriptions of them. I have used the descriptive term 'syllabic', since it is both accurate and free from associations with particular theories of origins. Nevertheless, although not normally typified by systematic regularity of accent patterns, the final accent in my examples is relatively consistently positioned. I have therefore adopted the notation used by Norberg<sup>8</sup> in his analysis of medieval Latin verse.

Hence, I give the number of syllables per line, followed by the letters 'p' or 'pp'; they indicate respectively that the final accent is on the penultimate syllable (paroxyton) or on the ante-penultimate syllable (proparoxyton). Where, as often, there is a regular break or caesura in the line, the line is divided up accordingly and the position of the accents indicated. This information is placed in brackets and preceded by a digit which refers to the number of lines in the stanza. For example, 3 (5p + 7pp) means that the stanza is made up of three lines: the first half of each consists of five syllables with a penultimate accent, and the second half of a further seven syllables with an ante-penultimate accent. In the case of strophic examples, where this information refers to each stanza, the digit referring to the number of lines in the stanza is preceded by the letter 'S'. Otherwise it is to be assumed that the poem is made up of only one stanza. For complex forms such as sequences and lais in which there is often considerable variation from stanza to stanza of the line length and final accent position, I have noted the versicles to which my analysis refers, in order that it can easily be compared with the text in Appendix C. A pair of empty brackets, (), denotes that there is no consistent rhyme



scheme; otherwise rhyme is indicated by lower case letters; a capital 'R' denotes a refrain, 'IR' the presence of internal rhyme, and 'A' that of assonance. 'DS' means double scansion.

The examples are arranged in three main groups, namely, syllabic verse, quantitative verse, and prose. Where appropriate, syllabic examples are further divided into three main categories, that is, strophic structures, for the lack of an appropriate literary term 'through-composed' structures, and sequences (including prosaes and lais). 'Through-composed' structures refers to items which are not organised according to either of the sequence or strophic principles. The material is then arranged according to the main poetic forms and metres employed. Examples within these smaller groups are listed chronologically as far as is possible.

## 2. Planctus composed before 950

The forms of planctus listed in Table One (see Chapter Two) are as follows:

### A SYLLABIC VERSE

#### (i) Strophic structures

##### (a) 5p + 7pp

- |                         |                            |                       |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. 'Ad flendos' (L7)    | S 3 (5p + 7pp) + 5p        | (A) (Pseudo-Sapphic)  |
| 2. 'Mecum Timavi' (L86) | S 5 (5p + 7pp)             | (A) (Iambic trimeter) |
| 3. 'A solis' (L1)       | S 2/4 (5p + 7pp) + R 6/7pp | ( ) (Iambic trimeter) |
| 4. 'Hug dulce' (L66)    | S 3 (5p + 7pp) + 5p        | ( ) (Pseudo-Sapphic)  |

##### (b) 4p + 4p + 4p

- |                         |   |     |
|-------------------------|---|-----|
| 1. 'Laxis fibris' (L80) | S 3 (4p + 4p + 4p) + (4p + 4p)<br>+ (4p + 4p + 4p + 4p) | (A) |
|-------------------------|---|-----|

##### (c) 8pp

- |                     |           |                                       |
|---------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. 'O Fulco' (L100) | S 4 (8pp) | (aaaa, bbbb, etc.) (Ambrosian stanza) |
|---------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|

#### (ii) Through-composed structures

##### (a) 8p + 7pp

- |                         |               |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| 1. 'Ecce Judas' (L33)   | 16 (8p + 7pp) | (A)(Trochaic septenarius) |
| 2. 'Cordas tange' (L19) | 13 (8p + 7pp) | (A)(Trochaic septenarius) |

\* the last line of each stanza has double scansion: 5p and - o o - o

(iii) Prosa

1. 'Quid tu Virgo' (L133) (A)
  1. ---- 4 syllables
  - 2a ----- 9
  - 2b ----- 9
  - 3a ----- 8
  - 3b ----- 8
  - 4a ----- 10
  - 4b ----- 10
  - 5a ----- 17
  - 5b ----- 19
  - 6a ----- 23
  - 6b ----- 23
  7. ----- 38

B QUANTITATIVE VERSE

1. 'Plangite queso' (L127) 181 hexameters ( )
2. 'Mente tristamur' (L87)  
12 sapphic stanzas: 3 (- o -  $\overset{\circ}{-}$  - o o - o -  $\overset{\circ}{-}$ ) + 1 (- o o -  $\overset{\circ}{-}$ ) ( )

C PROSE

1. 'Montes Gelboe' (responsory) (L90)
2. 'Rex autem' (antiphon) (L139)
3. 'In excelsis' (antiphon) (L67)
4. 'Montes Gelboe' (antiphon) (L89)
5. 'Doleo super te' (antiphon) (L27)
6. 'Doleo super te' (responsory) (L28)
7. 'Saul et Jonathas' (antiphon) (L142)
8. 'Planxit autem' (antiphon) (L128)
9. 'Planxit autem' (responsory) (L128a)

This analysis indicates that planctus from this period were written in a surprising variety of forms and metres, considering that such a relatively small number of examples are extant. It also bears witness to different types of versification employed in both West and East Frankish monasteries.

The verse forms of the syllabic examples can be compared to those of verse contained in Carolingian florilegia - verse which is often set to music and frequently rubricated versus or ritmus.<sup>9</sup> Much of this type of verse appears to have been inspired by the model of the hymn composed before the Carolingian Renaissance of the eighth century and normally typified by double scansion.<sup>10</sup> According to Norberg<sup>11</sup> the hymn was in turn modelled on classical metres. Those most relevant to my discussion are the trochaic septenarius (used in, for example,

Fortunatus's hymn 'Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis'<sup>12</sup>), and the Sapphic metre (used in, for example, Paul the Deacon's hymn 'Ut queant laxis resonare fibris'<sup>13</sup>). There are also numerous examples modelled on the doubly scanned Ambrosian metre (used in, for example, Ambrose's 'Aeternum rerum conditor'<sup>14</sup>).

Exactly how the non-quantitative versions of these metres evolved remains a matter of uncertainty. Examples apparently illustrating this development can be invoked, but with an incomplete set of data, owing to the sorry manuscript history of early medieval Latin verse, the explanations given are to a large degree hypothetical. For example, there are normally two different types of non-quantitative Sapphic stanza cited in studies of medieval Latin verse: the 'imitated' Sapphic structure: 3 (5p + 6p) + 5p, and the 'pseudo-Sapphic' structure: 3 (5p + 7pp) + 5p. Norberg<sup>15</sup> attributes the emergence of the first to the use of 'En adest Caesar plus et benignus'<sup>16</sup> (written in 814) as a model:

- o -     - /-     oo - / e - -  
 En adest Caesar pius et benignus  
 - o -     o /-     o o - / o - -  
 Orbe qui toto rutilat coruscus,  
 - o -     - /-     o o - / o - -  
 Atque prae cunctis bonitate pollet  
           - o o     - /-  
           Munere Christi.

It is quantitative. Shortly after this in 818 a non-quantitative version of this metre appeared:<sup>17</sup>

Terra marique            victor honorande,  
 Caesar Auguste        Hludowice, Christi  
 Dogmate clarus,        decus aevi nostri,  
                           Spes quoque regni,

Quam vis adventus    sit ubique tuus  
 Laude perenni        rite celebrandus,  
 Cui totus orbis        voto, fide bona  
                           Cuncta precatur.

Here the poet has not attempted to replace long quantities with accented syllables. Rather he has read the previous poem as prose, paying attention only to the cursus and to achieving a regular syllable count and regular caesura.<sup>18</sup> In accordance with the latter the line is divided into two hemistichs. 'Mente tristamur' (L87) is evidently quantitative and more closely related to 'En adest Caesar'. However, unlike the trochaic septenarius the metres used in the Sapphic stanza are not normally typified by the substitution of feet which would have the affect of increasing the number of syllables in each

line: unless there are elisions the Sapphic stanza is syllabically regular. In both 'En adest Caesar pius et benignus' and 'Mente tristamur' (L87) there are almost no elisions. In marked contrast to the Sapphic stanza of Catullus, though in accordance with the early Sapphics of Horace,<sup>19</sup> the caesura is almost consistently positioned after the fifth syllable. It is therefore rather difficult to judge whether they have double scansion, with some minor irregularities which often occur in non-quantitative verse, or whether they are to be regarded, as Norberg claims, as purely quantitative.

The second version of the classical Sapphic can be illustrated by 'Ad celi clara', a penitential song written by Paulinus of Aquileia, the author of both 'Mecum Timavi' (L86) and 'Ad flendos' (L7):<sup>20</sup>

Ad celi clara                      non sum dignus sidera  
 Levare meos                        infelices oculos,  
 Gravi depressus                    peccatorum pondere,  
     Parce redemptor.

Norberg regards this as an inventive adaption of the classical Sapphic, based on the iambic trimeter. Particularly novel is the use of the five-syllable pseudo-adonean line as a refrain. This is the form used in 'Hug dulce' (L66) and 'Ad flendos' (L7), though in these the pseudo-adonean line is not used as a refrain, but continues the sense of the final iambic trimeter. It is however debatable how useful the term 'iambic trimeter' is. As is evident from 'Ad celi clara' and both 'Hug dulce' and 'Ad flendos' the only syllables which are normally consistently accented are the final accents of each half-line. This Norberg acknowledges.<sup>21</sup> There are only a finite number of accent patterns which could precede the final accent of such short half-lines; evidently there are bound to be particular patterns which are used more often than others. Nevertheless, this metre is essentially defined according to the final accents, or cursus, and barely recognisable as an imitation of the classical iambic trimeter.

In order to use the phrase 'pseudo-Sapphic' a certain amount of terminological flexibility is required. This seems to me to be justified on pragmatic grounds, although it leaves open the question of how the early medieval Latin poet conceived his work: the only planctus from this period which is rubricated sapphicum (MS scaphicum) is 'Mente tristamur' (L87). Accordingly, 'A solis' (L1) might be called a pseudo-Sapphic. In the one source with music (see Appendix C) it is made up of four iambic trimeters followed by one of two refrains; in the other five manuscript sources it consists of two iambic trimeters followed by the same refrain throughout.<sup>22</sup>

It differs from the pseudo-Sapphics discussed above with respect to the number of lines per stanza and its refrain. The latter, thought to be modelled on similar examples from the Mozarabic preces,<sup>23</sup> is longer in syllable count than the normal five-syllable pseudo-adonean line.

Another planctus which could be said to be written in a pseudo-Sapphic metre - provided the definition employed is flexible - is 'Laxis fibris' (L80), the only other planctus from this period with a refrain. It differs from the pseudo-Sapphics already mentioned in three main ways: each line is divided into three sections, not just two; the last line of the stanza consists of eight syllables divided into two equal hemistichs; and, in addition, there is a refrain made up of twelve syllables divided into four equal sections. It thus has a different set of accented syllables and, since each prosodic unit is so short, a smaller number of possible variations in the accent pattern of the preceding syllables. It could be dismissed as an inventive anomaly, resulting from the poet's ingenuity or ignorance of existing conventions; on the other hand, it could be based on the pseudo-Sapphic form, assuming that the poet concerned himself only with the syllable count of the stanza.<sup>24</sup> That the text was written for an existing melody made up of short phrases like the lai, or that the poet devised his own numerical pattern for both words and music, seem to me to be plausible, though undeniably unverifiable, explanations. (The first two syllables of the text in one of the manuscript sources are set to music, indicating that this planctus was intended to be sung.)

Although the formal design of the strophic and through-composed syllabic verse forms of this period might be described as imitations and, occasionally, adaptations of conventional forms, there are a number of interesting deviations which deserve some comment. There is only one example with a consistent rhyme scheme ('O Fulco' (L100)), and here the rhymes employed are disyllabic. Nevertheless sound is given recognisable shape through assonance in most examples. If rhyme could be described as regular prosodic emphasis, then assonance could be called prosodic syncopation. Both are purely formal, but provide variations of differing types within the overall design of a stanza.<sup>25</sup> Although not a poem of outstanding literary achievement 'Hug dulce' (L66) is of particular interest since the poet has given the pseudo-adonean line of each stanza double scansion, thus varying the formal nature of the strophic structure.

There are also a number of irregularities in several examples which do not seem to justify textual emendation, and should therefore be

commented on. In 'O Fulco' (L100) there are several instances of extra lines in the stanza, each with the same disyllabic rhyme as the other lines in the stanza. (see Appendix C). It may be that the text is simply 'corrupt'; the manuscript in which it was written has been lost and modern editions are reprints of a seventeenth-century edition.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, since they are not redundant lines as far as sense is concerned, there is reason to deduce that absolute stanzaic regularity was not essential.

More puzzling are occasional inconsistencies in the syllable count of a particular word and instances of syllabic irregularity. Concerning the former: the word Aquileia, also spelt Aquilegia in some manuscripts, appears to have two possible syllable counts, regardless of how it is spelled. The syllable count depends on whether the last 'i' is treated consonantly or as a vowel. In 'Mecum Timavi' (L86) the manuscripts from Northern France<sup>27</sup> use the first spelling and that from Aquitaine<sup>28</sup> the second. In order to make up a sufficient number of syllables for the line (2.2) the word must have five syllables; the 'i' therefore needs to be treated as a vowel. Since the Aquitanian source provides music for five syllables it seems reasonable to assume that this pronunciation is probably correct. However, in the other planctus by Paulinus, 'Ad flendos' (L7), the word (1.1) has to have four syllables to fit in with the normal syllable count of each line. In the Italian manuscript source<sup>29</sup> it is spelt Aquileia and in the other,<sup>30</sup> the provenance of which is unknown, it is spelt Aquilegia. Unfortunately neither of these manuscripts provides music; there is therefore no way of confirming the pronunciation. Neither inconsistencies in pronunciation, nor syllabic irregularity are of course uncommon. However, how this word was pronounced in 'Ad flendos' remains a matter of uncertainty.

An example of syllabic irregularity occurs in 'Quid tu Virgo' (L133), versicles 5a and 5b. This is the climax of the sequence and contains Rachel's lament:

5a Heu heu heu quid me incusatis fletus incassum fudisse? (17)

5b Cum sim orbata nato, paupertatem meam qui solus curaret. (19)

It could be argued that two of the utterances of 'heu' are meant to be pronounced as 'eheu', or that all three are pronounced in this way with an elision between 'me incusatis'. However, 'Haec est sancta solemnitas solemnitatum',<sup>31</sup> also attributed to Notker, shares the same formal design and melody (virgo plorans) as 'Quid tu Virgo': it also has the same syllabic irregularity:

5a Redempti ergo gratias agamus nostro redemptori: (17)

5b Rex regum Christe, cui angelorum chori jube famulantur; (19)

'Haec est sancta solemnitas diei'<sup>32</sup> of Aquitanian tradition, on which Notker is thought to have modelled his version, likewise has a comparable irregularity:

5a Jam nunc ergo ipsius petamus suffragia: nostra solvat debita, (21)

5b Atque precatu benigni adjuti aeterna digni captemus munera; (22)

The neumatic notations provided for both Notker's sequences make it quite clear that in each versicle seventeen and nineteen syllables, respectively, are provided for. Received opinion is that 'Quid tu Virgo' is a contrafactum of 'Haec est sancta solemnitas solemnitatum;' the latter of which is ultimately modelled on 'Haec est sancta solemnitas diei'.<sup>33</sup> What is curious is that no special affect is created in either version of 'Haec est sancta' through the syllabic irregularity. As Crocker<sup>34</sup> has amply demonstrated there is nothing unusual about syllabic irregularities in the early sequence. However two features are puzzling. If the model for the two Notker sequences was indeed 'Haec est sancta solemnitas diei' then it is surprising that the irregularity in syllable count increased rather than decreased. In Aquitanian tradition the melody is known as haec est sancta, whereas in St.Gall manuscripts it is called virgo plorans, referring to 'Quid tu Virgo'. It would seem more likely that 'Quid tu Virgo' was composed first, and the melody named after it. Were that the case the syllabic irregularity might then be a deliberate means of emphasising the emotional climax of this sequence. Even if received opinion is correct<sup>35</sup> it may not be anachronistic to speculate that Notker contrived to have the climax at this point.

It should by now be clear that the verse forms employed for planctus from this period are not modelled on any one form or metre. Spanke<sup>36</sup> suggested that the Sapphic was associated at this time with lamentation; in Greek tragedy and classical verse the Sapphic was often used for expressions of grief. Although there appears to be a small concentration of planctus in Sapphic or pseudo-Sapphic metres, I have shown that the use of the word 'Sapphic' has to be flexible and may be an artificial way of describing verse forms which medieval poets saw differently. Even if they were aspiring to imitate authoritative classical models, the number of planctus which could be described as Sapphic are too few to be of significance. It is possible that poets of the earliest extant planctus were aware of the Sapphic's association with grief, and that later writers, from different areas or of different levels of

literary competence, or with different conceptions of the nature of syllabic Latin verse, missed the point or did not feel the need to restrict themselves to it. Against this however one must consider that the Sapphic was used in a large number of hymns, both syllabic and with double scansion, and that it enjoyed a particular vogue in the early ninth century: in both instances the texts normally had nothing whatsoever to do with the expression of grief.

There are however two types of relationship between the form of a text and its social context or content which deserve comment. 'Plangite queso' (L127), a dolorous pastoral dialogue, is rubricated Egloga and written in hexameters. Not only does it use the same metre and pastoral idiom which Virgil uses for his Eclogues, but it also contains allusions to various works of Virgil.<sup>37</sup> It would seem that Radbert, the author of 'Plangite queso', looked to the pastoral poetry of Virgil for his model. In doing so he could be said to have perpetuated the classical tradition of writing eclogues in hexameters.

The only planctus from this period where there is a clear relationship between form and social context are the liturgical examples. The nine antiphons and responsories are each written in the prose of the Vulgate, as is conventional for early chants such as these. The planctus listed under prosa, 'Quid tu Virgo', is written in the form conventionally used in the sequence of the Mass.

Poets from this period display a notable range of inventiveness in the formal designs of their planctus. Their interest seems to have been in experimenting with existing metres, defined according to their syllable count and possibly final accents in the case of syllabic verse, and according to their quantitative values in the case of quantitative verse. They appear not to make an attempt to relate form and content, and in only a few examples is form and social context significantly connected. Contrary to assertions made in the past<sup>38</sup> planctus from this period are only rarely typified by a refrain.

### 3. Planctus Composed 950-1130

The forms of planctus listed in Table Two (see Chapter Two) are as follows:



## A SYLLABIC VERSE

### (i) Strophic structures

#### (a) 8pp + 7pp

1. 'Quis dabit' (L135) S 3 (8pp + 7pp) (IR)

#### (b) 8p + 8p

1. 'Qui habet' (L131) S 4 (8p + 8p) + R (8p + 8p) (IR)

#### (c) 8p + 7pp

1. 'Hactenus' (L46) S 3 (8p + 7pp) (aaa, bbb, etc.) (trochaic septenarius)
2. 'Omnis etas' (L112) S 3 (8p + 7pp) (aaa, bbb, etc.) (trochaic septenarius)
3. 'Armonicae' (L14) S 3 (8p + 7pp) (aaa, bbb, etc.) (trochaic septenarius)
4. 'Heu eheu' (L49) S 3 (8p + 7pp) (aaa, bbb, etc.) (trochaic septenarius)

#### (d) 5p + 7pp

1. 'Plasmator' (L129) S 4 (5p + 7pp) (aaaa, bbbb, etc.)

#### (e) 6p + 5p

1. 'Cesar tantus' (L16) S 4 (6p + 5p) ( )

#### (f) 4p + 6pp

1. 'Flete viri' (L44) S 6 (4p + 6pp) (aabbcc etc.)

#### (g) 10pp

1. 'Carole tu' (L17) S 4 (10pp) (aabb, ccd., eeff, etc.)

#### (h) 8p

1. 'Hector pugnae' (L47) S 2 (8p) + R 7pp (aaR, bbR etc.)
2. 'Ad te namque' (L9) S 4 (8p) (aaaa, bbbb etc.)
3. 'Luget mundus' (L83) (S) 4 (8p) + R 8p (aaaaR: text probably incomplete)

#### (i) 8pp

1. 'Bellatorum' (L15) S 4 (8pp) (aabb, ccdd etc.)
2. 'Proh dolor' (L130) S 4 (8pp) (aaaa, bbbb etc.)

#### (j) 7pp

1. 'Huc ades' (L65) S 4 (7pp) (aabb, ccdd etc.)

#### (k) (6p+ 6p) (8p + 5p)

1. 'Lamentemur' (L78) S 2 (6p + 6p, + 8p + 5p) + R (hexameter) (IR)

#### (l) (8p) (4p + 6pp)

1. 'Omne quod' (L110) S 2 (8p) + 3 (4p + 6pp) (aaaaa, bbbbb etc.)

(ii) Through composed structures

(a) 4p + 4p + 7pp

1. 'Dulcis filii' (L31) 26 couplets: (4p + 4p + 7pp) (IR: xxa, yya)(aa, bb etc.)

(b) (6p + 6p) (4p + 6pp)

1. 'O dulces filii' (L95) 9 (6p + 6p) + 4 (4p + 6pp) + R 4p + 3 (4p + 6pp)  
+ R 4p (aabbccdd, eeffR, eggR)

(iii) Sequences and prosae

1. 'Qui principium' (L133)

1a 5pp + 4p + 4p + 4p + 6p + 8p (31 syllables)

1b 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 6p + 4p + 4p (30)

2a 4p + 4p + 6p + 4p + 4p + 6p + 6p + 4p + 4p (42)

2b 4p + 4p + 6p + 4p + 4p + 6p + 6p + 8p (42)

3a 5p + 7pp + 5p + 5p + 5pp + 4p + 6pp+ 5p + 5p + 6pp + [ ] 5p + 5p +

3b 4p + 7pp + 6pp+ 4p + 5pp + 4p + 6p + 5p + 6pp+ 6pp + 6p + 4p + 6p +

(3a) 6p + 5p + 6pp + 6p + 7p + 4p + 6p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 4pp (123)

(3b) 5p + 6p + 5p + 7p + 7p + 4p + 7pp+ 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p. (130)

4a 4p + 4p + 4pp + 4p + 4p + 4p + 4pp + 4p + 5p + 5p + 2p + 4p + 4p +  
4p + 4p + 4pp + 4p + 4p + 4p + 4pp + 4p + 5p + 5p + 2p + 6p + 4p +

(4a) 2p + 7p + 5p + 4p + 4p + 4p (78)

(4b) 2p + 6p + 5p + 4p + 4p + 4p (79)

5a 4p + 6p + 6p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 7p + 5p + 6p + 7p + 7p +  
4p + 6p + 7p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 6p + 5p + 6p + 6p + 6p +

(5a) 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p (80)

(5b) 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p (78)

6. 5p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 6p + 4p + 4p (28)

R (after each versicle): 4p + 5p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 7p (28)

2. 'Judex summe' (L77)

1a 6p + 8pp + 6p + 8pp (28) + R

1b 6p + 8pp + 6p + 8pp (28) + R

2a 4p + 3p + 6pp + 8p + 6pp (27) + R

2b 4p + 4pp+ 6pp + 6p + 6pp (26) + R

3a 7pp + 7pp + 6pp + 8pp + 7pp + 6pp (41) + R

3b 6p + 6p + 6pp + 7pp + 7pp + 6pp (38) + R

4a 4p + 5pp + 4p + 4p + 4p (21) no R

4b 4p + 5pp + 4p + 4p + 4p (21) no R

4c 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 4pp (20) no R

4d 5pp+ 5pp + 5pp+ 4p + 4p (23) no R

5a 4p + 5pp + 4p + 5p (18) no R

5b 4p + 5p + 4p + 5p (18) + R

6. 6p + 8pp + 6p + 8pp (28) + R

R 8p + 4pp + 7pp + 8pp + 2p (29)

(Rhyme and assonance are employed in both these sequences unsystematically)

3. 'Jocus et leticia' (L76)

- 1a 6 (7pp) + 4p (aaaaaab)  
1b 7 (7pp) + 4p (ccccccb)  
2a 7 (7pp) + 4p (dddddde)  
2b 7 (7pp) + 4p (ffffffe)  
3a 4 (7p) + 4p (ggggh)  
3b 4 (7p) + 4p (ggggh)

B QUANTITATIVE VERSE

(i) Strophic structures

1. 'Ad carmen' (L5) 23 stanzas of four lines in catalectic lesser  
asclepiads. (A)

(ii) Through composed structures

1. 'Pergama flere' (L122) 90 leonine hexameters. (aa, bb, etc.)  
2. 'O Gauzline' (L101) 7 elegiac couplets. (IR)  
3. 'Ad fletus' (L8) 161 dactylic hexameters. (IR)  
4. 'Heu quam' (L62) 6 elegiac couplets (IR)  
5. 'Jerusalem luge' (L75) 73 elegiac couplets (aa, bb etc.)  
6. 'Flete mecum' (L43) 32 elegiac couplets ()  
7. 'Anglia ridet' (L12) 10 dactylic hexameters. (IR)  
8. 'Floriacensis' (L45) 84 adonean lines. (A)

(iii) Sequence structures

1. 'Doctorum speculum' (L26)

1. 3 catalectic choriambic tetrameters, 1 leonine pentameter, and refrain.  
2a 3 catalectic choriambic tetrameters, 1 glyconic, and refrain.  
3a 3 catalectic choriambic tetrameters, 1 leonine pentameter, and refrain.  
2b 3 catalectic choriambic tetrameters, 1 glyconic, and refrain.  
3b 3 catalectic choriambic tetrameters, 1 leonine pentameter, and refrain.  
4a 4 catalectic choriambic tetrameters, 1 leonine pentameter, and refrain.  
4b 4 catalectic choriambic tetrameters, 1 leonine pentameter, and refrain.

R normally an Archilochean line.

Rhyme:

1. aaabR  
2a ccccR  
3a dddeR  
2b ffffR  
3b ggghR  
4a jjkk1R  
4b mnn1R

From this analysis it can be seen that the forms and metres employed in the writing of planctus from this period are extremely varied. A small number of examples are based on metres and forms already used in planctus from the previous period, that is, items listed under (5p + 7p),

8pp and (8p + 7pp). However, this is not true of the rest; indeed many of these either number amongst the earliest occurrences of a particular form or metre in medieval Latin verse as a whole, or are apparently unique.

It is highly unlikely that planctus writers who happened to use a metre employed in previous planctus chose it because it had come to be associated with lamentation. The one example in iambic trimeter, 'Plasmator' (L129) bears little resemblance to the pseudo-Sapphic stanza found in examples from the previous period, no matter how flexibly one defines the word Sapphic: the four lines are syllabically regular and the last line is neither metrically varied, nor used as a refrain. Unless the strophic planctus from this period which survive with a refrain, that is, 'Qui habet' (L131), 'Hector pugnae' (L47), 'Luget mundus' (L83),<sup>39</sup> 'Lamentemur' (L78) and the last two stanzas of 'O dulces' (L31) - a small proportion of extant examples from this period - could be regarded as modifications of the general structure of the Sapphic stanza form, by ignoring the specific metres used, one would have to conclude that the apparent interest in the Sapphic in the previous period has now been superseded by other formal preoccupations. Other twelve-syllable lines - used in 'Lamentemur' (L78) and 'O dulces' (L31) - are quite different in their formal design since they have a medial caesura rather than a break after the fifth syllable.

There are only two examples from this period written in the 4 (8pp) stanza form used in a planctus ('O Fulco' (L100)) from the previous period. All three planctus are about the deaths of personages from the northern French region. Since Fulco was brutally murdered and deeply mourned it is conceivable that the metre used in his planctus became temporarily associated in monasteries from this area with the planctus. On the other hand, as one of the most common metres of medieval Latin verse this seems highly unlikely. Additionally other planctus of this period from the same region are written in several different metres.<sup>40</sup>

The only metre also employed in planctus from the previous period which has a significant number of extant examples is the syllabic trochaic septenarius. However, in contrast to the two examples in this metre from the previous period - 'Cordas tange' (L19) and 'Ecce Judas' (L33) - this metre is employed in a three-line strophic structure with end rhyme: its formal design is closer to the hymn 'Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis' than to the examples from the previous period.

Should it be thought that the small concentration of planctus in this metre provide an instance of a relationship between form and content in examples from this period, it should be borne in mind that the probable places of origin of each example lie somewhat far apart: Luxeuil (L46), Liège (L14), Poland (L112) and Canterbury or Bec (L49). This would suggest that the metre was already well-known, as indeed it was for a wide variety of poetic genres. Moreover, and more importantly, the treatment of the metre in each case varies somewhat. In both 'Hactenus' (L46) and 'Armonicae' (L14) - from Luxeuil and Liège respectively - the only accents used consistently are the final accents of each hemistich. 'Armonicae' has the additional feature of being an abecedarian. In 'Heu eheu' (L49) accents normally occur on the first and fifth syllables as well as on the penultimate syllable of the first hemistich and the antepenultimate syllable of the second.<sup>41</sup> In contrast the syllables of 'Omnis etas' (L112) are alternately accented: / . / . / . / . / . / . / . / More accurately it would be analysed S 3 (4p + 4p + 7pp), the same metre as 'Dulcis fili' (L31), but without internal rhymes on the fourth and eighth syllables. In both the first eight syllables are frequently made up of disyllabic words accented on the first syllable.

Even without invoking the scores of examples of early medieval Latin verse written in the trochaic septenarius, which would demonstrate that there is little significance in this small concentration of planctus, it is evident that this metre is treated in different ways in each example. The variations in treatment can be accounted for with respect to different approaches to the art of versification. The first two examples accord with the approach outlined most fully by Meyer<sup>42</sup> in which the cursus or final accent is the only consistent accentual feature of a line; the third may be closely related to that of the first two: its accent pattern does not coincide with any of Norberg's<sup>43</sup> formulations of different treatments of the trochaic septenarius; some syllables on the first and fifth syllables are monosyllables which may or may not have been accented; the fourth looks back to an already long established syllabic treatment of this metre.<sup>44</sup> None of these could be said to imitate the quantitative trochaic septenarius by substituting longs with accents.

Clearly these examples are unlikely to have been modelled on metres already used in previous planctus; even if such a relationship could be established it would hardly be based on a sufficient number of instances to prove a general relationship between form and content.

The following metres employed during this period were already

much used in early medieval Latin verse for a variety of poetic genres: (8p + 8p), (4p + 6pp), 8p and 7pp.<sup>45</sup> The following were however probably used for the first time in the eleventh century: (8pp + 7pp), 10pp and (6p + 6p), though they were not original to planctus. Norberg traces<sup>46</sup> the history of the form and metre of 'Quis dabit' (L135) - S 3 (8pp + 7pp) - as follows: its author, Leo of Vercelli, adapted it from a piece of which the first stanza is:<sup>47</sup>

Adtende rex piissime           (8pp)  
Planctus hos ecclesie,       (7pp)

This two-line stanza was written in Metz in s.xi, and is thought to be modelled on one of the Mozarabic preces.<sup>48</sup> Leo then used this stanza form as the basis for each line of two poems in three-line stanzas:<sup>49</sup>

Christe, preces intellege,	Romam tuam respice,
Romanos pie renova,	vires Romae excita;
Surgat Roma imperio	sub Ottone tertio.

and 'Quis dabit' (L135), of which I give the first two stanzas:

Quis dabit aquam capiti?	Quis succurret pauperi?
Quis dabit fontes oculis	lacrimosos populi?
Sufficiens que lacrimae	mala mundi plangere?

Ad triumphum ecclesie	coepit Otto crescere,
Sumpsit Otto imperium,	ut floreret seculum;
Vivo Ottone tertio	salus fuit seculo.

Which of the two was composed first cannot be established. Since the proposed model is a planctus ecclesiae, it is just possible that Leo chose its metre for his planctus. Of further interest is the fact that Leo did not concern himself with imitating the accent pattern of 'Adtende rex piissime', except for the final accents. This can be seen by comparing the accents of each stanza, as marked above. He thus allowed himself flexibility at the beginning of each hemistich. Since each of these half-lines is relatively long there is some scope for variation.<sup>50</sup>

Although the majority of metres employed in syllabic strophic and through-composed planctus were already long established conventions or recently devised, a small number appear to be unique to the planctus, namely, those of 'Lamentemur' (L78) and 'Omne quod' (L110). In both these examples more than one basic metre is used to create the general shape of the stanza; all but one of these, (8p + 5p), however is a metre already in general use. The interest lies in the fact that verse forms such as these, combining different metres, represent a different

type of formal variety, anticipating a technique used to great effect particularly in twelfth-century Latin verse. The refrain of 'Lamentemur', like that of 'Hug dulce' (L66), provides another element of variation since it is quantitative.

The formal inventiveness characteristic of planctus from this period is particularly in evidence in the prosa and sequence forms. In contrast to the previous period the sequence is no longer confined to liturgical use<sup>51</sup> but also employed in the composition of planctus at the death of an emperor (L77), a bishop (L133), and a school teacher (L26). Setting aside the last one, to which I will return, both the others, each of German provenance, are based on a highly elaborate type of Kunstprosa, rather than a regular verse form, or rhyme scheme. In contrast however to 'Quid tu Virgo' (L134), the sequence from the previous period, much more is made of each phrase through the elaborate, though unsystematic orchestration of rhyme and assonance. In 'Quid tu Virgo' phrase lengths within each versicle are rarely marked by rhyme or assonance, although these two devices are used sporadically throughout. Here however rhyme and assonance highlight particular phrases internally and terminally, often through the accumulation of the same sounds, followed by a contrast, after which the rhyming or assonating sound is not used for a while, for example:

1a Qui principium  
constas rerum,  
fave nostris  
piis ceptis  
atque mentis plectrum  
rege, precamur, rex regum.

(Refrain) Pater, nate,  
spiritus sancte,  
te laudamus  
ore corde  
..... vite  
siti fragilitate.

This cumulative technique is also used in the quantitative planctus 'Floriacensis' (L45). The use of the sequence in a non-liturgical song is not of course unusual by this period.<sup>52</sup> Although the formal design of each example may be unique it is possible that such sequences were originally contrafacta. Unfortunately, however, it is unlikely that their models or melodies will ever be recovered since so few non-liturgical sequences survive with music.

'Doctorum speculum' (L26), the third sequence, is a highly unusual artifice. It is debatable whether it is in fact a sequence; however arranging it thus certainly reflects the systematic repetitions of like stanzaic structures. What is especially puzzling is whether it is purely quantitative, or also conceived as syllabically regular. Since the quantitative metres employed are either made up of a fixed number of quantities, or as in the case of the pentameters are used without metrical substitutions, and since there are also no elisions the appearance is of double scansion, the caesura occurring in a regular position.

The particular interest which these sequences afford should not however obscure the fact that they represent only three examples (or merely two) out of the corpus of extant planctus from this period. Their existence simply adds weight to the contention made earlier that planctus from this period are typified by remarkable formal inventiveness, and that no one form or metre is used.

Although it is difficult to make a case for a relationship between form and content, or indeed form and function, with respect to syllabic verse from this period, a loose relationship between form and content could be argued for in the case of most examples in quantitative metres. Apart from 'Ad carmen' (L5), 'Doctorum speculum' (L26) and 'Floriacensis'<sup>53</sup> (L45), they are either written in hexameters or elegiac couplets. Both these metres were used by various classical and post-classical authors in the composition of elegies, epitaphs and tombstone inscriptions.<sup>54</sup> Thus they have some association with funeral verse and could be said to represent the continuation of a relationship between form and content often characteristic of classical verse. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that both metres had other associations which have nothing to do with funeral verse.<sup>55</sup>

'Ad carmen' (L5) is another interesting creation. Not only does it employ a metre used less frequently in the Middle Ages, but it is also abecedarian. Like 'Doctorum speculum' (L26) and also 'Floriacensis' (L45) it is written in a quantitative metre of which the number of quantities is fixed. There are however a small number of elisions. Were these to be treated as metrical irregularities, such as occur in the syllabic strophic planctus 'Ad te namque' (L9),<sup>56</sup> one could conceive it as having double scansion, with a caesura after the sixth syllable (except where elision is necessary). It would be wrong to suggest that accomplished pieces such as these were also syllabically regular, merely to further an argument about, for example, the dominance



of syllabic forms in the planctus. This is not my purpose. That syllabic forms, especially strophic ones are in fact most frequent should gradually be becoming obvious: the steady accumulation of such evidence does not therefore depend on any demolition of the quantitative integrity of exceptions. It is clear that in the hexameters and pentameters of most of the quantitative examples metrical substitutions occur, disturbing the regularity in the number of quantities per line; evidently syllabic regularity was of little consequence in these examples. However a significant proportion of these have internal rhyme, end rhyme or leonine rhyme, features infrequently found in classical verse; this use of rhyme changes the formal and sound designs of essentially quantitative metres. It is as well therefore to note that the use of rhyme in this period - normally disyllabic rhyme - changes the nature of these verse forms, and that planctus writers kept up to date with fashion, rather than looking back to an archaic style of versification.

While the caesura of the metre used in 'Ad carmen' (L5) and 'Doctorum speculum' (L26) - there is no caesura in the adonean line of 'Floriacensis' (L45) - occurs in a regular position in classical usage, it was normal for it to occur in the middle of a word: it was not considered very accomplished if it fell consistently (as in these examples) after the completion of a word. The distinctiveness of these two examples is self-evident. The characteristics which they share seem to be typical of a great deal of medieval Latin quantitative verse. The features which they do not have in common with classical verse are most likely the result of the influence of syllabic verse techniques. It is therefore not impossible that they had double scansion. Consequently it is understandable how easily some quantitative metres could have been set to a strophic melody, or indeed used as the model for a contrafactum.

Far from maintaining a strict relationship between form and content, or form and social context, poets from this period seem to have enjoyed experimenting with different forms and metres, an exercise almost separable from that of expressing sentiments about the deceased. The forms and metres used in the composition of planctus were normally neither newly devised especially for a particular piece, nor deliberately archaic.

#### 4. Planctus Composed 1130-1300

The forms of planctus listed in Tables Three A-C are as follows:

##### A SYLLABIC VERSE

##### (i)a Strophic structures: simple

###### (a) 8p + 7pp

1. 'Heu nobis' (L60) S 3 (8p + 7pp) ( )
2. 'Pange melos' (L121) S 4 (8p + 7pp) (as 8 lines) (ababcdcd)
3. 'Pange .. det.' (L118) S 3 (8p + 7pp) (aaa, bbb etc.)

###### (b) 7pp + 6p

1. 'Libram' (L81) S 4 (7pp + 6p) (as 8 lines), (abababab, cdcdcd) etc.)
2. 'Heu voce' (L64) S 4 (7pp + 6p) (aaaa, bbbb etc.)
3. 'Organa' (L116) S 4 (7pp + 6p) (aaaa, bbbb etc.)
4. 'In nomine' (L68) S 4 (7pp + 6p) (aaaa, bbbb etc.)

###### (c) 4p + 6pp

1. 'Cum venissem' (L21) S 4 (4p + 6pp) (aabb, ccdd etc.)
2. 'Omnipotens' (L111) S 3 (4p + 6pp) + R 8p (aaaR, bbbR etc.)
3. 'Jam moratur' (L72) S 2 (4p + 6pp) + 4p + 2 (4p + 6pp) + 4p (aabccb etc.)
4. 'Heu ... michi' (L52) S 4 (4p + 6pp) (aaaa, bbbb)
5. 'Flere .. pro' (L141) S 3 (4p + 6pp) + 4pp + (4p + 6pp) + 4pp (aaabab etc.)
6. 'Voce tristi' (L153) S 4 (4p + 6pp) (aaaa, bbbb etc.)

###### (d) 8pp

1. 'Cuncta sorores' (L22) S 7 (8pp) (aaaaaaa, bbbbbbb etc.)
2. 'Heu misere' (L59) S 2 (8pp) (ab, ca, da)
3. 'Orbata' (L115) S 4 (8pp) (aaaa, bbbb etc.)
4. 'Anglia' (L11) S 9 (8pp) (ababbcbbc, etc.)
5. 'O mors' (L104) S 10 (8pp) (ababbaabba etc.)

###### (e) 8p

1. 'O sors' (L107) S 4 (8p) (aaaa, bbbb etc.)
2. 'Mentem' (L87) S 4 (8p) (aabb, ccdd etc.)
3. 'Orba suo' (L114) S 8 (8p) + R (4p + 8pp) (ababbaabR)
4. 'Ubi fuit' (L149) S 3 (8p)

###### (f) 7pp

1. 'Heu ... mens' (L51) R 3.or 6p, 3(7pp) (Raaa, Rbbb etc.)
2. 'Alabäustrum' (L10) S 12 (7pp) (aabaabcccdccid etc.)

###### (g) 6p

1. 'Ex culpa' (L36) S 3 (6p) + R (4 + 6 + 4: French) (aaaR, bbbR etc.)
2. 'Mors execrabilis' (L91) S 3 (6p) + R (4 + 7 + 5: French) (aaaR etc.)
3. 'Eclipsim patitur' (L35) S 8 (6p) + R (6p + 4p + 6p) (ababababR)

(i)b Strophic structures: complex

1. 'Requiescat' (L138) S (8p + 8p + 7pp + 4p + 4p + 7pp)  
a a b c c b
2. 'In occasu' (L69) S 2 (7pp + 6p) + 4 (7pp) + 2 (6p + 7pp) +  
(6p + 7pp + 6p) (as 15 lines)  
(abab ccdd efef ghg, etc.)

(ii)a Through-composed structures: simple

(a) 8p + 7pp

1. 'Planctus matrum' (L124) 2 (8pp + 7p) + 14 (aab)
2. 'Heu dolor' (L48) 3 (8pp + 7p) (aab)

(b) 8pp

1. 'Plange Castella' (L125) 9 (8pp) (ababababa)
2. 'Eclipsim passus' (L34) 12 (8pp) (abab ccbb deed)
3. 'Lamentemus' (L79) 4 (8pp) + 3 (8pp) + 4 (8pp) (aabb, ccd, eefg)
4. 'O monialis' (L103) 6 (8pp) (ababcc)

(c) 7pp

1. 'Dum Philippus' (L32) 12 (7pp) (abab abab abab)

(ii)b Through-composed structures: complex

1. 'Heu mihi! cur hoc feci?' (L57) (IR)  
  1. 2(4p + 4p) + 2 (7pp) + 2 (aabbc)
  2. 6(8p) (ddefaa)
  3. 4 (6pp) + (4p + 4p) (ggggaa)
  4. 4 (6pp) (hhhh)
  5. 5 (4p + 6pp) (iiiii)
  6. 4 (4p + 6pp) (jjjj)
  7. 5 (4p + 4p) (kkllmm) (IR)
  8. 2 (5pp + 5pp) + 2 (8pp) (jjjj) (IR)
  9. 2 (4pp + 4pp) + 2 (5p) + 2 (6pp) (nnnnbb) (IR)
  10. 2 (5p + 5p) + 2 (7pp) + 2 (6pp + 6pp) (bgoom) (IR)
  11. 5 (8p) (aapgg)
  12. 2 (6pp) + 6p + 2 (4p) + 6p (aalmm1)
  13. 4 (4 + 6pp) + 3 (7pp) + (3pp + 3pp + 3pp) (qqaarrrr)
  14. 2 (5p) + 2 (4pp) + 2 (6pp) (ssl1tt)
  15. 3 (4 + 6pp) + 8pp + (5pp + 5pp) + (5p + 5p) + 2 (6pp) + 6p + 6pp + 3 (6p)  
(ggg g gg ueebbbb) (IR)
2. 'Heu me misera' (L56)  
  - 1-5 6pp + (4p + 4p + 7pp) + (4p + 8pp) + (4p + 7pp) + (4p + 8pp)(aaaa) (IR)
  - 6-8 (5p + 7pp) + 4pp) + (4p + 7pp) + 4p (aab) (IR)
  - 9-12 4 (4p + 4p + 7pp) (cccd)(IR)
  - 13-16 (4p + 5p + 7pp) + 3 (4p + 4p + 7pp)(effg)(IR)
  - 17-19 (5p + 5p + 5p) + (4p + 4p + 7pp) + (4p + 4p + 9pp) (hii) (IR)
  - 20-22 (8p + 7pp) + (4pp + 4pp + 4pp) + (3p + 3p + 3p) (iaj) (IR)

3. 'Heu miseri' (L59a)

1-7 8p + 4p + 6p + 5p + 3 (8pp) (aaaabbb)

4. 'Plange planctu' (L126)

(stanza structure unclear: Roman numerals represent conjectures)

- I 2 (7pp + 4pp) + 6p + 7pp + 4pp + 4p + 7pp + 4p (in 10 lines)(ababcddcec)  
II 3 (7pp) + 7pp + 4pp + 4p (fff ggf)  
III 4p + 2 (6p) + 7pp + 4pp + 3p + 7pp + 7p + 7pp (ghh iijkjk)  
IV 4(7pp) + 4p + 7pp + 4p (llllmlm)  
V 4 (4p) + 2 (7pp) + 6p + 4p + 3pp (eeee nneen)  
VI 5pp + 7pp + 4 (6p) + 2 (4p) + 7pp + 5p + 3p + 4pp + 7pp + 4pp + 4 (7pp)  
(ooppeeeqrsttsnuu)

5. 'Turmas arment' (L148)

(no obvious stanzas)

- 1-14 7 (8pp) + 4pp + 2 (8pp) + 4pp + 2 (8pp) + 7p (ababbbbcccccd)  
15-25 3 (8pp) + 7p + 8pp + 7p + 8pp + 4pp + 2 (8pp) + 4pp (cccdcd eeef)  
26-37 2 (8pp) + 2 (4pp) + 2 (8pp) + 4pp + 4 (8pp) + 4pp (gffgffg ggggg)  
37-46 8pp + 4pp + 3 (8pp) + 3 (4pp) + 8pp (ff gggg ff g)

6. 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (L73)

1. 12 (8pp) (abbcddcee ffd)  
2. 4pp + 13 (8pp) (hffhijjikklli)  
3. 2 (7pp + 6p) + 8pp + 9pp (in 6 lines) (lmlmn)  
4. 6 (8pp) (oop ffp)  
5. 6 (8pp) (qqn fnf)  
6. 4 (8pp) (rcrc)

7. 'Regi regum omnium' (L137b)

1. 8 (7pp) (abababab)  
2. 4 (7pp) + 2 (4p + 4p + 7pp) (in 10 lines) cdcd eed ffd)  
3. 2 (8pp) + 2 (7pp) + 2 (8pp) + 2 (7pp) (gg hh ii jj)

8. 'Rex obiit' (L140)

1-10 3 (7pp + 6pp) + 3 (6pp) + 7pp (ababab bccb)

9. 'Sol eclipsim patitur' (L145)

1. 2 (7pp + 6p) + 4 (8pp) (abab cdcd)  
2. 13 (8pp) (ccc eee aaa ff gg)

10. 'Suecia suspira' (L146)

(no obvious stanzas)

- 1-8 5p + 8p + 5p + 10p + 5p + 8p + 5p + 9p (aaaa,bbbb)  
9-21 6p + 7p + 6p + 8pp + 3p + 2 + 2 + 5 + 4pp + 3 + 2 + 2 + 4p (ccddeeeffff)  
22-29 6p + 10p + 6 + 9p + 4p + 8p + 6p + 10p (gghhijij)  
30-39 6p + 8p + 5p + 9p + 4pp + 5pp + 6p + 4pp + 6pp + 7p (kklljmmj)  
40-47 6pp + 8pp + 6pp + 8 + 5p + (4p + 4p) + 6p + 8p (nnnnoopp)

(iii)a Sequence structures: lais

1. 'Abrahe proles' (L4)

1a	2 (5p + 5p)	(aa)
1b	2 (5p + 5p)	(aa)
1c	2 (5p + 5p) + R (6pp + 6pp)	(aaR)
2a	2 (7pp + 7pp) + R (6pp + 6pp)	(bbR)
2b	2 (7pp + 7pp) + R (6pp + 6pp)	(ccR)
2c	2 (7pp + 7pp) + R (6pp + 6pp)	(ddR)
3a	2 (7pp + 7pp) + 4 (4p + 4p + 6p)	(ee ffff)
3b	2 (7pp + 7pp) + 4 (4p + 4p + 6p)	(gg aaaa)
4.	2 (3p + 3p + 4p + 3pp)	(hh)

2. 'Infelices filii' (L70)

1a	8 (7pp)	(abababab)
1b	8 (7pp)	(cdcdcdcd)
2a	4 (8pp)	(dddd)
2b	4 (8pp)	(aaaa)
3a	4 (4 + 5pp)	(ef gf hi hi)
3b	4 (4 + 5pp)	(cj kj al gl)
4a	2 (7pp + 6p)	(gmgm)
4b	2 (7pp + 6p)	(gmgm)
5a	2 (7pp) + 7p	(dda)
5b	2 (7pp) + 7p	(gga)
5c	2 (7pp) + 7p	(aaa)
5d	2 (7pp) + 7p	(ffa)
5e	2 (7pp) + 7p	(bba)

3. 'Ad festas choreas' (L6)

I	1a	4 (3p + 3p + 3pp)	(aaaa) (IR)
	2a	4 (3p + 3p + 3pp)	(aaaa) (IR)
	3a	2 (4p + 4p + 3pp)	(bb) (IR)
	2b	4 (3p + 3p + 3pp)	(cccc) (IR)
	3b	2 (4p + 4p + 3pp)	(dd) (IR)
	2c	4 (3p + 3p + 3pp)	(eeee) (IR)
IIa	4a	4 (7pp)	(ffff)
	5a	3 (3p + 3p + 5pp)	(ggg)(IR)
	6a	6 (7pp)	(cccgcg)
	7a	4 (7pp)	(hhhh)
	8a	3 (7pp + 5pp)	(eieiei)
	4b	2 (7pp)	(jj)
	5b	3 (3p + 3p + 5pp)	(kkk) (IR)
IIb	4c	2 (7pp)	(ff)
	5c	3 (3p + 3p + 5pp)	(kkk) (IR)
	6b	6 (7pp)	(fffgfg)
	7b	4 (7pp)	(llii)
	7c	4 (7pp)	(eeee)
	8b	3 (7pp + 5pp)	(mamama)
	4d	2 (7pp)	(ee)
	5d	3 (3p + 3p + 5pp)	(ggg) (IR)
	6c	6 (7pp)	(fffbfb)
III	9.	3 (6p + 6pp)	(bbb)
	10a	3 (3p + 3p + 3p)	(eee) (IR)
	11a	3 (3p + 3p + 3p)	(eee) (IR)
	10b	3 (3p + 3p + 3p)	(aaa) (IR)
	11b	3 (3p + 3p + 3p)	(kkk) (IR)
	12a	3 (7pp) + 3 (6p + 6pp)	(eee mhnjn)
	12b	3 (7pp) + 3 (6p + 6pp)	(ggg eopoqo)

13.	4 (7pp)	(qqhh)
14a	2 (4p + 4p + 4 + 4)	(kk) (IR)
15a	2 (7pp + 7pp)	(re) (IR)
14b	2 (4p + 4 + 4 + 4p)	(ss) (IR)
15b	2 (7pp + 7pp)	(tj) (IR)
IV 1b	4 (3p + 3p + 3pp)	(gggg)
2d	4 (3p + 3p + 3pp)	(gggg)
1c	4 (3p + 3p + 3pp)	(qqqq)
2e	4 (3p + 3p + 3pp)	(aaaa)

(underlined letters indicate words which assonate but are not pure rhymes)

#### 4. 'Abissus vere multa' (L2)

I	1a	(7p + 8p) + 4 (7p)	(aa aaaa)
	1b	(7pp + 8pp) + 4 (7pp)	(bb bbbb)
	2a	2 (6pp + 6pp)	(acac)
	2b	2 (6pp + 6pp)	(dede)
	3a	3 (5pp + 8pp + 4p)	(ccd eed ffd)
	3b	3 (5pp + 8pp + 4p)	(ggb ddb eeb)
	3c	3 (5pp + 8pp + 4p)	(aah aah aah)
II	1a	6 (7pp)	(aaaaaa)
	1b	(7pp + 8pp) + 4 (7pp)	(aa aaaa)
	2a	2 (6pp + 6pp)	(ijij)
	2b	2 (6pp + 6pp)	(idid)
	3a	3 (5pp + 8pp + 4p)	(kkl ddl ddl)
	3b	3 (5pp + 8pp + 4p)	(jjm iim aam)
	3c	3 (5pp + 8pp + 4p)	(nne eee bbe)

#### 5. 'Abner fidelissime' (L3)

1.	4 (7pp)	(aaaa)
2a	6 (7pp)	(bccccc)
2b	6 (7pp)	(deeeee)
3a	2 (4p + 4p + 4p)	(ffg ddg)
3b	2 (4 + 4 + 4p)	(ddg hhg)
3c	2 (4 + 4p + 4p)	(ddg ccg)
3d	2 (4 + 4 + 4p)	(ddg ddg)
4a	2 (4 + 6p)	(diff)
4b	2 (4p + 6p)	(jjff)
5a	2 (7pp + 4p)	(bkbk)
5b	2 (7 + 4p)	(fgbg)
5c	2 (7 + 4p)	(alal)
5d	2 (7pp + 4p)	(alal)

#### 6. 'Dolorum solatium' (L30)

1a	3 (7pp)	(aab)
1b	3 (7pp)	(ccb)
1c	3 (7pp)	(ddb)
1d	3 (7pp)	(eeb)
2a	2 (7pp) + 2 (7pp + 4p)	(ff ghgh)
2b	2 (7pp) + 2 (7pp + 4p)	(ii ahah)
2c	2 (7pp) + 2 (7pp + 4p)	(jj fifi)
2d	2 (7pp) + 2 (7pp + 4p)	(ff eded)

3a	4 (8pp)	(kkkk)
3b	4 (8pp)	(dddd)
3c	4 (8pp)	(bbbb)
3d	4 (8pp)	(kkkk)
4a	4 (7pp)	(bbbb)
4b	4 (7pp)	(dddd)
4c	4 (7pp)	(kkkk)
4d	4 (7pp)	(bbbb)
5a	12 (7pp)	(dddd llmm kkbb)
5b	12 (7pp)	(kkkk nnnn oopp)
5c	12 (7pp)	(bbqb iirr ggi)
6a	3 (7pp)	(iii)
6b	3 (7pp)	(iii)

7. 'De profundis' (L24)

1a	4 (4p + 6pp) + 4p	(aaaa b)
1b	4 (4p + 6pp) + 4p	(cccc d)
1c	4 (4p + 6pp) + 4p	(eeee b)
1d	4 (4p + 6pp) + 4p	(ffff d)
2a	4 (8p)	(ggbb)
3a	4 (8p)	(ccbb)
2b	4 (8p)	(hhee)
3b	4 (8p)	(aacc)
4a	2 (4p + 6pp)	(afhf)
4b	2 (4p + 6pp)	(iaea)
4c	2 (4p + 6pp)	(afaf)
4d	2 (4p + 6pp)	(jklk)
5a	4 (8pp)	(ccee)
5b	4 (8pp)	(ggcc)
5c	4 (8pp)	(mmff)
5d	4 (8pp)	(ffbb)
6a	4 (7pp)	(cbcb)
6b	4 (7pp)	(ebeb)
6c	4 (7pp)	(cncn)
6d	4 (7pp)	(cmcm)
7.	(4p + 4p) + (4p + 2p)	(dh)
8a	(8p + 6p)	(ch)
8b	(8p + 6p)	(od)
9a	(8p + 6p)	(cd)
9b	(8p + 6p)	(fd)
9c	(8p + 6p)	(dd)

8. 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123)

1a	2 (7pp) + 6p	(aab)
1b	2 (7pp) + 6p	(ccb)
2a	4 (7pp)	(dede)
2b	4 (7pp)	(fgfg)
3a	2 (3p + 3p + 5p)	(hhi jji)
3b	2 (3p + 3p + 5p)	(kkl mml)
2c	4 (7pp)	(nono)
2d	4 (7pp)	(lala)

3c	2 (3p + 3 + 5p)	(aap qqp)
3d	2 (3p + 3 + 5p)	(ggp rrp)
4a	2 (7pp + 6p)	(e <u>e</u> l1)
4b	2 (7pp + 6p)	(a <u>l</u> a1)
5a	4 (5p)	(ssso)
5b	4 (5p)	(ttto)
6a	5 (7pp)	(ggggu)
6b	5 (7pp)	(vvvvu)
7a	2 (7pp) + 2 (6p) + 7pp	(wwxxy)
7b	2 (7pp) + 2 (6p) + 7pp	(zz112)
8a	2 (7pp + 6p)	(gzgz)
8b	2 (7pp + 6pp)	(4545)
9a	4 (7pp)	(6c6c)
9b	4 (7pp)	(ezez)
10a	4 (7pp)	(7878)
10b	4 (7pp)	(efef)
11a	4 (7pp) + 6p	(9999A)
11b	4 (7pp) + 6p	(vvyYA)
12.	4 (7pp)	(BByy)

9. 'Samson dux fortissime' (L141)

1a	3 (7pp) + 5pp + 7pp + 5pp + 3 (3p + 3pp + 3pp)	(aabc <b>bc</b> ddd) (IR)
1b	3 (7pp) + 5pp + 7pp + 6pp + 4 (3 + 3pp + 3pp)	(eefef <u>ed</u> ddd) (IR)
2a	2 (7pp + 5p)	(gg) (IR)
2b	2 (7pp + 5p)	(gg) (IR)
2c	2 (7pp + 5p)	(gg) (IR)
3.	4 (7pp)	(hhhh)
4a	6 (7pp)	(iii jjj)
4b	6 (7pp)	(kkkkkk)
5a	2 (7pp + 4pp)	(klkl)
5b	2 (7pp + 4pp)	(khkh)
6.	4 (7pp)	(llmm)
7.	8 (7pp)	(nnoonpp)
8a	2 (6pp) + 3p	(qqr)
8b	2 (6pp) + 3p	(ffr)
8c	2 (6pp) + 3p	(kkkr)
8d	2 (6pp) + 3p	(ccr)
9.	8 (7pp) + 9pp	(ssss ggggg)
10.	8 (7pp)	(aa kk tt ii)
11.	2 (7pp) + 2 (7pp + 4p)	(kk kl kl)
12.	8 (7pp) + 2 (3p + 3p + 7pp) + 2 (7pp + 4pp)	(uu vv ww xx yys yys klkl)
13a	4 (7pp)	(llll)
13b	4 (7pp)	(zzdd)
14.	(4p + 4p + 3p) + (4p + 3 pp + 4p) + 2 (3 + 3 + 7pp)	(11 23 23) (IR)
15.	2 (4p + 4p + 4p + 3pp) + 6 (7pp)	(jj qqiiii)
16.	(4p + 4p + 4p + 3pp) + 2 (3pp + 3pp + 7pp)	(bbb) (IR)
17.	6 (7pp)	(44jj55)
18.	2 (7pp) + 2 (7pp + 2p)	(66 78 78)



19a	2(5p) + 2 (5pp)	(99AA)
19b	2(5pp) + 2 (5p)	(AABB)
20.	6 (7pp)	(CCDDEE)
21.	2 (7pp)	(EE)

(iii)b Sequence structures: double versicle forms

1. 'Omnis in lacrimas' (L113)

1a	2 (6pp + 4pp + 6pp) + 2 (4p + 4p) + 4 (6pp)	(aabccb dd effe)
1b	2 (6pp + 4pp + 6pp) + 2 (4p + 4p) + 4 (6pp)	(ggf eef hh ijji)
2a	4 (6pp) + 4pp + 6 (7pp)	(klk cc mmnm)
2b	4 (6pp) + 4pp + 6 (7pp)	(noon cc ppjj)
3a	5 (7pp) + 3 (8p) + 7pp	(qbbq brrrb)
3b	5 (7pp) + 3 (8p) + 7pp	(fppf psssp)
4.	3 (8pp) + 7p + 2 (8pp) + 7p + 8pp	(tuuvt uvt)

2. 'Da plaudens' (L23)

1a	5 (6pp) + 4p + 3 (6pp) + 3pp + 2 (6pp)	(aabbcdccced)
1b	5 (6pp) + 4p + 3 (6pp) + 3pp + 2 (6pp)	(ffgghihhjjj)
2a	2 (10pp) + 2 (6pp) + 4pp + 6pp + 4pp + 5 (6pp)	(kkflfmfmffm)
2b	2 (10pp) + 2 (6pp) + 4pp + 6pp + 4pp + 5 (6pp)	(nnoppoqoroor)
3a	6pp + 4pp + 4 (6pp) + 4pp + 3 (6pp)	(smmssttms)
3b	6pp + 4pp + 4 (6pp) + 4pp + 3 (6pp)	(iuuiiivvui)
4.	4 (8pp) + 6pp + 2 (7pp) + 2 (4pp + 7pp) + 6pp	(wxxwbyyuuzzb)

3. 'Divina providentia' (L25)

1a	8 (8pp)	(aaabcccb)
1b	8 (8pp)	(ddeefffe)
2a	6 (8pp) + 2 (7pp + 6p)	(ghihghjklk)
2b	2 (8pp) + 8p + 3(8pp) + 2(7pp+6p)	(mnonhnokpk)
3a	8 (7pp) + 6p	(qqrbbiis)
3b	8 (7pp) + 6p	(bbcctthhs)

4. 'Expirante primitivo' (L37)

1a	2 (8p + 7pp) + 2 (8p + 8p + 7pp)	(abab ccd eed)
2a	6 (7pp) + 2 (7pp + 6p)	(fgfggf fhfh)
3a	2 (8p + 7pp) + (7pp + 8p + 7pp)	(ijij jij)
1b	2 (8p + 7pp) + 2 (8p + 8p + 7pp)	(klkl mmn oon)
2b	6 (7pp) + 2 (7pp + 6p)	(gpgppg gggq)
3b	1 (8p + 7pp) + 7 + (7pp + 8p + 7pp)	(rs.. srs)

5. 'O felix Bituria' (L97)

1a	8 (7pp)	(abababab)
1b	8 (7pp)	(cdcdcdcd)
2a	4 (7pp + 6p)	(efefefef)
2b	8 (7pp)	(ghghghgh)
3.	6 (7pp + 6p)	(ijijkjlmnm)

6. 'Flere libet' (L40)

1a	3 (4p + 6pp) + 6pp	(aaab)
1b	3 (4p + 6pp) + 6pp	(cccb)
2a	3 (4p + 6pp) + 4pp	(ddde)
2b	3 (4p + 6pp) + 4pp	(fffe)
3a	3 (4p + 6pp) + 4p	(gggh)
3b	3 (4p + 6pp) + 4pp	(iiih)
4a	3 (4p + 6pp) + 4p	(aaaj)
4b	3 (4p + 6pp) + 4p	(kkkj)
5a	3 (4p + 6pp) + 4p	(lllm)
5b	3 (4p + 6pp) + 4p	(nnnm)
6a	2 (4p + 6pp) + 3 + 2 (7pp) + 7p	(ooo oop)
6b	2 (4p + 6pp) + 3 + 2 (7pp) + 7p	(aaa aap)
7a	2 (4p + 6pp) + 4 (6pp)	(qq rrrs)
7b	2 (4p + 6pp) + 4 (6pp)	(aa ttts)
8a	2 (4p + 6pp) + 4 (6pp)	(cc bubu)
8b	2 (4p + 6pp) + 4 (6pp)	(vv kwkw)
9a	2 (7pp) + 6p	(xxy)
9b	2 (7pp) + 6p	(zzy)
10a	2 (4p + 6p) + 4p	(vv1)
10b	2 (4p + 6p) + 4p	(221)
11a	2 (7pp) + 6p	(334)
11b	2 (7pp) + 6p	(bb4)
12a	2 (7pp + 6p)	(5656)
12b	2 (7pp + 6p)	(7878)
13a	2 (7pp + 6p)	(9m9m)
13b	2 (7pp + 6p)	(ABAB)
14a	3 (4p) + 6pp	(CCCD)
14b	3 (4p) + 6pp	(EEED)

7. 'Flete fideles anime' (L42)

1a	2 (8pp) + 3 (6pp)	(aabba)
1b	2 (8pp) + 3 (6pp)	(ccddc)
2a	10 (6pp)	(efefggghhg)
2b	10 (6pp)	(ijijkkkl1k)
3a	2 (4p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 7pp)	(mmnno ppqo)
3b	2 (8p + 8p + 7pp)	( r rs t ts)
4a	4 (6pp) + 8pp + 2 (6pp + 4pp + 3p)	(ubvbwwwxyyx)
4b	4 (6pp) + 8pp + 2 (6pp + 4pp + 3p)	(z1213334554)
5a	2 (8p) + 2 (7pp + 7pp + 6p)	(66778998)
5b	2 (8p) + 2 (7pp + 7pp + 6p)	(AABBCDDC)
6a	2 (8p) + (3 + 4pp) + 4pp + 2 (7pp + 3p)	(mmEE FP F FG FG)
6b	2 (8p) + (3 + 4pp) + 4pp + 2 (7pp + 3p)	(77HH II I IJ IJ)

(iii)c Sequence structures: strophic sequences

1. 'Heu pius pastor occidit' (L61)

1a	2 (8pp) + R 5p	(aaR)
1b	2 (8pp) + R 5p	(aaR)
2a	(8pp + 9pp) + R 5p	(bbR)
2b	2 (8pp) + R 5p	(bbR)
3a	2 (8pp) + R 5p	(ccR)
3b	2 (8pp) + R 6p	(ddR)
4.	2 (8pp) + 5p	(ddR)
5.	(8p. + 9pp) + 5p	(eeR)
6.	2 (8pp) + 5p	(ffR)

#### B QUANTITATIVE VERSE

1.	'O dolor' (L94)	Leonine hexameters	(IR)
2.	'Jerusalem luge' (L74)	hexameters	( )
3.	'Magni Theobaldi' (L84)	Leonine hexameters	(IR)
4.	'Neustria' (L93)	hexameters	( )
5.	'Lucifer' (L82)	hexameters	(aa bb etc.)
6.	'Oro Deum' (L117)	Leonine hexameters	(IR)
7.	'O transeuntes' (L108)	Leonine hexameters	(IR)
8.	'Flebilis' (L39)	hexametres	(aa bb etc.)
9.	'Heu teneri' (L63)	Leonine hexameters	(IR)
10.	'Heu .. quomodo' (L54)	Leonine hexameters	(IR)

#### C PROSE

1. 'Heu heu heu quid' (L53)
2. 'Tu pater' (L147)
3. 'Quis dabit' (L136)

This analysis includes more subdivisions than the previous analyses owing to the greater complexity of a large number of examples. Both strophic and through-composed syllabic forms are either based on one main metre and listed under the rubric 'simple', or made up of more than one metre and recorded as 'complex'. Sequence forms are also subdivided into three main groups, namely, lais, double versicle forms and strophic sequences, the meaning of which is discussed below.

It is evident from the analysis that planctus composed in this period were written in an extremely wide range of forms and metres. Only a small number are in quantitative verse or in prose. The former are each in hexameters, a metre already discussed in relation to its association with the epitaph. A significant proportion of these are in Leonine lines or in rhyming couplets. Apart from the loose association of the hexameter with the epitaph there seems to be no special significance in the choice of this metre for a planctus.

Although most of the quantitative examples are about non-fictional personages, three - 'O dolor' (L94), 'Heu teneri' (L63) and 'Heu ... quomodo' (L54) - are from plays of the Holy Innocents which are set to music. It is, thus, impossible to assert that planctus in quantitative metres were not intended to be sung. Of the three examples in prose, two are from religious dramas<sup>57</sup> and the third is apparently written at the death of a non-fictional personage:<sup>58</sup> it is quite normal to find prose texts in religious drama, even when they belong to the period after the eleventh century when newly composed material tended to be in verse.

The majority of planctus from this period are however in syllabic verse. The strophic examples are perhaps of least interest: they are written in metres already used in the composition of planctus and of a wide range of medieval Latin verse - (8p + 7pp), (4p + 6pp), 8pp, 8p, 7pp and 6p - with one exception: 7pp + 6p. This is the so-called Golliard metre which was exceptionally popular in the early twelfth century.<sup>59</sup> Most of the strophic examples keep closely to the formal designs already associated with these metres, that is, three- or four-line stanzas with the rhyme scheme aaa, bbb etc., aaaa, bbbb etc., or aabb, ccdd etc.. It seems therefore highly unlikely that metres and formal structures used in previous planctus bore any special association with lamentation for twelfth- and thirteenth-century poets: the forms and metres employed in planctus for personages such as Charles the Good (+1127) or William the Conqueror (+ 1087), whose deaths might have created some impact, were used for a wide range of different poetic genres.<sup>60</sup>

A significant number of planctus from religious dramas are written in strophic forms: 'Heu nobis' (L60), 'Cum venissem' (L21), 'Omnipotens' (L111),<sup>61</sup> 'Jam moratur' (L72), 'Cuncta sorores' (L22), 'Heu misere' (L59), 'O sors' (L107), 'Heu ... mens' (L51), 'Ex culpa' (L36), 'Heu ... michi' (L52) and 'Mors execrabilis' (L91). These are all written in forms and metres already long established by the twelfth century; in the case of examples from Easter plays, these belong to the corpus of verse<sup>62</sup> gradually included in ceremonies originally in prose. It is as if poets deliberately used old-fashioned metres: perhaps because they wished to give the planctus an archaic flavour, in order that it would blend with the chants which formed the basis of the drama. Half of these examples are written in two- or three-line stanzas with refrains. If there is any significance in the use of the Sapphic in previous periods it is conceivable that the authors of twelfth and thirteenth century

examples looked to it as a model.

There are however a small number of interesting exceptions amongst the strophic examples which point to a new area of formal exploration. In some examples this is simply that the stanza is longer than is normal in previous periods, for example 'Pange melos' (L121) comprises eight lines. Although it is essentially made up of four trochaic septénarii each hemistich is included in the general rhyme scheme and thus has the status of a poetic line. In itself this is not particularly remarkable; however, as in 'In occasu' (L69), in which the so-called Golliard metre provides the base, the poet develops the normal relationship between the two half-lines by repeating one several times:

In occasu sideris	7pp	a
cadis in merorem,	6p	b
Anglia, pre ceteris	7pp	a
geminans dolorem;	6p	b
viduata principe	7pp	c
rerum vices suscipe,	7pp	c
tui fletus tedium	7pp	d
terminet solatium;	7pp	d
meta sit dolori,	6p	e
post hanc tibi vesperam	7pp	f
fato letiori	6p	e
dabit diem prosperam	7pp	f
casu repentino	6p	g
novus surgens lucifer	7pp	h
ortu matutino.	6p	g

He also takes the opportunity to experiment with rhyme. In this fifteen-line stanza one might imagine that the rhyme scheme would be organised in multiples of three or five, or that it would be arranged in two sections of seven with a contrasting final line. However the poet has defied such speculation and created unusual effects through the distribution of eight different rhyme sounds in each stanza in what seems to be three groups of four and a group of three: this is not immediately suggested by the pattern created by the lengths of each line. He thus uses rhyme as a type of counterpoint against his main metrical theme. Its effect is all the greater since in this example (as in a great many from this period), the rhyme sounds are disyllabic.<sup>63</sup>

However, the achievement of poets who wrote planctus in syllabic

strophic forms is relatively speaking very limited when compared to that evidenced in the other syllabic types, and especially in comparison with the complexity of contemporary troubadour verse. The most elaborate types of versification in planctus from this period are to be found in the 'complex' through-composed and sequence examples. There are some difficulties in establishing whether all the items listed under the rubric 'through-composed' (simple or complex) are in fact through-composed. A number of the short pieces which closely resemble stanzas such as those listed under strophic structures may well have been strophic;<sup>64</sup> for example, 'Plange Castella' (L125), 'Eclipsim passus' (L34), 'O monialis' (L103) and 'Rex obiit' (L140). The rest of the text may not have been copied down. Equally, examples based on a series of quite differently constructed stanzas may be sequences; for example, 'Regi regum omnium' (L137b), 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (L73) and 'Sol eclipsim patitur' (L145). As in I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240), the second of a pair of versicles is normally written as prose in a very small space. It could easily have been forgotten or simply omitted owing to lack of space. Some examples are quite clearly through-composed, for example, those from religious dramas are often quite short and within the context of the play to which they belong are clearly complete. A few planctus written at the death of a non-fictional personage also seem to be unequivocally through-composed: either there are no places at which the sense is incomplete (for example, 'Plange planctu' (L126)), or there are quite simply no points at which a new stanza could be said to begin (for example, 'Turmas arment' (L148) and 'Suecia suspira' (L146)). Each of these examples is marked by an interest not only in an elaborate rhyme scheme (as in the strophic example quoted above), but also in the variation of the line length. They might almost be written in a type of Kunstprosa, but for the fact that there are frequent occasions on which the poet lingers over a recognisably regular verse form before departing to explore other possibilities.<sup>65</sup>

I have left discussion of the sequence forms until the end since, though formally distinct from the other syllabic types, they share many of their characteristics and can be better understood in relation to these. From the mid-tenth century the sequence began to be composed in regular metres rather than in the Kunstprosa of the early ecclesiastical sequence or of the two German sequences discussed in the previous section.<sup>66</sup> All the sequences with which I am concerned here are written in verse. Indeed in some of the longer examples from this group, for example, Abelard's 'Ad festas choreas' (L6), there are

passages which, if lifted out of their context, might easily be mistaken for short strophic songs. The strophic sequence is normally indistinguishable from a strophic poem, unless one refers to its musical structure. The one planctus which is a strophic sequence just happens to have a rhyme scheme which highlights the sequence structure of its first two pairs of versicles, though this is possibly fortuitous. Since the third pair of versicles is not distinguished in this way it is evident that rhyme scheme alone is not a sufficient basis for establishing it as a sequence.

Setting aside the strophic sequence, the lai and the double versicle sequence can be defined as follows: the double versicle sequence normally consists of pairs of versicles; examples from this period are in poetic metres such as are found in other syllabic planctus, especially the more elaborate examples. In contrast the lai can have no, or up to four, repetitions of a versicle. In itself, without reference to musical style this distinction may seem of limited value. This is not surprising since sequence forms are essentially musico-poetic forms. However, as a general principle it seems to characterise each type adequately.<sup>67</sup> Further differences can be isolated, though in each case they require qualifications which render them equivocal and reduce their value in generalisation. The stanza structures employed in the lai are rarely repeated in exactly the same manner, in contrast to those used in 'O felix' (L97) or 'Divina providentia' (L25). On the whole lais are relatively simple in design and normally based on only one or two metres. This means that the line lengths do not vary greatly and is in marked contrast to such sequences as 'Omnis in lacrimas' (L113), 'Da plaudens' (L23) and 'Flete fideles' (L42), in which as many as five different line lengths may occur in one versicle.

The main interest of the lai poet is apparently in the broader structure of the poem and in achieving contrast within this: by varying the number of times a versicle unit is repeated; by introducing new prosodic structures; and by including unique versicles. There are of course more complex passages in lais; in some there are several different metres in one versicle (for example, 'Abissus vere multa' (L2) versicles 3a-c), or lines which divide naturally into smaller normally equal units, each highlighted by rhyme (for example, 'Ad festas choreas' (L6) versicle 1a). However these are treated in a systematic, disciplined manner: they are repeated several times and marked by rhyme. One comparable instance in 'Flete fideles anime' (L42) is arguably similar in design to the first of these:

<p>6a Hac in vita sum invita,  hoc in malo mori malo,  fili mi, dum reprimi  vel exprimi  nequit estus animi  dolentis  tantis malis eximi  volentis.</p>	<p>6b Scelus terre celum terret,  terre motus terret motus  impios, nefarios  qui gladios  in sanctorum filios  allidunt  et te, Christe agnos,  occidunt.</p>
---	--

These are the last two versicles of 'Flete fideles anime'. The first three pairs of half-lines (each marked by rhyme) are superseded by short lines which adopt the rhyme sound of the third line in each versicle. The new sound introduced in lines six and eight then provides contrast. Against this is counterpointed variation in the line lengths: 8 8 7 4 7 3 7 3. The interest of the poet seems to lie in finding a means of achieving contrasts through rhyme and differing line lengths which highlight the symmetry of each pair of versicles.<sup>68</sup>

In the lai rhyme is used in differing ways. In Abelard's lais it is normally monosyllabic<sup>69</sup> and used either to provide contrast in lines which are all the same length,<sup>70</sup> or as an entirely independent phenomenon which always coincides with the formal structure of the poem but which provides a counterpoint to it. For example, in 'Abissus vere multa' (L2) in the passage mentioned above one might expect each line to have a different rhyme sound, since each is of a different length. However, as can be seen below, the rhyme scheme represents a similar but contrasting pattern:

<p>I 3a Clausus carcere,  oculorumque lumine  iam privatus,  quasi geminis  ad molam sudans tenebris  est oppressus.  Ludos marcios  plus exercere solitos  frangit artus.</p>	<p>5pp c  8pp c  4p d  5pp e  8pp e  4p d  5pp f  8pp f  4p d</p>
--	---

In 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) it also functions as a means of providing contrast in versicles which contain lines of the same length. However in versicles such as versicle three in which the following metre is employed: 2 (3p + 3p + 5p), the rhyme sounds reflect the line lengths: hhi jji. This still contains some contrast (it is not, for example,



hhi hhi), but it is much more closely related to the formal shape of each versicle than in Abelard's planctus.

'Samson dux fortissime' (L141) is on a much grander scale than 'Planctus ante nescia'. Unlike Abelard's long planctus 'Ad festas'choreas' (L6) it is not divided into obvious sections through, for example, double cursus. The lengths of most of its lines are relatively short; since they have disyllabic rhyme which is very frequently positioned on ante-penultimate accents there is little scope within the line for variation of the accent pattern. Although there are some variations, they seem to be relatively few. In fact there are instances in which the accents are carefully mirrored in repeated versicles, for example:

<p>4a Post in solitudine, magna multitudine, gravi fortitudine, ...</p>	<p>4b Circumdor ab hostibus, cum armis et fustibus: instant totis viribus ...</p>
---	---

The bouncy trochaic accents of the first two lines are striking:<sup>71</sup> what cannot be established is whether these accents would have been observed in the third line, and its accentual pattern compromised in favour of uniformity, and if the poet intended such accentual regularity.

It has been suggested that Abelard's planctus may have been of some considerable influence in the composition of lais.<sup>72</sup> He was clearly the first poet to use this type of verse for the planctus. However, there does not seem to be much evidence that the verse forms which he employed in his lais were of any particular influence on later writers. Most of the metres which he employed had already been used in the composition of planctus. The few exceptions<sup>73</sup> are not new metres, but rather slightly unusual combinations of existing metres. What is distinctive about his lais is the wide range of metres which are included in each. However the late eleventh-century and early twelfth-century St. Martial repertories of conductus and versus had already created a precedent for such formal flexibility.<sup>74</sup>

The forms and metres of planctus from this period indicate clearly that there was no particular relationship between form and content; it is also unlikely that there was a relationship between form and social function: evidently the lai form was used for a wide range of different subjects, and was not confined to the planctus. Its precise function remains unclear; it is at least worth noting that the only planctus which are written in lai form are planctus of biblical personages, or on a religious theme. If the social context of the lai were known it could well be that some type of relationship between the

form of a planctus and its social context might be established. Of particular interest in this period is the way in which the three main formal types, the strophic form, the sequence, and the through-composed form begin to share more and more features. They occasionally become almost inter-convertible.

## 5. Planctus composed 1300-ca.1405

The forms of planctus listed in Table Four are as follows:

### A SYLLABIC VERSE

#### (i) Strophic structures

##### (a) 8p + 7pp

- |                            |                    |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. 'Pange .. necem' (L120) | S 3 (8p + 7pp)     | (aaa, bbb etc.)                |
| 2. 'O quam dolet' (L105)   | S 4 (8p) + 7pp     | (aabbc, ddddc', eeffc' etc.)   |
| 3. 'Pange .. gl.' (L119)   | S 3 (8p + 7pp)     | (aaa, bbb etc.)                |
| 4. 'Ante crucem' (L13)     | S 3 (8p) + 7pp/8pp | (aaab, cccb etc.)              |
| 5. 'Cum de cruce' (L20)    | S 2 (8p + 7pp)     | (as 4 lines) (abab, cdcd etc.) |

##### (b) 7pp + 6p

- |                      |                |                                |
|----------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. 'Fili me' (L38)   | S 2 (7pp + 6p) | (as 4 lines) (abcb, defe etc.) |
| 2. 'Me cordis' (L85) | S 4 (7pp + 6p) | (as 8 lines) (ababcbcb etc.)   |

##### (c) 6pp + 6pp

- |                        |                       |                   |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. 'Quis dabit' (L137) | S 3 (6pp + 6pp) + 8pp | (aaab, cccd etc.) |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|

##### (d) 8pp

- |                     |           |                         |
|---------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| 1. 'Vexilla' (L151) | S 4 (8pp) | (abcb, dede, fgfg etc.) |
|---------------------|-----------|-------------------------|

##### (e) 8p

- |                            |                          |                 |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. 'Heu heu Christe' (L50) | S 3 (8p) + 8pp + 4 (8pp) | (aaabcccb etc.) |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|

#### (ii) Through-composed structures

- |                          |                                   |            |                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| 1. 'Heu misereri' (L58)  | 2 (5p) + 2 (8p) + 7pp             | (aabbc)    |                   |
| 2. 'Heu infelices' (L55) | 10pp + (7p + 7pp)                 | (aa)       |                   |
| 3. 'O fratres' (L99)     |                                   |            | ('Flete fideles') |
| 1.                       | 3p + 4pp + 6p + 9p + 6p + 5       | (aabbcd)   | -                 |
| 2.                       | 3p + 3p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 7pp | (ee ffggh) | 3a                |
| 3.                       | 4p + 4p + 4p + 4p + 7pp           | (ijjh)     | 3a                |
| 4.                       | 8p + 8p + 7pp                     | (k k l)    | -                 |

5.	2 (8pp) + 3 (6pp)	(mmnm)	1b
6.	2 (8pp) + 3 (6pp)	(ooppo)	1a
7.	7pp + 6p + 8pp + 6p + 7pp + 7pp	(qrqsqs)	-
8.	4 (6pp) + 7pp + 5 (6pp)	(tutuvvwv)	2a
9.	2 (8p) + 2 (7pp + 7pp + 6p)	(xxyz11z)	5a
10.	2 (8p + 9)	(bb2w)	-
11.	6p + 7p + 8p + 7pp + 6p	(ffffz)	-
12.	8p + 11pp + 4 (8p) + 6 + 6p + 9p + 6p + 8p	(ssbf333 4s4s)	-
13.	3 (8p) + 9p + 8p	(zzz55)	-
14.	4 (7pp + 6p) + (3p + 3p + 6p)	(zzzz6d6l)	-
15.	7pp + 8pp + 7pp	(77l)	-
16.	11p + 6p + 8pp + 9pp+6pp+6p+ (3p + 3p+6p)	(8ftfql)	-
17.	3 (7pp + 6p)	(ssqsws)	-
18.	2 (7pp + 6pp) + 8pp + 6p + 7pp + 7p (3p + 3p + 6p) (own9tttdt1)		-
19.	2 (8p) + 7pp	(aal)	3b
20.	3 (6pp) /+6pp+7pp+6pp+ 2 (6pp + 4pp + 3p)7	(ApBpwwwzttz)	4a

4. 'Scariotis' (L143)

Triplum: 4 (8p) + 4p + 8p + 4 (4p + 8p + 8p) + 4p + 8p + 13p.  
Rhyme: aaaa bb ccc aaa ddd eee fff

Motetus: 2 (7pp + 8p) + (Prose: 9 + 5 + 8 + 14) + 3 (7pp + 8p) +  
(Prose: 27) Rhyme: abab .. cdcd ..

Tenor: 2 (8pp) (used three times) (aa)

(iii) Sequence structures

1. 'O jam Christi' (L102)

1a	2 (7pp) + 6p	(aab)
1b	2 (7pp) + 6p	(aab)
2a	2 (7pp) + 6p	(ccb)
2b	2 (7pp) + 6p	(ccb)
3a	2 (8p + 7pp)	(dede)
3b	2 (8p + 7pp)	(dede)

2. 'Heu heu virgineus flos' (L54a)

This sequence is based on 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123). It includes versicles 1a and b, 2a and 2b, 3a and 3b, 2c and 2d, 3d lines 1 and 2, all of 3c, 4a and 4b 5a and 5b, 6b and 7b. Versicle 1a is preceded by the stanza 'Heu heu virgineus flos', and 4a is preceded by the stanza 'O quanta est miseria':

A. Heu, hëu! virgineus flos!  
Hëu! nature pulcherrima dos!  
Hëu! vix cepit esse,  
et trahitur ecce ad non esse!

B. O quanta est miseria  
et doloris tristitia,  
quo si patris gladius  
transit et non alius  
in filie viscera,  
que nunc habent ubera!

(Young, Drama, I, p.699)

A: (the treatment of 'hëu' as a disyllable is editorial)  
8 + 10 + 7p + 10p (aabb)

B: 2 (8pp) + 4 (7pp) (ccddee)

## 3. 'Qui per viam pergitis' (L132)

('Planctus ante nescia')

1a	3 (7pp + 6p)	(ab ab cb)	-
1b	7pp + 3 (7pp + 6p)	(c ca da da)	-
2a	7pp + 3 (7pp + 6p)	(e ef ef gf)	-
2b	3 (7pp + 6p)	(gh eh ih)	-
3a	3 (7pp + 6p)	(c jk ik mk)	-
3b	3 (7pp + 6p)	(c cn cn an)	-
4a	7pp + 3 (7pp + 6p)	(c co po co)	-
5a	5 (7pp)	(iiiiie)	8a
5b	7pp + 5 (7pp)	(q qqqqe)	8b
4b	3 (7pp + 6p)	(ir gs ea)	-
6a	7pp + 3 (7pp + 6p)	(c tu iu vu)	-
7a	3p + 3p + 5p	(wwx)	3b
7b	3p + 3p + 5p	(ppx)	3b
6b	3 (7pp + 6p)	(iy gy ly)	-
8a	4 (7pp)	(zc zc)	2a
8b	4 (7pp)	(li li)	2b
7c	3p + 3p + 5p	(cc2)	3a
7d	3p + 3p + 5p	(aa2)	3b
9a	4 (7pp)	(ga ga)	4a
9b	4 (7pp)	(as as)	4b
10a	3 (7pp + 6p)	(34 54 v4)	-
10b	7pp + 3 (7pp + 6p)	(z z4 c4 c4)	-
11a	7pp + 3 (7pp + 6p)	(z pg 6g lg)	-
11b	7pp + 3 (7pp + 6p)	(a a7 17 17)	-
12a	3 (7pp + 6p)	(ap ip gp)	-
12b	3 (7pp + 6p)	(11 a1 g1)	-
13a	7pp + 3 (7pp + 6p)	(j j8 a8 c8)	-
13b	7pp + 3 (7pp + 6p)	(j g9 19 g9)	-
14a	7pp + 3 (7pp + 6p)	(j vA BA cA)	-
14b	3 (7pp + 6p)	(1C gC 1C)	-
15a	2 (7pp) + 2 (6p) + 7pp	(DDCCg)	9b/9a
15b	2 (7pp) + 10p + 6p + 7pp	(33ggg)	9a/9b
16a	3 (7pp + 6p)	(eg vg 8g)	-
16b	3 (7pp + 6p)	(vD 4E sE)	-
17.	3 (7pp + 6p)	(py Fy ay)	-

## B QUANTITATIVE VERSE

1. 'Scotia plange' (L144) hexameters (aa, bb etc.)

## C PROSE

1. 'Doleo super te' (L29) (motet)
2. 'Infelix ego' (L71)

The forms and metres of planctus composed during this period are mainly reliant on existing models, that is, metres based on (8p + 7pp), (7pp + 6p), 8pp, 8p and the quantitative hexameter. Nevertheless, at a time when interest in the planctus both in Latin and in vernacular languages was clearly declining, a considerable amount of formal inventiveness continues to be in evidence.

With one exception, that is, the metre of 'Quis dabit' (L137): (6pp + 6pp), the forms and metres used have all been long established in the writing of medieval Latin verse as a whole as well as in the composition of planctus. 'Quis dabit' (L137) is apparently modelled on a hymn relatively recently composed by St. Thomas, 'Sacris sollemniis':<sup>75</sup>

Sácris sollemniis	iuncta sint gáudia,	6pp + 6pp	a
Et ex praecórdiis	sonent praecónia,	6pp + 6pp	a
Récedant vétera,	nóva sint omnia,	6pp + 6pp	a
Córda, vóces et ópera.		8pp	b

Quis méo cápiti	dábit effúndere,	6pp + 6pp	a
Et fónite láchrymas	múltum suffúndere,	6pp + 6pp	a
Per díes noctésque	águas dedúcere,	6p + 6pp	a
Deflenti mórtém praesulis?		8pp	b

One might expect that by this period tendencies towards accentual regularity which I have occasionally noted in previous sections might at last become the norm. However, a comparison of the first two stanzas of these pieces provides a useful indication that imitation of accent patterns was not a prime concern, with the exception normally of the final accents: even here the final accent of 'noctesque' (in 'Quis dabit' (L137) line three) does not conform with the 6pp pattern. This raises the same question which was discussed in relation to 'Samson dux fortissime' (L141). In this case, if the normal accents of each word were regarded a rather odd rhythmic shape (at least to my ears) would emerge: did the poet heed them or ignore them? In this poem the first stanza is somewhat exceptional: in each of the remaining stanzas a dactylic type of rhythm seems to be most frequent; it is especially promoted by the fact that all the words which occur at the final accents and most others are trisyllabic. In such short lines scope for the variation of accent patterns is therefore limited, especially since the trisyllabic words are normally proparoxytones. That is not to say that the rest of the poem is typified by a consistently deployed dactylic rhythm: there are a number of

deviations; it does however argue a case for the development of accentual verse through accident: through chance combinations of features such as the short poetic line, disyllabic rhyme, trisyllabic words with pro-paroxytone accents and the more or less consistent position of the final accent. It is quite likely that poets were not aiming for accentual regularity, a feature ultimately based on regular stress or pulse, because they were not listening for it. All that the poet of 'Quis dabit' (L137) derived from 'Sacris sollemniis' was a prescription for the number of lines and half-lines in each stanza and the normal position of the accent: the use of trisyllabic words is his own contribution.

This apparent indifference to accent regularity (except for the final accent) is also evident in the three contrafacta, 'Pange .. necem' (L120), 'Pange .. gloriosa' (L119) and 'Vexilla regni prodeunt' (L151). It might be thought that the resort to this type of verse composition betrays a lack of inspiration on the part of the poet: clear evidence of the degeneration of a poetic type. However two of these are written in the form and metre of two well-known hymns for the particular purpose of parody:<sup>76</sup> 'Pange .. necem' (L120) is modelled on Fortunatus's hymn 'Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis' and 'Vexilla regni prodeunt' (L151) is based on 'Vexilla regis prodeunt'.<sup>77</sup> Both planctus celebrate rather than mourn the death of Edward II's favourite Peter Gaveston. Hence the choice of these two metres derives from the poets' satirical ambitions. That the writer of a contrafactum was not committed to maintaining accentual regularity can be exemplified briefly with reference to the treatment of the word 'Petrus'. Proper names are admittedly somewhat variable in their pronunciation: to base conclusions on the subject of accentual irregularity on such is therefore arguably to become entwined in a circular argument. However, within one poem one would expect that there should be consistent treatment of the word. In 'Pange lingua necem' (L120) the first two occurrences of 'Petrus' are on the final accent where it is apparently accented on the first syllable in accordance with the metre 8p. However in the second half-line of the first line in stanza three it is accented 'Petrus', that is, the word is either given various treatments, or else the accents of 3.1b are in marked contrast to those of the following line. The contrafactum is no poor man's verse, but can be an occasion for associating a new composition with an earlier work for ironic effect.<sup>78</sup> In these examples the technique of versification is based on imitating the number of syllables in each half-line of the stanza, normally with

consistent regard for the final accents.

It is quite likely that 'Ante crucem' (L13) and 'Heu heu Christe' (L50) are also contrafacta, this time of the 'Stabat mater dolorosa' stanza. It became extremely popular in the composition of Marian devotional verse from the thirteenth century.<sup>79</sup> However, the first introduces some variation into the overall pattern: the last line, consisting of seven syllables in the first three stanzas is expanded to eight syllables in the remaining five. The second begins with the pattern S 3 (8p) + 8pp + 4 (8pp). In subsequent stanzas the final accent often begins (and continues) as a proparoxyton, though the original form of the first stanza recurs in the final stanza. In this example variation is achieved through systematic changes in the position of the final accent, as well as in the internal accents.

Apart from 'O jam Christi' (L102)<sup>80</sup> the sequences are each based on existing planctus: either 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) or 'Flete fideles anime' (L42). 'Heu, heu virgineus flos' (L54a) is simply one of two stanzas which have been inserted into an incomplete and slightly modified or corrupted version of 'Planctus ante nescia'. No attempt has been made to adapt either of the new stanzas to metres used in 'Planctus ante nescia'. Indeed it is debatable whether the first new stanza is purely syllabic. My analysis is tentative and the decision to treat 'heu' as a disyllable on all but one occasion is mine. It could quite simply be a form of Kunstprosa, or it could conceivably be based on the prosody of a vernacular language, in this case, German: here stresses are of most importance and syllabic regularity an accident rather than design. Without too much obscure contrivance these four lines could each be regarded as having four stresses.<sup>81</sup> This can only be speculation since there would need to be more like stanzas and possibly also a musical setting to corroborate such a suggestion.

For all that it is highly dependent on 'Planctus ante nescia' 'Qui per viam' (L132) is quite an impressive adaptation. All the passages which are written in the so-called Golliard metre are apparently newly composed, the more elaborate versicles being directly taken from 'Planctus ante nescia'. Norberg suggests that the Golliard metre tended to promote accentual regularity.<sup>82</sup> However this is certainly not in evidence in 'Qui per viam' in which there is some considerable range in the accentual patterns employed. On the face of it therefore it would seem that its poet has cleverly fused the prosody of his model with that of his own inspiration.

Though also based on an existing planctus ('Flete fideles anime' (L42)) 'O fratres' (L99) is a much more ambitious piece. It almost conceals its dependency on 'Flete fideles anime' by virtually ignoring its double versicle basis and accumulating a series of varied stanzas. The overall affect is that 'O fratres' (L99) is through-composed. One striking feature about the additions - to some extent also discernible in 'Qui per viam' (L132) - is that they are not as systematic as those of 'Flete fideles anime': the author of this piece was evidently not interested in the elaborate deployment of disyllabic rhymes in order to highlight symmetrical versicles; though barely obtrusive in such a long work the passages from 'Flete fideles anime' contrast with the new additions.

Of the remaining examples the most striking is undoubtedly the motet 'Scariotis' (L143).<sup>83</sup> In the first place the poet mixes prose and verse (in the motetus): setting aside the fact that this piece is a motet, for which prose texts were often written, this is a rather unusual phenomenon. Secondly, the poet devises his own formal pattern by unusual combinations of existing metres. The metre used for the verse sections of the motetus may well be original: it seems to be an inversion of the Golliard metre.

Although interest in the planctus may have been declining in this period, there seems little evidence of a lack of formal inspiration. To denounce contrafacta or recreations of existing pieces as derivative is to conceal the arts of versification which were employed to give old forms new life. That the examples composed after 1300 are characterised by accentual regularity most unlikely. It is possible that as the various possible imitations of metres such as the trochaic septenarius, the Ambrosian metre and the Golliard metre became exhausted poets began to invent new forms by repeating the syllable count of one or other of the half-lines. They effectively became unconcerned about what early metrical form they could be said to be imitating: such terms as trochaic septenarius are thus anachronistic in a great many cases. That there is no consistent relationship between either form and content or form and social context evidently remains true of this period.

## 6. Conclusion

Throughout its six hundred year history no single poetic form is associated with the planctus. Instead it is characterised by considerable



formal inventiveness. Indeed the wide range of different verse forms employed which are so often invented through a combination of commonplace metres could be described as a type of bricolage:<sup>84</sup> the process whereby new cultural norms are crafted out of a combination of traditional patterns. Plainly the formal designs of planctus were not nourished by a 'planctus tradition': instead they followed existing traditions common to the corpus of medieval Latin verse as a whole. Occasionally it is possible to establish that a non-fictional planctus is written in a metre which had only recently been devised; it is also conceivable that planctus from religious dramas were often written in metres which had a somewhat archaic flavour.

The form of the planctus cannot therefore be said to be consistently related to its content, nor to its social context. As I have indicated there are occasionally exceptions to this; however, seen both in relation to the particular historical period from which they derive and with respect to the history of the planctus as a whole they are of little significance. Nevertheless, although a small proportion of examples are written in quantitative metres or in prose, the vast majority are in syllabic verse, written in one of the three main forms available, namely, the strophic form, the through-composed form, and the sequence. Of these strophic forms are clearly the most common, though sequence forms and through-composed forms enjoyed popularity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The fact that the planctus is normally syllabic and frequently in strophic forms should thus feature in its definition.

Formal inventiveness can be accounted for in various ways: in general poets seem to have been interested in form and its concomitants - rhyme, assonance, differing line lengths and accent patterns - as a challenge which exercised their talents in terms almost distinct from the expression of the sentiments of the verse. This is not quite the same as an interest in form for its own sake since form is a means of organising literary expression; nevertheless its existence seems almost to have an autonomy. Some of the different types of syllabic versification can be accounted for with reference to some of the various ways in which verse forms were created in the Middle Ages: through imitation of classical metres by substituting quantitative longs with accented syllables; by depending on syllable count only and normally also on the final accents; by adapting existing two-line stanza forms to create one new line; by repeating parts of a metre which is made up of two different line lengths in order to create a new stanzaic shape; or by borrowing forms from other cultures, for example, the Mozarabic

preces. There are undoubtedly more subtle distinctions which could be drawn which my necessarily cursory treatment of this highly complex and much debated subject has over-looked. A history of medieval Latin prosody lies beyond the scope of this chapter. Of particular interest is the question of whether the normal accents of words began to be ignored around the twelfth century in favour of accentual regularity. As for the refrain which previous scholars considered characteristic of the Latin planctus: on the whole it is rare rather than commonplace. Whether Abelard's six planctus were influential on subsequent lai or planctus composers remains an open question: clearly, however, such a relationship cannot be established on formal or metrical grounds.

However much can be learnt about the nature of the Latin planctus from its poetic form and metre, too many questions would be begged if musical considerations were not brought into the discussion. The conclusions of this chapter, though logically consistent with the nature of the investigation carried out, cannot be regarded as final until they have been corroborated in the light of a study of musical form.

## CHAPTER FOUR: MELODIC MODE, FORM AND STYLE

### 1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate whether the extant melodies of the planctus are typified by specific musical characteristics. As indicated in Chapter One, a number of previous scholars have argued that it is typified by the D mode (a mode associated with sadness), by an opening melisma, by the interval of the fifth, or closely linked with the sequence and lai.<sup>1</sup> Melodic mode, form and style will therefore be considered. The question of rhythmic interpretation is discussed in Chapter Six. Since however this issue affects judgments about musical style it should be noted that all melodies, with the exception of the two motets and the melismatic passages in responsories and conductus, are treated as isosyllabic.<sup>2</sup>

Some introductory remarks are necessary in order to clarify the scope of the analyses. In the discussions of form the general plan of each melody is considered, that is, whether it is a strophic melody, through-composed (in the musical sense),<sup>3</sup> or in sequence form. In addition to this the form of each stanza or versicle is indicated in upper case letters and then in lower case letters and in numbers in the case of planctus composed of a large number of melodies.

The definition of the melodic mode or tonality of both liturgical and non-liturgical music raises a number of problems. As is well-known the system of the eight ecclesiastical modes, modelled on the Byzantine oktōēchos system, was expounded in the West around the ninth century. As applied to western plainchant it is a synthetic system which lent superficial consistency to several layers of chant melodies composed from at least the sixth century, when the repertory of western liturgical song achieved its basic forms.<sup>4</sup> That a great many melodies did not fit into this system is attested by inconsistencies in the modes to which particular chants are assigned both in tonaries and in the works of medieval music theorists:<sup>5</sup> these inconsistencies often resulted because different definitions of mode were applied. Moreover, as Crocker<sup>6</sup> has shown medieval music theory was often only partially related to practice.

Theorists tended to use the vocabulary of Byzantine and classical music theory to describe medieval practices: in the effort to give their discipline authority they frequently invoked terms which were redundant or misleading when considered in relation to medieval practice.

In order to define the mode of a particular melody its final was often the only feature which was taken into consideration.<sup>7</sup> Ambitus was also regarded as important since there was a need to define the bounds within which the internal relationships of a melody were organised.<sup>8</sup> For more detailed analyses initials and medials were also considered.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the final was ultimately the basis for determining the mode. However, as melodic variants of the final cadence in many examples of both liturgical and non-liturgical melodies indicate the final of essentially the same melody can often differ from manuscript source to manuscript source. The main difficulty which this system presents therefore - apart from its inherent inconsistencies - is that there is not necessarily a fixed relationship between the tonal architecture of a composition and its final. Though clearly not a random element the final does not seem to occupy the central position in the tonality of the modal system which the tonic has in the diatonic system. Moreover, often a chant or non-liturgical melody moves from one tonal centre to another without necessarily returning to the first: here tonality can neither be defined according to the final, nor be said to belong to one mode exclusively. In effect, the tonality of a great many medieval melodies is linear or progressive, rather than cyclic as in the diatonic system.<sup>10</sup>

Since the small number of liturgical melodies with which I am concerned were most likely composed before the oktōēchos system was borrowed from Byzantine tradition, and because, as Johannes de Grocheo implies,<sup>11</sup> non-liturgical song does not conform neatly to the system of ecclesiastical modes I normally do not assign planctus melodies to a particular melodic mode. I use the word 'mode' to refer to the tonal centre of a melody. This is normally the final, but not always. In the analyses the final is noted together with the range within which it occurs; if the final is clearly not an adequate indication of the tonality of a melody its tonal centre is given in brackets after the letter denoting the final. An empty pair of brackets placed under the rubric 'mode' indicates that the melody survives in an unheighted notation and that its modality cannot therefore be determined. An asterisk beside the letter denoting the final means that though the melody survives in a heighted notation there are no clef signs: here

modality is to some extent conjectural.

Musical style in early medieval music is an area which has received relatively little attention. Clearly within the scope of one chapter the style of all planctus cannot be treated exhaustively; nor can equal weight be given to each example. The main considerations which have been made relate to whether a melody is syllabic or melismatic; whether melodic movement is by step or in intervals; if melodic formulae are employed; if there is repetition of melodic units or motive recall; and how the chosen melodic range is organised tonally.

This chapter is arranged according to the time periods used in the two previous chapters in order that a sense of chronology is maintained. In the case of melodies which occur in manuscript sources from more than one of these time periods I discuss them in relation to the period in which they were composed originally, unless they were effectively recreated in a later period. There are no extant heightened versions of the responsories and antiphons from the pre-950 period (listed in Table One, Chapter Two); I therefore refer to the later heightened versions available to me.

I will argue that the planctus melody is normally syllabic; that it can be composed in any of the three general musical forms available in the Middle Ages; that no one melodic mode is characteristic of all planctus melodies, or significantly dominant; and that a large proportion of examples are typified by musical patterning of various types. The thrust of this argument is that the planctus is written in a number of different musical styles. I wish however to underline the frequency with which melodic patterning is employed, a subject to which I will be returning in Chapter Six.

## 2. Planctus composed before 950

Apart from discussing planctus listed in Table One (see Chapter Two) which survive with a musical setting, the six sequence melodies rubricated planctus in St. Martial or St. Gall sequentiaries will also be taken into consideration. Transcriptions of these are included in the Excursus which follows this chapter. The following analysis summarises details about the form and modality of planctus melodies from this period:

<u>Type</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Mode/Range</u>
A STROPHIC MELODIES		
1. 'Mecum Timavi' (MT 43a)	AB CD EF GB HF / AB CD EF	( )
	(MT 43b) AB CD EF GH IJ - - -	( )
2. 'A solis' (MT 1)	AB A'B CD CD' R EF EF GH IJ R'	( )
3. 'Hug dulce' (MT 34)	AB A'B CD E	( )
B THROUGH-COMPOSED MELODIES		
(i) <u>Responsories</u>		
1. 'Montes Gelboe' (MT 46b)	AB CD	G: E-d
2. 'Doleo super' (MT 15)	ABCD A'D EF	G: F-f
3. 'Planxit autem' (MT 61)	ABCDEF G	G: D-f
(ii) <u>Antiphons</u>		
1. 'Rex autem' (MT 65b)	ABCDED	G: D-d
2. 'In excelsis' (MT 35)	AB	D: C-A
3. 'Montes Gelboe' (MT 45)	ABCDEFGHIÉJ	D: C-d
4. 'Doleo super' (MT 14)	ABCDEFDE'	D: C-c
5. 'Saul et Jonathas' (MT 68)	ABCDE	G: C-d
6. 'Planxit autem' (MT 60)	ABCB'	G: G-g
C SEQUENCES		
(i) <u>Texted</u>		
1. 'Quid tu Virgo' (MT 62a)	A BB CC DD EE FF G	G: D-e
(ii) <u>Untexted sequelae</u> (See Excursus One)		
1. <u>Planctus cygni</u> (EX.A)	A BB-II-J	D: F-g
2. <u>Planctum</u> (EX.E)	A B C DD EE FF G	
3. <u>Planctus Bertanae</u> (EX.C)	AA-MM	*G: D-f
4. <u>Planctus sterilis</u> (EX.F)	A BB CC D EE-II J	( )
5. <u>Planctus pueri captivati</u> (EX.B)	A BB-MM N	G: E-e
6. <u>Planctus publicani</u> (EX.D)	A BB CC DD EE FF G	D: C-c

As unfortunately in the case of a number of extant planctus melodies the pitch and exact intervals of several examples from this period cannot be determined, owing to the fact that the notation in which they are written is only semi-diastematic. Although nothing can therefore be said about their modality, it is nevertheless possible to gain a general idea of their form, by referring to the melodic contour of each phrase; the question of whether they are syllabic or melismatic can also be resolved through examination of the distribution of individual notes and ligatures.

There are clearly a significant number of planctus from this period composed in each of the three main formal structures, though setting aside the six so-called planctus melodies from sequentiaries (which do not survive with a text containing a lament at a death or destruction), the sequence structure is very much in the minority.

Some qualification is required in describing 'Mecum Timavi' (MT 43) and 'A solis' (MT 1) as strophic. Since 'Hug dulce' (MT 34) is only provided with musical notation for its first stanza it seems reasonable to assume that it is strophic. However, though probably justified, the same deduction cannot be made so easily in relation to the other two examples. 'Mecum Timavi' appears to have two different musical settings. It is possible that the Aquitanian version (F-Pn lat.1154 (s.ix-s.x); MT 43a) is a more ornamented rendering of the Northern French one (CH-BEsu 394 (s.x): MT 43b): both melodies have a melisma at the end of phrases four and nine. However the melodic contour of these in the Aquitanian source is somewhat different to that of the Northern French version. If the Northern French manuscript source were the only one of the two to have survived there would seem little reason to doubt that this planctus is a strophic song. This assumption is not contradicted entirely by the Aquitanian source, in which the first stanza and also the first six half-lines of the second are notated. It seems unnecessary that the scribe should have provided music for the latter since they appear to be the same as the corresponding lines in stanza one. However, a number of other lines and words are also notated: oriundus (3.2), Argentea (3.2), lugere (3.3), civem famosum perdidisti (3.4), nutritus (4.5), pauperum pater (5.2), and Dalmatiarum (6.5). Since their melody contours and note units do not differ significantly from the corresponding melodies of the first stanza it seems strange that the scribe bothered to add them in. They do not seem to be intended as a means of helping a singer cope with a different distribution of notes for each syllable or with liquescence. Either the scribe simply enjoyed

filling out the parts of the tune he liked best, or he might have been aware that the singer would ornament the melodies or improvise: in order to ensure that the singer was reminded about what he should be singing (for the sake of retaining the strophic nature of the song) he therefore sketched in a few phrases and notes here and there. Seen in the light of the difficulties raised by 'A solis' the latter hypothesis does not seem implausible.

Here the first two stanzas are notated, except for the last two words of the second refrain. None of the melodies of the first stanza appears to be included in the second stanza. The deduction that the two melodies alternate would be obvious since the song is made up of an even number of stanzas were there not two inconsistencies. The half-lines 'Glebum terre tradidit' (4.4) and 'O Columbane' (5.1) are also notated. The former line should have melody J and the latter melody A. While the former does indeed have melody J the latter has melody E, that is, the opening melody of the second stanza, not that of the first stanza. Secondly, the two refrains, which do not alternate regularly, but in the pattern XYYXXX, do not reflect this inconsistency. Perhaps the scribe made a mistake; the text might even be incomplete; or possibly the melody of the second stanza is an alternative melody which is to be sung strophically. On the other hand, it could be that the melodies were used more flexibly than is suggested by the music provided for the first two stanzas. Whether the half-line after 'O Columbane' should be sung to melody B or melody F cannot be determined, or indeed whether it should be sung to a different melody altogether, in the idiom of improvisation with melodic formulae. Whatever was intended, the strophic structure of this melody is somewhat in doubt. It would be over-zealous to make too much of this: my suggestion is simply that a certain amount of flexibility was possible in the strophic melody.

The two settings of 'Mecum Timavi' are based almost consistently on new melodic phrases, except for the Aquitanian version, in which there is some repetition in the last two lines. In contrast the forms of the stanzas of 'Hug dulce' and 'A solis' can be further simplified to AAB and AAB R CCD R, respectively. The use of the AAB form anticipates that of the troubadour canço and trouvère chanson and can also be compared to the structure of a number of hymn stanzas which are strophic, for example, 'Aeterne rerum conditor': AABC (= AAB).<sup>12</sup>

In contrast to the strophic structures the responsories, like the antiphons, vary in the number and length of their musical phrases, and



correspondingly in their formal complexity. In each of the three responsories only half of the respond is repeated after the verse, in accordance with the Frankish convention described by Amalarius.<sup>13</sup> This contrasts with what he identifies as the Roman style: here the entire respond was repeated. Apel<sup>14</sup> suggests that responsories which include only a partial repeat of the respond may represent an old repertory of Gallican chant. Apart from this conventional repetition the melodic phrases are successively different, except for two phrases which are repeated in 'Doleo super te' (MT 28).


The six antiphons range from the simple two-phrase structure of 'In excelsis' (MT 35) to the longer more complex forms of 'Montes Gelboe' (MT 45) and 'Doleo super te' (MT 14). With the exception of 'In excelsis' there is repetition of a previous phrase, or phrases, in each example, either exactly, as in 'Rex autem' (MT 65b), or in a slightly modified form: in the idiom of adapting or expanding previously used material. These formal characteristics are, however, quite conventional in the composition of responsories and antiphons. Considering that these chants all belong to the same liturgical occasion, it is interesting to note that, with the possible exception of the responsories 'Doleo super te' and 'Planxit autem',<sup>15</sup> none of them appear to have any melodies in common, although most are made up of 'main melodies', that is, conventional opening phrases and melodic formulae characteristic of each mode.<sup>16</sup>

The sequences are each made up of double versicles; frequently the first and last versicles are not repeated,<sup>17</sup> although as can be seen from the analysis this is not a general rule. These sequences are of particular interest because none of them have a confirmed relationship with a plainchant alleluia melody - the incipit of which is the musical point of departure for a significant number of early sequences.<sup>18</sup> In two examples, the sequelae planctus cygni and planctus pueri captivati, one versicle in each is almost exactly repeated in a subsequent one. In itself this is not especially unusual: a number of early sequences also have this characteristic.<sup>19</sup> It nevertheless draws attention to the fact that sequences had varied forms, the differences possibly pointing to the nature of their origins or method of composition. As I shall demonstrate further on it reflects the fact that the description 'double versicle structure' or 'progressive repetition' is something of a simplification of the formal nature of these examples.

The forms employed in the pre-950 planctus melody clearly do not suggest that one was consistently employed, let alone exclusive to it. In the case of the responsories, antiphons and sequences form

relates loosely to social function. There is nothing about the general formal plan of these examples to suggest that there were any exceptional deviations from their respective traditions which could be exclusively characteristic of the planctus.

Nothing can be said about the modality of the strophic examples. Just as in the case of their general formal structures, the modes of antiphons, responsories and sequences are conventional: in each type the G and D modes are the commonest.<sup>20</sup> Although only two modes are under consideration they are fairly evenly distributed amongst each type: there are therefore no grounds for assuming that the chosen mode was selected on account of the subject matter of the text. In qualification of this, it should however be said that unlike the responsories, antiphons and sequences the strophic examples do not belong to an as yet established tradition: if they were written in the D mode - in spite of the fact that the other examples cannot be said to occur in it in response to the subject matter of the text - it could be the result of the composer associating this mode with sadness.

The musical style of the four main types will now be considered. Each of the strophic examples is written in the syllabic style, occasionally with a few short melismas. Two points are of special interest - points which can be established with reasonable certainty, even though the pitch and intervals are unknown in each case. Firstly the musical units seem to be carefully balanced in two main ways: a two-note unit is frequently preceded and followed by a single note: .  ;<sup>21</sup> and phrases consisting of clusters of two- and three-note units are normally balanced by simpler phrases made up of one-note units, often in what appear to be static melodies.<sup>22</sup> Secondly, although employed occasionally at other positions, there is a melisma at the end of the penultimate phrase of each stanza (except for the first stanza of 'A solis', which, if alternated with the melody of the second stanza is effectively only half a stanza). It is as if there is an emphatic flourish before the last phrase is sung. These observations may seem to have limited value; however they are not made on the basis of any contrivance: in Aquitanian notation the method of writing out the neumes is such as to highlight such contrasts: they are quite simply patterns which a singer would readily have seen

The responsories are essentially melismatic, consisting of passages of single notes (particularly in the recitation sections of the verse), short note groups and melismas. Melodic movement is normally by step, although leaps of a third (especially in ascending or descending triads),

a fourth or a fifth (ascending or descending) are occasionally found. Each opens with a 'main melody', a number of phrases of which recur in a slightly developed form further on in the idiom of motive recall: they are not necessarily repeated in the same neume group as before. Occasionally a particular motive recurs especially frequently, not only within phrases but also at cadence points. On the whole the phrases of the respond tend to move within the extremes of the range, while the verse, which normally begins with a recitation passage, static or ornamented, is confined to a narrower range at least at first. These points can be seen more clearly in relation to an example. The responsory 'Montes Gelboe' (MT 46b) opens with one of the less common 'main melodies' of mode eight,<sup>23</sup> a melody associated with the earliest layers of chant composition. Although this chant occasionally centres on other 'main melodies' typical of the eighth mode, they are barely recognisable:<sup>24</sup> the Gestalts of these melodies will almost inevitably be present in any case since they effectively define the scope of the mode. Apart therefore from the opening phrase this melody is essentially independent. The first two phrases include almost all the notes of the range, though the second phrase concentrates on the middle of the range departing only briefly to the lower and finally to the higher degrees. The highest note of the range does not occur until the third phrase, the first phrase of the verse. Here movement is centred on the recitation note c, and is much less fluid than in the respond. In phrase four melodic interest centres more on the final with a brief departure to the highest point of the range before the conclusion of the verse. What is distinctive about this responsory, though not exclusive to it, is the way in which the melisma on 'Gelboe' (phrase one) is reused. It recurs partially at 'pluvia', 'veniant', (in the respond) and at 'autem' (in the verse), and at each cadence (occasionally in a slightly modified form). It not only provides a unifying motive in this responsory but also some variation: its character changes somewhat each time since the notes of which it is made up are distributed to each musical unit in slightly different ways.

In marked contrast to the responsories the antiphons are almost entirely syllabic. The one exception is 'Montes Gelboe' (MT 45) which is primarily syllabic but includes note-groups of occasionally as many as five notes. Melodic movement is again by step, with occasional leaps; it is however much less fluid than that of the respond and occasionally static, but also unified through motive recall. Even in one of the simplest examples, 'In excelsis' (MT 35) these features

are each in evidence. The opening phrase of this syllabic piece is recalled with only slight modification in the final cadence.

As in the case of both the responsories and the antiphons the sequences have their own distinctive style, or styles. Some features are common to all those under discussion. Each is almost entirely syllabic: only occasionally are there two- or three-note units, as for example in 'Quid tu Virgo' (MT 62.a: versicles 1 and 7). The musical phrase is almost consistently of a different length in each example. This seems to be deliberate: it enables the chosen melodic range to be explored in different ways from versicle to versicle. In each versicle a different part of the range is concentrated on. Even in the case of planctus publicani in which the third, fourth and fifth phrases are of the same length, different emphasis is placed on particular parts of the range through contrast: in versicle 3 the melody begins at the lowest note of the range (C) and gradually extends to A; in the fourth versicle the lower part of the range is still used (D-A), but the melody is in contrary motion to the previous versicle (with the exception of the cadence). Then in versicle 5 the highest point of the range is reached (c), the climax of this melody, and the range of notes included narrows to the range F-c. This exploration of the chosen range in preparation for the climax, normally at the highest point of the range towards the end of the sequence, seems to be a deliberate characteristic of these examples. Although melodic movement is normally by step occasional leaps balanced by stepwise movement are not uncommon: particularly frequent are figures made up of the rising triad, as for example in 'Quid tu Virgo' (MT 62a: versicles 5 and 6).

Two main types of sequences can be distinguished: the rhapsodic sequence and the motivic sequence.<sup>25</sup> The former refers to the sequence melody which soars and falls in roughly the idiom of a melisma; although it often contains motive recall, there is little or no systematic repetition of melodies within the musical phrase. The second, in contrast, is made up of short, repeated melodies. In some examples both these features are present as I will demonstrate: the distinctions are not absolute. 'Quid tu Virgo' is an example of the first. Its melody soars and falls renewing its melodic energy through occasional leaps or through trill- and mordant-like figures: for example, the leap of a descending fourth in versicle 4 establishes a new tonal area of exploration for the melody; the trill-like figure in versicle 5, cdcdc, renews the energy of a phrase which began with static movement;

The following analysis includes only the larger repeated melodic units, marked in upper case letters in the Excursus; the smaller units, denoted by lower case letters have not been taken into account. Thus patterning in these melodies is even more marked than suggested below:

planctus cygni (EX.A)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.  
A BB CC CC DD EEF EEF GH GH II GH GH JJ JJ J'

planctus pueri captivati (EX.B)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.  
A BC BC DC DC EE FF GG HH IJ IJ KJ KJ LJ LJ MM NN OO PO'

planctus Bertane (EX.C)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13.  
AB AB CC DD EB EB EE FG FG HHI HHI JG JG KK LLM LLM NN NN OO PP

planctus publicani (EX.D)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.  
A BB CC DE DE FF GB GB E

planctum (EX.E)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.  
A BB CC D EF EF E'F E'F G H

(planctus sterilis (EX.F): omitted because its notation is unheighted)

the rising triad figure in versicle 6, FAc, similarly acts as a restorative in a long musical phrase. On the other hand it would be an over-simplification to suggest that this sequence is quite like a melisma. Each of the longer musical phrases divides into shorter phrases, two of which, the first two of versicle seven, are virtually the same. There is a further instance of repetition: the last phrase of versicle 5 recurs exactly at the end of the last phrase of versicle 6 (AcbcAG); it is also faintly suggested in the idiom of motive recall in the second phrase of versicle 6: dbcbG. The use of repetition is not however as systematic as in some of the examples which I will soon be discussing. It functions more as a type of melodic refrain than as the disciplined repetition of short motives. Some comment should also be made on the nature of particular melodies in this sequence. The second instance of repetition just mentioned consists of a figure which also occurs in other sequences, for example 'Nunc exultet'.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, versicle 4 of 'Quid tu Virgo' is exactly the same as the opening of versicle 3 of the sequence 'Laudes deo concinat'.<sup>27</sup> These melodic similarities may be coincidence, or indeed part of the common stock of tunes used in the composition of sequences. However if the latter is the case there is a need to establish exactly what this common stock consisted in if the style of an early sequence like 'Quid tu Virgo' is to be appreciated fully.

Of the remaining sequences four can be described as motivic, that is, planctus cygni, planctus Bertanae, planctus pueri captivati and planctum. Planctus sterilis could also conceivably be in this style as my transcription indicates, but it only survives in unheighted St.Gall neumes. Planctus publicani is clearly not motivic, but unlike the other five examples whose melody titles appear to refer to secular subjects, it is an ecclesiastical composition, inspired by the antiphon 'Stans a longe' (Hesb.5013).<sup>28</sup> Stäblein has already established<sup>29</sup> that planctus cygni is largely made up of short, repeated melodic units, and that the first few versicles are not, however, composed in this style. As the transcriptions indicate most of the versicles of the remaining three are built up of motives. The analysis of the formal structure of each could therefore be rewritten as indicated in Figure 1. This formal complexity can be compared to that of a number of early German sequences,<sup>30</sup> and ultimately to the twelfth-century Latin lai, which will be discussed later. However, it should be noted that there are some differences in the treatment of motives in these examples, and also some problems raised concerning their interpretation.

While planctus cygni is made up mainly of short, melodic units, planctus pueri captivati consists of a type of collage of various short melodies, only some of which are systematically repeated. Planctus Bertanae has rather longer phrases than either of these, while planctum is a mixture of short and long phrases. Planctus Bertanae is especially notable for the way in which several passages which do not contain repetitions are based on a series of short descending figures, most of which keep returning to the note on which they began (see the openings of phrases 2, 3, 4 and 9). These passages are frequently resolved by the cadence . . . , a figure which is also found in the other three examples.<sup>31</sup> Although the motivic nature of these melodies may provide some explanation of why they were rubricated planctus . . ., it is highly unlikely that the style of these melodies was exclusive to planctus. It does however bear witness to a type of sequence which was included in the proser of the main religious centres of the period. Since most of the titles of these melodies appear to refer to secular subjects, it is quite possible that they provide evidence of the derivation of some sequence melodies from secular song, the style of which was often not unlike that of the lai. On the other hand, there is no reason to assume that ecclesiastical musicians did not compose these melodies themselves, originally perhaps for songs which were not necessarily religious in content, for the purposes of entertainment.

If one examines only the sequelae planctum and planctus pueri captivati a large number of melodic repetitions are clearly in evidence. However, if texted versions of these melodies are consulted it becomes evident that some of the recurring phrases may not have been so obtrusive after all: for example, the short phrase GAFG which occurs in versicles 6, 9, 10 and 12 of planctus pueri captivati is clearest when set to two or four syllable words. Two or four syllable words are set to this phrase in versicles 6 ('presta nobis' and 'delicias') and 12 ('fave votis' and 'obtineant'), but not in versicles 9 ('laudibus' and 'caritas') or 10 ('reboet hymum' and 'haec cunctas virtus'). Since, however, the texts originated much later than the melody it is quite possible that their authors had other interests in mind, and were not so conscious of the repetitions. On the other hand the two exceptions cited are somewhat ambiguous since they are not exact repetitions of the phrase in question. The notes at the beginning of versicle 9 are AFGAFG: the poet has treated the notes as AFG AFG and

not as AF GAFG. The trisyllabic words which are used are quite in keeping with his interpretation of the motivic repetition. Equally in versicle 10 the notes GFAAG are given words which reflect the arrangement GFA GG, rather than GFAG G.

There are also some difficulties in interpreting the phrasing of planctum: they too may be the result of the melody being much older than the texts to which it is set, or the product of the proverbial scribal error. My transcription includes the neumes and all the information concerning repeated versicles which the manuscript source gives - the only manuscript which includes this melody with the title planctum.<sup>32</sup> The scribe has marked in only three repeat signs. In most of the other instances he seems to have written the repeats out in full. If he has forgotten to include the other signs as his later interpreters appear to have thought,<sup>33</sup> then the melody is even more repetitive than my analysis indicates.

Planctus melodies from this period are written in a number of different musical styles. There seem to be no grounds for assuming that there were any musical features specific to the planctus; nor is there any evidence that within the different musical styles the melody of a planctus was distinguished by a particular formal arrangement, melodic mode or stylistic feature.

### 3. Planctus composed 950-1130

Only a very small proportion of planctus from this period survive with music. It should however be noted that 'Jocus et leticia' (L76) is written beneath a blank musical stave, indicating that it was intended to be sung, and that the two German sequences, 'Qui principium' (L133) and 'Judex summe' (L77) were most likely also set to music.

The following analysis indicates the form and modality of the surviving examples:

| <u>Type</u>              | <u>Form</u>              | <u>Mode/Range</u> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| A STROPHIC MELODIES      |                          |                   |
| 1. 'Hactenus' (MT 22a)   | AB CD AB                 | D: C-d            |
| (MT 22b)                 | AB AC DE                 | D: C-A            |
| 2. 'Ad te namque' (MT 6) | AB B'C ... DEB'C         | *D: C-G           |
| 3. 'Armonicae' (MT 9)    | AB CD ED' ... FG HD' E'I | ( )               |



| <u>Type</u>                 | <u>Form</u>             | <u>Mode/Range</u> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (A STROPHIC MELODIES)       |                         |                   |
| 4. 'Flete viri' (MT 21)     | (A)B CD D'D ED FG HD''  | D: C-d            |
| 5. 'Omne quod' (MT 53)      | AABB'B''                | *D: C-c           |
| B 'MIXED'                   |                         |                   |
| 1. 'O dulces filii' (MT 48) | AB AB AB AB AB AB AB AB | *G: F-e           |
| ('Noli Rachel'):            | CCCC R CCC R            | *G: D-c           |

With the exception of the Lamentatio Rachelis: 'O dulces filii' (MT 48), the few extant examples from this period are all in strophic forms. As in the previous section some qualification is required concerning the meaning of 'strophic'. In the case of 'Flete viri' (MT 21) and 'Omne quod' (MT 53) only one stanza is notated, the first in the case of the former, and the last in the latter. There can be little doubt that these were strophic. Similarly, although 'Hactenus' (MT 22a and b) has two musical settings, which have some melodic material in common, it seems to be straightforwardly strophic. However the comparatively long texts of both the remaining examples - 'Ad te namque' (MT 6) and 'Armonicae' (MT 9) - are notated throughout. Although the melody of the first stanza of each is the one most frequently employed there are a significant number of minor deviations from it in subsequent stanzas.<sup>34</sup> Taken at its face value the flexibility with which these essentially strophic melodies are treated adds credibility to the suggestion made on this subject about the strophic examples from the previous period. The sceptic might, on the other hand, wish to argue that by notating the whole of each text the respective scribes were effectively carrying out an educational exercise in musical notation; he might therefore conclude that the deviations reflect boredom, not flexibility in the treatment of the strophic melody.

The forms of these examples can be simplified as follows:

'Hactenus': ABA and AA'B; 'Ad te namque': ABC; 'Armonicae': ABB'; 'Flete viri': ABB'B''B''CB''''; and 'Omne quod': AB.

Although the AAB form of some early hymns and the later chanson and canso which was characteristic of two planctus from the previous period numbers amongst these none of the others has any special associations: they reflect rather an element of formal diversity within the strophic

structure.

I have described the form of the Lamentatio Rachelis, 'O dulces filii' (MT 48), as 'mixed' since, even setting aside the responsory 'Sub altare Dei' (Hesb.7713) of which it is a trope (and which I am not going to discuss in detail), it is difficult to classify adequately. It appears to be two different strophic songs, made up either of nine stanzas with pairs of short phrases each with melodies A and B, and a further two stanzas in slightly longer phrases with the form CCCC R CCC R, or of one long stanza consisting of nine main phrases subdivided into two short phrases (with melodies A and B), followed by the two additional stanzas. Either way the use of repeated melody units and the formal difference between the two sections in verse relate this melody closely to the style of the lai. Furthermore, the manuscript of this example (F-Pn lat.1139 (s.xi-s.xiii)) also contains the religious drama known as the Sponsus, itself remarkably like the lai in its structure.<sup>35</sup> Each personage in this play is normally distinguished by a different melody. This is exactly what occurs in the Lamentatio Rachelis: Rachel laments in the first section, and her consoler, the angel, sings solace in the second. A relationship between the formal design of the Lamentatio Rachelis and that of the lai can only be suggested tentatively since, relatively speaking, the former is very short. Nevertheless, however the composer conceived his piece he clearly had no hesitation in mixing forms. That a different one was used for each singer is hardly fortuitous.

Each of the examples under discussion is characterised by the repetition of previous musical phrases. In itself this is not especially remarkable and certainly not exclusive to the planctus. However it points to the composer's interest in balancing and contrasting short musical phrases, a subject to which I will return further on in this section.

Since so few examples are extant from this period little significance can be attached to the statistics which emerge in an analysis of their melodic modes. Moreover, the pitch of several is either unknown or largely conjectural. Nevertheless, the two strophic examples whose pitch can be established beyond doubt are, curiously enough, in the D mode. Both are composed at the death of non-fictional personages, as is the case of the three strophic planctus from the previous period. Were the modes of the latter known and found to be D, then it would be impossible not to pay some heed to the mode of the former. However, this is pure speculation. While it is tempting to imagine that the

composers of 'Hactenus' and 'Flete viri' deliberately chose the D mode because of its association with sadness, it should be noted that a great many non-liturgical songs were also written in this mode, or in the G mode, the deuterus and tritus apparently being used less and less.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, though admittedly the planctus of a biblical personage, and conceivably in a slightly different category to the non-fictional planctus, 'O dulces filii' is in the G mode. The use of the D mode in the two strophic examples thus pales into insignificance. The choice of mode in this instance can be attributed to the fact that the composer employed the same mode as was used in the responsory of which this example is a trope.

The style of planctus melodies from this period is best treated in relation to the particular forms employed. The strophic examples are each syllabic with occasional two- and three-note units, especially in 'Flete viri' (MT 21) and 'Armonicae' (MT 9). Generalisations cannot be made so easily about the nature of melodic movement, since it is closely tied in with the way in which the chosen melodic range is deployed. In 'Ad te namque' the range is very narrow and movement entirely stepwise except for the opening and concluding leaps of a third. In spite of the narrowness of the range each phrase gives slightly different emphasis to it. In the first phrase the opening leaps of a third contrast with the stepwise movement of the next phrase. Although the third phrase begins with the same notes as the second the direction of the melody changes briefly to give some contrast. In the fourth phrase (the last one of this stanza) the brief concentration of two-note units provides further variation. Similarly in the first two phrases of the eighth stanza, in which the melody hovers on F as if in imitation of a recitation melody, the preceding and following notes are different in each case.

In contrast, in 'Hactenus' (MT 22a and b), which also moves mainly by step, variation is achieved in both versions of the melody primarily through pitch contrast. In the first version (MT 22a) the middle section is exactly the same as the first and last sections, only a fifth higher. In the second version the middle section, which begins as a repeat of the first, at pitch, is varied in its second phrase, while its last section, consisting of two new phrases, provides a pitch contrast by beginning at the top of the range.

More unusual is 'Flete viri'. Here a greater number of intervals are used (particularly the third, but also, on one occasion each, a fifth and a fourth). However, they are always balanced by stepwise

8 **R** di-vi-num res-pon-sum  
 8 **R** sustine-te mo-di-cum tem-pus do-nec im-ple-a-tur nu-merus fra-  
 8 1.1 O dul-ces fi-li-i quos  
 8 1.2 pro-ge-nunc pro  
 8 1.2 pro-ge-nu-i  
 8 3.4 gau-de

O DULCES FILII (MT 95) (F-Pn lat.1139 (s.xi-s.xiii), f.32v

FIGURE TWO

movement. The organisation of this melody centres on a refrain (melody D). In all but its last occurrence it is characterised by the figure  $\dot{c} \cdot \dot{e}$  (ED EF), and by the cadence  $\cdot \cdot \cdot$  (CDD). In each instance this refrain is approached in a slightly different manner. When it first appears it is preceded by a short phrase spanning the range F-A; next it is introduced by a phrase which echoes the first figure mentioned above, the range dropping to D-G and concentrating on the lowest part of the range D-E; it is then preceded by a phrase in contrary motion to the previous introductory phrase and in successively larger note units spanning a wider range: C-A. The refrain is abandoned briefly in favour of a much stronger melodic contrast in the upper part of the range (F-d), the climax to the melody. Finally, introduced by a rising triad which begins on the final and ends with a three-note unit, the refrain recurs in a slightly modified form: essentially the same notes are used, but the two figures described above are no longer apparent. It is as if one is playing a game of musical hide and seek, only to discover that the treasure is to be found in recognising the final occurrence of the refrain in disguise.

It might seem over fussy to note these details: their value is that they suggest at least three different ways in which a strophic melody with repetition can be organised: that is, around range and pitch contrasts, and also through the artful highlighting of an almost, but not entirely, fixed phrase. Though some of the strophic melodies are not especially interesting, others are quite carefully constructed.

The relationship between 'O dulces filii' and the responsory 'Sub altare dei' is indicated in Figure 2. Rachel's lament is almost entirely based on the melody of 'sustinete modicum tempus donec impleatur' and is mainly neumatic, soaring up and down the chosen range in each phrase. In contrast, apart from some of the short concluding flourish in the refrain, the melody of the angel's response is unrelated to the responsory, and almost entirely syllabic. The version of this responsory in F-Pn lat.1139 (s.xi-s.xiii) agrees in its essential elements with the versions found in the Lucca, Worcester and Sarum antiphoners. One notable difference is the melody of the beginning of 'impleatur'.<sup>37</sup> In F-Pn lat.1139 the notes are FAc; in the rest they are GAc. There is however no doubt that in F-Pn lat.1139 the notes are FAc. The composer of the Lamentatio Rachelis has also made something of them in melody A (for example, at 'fili'). It therefore seems most unlikely that the scribe made a mistake.

Setting aside the purely melodic interpolation of a melisma into

an existing chant, there are three main types of trope: one in which new words are set to an existing plainchant melody; here the melody is normally a melisma to which a text is set syllabically; another in which a new text set to an existing non-liturgical melody is inserted into a chant such as a responsory; and a third in which a new text is set to a newly composed melody and inserted into one of the less melismatic chants. 'O dulces filii' seems to be a mixture of the first and last types. As Apel indicates<sup>38</sup> this is not unprecedented: in the antiphoner from St.Maur-des-Fossés (F-Pn lat.12044 (s.xii in.)) there are examples of tropes in which the new text begins and ends with the concluding phrases of a responsory on which it provides a commentary: the rest of the melody is however newly composed. Here, however, in contrast to the first section of 'O dulces filii', the melody is treated syllabically, and the text is not written in verse. The neumatic treatment of 'O dulces filii' therefore seems somewhat unusual. There are of course tropes which are melismatic or neumatic in design, as for example from St.Martial.<sup>39</sup> What is specially striking about the Lamentatio Rachelis is the almost systematic distribution of note units: 1 4 4 4 2 4 1 3 3 4 4 4 1. The two-note unit provides a contrast before the cadence of the first phrase and the two three-note units give a sense of the melodic energy accumulating as a new phrase begins and returns to the pattern of the previous one.

The planctus from this period are composed in two main styles: that of the syllabic strophic song and that of a neumatic and syllabic trope. Each is characterised by repetition of melodic phrases. The syllabic strophic examples share much in common, but are not always rigidly strophic; they also vary in the way the tonal range of the melody is treated. None of these features suggest that the planctus was written in a musical style which was exclusive to it. Although there might be some significance in the choice of the D mode in the two strophic examples which survive with pitch indications they do not represent a sufficient amount of evidence for any general conclusion to be drawn.

#### 4. Planctus Composed 1131-1300

In contrast to the previous two periods, a large proportion of the extant planctus from this period - almost two-thirds - survives with a musical setting. The following analyses summarise their form and melodic mode:

| <u>Type</u>                  | <u>Form</u>          | <u>Mode/Range</u> |
|------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| <u>Monophony</u>             |                      |                   |
| A STROPHIC MELODIES          |                      |                   |
| x1. 'Heu ... michi' (MT 24)  | ABCD                 | C: b flat -a      |
| x2. 'Jam moratur' (MT 39)    | ABC DEC'             | D: C-c            |
| x3. 'Cuncta sorores' (MT 11) | ABAB CDB'            | G: D-e            |
| x4. 'Lamentemus' (MT 41)     | AA'BC (AA'B AA'B'C') | D: <u>A</u> -G    |
| x5. 'Omnipotens' (MT 54a)    | AB AB CD R           | F: C-c            |
| (MT 54b)                     | AB AB CD R           | F: E(D)-d         |
| (MT 54c)                     | AB AB CD R           | F: F-d            |
| (MT 54d)                     | AB AB' CD R          | (.)               |
| (MT 54e)                     | AB AB C              | F: F-b flat       |
| (MT 54f)                     | AB AB CD R           | F: F(E)-c         |
| (MT 54g)                     | AB AB CD R           | G: G-e            |
| (MT 54h)                     | AB AB CD R           | G: G-e            |
| x6. 'Cum venissem' (MT 10a)  | AB CD EF GH          | (.)               |
| (MT 10b)                     | AB CD EF GH          | D: C-d            |
| (MT 10c)                     | AB CD EF GH          | D: C-d            |
| (MT 10d)                     | AB CD EF GH          | D: C-d            |
| (MT 10e)                     | AB CD EF GH          | D: C-d            |
| (MT 10f)                     | AB CD EF GH          | D: C-d            |
| 7. 'Libram' (MT 42)          | AB CD A'B' CD'       | (.)               |
| 8. 'Mentem meam' (MT 44)     | ABCD                 | A: G-a            |
| 9. 'Organa' (MT 56)          | AB CD A'B CD         | (.)               |
| 10. 'Voce tristi' (MT 73a-b) | AABC                 | *D: <u>A</u> -F   |

#### B THROUGH-COMPOSED MELODIES

##### (i) Simple forms without a cauda

|                           |                                       |        |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------|
| x1. 'O dolor' (MT 47)     | 'AAB CD EF GH IJ KL MN OP<br>QR ST UV | (.)    |
| x2. 'Heu .. quid' (MT 25) | ABC BD ED'F.GHH'                      | G: D-d |
| x3. 'Heu teneri' (MT 33)  | ABC ABC DEC DEC FGC' FGC' CA'C'       | G: C-d |

x denotes a planctus from a religious drama.

| <u>Type</u>                   | <u>Form</u>  | <u>Mode/Range</u> |
|-------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| x4. 'Heu ... quomodo' (MT 26) | ABCB DEB BFB GGHB IJB D'LB   | G: D-d            |
| x5. 'Heu miseri' (MT 30)      | ABB'CDEFG  | D: C-c            |
| x6. 'Tu pater' (MT 71)        | A BC DE FG HG III A'H  | E: C-b            |
| x7. 'Heu dolor' (MT 23)       | AB CD EF   | D: C-e            |
| x8. 'Heu misere' (MT 29a)     | AB CD EF   | A(D): C-d         |
| (MT 29b)                      | AB CD ED'  | A(D): C-b         |
| (MT 29c)                      | AB CD C'E  | D: D-A            |
| (MT 29d)                      | AB CD CD'  | A(D): C-b flat    |
| (MT 29e)                      | AB CD CD'  | A(D): C-b flat    |
| (MT 29f)                      | AB CB' CB''  | A(D): C-A         |
| (MT 29h)                      | AB   | ()                |
| (MT 29i)a                     | AB   | A(D): C-b         |
| b                             | AB   | A(D): C-A         |
| c                             | AB   | A(G): F-d         |
| d                             | AB AB AB'  | D: C-A            |
| x9. 'Heu nobis' (MT 31a)      | AB CD CD EF CD CD EF CD  | ()                |
| (MT 31b)                      | 4(AB CD CD)  | G: F-f            |
| (MT 31c)                      | AB CD CD EF <sup>´</sup> CD <sup>´</sup> CD EF <sup>´</sup> CD                                     | D: C-c            |
| (MT 31d)                      | .. .. .F CD CD EF CD   | D: C-c            |
| (MT 31e)                      | AB CD CD EB CD CD EB CD CD   | D: C-c            |
| (MT 31f)                      | AB CD CD EB CD CD E'B CD CD  | D: C-c            |
| x10. 'Heu me misera' (MT 28)  | AB A'BC DE DE DE DE' DE A' FE'C FE'C A'GC HIJ HIJ DE''K HE''K HE''H' A'A'A' HE''J HEJ' HEJ GGG FC' | D: <u>A-G</u>     |

(ii) Simple forms with melismas

|                               |                           |        |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|--------|
| b1. 'Plange Castella' (MT 59) | A BCD EFG HIJ             | G: F-g |
| f2. 'Eclipsim passus' (MT 18) | AB CD EF GH I J K H J B'L | G: D-f |
| b3. 'Rex obiit' (MT 66)       | ABCDEF GD'H'I             | G: F-a |
| b4. 'O monialis' (MT 51)      | ABCDEFGH                  | G: D-a |
| b5. 'Quis dabit' (MT 63)      | ABCDE                     | F: E-a |

(iii) Complex forms with opening or closing melismas or a cauda

f denotes a planctus from I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240)  
b denotes a planctus from E-BUlh no number (ca.1300)



| <u>Type</u>                  | <u>Form</u>   | <u>Mode/Range</u> |
|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| f1. 'Anglia planctus' (MT 8) | <u>AB</u> <u>B'C</u> DE B'F <u>B</u><br>DB' <u>EE'</u> B'D' GB' <u>B'</u>   | G: C-f            |
| f2. 'Turmas arment' (MT 72)  | A B C D E F G<br><u>H I</u> J K L M N <u>O</u><br>P Q R S T U<br>V W X Y Z a b c d e f<br>g h i j k<br>l m n o p q r s                          | G: D-a            |
| f3. 'Jerusalem' (MT 40)      | A B <u>C</u> D E F G <u>H</u> I J K L<br>M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z<br>a b c d e F'<br>f g h I' i J'<br>j k l j' m F''<br>n L' <u>F'</u> o p q | G: D-g            |
| f4. 'O mors' (MT 52)         | A <u>B</u> C <u>D</u> E <u>D'</u> F A' G E'<br>H G' I <u>J</u> J' K <u>L</u> M N O<br>P Q R S T U V W X Y                                       | G: F-g            |
| f5. 'Alabastrum' (MT 7)      | ABC <u>DB'E</u> FGH IJK<br><u>KB'</u> <u>L MND'</u> <u>QL'P</u> <u>QM'R</u><br>STU VWB' XT'V' YD'Z  | G: D-g            |
| f6. 'Sol eclipsim' (MT 70)   | <u>A</u> B C <u>D</u> <u>A'</u> E C' <u>F</u><br>G H I J K <u>L</u> M N O P Q K' <u>R</u>   | G: D-a            |

C SEQUENCES

(i) Lais

1. 'Abrahe' (MT 4)

( )

1a ABCD

1b ABCD

1c ABCD DE

2a FG FG DE

2b FG EG DE

2c FG FG DE

3a HI HI JKL JKL MNO MNO

3b HI HI JKL JKL MNO MNO

4. PQ PQ

2. 'Infelices' (MT 37)

( )

1a AB AB CD CD

1b AB AB CD CD

\* letters underlined or with a dot denote melodies with refrains.

2a EE FE

2b EE FE

3a GHIJ GHIJ

3b GHIJ GHIJ

4a KL KL

4b KL KL

5a MNO

5b MNO

5c MNO

5d MNO

5e MNO

3. 'Ad festas' (MT 5a-b)

\*G: F-g: 1a-8a

I 1a AAB AAB AAB AAB

2a CDE FDG FDG FDG

3a HIJ HIJ

2b CDE FDG FDG FDG

3b HIJ HIJ

2c CDE FDG FDG FDG

IIA 4a KKKK

5a A'LM A'LM A'LM

6a KK NK NK

7a KK NK

8a OP OP O'P

4b KK

5b A'LM A'LM A'LM

IIB 4c KK

5c A'LM A'LM A'LM

6b KK NK NK

7b KK NK

7c KK NK

8b O'P O'P O'P

4d KK

5d A'LM A'LM A'LM

6c KK NK NK

III 9. QR QR QR

10a STU STU VTU

11a WXY W'XY WXY

10a STU STU VTU

11b WXY W'XY WXY

12a ZZZ' ab.ab ab

12b ZZZ' ab ab ab

13. cccc

14a ddef ddef

15a gh gh

14a ddef ddef

15b gh gh

IV 1b AAB AAB A''AB' A''AB'

2d CDE FDG FDG FDG

1c AAB AAB A''AB' A''AB'

2e CDE FDG FDG FDG

Type/Form

Mode/Range

4. 'Abissus' (MT 2)

()

|   |    |             |    |    |             |
|---|----|-------------|----|----|-------------|
| I | 1a | ABC DEF     | II | 1a | ABC DEF     |
|   | 1b | ABC DEF     |    | 1b | ABC DEF     |
|   | 2a | GGGH        |    | 2a | GGGH        |
|   | 2b | GGGH        |    | 2b | GGGH        |
|   | 3a | IJK LJK MJK |    | 3a | IJK LJK MJK |
|   | 3b | IJK LJK MJK |    | 3b | IJK LJK MJK |
|   | 3c | IJK LJK MJK |    | 3c | IJK LJK MJK |

5. 'Abner' (MT 3)

()

1. AB AB

2a CC AB AB

2b CC AB AB

3a DEF GHI

3b DEF GHI

3c DEF GHI

3d DEF GHI

4a JK JK'

4b JK JK'

5a LMNO

5b LMNO

5c LMNO

5d LMNO

6. 'Dolorum solatium' (MT 17a)

G: D-g

(MT 17b)

()

MT 17a

(MT 17c)

G: D-g

1a AAB

1b AAB

1c AAB

1d AAB

2a CC DE DE

2b CC DE DE

2c CC DE DE

2d CC DE DE

MT 17c

CC DE DF

CC DE DF

CC DE DF

CC DE DF

3a FF GG'

3b FF GG'

3c FF GG'

3d FF GG'

G'G HI

GG HI

GG HI

GG HI

4a HIJG

4b HIJG

4c HIJG

4d HIJG

JKLM

JKLM

JKLM

JKLM

5a KKKK LLJM HHJM

5b KKKK LLJM HHJM

5c KKKK LLJM LLJM

NNNN OO LM J'KLM

NNNN OO LM J'KLM

NNNN OO'LM OO LM

6a NOP

6a NOP

PQR

PQR

| <u>Type/Form</u> |                                      | <u>Mode/Range</u>     |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 7.               | 'De profundis' (MT 12a),<br>(MT 12b) | D: C-d, G: D-d<br>( ) |
| <u>MT 12a</u>    |                                      |                       |
| 1a               | AB AB C                              |                       |
| 1b               | AB AB C                              |                       |
| 1c               | AB AB C                              |                       |
| 1d               | AB AB C                              |                       |
| <u>MT 12b</u>    |                                      |                       |
| 2a               | DE FG                                |                       |
| 3.               | HI JK                                |                       |
| 2b               | DE FG                                |                       |
| 4a               | LK'                                  |                       |
| 4b               | LK'                                  |                       |
| 4c               | LK'                                  |                       |
| 4d               | LK'                                  |                       |
| 5a               | MM NN                                |                       |
| 5b               | MM NN                                |                       |
| 5c               | MM NN                                |                       |
| 5d               | MM NN                                |                       |
| 6a               | OP QP                                |                       |
| 6b               | OP QP                                |                       |
| 6c               | OP QP                                |                       |
| 6d               | OP QP                                |                       |
| 7.               | RST                                  |                       |
| 8a               | UV                                   |                       |
| 8b               | UV                                   |                       |
| 9a               | WX                                   |                       |
| 9b               | WX                                   |                       |
| 9c               | WY                                   |                       |

|    |                                 |             |
|----|---------------------------------|-------------|
| 8. | 'Planctus ante nescia' (MT 58a) | G: D-g      |
|    | (MT 58b)                        | G: C-g      |
|    | (MT 58c)                        | G: D-g      |
|    | (MT 58d)                        | G: D-g      |
|    | (MT 58e) (1a & 1b only)         | F: C-b flat |
|    | (MT 58g)                        | ( )         |

| <u>MT 58g</u> |         |
|---------------|---------|
| 1a            | ABC     |
| 1b            | ABC     |
| 2a            | DEFG    |
| 2b            | DEFG    |
| 3.            | HIJ HIJ |
| 4a            | KLKM    |
| 4b            | KLKM    |
| 5a            | NOPQ    |
| 5b            | NOPQ    |
| 6a            | RSTUV   |
| 6b            | RSTUV   |

| MT 58a |                    | MT 58b         |       | MT 58c  |       | MT 58d          |            |
|--------|--------------------|----------------|-------|---------|-------|-----------------|------------|
| Form   | Range              | Form           | Range | Form    | Range | Form            | Range      |
| 1a     | AA'B (b) D-c:7     |                | C-c:8 |         | E-c:6 |                 | (A) D-c:7  |
| 1b     | AA'B               |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 2a     | CDEF (b) D-e:9     |                |       |         |       |                 | (A) D-e:9  |
| 2b     | CDEF               |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 3a     | GHI GHI (c) F-c:5  |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 3b     | GHI GHI            |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 2c     | CDEF (b) D-e:9     |                |       |         |       |                 | (A) D-e: 9 |
| 2d     | CDEF               |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 3c     | GHI GHI (c) F-c:5  |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 3d     | GHI GHI            |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 4a     | JJ'JK (d) G-e:6    |                |       | JJ'J''K |       |                 |            |
| 4b     | JJ'JK              |                |       | JJ'J''K |       |                 |            |
| 5a     | LMNO (g) F-g:9     |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 5b     | LMNO               |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 6a     | PPQDR (b) F-g:9    |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 6b     | PPQDR              |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 7a     | L'L''SS'T(g) G-g:8 |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 7b     | L'L''SS'T          |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 8a     | CM'UV (b) F-f:8    | CM'UV          |       | CM'UT   |       | ZM'VU           |            |
| 8b     | CM'UV              | CM'UV          |       | CM'UT   |       | ZM'VU           |            |
| 9a     | CL'WX (b) F-g:9    | CL'WU          |       | CL'WU   |       | ZL'WX           |            |
| 9b     | CL'WX              | CL'WU          |       | CL'WU   |       | ZL'WX           |            |
| 10a    | Yaba' (d) F-f:8    |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 10b    | Yaba'              |                |       |         |       |                 |            |
| 11a    | cdcDR (c) F-g:9    | cDcDR'         |       |         |       | cdcUA           |            |
| 11b    | cdcDR              | cDcDR'         |       |         |       | cdcUA           |            |
| 12.    | AA'ef (b) D-c:7    | A''A'ef; D-d:8 |       |         |       | ee'fg (G) D-c:7 |            |

NOTE: Only significant variations in the formal makeup of these four versions of 'Planctus ante nescia' are given. All begin with essentially the same melodies, though MT 58d has occasional differences owing to the fact that its initial note is not always the same as that of the other three. Bracketed letters indicate the initial note of each versicle. The range of each versicle follows this. The number which follows this is the interval.

| <u>Type/Form</u>   | <u>Mode/Range</u>                    |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 9. 'Samson dux fortissime' (MT 67a)-<br>(MT 67b)<br>(MT 67c) | G: D-g<br>( )<br>G: D-g (incomplete) |
| MT 67a   | MT 67c                               |
| 1a AA BC BC DDD  | 1a <u>AA BC BC DDD</u>               |
| 1b AA BC BC DDDD   | 1b <u>AA BC BC DDDD</u>              |

\* An analysis of this is not included owing to the fact that the unheighted neumes in which it survives do not provide clear enough indications to enable a reconstruction to be made.

MT 67a

- 2a EFGH
- 2b EFGH
- 2c EFGH
- 3. JJJJ
- 4a AAA JJJ
- 4b KKJ JD'D'
- 5a MNOH'
- 5b MNOH'
- 6. KK JJ
- 7. PP QR QR KR
- 8a KKS
- 8b KKS
- 8c KKS
- 8d KKS
- 9. TT UU KR KR V
- 10. WW XX QR KR
- 11. YZ abcd
- 12. JJ KR V'e d'R' KR KR UHUH
- 13a JJ ff
- 13b JJ ff
- 14. ggh ggh KR KR
- 15. gggh gggh JJ QK Yi
- 16. Y'Y'Y'j kkkh KR
- 17. JJ KR KR
- 18. KK RR'
- 19a llll
- 19b mmmm
- 20. KR nn KR
- 21. Vi

MT 67c

- 2a EFGH
- 2b EFGH
- 2c EFGH
- 3. JJJJ
- 4. KKK 5a J(:)J
- (5a) LL . 5b JJ LL
- 6a MNOP
- 6b MNOP
- 
- 7. KK KK JJ JJ
- 8a QQR
- 8b QQR
- 
- 
- 9. SS SS JJ JJ
- 10. SS QQ JJ QQ
- 11. TT S'U S'U
- 12. JJ QQ QQ'JJ ---

Note: melodies of MT 67c which are underlined are the same as those parallel in MT 67a.

(ii) Normal sequences

f1. 'Omnis in lacrimas' (MT 55)

- 1a ABC ABC DE FGHI
- 2a JF'KB' LF''MNE'F''O
- 3a PQRE''STUVW
- 4. XYZabb'cZ'

Mode/Range

G: F(E)-g

f2. 'Divina' (MT 13)

- 1a A BC DE FG HI
- 2a JK LM NO L'P QR
- 3a J'S TU VW XY Z

G: D-f

x3. 'Heu pius pastor' (MT 32a)

D: C-d

- 1a AA R
- 1b AA R
- 2a BB R
- 2b BB R
- 3a CC R
- 3b CC R
- 4. DD R
- 5. A'E R
- 6. FG R

(MT 32b)

D: C-c

- 1. AB R
- 2. CD R
- 3. AB' R
- 4. EF G
- 5. HI J

(MT 32c)

F: E-f

- 1a AB R
- 1b AB' R
- 2. CD R

4. 'Flete fideles anime' (MT 20a)

()

(MT 20b)

()

(MT 20c) (reconstruction)

D: A-d (incomplete)

(MT 20d)

G(D): A-e

(MT 20e)

(MT 20f)

F: C-c (5a only)

(MT 20g)

D: D-c (5a only)

|    | <u>MT 20d</u>  | <u>MT 20c</u>    | <u>MT 20b</u> | <u>MT 20a</u> |
|----|----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1a | ABCDE          | ABCDE            | ABCDE         | ABCDE         |
| 1b | ABCDE          | ABCDE            | ABCDE         | ABCDE         |
| 2a | FGHE'IJHH'KE'' | FGHE'IJH'H''KE'' | FGFGHIJKLM    | FGHIJKLL'MN   |
| 2b | FGHE'IJHH'KE'' |                  | FGFGHIJKLM    |               |
| 3a | LL MNO PM'Q    | LL MNO PM'Q      | NOP QRS       |               |
| 3b | MNO PM'Q       | MNO PM'Q         | NOP QRS       |               |
| 4a | RJ'STI'J''UVW  | RJ'STI'J''UVW    | TUTUVWXWX     |               |
| 4b | RJ'STI'J''UVW  |                  | TUTUVWXWX     |               |
| 5a | MNOIE'XYZ      | MNOIE'XYZ        | YZ aab eab    | (OPQRSTUV)    |
| 5b | MNOIE'XYZ      |                  | YZ aab aab    |               |
| 6a | aabcdef        |                  | ccdefgh       | (WW'XYZab)    |
| 6b | aabcdef        |                  | ccdefgh       |               |

Type/Form (tenor only)

Mode/Range

Polyphony

A STROPHIC MELODIES

|      |                             |                         |    |                   |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|----|-------------------|
| fw1. | 'Eclipsim patitur' (MT 19a) | AB CD EB' FG HI J K     | D: | 1 A-A<br>2 A-d    |
| fw2. | 'In occasu' (MT 36a)        | AB CB DE FG HI JK LM A' | D: | 1 C-d<br>2 C-d    |
| fw3. | 'Pange melos' (MT 57a)      | AB AB CD EF G           | G: | 1 F-d<br>2 D(C)-d |

B THROUGH-COMPOSED MELODIES

|     |                      |  |    |                |
|-----|----------------------|--|----|----------------|
| f1. | 'Regi regum' (MT 64) |  | G: | 1 E-g<br>2 E-g |
| 1.  | A BA' BA'' C DE FG   |  |    |                |
| 2.  | H I JK LI' MN OP     |  |    |                |
| 3.  | Q RS TO' UV WS' X    |  |    |                |

C SEQUENCES

|      |                            |  |    |                          |
|------|----------------------------|--|----|--------------------------|
| fw1. | 'O felix Bituria' (MT 49a) |  | G: | 1 F-b'<br>2 D-g<br>3 D-g |
| 1a   | AB AB CD EF G              |  |    |                          |
| 2a   | H IJ KL MN OP              |  |    |                          |
| 3.   | QR I'S TU VW XY Za b       |  |    |                          |

From the above analysis it can be seen that each of the three main formal types is well represented by planctus from this period. Moreover no form is restricted to a particular social context, the main ones of which are the Notre Dame repertory and religious dramas. There are, however, differences in the formal characteristics of examples within these three main categories: which do relate generally to the repertory to which a planctus belongs. With only four exceptions - 'Libram' (MT 42), 'Mentem meam' (MT 44), 'Organa' (MT 56), and 'Voce tristi' (MT 73a-b) - all the monophonic strophic planctus and each of the simple through-composed examples belong to religious dramas. The monophonic through-composed planctus with melismas as well as the polyphonic examples are either from E-BULh no number (ca.1300),

w denotes examples from D-W Helmst. 628 (s.xiii mid.).



I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240), or D-W Helmst.628 (ca.1300), the latter two representing the bulk of the Notre Dame repertory. The precise context, or contexts, of the sequences cannot always be established: two belong to the Notre Dame repertory ('Omnis in lacrimas' (MT 55) and 'O felix Bituria' (MT 49)), one to Easter plays ('Heu pius pastor' (MT 32), two to a proser ('Dolorum solatium' (MT MT 17a) and 'De profundis' (MT 12a and 12b)), and a further one to a liturgical procession ('Flete fideles anime' (MT 20d)). However, as indicated in Chapter Two, examples such as these which survive in more than one manuscript source do not occur in the same type of book on each occasion. It is thus apparent that they could have several different social purposes, and that the choice of the sequence form no longer had the close association with the liturgy which the early ecclesiastical sequence enjoyed.

The monophonic strophic (and most polyphonic strophic), simple through-composed and sequence forms are each typified by exact, or almost exact, repetition of musical phrases and are not normally characterised by the use of short or extended melismas. This is in marked contrast to the majority of the through-composed forms. There are inevitably exceptions in both types: 'Heu dolor' (MT 23) - in a simple through-composed form - is not typified by repetition; while a number of the complex through-composed forms include a few repetitions, though they are rarely exact.

As in the two previous periods a small number of strophic examples are notated throughout, rather than merely in the first stanza: that is, 'Libram' (MT 42), 'Organa' (MT 56), and 'Voce tristi' (MT 73a-b). Only in the first are there any significant variations from stanza to stanza, thus raising again the question of the flexibility of the strophic form in some instances (discussed in previous sections). Although there are some differences in the number of neume units per musical phrase in 'Organa' these appear to be repeated notes added to compensate for irregularities in the text:<sup>40</sup> otherwise the neumes employed for each stanza are exactly the same. Thus rather than reflecting variations from stanza to stanza the occasional differences in this melody point to the flexibility of the melodic line: it can be expanded or shortened slightly to accommodate irregularities in the text. A further type of flexibility is in evidence in 'Cuncta sorores' (MT 11) and 'Lamentemus' (MT 41). The melody of the former is provided only for the first stanza and the first three and a half phrases of the second: the rest of the text is then written out as prose. As can be seen from the

text (L22). . in Appendix C there are some inconsistencies in the number of lines per stanza, that is, in three stanzas consisting of four lines each, and in one of six lines at the end of the text. The manuscript provides no indication as to which melodies should be used for these in performance. Since their rhyme scheme is systematic and the sense uninterrupted it seems unlikely that the text is incomplete. In 'Lamentemus' the second of its three stanzas consists of only three, not four, lines. Each stanza is however notated. The musical solution here is simply to omit the fourth musical phrase in the second stanza. Some such procedure must therefore have been adopted for 'Cuncta sorores'. The general effect is of the strophic structure being varied, once its basic outline has been established.

The forms of the strophic examples can normally be simplified either to AAB or to AB. There is thus some evidence that planctus of this period were composed in forms much used by contemporary song writers. Two planctus - 'Pange lingua detestando' (L118) and 'Orbata patre' (L115) - should be mentioned at this point. These are both contrafacta, modelled on existing hymns. That 'Pange lingua detestando' is a contrafactum of Fortunatus's 'Pange lingua gloriosa proelium certaminis' is to some extent conjecture: however apart from adopting the formal structure of this famous hymn it also echoes its opening lines. Whether it was actually sung to the melody of the hymn can only be guessed at. However in the manuscript containing 'Orbata patre' marginal instructions, written in the same hand as the text specify that it was to be sung to the melody of Ambrose's 'Deus creator omnium'.<sup>41</sup> This has some general interest: although, as I will show, a number of planctus from religious dramas are occasionally derived from existing musical material, the majority of planctus melodies from this period appear to be newly composed. These two contrafacta - both planctus at the death of non-fictional personages thus provide something of an exception.

As can be seen from the analysis there is no fixed musical form adopted in through-composed examples: indeed, occasionally they are oda continuata. Instead a remarkable degree of melodic inventiveness is in evidence. This statement however requires some qualification: unfortunately the problem raised in the previous chapter in relation to so-called through-composed forms cannot be resolved in relation to their musical settings. Each of the through-composed examples has only one manuscript source: thus it is an open question whether the simple forms with short melismas were, in fact, strophic songs, and some of the complex forms actually sequences.

Two main types of sequences can be distinguished: the lai and the 'strict' sequence.<sup>42</sup> The lai is typified by the repetition of versicles no, or up to five times; within the versicle it is also characterised by the repetition of short melodic units which may or may not recur in subsequent versicles. In contrast, the 'strict' sequence is typified by an adherence to the double versicle structure of the early ecclesiastical sequence. Although there is repetition of melodic phrases on some occasions it is not as systematic and persistent as in the lai. Indeed, a lai versicle may be based on one musical phrase only, or, depending on its scale, it may include as many as eight different phrases (each of which will however be repeated at least once). In contrast, the versicle of the 'strict' sequence is normally made up of at least five phrases, and often many more: these are only occasionally repeated.

One further issue should also be raised in relation to form: this concerns the transmission of the relatively few melodies which survive in more than one manuscript source. As one might anticipate, the polyphonic examples, transmitted in an essentially written tradition, vary little from source to source. The lai and the five melodies belonging to Easter plays which have more than one manuscript source - 'Omnipotens' (MT 54), 'Cum venissem' (MT 10), 'Heu misere' (MT 29), 'Heu nobis' (MT 31), and 'Heu pius pastor' (MT 32) - however pose a number of problems.

The two heightened settings of 'Samson dux fortissime' (MT 67a and c) begin with the same formal structure and share the same musical phrases. However from versicle four they begin to diversify somewhat, although their texts are made up of essentially the same material. Unfortunately the Norman-Sicilian version (I-PLn I.B 16 (s.xiii ex.): MT 67c) is incomplete, breaking off in the middle of the twelfth versicle. The English version (GB-Lbl Harley 978 (ca.1250): MT 67a) contains more versicles in some parts than the Norman-Sicilian one (for example, in the eighth versicle). This does not normally affect the general musical structure of the song, but at certain points the same melodies are not employed in each version at the same point: clearly they share a significant number of musical phrases, but both also have unique melodies. At one point in particular (versicle four in the English version; versicles four and five in the Norman-Sicilian one) the combinations of melodies are such as to suggest that the formal design was conceived differently in each version: though not the same at this point and at some others (as illustrated in the analysis) the two versions are consistent within themselves. On the basis of this evidence and considering the incomplete state of the Norman-Sicilian version it would be unwise to conclude too

readily that the English melody represents an elaboration of the Norman-Sicilian one. Although this is how it may appear it seems more likely that the two versions represent two different traditions, as opposed to one being a corruption of the other. That this long and complex planctus received different treatments, both textually and musically, is further attested by the Weingarten manuscript (D-S1 HB I Asc.95 (s.xiii)). In contrast, the other lais with more than one manuscript source - 'Dolorum solatium' (MT 17), 'De profundis' (MT 12) and 'Planctus ante nescia' (MT 58) - are relatively consistent in their formal design: discrepancies in their formal make-up normally result from melodic differences from version to version. These differences are slight but nevertheless they affect the overall structure of the whole: for example, in 'Planctus ante nescia' melody U, distinguished by the rising triad FAc, is very similar to melody X, as in the St.Ouen de Rouen (F-Rm A 506 (s.xii): MT 58a) and Narbonne (GB-Lbl Additional 36881 (s.xii-s.xiii): MT 58d) sources. However in the Notre Dame de Lyre (F-EV 39 (s.xiii) and F-EV 2 (s.xiii): MT 58b) and St.Victor (F-Pm 1002 (s.xiii in.): MT 58c) versions melody X is clearly substituted by melody U (with its opening rising triad). This type of discrepancy could be the result of bad memories, but it could equally reflect a more flexible approach to melody; and possibly the different ways in which performers varied an already familiar tune.

Although 'Omnipotens' (MT 54) and 'Cum venissem' (MT 10) remain formally the same throughout their history, the various versions of each are melodically distinct, even though they are based on essentially the same musical Gestalts (see the comparative transcriptions of each: MT 54i and MT 10g). Moreover the tonal centre of 'Omnipotens' is G, not F, in two of the later versions under discussion: those in the plays from Origny-Sainte-Benoîte (E-SQ 86 (s.xiv)) and Egmont (NL-DHk 71.J.70 (s.xv)). The significance of these discrepancies is best seen in relation to the remaining three examples from Easter plays with more than one source, in which there are quite obvious formal differences from version to version, as well as melodic and tonal differences.

'Heu nobis' (MT 31) it could be argued should be described as strophic: but strictly speaking it is not. In its earliest extant sources the first two phrases of the first stanza are not used again as the first two phrases of the second stanza - although the remaining phrases of the former occur in succession in the latter. Moreover, the

third stanza is two phrases shorter than the other two stanzas. The textual history of this planctus<sup>43</sup> is not such as to cast any clear light on how it originated. Though it could have developed through accretion, the existing evidence from both musical and non-musical sources suggests that it was originally conceived in this irregular form. In fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century sources the melody and its corresponding text were regularised in different ways: in the Origny-Sainte-Benoîte version (MT 31b) the stanzas are of equal length and each sung to the same melody throughout, in the idiom of a strophic song. In the two latest copies - D-TRs 1973 (ca.1400): MT 31e and CS-Pu 1.B.12 (ca.1384): MT 31f - another line has been added to the third stanza so that it is the same length as the others; the melody is almost entirely strophic, except that phrase one of the first stanza and phrase one of the second are still different. (see the comparative transcription of this planctus: MT 31g).

In its earliest extant source (F-O 201 (s.xiii): MT 32a) 'Heu pius pastor' begins as a sequence. After three pairs of versicles the sequence form appears to be abandoned; though some of the melodies of the remaining three versicles are derived from those of the first three pairs of versicles they are effectively through-composed. If this version represents its original state, one can only conclude that the last three versicles were an afterthought; if not, then they may represent an addition provided by the compiler of this manuscript. Whether its formal shape in the Dublin and Braunschweig sources (EIRE-Dm Z.4.2.20 (s.xv), GB-Ob Rawl.Liturg.d.iv (s.xiv): MT 32b - both essentially the same - and D-Wa VII.B.203 (s.xiv)<sup>2</sup>): MT 32c) indicates an indifference to its previous formal design; the absence of the second part of each versicle; or the fact that the French source is not actually the original source, seems to me a matter of speculation. In the Dublin sources it appears to be treated as a through-composed melody. However in the Braunschweig source it begins as a sequence, opening with a pair of versicles, but there is only one further versicle provided. The opening pair of versicles are set to the texts of versicles 1a and 2a of the French version, suggesting that though it appears to begin as a sequence this is fortuitous; more importantly it is written in quite different melodies whose tonal centre differs from that of both the French and Dublin versions.

In the case of 'Heu misere' (MT 29) there are two distinct musical and textual traditions: one Norman-French and the other German. In the former the earliest sources are entirely through-composed, while subsequent versions become successively more regular through the use

of repetition. The German tradition, which on the evidence of the manuscript dates appears to be a later development, includes only one stanza from the Norman-French text: 'Heu redemptio Israhel'. Initially it is simply one short exclamatory phrase, though it is treated more elaborately in the later Prague version (CS-Pu 1.B.12 (ca.1384): MT 291).

On the basis of the musical evidence it seems to me that the different, surviving versions of these five planctus did not develop their individual identities merely through corrupt channels of transmission. It seems more likely that they were adapted deliberately: the same melodic Gestalt was varied and ornamented according to the taste or requirements of the individual compiler of an Easter play. Considering that one of the most notable changes to occur is the transposition of essentially the same melody into a different mode, it seems most improbable that a particular mode was associated with these examples, as Lipphardt suggested.<sup>44</sup> However this conclusion has to be tentative since the extant evidence is so thin.

From the analyses it is evident that no mode is consistently employed. Most examples are in G or D: these however happen to be the most commonly used modes of the sequence, lai and Notre Dame conductus.<sup>45</sup> There are very few examples in other modes and these, without exception, are found in religious dramas. Here mode can often be related to the role of the lament in the play. In the play of the Holy Innocents from F-0 201 (s.xiii) the laments are all in G. This may be related to the fact that this play includes Notker's sequence 'Quid tu Virgo' (MT 62a), as does the Freising play of the Innocents (in D-Mbs 6264 (s.xi-s.xii), of which the lament 'Heu ... quid' forms a part.<sup>46</sup> The compiler of the former has not however treated 'Quid tu Virgo' as a sequence, but provided a somewhat different melody which on occasions appears to have affinities with that of 'Quid tu Virgo'.<sup>47</sup> In contrast the Freising compiler seems to have used Notker's melody.<sup>48</sup> Whatever the explanation for the choice of the G mode for the passages of lament, the compiler of F-0 201 (s.xiii) seems to have individualised Rachel's planctus by writing them all in the same mode. It could not be argued that he uses mode to individualise the personages of the play: Herod sings in E and D, while Rachel herself sings the antiphon 'Anxiatus in me' (Hesb.1442) in the fourth mode, as is conventional for this chant.

'Jam moratur' (MT 39) from F-201 (s.xiii) is quite simply written in the melody, form and mode employed throughout this strophic play. In Filius Getronis from the same manuscript the planctus of Euphrosina

for the son she assumes to be dead is one of few items in this play in c. The others are the songs of her comforters, that of her husband when he prays for the recovery of his son, and finally that of his son who complains from his prison cell and is soon released through the good offices of St. Nicholas. For the most part each individual is distinguished by his own melody, but when in despair both father and son take up the melody associated with Euphrosina's grief. Finally when restored to her son, Euphrosina sings her joy in a different melody. One melody, the mode of which is infrequently employed in the play, is used to highlight moments of grief. In the Easter play from this manuscript the two planctus are both in D; although they are not the only items in this mode the vast majority of others are in G or F. Since the first, third and final phrase of 'Heu dolor' (MT 23) appear to be derived from 'Heu pius pastor' (MT 32a) the two planctus are closely associated with one another.<sup>49</sup> The compiler of F-0 201 (s.xiii) (or compilers) thus seems to have used modality as a means of emphasising the planctus in his plays.

In the Tours Easter play the several planctus included in it are not in any one mode, that is, 'Omnipotens' (MT 54b), 'Heu misere' (MT 29b), 'Lamentemus' (MT MT 41), 'Heu miseri' (MT 30), 'Heu me misera' (MT 28) and 'Tu Pater' (MT 71). Even the latter four items which are unique to this play are not each in the same mode. However, there is perhaps some significance in the choice of the D mode for 'Heu me misera'. It includes the first two lines of 'O quam magno'<sup>50</sup> a prosa which precedes a visitatio sepulchri ceremony from Bourges (F-Pn lat.1255 (s.xiii), f.151v). It is not possible to establish beyond doubt which of the two has priority. However, if it is 'O quam magno', then it is especially interesting that the Tours compiler should have built up the melody for 'Heu me misera' around that of its first two lines, and, more importantly, that he should have transposed them down a fifth into D, rather than retaining their original modality.

In some of the longer examples there is some variation in the mode employed: for example, 'De profundis' (MT 12a). Here the tonal centre of the first five sets of versicles is D; however it is quite clearly G in the last three sets. Of special interest in several Notre Dame planctus is the occasional introduction and removal of a b flat. This does not affect the tonal centre of the piece, but certainly changes its tonal colour. It seems to represent a new way of creating tonal contrast within a composition. Anonymous II<sup>51</sup> interestingly notes that accidentals may be used not only for reasons of musica ficta, but also

for the sake of melodic beauty, that is, as an irregularly occurring variation; he actually cites the cantus coronatus as an example of this practice, a type of song to which the Notre Dame planctus seems to be closely related.<sup>52</sup>

That there was no mode or form used exclusively for the planctus in this period is self-evident. The forms and modes employed relate rather to the traditions of the repertories to which planctus belong. As in the case of form and mode there is no musical style exclusive to the planctus of this period either. Since style is ultimately much dependent on the scope or limits provided by the chosen form I will discuss it in relation to the formal categories outlined in the analysis. The general points made here are amplified in Chapter Six.

The monophonic strophic melodies are essentially syllabic with occasional concentrations of two- and three-note units; occasionally there are units made up of up to five notes, but these normally function as melodic ornamentation of a melody which is in outline syllabic. Movement is mostly by step with some intervals of a third, fourth or fifth: these serve to change the direction of the melody which is then normally balanced by stepwise movement. Although short, simple and therefore limited in scope variation is achieved in a number of different ways. The most common is through contrast of the chosen range; about three-quarters of the way through almost every melody in this group a climax is reached on the highest notes of the range; the melody then drops to the lower notes as it approaches the final cadence. The use of this technique is especially marked in 'Omnipotens' (MT 54). The first melody is repeated exactly in the second phrase; in the third phrase the highest point of the range is reached briefly before the final cadence. In this example there is also a refrain which contains a short melisma, and thus contrasts with the essentially syllabic make-up of the previous phrases. This technique is also used in 'Mentem meam' (MT 44) in conjunction with a further type of contrast. The first two phrases move across the entire range, but in contrary motion. Then, as if having exhausted this mode of variation interest centres on the upper part of the range: it is particularly narrow, spanning only a fifth; it is also purely syllabic and thus contrasts markedly with the larger note units both of the first two phrases and of the final phrase. Particularly noticeable in the first two phrases is the way in which descending or ascending two- or three-note units are followed by similar units in contrary motion. Except where there is repetition of the musical phrase



there are rarely instances of repeated cadence figures in these examples. There is however some use of one particular melodic formula, namely, the recitation figure. Melody A of 'Omnipotens' (MT 54) is essentially a slightly ornamented recitation melody. Although made up of larger note units 'Lamentemur' (MT 41) also begins with two like phrases which are in essence recitation melodies: each is slightly different owing to the varied ways in which two-, three- and four-note units are deployed. The most simple and consistent treatment of the recitation figure is in 'Heu ... michi' (MT 24). The entire melody is based on it. The first two phrases recite on e (the treatment of each varying slightly), and then the melody climbs higher to recite on g. Finally in the last phrase the melody again recites on e. The opening two-note units of phrases one and three act as passing notes leading to the point at which the melody becomes static, while the other two- to five-note units have a decorative function and provide contrast between the first two phrases. This type of figure permits a certain amount of flexibility as is in evidence in this example: the second phrase of the first stanza is set to a text which is one syllable shorter than the rest: this is accommodated by omitting one of the repeated notes on e.

The through-composed melodies can be divided into two main types: those which, like the strophic examples, are essentially syllabic, and those which are partially melismatic. The latter can be further subdivided according to the scale on which they are built: those made up of one stanza, and those consisting of a number of stanzaic units. The simple syllabic forms have much in common with the strophic examples and are, like the majority of these, all from religious dramas. In particular most are characterised by the use of recitation figures, which frequently provide a means of accommodating lines made up of irregular numbers of syllables. This is especially evident in 'Heu me misera' (MT 28). In these examples this type of flexibility is not restricted to the recitation figure. Melody seems to be sufficiently malleable that in more melodic phrases notes can be omitted to accommodate textual irregularities, as for example in 'Heu teneri' (MT 33) (compare the melody of 'Heu teneri partus' with that of 'Heu dulces nati'). On other occasions the melody is contracted in order that the same notes can be used for a shorter text, for example, phrase seven of 'Tu pater' (MT 71) is contracted in phrase nine. Alternatively the melody can be expanded, as for example in the tenth and eleventh phrases of 'Tu pater'. In contrast to the

strophic examples, cadence figures are frequently repeated: an obvious source of control in a form not always regulated by a text made up of lines in a consistent syllabic pattern. In the long planctus 'Heu me misera' (MT 28) several different cadence figures recur. In 'Heu teneri' (MT 33) and 'Heu ... quomodo' (MT 26) the repeated cadential figure is also treated as a motive in other phrases. In fact in these three examples the melodic unit is normally very short: the use of repetition is thus such as to identify them closely with the patterned style of the lai.

The style of the simple through-composed planctus has some features in common with the monophonic through-composed examples with short melismas: on the whole, however, the two types are quite distinct. Although in 'Eclipsim passus' (MT 18) and 'Rex obiit' (MT 66) there is repetition of the musical phrase, in both examples it is never exact: in fact, here the repeated phrases begin with the same notes as those of a previous phrase, but then normally diverge in such a way that the melodic material takes on a different tonal identity, and is thus varied. Hence although phrase 12 of 'Eclipsim passus' begins exactly as phrase 9 it differs from the fifth note unit onwards, cadencing on A, rather than on G. In the other examples it is more usual for each new phrase to begin on a different note; in instances where a phrase opens with a note which has already introduced a previous phrase, there is normally contrary motion.

In each of the five examples under consideration there is at least one cadence figure which is repeated; however, though composed essentially of the same notes, it is frequently treated with different degrees of elaboration: for example, in the last three phrases of 'Plange Castella' (MT 59) the cadence figure consists of the basic shape: Ab AG; in the penultimate line this is elaborated to: GAb cbc bc AG. In the first three phrases of 'O monialis' (MT 51) the cadence is more elaborate, but varied at each occurrence: in phrase one it is GA AbcbAG; in phrase two Abbc bcb AG; and in phrase three AbcbA Ab AG. On account of the differing treatments given to the cadential figures in these examples the effect of their repetition is such that they are not as obtrusive as the exactly repeated cadences of, for example, 'Heu teneri' (MT 33) and 'Heu ... quomodo' (MT 26).

Melodic movement is chiefly by step with only occasionally the interval of a third or a fifth. However, this apparent melodic smoothness seems to result because of the presence of the short melismas. Each melody could be simplified into a purely syllabic one, the melisma

acting normally as an embellishment which bridges the intervals existing between the notes of the basic elements of the melody. For example, the second phrase of 'O monialis' (MT 51) could be simplified to: b d e e G G A G. The melisma on the fourth note (edcbA G bA) thus fills out what would otherwise be a leap of a sixth between the fourth and fifth note units. In the first phrase of 'Rex obiit' (MT 66) the melody could be reduced to f g g c d d; here the short melisma on the third note (gfed) prevents the leap of a fifth obtruding.

The melismas not only provide a resource for creating melodic fluidity, but they also present occasions for contrast with purely syllabic passages and frequently introduce motive recall, mostly at pitch, but not always. In 'Rex obiit' (MT 66) the descending figure just mentioned (gfed) recurs in the fourth and eighth phrases. In addition a longer descending figure, normally varied slightly on each occasion occurs in phrase one ('labitur'), phrase five ('fons'), phrase eight ('manibus'), and phrase nine ('omnibus'). In 'Plange Castella' (MT 59) a figure in the opening melisma (Gab bA) recurs in phrase five ('plangunt'), and phrase eight ('etate'), though never at pitch. In 'Eclipsim passus' (MT 18) motive recall seems to have more than a decorative function. Here a further element of variation is to be found through tonal contrast. As in a number of the complex through-composed examples, accidentals are added and removed in this melody, thus changing its tonal colour, though not its tonal centre. Two motives in particular serve to highlight this: bAG (or b flat AG) and Abc bAG. At each point where an accidental occurs one of these motives is employed. Since they both include the note b, they usefully confirm the absence or presence of a flat. One particularly interesting feature of the opening and closing melismas of 'Quis dabit' (MT 63) and 'O monialis' (MT 51), respectively, is the use of sequential passages: here the melisma has a distinctly melodic role. Quite often the short melismas of these examples sweep up and down the range in each phrase. Therefore, although the melodic climax can to some extent be located in a passage in the upper part of the range it is much less noticeable than in the simple through-composed examples.

The most important source of contrast in this type of melody is thus between syllabic and melismatic passages. This is highlighted through the varied directions in which each melodic line proceeds and through the use of motive recall. The melody seems to arrive at a conclusion through a sophisticated process of exhausting the available means of contrast, rather than aiming for a clearly defined climax.

The complex through-composed melodies differ from the type just discussed in that they are principally syllabic, melismas normally occurring at the beginning or end of a phrase. This affects melodic movement to some extent: there are noticeably more leaps in 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (MT 40) and 'Turmas arment' (MT 72), the two longest examples, and also in 'Anglia planctus' (MT 8) and 'Alabastrum' (MT 7), although in the others movement is generally stepwise with occasional intervals of the third. In each example there is at least one recurring cadence figure and frequent use of motive recall, both devices providing an element of control and contrast in what are otherwise normally oda continuata. The phrases with recurring cadences are marked on the above analysis. However, individually varied each example may be the fact that certain cadences are particularly frequently used suggests that certain stock melodic phrases informed their composition: for example, one based on the notes (Ab AG) FFG, as in 'Sol eclipsim' (MT 70), 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (MT 40), 'Turmas arment' (MT 72), and 'Anglia planctus' (MT 8); and another Abd found in 'Jerusalem Jerusalem' (MT 40) and 'O mors' (MT 52).

The figure AAG recurs as a motive in 'Anglia planctus' (MT 8) in several positions: in the opening melisma ('Anglia'), in phrase 1 ('itera'), phrase 3 ('considera'), phrase 9 ('luctui'), and phrase 12 ('generaliter cernitur'); in 'Turmas arment' (MT 72) there are several motives (especially in the first section): bbA, gec and a figure of three descending notes which does not always occur at the same pitch; the latter is also found in both 'O mors' (MT 52) and 'Alabastrum' (MT 7), while in 'Sol eclipsim' (MT 70) this and several others are also used: particularly frequent in the first section are figures making up the pattern  $\cdot \overset{\curvearrowright}{\cdot} \overset{\curvearrowleft}{\cdot}$  (for example, AG GA, AG Ab(flat) and bA Ab), and in the second section  $\cdot \overset{\curvearrowright}{\cdot} \overset{\curvearrowleft}{\cdot}$  (for example, Abc bAG and def edc).

As in the case of 'Eclipsim passus' (MT 18) three examples derive melodic contrast through the use of accidentals: 'Anglia planctus' (MT 8), 'O mors' (MT 52) and 'Sol eclipsim' (MT 70). However, although these examples share some general features in common, a number of which are also typical of the simple through-composed planctus with short melismas, they are by no means characterised by a uniformity of style. 'Anglia planctus' (MT 8), the only example from this group in which a musical phrase is repeated more than once or twice, is quite unusual. The opening melismatic phrase together with that of phrase five provides much of the melodic material of the rest of this piece: melody B is in

essence derived from phrase 1, while melody D' begins with the same material as phrase 5. Melody B, comprising normally F G A b (cb) A G ..., recurs constantly, varied on each occasion in either its opening or closing notes. It thus acts as a melodic refrain against which other melodic contrasts can be sounded. In the second section the flow of this essentially syllabic melody is delicately interrupted by recollections of small fragments of preceding melismatic phrases: in phrase 13 the first few notes (AGAb bA) recall phrase 1 ('planctus'); in phrase 14 the opening (baG GAG) looks back to the melody of 'merso' (phrase 4); in phrase 15 the notes e(flat)dcb bc allude to the opening melisma of phrase 5; in phrase 16 the introductory notes b cdc F are also related to phrase 5 (dcb cd dcA Gab), the opening of the next phrase representing an embellishment (d efec AGF: 17) of the previous one; the first part of this is a third higher than the opening of the previous phrase; finally in phrase 18 the notes FGA Gb AG A D DC recall the melody of the first phrase ('planctus itera': cdc bAGF AGAb A AG FG).

'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (MT 40) and 'Turmas arment' (MT 72) are quite different in conception to 'Anglia planctus' (MT 8). While the latter is organised around a recurring refrain melody, these two examples give the impression of melodic freedom, even of being the record of an improvised melody. This is particularly suggested by the way in which short melismatic phrases are deployed. In 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (MT 40) these are often typified by a trill-like figure (for example, phrases 7, 12, 20, 26, 27, 31, 33, 45 and 50) which represents a point where melodic energy is gathered, after which new areas of the chosen mode can be explored; in 'Turmas arment' (MT 72) this feature is even more evident through the use of a descending scale passage (frequently ornamented) which is often introduced by the notes e f g (for example, phrases 7, 14, 16, 18, 19, 36 and 45). A second characteristic, also suggestive of improvisation - although it might conceivably point to a deliberately contrived style - is the use of the sequence passage. In 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (MT 40) such passages occur in phrases 15, 27 and 49; and in 'Turmas arment' (MT 72) in phrases 8, 13, 15 and 40. While therefore these more complex structures might appear at first sight to present similar challenges to the composer, they are in fact treated in various different ways. Considering that they belong to the same manuscript (I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240)) this is significant: it provides musical evidence that the songs of this book were very likely composed in various places and at different times in different styles, and then later put together in one collection.

Versicle/initial/range/final

'Ad festas' (MT 5b)

|   |   |     |   |
|---|---|-----|---|
| 1 | c | G-e | G |
| 2 | g | F-g | G |
| 3 | f | c-f | d |
| 4 | c | G-c | G |
| 5 | c | A-f | d |
| 6 | c | G-c | G |
| 7 | A | G-c | G |

'Dolorum solatium' (MT 17a)

|   |   |     |   |
|---|---|-----|---|
| 1 | G | D-c | G |
| 2 | d | F-e | G |
| 3 | b | F-e | G |
| 4 | G | F-g | G |
| 5 | g | c-g | c |
|   | G | G-g | G |
|   | G | G-g | G |
| 6 | c | F-e | G |

'De profundis' (MT 12a)

|   |   |     |   |
|---|---|-----|---|
| 1 | F | C-b | D |
| 2 | D | C-d | D |
| 3 | F | C-d | D |
| 4 | A | C-c | D |
| 5 | A | C-b | D |
| 6 | d | F-d | G |
| 7 | E | D-d | F |
| 8 | D | D-c | G |
| 9 | c | D-c | G |

'Planctus ante nescia' (MT 58a)

|    |   |     |   |
|----|---|-----|---|
| 1. | b | D-c | G |
| 2  | b | D-e | G |
| 3  | c | F-c | G |
| 4  | d | G-e | G |
| 5  | g | F-g | G |
| 6  | b | F-g | G |
| 7  | g | G-g | G |
| 8  | b | F-f | G |
| 9  | b | F-g | G |
| 10 | d | F-f | G |
| 11 | c | F-g | G |
| 12 | b | D-c | G |

Versicle/initial/range/final

'Samson dux fortissime' (MT 67a)

|    |   |     |   |
|----|---|-----|---|
| 1  | G | F-e | G |
| 2  | g | G-g | G |
| 3  | b | F-b | G |
| 4  | G | F-e | G |
| 5  | d | F-e | G |
| 6  | b | F-d | G |
| 7  | D | D-d | G |
| 8  | b | G-d | G |
| 9  | d | F-d | G |
| 10 | c | D-e | G |
| 11 | g | F-g | G |
| 12 | b | F-d | G |
| 13 | b | F-e | G |
| 14 | c | F-d | G |
| 15 | c | F-e | G |
| 16 | g | G-g | G |
| 17 | b | F-d | G |
| 18 | b | G-e | G |
| 19 | d | F-d | G |
| 20 | b | G-e | G |
| 21 | G | F-c | G |

FIGURE THREE

Both types of sequence - the lai and the strict sequence - are primarily syllabic, with concentrations of larger note units. 'Divina providentia' (MT 13) is something of an exception, since, like many of the complex through-composed examples, it opens with a short melisma. The later versions of 'Flete fideles' (MT 20c and 20d) also begin with a larger note unit, which is not however to be found in either of the two earlier sources (MT 20a and 20b), suggesting in this instance a tendency towards greater elaboration through time. In the strict sequence melodic interest is often created through the reiteration of certain larger note units in the idiom of motive recall: there is thus a greater number of these to be found in the strict sequence than in the lai. In the latter larger note units are used sparingly and normally either as devices for contrast with purely syllabic passages, or as ornaments.

The main difference between the two is that the tonal organisation of the lai is more systematic than that of the strict sequence. With the exception of the first part of 'De profundis' (MT 12a) all the lais which survive in heightened notations have a G final - as in the case of a great many lais. It is therefore possible to make specific comment on the nature of this tonal organisation. As is evident from Figure 3 each versicle normally begins on a note from the triad Gbd and then ends on G. This means that the general tonality is clearly and simply defined throughout each lai. The strict sequences are not conceived on the scale of the lais: a similar type of analysis does not therefore reveal enough evidence to be of statistical significance. However, that they do not proceed in accordance with this type of tonality is strongly indicated by the fact that the two with a G final - 'Omnis in lacrimas' (MT 55) and 'Divina providentia' (MT 13) - begin on f and A, respectively; neither of these notes belongs to the triad Gbd. Within the versicle, the lai tends to reflect a similar type of discipline, each new phrase usually beginning and ending on one of these notes: cadences are thus 'open' and 'closed' and well defined. On the relatively small number of occasions when a melody begins on other notes of the scale, these are normally part of the triad FAc, and especially prominent at cadence points. The introduction of this triad on such occasions creates some tonal distance from the final and thus effects a brief moment of tension before it is reached.

In each of the versicles of the strict sequences there is no such systematicity, the melody beginning and ending on various points of the scale. The aim is for melodic fluidity, rather than for emphasis on the

tonal colour of discrete melodic units, as in the lai. Melodic movement is thus normally by step in the strict sequence, whereas triadic intervals are quite common in the lai.

The lais share a great deal of melodic material in common: certain cadence figures occur in most examples, while a number of melodies are common to several lais. The most distinctive elements can be summed up as follows: simple ascending or descending phrases in stepwise motion, occasionally introduced by a rising or falling third; melodies based on rising or falling triads; and static melodies in the idiom of a recitation melody. These seem to represent a vocabulary of melodic resources or formulae which are invoked by the lai composer in order to articulate the tonal design of his work. They also occur in the strict sequence, but since they are not presented within the same disciplined type of tonal framework, nor indeed repeated systematically or exactly, their function is different.

One significant feature of these melodic formulae is their malleability: the general tonal architecture of the lai is very clear but the melodies of which it consists are themselves very flexible. This is evidenced in those which are derived from melodies already used earlier in the same lai: by simply omitting or adding notes a longer musical phrase can be accommodated by material already used; it is also indicated by instances of local variation: here repetitions of a melody are varied through ornamentation which does not affect the general tonal colour of the melody; an additional way in which melodic malleability can be observed is with reference to different versions of the same lai; many of the differences which occur from manuscript to manuscript are superficial: they seem to represent the ways in which individual performers individualised the same basic melodic Gestalt by adding or removing ornaments, and gave them aesthetic unity. It is as if it was not normal to conceive a lai melody in a fixed shape.

This malleability is by no means a feature exclusive to the lai. It is quite common in the simple through-composed melody, and also in evidence in the strict sequence. However in the context of the lai it has a somewhat different role to play than in either of the other two. In the latter it effectively functions as a melodic economy measure, enabling previously used material to recur, even if the length of the musical phrase is different. It provides this facility in the lai but its purpose is aesthetic as well as functional: it recurs as a half-familiar melodic counter which has already been associated with a particular tonal colour; its familiarity highlights the



different tonal colour of its new location.

The general tonal logic of the strophic type is a microcosm of that of the lai. About three-quarters of the way through the melody a climax is reached: interest centres on the highest notes of the range. After this the initial range and tonal colour are gradually recovered, the last versicle often repeating melodies originally heard in the first versicle.<sup>53</sup> The aim of the lai composer seems to have been the exploration of the tonal nature of a particular mode through the use of melodic formulae and through the adherence to certain implicit rules concerning the general development of the melody towards a climax. This is achieved with constant attention to all possible means of contrast: between stepwise passages and those based on rising or falling triads; between purely syllabic passages and clusters of two- to five-note groups; between different parts of the range; through the recurrence of previously used melodies in a different tonal context; and, locally, through small differences between like melodies achieved through ornamentation.

It has been suggested that 'Planctus ante nescia' (MT 58) was modelled on Abelard's 'Dolorum solatium' (MT 17).<sup>54</sup> Comparison of the two however reveals that although they have certain melodic formulae in common, and obey comparable procedures in the exposition of their tonal architecture - often employing similar melodies for this - they are in fact independent compositions.

It is more difficult to make generalisations about the strict sequences since there are so few extant from this period and since each is quite distinct. 'Heu pius pastor' (MT 32) has already been mentioned in relation to its shifting identity from sequence to through-composed form. In its earliest extant source (F-O 201 (s.xiii): MT 32a) it approaches the simplicity of the strophic sequences of Adam of St. Victor,<sup>55</sup> which can be compared to the lai on account of their use of melodic repetition, but which differ radically from it since they are conceived on a much simpler scale. Of particular interest in this sequence is the refrain after each versicle. It contrasts markedly with the melody of each versicle in that it is made up of larger note units. As the sequence progresses it becomes gradually more elaborate, retaining however essentially the same melodic Gestalt. Interest in 'Flete fideles anime' (MT 20) and 'Omnis in lacrimas' (MT 55) centres more on the use of motive recall and on recurring cadence figures, especially at the end of each versicle where the latter is often ornamented. In contrast, 'Divina providentia' (MT 13) derives much

of its melodic interest from the use of accidentals, although motive recall and recurring cadence figures also play an important role. This particular sequence serves to highlight the difficulties posed by many of the complex through-composed examples: were it not for the fact that it survives with the text of the second of each pair of versicles (written as prose in a small space on the musical stave before the music of the next versicle is provided), it would be difficult to distinguish it stylistically from complex through-composed planctus such as 'Anglia planctus' (MT 11) and 'Sol eclipsim' (MT 70).

Only a few general observations can be made about the polyphonic planctus, owing to the fact that there are so few examples of each formal type. Clearly they present a quite different musical challenge to a composer: here he is concerned with musical texture - in achieving tonal consonance between parts while also ensuring that each voice is individually of interest. Although each of these examples is in a different form, the impression left is that form is very much a frame or controlling device, in which the different voices are secured. It does not present an opportunity for developing different styles in accordance with the particular challenges it poses, as it appears to have done in relation to monophonic examples. With the exception of 'In occasu' (MT 36), each of the polyphonic examples begins and or closes with a cauda. The style of this is melismatic and contrasts with the syllabic style of the main part of each example. A brief discussion of 'Pange melos' (MT 57a) will serve to illustrate some of their general characteristics. This strophic melody, in the form AB AB CD E (= AAB), is essentially syllabic, except for the concluding cauda. The voices are normally written in contrary motion to one another, and they occasionally cross, as in the first phrase. Contrast between the voices is achieved rhythmically through the manner in which two- to four-note units are intermittently distributed between the two voices, but at different points. The repetition of the first two phrases in phrases 3 and 4 is varied since the larger note units do not always occur at the same positions as before, or else they are replaced by single notes. On the whole melodic movement is by step, with only occasional leaps of a third, and in one instance, of a fifth.

It has been suggested that planctus from the Notre Dame repertory might be based on previously existing melodies, probably from the funeral liturgy, rather than being newly composed. The second terminal cauda of 'O felix Bituria' (MT 49) is apparently not newly

composed.<sup>56</sup> However, I have not found any clear resemblances between chant melodies from the funeral liturgy and the tenors of polyphonic planctus. At least the syllabic sections of these examples seem to be based on new musical material.

It can be concluded with confidence that the planctus of this period was not composed in any one musical form or style. It is also highly unlikely that the choice of the D mode can be attributed to the association it had with sadness in the minds of medieval music theorists: rather melodic mode is related to general changes in the history of western tonality. On the whole the style of planctus from the Notre Dame repertory appears to be quite distinct to that of planctus from other sources. Nevertheless it is evident from the Notre Dame examples included in this discussion that there is considerable variety within this collection. This strongly suggests that it represents an anthology of songs in differing styles, composed probably in various localities and at different times. Although quite distinct formally there are a number of features which planctus from religious dramas and in the lai style have in common; namely, the use of repetition, and the malleability of their melodies. The significance of these will be discussed in the conclusion to this chapter.

##### 5. Planctus Composed after 1300

Of the small number of planctus extant from this period less than a third survive with music. The following analysis summarises their forms and modes.

| <u>Type</u>                | <u>Form</u> | <u>Mode/Range</u> |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <u>Monophonic</u>          |             |                   |
| THROUGH-COMPOSED MELODIES  |             |                   |
| 1. 'Heu infelices' (MT 27) | A BA'       | G: F-f            |
| 2. 'Infelix ego' (MT 38)   | A B         | A: D-e            |
| 3. 'O fratres' (MT 50)     |             | D: <u>A</u> -d    |

| <u>Type/Form</u>        | <u>Mode/Range</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (O fratres)             |                   |
| 1. A BC BD              |                   |
| 2. EE FG H              |                   |
| 3. IF' J                |                   |
| 4. FG H                 |                   |
| 5. KL MN O              |                   |
| 6. KL MN O              |                   |
| 7. F''P F''P QK'        |                   |
| 8. RS TO' UV T'T'' WO'' |                   |
| 9. FG H'U' O'' XY Z     |                   |
| 10. FG H'a              |                   |
| 11. U''V T''W' O''      |                   |
| 12. b cd e fg b cd e fg |                   |
| 13. b cd e f'g.         |                   |
| 14. hi hi jk jK' llm    |                   |
| 15. FG H                |                   |
| 16. F''G H'U'' n XX' Z  |                   |
| 17. jk jk k'k           |                   |
| 18. h'V' op U''V qr sst |                   |
| 19. IF' J               |                   |
| 20. h'V' op U''V qr t   |                   |

Polyphonic

MOTETS

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 1. 'Doleo super te' (MT 16)<br>'Absolon, fili mi'<br>(unknown) | (see p.179)<br><br>tenor repeated twice           | G: 1: c-c'<br>2: d-c'<br>3: c-b'            |
| 2. 'Scariotis' (MT69)<br>'Iure quod'<br>'Superne matris'       | (see p.179)<br><br>tenor repeated<br>three times. | G: 1: G-b<br>2: F sharp -a<br>3: <u>D-C</u> |

A: 1. Jam per-cus-so he-u pas-to-re 2. o-ves er-rant mi-se-re

B: He-u in-fe-li-ces quid a-gi-mus qui-a domi-num nostrum mi-ni-me re-pe-ri-mus

C: In-fe-lix .... qui-a Do-mi-num me-um quem e-go-mi-se-ra ..... ve-ni-o tam di-li-ge-bam

- A: Jam percusso (Heu nobis) (MT 31b) (F-SQ 86 (s.xiv), p.609)
- B: Heu infelices (MT 27) (F-SQ 86 (s.xiv), p.618)
- C: Infelix ego (MT 38) (F-SQ 86 (s.xiv), p.618)

FIGURE FOUR

A  
1. Cum ve-nis-sem 2. un-ge-re Do-mi-num

B  
12. O Ma-ri-a Mag-da-le-ne

A  
3. mo-nu-men-tum 4 in-ve-ni va-cu-um

B  
fi-li-i me-i dul-cis dis-ci-pu-la

A  
5 et nes-ci-o 6 rec-te dis-cer-ne-ra

B  
plan-ge me-cum Sor-ror me-a

A  
7 u-bi pos-sim 8 ma-gis-trum que-re-re

B  
plan-ge me-cum cum do-lo-re mor-tem dul-cis na-ti-me-i.

A: Cum venissem (MT 10b) I-Civ CI (s.xiv), f.78r  
 B: O fratres (MT 50) I-Civ CI (s.xiv), f.74r

A  
Ab- sa- lon fi- li- m fi- li mi Ab- sa- lon

B  
Ab- so- lon fi- li- i mi fi- li- i mi Ab- so- lon

A  
Quis mic- hi det ut e- go mu- ri- ar pro te

B  
quis mi- hi det ut e- go mu- ri- ar pro te

A  
fi- li mi Ab- sa- lon

B  
fi- li- i mi Ab- so- lon

A: Rex autem David (MT 65b:D) (GB-WO Cod.F.160 (ca.1230), p.165)  
 B: Doleo te /Absolon/unknown (MT 16) (GB-Cgc 512 (ca.1330), f.258v)

FIGURE SIX

Two examples which are not included in the above analysis - 'Pange lingua necem Petri' (L120) and 'Pange lingua gloriosi' (L119) - should be mentioned. They both appear to be contrafacta of 'Pange lingua gloriosi proeliumcertaminis'. While they have the same poetic form as this hymn and begin with an opening allusion to its first line there is however no documentary evidence that they were actually intended to be sung.

The one feature which each of the planctus listed above has in common is that it is entirely or partly derived from an existing melody. In all but one instance - the tenor of 'Scariotis' (MT 69) - this existing melody is that of a planctus already discussed. The two planctus from the Origny-Sainte-Benoîte Easter play - 'Heu infelices' (MT 27) and 'Infelix ego' (MT 38) - are both closely related and derive much of their melodic material from the adapted version of 'Heu nobis' (MT 31b) ('Jam percusso'), which is also included in this play as illustrated in Figure 4. The composer has simply pieced together melodic fragments to suit the length of these two new prose texts which he had to set to music.

The Cividale planctus Mariae 'O fratres' (MT 50) is based primarily on 'Flete fideles anime' (MT 20) (see Chapter Three, pp.122-3); as Figure 5 illustrates it also owes much to 'Cum venissem' (MT 10b). Possibly its opening also contains melodic allusions to 'Planctus antenescia' (MT 58), although this is not certain. It also includes one versicle from the sequence 'Qui per viam pergitis' (L132: 12b), which does not unfortunately survive with a musical setting. The remainder of this planctus Mariae appears to be newly composed, although clearly some of the melodies of 'Flete fideles anime' (MT 20) provide inspiration for these. What is especially interesting about this essentially through-composed piece is the fact that the formal shape of the strict sequence 'Flete fideles anime' (MT 20) is quite lost as a result of the manner in which its versicles have been woven into the whole. The individual nature of each versicle has however been retained. In contrast the musical phrases of 'Cum venissem' (MT 10b) are contracted or expanded, often with considerable elaboration, in order to accommodate a new text: they are thus barely recognisable.

The triplum of 'Doleo super te' (MT 16) - 'Doleo super te' is a newly devised through-composed melody, while the duplum takes as its point of departure the second half of the antiphon 'Rex autem David' (MT 65) (see Figure 6). Both texts conclude with an additional phrase which is not found in either antiphon. In this particular



motet the duplum appears to function as the tenor normally does, the tenor being most likely a new composition written to complement the duplum. This is suggested particularly by the fact that the duplum is organised in a particular formal pattern: A B C A' B D (=AA'), whereas the triplum and the tenor are both through-composed.

Only the tenor of 'Scariotis' (MT 69) - 'Superne matris' - is derived from an existing melody, as is more normal in the motet: this time it is not from a planctus but from the opening phrase of Adam of St. Victor's Marian sequence. It occurs three times thus providing a type of ground bass to the duplum and triplum. As Sanders demonstrates this composition is indeed a curious artifice. He comments:<sup>57</sup>

The normative factor is the talea, which is in effect a rhythmic palindrome:

Since the rest /of 'Superne matris', the tenor is necessarily omitted at the end of the piece, the entire tenor, consisting of six talea, is likewise a palindrome, whose center is the rest following the third talea. All three voices demonstrate the motet's modular number (25) and the palindrome concept:

$$\begin{aligned} &16 B + (17 + 8 + 17 + 8 + 17 + 8 + 17 + 8 + 17 B) + 14 B \\ &15 B + (17 + 8 + 17 + 8 + 17 + 8 + 17 + 8 + 17 B) + 15 B \\ &5 (12 + 13 B) + (12 + 10 B) \end{aligned}$$

The two types of phrase of the upper voices thus nearly stand in a 2:1 relationship. The tenor contributes to the palindromic structure with the symmetrical arrangement of modus perfectus and modus imperfectus. The irregularity of the enframing phrases of the the triplum is accounted for by the necessity of avoiding coincident rests in the two upper voices.

It would thus be too easy to conclude that since all planctus which survive with music in this period are based on existing material to a greater or lesser degree they inevitably reflect the waning of the planctus as a musico-literary type, as musical inspiration gradually failed its composers. The motets clearly belong to a new style of composition which, though normally based on a tenor consisting of an existing melody, is probably one of the most unusual artefacts to emerge in medieval polyphonic music. As for the planctus in the Easter play from Origny-Sainte-Benoîte, their style reflects the continuation of a tradition of composition used to great effect in plays from the previous period: while, with the exception of 'Heu dolor' (MT 23) and 'Heu me misera' (MT 28), most planctus from religious dramas appear to be set to newly composed melodies, a great deal of the material which accrued around the visitatio sepulchri ceremony, particularly from the eleventh century, was composed using this technique. Furthermore, what we might term musical plagiarism, especially with reference to

'O fratres' (MT 50), was integral in the medieval practice of recreating existing material and turning it into something which is half-familiar and yet nevertheless new.

The small number of planctus extant from this period does not permit generalisations to be made concerning form, melodic mode and style with confidence. However the particular instances reveal that there is no consistency in any of these factors. Indeed that two of the examples are motets reflects that the planctus continued to be composed in the forms and styles which were most fashionable.

## 6. Conclusion

The musical history of the planctus is not that of a musical genre which is typified by characteristics exclusive to it alone. Rather it is a partial history of medieval monophonic music, with special reference to the sequence repertory, a number of Office chants, Notre Dame compositions and certain melodies from religious dramas. The aesthetic of the monophonic melody is that of variation of the commonplace. It is normally syllabic, though as I have illustrated larger note units and, occasionally, short melismas are frequently employed in order to give rhythmic contrast to passages which are purely syllabic. The tendency towards stepwise movement, with intervals being included sparingly, provides a further means of melodic variation. The attention paid by composers to the careful exposition of the chosen melodic range, normally with the aim of reaching a climax at the highest point of this, is a further means by which contrast can be obtained. In those examples in which motive recall - either of short phrases or of a particular note unit - or more systematic repetition (often of melodic formulae) is included, yet another means of variation is provided. The emphasis which is given to these basic elements depends on the particular challenges posed by whichever of the three main formal types employed. The remarkable subtlety of these contrasts and the occasional originality which results through unusual combinations of them - as for example in the lai - are indexes of the considerable musical interest which these compositions have. These resources of contrast reflect an interest in different types of patterning for the sake of melodic variety. Patterning appears to be deployed according to certain implicit rules of musical logic. This conclusion is however necessarily tentative since the

exact significance of the chosen forms, tonal organisation, the role of motive recall and repetition, and the function of melismas has to be considered in a wider context, that is, in a consideration of the relationship between words and music, the subject of Chapter Six.

Although the liturgical compositions and those from the Notre Dame repertory represent a variety of different styles the sequences - especially the lais - a number of strophic examples, and most planctus from religious dramas share certain features in common, apart from those mentioned above: they are normally syllabic; though the concluding cadence is normally on the final, others are often 'open'; exact repetition of short, possibly formulaic, phrases is normally employed; and the melodies are frequently malleable. In contrast to the most fashionable styles of the twelfth century, those associated with Notre Dame, these melodies are quite distinct stylistically. Since their features are also characteristic of the early sequence melodies composed before 950 it seems reasonable to deduce that later sequences, strophic examples and planctus from religious dramas owe their emphasis on these stylistic features to inspiration provided by older techniques of composition: these have of course been developed in different directions largely in response to the resources of the chosen form. My suggestion is that the melodies of planctus which belong to religious dramas or are in lai style have a somewhat archaic flavour when compared to contemporary compositions such as those from the Notre Dame repertory: their closest antecedent is that of music composed for the singing of narrative. Having drawn attention to the importance of melodic repetition Stevens summarises the characteristics of this type of music as follows:<sup>58</sup>

- (i) it will principally consist of single notes, though it may have an end-of-phrase melisma;
- (ii) it is likely to have 'open' and 'closed' forms;
- (iii) it may be formulaic or incorporate stock formulae;
- (iv) it will not normally be measured, and indeed strict measure is likely to hamper the fluid movement and varying rhythms of the text;
- (v) it may, positively, be neutral, an infinitely flexible mould.

It will be the purpose of Chapter Six to test out this proposition in relation to the texts of planctus which survive with music and to consider their rhythmic interpretation.

## EXCURSUS ONE

The transcriptions which follow are those of the six planctus sequence melodies discussed in Chapter Four. Untexted versions of these melodies from sequentiaries are presented first. As far as possible the earliest known version has been transcribed. Since planctus sterilis survives only in unheighted neumes I have provided a diagrammatic transcription (see Appendix D: Introduction, for an explanation of this) along with the text 'Iste dies celebris' (AH, 53, p.55). Instances of melodic repetition are marked on these transcriptions:

- EX.A: planctus cygni: F-Pn lat.1121 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>), f.67v  
 EX.B: planctus pueri captivati: F-Pn lat.1121 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>), f.67v  
 EX.C: planctus Bertane: F-Pn lat.1084 (s.x ex.), f.213v  
 EX.D: planctus publicani: F-Pn lat.1084 (s.x ex.), f.212v  
     and the antiphon from which it is derived:  
     'Stans a longe' (Hesb.5013): GB-Cu Mm.2.9 (s.xiii), p.337  
 EX.E: planctum (sic): F-Pn lat.1240 (ca.923-24), f.88r  
 EX.F: planctus sterilis: GB-Ob Selden supra 27 (s.xi), f.13v

Since the way in which texts were set to these melodies is of particular interest there then follows comparative transcriptions of the sequence melodies and versions of these with a text from a proser. As far as possible melodies from sequentiaries and proser have been taken from the same manuscript, in order to maintain a sense of the local usage of the melody. Unfortunately planctus Bertane is not known to survive with a text. Only the first versicle of each text is provided:

- EX.A2: planctus cygni: F-Pn lat.1121 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>), f.67v  
     'Clangant filii' (AH, 7, p.253): F-Pn lat.1121 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>),  
     f.196v  
     'Altissime Deus' (AH, 7, p.153): F-Pn lat.903 (s.xi<sup>2</sup>),  
     f.185r  
 EX.B2: planctus pueri captivati: F-Pn lat.1121 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>), f.67v  
     'Exultet nostra' (AH, 7, p.267): F-Pn lat.887 (s.xi in.),  
     f.135v

- 'Ad te sancte' (AH, 8, p.248): F-Pn lat.887 (s.xi in.),  
f.147v
- EX.D2: planctus publicani: F-Pn lat.1084 (s.x ex.), f.212v  
'Stans a longe' (AH, 7, p.254): F-Pn lat.1084 (s.x ex.),  
f.279r
- EX.E2: planctum/eia musa: F-Pn lat.887 (s.xi in.), f.91v  
'O alma trinitas' (AH, 7, p.110): F-Pn lat.887 (s.xi in.),  
f.120r  
'Eia musa' (AH, 7, p.90): GB-Cu Additional 710 (ca.1360),  
f.68r.

It should be noted that only a selection of the various contrafacta of these planctus melodies has been included, and that they have been transcribed from a very restricted range of manuscript sources. Clearly a full study of this subject would entail a detailed analysis of the history of each melody and its contrafacta. For a list of other known contrafacta and some of their manuscript sources see Stäblein, 'Die Schwanenklage', p.491 (table), and pp.500-1.

1. x A

2. w a w B/B

3. a cc/cc

4. x a D/D

5. b b b

6. c c d y EEF/EEF

7. d d d GH/GH

8. z z' GH/GH

9. z JJ/JJ

10. (x) J'

1. (x) z. A BC/BC

3. DC/DC

4. E/E

5. F/F

6. G/G

7. H/H

8. IJ/IJ

9. KJ/KJ

10. LJ/LJ

11. M/M

12. N/N O/O

13.

14. (X) PO'

185

Handwritten musical score for 'planctus Bertane' in G-clef, 8/8 time. The score consists of 13 staves, each with a measure number in the left margin and a rhythmic signature 'd' at the end. The music is written in a single system with various annotations above the notes, including letters (a, b, c, d, e, x, y, z, w, v) and brackets. To the right of each staff is a handwritten label, often in a vertical orientation, such as 'AB|AB', 'c/c', 'D|D', 'EB|EB', 'E/E', 'FG|FG', 'HH|HH', 'JG|JG', 'k|k', 'LLM|LLM', 'NN|NN', and 'O/O P/P'. The labels 'E/E' and 'FG|FG' are stacked vertically. The final staff (13) has a measure number '13.' and a 'd' symbol, but no label to its right.



1 (x) 2. A B/B

3 q/c

4 DE/DE

5 F/F

6 GB/GB

7 (x) E

F. A. Stans a lon-ge pub-li-ca-ni

no-le-bant o-cu-los ad ce-lum le-va-re

sed per-cu-ti-e-bat pec-tus su-um di-cens:

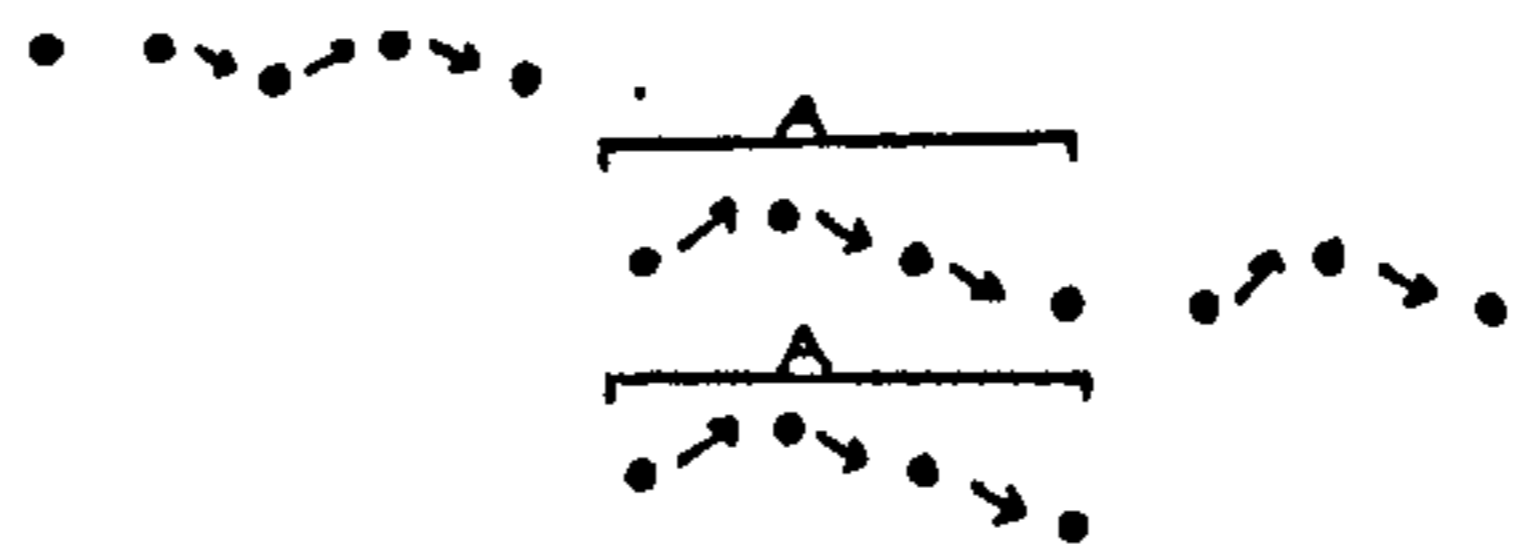
De-us pro-pi-ci-us es-to mi-chi pec-ca-to-ri.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a 12-staff instrument, likely a lute or similar fretted string instrument. The score is organized into eight systems, each consisting of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The systems are numbered 1 through 8 on the left margin. Various musical notations are used, including notes, rests, and accidentals. Some notes are marked with 'w' (likely for 'wavy' or 'trill') and 'x' (possibly for 'cross' or 'bend'). The right margin of each system contains a letter label: A, BB, CC, D, EF/EF, E'F/E'F, G, and H. Above the first system, there are some handwritten annotations: a dot, a comma, a tilde, and a dash. The notation is dense and characteristic of early manuscript notation.

1. Iste dies celebris constat

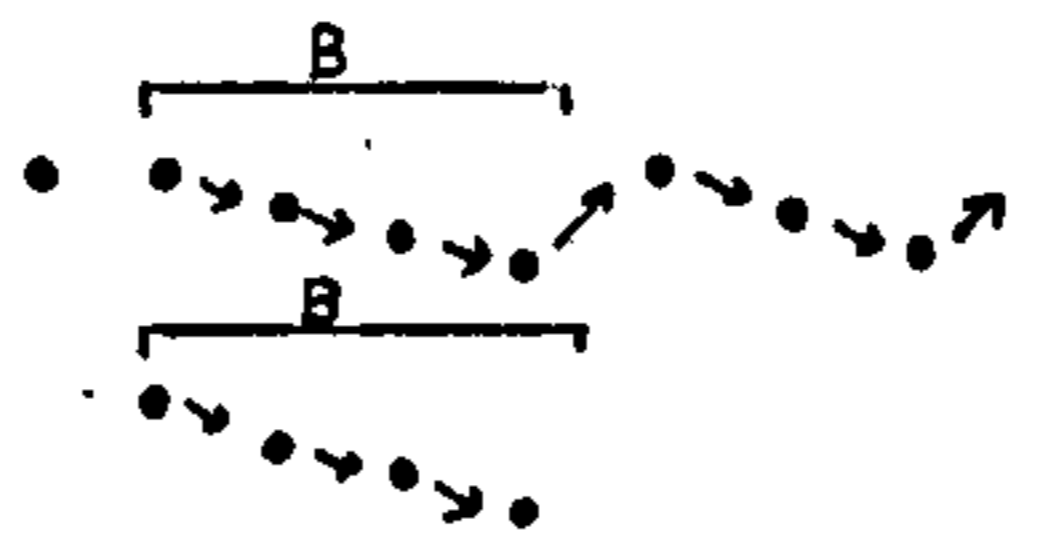


2a Ob trinitatis  
manifestam in terris  
notionem,



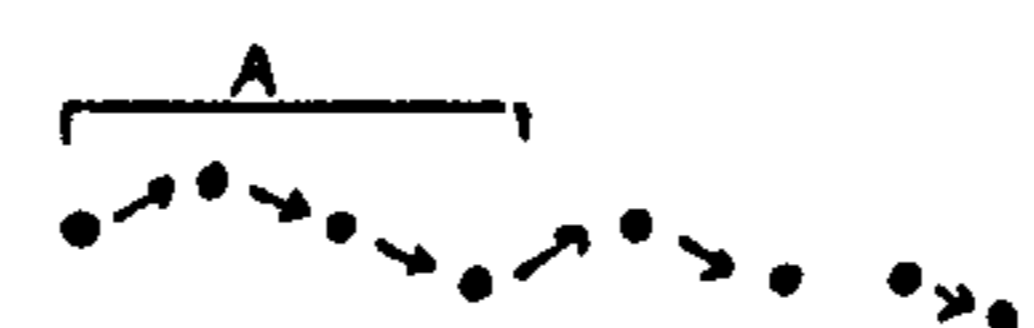
2b Cuius Iohannes  
mediastinus fuit  
semper felix.

3a Fit patris vox ad filium  
baptizatum

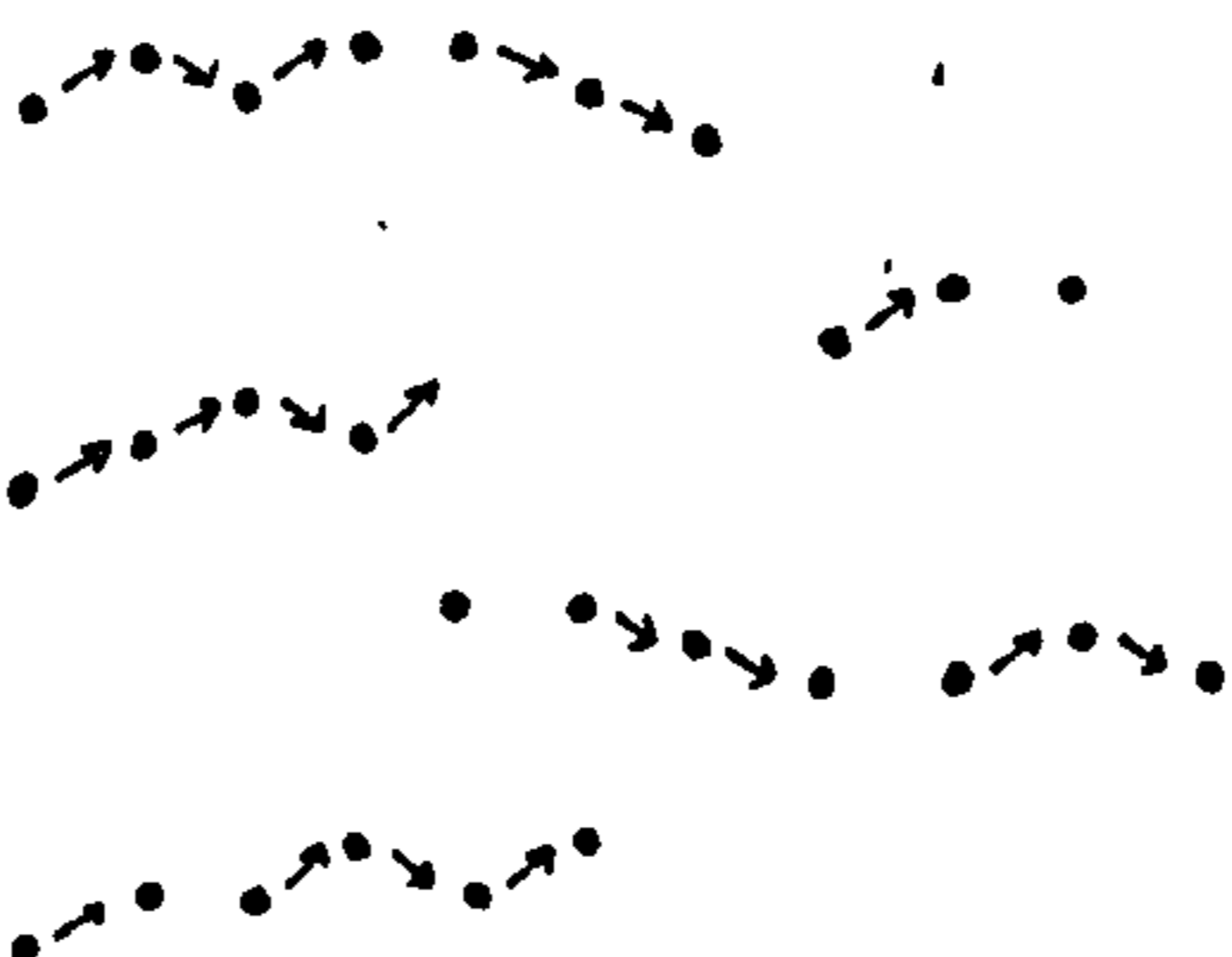


3b Et spiritus in specie  
corporali

4. Hunc invisit ut columba,

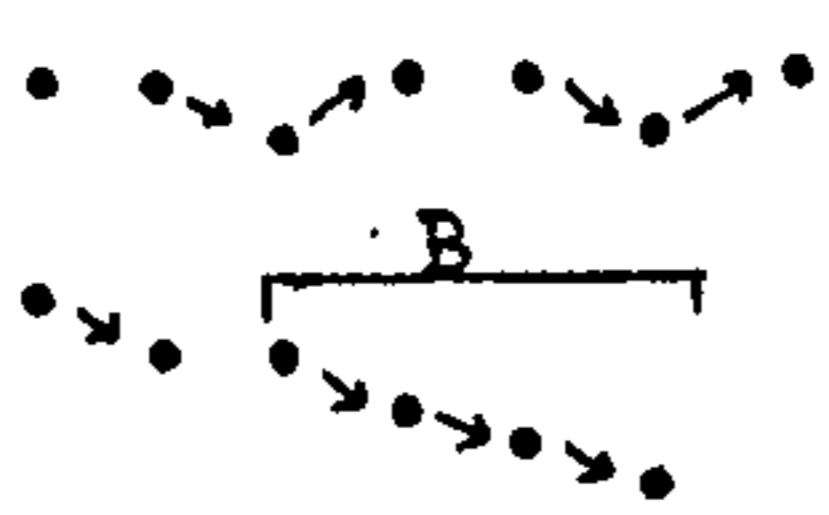


5a Mansurus super eum  
uncturus  
.....  
.....  
et prae consortibus.



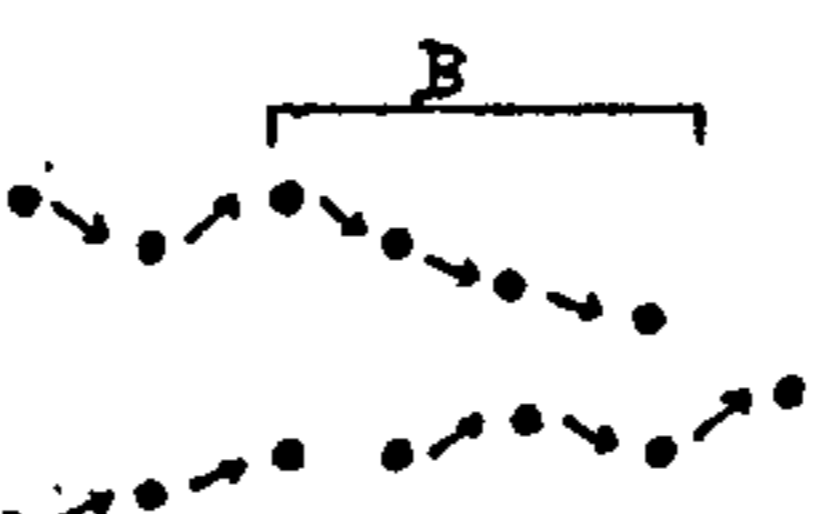
5b Res istae natos Dei  
baptismo  
nos creari  
capacesque ipsius  
testantur spiritus.

6a Misericors igitur  
genitor, precamur,



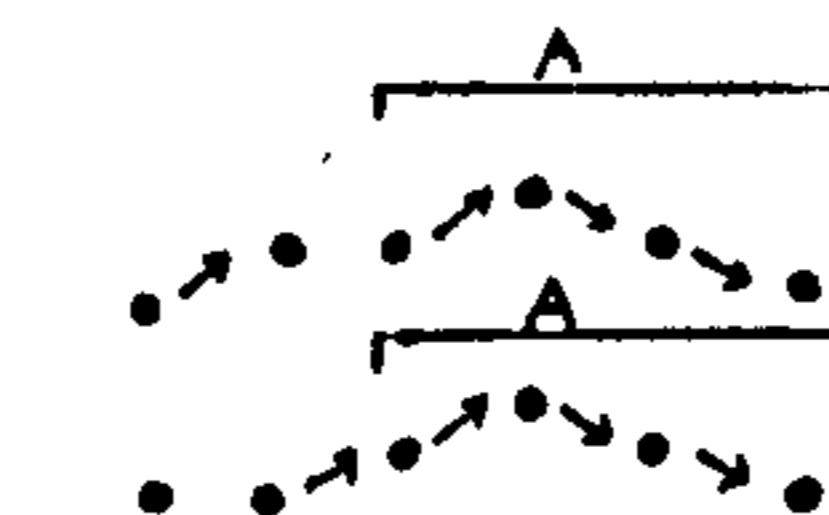
6b Ut, in quibus displicet  
tuae bonitati,

7a Eius membris iunctos  
foveas, in quo tibi



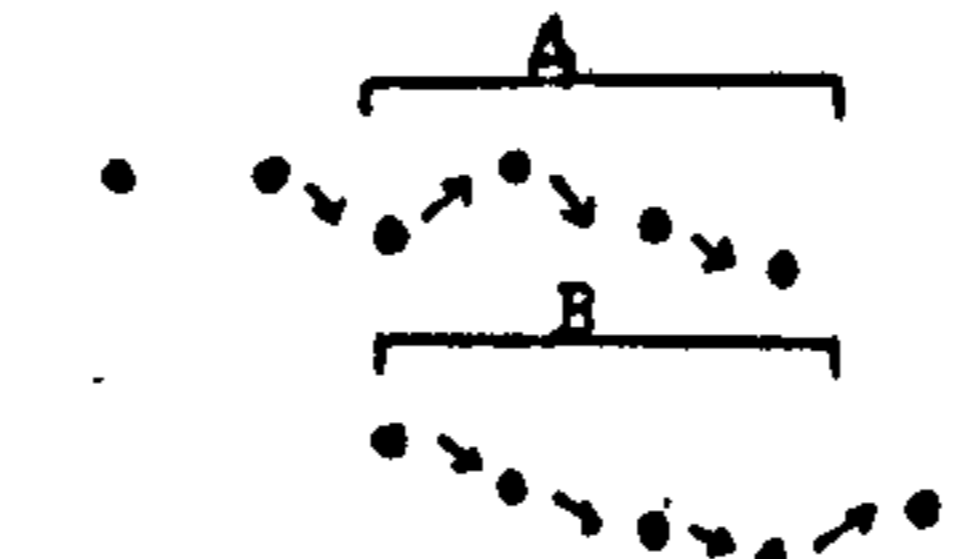
7b Bene complacuit  
unico nato tuo.

8a Ergo persolvamus gratias  
gratias Deo patri,



8b Qui nos coheredes  
fecerat Christi sui,

9a Et prodigo sui  
sanguinis, Christo,



9b Spiritui quoque,  
cordis unctori.

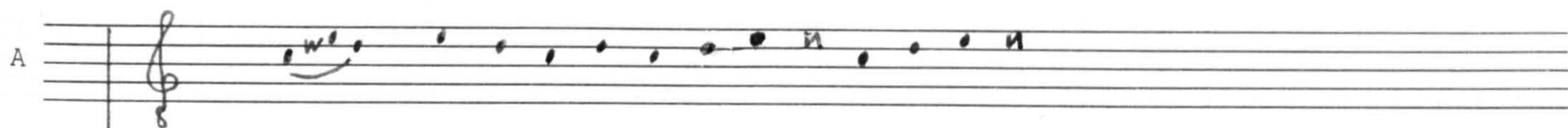
10. Iubilemus.

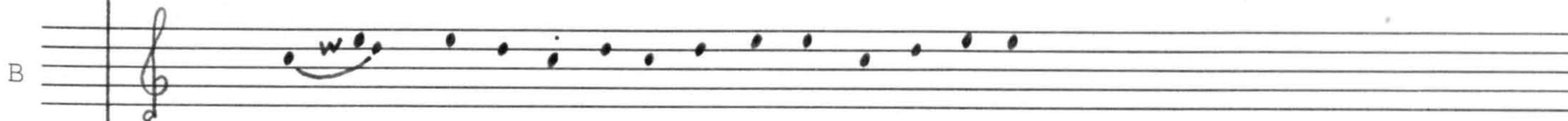


A: ~ ~ ~

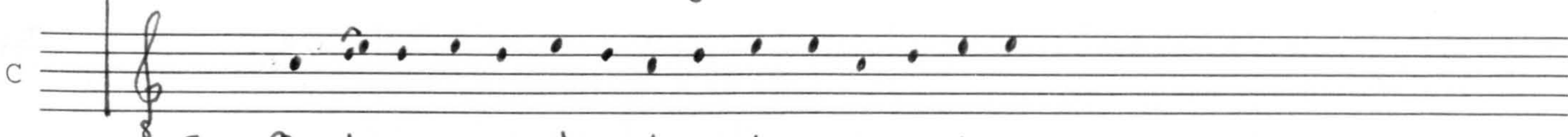
B: / - - -



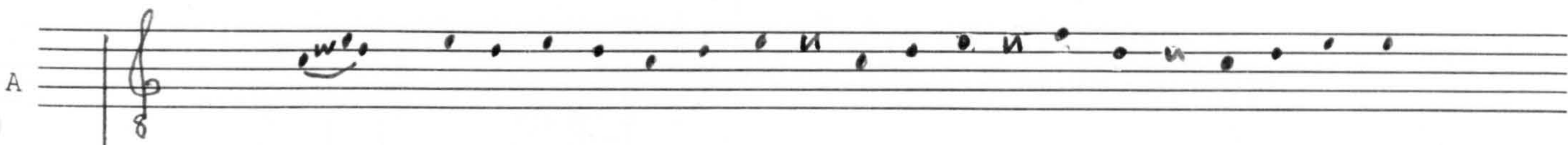
A 

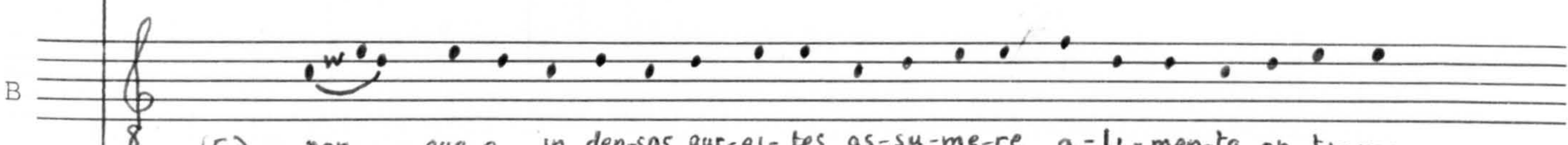
B 

5a An- gor in-ter ar-ta gur-gi-tum ca-cu-mi-na

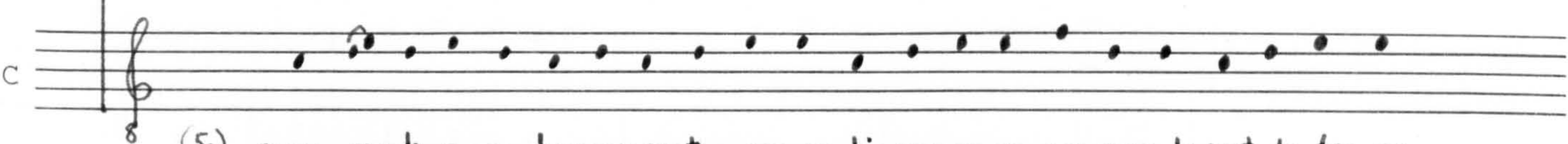
C 

5a Qua-tu-or e-nim et cen-tumquad-ra-gin-ta mi-li-a

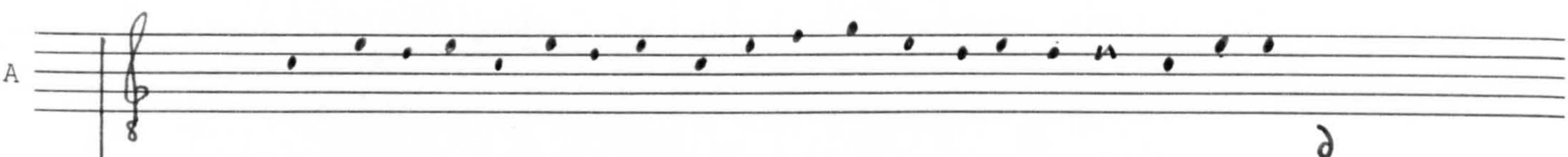
A 

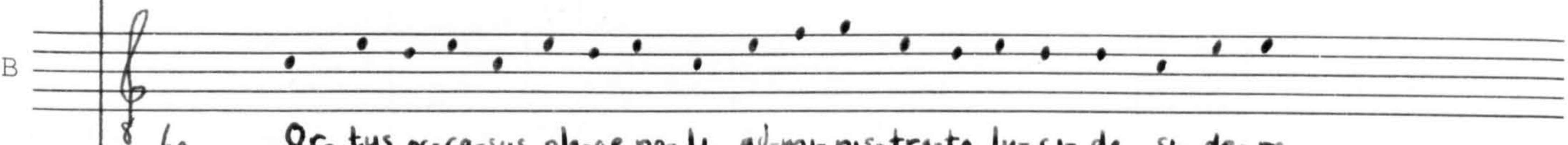
B 

(5a) non que-o in den-sos gur-gi-tes as-su-me-re a-li-men-ta op-ti-ma

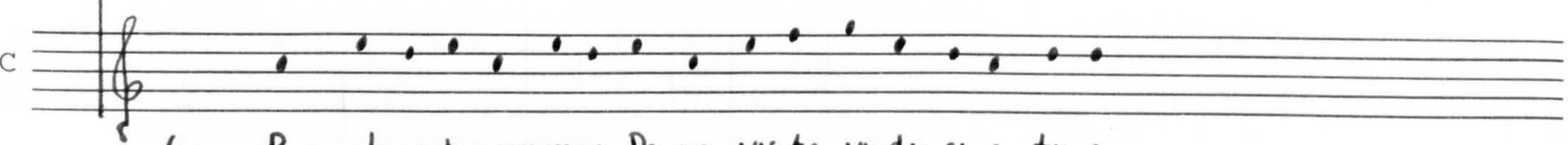
C 

(5a) cum mu-li-e-ri-bus non sunt in-qui-na-ti cor-po-ra, qui emp-ti sunt de ter-ra.

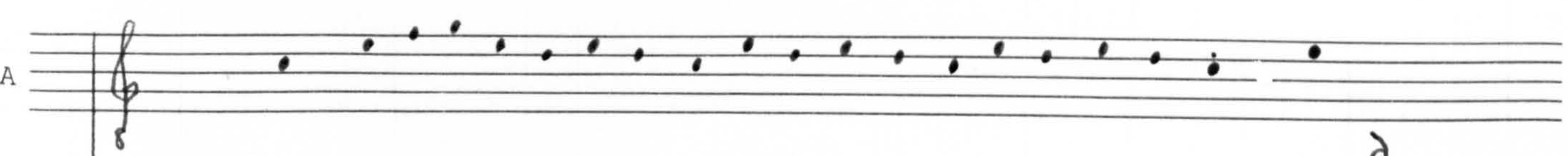
A 

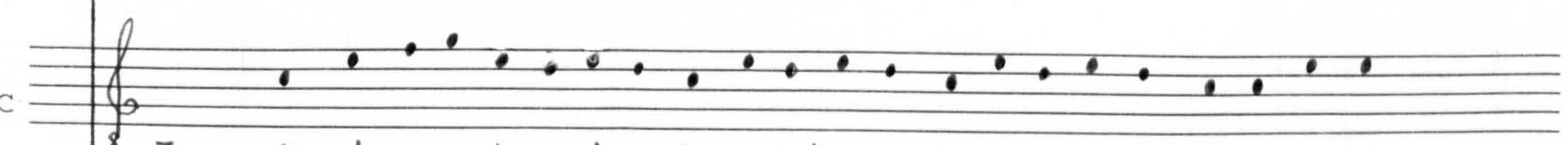
B 

6a Or-tus oc-ca-sus pla-ge po-li ad-mi-nis-tra-ta lu-ci-da si-de-ra

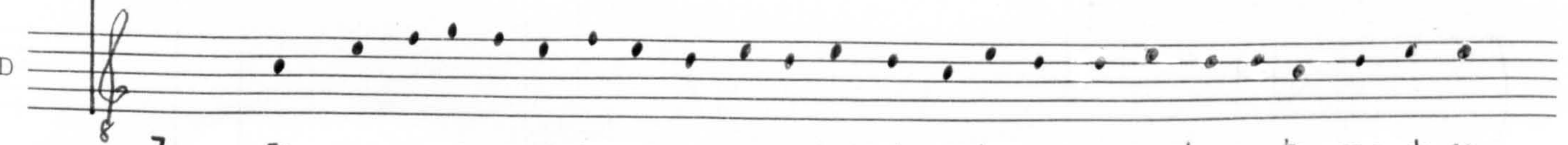
C 

6a Pro-cla-mant vo-ces: ve-re, De-us, ius-ta iu-di-ci-a tu-a

A 

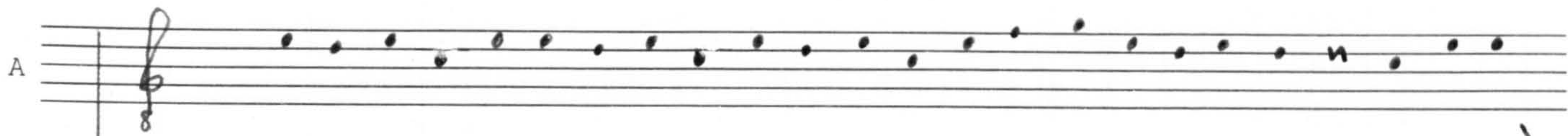
C 

7a Cum haec co-gi-ta-rem ta-ci-ta ve-nit ru-ti-le ad-mi-ni-cu-la au-ro-ra

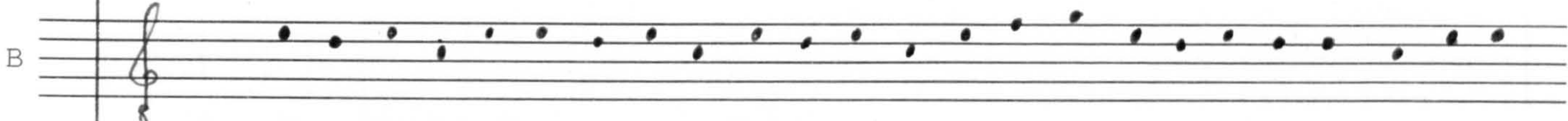
D 

7a Et au-di-unt a sanc-tis-si-ma vo-ce pre-cla-ra tempo-ra sus-ti-ne-te mo-di-ca

A

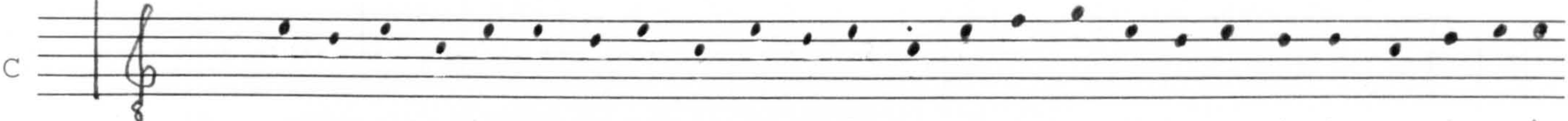


B



O-ra-ti-zans iam a-ge-ba-tur in-ter al-ta et con-su-e-ta nu-bi-um si-de-ra

C

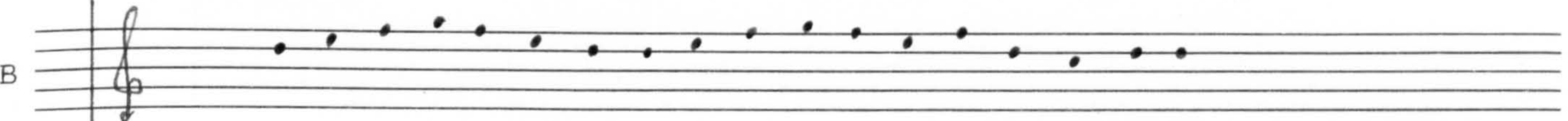


8a O-por-tet sac-ri om-ni-a im-ple-ri tes-ta-men-te, que-sunt per prophe-tas pre-di-ca-ta

A



B



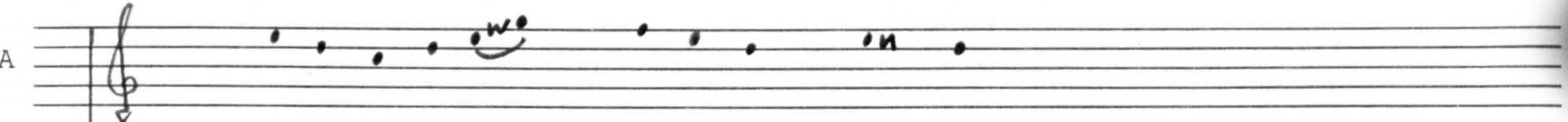
Dul-ci-mo-do can-ti-tans vo-li-ta-vit ad a-mor-na a-ri-da

C



9a Ac-ce-pe-runt co-ro-nas et per-ve-ne-runt ad mag-na gau-di-a.

A

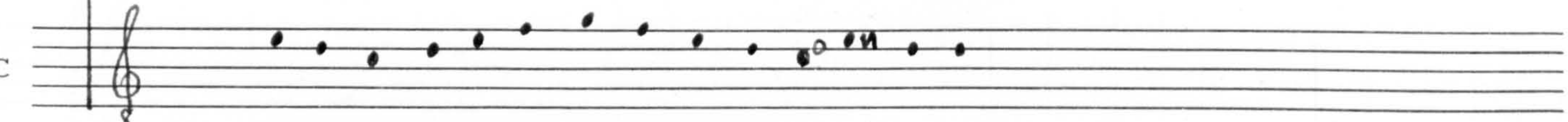


B



Re-gi mag-na sit glo-ri-a a-men

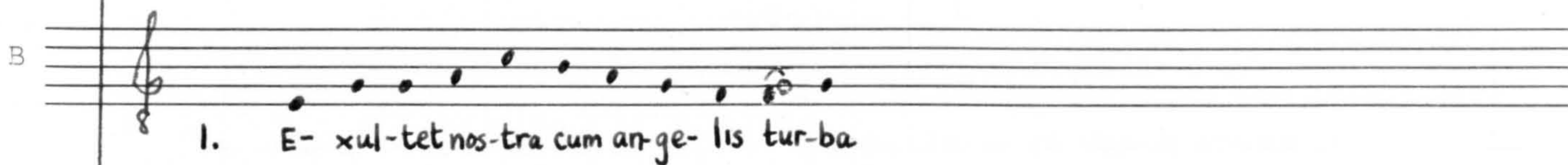
C



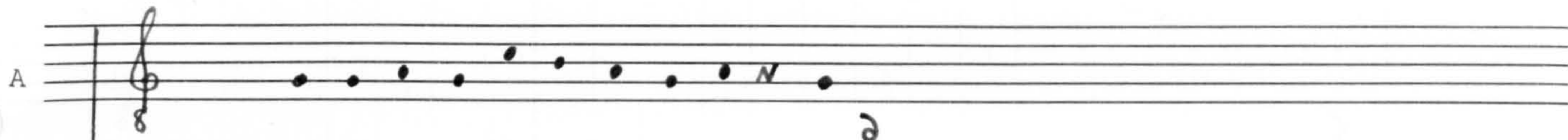
10. Al-me Je-su, jun-ge nos cum ip-sis in glo-ri-a

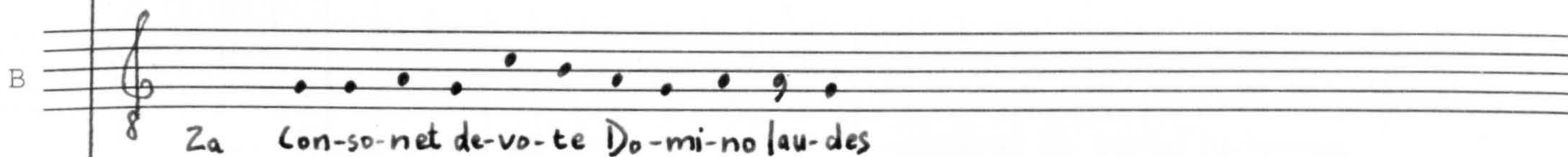
A: planctus pueri captivati: F-Pn lat.1121 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>), f.67v  
 EX.B2: B: 'Exultet nostra': F-Pn lat.887 (s.xi in.), f.135v  
 C: 'Ad te sancte': F-Pn lat.887 (s.xi in.), f.147v

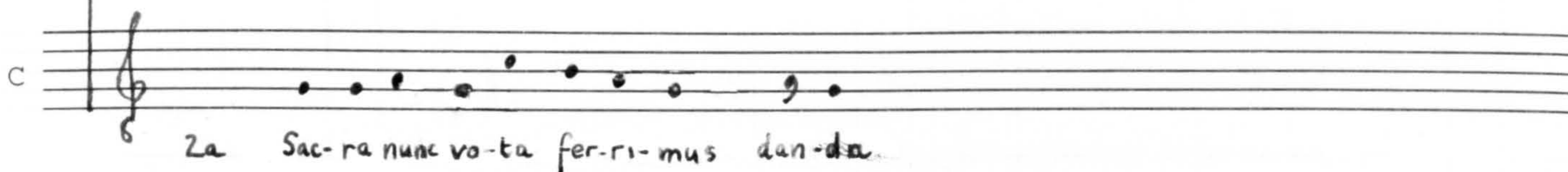
A 

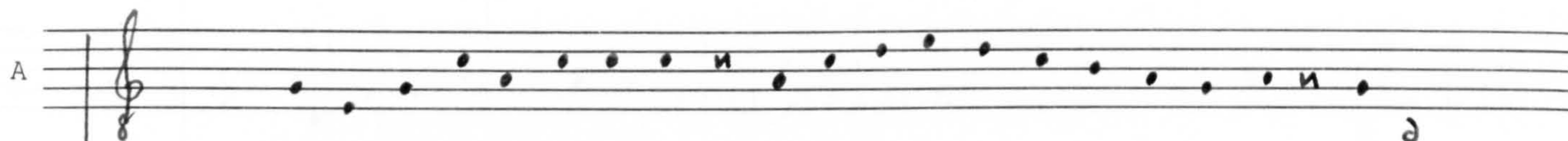
B   
 1. E-xul-tet nos-tra cum an-ge-lis tur-ba

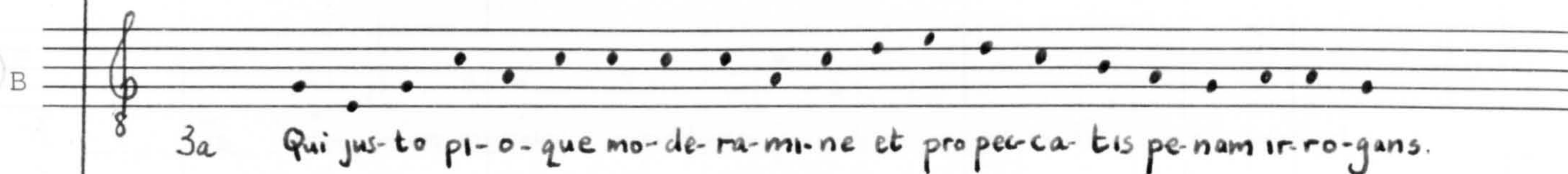
C   
 1. Ad te sanc-te su-per-num lu-men

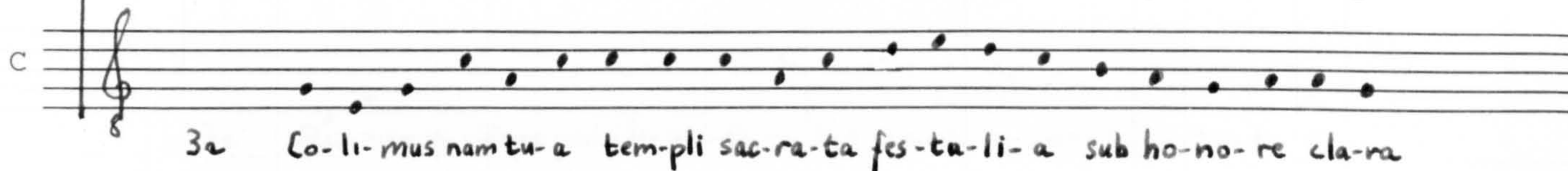
A 

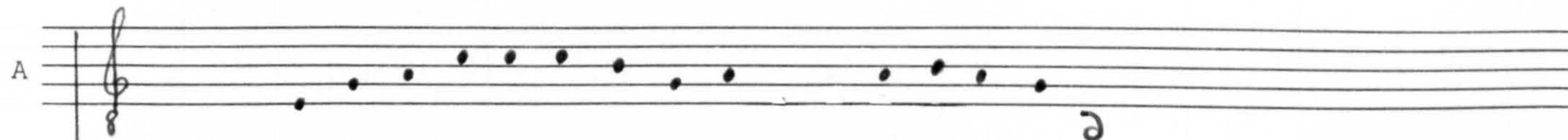
B   
 2a Con-so-net de-vo-te Do-mi-no lau-des

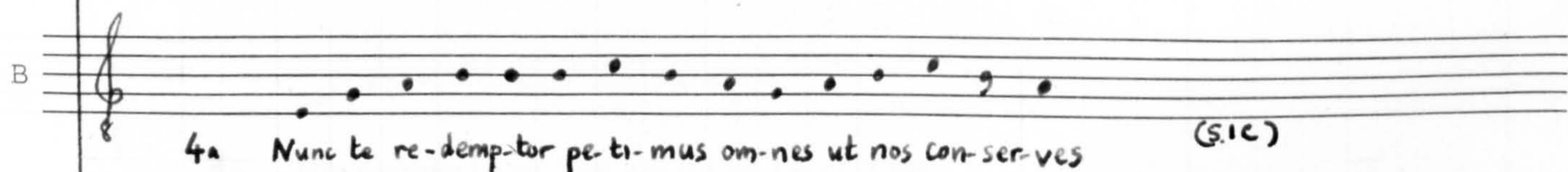
C   
 2a Sac-ra nunc vo-ta fer-ri-mus dan-da

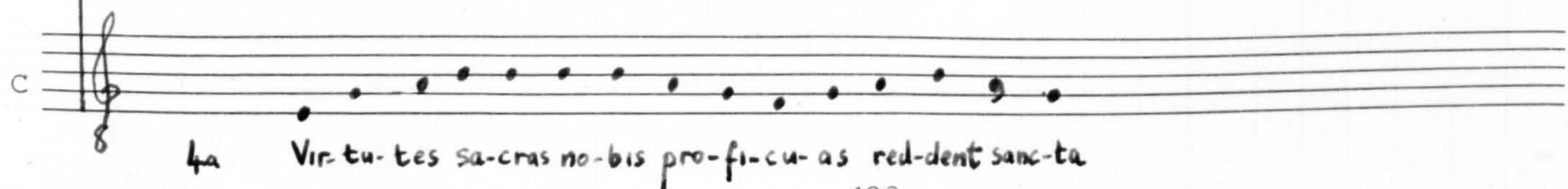
A 


B   
 3a Qui jus-to pi-o-que mo-de-ra-mi-ne et pro pec-ca-tis pe-nam ir-ro-gans.


C   
 3a Co-li-mus nam tu-a tem-pli sac-ra-ta fes-ta-li-a sub ho-no-re cla-ra

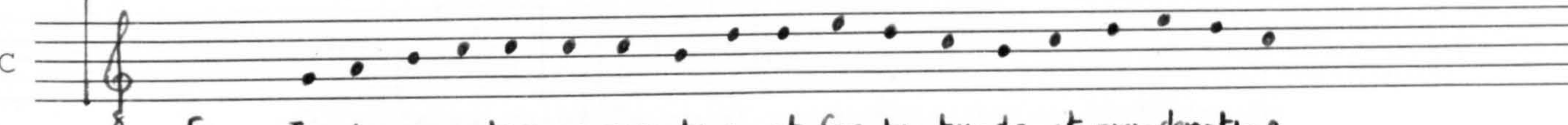
A 

B   
 4a Nunc te re-demp-tor pe-ti-mus om-nes ut nos con-ser-ves (SIC)


C   
 4a Vir-tu-tes sa-cras no-bis pro-fi-cu-as red-dent sanc-ta

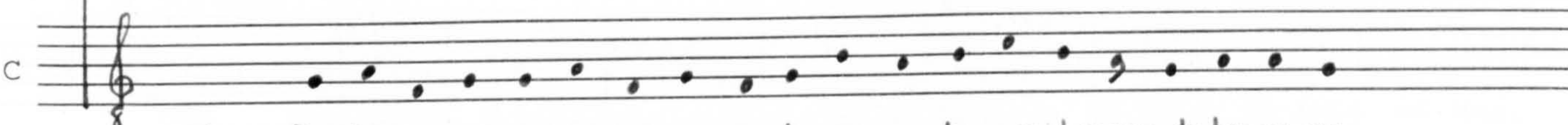
A 

B   
Sa Tu e- nim es sa- lus, vi- ta, lux per- pe- tu- a et mun- di de- cus


C   
Sa Jus- ti- ci- a tem- pe- ran- ti- a et for- ti- tu- do et pru- den- ti- a

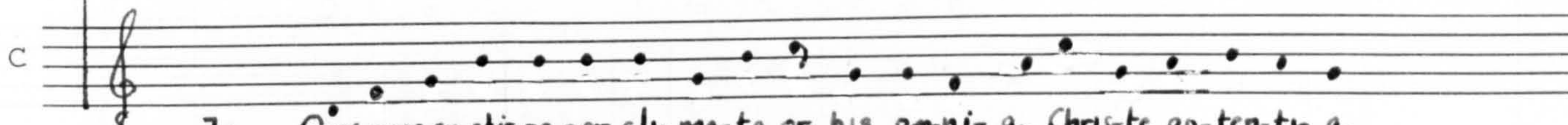
A 

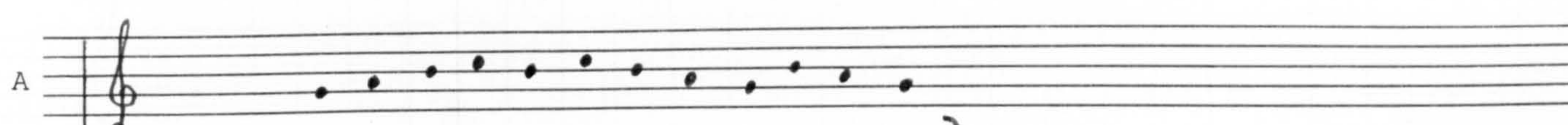
B   
6a. Pres- ta no- bis au- xi- li- um, rec- tor po- tens, rex, ar- chi- tec- tus po- lo- rum

C   
6a De- li- ci- as pre- ci- pu- as ius- tis mi- nis- trans- gu- ber- nan- do ter- re- na


A 

B   
7a Non quo cri- mi- num nos- tro- rum pe- nam re- ci- pi- a- mus at- que pa- ter

C   
7a Quas nunc ex- stir- pa per cli- ma- ta or- bis om- ni- a, Chris- te, po- ten- ti- a

A 

B   
8a Non con- iun- gi nos- tras vo- ces an- ge- lo- rum

C   
8a Temp- li De- i dans glo- ri- am spe- ci- o- sam



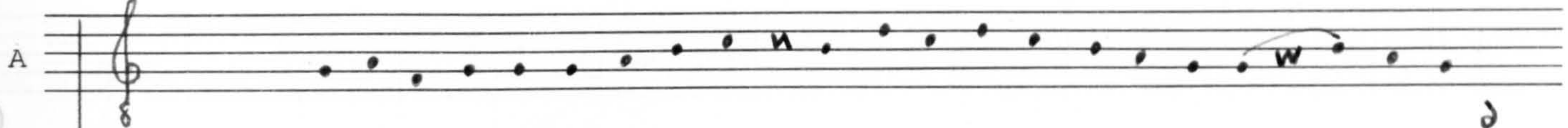
A 

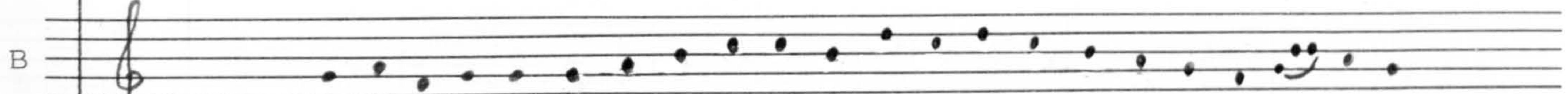
B 

9a Lau-di-bus dig-ne-ris, ut ti-bi pla-ce-ant Do-mi-no in e-ter-nam

C 

9a Car-ri-tas ma-ne-at Do-mi-ni, pa-ri-ter pro-xi-mi, ve-ne-ran-da

A 


B 

10a Re-bo-et hy-mum haec plebs to-to ni-su ac to-tis pre-cor-di-is Chris-to re-gi

C 

10a Haec cun-ctas vir-tus su-per et su-pe-ran-de be-a-ta re-qui-e do-nat a-ni-mas

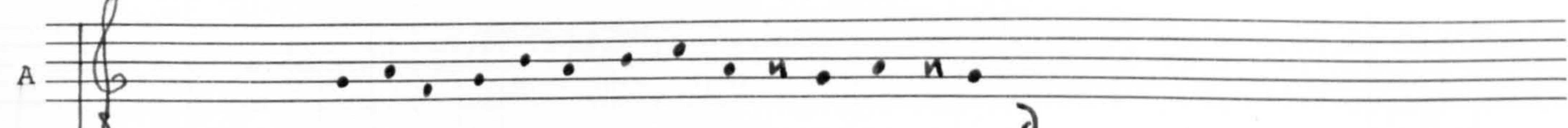
A 

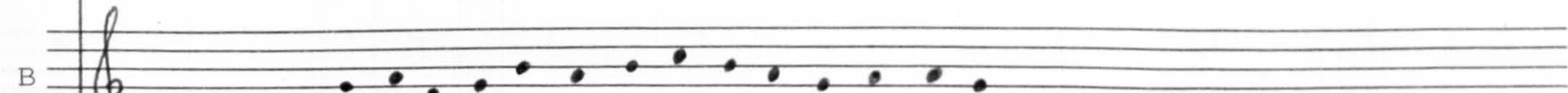
B 

11a Qui ar-vam con-di-dit ac pon-tum, ce-lum, as-tra ge-ber-nat

C 

11a Quem su-is a-tri-bu-it Do-mi-ni pi-e-tas im-men-sa

A 

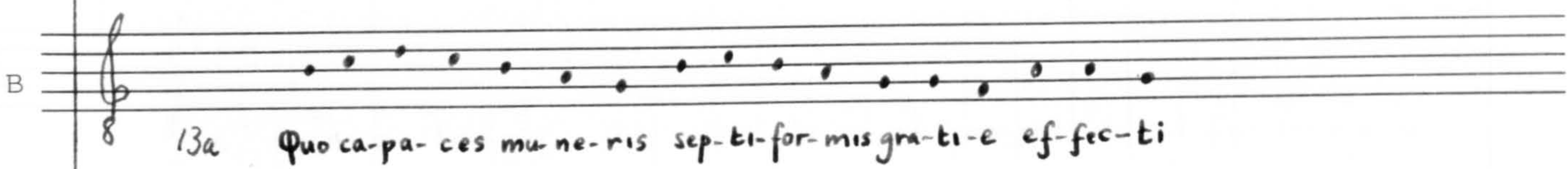
B 

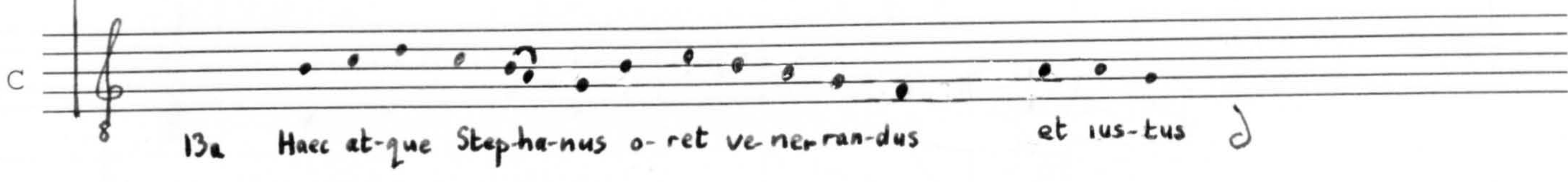
12a Fa-ve vo-tis de-lic-ta, Chris-te, pel-lens tu-o-rum

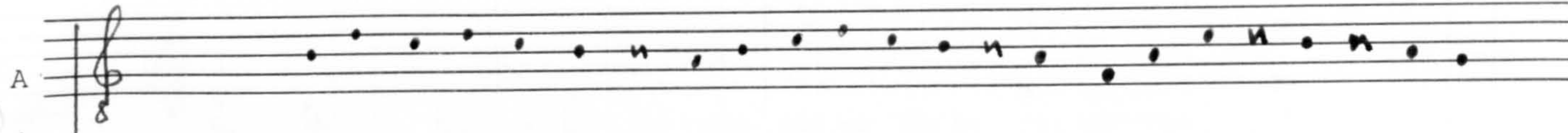
C 

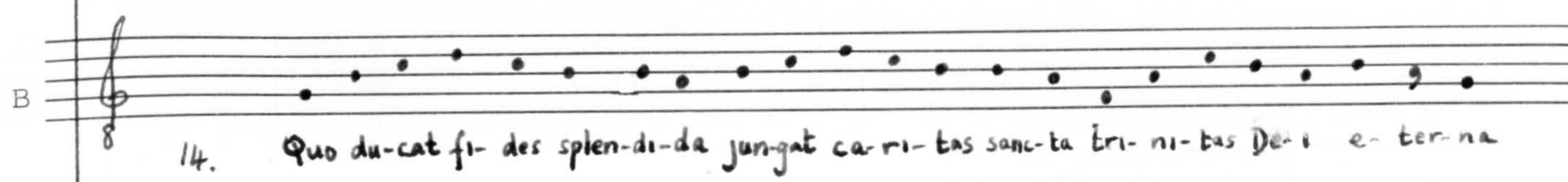
12a Ob-ti-ne-ant Mar-ti-a-lis pre-ca-ta haec sac-ra

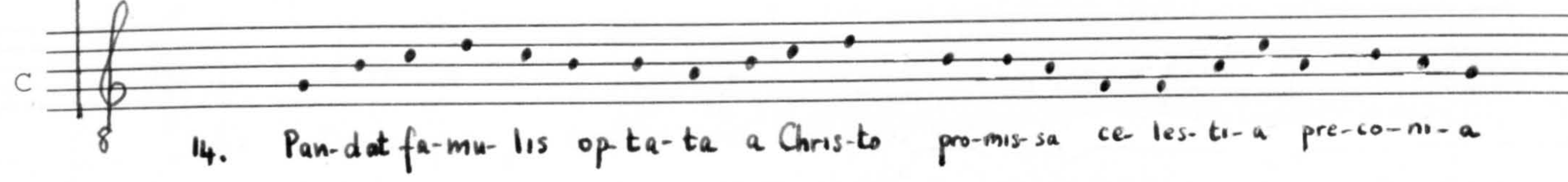
A 

B   
13a Quo ca-pa-ces mu-ne-ris sep-ti-for-mis gra-ti-e ef-fec-ti

C   
13a Haec at-que Step-ha-nus o-ret ve-nen-ran-dus et ius-tus

A 

B   
14. Quo du-cat fi-des splen-di-da iun-gat ca-ri-tas sanc-ta Tri-ni-tas De-i e-ter-na

C   
14. Pan-dat fa-mu-lis op-ta-ta a Chris-to pro-mis-sa ce-les-ti-a pre-co-ni-a

EX.D2: A: planctus publicani: F-Pn lat.1084 (s.x ex.), f.212v  
B: 'Stans a longe': F-Pn lat.1084 (s.x ex.), f.279r

A

B

1. Stans a lon-ge, 2a Qui plu-ri-ma per-pet-ra-rat fa-ci-no-ra

A

B

3a No-le-bat al-ti ad-spi-ce-re ce-li si-de-ra

A

B

4a De-us pro-pi-ti-us mi-hi pec-ca-to-ri es-to

A

B

5a Hac vo-ce be-nig-na pro-me-ru-it cle-men-ti-a

A

B

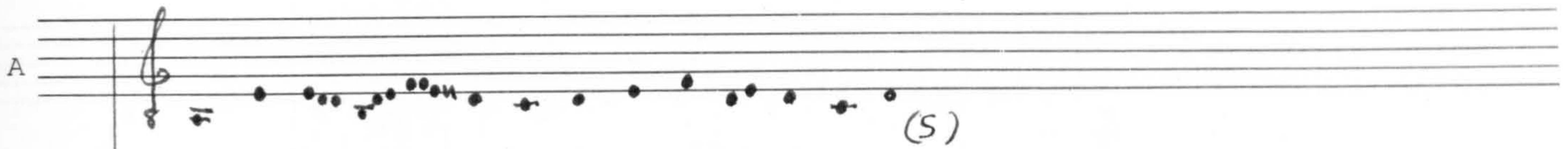
6a Cu-ius nos sac-ra sec-tan-tes e-xem-pla di-ci-mus De-o

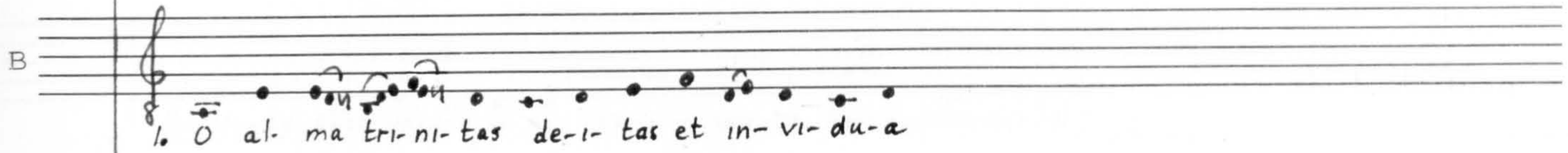
A

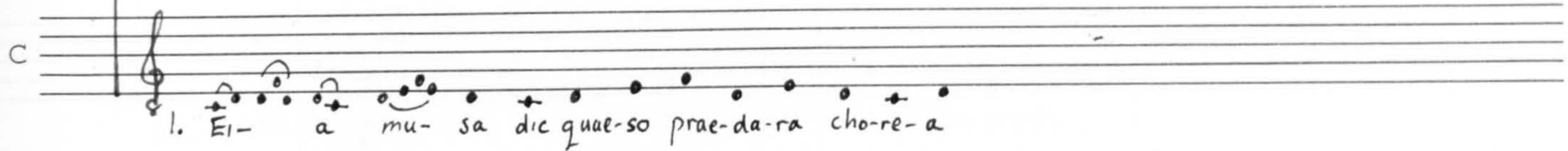
B


7. mi-tis et nos ius-ti-fi-ca.

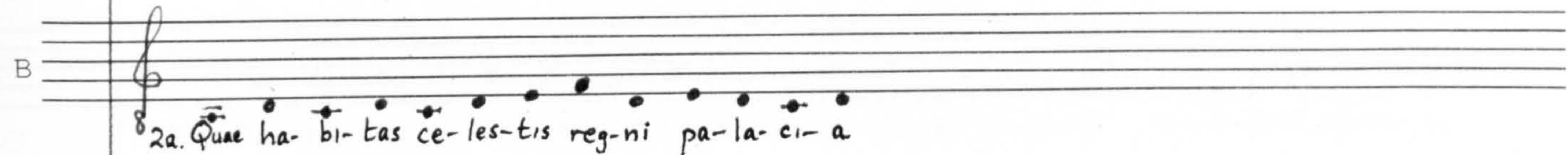
A: planctum/eia musa: F-Pn lat.887 (s.xi in.), f.91v  
 EX.E2: B: 'O alma trinitas': F-Pn lat.887 (s.xi in.), f.120r  
 C: 'Eia musa': GB-Cu Additional 710 (ca.1360), f.68r

A  (S)

B   
 1. O al- ma tri- ni- tas de- i- tas et in- vi- du- a

C   
 1. Ei- a mu- sa dic- que- so prae- da- ra cho- re- a

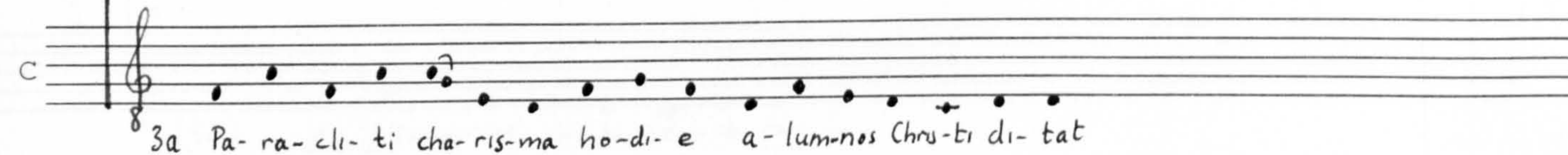
A  (SIC)

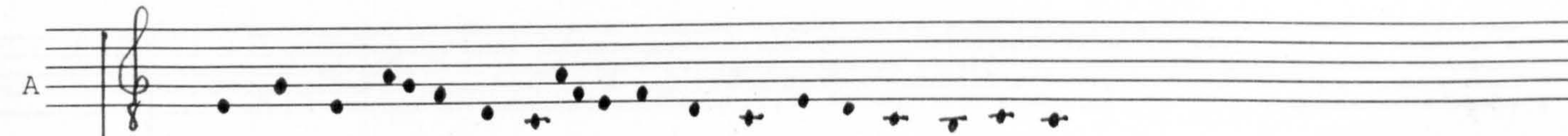
B   
 2a. Quae ha- bi- tas ce- les- tis reg- ni pa- la- ci- a

C   
 2a. Ast mo- du- lans ti- bi- a re- sul- tet plect- ro lau- dum lae- ta car- mi- na

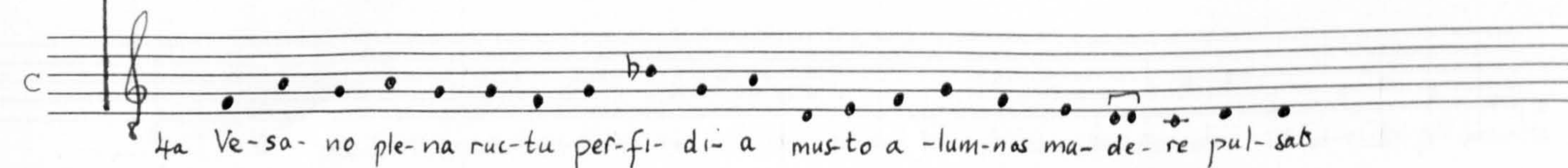
A  (SIC)

B   
 3a Ju- bi- lat car- ter- va ma- ris ac- tet lus fac- tu- ra

C   
 3a Pa- ra- cli- ti cha- ris- ma ho- di- e a- lum- nos Chru- ti di- tat

A 

B   
 4a. Et cla- ra con- tu- en- tur al- ta et mi- ra ni- mis sy- de- ra

C   
 4a Ve- sa- no ple- na ruc- tu per- fi- di- a mus- to a- lum- nas ma- de- re pul- sab

A

B

(4a) Un-de splen-dent. Sat in e- the- ra sanc-ta ta-ber-na-cu-la

C

(4a) spi-ri-tus gra-ti-a ar-den-tes quos red-dit fer-vi-da

A

B

5a Ma-ies-tas e-ius cla-ra est val-de le-ta as-si-du-e re-bo-ant ag-mi-na

C

5a Mox e-gres-si om-nes u-na tae-tra pe-ra-gran-tar-va

A

B

(5a) cae-les-ti-a, di-cen-tes af-fan-tur hec ver-ba rith-mi-ca

C

(5a) dif-fun-den-tes ver-bi se-mi-na

A

B

6a Pre-ces mar-ti-rum suf-fra-gi-a sa-cer-do-tum si-mul glo-ri-a plebs om-nis ex-pec-tat

C

Ec-ce Chris-te nunc ca-ter-va tu-a in hac au-la de-can-tat car-mi-na ut cae-les-ti per mix-ta



## CHAPTER FIVE: LITERARY MATTER AND STYLE

### 1. Introduction

In the previous three chapters the manuscripts, verse form and musical settings of extant Latin planctus have been investigated in order to establish whether the Latin planctus can be defined according to its social context, poetic form or musical characteristics. The results have proved negative: in each instance variety is the operative word. The purpose of this chapter is to consider whether it can be defined according to literary characteristics. As indicated in Chapter One it has normally been assumed to constitute a literary genre, but this has never in fact been proven.

The working definition employed for the purposes of gathering together the corpus of texts under discussion introduced a degree of predefinition as regards literary matter and style; the precise nature of this must be made explicit from the outset: the texts are each about the death of an historical, biblical or classical personage, or about the destruction of a city, and are each typified by an utterance of grief. The specific function of this chapter is therefore to establish whether the texts concerned are characterised by additional literary features, and ultimately to determine whether they are composed according to the same controlling principle: that is, whether they merely represent a taxonomic class, or whether they have an underlying unity which would permit their being classified as a literary genre.

As pointed out in Chapter One, there is no extant prescription of how to write a planctus. This might indicate that the planctus was not regarded as a literary genre. Against this must be considered the fact that where rubricated in manuscript sources the examples under discussion are often named planctus, suggesting that the term had a restricted meaning. In order to identify the specific characteristics of the planctus and to distinguish it from other types of funeral literature it is also therefore important that the question of its possible literary antecedents is addressed.

The main arguments which will be advanced are that each example is

normally typified by two main features in addition to those already mentioned:

- (i) the use of direct address, and
- (ii) the employment of a eulogy of the deceased;

and that these features along with the characteristic utterance of grief are presented in a formal language. This gives the planctus a public tone of address and provides the basis of its underlying unity. The historical basis for this, I will contend, can be located in the likely influence of two rhetorical exercises which were originally practised in the Greek schools of Sophistic rhetoric, that is, encomium and prosopopoeia. Although definable as a literary genre according to specific characteristics I will also show that the Latin planctus is typified by a remarkable variety of treatments. This I will argue provides grounds for adopting a more flexible approach to the notion of literary genre than has been in evidence in previous studies of planctus.

My procedure will be to consider Latin planctus in relation to four main types, defined according to the subject of lamentation; these are:

- (a) examples about an historical personage,
- (b) those about a biblical personage,
- (c) those about a classical personage, and
- (d) those about the destruction of a city.

The majority of planctus belong to one of the first two categories with only a few examples in each of the others.

The texts of the material under consideration are provided in Appendix C (where they are arranged alphabetically). In discussion they will be referred to according to their reference number as indicated in Appendix A. A small Roman digit following this refers to the chronological period to which the planctus belongs, as illustrated in Tables One to Four (see Chapter Two). For an outline of the historical distribution of planctus these tables should be consulted.

## 2. Planctus about an Historical Personage

The weakness of previous descriptions of the constitutive elements of this type of planctus<sup>1</sup> is that they are presented entirely in terms of subject matter: the impression thus given of the planctus as a literary genre is that it was fixed and remained unchanged in structure and content. While it is possible to single out a so-called planctus from other literary types which are also defined according to subject matter it is impossible to identify what is individual about planctus in relation to other kinds of funeral literature. Since there is



historically and universally a limited range of subject matter which is appropriate in this kind of literature it is inevitable that sub-types include similar subject matter. Thus the schema most frequently presented in relation to the planctus about an historical personage, that of exordium or lament, eulogy of the deceased and concluding prayer, is precisely that offered by Menander the Rhetorician<sup>2</sup> (s.111) for the contemporary encomium, epitaph, monody and consolatory speech. True, there are differences of emphasis in each of these sub-types: the encomium treats of one long dead and is primarily concerned with praise; the epitaph normally combines praise with consolation and lament; the monody centres on a brief but intense lament; and the consolatory speech, though closely related to the monody, places more emphasis on consolation.<sup>3</sup> However, in essence the subject matter is the same in each and the same as that previously observed in the Latin planctus. Thus the terms of reference of this description are too general to be useful in a definition.

This description has more specific weaknesses. As will become apparent the eulogy of the deceased is undoubtedly a central element. However, firstly, there is no strict ordering of subject matter: this is especially evident in 'A solis' (L1: i) where the speaker utters several prayers (st.7, 10, and 18-20) and constantly gives voice to his grief in the refrain following each stanza; or in 'Judex summa' (L77: ii) and in 'Lamentemur' (L78: ii) where the refrain takes the form of a prayer in addition to the concluding prayer. Secondly, the concluding prayer is not a constant element: in fact it is remarkably rare in planctus composed after ca.1130; and thirdly, in a large proportion of examples the exordium or lament is often carefully fused with the eulogy so that it is impossible to separate one from the other. Short planctus in which this is in evidence include: 'Hug dulce' (L66: i), 'Bellatorum fortissimus' (L15: ii), 'Lucifer ecclesiae' (L82: iii), and 'O jam Christi' (L102: iv); it is still more marked in longer examples: 'Mecum Timavi' (L86: i), 'Laxis fibris' (L80: i), 'Hactenus tetendi' (L46: ii), 'Ubi fuit mons' (L149: iii), and 'Me cordis angustia' (L85: iv). Cohen's method<sup>4</sup> of getting round this problem of definition is no more satisfactory. Her catalogue of eight constitutive elements is simply a more detailed analysis of subject matter which however also includes elements which are not found in each of her examples. What is lacking in previous descriptions of this type of planctus is an indication of the mode or tone of address employed, a discussion of the style of the eulogy, and a consideration of the particular purpose, or purposes, which individual planctus served. Thus

as well as subject matter these factors must also be investigated before an assessment can be made concerning the constituents of this type of planctus. This can usefully be achieved by examining how medieval poets may have conceived it.<sup>5</sup>

In their terms it might be described, at least initially, as a combination of two Sophistic rhetorical exercises: laus (or encomium) and adlocutio (or prosopopoeia or conformatio). Both are included in the Greek Progymnasmata<sup>6</sup> or Exercises which are attributed to Hermogenes, a second-century, pagan schoolmaster of Tarsus. He was one of a number of Greek teachers of rhetoric - the Second Sophists<sup>7</sup> - who looked back to the Sophistic tradition of Gorgias. In the civic society to which Hermogenes belonged such declamatory exercises<sup>8</sup> formed part of a boy's elementary education, the basis of the necessary oratorical accomplishments of the adult in his professional life. The Exercises were closely translated into Latin in the early sixth century by Priscian, a Constantinople schoolmaster, in his De Praeexercitamentis rhetoricis.<sup>9</sup> Priscian thus made available the precepts of the Second Sophistic to those without Greek. Along with such works as Donatus's Ars grammatica minor<sup>10</sup> and Priscian's Institutio de arte grammatica<sup>11</sup> the Praeexercitamenta numbered amongst the standard teaching texts of medieval monastic schools from the sixth century.<sup>12</sup>

It includes descriptions of how the following may be approached: fable (fabula), tale (narratio), chria (usus), proverb (sententia), refutation and confirmation (refutatio and confirmatio), commonplace (locus communis), encomium (laus), comparison (comparitio), prosopopoeia (adlocutio), ecphrasis (descriptio), thesis (positio), and introducing a bill (de legis latione). The following is a summary of the elements which Priscian includes in his account of laus:<sup>13</sup>

Intrinsic subjects: race, city, family, marvels attending the birth, manner of life, education, the nature of body and soul to be treated under the headings: beauty, stature, agility and might for the body; and justice, self-control, wisdom and manliness for the soul; office held, and deeds.

Extrinsic subjects: kin, friends, wealth, household and the like; the length of his life; how he died; the omens seen at his death; who killed him; what happened after his death (for example, funeral games); whether there was an oracle concerning his bones; and something about his children. Comparisons can also be employed.

In his discussion of adlocutio Priscian outlines the following points:<sup>14</sup>

Adlocutio or prosopopoeia is the imitation of the character of a person. This person can either be an actual person or an inanimate object. Two types of adlocutio are distinguished: the definite and the indefinite. The latter refers to typical situations, for example, what a man might say to his family on leaving his native

land; the former to the words of particular individuals, for example, what Achilles might say to Deidamia when about to go to war. Adlocutio is single when a man makes a speech by himself, for example what Scipio might say on returning from a victory, and double when he has an interlocutor, for example, what Scipio might say to his army after a victory. Three main types of adlocutio are distinguished: that concerned with mood, for example, what Andromache might say to Hector where the dominant feature is emotion; that relating to the habit of mind, for example, what a farmer would say on first seeing a ship where the attitudes of the personage are of most significance; and that which combines the two, for example, what Achilles might say to Patroclus, reflecting emotion at the slaughter of Patroclus and his habit of mind in his plans for the war. Finally three tenses should be employed: firstly the present tense, then the past and finally the future. A suitable style should be adopted in relation to the person who is being imitated.

Since Priscian includes comparison in his account of praise, a brief outline of this will serve to indicate his understanding of it:<sup>15</sup>

Comparison is of three types: the comparison of similar things, of diverse things or of lesser things to greater things. It is employed in the commonplace for amplifying misdeeds, in praise, in censure and as an exercise in its own right. It is carried out by covering the topics of praise, both intrinsic and extrinsic. In the comparison of things which are similar in all respects or in the majority of respects the similarities are outlined and compared. When one thing is preferred to another, the one is praised and the other censured, just as in a comparison of justice and wealth. Comparison is also made between a man and his better, as for example a comparison between Ulysses and Hercules: here the lesser man is seen favourably since he is similar (on a smaller scale) to the greater man on account of his virtues. Powerful oratory and a vivid style are required in order that the transitions can be made swiftly.

Although the detail in which these lists are conceived suggests a strong tendency towards pedantic overclassification, for which they have often been criticised,<sup>16</sup> it is important to note that neither Hermogenes nor Priscian present their prescriptions as a set of elements which had to be included regardless of whether they were appropriate; nor are they presented without examples or qualifications.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the impression given is one of academic aridity, in contrast to the forensic sophistication of the works of Cicero, Pseudo-Cicero or Quintilian.<sup>18</sup> The Exercises were designed for elementary education and do not have the practical value and inspiration of the works of Cicero.

It seems quite likely that the earliest writers of planctus at the death of an historical personage worked with Priscian's recommendations in mind. This is best illustrated through a detailed discussion of a particular example, followed by reference to others. 'Mecum Timavi' (L86: i), the earliest extant planctus at the death of an historical

personage, centres on a eulogy of Eric of Friuli and is presented in the idiom of 'what a man might say' - not 'on leaving his native land' - but on hearing of the murder of a friend. As such the emphasis is on the expression of the speaker's emotions, rather than on an exposition of his 'habit of mind'. Opening in the present tense in direct address, the speaker calls upon a series of imagined interlocutors, urging them to lament: the stones of Timavos, the nine rivers which flow into the Adriatic Sea, a number of lands in Northern Italy and places which formerly belonged to the defeated barbarian Avars. Still in direct address, he invokes Eric's home-town to lamentation, alluding to Eric as its 'renowned citizen' and to his noble lineage. He then refers to the place where Eric was brought up (and educated). Continuing in the past tense (sometimes the story-telling present) and changing from the second to the third person, he praises Eric for his generosity to the church and its dependants (the poor, the unfortunate and the bereaved), his gentleness and his physical prowess. Then his deeds are related: how he conquered the barbarians and divided up the land he had won, nobly returning it to those to whom it rightly belonged. Having initially invoked a chain of auspicious places, the speaker digresses to reproach the mountain where Eric was killed in the idiom of a curse, thus employing the device of comparison. His description of how Eric died is based on further comparisons: his once strong shield is now shattered and his powerful body stoned and mutilated ignominiously. Emphasising the horror of this murder and its immediate effect on the deceased's friend, the speaker, he interjects expressing his own grief in renewed direct address. Returning to a description of what happened after Eric's death he lists the numerous personages, both distinguished and ordinary, who lamented for him, thus further enhancing Eric's stature. Finally, looking towards the future, the speaker concludes in direct address with a prayer to God asking that Eric may benefit from the joys of paradise.

The tone of the poem is formal. This derives from the use of direct address and from the employment of particular linguistic features and rhetorical devices. The language of direct address is articulated in the second person, chiefly through imperatives; since the addressees are countries or rivers, not people, the scale of the implied scenario is cosmic and generalised. Direct praise is made in epithetic stock phrases, such as are typical of an epic like Beowulf:<sup>19</sup> 'dulce nomen' (st.2, 1.1), 'civem famosum' (3.4), 'nobile germine' (3.4-5), 'claroque de sanguine' (3.5), 'nomen ... celebre' (4.2), 'largus in donariis' (4.1),

'pauperum pater' (5.2), 'miseris subsidium' (5.2), 'summa consolatio' (5.3), 'karus sacerdotibus' (5.4), 'potens in armis' (5.5), 'subtilis ingenio' (5.5), and 'vir fortis' (10.1). These epithets formalise the nature of the deceased in the vocabulary of the received virtuous hero. The language of lamentation is couched in apostrophe, a poised, controlled and stylised means of expressing grief which draws attention to the response of an individual without necessarily particularising him or amplifying his emotion. Thus, in spite of the speaker's brief allusion to his own feelings (11.1) the style of the poem is formal and its concern is with the public projection of praise and with stylised expressions of grief.

This emphasis serves to idealise the values which the deceased represents. His virtue is seen in relation to tasks or objects larger than the merely human beside which he however is seen to be at home. The praise accorded to him is nevertheless justified; there is no attempt to falsify the facts for the sake of art. The account of Eric's achievements is historically accurate. As Becker<sup>20</sup> points out, the catalogue of rivers and countries invoked is no random list following a doctrine of 'the more the better', as Curtius<sup>21</sup> puts it. To the informed listener or reader each place would have had a particular association with the praiseworthy deeds of the deceased who is conceived as a soldier of God and a model Christian: not only do the places indicate the geographical range of his fame, but also the diversity of his feats. In effect, the list represents a form of indirect praise and further contributes to the idealisation of the good Christian.

Idealisation of particular virtues is not however an end in itself. In this particular example it functions both as a means of paying a formal tribute to the deceased and as an occasion for making a moral point about the course of human history: namely, that even the best of Christians are subject to God's mercy when they die. It is possible too that Eric is to be regarded as a type for Jonathan and Saul. The language of the curse contains clear references to David's reproach to the mountains of Gelboe, and the allusions to Eric's shield and to his body may also be drawn from this.<sup>22</sup>

The relationship between this planctus and the suggestions made by Priscian is remarkably close: the general mode of address is precisely that recommended for adlocutio; the implied presence of interlocutors, the emphasis on emotion, and even the use of the three different tenses

follow Priscian's outline almost exactly. The elements which are omitted from Priscian's topics for praise in the eulogy of Eric are his race, marvels attending his birth, his wealth, his household, the length of his life, omens at his death and oracles concerning his bones. Since however Eric is presented as a Christian soldier it is evident that the amplification of these for the sake of completeness would have introduced elements which are irrelevant to the main achievements of his life. Moreover, with the exception of 'marvels attending his birth' eulogies of other historical personages included in this discussion contain allusions to these topics. The impression given is that Paulinus, the poet of 'Mecum Timavi' (L86: i) has used the Exercises which he would have learned at school as a guide rather than as a recipe. The values which are given greatest emphasis - Eric's generosity, especially to the church, and his gentleness - are not quite the same as those recommended by Priscian when praising the 'soul'; nor is his physical prowess admired for its own sake, but as an attribute of the Christian soldier performing God's work. It would appear therefore that the virtues of the Adonean warrior extolled in Hermogenes's days have undergone some change and that they have been replaced by contemporary Christian values.

The characteristics of this planctus which are not directly suggested by Priscian are the use of verse, the choice of a formal style - a subject which Priscian raises but leaves open in his discussion of adlocutio - and the purpose which the work might serve.<sup>23</sup> These are the contributions of the medieval poet. Otherwise the matter and mode of address suggested and inspired by the Exercises of laus and adlocutio could be said to have provided the poet with a conventional framework through which he could organise a response to death, and with a means of idealising contemporary values.

Planctus composed at the death of an historical personage adhere to the broad scheme suggested by the combination of these two Exercises. Its flexibility permits a great deal of variety since different elements can be amplified and thus given more emphasis according to the circumstances of the deceased. Clearly it is not possible in one chapter to rehearse the arguments presented in relation to 'Mecum Timavi' (L86: i) for every planctus of this type. However, through a discussion of representative examples of the main types of amplification employed I will illustrate that the nucleus of features characteristic of 'Mecum Timavi' (L86: i) is to be found in each and that there is also scope for variety.

Since the interests of the poet of a planctus about a king or noble normally differ from those of the poet writing about a deceased ecclesiastical personage I will consider the former first. Four main differences of emphasis can be identified: there is the planctus which extolls the qualities of good government; here digressions are often made reflecting on the troubles lying ahead now that the king is dead; that in which courtly values are eulogised, frequently for their own sake; that in which human mortality becomes a central topic; and that in which the speaker takes the opportunity to express his political opinions.

Examples of the first include 'Plasmator' (L129: ii), 'Quis dabit' (L135: ii), 'Judex summe' (L77: ii), 'Lamentemur' (L78: ii), 'Qui habet vocem' (L131: ii), and 'Cesar tantus' (L16: ii). The values which are praised in each are those of the ideal feudal king: the concern is for a strong ruler who is harsh to opponents, merciful to his supporters, generous to the church and its dependants and whose moderation and wisdom ensure that the law is upheld and that there is peace. Although his Christian virtues are of importance, these are not emphasised but assumed to be typical of the feudal king. The interest is in an idealised type of Realpolitik in which the Christian gentleness of Eric of Friuli plays no part. Thus in 'Judex summe' (L77:ii) the speaker begins with an invocation to Christ to bless the deceased emperor, 'great, universal, peace-loving Henry'. After a brief interjection of 'alas' he describes Henry's virtues in the third person, stressing his justice, moderation, his mercy of heart and his generosity to the church and to his people.<sup>24</sup> His subjugation of the barbarians and his crushing of civil enemies by wisdom rather than by the sword are next praised. That he built up a dwindling kingdom both by restoring its power and increasing its wealth is then considered. Returning to direct address, the speaker invokes Italy, France and Bavaria, advising the first two that they have lost 'glory' and been deprived of a manifest loss, respectively. The third he urges to serve Christ, according to the wish of the angels and the Virgin. In conclusion, still in direct address, he asks all faithful men to pray for the king and exhorts the deceased to hear his song of praise. The formal tone of this planctus derives not only from the use of epithet, apostrophe and the cosmic scale of the implied scenario which the speaker addresses, but also from the controlled manner in which the chosen verse form is employed, and from the fact that the virtues of the deceased are treated in general terms.

The short lines of each versicle of this sequence, often with disyllabic rhyme, ensure that the range of subject matter is compressed into short phrases which chime with each other. Each single versicle treats the same topic as its mirror image, with the result that the versicles containing, for example, eulogy, are balanced and poised. The virtues for which the king is praised are not sufficiently specific to identify his own particular nature, although at the same time they are not untrue. The poet of 'Judex summe' (L77: ii) melancholically generalises and celebrates the ideals of good government. The authors of 'Plasmator' (L129: ii) and 'Quis dabit' (L135: ii) (Ralph Glaber and Leo of Vercelli, respectively) go one step further. In addition to idealising the virtues of the feudal king they also consider the question of what will happen now that such a great ruler has departed. Both reflect on the breakdown in the social order, while Leo of Vercelli takes it upon himself to suggest to the new king that he, Leo, should be made the richest of bishops!<sup>25</sup>

That some of these examples were merely school exercises is quite likely. On the other hand, in the case of 'Qui habet' (L131: ii) there may be a more specific reason for extolling the virtues of the former king. This is suggested in the fourth stanza in which Wipo, the poet, is at pains to ensure that his reader or listener remembers the virtues of the deceased king. As Wipo explains in his account of the life of the king<sup>26</sup> his poem was presented to the successor. Perhaps he was simply seeking the new monarch's patronage.

However, bearing in mind how closely involved the Church was in secular affairs and the fact that the feudal king was legally conceived of as having two bodies - one mortal and fallible and the other divine - he may have been doing as the author of Gorbuduc or the players in Hamlet, that is, presenting advice to the new king's fallible mortal body on how good government should be maintained.<sup>27</sup>

Planctus eulogising courtly values include 'Jocus et leticia' (L76: ii), 'Eclipsim patitur' (L35: iii), 'Expirante' (L37: iii) and 'Alabastrum' (L10: iii). As Dronke<sup>28</sup> points out, 'Jocus et leticia' (L76: iii) 'contains a perfect summary in Latin of all the qualities that make up courtoisie and are attributed to a lady who is loved'; much the same could be said of the other examples in relation to a man. Thus in 'Eclipsim patitur' (L35: iii), the poet opens, this time in the third person, with a description of how the sun<sup>29</sup> sustains an eclipse - how 'the light of the world declines' - at the death of Geoffrey, Count of Brittany, who is described as its 'flower'.<sup>30</sup> Death



is seen as a force which spares no one from 'its levelling path', and which snatches away 'the kindling of virtue, the refreshing fountain, and now Christ's remaining soldier in the world, a friend.' The speaker then addresses the deceased directly as 'friend' alluding to how he 'tamed the strong', to his 'maturity of manner', his honesty and generosity. The main difference between these virtues and those of good government is that, though they are also conceived in generalised, idealised terms they reflect a more refined society in which there is greater confidence in the ability of the ruler to tame 'the strong' - a topic mentioned but not amplified as it was in 'Judex summe' (L77: ii). The ruler is seen as a friend, as the flower of chivalry and the epitome of pretz, one of the chief virtues extolled in Bertran de Born's planh (P48) for the young son (+ 1183) of Henry II.

These virtues are normally those celebrated in planctus whose main emphasis is on mortality. Included amongst these are 'Magni Theobaldi' (L84: iii), 'Omnis in lacrimas' (L113: iii), 'Da plaudens' (L23: iii), 'Pange melos' (L121: iii), 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (L73: iii) and 'O mors' (L104: iii). None of these examples concludes with a prayer; normally reflections on the fickleness of death and the transience of life take its place. While direct address is often made to mourners or to the deceased, as in planctus of other types, Death itself and the day of that death are also the subjects of invocation.<sup>31</sup> In 'Omnis in lacrimas' (L113: iii) the speaker opens by urging 'every eye', the cleric and the people to express their grief because death, having enshrouded the land in darkness, has 'snatched away the sun of Champagne'. Continuing in direct address the speaker amplifies the day of Henry of Champagne's death, using it as an opportunity to eulogise the virtues which that 'murderous day' stole from the kingdom: the delight of the world, the fountain of all grace, and a courteous, fair and generous man. In a second invocation to that day, the speaker explains how Champagne is robbed of her security, the church bereft of a protector, the cleric deprived of patronage, the army of service, the poor of support and France of counsel. With the loss of the ruler, peace dies and discord flares up. After reflecting on the problems of the new heir - a boy king - the speaker urges that his uncle should guide him in order to avoid civil war. In conclusion he addresses 'man', questioning the worth of the material world in the idiom of contemptus mundi when death can snatch away someone as noble and great as the deceased ruler.

In contrast to some of the examples discussed so far in which

commonsense political opinions are often articulated, there are a number of examples in which the planctus is used as a vehicle for expressing the political views of particular factions. There is some evidence of this in 'Flete viri' (L44: ii) on the death of William the Conqueror: his achievements are clearly seen through Norman eyes, and the speaker takes the opportunity to tell the English what trouble they caused such a great man. In two of the planctus at the death of Charles the Good-'Proh dolor' (L130: ii) and 'Huc ades' (L65: ii)-the speaker in each amplifies the manner of the deceased's death, providing a short narrative about how he was murdered by infidels. It is however in a number of planctus particularly of English provenance from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the planctus is used as a voice for more controversial political views. Examples of this type include 'Ubi fuit mons' (L149: iii), 'Vexilla regni' (L151: iv), 'Pange ... necem' (L120: iv), 'Me cordis' (L85: iv), 'O quam dolet' (L105: iv), 'O jam Christi' (L102: iv), and 'Pange ... gloriosi' (L119: iv). The author of 'Ubi fuit mons' (L149: iii) is at great pains to give Simon de Montfort the status of a martyred saint, illustrating how he was a follower of Robert Grosseteste (!), comparing him to Thomas a Becket, and relating how he was killed and dismembered by petty conspirators. Not content with this the author also compares Simon to a range of biblical and classical personages who suffered fates similar to his. In 'Me cordis' (L85: iv) the amplification of the manner in which the Earl of Gloucester was killed gives rise to political admonition. (stanzas 22ff.). Having outlined the corruption of England's nobles and the manner in which Gloucester was betrayed the speaker urges those still alive to destroy traitors. Most effective however are the two parody laments at the death of Peter Gaveston - 'Vexilla regni' (L151: iv) and 'Pange ... necem' (L120: iv). Both use direct address sarcastically, 'Blessed be the hand executing him', in the former, and 'Compose a song, O my tongue, on the death of Peter who troubled England', in the latter. Instead of concluding with a prayer, both effectively end with a curse in direct address: 'O highest God and Trinity, we beg you with an earnest prayer, destroy and annihilate forever the supporters of Peter. Amen', in the former; and 'Glory be to the Creator! Glory to the Earls who have made Peter die with his charms! Henceforth may there be peace and rejoicing throughout England. Amen', in the latter. Rather than offering praise of the deceased he is systematically reproached in each.

The planctus at the death of an ecclesiastical personage is similar in design to that of a king or noble. The most important difference lies in the topics of praise chosen. Just as Priscian's list was adapted to suit the values extolled in the Christian soldier, so too it is modified to accommodate the virtues of the ecclesiastical leader or monastic teacher. This is clear to see in 'Qui principium' (L133: ii). The speaker begins with a prayer to God in direct address and then invites his imagined interlocutors to sing a song with him relating the virtues of the deceased Archbishop Heribert of Cologne. As in a great many planctus of ecclesiastical personages he is referred to as the 'holy shepherd' of his ecclesiastical flock. Changing from the second to the third person the speaker eulogises Heribert as God's 'faithful servant', whose vocation was decided at an early age. Using biblical metaphors to describe Heribert's progress, the poet relates the story of the education of this boy 'of natural good character'. His virtues - his morals, his gentleness, holiness, generosity and bravery as a soldier of Christ - led him to the position of archbishop where he was much loved by the people in his care. He continued his good works by providing for the churches even in a time of upheaval. His ascetic nature is then praised and after this his generosity to the needy: to travellers, the poor, the weak and the naked. Thus his goodness was in evidence internally and externally. Anticipating his death he had a piece of land prepared for his burial. Subsequently Christ made many signs at his tomb, thus indicating that heaven approved of his virtuous life. Concluding in direct address the speaker prays to God that all men may have their end with Him.

Like 'Judex summe' (L77: ii) the formal tone of this poem derives from the language of epithet and apostrophe and from the scale of the implied scenario as well as from the controlled and balanced use of the sequence form and the recurring refrain of prayer in direct address. The topics of praise which are particular to the ecclesiastical leader are his academic and theological achievements, his care and guidance of his community and his devotion to God. With the exception of 'O Fulco' (L100: i), 'Orba suo' (L114: iii), 'Orbata patre' (L115: iii) and 'Quis meo capiti' (L137: iv) the values praised in planctus at the death of an ecclesiastical personage remain relatively constant reflecting different aspects of monastic life rather than the nature of changes in social values. 'O Fulco' (L100: i) differs only insofar as the manner of Archbishop Fulko's death - the preparation of his body

and the burial service-are amplified in some detail. The other three examples - 'Orba suo' (L114: iii), 'Orbata patre' (L115: iii), both on the murder of Thomas a Becket, and 'Quis meo capiti' (L137: iv), on the execution of Archbishop Richard Scrope of York - relate to events in which ecclesiastical personages offended the ruling king and closely resemble the planctus at the death of a king or noble in which political opinions are expressed: indeed 'Orba suo' (L114: iii) is nothing less than a protest song.

Apart from planctus which idealise the virtues of a deceased ecclesiastic in the manner of 'Qui principium' (L133: ii) a small number seem to be intended as personal expressions of grief, while there are a few examples of what one might call Laments for the Makaris.<sup>32</sup> Examples of the former include 'Mente tristamur' (L87: i), 'O Fulco' (L100: i), 'Hactenus' (L46: ii), 'O Gauzline' (L101: ii), 'Ad te namque' (L9: ii), and 'Doctorum' (L26: ii). The question of whether a planctus was intended as an expression of personal grief is one which cannot be resolved. The competent poet, such as Sedulius Scottus, the author of 'Mente tristamur' (L87: i), or Baudri de Bourgueil who wrote 'Doctorum' (L26: ii), is quite capable of giving the impression that he is involved personally, and that his amplifications of grief are a reflection of his own feelings. However, not all these examples are written by the most competent of poets. This applies in particular to 'O Fulco' (L100: i) and 'Hactenus' (L46: ii). While the author of the latter covers the usual topics in the customary formal style he constantly reverts to first person accounts of what he thinks and feels about the deceased, for example: 'I never say his name except with a heavy heart; I imagine his face, the appearance of which is not unlike mine. I cherish it; I am always joined to it with a watchful soul' (st.4); or: 'You always gave me hope; grieving I long for this man; just now I am wretched and unhappy; I miss you and your qualities. Alas! why are you not living with me, alive, at this time' (st.26). Against a backcloth of lamenting countries and cities and eulogy of the deceased's academic achievements the use of the first and second persons seems clumsy. In 'Heu eheu' (L49: ii), another planctus for a deceased teacher, this time Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, the deceased is praised for his scholarship and for his ability to impart it, as in 'Hactenus' (L46: ii), but there is no attempt on the part of the speaker to present his own opinions. The author of 'Hactenus' (L46: ii) does not complicate the scenario by invoking a chain of classical personages, such as the poet of 'Omne quod' (L110: ii),<sup>33</sup>

poet who is plainly engaged in a school exercise. If the poet of 'Hactenus' (L46: ii) is not expressing his own feelings, it is difficult to imagine why he has bothered to interrupt the flow of his poem with his own opinions. One other possibility, which might be applied more readily to Baudri de Bourgueil's 'Doctorum' (L26: ii), is that he is trying to celebrate the ideal of male friendship, inspired by Cicero's De amicitia.<sup>34</sup>

Personal in a different way are the laments for Fulk, Archbishop of Rheims - 'O Fulco' (L100: i), Odilo, Abbot of Cluny - 'Ad te namque' (L9: ii), and Gauzlinus of Fleury - 'O Gauzlinue' (L101: ii). In these the use of the second person gives their formal tone a register of intimacy, and reflects the response of the community at the loss of a spiritual leader who was loved and admired. Hence the planctus functions here as a devotional poem dedicated to the memory of a local saint, in the case of Odilo, or to a saintly, spiritual guide, in the case of the others.

The so-called Laments for the Makaris include 'Armonicae' (L14: ii), 'In nomine Domini' (L68: iii), 'Oro Deum patrem' (L117: iii), and 'O transeuntes' (L108: iii). 'Armonicae' (L14: ii) begins as a lament at the death of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres who is praised for his scholarly achievements. As an amplification of these the poet, Adelman of Liège, then reinforces the nature of Fulbert's success as a teacher by praising the accomplishments of seven of his pupils who continued their teacher's work. By praising this long list of scholars Adelman indicates the ideals of scholarship, just as Dunbar sets up the ideals of literature in his 'Lament for the Makaris'. By immortalising the dead in poetry, both writers suggest a limit to the power of death. The three remaining examples belong to the same manuscript and are more accurately described as school exercises. Each is concerned with praise of Ambrose, though more variety is evident in 'In nomine Domini' (L68: iii) since the personages described in mourning include a remarkable range of classical, patristic, Arabic and medieval Latin personages and their works.

From the preceding discussion it is evident that central to each planctus at the death of an historical personage are the use of direct address and a eulogy of the deceased, both of which are presented in a public tone. That the two parody planctus at the death of Peter Gaveston, both composed towards the end of the history of the Latin planctus, are also organised in the same manner - praise being replaced by blame, and direct address being treated sarcastically -

bears witness to the fact that medieval writers of planctus at the death of an historical personage continued to recognise these components as the main attributes of a planctus. Within this framework there is however the opportunity for the poet to amplify topics according to his own particular interests, the subject of lamentation, or the historical period to which he belonged.

The literary achievement of planctus of this type is undoubtedly mixed. The economy and eloquence of Paulinus's 'Mecum Timavi' (L86: i) contrasts markedly with the aimlessness of 'Hug dulce' (L66: i), with the histrionic excess of 'Omnis etas' (L112: ii), or with the inconclusiveness of 'Anglia planctus itera' (L11: iii). Moreover, while the majority of planctus writers appeared to have used the Exercises as a guide, rather than a recipe, adapting their suggestions to suit the particular instance, a good number of examples are quite clearly exercises in the narrower sense of school homework, for example, 'Bellatorum fortissimus' (L15: ii), 'Omne quod' (L110: ii), 'Oro Deum patrem' (L117: iii), and 'O transeuntes' (L108: iii), to mention only a few.

Nevertheless a significant number of examples are accomplished, including those discussed above in detail, while a few others are clearly unusual. The journalistic detail of 'Jerusalem luge' (L75: ii), a lament for the dead at the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, and the extent to which its author, Godfroy de Bouillon, has sustained its mood, is striking. 'Plangite quaeso' (L127: i) is a curious hybrid of a planctus and a pastoral eclogue.<sup>35</sup> Of particular interest is 'Ad fletus' (L8: ii), both because it is presented in the form of a dialogue, and because the translation of St. Odilo is aptly described in the language of the Song of Songs.<sup>36</sup> The planctus at the death of an historical personage which however stands out most is Geoffrey de Vinsauf's lament for Richard I, 'Neustria' (L93: iii). This is not because it is substantially different to previous planctus: invocations to both the day of the death and Death itself had already been included in planctus composed before Geoffrey's time. As Dronke<sup>37</sup> suggests it is a virtuoso demonstration piece and is not intended as a model of how to write a planctus: it is a poet's poem. Geoffrey differs however from other planctus writers as regards his objectives. Whereas the latter proceed by statement and accumulation of detail, Geoffrey uses language persuasively. Gallo<sup>38</sup> suggests that Quintilian and Pseudo-Cicero provided Geoffrey with a model of how to deploy the apostrophe.<sup>39</sup> There are no clear-cut instances which would permit

one to claim that either was a direct source of influence. Geoffrey's planctus is closer in spirit to Cicero's account of conquestio, if not in detail, most assuredly in spirit.<sup>40</sup> Like Cicero, Geoffrey is concerned with moving his listeners to pity; his strategy is to make the same point in many different ways. This contrasts with the much more straightforward procedure adopted by other planctus writers.

If my suggestion that Priscian's Exercises in laus and adlocutio provided the initial inspiration for the planctus seems unconvincing then two points, one aesthetic and the other pragmatic, should be taken into account. In contrast to the persuasive nature of Ciceronian rhetoric the Sophistic approach, as evidenced in the works of Hermogenes, Menander and later Priscian, is concerned with system, detail and ultimately with eloquent balance. That the style of the planctus conforms to the latter, not the former, is evident.

For pragmatic reasons Priscian seems the most likely source of Sophistic inspiration. This cannot be verified specifically, owing to the fact that there are no records of exactly what poets such as Paulinus and his close contemporaries actually read at school. However it can be proposed tentatively on the basis of negative evidence. The works of Cicero, Pseudo-Cicero and Quintilian did not enjoy popularity in the monastic schools until the tenth and eleventh centuries, and at these times not always in their authentic forms.<sup>41</sup> Thus not only is their approach foreign to that of the planctus writer, but it is also unlikely that their works would have been available to the earliest writers of planctus. In reinforcement of this point it is interesting to note that in both 'Libram Phebus' (L81: iii) and 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (L73: iii) the speaker makes direct reference to topics of praise which would seem to be derived from Cicero's account of panegyric in his De Oratore.<sup>42</sup> In spite of their apparent access to and knowledge of a different approach to expression the authors of these examples knew what the planctus at the death of an historical personage normally consisted in.

### 3. Planctus about a Biblical Personage

Like the lament at the death of an historical personage this type of planctus consists of a fusion of direct address and eulogy. Here the speaker is an explicit individual - normally the bereaved biblical

personage.<sup>43</sup> Since the subject of lamentation has normally just died, or is in the process of dying, more emphasis in the eulogy of the deceased is placed on the speaker's immediate reaction to, and assessment of, his loss. Accordingly the manner of the deceased's death and reproach of those responsible for it are amplified much more than in the planctus at the death of an historical personage.

Thus, in 'Heu michi' (L57: iii), Jacob begins his lament for Joseph by blaming himself: 'That wild beast did not slay you; on the contrary it was your father who did that'. Joseph is then eulogised indirectly through Jacob's description of what he has lost: his son, his happiness, the comfort of a father, and a medicine for life. Dwelling again on his own sense of guilt Jacob reproaches himself: Joseph's 'mission of peace was an act of robbery committed by me.' Returning to eulogy of his son Jacob suggests his virtues through apostrophes of Joseph as 'my son', as a 'young face', 'the light of a father', and as 'dear offspring'. He then repeats the first three of these qualities adding that Joseph was also his 'right hand', and asks where Joseph's body must lie, expressing the desire to die himself. Crystallising his sense of guilt in a series of comparisons Jacob identifies Joseph's dead flesh as his funeral and Joseph's young limbs as his wounds. He then reproaches the wild beast he assumes has killed his son for being savage and violent beyond measure. Next, he reflects on the uncivilised and dishonourable death which his son suffered and wishes again for his own death after asking himself a series of rhetorical questions. He concludes that nothing can console him and that no song can soothe his grief, wishing ill to the parents that bore him and invoking old men and young boys to lamentation, because Joseph, 'the fresh flower which bloomed', died violently. Finally he describes how a tomb has been erected in memory of Joseph, both as a warning about life's misfortunes and in order to procure favour for a little boy. Wishing that there was no evil in the world, he longs for the day of judgment 'which will check our tongues'.

In spite of the fact that this planctus focuses on the inner, personal thoughts of a bereaved father the style is nevertheless formal. The qualities for which Joseph is eulogised are general and, as in the planctus at the death of an historical personage, they are idealised: 'patris solatium' (3.3), 'vitae remedium' (3.4), 'tenera facies' (5.1), 'patris lumen' (5.2), 'cara prole' (5.2), and 'eius dextera' (6.2). Apostrophe and rhetorical questions also serve to enhance the poem's formality, by stylising the speaker's expressions of grief. While the



repetition of phrases such as 'Ioseph fili', or of the virtues which Joseph represents (sts.5 and 6), and passages containing rhetorically balanced contrasts between Joseph's lot and Jacob's reaction to it (sts.7 and 8) give the impression that Jacob's response to bereavement is agitated and personal, these features in fact formalise Jacob's grief. Although the listener's imagination is affected by their emotive quality, they ultimately project the inner thoughts of the bereaved to a public level of expression, such as is evident in the planctus about an historical personage. The chief difference between the latter and 'Heu michi' (L57: iii) is that the first proceeds normally by statement, whereas in the second there is an attempt to provide some logical explanation of the reasons for the speaker's grief. This is best understood with reference to the poet's treatment of the scriptural account of the event in Genesis 37.32-5:

Mittentes qui ferrent ad patrem, et dicerent: Hanc invenimus: vide utrum tunica filii tui sit, an non.

Quam cum agnovisset pater, ait: Tunica filii mei est: fera pessima comedit eum, bestia devoravit Joseph.

Scissisque vestibus, indutus est cilicio, lugens filium suum multo tempore.

Congregatis autem cunctis liberis ejus ut lenirent dolorem patris, noluit consolationem accipere, sed ait: descendam ad filium meum lugens in infernum. Et illo perseverante in fletu.

The poet has amplified the main points of this story: the wild beast devoured Joseph; Jacob mourned for his son for a long time; he refused to be comforted; and he said he would go to his grave mourning for his son. However, the poet has added to this the nature of Jacob's reaction to the event: Jacob speaks as a man who feels ultimately responsible for his son's death. Hence the inclusion of self-reproach and the death wishes. However, although the poet has given Jacob a more human depiction than the biblical account, Jacob's lament is given a wider significance: Jacob awaits the Day of Judgment, when along with many other Old Testament souls he will benefit from Salvation. Jacob is thus a type for the Old Testament soul in torment and a vehicle through which the Christian message of Salvation can be articulated. Hence the apparently personal elements of the poem are part of a strategy for putting forward an implicitly didactic message emotively.

The majority of planctus of this type are explicitly concerned with the nature of sin and the fact that in spite of his fallen state man will be joyfully redeemed by the Saviour. This can best be seen with reference to the way in which biblical material is treated and in relation to the social context of each example.

The responsories and antiphons consist of scriptural quotation from II Samuel 1, in the case of David's laments for Saul and Jonathan, and from II Samuel 18, in the case of 'Rex autem David' (L139: i), David's lament for his son Absalom. In each however the deviser has skilfully selected sentences or phrases from the biblical text, occasionally amplifying and paraphrasing them where appropriate, in order to provide a vignette of the event. Thus the antiphon 'Saul et Jonathas' (L142: i) consists simply of phrases extracted from verses 24, 25, 27 and 19 of II Samuel 1. However, although the first part of the responsory 'Montes Gelboe' (L90: i) includes lines from verses 21 and 19 the second part (the verse) is based on a line from Psalm 125.2, which effectively amplifies the opening reproach to the Mountains of Gilboa. In the antiphon 'Rex autem David' (L139: i) the scriptural account of how the Cushite informed David of Absalom's death is paraphrased in the line: 'Rex autem David, cooperto capite incedens, lugebat filium suum, dicens.' The lament proper consists of repeated apostrophes addressed to Absalom, as in the Vulgate, followed by David's wish that he had died in place of his son, and concludes with one further apostrophe to Absalom (rather than with two, as in the Vulgate).

The main objective of each vignette is to illustrate how the strong in battle were treacherously killed on their own soil. In the responsory 'Doleo super te' (L28: i) most emphasis is given to the eulogy of the dead. David grieves for Jonathan, describing him as his brother and alluding to the fact that Jonathan's love for him surpassed that of a woman. Praising Jonathan directly in epithets David recalls that he was stronger than lions ('forcior leonibus') and swifter than eagles ('velocior aquilis') and that his arrow never faltered. After extolling the nobility of both Jonathan and Saul David relates that just as in life they were not separated, so too in death they remain together. In his commentary on II Samuel 1 Hrabanus Maurus<sup>44</sup> gives a literal interpretation of the verses on which this responsory is based. As if he had Priscian's Exercise on laus in mind, he says that David's aim is to praise the physical beauty of these two men and the constancy of their hearts; interestingly he mentions that in David's comparison of Jonathan to lions and eagles the trope employed is hyperbole.<sup>45</sup> Glossing the description of Jonathan's arrow Hrabanus explains that David wanted to show that Saul and Jonathan were the fiercest and strongest men in battle of their time.

In the antiphon 'Montes Gelboe' (L89: i) most emphasis is placed

on David's reproach of the place where both men met their death, with brief allusions to their virtues. Hrabanus Maurus also provides a literal explanation of this.<sup>46</sup> He says:

it is as if with indignance David speaks to the place of the murder, abominating the deed which was carried out on it, but not without pointing to its great mystery.

He thus describes the Vulgate lament of David in contemporary rhetorical terms.

Apart from their literal meaning other factors have to be considered in order to appreciate the significance of these antiphons and responsories. Since grief is so explicitly and vehemently expressed in them they seem rather unusual items to include in the liturgy. Firstly they have to be considered as a part of the retelling of Old Testament history carried out on the Sundays after Pentecost which ultimately belongs to the cyclical scheme of the liturgy. In the case of the antiphons Old Testament history is constantly seen in relation to the New Testament message of Salvation: each belongs to Vespers and is thus followed by the Canticle 'Magnificat anima mea' (Luke 1. 46-55) which is Mary's song of rejoicing at the news of Christ's coming and appropriately concludes with the line: 'Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham, et semini ejus in saecula', thus indicating that Old Testament personages will be redeemed by the Saviour. A typological meaning is thus suggested by the liturgical context of the antiphons. If accounts of the performance of the chant at this period are reliable<sup>47</sup> the singing of it was sufficiently slow for the meaning of the texts to be taken into consideration. According to Hrabanus Maurus the literal explanation for David's lament for Saul is that Saul, God's anointed king, was struck down on Gilboa by the Amalekite - an act of sin. The nature of this sin is explained figurally by both Bede and Hrabanus in their answers to the question of why the mountains of Gilboa are reproached by David. Both see the mountains as a type for Israel, Bede<sup>48</sup> comparing them to Isaiah's vineyard of the Lord (Isaiah 5.6). This Isaiah reproached for its infertility, and thus, by analogy, for its infidelity to God. Hence, as Israel, the mountains have betrayed a personage who, as God's anointed king, is seen as a type of Christ. Characteristically more straightforward than his teacher Hrabanus<sup>49</sup> glosses Israel's responsibility for the deaths of Saul and Jonathan more simply by comparing Israel's disobedience to that of Saul (I Samuel 15.22):

Yes, obedience is better than sacrifice, submissiveness better than the fat of rams. Rebellion is a sin of sorcery, presumption a crime of teraphim.

Thus there are three main levels of meaning in these antiphons and responsories: the scriptural, the ceremonial or liturgical, and the typological. Although derived from the Hebrew tradition of ritual lamentation for the dead their significance has been transformed. On the one hand they have been formalised as a result of the manner in which the texts have been constructed, that is, as vignettes; on the other hand they have a Christian liturgical setting whose associations - scriptural and ceremonial - are with the redemption of sinners by the Saviour.

The levels of meaning of the two self-contained laments of Rachel, Notker's sequence 'Quid tu Virgo' (L134: i) and 'O dulces filii' (L95: ii), are similar to those of the chants discussed above. The scriptural inspiration for each is Jeremiah's prophecy (Jeremiah 31.15) that Rachel will weep for her children and refuse to be comforted, the fulfilment of which is announced in Matthew 2.18 at the slaughter of the children by Herod:

Vox in Rama audita est, ploratus et ululatus multus: Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit consolari, quia non sunt.

Compared to the treatment of the scriptures in the antiphons and responsories the laments of Rachel represent a considerable expansion of the brief biblical narrative. In Notker's sequence a voice (or voices<sup>50</sup>) asks her why she is weeping, commenting that her tears are spoiling her appearance. In reply Rachel questions why she should be accused of having shed tears in vain when she has lost her son, the one who would have looked after her in her old age, protected her land, and helped his brothers. The voice then asks her if one who is now in God's presence, praying for his brothers, should be lamented. Rachel represents Ecclesia, the Virgin and the Mother, who has lost her beloved, Christ. The vehement tone of her lament may lead one to suspect that she is weeping as a bereaved mother (rather than as Mother), especially since the organisation of the text around three rhetorical questions means that no positive statements are made.<sup>51</sup> However, this sequence belongs to the Common of a Martyr. As such it has a celebratory liturgical context.

Although organised in the same complaint and comfort structure 'O dulces filii' (L95: ii) presents a different treatment of the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. Rachel laments both for her sons (in the plural) and for her own wretched condition in a series of apostrophes which culminate in an invocation to 'wicked Herod' who was responsible for the deaths of her children. The comfort

which she is offered by the angel is more positive than that received by Notker's Rachel. The angel commands her not to weep in an imperative, asks why she still beats her breasts, and tells her to rejoice both because her sons are now living happily, and because Christ is preparing her for eternal life. Moreover, the angel's positive words are reinforced by the refrain containing the imperative 'therefore rejoice'. The liturgical context is also different. Rachel's lament is a trope of the responsory 'Sub altare Dei' (Hesb.7713), which belongs to the Feast of the Holy Innocents (28th December). In this lament Rachel is a type of the Virgin as mater dolorosa, rather than as Ecclesia. Although her lament is longer, more impassioned and more specific in its terms of reference than that of Notker's Rachel, it is nevertheless a formal, stylised expression of grief, which is designed to highlight the message of joy brought by the angel - a message which the liturgical ceremony also celebrates.

The remaining self-contained planctus of this type do not have a confirmed liturgical context; however their range of meaning is not diminished. Although they retain the formal tone of previous examples their biblical sources of inspiration are expanded still more than in the case of the two self-contained laments of Rachel. Their general purpose can be summed up in St. Anselm's fides quaerens intellectum,<sup>52</sup> that is, 'faith seeking understanding'. The nature of this understanding varies however in three main ways: the theological and doctrinal, the typological, and the devotional.

Much has been said about the probability that Abelard's six planctus - 'Abrahe proles' (L4: iii), 'Infelices' (L70: iii), 'Ad festas' (L6: iii), 'Abissus vere multa' (L2: iii), 'Abner fidelissime' (L3: iii), and 'Dolorum solatium' (L30: iii).- were written as a vehicle for self-expression following his mutilation. That the experiences which the subjects of his planctus have undergone have parallels with his own life is undeniable.<sup>53</sup> For that reason one would agree with Dronke<sup>54</sup> that Abelard's 'individual talent' has discovered 'the dramatic creation that can enfold the private thoughts and yet as artefact can take its place in the outer world in its own right.' However, although Abelard could thus be said to have made his personal grief manageable through art, his underlying purpose does not reveal itself as that of self-expression for its own sake, but rather the exploration of the nature of sin, confession, and penance, issues much under discussion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>55</sup> In each of Abelard's planctus death has resulted from

an act of revenge, a sacrifice, or a battle which the lamenter was powerless to prevent, or was unaware of until it was too late. He can neither undo the done by making reparations, nor avoid reproaching himself for a death which should have been prevented. The difficulty which Abelard's planctus appear to present is that he leaves the conclusions of each open-ended: he neither provides explicit commentary on their moral value, nor offers sympathy to the bereaved. The reader or listener is left with the testimony of the suffering biblical personage, or in the case of 'Ad festas' (L6: iii) and 'Abissus vere multa' (L2: iii) that of a chorus.

In the biblical story of Dina and Sichem (Genesis 34), the subject of 'Abrahe proles' (L4: iii), the narrator relates how Sichem, the son of Hamor, raped Dina, the daughter of Leah and Jacob; however captivated by her he fell in love with her and wished to marry her. His father approached Jacob about the matter who agreed on the condition that the people of Hamor were circumcised. However, insulted that their sister should have been dishonoured, Dina's brothers, Simeon and Levi, massacred Hamor's people while they were still in pain after their circumcision. Though the narrator reports that Jacob was very angered by their actions, he leaves the moral issues raised by the event unexplored: Jacob's main concern is that he will now have to face revenge from forces much greater than his. In response to their father's anger Simeon and Levi simply ask whether their sister is to be treated like a whore. Abelard keeps closely to the facts of the situation as outlined in the Vulgate. However he explores the moral implications of the event by retelling it from Dina's point of view. She begins in a cold, formal tone of voice by describing the attitudes of her own family: she, a descendent of Abraham, was made the prey of an uncircumcised man; in consequence her race was blemished and mocked by its enemy. For this she blames herself. Then she asks what helped her to understand the foreigners, commenting in something of an understatement that she was badly understood by her own people for her efforts to understand foreigners. Again she blames herself. However the perspective changes as she looks at Sichem's situation, one analogous to her own; he has disgraced his race too, for which she blames him. His circumcision was in vain and the cause of his ruin. As if recognising that the neat parallels which she has drawn between them are purely academic - parallels which the sequence structure of the poem is contrived to mirror - she recognises that the punishment meted out by her fanatical brothers

did not fit the crime. Moreover, she can no longer see it as a crime: human weakness compelled Schem to behave as he did; it was not an unforgivable act. Yet, more to the point, Schem was finally motivated by love and the desire to make reparation for his fault, by marrying a foreign woman. However, the pardon which any reasonable judge would have given him was not offered by Simeon and Levi. Their sense of family honour prevented them from judging the situation relative to the specific circumstances and motives of the individuals concerned. In conclusion she laments both for herself and for Schem: this time she does claim that either she or Schem were individually responsible; instead she simply laments that a young man of such a race should have been killed in communal slaughter. The implied moral of the story is that fanatical, merciless minds were ultimately responsible for the death of Schem and his people.

It is precisely minds such as these which caused the murder of Abner, in 'Abner fidelissime' (L3: iii), the death of Jonathan in 'Dolorum solatium' (L30: iii), the loss of Joseph and Benjamin in 'Infelices' (L70: iii), the downfall of Samson in 'Abissus vere multa' (L2: iii), and the sacrifice of Jephtha's daughter in 'Ad festas' (L6: iii). However, in each planctus, as in 'Abrahe proles' (L4: iii), there is no explicit account of how such minds should be dealt with; nor is any indication given as to how those who feel a sense of guilt (in spite of the fact that they were powerless to influence the course of events) can come to terms with it. Some valuable answers to these questions are to be found in Abelard's letter to Heloise on the value of prayer,<sup>56</sup> and in his Ethics.<sup>57</sup> In the latter Abelard explains that the mercy of a wrathful God can be sought through prayer: prophets have won by prayer what they were forbidden to pray for and turned God away from his declared intention. Just as God shows mercy to those who seek it through prayer, so too the lords of the earth must not hesitate to be merciful, even if it means the breach of an oath. These men Abelard compares to Jephtha whom he regards as a man who made a foolish vow and in carrying it out even more foolishly, killed his only daughter. Mercy is not to be seen as the compromise of a judgment, but rather as the exaltation of judgment. As an example he cites David. At the entreaties of Abigail, the wife of Nabal the Carmelite, David broke the oath he had justly sworn concerning her husband and the destruction of his house (I Samuel 25.32ff.). David thus set prayer - the way of learning the meaning of mercy -

above justice; Nabal's wrongdoing was thus wiped out by the entreaties of his wife. Hence Jephtha and other such demented minds of judges (cf. L6 1c.1) should exercise mercy; if bound by an oath to God, as in the case of Jephtha, prayer to God should aim to persuade him to turn away from his declared intention. Thus, through mercy and prayer the death of innocent people could have been avoided.

In his Ethics Abelard describes repentance as 'the sorrow of the mind over what it has done wrong, when namely, someone is ashamed at having gone too far in something.'<sup>58</sup> Further on he claims that 'by a wholesome dispensation confession can be avoided'<sup>59</sup> and quotes Ambrose on Peter's tears:<sup>60</sup>

'I find that he wept. I read of his tears; I do not read of his satisfaction. Tears wipe away a wrong which it is disgraceful to confess with one's voice and weeping guarantees pardon and shame ... Tears do not request a pardon but deserve it.'

Thus those who lament in his planctus wipe away their sense of guilt. Through their tears they earn the right to a pardon. While there may be a personal dimension to Abelard's planctus it is articulated often with the analytical clarity of a dialectician in order to serve a wider purpose. Abelard, as always, is concerned with penetrating, albeit controversial, investigation of theological issues. Hence the significance of his planctus is ultimately doctrinal.

The seriousness of the tone and meaning of Abelard's planctus contrasts markedly with those of 'Samson dux fortissime' (L141: iii). According to Isidore of Seville,<sup>61</sup> who sums up the medieval interpretation of Samson, Samson is in some respects to be regarded as a prefiguration of Christ, because his birth was heralded by an angel, because he is called 'Nazarite' and freed Israel from her enemies, and because he overthrew their temple and those that mocked him. However, his betrayal by a cunning woman, leading to his delivery to foreigners to be mocked, imprisoned; blinded and sent to the mill, are not events through which he prefigures Christ; rather he prefigures those in the Church who take pride only in the mere name of Christ, and are constantly involved in evil deeds. Abelard sees Samson as a man helpless before God's judgments; placing him in the company of Adam, David and Solomon he emphasises his role as one involved in evil deeds, as a result of initial sin: like Adam, David and Solomon Samson is betrayed by a woman. In contrast to Abelard's treatment of Samson in 'Abissus vere multa' (L2: iii) the poet of 'Samson dux fortissime' (L141: iii) stresses



Samson's significance as a type of Christ. This example contains long passages of lament which are articulated by Samson in response to the series of opening rhetorical questions posed by an unidentified voice about why he was overcome. In spite of this the tone of the poem is, however, celebratory. The voice anticipates the conclusion of the poem by reminding Samson that if his locks grow again, he will be redeemed (1b): the listener knows only too well that they will grow again. Dalila's treachery is treated with a lightness of tone: her attempts to discover the source of Samson's strength serve to emphasise that it is God-given and divine, and that it will ultimately triumph. It is a measure of that divinity that, in spite of the fact that Dalila discovers the physical reason for Samson's strength, both she and the Philistines are ultimately denied a true understanding of its origins and are thus unable to overcome it completely. Hence, Samson, who is described in epithets which are associated with the victorious knight ('dux fortissime': 1a.1; 'victor potentissime': 1a.2; 'victor omnium': 1a.4 and 7; 'captor principum': 1a.8; 'raptor civium': 1a.9, and 'dux mirabilis': 1b.1), overwhelms the enemy, in the manner of Christ, a feat which the unidentified voice celebrates at the conclusion of the poem: 'For so great a victory may Samson be glorified'.

The picture of Christ which Samson (as his prefiguration) suggests is that of the conquering, victorious Christ. A quite different portrait of him is painted in the planctus of the Virgin at the cross, 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123: iii), 'Flete fideles' (L42: iii), 'Qui per viam' (L132: iv), 'Cum de cruce' (L20: iv), 'Filii praesentia' (L38: iv), 'Heu, heu Christe' (L50: iv), and 'Ante crucem' (L13: iv). None of these appears to have originated as a liturgical item although the last four are frequently found in books of hours, such as were used in private religious devotion. The object of these planctus is to stir the listener or reader to understand the nature of Christ's suffering more deeply, and thus to comprehend the mystery of Salvation. The Gospels give no account of the Virgin's reaction to seeing her son on the cross. Only in Luke 23.27-31 is there any reference made to the presence of mourners:

Sequebatur autem illum multa turba populi, et mulierum, quae plangebant, et lamentabantur eum.

Conversus autem ad illas Jesus, dixit: Filiae Jerusalem, nolite flere super me, sed super vos ipsas flete, et super filios vestros.

Quoniam ecce venient dies, in quibus dicent: Beatae steriles et ventres, qui non genuerunt, et ubera, quae non lactaverunt. Tunc incipient dicere montibus; Cadite super nos: et collibus: Operite nos.

Quia si in viridi ligno haec faciunt, in arido quid fiet?

In John 19.26-7 there is no mention of mourners but the Virgin is identified as being present at the crucifixion of her son:

Cum vidisset ergo Jesus matrem, et discipulum stantem, quem diligebat, dicit matri suae: Mulier, ecce filius tuus. Deinde dicit discipulo: Ecce mater tua. Et ex illa hora accepit eam discipulus in sua.

Somewhat rhapsodically Eadmer of Canterbury, Anselm of Canterbury's biographer, encourages his reader to think on the nature of the Virgin's suffering in his Liber de excellentia Beatae Mariae:<sup>62</sup>

Truly the sword of grief pierced your soul; it is more bitter to you than all other sorrows resulting from physical suffering ... Let John comfort you, let him console you, let him teach you that he is not dead, but triumphant ... O most chaste Virgin, let me imagine that which should be considered in relation to another person.

Eadmer does not attempt to portray the emotions which his reader would have dwelt on as he contemplated this theme. His approach is not unlike that adopted by the authors of 'Cum de cruce' (L20: iv), 'Filii praesentia' (L38: iv), 'Heu, heu Christe' (L50: iv), and 'Ante crucem' (L13: iv). Thus in the latter a narrator briefly sets the scene: the Virgin is standing at the cross, thinking of her son's sufferings, and lamenting. Her grief is then articulated through a series of rhetorical questions, for example, 'what have you done?', which serve to remind the reader or listener of Christ's betrayal and how he was condemned to death in spite of his innocence. Then she reproaches the Jews for killing the Redeemer while he was setting about saving the world. Next attention is focused on her with emphasis on the nature of her bereavement and her loneliness in this world. Christ then offers her comfort from the cross: she must not let his suffering trouble her because he will rise again in three days time. Moreover John will be a son to her and support her in the world. His mood is finally triumphant: he has now defeated the mighty serpent. In conclusion the narrator speaks advising that death should not be feared; the way of the cross should be chosen; and everyone should serve God faithfully. This planctus thus functions as a means of stimulating the reader or listener to a meditation on the Passion; it goes one step further than Eadmer, since the Virgin speaks; but she does not in fact make direct statements about her grief.

The difference between this planctus and both 'Planctus ante

nescia' (L123: iii) and 'Flete fideles' (L42: iii) is that the latter are conceived in greater detail and are correspondingly longer; rather than merely outlining the scene of the crucifixion different aspects of it are amplified in a formal, rhetorical language. Thus in 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123: iii) the Virgin concentrates her attention on Christ's sufferings, after establishing both that grief is a new experience for her and that the Jewish people are responsible for her son's death. Firstly she focuses on the nails; she gives no description of what they are like but instead juxtaposes their ugliness with a eulogy of her son: 'Flower of flowers, guide of morals, source of pardon'. Then through the use of a brief apostrophe: 'O my sorrow' she describes the effect of the nails: the colour of Christ's face pales and a stream of blood rushes out and drips. In a series of apostrophes she laments the loss of a son given to her so late in her life, the bitter rewards which Christ has experienced as a result of his goodness, the wickedness of the Jews and the fulfilment of Simeon's prophecy that she would feel the sword of sorrow. She explains then that her external signs of grief are indications of her internal suffering. She next asks that she should be allowed to die in place of her son in an invocation to death. After reflecting on what her son has suffered at the hands of the Jews - prison, buffeting, wounds, spitting and thorns - she reduces the scale of her demands: first she asks that she should be nailed on the cross beside her son, and then she begs that his body - living or dead - should be returned to her, in order that he can be kissed and embraced. After concluding her private thoughts with a wish for death she turns her attention to those around her. In a series of rhetorical questions she asks them why they are amazed that the earth is quaking; how the sun may shine if deprived of light; and how a sick man can get better if he has no medicine. She concludes by reproaching the Jews again, by commanding the people to rush into Christ's embraces, and by asking her listeners for some compensation: 'weep for the loss of a mother.' The poem is cleverly organised to fulfil her final request. The strategy employed is comparable to that used by Geoffrey de Vinsauf in 'Neustria' (L93: iii): through emotive allusions to visual details the Virgin guides the listener's perceptions of the scene from the conventional picture of Christ on the cross to a fuller understanding of the nature of his suffering: the latter is achieved by emphasising the Virgin's sorrows.

The listener is encouraged to identify with her. Compared to the doctrinal or typological treatment of other self-contained planctus of biblical personages this represents a new departure.

The range of meaning in planctus from liturgical dramas is similar to that of the responsories, antiphons and the self-contained laments of Rachel, that is, scriptural, ceremonial and typological. Although designed to express emotion their formal language and style of performance<sup>63</sup> ensure that they do not obtrude awkwardly in a liturgical setting. The majority of examples are from Easter ceremonies or Passion plays, with a smaller proportion from plays of Lazarus, of the Holy Innocents or the Magi, and of St. Nicholas (see Table Three A, Chapter Two). Normally the planctus from a liturgical drama functions as a means of achieving contrast. The liturgical significance of each play is ultimately celebratory: a recognition of the message of Salvation. This is especially marked in the large Passion play from Seckau (D-Mbs Clm 4660 (ca.1220-30), f.107r - 112v) which includes 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123: iii) and versicles from 'Flete fideles' (L42: iii): these heighten the emotional temperature during the crucifixion, contrasting with the rejoicing of the Resurrection. In the Play of St. Nicholas, Filius Getronis, (from F-0 201 (s.xiii), pp.196-205) Euphrosina laments for her son ('Heu ... michi' (L52: iii)) whom she assumes is dead (he has been held captive by heathens) in a complaint and comfort structure. On this occasion a joyful conclusion is achieved through the good offices of St. Nicholas who rescues the missing boy. In the Fleury Play of the Innocents Rachel bursts into lamentation at the murder of her sons in spite of the angel's words of advice: 'endure still for a short time until a number of your brothers may be fulfilled'.<sup>64</sup> Her laments - 'Heu teneri partus' (L63: iii), 'Heu ... quomodo' (L54: iii), and 'Heu ... quid' (L53: iii) - consist of a series of apostrophes and rhetorical questions. The attempts of the consolers to prevent her weeping are in vain. The sequence 'Quid tu Virgo' (L134: i) is sung, followed by antiphons from lauds of Good Friday and of Innocents Day, respectively. Finally an angel informs Mary and Joseph, who have fled to Egypt, that they can now return to Judaea because those who were seeking the life of their son are dead. At this Joseph sings the joyful antiphon for the Assumption 'Gaude, Maria virgo' (Hesb.2924), after which the 'Te Deum laudamus' follows. Thus Rachel's planctus introduce a moment of sadness which serves to emphasise the joyful conclusion of the ceremony. The

typological significance of her laments ensures that they do not represent total despair: inbuilt into them is the anticipation of Salvation. Nevertheless, her laments are seen as those of a bereaved mother. In spite of their formal style they allude to a particular loss. There is thus a curious balance between the general figural significance of her laments and the particularity of her loss which embodies two different qualities of grief described by Synge in his observations about wakes in the west of Ireland. Of a wake at the death of an old woman he says: <sup>65</sup>

This grief of the keen is no personal complaint ... but seems to contain the whole passionate rage that links somewhere in every nature of the island.

Here he alludes to a communal, non-personal response to the death of a someone who was expected to die soon. In contrast, at the wake of a young man: <sup>66</sup>

the keen lost a part of its formal nature and was recited as the expression of intense personal grief by the young men and women of the man's own family.

Planctus from liturgical dramas also function as didactic commentaries on events. In 'Ex culpa veteri' (L36: iii) from Hilarius's Play of Lazarus (F-Pn lat.11331 (s.xii), f.9r-10v) Mary introduces her lament for her brother with the comment that later generations are condemned to be mortal on account of original sin. The death of her brother she attributes to the eating of the forbidden fruit. Praising her brother for his kindness she concludes by wishing for her own death. In 'Cuncta sorores' (L22: iii) from the verses Pascales de III mulieres (E-VI 105 (s.xi-s.xii), f.58v-62r) the meaning and mystery of the Passion are commented on during the course of Mary Magdalene's lament. After lamenting the fate of a guiltless man and explaining that it is the result of the treachery of the Jews and high priests she tells of how they can anoint Christ's body. At this point she comments: 'once the wound has been seen, the soul is taught about the love (of God), dear and great in its deeds of grace'; having told the other women with her to have a 'trusting and zealous heart, so that our eyes may see the body of Christ' she describes him as 'a vision of splendour' and 'a purification by sacrifice', explaining that 'death and the occasion of death - a blemish - are losing their strength against life. Anticipating the Resurrection she tells how Christ rises from 'death which has been defeated': 'those people with a sad heart as a result of their treacherous desertion (of God) are sought after with a loud thundering'.

In conclusion she emphasises that the 'reward of the dead king is better than that of a living king'. In him they must seek comfort, and protection.

In a number of instances planctus from liturgical dramas function as a means of advancing the narrative. 'Heu nobis internas mentes' (L60: iii), which belongs to a large number of visitatio sepulchri ceremonies, particularly of German provenance, articulates the grief of Mary Magdalene at the death of Christ in its first two stanzas. In the final stanza, however, she tells those with her to come with her to Christ's tomb, thus leading into the scene at the sepulchre. 'Omnipotens pater altissime' (L111: iii), likewise included in visitatio sepulchri ceremonies, begins with Mary Magdalene addressing God and asking what she and the other women should do, so great is their grief. Describing their loss - their solace, Jesus Christ, the son of Mary and their succour - she then suggests that they go and buy some spice for the purposes of anointing the body. A dialogue then ensues between Mary Magdalene and the spice merchant, a dialogue which is punctuated by the refrain 'Heu, quantus est noster dolor', while she purchases the spices.

In comparison to the self-contained planctus of biblical personages those which belong to liturgical dramas are of only limited literary interest: their full significance and effect depends both on the fact that they are sung and on their context within a particular liturgical ceremony. The extent to which dramatic illusion played a part varies from ceremony to ceremony. It is unlikely that it would have been of much significance in the Sicilian visitatio sepulchri (E-Mn Vitrina 20.4 (ca.1130-38), f.102v-103r), the earliest manuscript source of 'Heu misere' (L59: iii). The three women who sing this lament are identified only as prima, secunda and tertia. Most likely their parts would have been taken by clerics dressed in ecclesiastical vestments. However in the Easter play from Tours (F-TO 927 (s.xiii), f.1r-8v) there are several scenes, and even the possibility of some comedy in the merchant scene, as Young points out.<sup>67</sup> In this play the three Marys are identified by name. The rubrics of two of the planctus suggest some element of dramatic illusion: 'Heu miseri' (L59a: iii) is preceded by the words: tunc milites surgant et redeant ad Pilatum tristi animo canendo; and Mary Magdalene's long lament 'Heu me misera' (L56: iii) is rubricated: ... exurgat inde et eat contra Sepulcrum et, plausis manibus, plorando dicat. Even here, however, there is only a hint that the planctus was to be

performed with subtle modes of gesture and expression. As the detailed rubrics of the Cividale planctus Mariae, 'O fratres et sorores' (L99: iv), indicate, a highly formalised style of performance was practised in this Cathedral: a similar type of performance was thus probably employed at Tours.

#### 4. Planctus about a Classical Personage

The two planctus of this type, 'Hector pugnae' (L47: ii) and 'Dulcis filii' (L31: ii), both appear to be school exercises in the narrow sense. The author of the former seems to have tried out Priscian's suggestion for writing the type of adlocutio concerned with expressing the mood of the speaker: 'what Andromache might say to Hector' is precisely what this planctus is about. Although it is not very accomplished 'Hector pugnae' (L47: ii) is nevertheless an ambitious piece. A narrator introduces the story, invoking Hector as 'victor of the Greek battle', and asking him to talk about himself with his wife. A dialogue then ensues between Andromache and Hector. Andromache advises Hector that he is about to face insuperable opposition in his battle with Achilles. She then gives an account of Achilles's parentage and military career, effectively eulogising the personage who is about to kill her husband. Arguably this functions as a means of amplifying the nature of the danger which her mighty husband will overcome when he fights Achilles. However, if this were the poet's objective it does not come off. It has the effect of diminishing Hector's stature and obscuring his noble motives for wishing to see the battle through. With remarkable self-assurance and insensitivity (anticipating Guido della Colonna's treatment of this scene<sup>68</sup>) Hector replies that he will kill Achilles with his usual prowess: since he succeeded in killing Patroclus he will not fail to dispose of Achilles. The narrator then takes over in order to describe the battle between the two men, pausing to ask the reader to lament for Hector's death, a sentiment reiterated throughout the poem in its refrain. His description of the battle is a rather mechanical attempt to create suspense: first Hector seems to be losing; then he begins to have the upper hand; but finally Achilles wounds him mortally. Somewhat unheroically Hector begs Achilles to spare his life, since Achilles has now conquered Hector's native land, and subjected his parents: this his father and wife Andromache would wish. However, Achilles is

unmoved by this plea, and with unfeeling abruptness the poem ends ineptly with: 'while Hector is saying such things Achilles kills him'.

The obvious sources of inspiration for the two different scenes of this planctus do not appear to have influenced its author. It is Homer, not Virgil, who describes the dream of Andromache, her warning of Hector, and Hector's death, though Virgil does record how Aeneas had a dream in which the mutilated body of Hector appeared to him and urged him to leave Troy (Aeneid, II, 268-97). In Dictys's account<sup>69</sup> most emphasis is given to events after Hector's death: how Priam begged for Hector's mutilated body to be returned and the grief of Andromache at the loss of her husband. Dares<sup>70</sup> gives more detail about events before Hector's death. He mentions Andromache's dream of Hector's fall. However she goes to Priam to ask him to forbid Hector to engage in the fatal battle: Dares does not include Homer's scene between man and wife, a scene which takes place some considerable time before Hector's last battle. The author of this planctus makes no reference to Andromache's dream. The dialogue between Hector and Andromache seems to be his own invention. It is possible that Dares's account of the battle between Hector and Achilles provided him with some inspiration since it contains some element of suspense. However there are no verbal parallels which would confirm this. Dares relates that after Hector killed one of the Greeks Achilles came on the scene. Achilles and Hector then engaged in battle, Hector wounding Achilles on the thigh. Though in pain, Achilles pursued him; finally the two men fought. Dares concludes somewhat laconically that 'wounded Achilles returns from the battle; by night the Trojans lament for Hector'.<sup>71</sup> However in Dares's account there is no mention of Hector asking Achilles to spare his life. The poet of 'Hector pugnae' (L47: ii) thus seems to have provided the prosaic details which Virgil, Dares and Dictys excluded; he ignores Andromache's dream and gives a plain account of her dialogue with Hector; little attempt is made to sustain the impression that Hector is to be regarded as an heroic figure.

'Dulcis filii' (L31: ii), a lament of King Evandrus for his son Pallas, is considerably more polished than 'Hector pugnae' (L47: ii). Dares and Dictys make no mention of the death of Pallas. Virgil however provides a detailed account of the battle he fought with Turnus and lost, and of his funeral, and also includes three laments for Pallas. Immediately after Pallas's death Virgil's authorial voice



exclaims with grief at the thought of both the bitter pain and the great pride which Pallas's death will bring to his father (Aeneid, X, 507-9). Then, during the preparations for Pallas's funeral, Aeneas laments, weeping, at the sight of Pallas's white face and gaping wound (Aeneid, XI, 42-58). He blames Fortune for Pallas's death and recalls the promises which he made to Evander as he set off with Pallas to win an empire and Evander's advice that the opposition would be great. His thoughts turn to Evander, the father who is fated to witness the awful funeral of his young son, now lifeless. Although it will seem to Evander that Aeneas has not fulfilled his promises in quite the intended manner, Evander will receive a victorious son: he will never be the dishonoured father who desires death because his son returned home safely but defeated. Finally, during the funeral of Pallas Evandrus himself laments. (Aeneid, XI, 152-181). First he recalls how he warned his son to beware of the savagery of Mars, yet betrays sympathy for the youthful instinct of warrior pride. Regretting the loss of one so young he reproaches the gods who did not heed his vows and prayers, expresses relief that his queen did not live to witness her son's funeral, and regrets that he, a victor over fate, should have survived his son. He then wishes that he could have died in the battle instead, yet makes it clear to Aeneas and his company that he finds no fault in them. He accepts Pallas's death as his son's destiny and takes consolation in the fact that he died nobly and is now honoured by the attendance of Aeneas and his company at the funeral. Thinking of Turnus, his son's killer, he says that if his son had been Turnus's age Turnus would now be on the funeral bier and not his son. He finally turns from his private sorrow to consider the implications of his son's death, asking the Trojans if they will kill Turnus, not for his satisfaction, but in order to give his son some joy now that he is amongst the shades.

The poet of 'Dulcis filii' (L31: ii) has derived most of his subject matter from Virgil: Evander's wish that he had died instead of his son; the fact that fate spared him; his desire for revenge against Turnus; the victory which his son honourably achieved; his sadness as a father bereaved of his son; his inability to look at his dead son's funeral; his lack of bitterness towards Aeneas and his company; his complaint against the gods who let him down; and his recollections about the advice he gave Pallas before his son departed to battle.

The elements which the poet seems to have supplied himself, often amplifying the above, are Evandrus's desire that his strength will

return to him in order that he can seek revenge; his thoughts on how Turnus's father would feel if bereaved of his son; his brief, but explicit, eulogy of Pallas; praising his strength, courage and goodness; and the repetitions of his wish for death. At first he desires that Turnus should kill him; later he begs Death to come and take him away.

However, although the poet of 'Dulcis fili' (L31: ii) relies on Virgil for his subject matter he does not borrow either Virgil's verse form or his vocabulary. For example, when Virgil's Evandrus reflects on the advice which he gave his son he says:

non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti,  
cautius ut saeuo uelles te credere Marti. (Aeneid, XI, 152-3)

whereas in 'Dulcis fili' (L31: ii) there is the following:

Te ad votum patri totum promittebas timido  
ne abires ut perires obstans hosti rapido. (ll.49-50)

The main difference between Virgil's lament of Evandrus and 'Dulcis fili' (L31: ii) is that in the former Evandrus's wishes for death and revenge are framed within a positive view of heroic values: it would have been better if one so young as Pallas had survived his father, but fate decreed otherwise; Evandrus's wish for death is a rhetorical means of underlining this. The request that Aeneas and his company should avenge Pallas's death is a plea that they should perform their duty according to the heroic ethic, a plea which hardly needs to be made to such heroes. The medieval poet however has amplified Evandrus's death wish to the extent that his view of life becomes negative. His desire for revenge comes across as the understandable response of an embittered father: it is not however presented as the heroic duty of Pallas's comrades in battle.

'Dulcis fili' (L31: ii) differs from Virgil's lament of Evandrus in a further respect. The medieval poet has treated each of the topics of his lament in the formal language of apostrophe, rhetorical question and imperative. Although Virgil also employs apostrophe at the beginning of Evandrus's lament the tone is otherwise more intimate and personal, contrasting markedly with the public tone of 'Dulcis fili' (L31: ii). It is as if the medieval poet had been set an exercise in apostrophe within the general framework of adlocutio and laus. That his attempt was appreciated is suggested by the fact that the two extant versions of this text follow copies of works by Virgil.

## 5. Planctus about the Destruction of a City

Like the planctus at the death of an historical personage this type of planctus - represented by two examples, Paulinus of Aquileia's 'Ad flendos' (L7: i), at the destruction of Aquileia, and Hildebert of Lavardin's 'Pergama flere volo' (L122: ii), at the destruction of Troy - could be described as a fusion of the exercises of adlocutio and laus. Priscian treats the praise of cities summarily, since his account of this is intended to indicate the main differences between the topics used for praising a city and those employed in the praise of men, a subject which he has already treated in detail. He includes the following topics for the praise of cities:<sup>72</sup>

its antiquity; its inhabitants; their way of life; the gods who protect it; the learning of the people and the gods who instruct them; individual men who lived there who can be praised according to the topics of praise for men; how the city was erected; the professions of its inhabitants and their achievements.

In a Carolingian fragment of a treatise on exercises such as are described by Hermogenes and Priscian more detail is provided on the topics to be employed in the praise of a city:<sup>73</sup>

Firstly its worthiness can be amplified with reference to the distinguished achievements of its inhabitants, or to its Gods. Secondly its appearance is discussed: the location of its walls, whether it is land-locked or by the sea, and whether it is on a mountain or in a valley.

Thirdly the fertility of its fields, the yield of its fountains, and the customs of its inhabitants are considered.

Then its riches are treated and whether they were obtained through good fortune or won in battle.

Particular men of note can also be praised according to the topics of praise for men. Comparisons can also be employed.

Thus in Paulinus's 'Ad flendos' (L7: i) Aquileia is praised for its success in war, its riches, its buildings, its city walls, its countless number of citizens (st.2), and for its status as the capital of the region, its clergy and its churches (st.3). As in the planctus at the death of an historical personage the topics of praise are adapted to suit a Christian setting. Similar subjects of praise are included in the encomia urbis 'Alta urbs et spaciosa manet in Italia', a eulogy of Milan,<sup>74</sup> and 'Magna et preclara pollet urbs haec in Italia', written in praise of Verona.<sup>75</sup> The language of praise in each instance is epithetic, the poet selecting the adjectives most suitable for the particular city he is praising.<sup>76</sup> However, Paulinus's eulogy of Aquileia takes up only two stanzas, whereas in the two other encomia each topic of praise is amplified in one or more stanzas,

'Alta urbs' consisting of twenty-four stanzas of eulogy, and 'Magna et preclara pollet urbs' of thirty-three. Eulogy is only one aspect of Paulinus's poem. More important to him is the moral interpretation of history: his planctus demonstrates that 'pride goeth before a fall'.

The speaker introduces his poem in the present tense by addressing the destroyed city, Aquileia, directly, and using an inexpressibility topic: 'tears will not suffice for me in lamenting your ashes'. After outlining the achievements of the city in the past tense, still in the idiom of direct address, the speaker explains that its success caused the city to become 'puffed up with pride' thus angering God. The subsequent destruction of the city by Attila is seen as God's revenge against the city. Keeping closely to Jordanes's account of the event<sup>77</sup> and quoting directly from it on two occasions, the speaker describes how Attila saw birds leaving the city. As Jordanes explains Attila regarded these as an omen: the birds sensed that destruction was in the air. Attila gathered his forces and siege machines, attacked the city and razed it to the ground. The speaker describes this in detail and how those who were spared from the sword were taken captive: anything which was not destroyed by the fire was taken away as booty. The Bible was burnt; the priests were killed and left unburied; and the sacred vessels of the church were taken away as plunder. The speaker then compares the city as it was with what it has become: the things of great value which this formerly renowned city possessed are now gone: the city is despised and subdued by its fall, and will never be restored to its previous glory. The pleasure of city life - its singing and music - are replaced with mourning. Once the home of noble men the city is now the shelter of tramps. Previously it was full of sumptuous homes decorated in marble; now its fruitfulness is measured in terms of the meagre produce of small farms. The churches of the saints which were richly adorned are now overgrown with thorn bushes and have become the haunt of foxes and serpents. Affirming that there is some justice in the scheme of things the speaker indicates that Attila is now tormented in hell. The speaker then looks to the future asking Christ to avert his anger and to prevent such disasters from ever happening again. He invokes his interlocutors to raise hymns and prayers to the Lord in the hope that he will restrain men and be merciful to them. Finally in a prayer he addresses God directly begging him to 'make us better people', and to guide his people on their journey to eternity.

The speaker's outbursts of grief are used economically as a means of emphasis: firstly to set the mood in the opening invocation, and secondly as a means of underlining the sacrilege which Attila was responsible for in his destruction and plundering of the churches. The poem thus depends not only on the topics of encomium, but also on the framework outlined in Priscian's discussion of adlocutio: that is, the sequence of tenses advocated and the use of direct address aimed at an imagined interlocutor. The only difference between this type of planctus and that at the death of an historical personage is that the subject of lamentation is not a human being, and that thus the topics of praise vary in accordance with its identity as a city. Since however the city is idealised on the same scale as deceased historical personages it can be seen as a personification. Otherwise the organisation and content of this planctus are closely related to those of Paulinus's 'Mecum Timavi' (L86: i), his lament for Eric of Friuli.

'Pergama flere volo' (L122: ii) is nothing short of a purple passage. That it was highly regarded as an historical work, as an exercise in abbreviation, or as an example of the use of the Leonine hexameter is attested by its extraordinarily large number of manuscript sources (see Appendix A, L122). It consists of three main sections. In the first the speaker begins by saying that he wishes to weep for Troy which has been abandoned to the Greeks, seized by them, and razed to the ground through a 'single deceit'. The speaker then amplifies the manner of the city's destruction by relating the story of Paris's abduction of Helen, the Greek siege of Troy, the trick of the wooden horse, and the final carnage and plundering. His language is both formal and concise. Apart from his interjections of lament - for example, his censure of Helen: 'O cruel woman, why do you go forth?' - which amplify his sense of indignation, he makes frequent use of ablative absolute constructions and thus covers the history of Troy with detailed precision. In the second section of the poem he amplifies the manner of Troy's destruction still further with the lament of Hecuba. Mocked and abused by her captors, the Greeks, she bemoans the death of her people; most of all however she rails at Juno for pursuing her intent of pointless bloodshed without also ensuring that Hecuba was killed too and thus saved the pain and indignity of slavery. Finally the speaker turns to the city itself comparing, as in 'Ad flendos' (L7: i), what the city used to be with what it has become, employing the conventional topics of praise as a basis for this: for example,

until the Greeks came Troy was fortunate, rich, blessed with lands, full of good citizens and farmers, and endowed with a protector, a court full of life, a city with citizens, a countryside with farmers, rich land and plentiful grain. Now it is bare earth and the haunt of wild beasts. In conclusion the speaker attributes Troy's destruction generally to 'hostile fate', and specifically, with undertones of misogyny, to a 'deadly whore, a femme fatale, a woman full of evil'.

Thus this planctus includes not only a lament at the destruction of a city, and a eulogy both couched in direct address, but also a lament of one of its rulers, that is, Hecuba. There appears to be no precedent for the latter in Virgil, Dares and Dictys.<sup>78</sup> Thus, though dealing with one of the most time-honoured subjects of medieval literature Hildebert of Lavardin has given it a new perspective.

## 6. Conclusion

In addition to the elements of its predefinition the Latin planctus is characterised both by the use of direct address and by a eulogy of the deceased or destroyed, the initial inspiration of which may well have been Priscian's Exercises in adlocutio and laus. These elements represent a nucleus of characteristics which are common to all planctus. The formal style which they promote ensures that the tone of the planctus is public, rather than private and reflective. In reinforcement of the importance of this it should be noted that even planctus which appear to have been circulated for private reading<sup>79</sup> are also typified by this public tone. On account of the fact that the Latin planctus includes a consistent set of characteristics it can therefore be designated a genre on literary grounds.

Although the general framework of the planctus remains constant it is nevertheless a flexible mould. On the one hand it can accommodate the particular virtues of the individual praised, since the topics of praise can be adapted to suit his profession and achievements; different topics can be amplified according to the required emphasis. On the other hand changing social and religious values can also be contained within this framework such that evolving ideas concerning the nature of good government and the good ruler, the exploration of the nature of sin and redemption, the study of eloquence and style, and the moral interpretation of history - the main concerns of each of the four types of planctus discussed - can be approached according to

contemporary attitudes. That the sequence of tenses which Priscian recommended should be followed in adlocutio ceased to be adhered to from around the twelfth century bears witness to the fact that the planctus as a literary genre developed through history in a manner comparable to the growth and spread of a family: it retained a nucleus of common features but nevertheless changed as a result of cross-fertilisation. The flexibility of the planctus's general framework is also such as to give a poet with 'individual talent' some scope for literary inventiveness, as in the case of Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Abelard, Geoffrey of St. Victor and Hildebert of Lavardin.

The Latin planctus can thus be distinguished from other types of funeral verse. Unlike the epitaph it includes rhetorical expression of grief. Compared to the elegy, which is noted for its intimate tone and its reflections on the essential nature of a particular age, the planctus is formal and public in tone and its range of reference limited. Apart from the fact that it differs from the twelfth-century prose planctus since it is written in verse or as song, its concerns are not as wide as this type of so-called planctus. The latter, like the patristic consolatio, its literary model, is normally used as a vehicle for a sermon, frequently on the subject of mortality.<sup>80</sup>

The extent to which the planctus can be regarded as an author's personal expression of emotion is a more difficult question to resolve, as indicated above. On the whole, writers of planctus are more interested in idealising the values by which the deceased lived. However, as I have argued, in the case of some of the less accomplished planctus at the death of an historical personage there are grounds for suspecting that the monastic poet used the planctus either as a means of expressing his personal sense of loss at the death of a much loved teacher or spiritual guide, or as a vehicle for articulating his community's religious response at the death of its leader who has become a local saint. It is in the planctus of a biblical or classical figure where the most specific and personalised accounts are given of an individual's loss. Relative both to the biblical or classical stories which inspired them and to the planctus at the death of an historical personage, they are realised in considerable detail. However, with the exception of 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123: iii), other interests are normally at play which suggest that the reader or listener was not necessarily expected to identify with the private world of the bereaved. The typological treatment of biblical personages and the educational function of planctus about classical personages suggest

that the nature of personal grief was often a secondary consideration.

The precise origins of the Latin planctus cannot be established on the basis of literary evidence. The influence of the patristic consolatio, vernacular epic laments, the biblical lament, and Virgilian funeral ceremonies cannot be ruled out. Macrobius's commentary<sup>81</sup> on the rhetorical means by which Virgil created pathos indicates that this subject was not without interest from at least the fifth century. Moreover the survival of extracts from classical works such as the Aeneid and the Thebaid in medieval manuscripts, for example, GB-Cu Gg.5.35 (s.xi mid.)(the Cambridge Songs manuscript), and of passages in complete copies of these works<sup>82</sup> which are provided with musical notation bear witness to the fact that Virgil's style may have been of some influence on planctus writers. Interestingly these extracts and passages are normally in direct speech, in the idiom of a lament or complaint. However, as their point of departure the authors of the earliest extant Latin planctus seem to have been inspired by the Exercises of Priscian. Murphy<sup>83</sup> has suggested that there is little trace of the Sophistic tradition in medieval Latin literature. However, the history of the planctus may well provide evidence of its continuing influence, how it was adapted for Christian purposes, and how it gradually changed.

Although the planctus has been established as a literary genre this has been carried out without referring to the fact that it is normally written as song. The frequent references in planctus to music and occasional descriptions of the performance of a planctus within the text underline this point.<sup>84</sup> There is therefore some need for scepticism in accepting a purely literary definition of a poetic type which is so often found or associated with music. In the Middle Ages poetry and song were intimately related and formed an integral part of the social life of a community. It is therefore necessary to suspend judgment as to whether the planctus, considered as a whole, has an underlying unity which confirms that it constitutes a genre in its own right until an investigation of the relationship between words and music has been carried out.



## CHAPTER SIX: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORDS AND MUSIC

### 1. Introduction

In the previous three chapters the conclusions drawn were necessarily tentative because words were considered in isolation from their music, or vice versa. This chapter is thus concerned with defining the extent to which words and music are related. In particular, its purpose is to test the two suggestions made at the end of Chapter Four, firstly, that planctus melodies are organised according to certain implicit rules of musical logic, and, secondly, that those in an apparently archaic style are closely related to the rhythmic style or genre of music composed for the singing of narrative. To this end the following will be considered: the relationship between musical and poetic forms; whether there is an expressive connection between music and words; and whether the rhythm of the melodies is influenced by the accents of their corresponding texts.

Some explanation of what is meant by 'expressiveness' is required. There are four main aspects to this. The first relates to the effects music has on the listener. From Augustine to Dante, music, as Stevens explains, was:<sup>1</sup>

the art of bene modulandi - that is, probably, 'of right proportioning'. If the composer's proportions were aesthetically (which meant metaphysically) right, then it followed as a matter of course that the moral results would be good.

One of the practical means by which the desired effect could be achieved was thought to be through the choice of melodic mode, though as indicated in Chapter Four, this does not seem to have been a significant consideration in the composition of planctus melodies.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless there are allusions to the therapeutic power of music to soothe sorrow in some planctus,<sup>3</sup> one of the moral values of music according to several theorists.<sup>4</sup>

The second concerns the particular experience conveyed by the text for which music has been provided. Two different levels of this type of 'expressiveness' are suggested by writers of planctus, or in the chronicles in which some planctus survive. Firstly, death is quite simply an occasion for song (frequently a carmen lugubre),<sup>5</sup> and also a time when the music of normal social activity is suspended;<sup>6</sup> and secondly, it is often felt to have a mystical force.<sup>7</sup>

The third and fourth aspects of 'expressiveness' concern the specific relationship between words and notes. The third relates to the manner in which the singer disposes his song. There is unfortunately little evidence of this in connection with the planctus. In two instances explicit indications are given that the performer should sing with a sad tone of voice,<sup>8</sup> while the detailed rubrics of the Cividale planctus Mariae, 'O fratres et sorores' (L99: iv) make clear the physical gestures which are to be employed during the performance of this planctus.<sup>9</sup>

The fourth aspect concerns the question of whether the music represents the emotions expressed in the text. This issue is normally regarded as anachronistic in discussions of early medieval song. It is, however, this aspect of 'expressiveness' - the only aspect which is intrinsic to musical style - with which I am chiefly concerned in this chapter. More will be said about the others in the final chapter. Towards the end of the late fourteenth century, as Stevens records;<sup>10</sup>

musicians began again to exercise their minds on detailed connections between the words and the music: these connections were not, as previously, purely utilitarian, but took the form of attempts to represent natural detail in various ways, such as the following. There is, first, the stylized reproduction of natural sounds. In the Italian caccia ('chase'), noises of the hunt, the street and the market were imitated in sound. Secondly, the imitation in music of human speech produced 'natural accent' in a few fifteenth century compositions ... When the speech was passionate ... then the musical effect was of strong declamation. And, lastly, towards the end of the fifteenth century musicians started using the technique generally known as word-painting. Instead of merely imitating sounds in a stylized manner the composer makes his music symbolically representative of ideas and images in the text.

My objective is to establish whether this type of 'expressiveness' existed before the fourteenth century.

I will argue that the relationship between words and music in the planctus is primarily architectonic; that, though rare, there are some significant instances in which the music is designed to emphasise the emotion conveyed in the text; that the rhythm of the planctus is normally most appropriately conceived of as isosyllabic; and that a significant proportion of monophonic planctus can be related in differing ways to the rhythmic style or genre of music composed for the singing of narrative.

My discussion is arranged according to formal types, beginning with responsories and antiphons, and followed by strophic songs, sequences and lais, and finally through-composed songs. This is both because the ways in which monophonic song is influenced by music composed for narrative vary according to the chosen form, and because the responsories

and antiphons belong to a tradition distinct from that of monophonic or polyphonic song. The Excursus at the end of the chapter summarises the formal relationship between music and words and should be consulted when this subject is discussed.

## 2. Responsories and Antiphons

From the analyses of the formal relationship between the words and music of these it can be seen that the musical phrase corresponds to the syntactic unit of the text, which is written in prose.<sup>11</sup> Each musical phrase concludes with a cadence on the final, as in 'Montes Gelboe' (R) (MT 46: i), 'Montes Gelboe' (A) (MT 45: i), and 'Saul et Jonathas' (A) (MT 68: i); or occasionally on the notes on which cadences conventionally occur in the chosen mode, as in 'Planxit autem' (R) (MT 61: i), 'Planxit autem' (A) (MT 60: i), 'Doleo super' (R) (MT 15: i), 'Doleo super' (A) (MT 14: i), 'In excelsis' (A) (MT 35: i), and 'Rex autem' (A) (MT 65: i).

Although there are repetitions of the melodic phrase they are not normally exact; for example, melody A in 'Doleo super' (R) (MT 15), and melody E in 'Montes Gelboe' (A) (MT 45). However, melody D of 'Doleo super' (R) (MT 15) is repeated almost exactly, while in 'Rex autem' (A) (MT 65) melody D is reiterated without alteration in phrase six.<sup>12</sup> In the former the corresponding phrases of the text - 'velocior aquilis' and 'nunquam abiit retrorsum' - do not relate significantly to one another, either syntactically or semantically. However, in 'Rex autem' (A) (MT 65) the situation is quite different. Here the repeated melody is used for the second and third of David's exclamations of grief, the text of which is: 'fili mi Absalon'. Although David's first exclamation consists of the same words the syntax is different: 'Absalon fili mi', and the melody is not that of the second and third exclamations. The use of repetition of the musical phrase in this instance has at least the effect of emphasising David's last two outbursts of grief. However, although David's three exclamations include descending musical phrases which might be regarded as pictorial images of sadness, the second and third rise immediately to the final. Moreover, his grief articulated in the line beginning 'Quis michi tribuit' is sung to a melody which reaches the highest point of the range, a melody which recalls briefly that of the narrative introduction to the lament, 'lugebat filium', in the second phrase. There is thus no reason to imagine that the use of the repeated phrases is intended to represent emotion. That

this repetition might be regarded as a type of expressive counter, that is, a melody which takes on a particular association as a result of its use within its musical context, is a possibility. However, since the first outburst of grief is syntactically and melodically different, and the melody of 'fili mi Absalon' repeated only once this type of stylisation would hardly be especially pronounced.

As pointed out in Chapter Four there are frequent instances of melodic patterning from phrase to phrase. Repeated cadence figures include the following:

'Doleo super' (A) (MT 14): (musical phrase) 1 te, and 4 filium; and 3 mulierum, 5 diligebam, 6 retrosum, and 8 aversa.

'Doleo super' (R) (MT 15): 4 aquilis, and 6 retrosum.

'Montes Gelboe' (A) (MT 45): 3 super vos, 6 oleo, 7 prelio, 8 interfectus est, and 10 vita sua.

'Saul et Jonathas' (A) (MT 68): 1 sua, 2 divisi, and 3 fortiores.

There is however no significant connection between the words which receive the same cadence figure: they follow no syntactic or semantic pattern; occasionally they assonate, as in the first three repeated cadences of 'Montes Gelboe' (A) (MT 45), but not consistently. Even the accent patterns of the text are not always the same on the occasion of each repeated cadence figure. A paroxyton accent is characteristic of the words which receive the second recurring cadence of 'Doleo super' (A) (MT 14) and that of 'Doleo super' (R) (MT 15). However, often notes in cadences are repeated in order to accommodate the number of syllables left at the end of the phrase, for example, 'vita sua' in 'Montes Gelboe' (A) (MT 45), and 'divisi' and 'fortiores' in 'Saul et Jonathas' (A) (MT 68). Thus repeated cadence figures are not systematically related to cursus.

In 'Montes Gelboe' (R) (MT 45), where patterning in the form of motive recall is especially notable, it is evident that this is a purely musical phenomenon. If patterning were intended to reflect the meaning of the text, or a response to the syntactical organisation within each phrase, one would expect that more significant words would have been selected: for example, 'nec ros and 'nec pluvia' - parallel semantic and syntactic units - would seem more appropriate than 'pluvia', 'veniant' and 'super'.

The function of melismas is normally melodic. Examples occur on the following words:

'Doleo super' (A) (MT 14): 8 non

'Doleo super' (R) (MT 15): 1 mi, Jonatha; 2 amabilis, super; 4 velocior; 5 Jonathe; 6 retrosum.

'Montes Gelboe' (R) (MT 46): 1. Gelboe. (3 omnes)

'Planxit autem' (R) (MT 61): 6 arma.

As in the case of melodic patterning there is no special significance in the words on which melismas occur, with two possible exceptions. Some emphasis may be intended on the word 'non' in the antiphon 'Doleo super' (MT 14), especially since this melisma stands out from the syllabic style of the rest of the piece. On the other hand, according to Guido of Arezzo,<sup>13</sup> there should be a natural slowing of the pace at the end of a chant: the word 'non' is the ante-penultimate word of the last phrase. The treatment of 'Jonatha' and 'Jonathe' in the responsory 'Doleo super' (MT 15) raises a different question: the two occurrences of this word in the respond receive the same melodic treatment. The word is undoubtedly given some emphasis, especially since the musical phrase to which it is sung is not found elsewhere in this responsory. Possibly this melody is to be understood as a type of melodic halo around the name of the person for whom David grieved most.

Words explicitly associated with the expression of grief include the following:

'Doleo super' (A) (MT 14): 1 doleo

'Doleo super' (R) (MT 15): 1 doleo; 8 morte

'In excelsis' (A) (MT 35): 2 doleo

'Montes Gelboe' (A) (MT 45): 11 morte

'Planxit autem' (A) (MT 60): 1 planxit, planctum

'Planxit autem' (R) (MT 61): 1 planxit; 2 planctu

'Rex atuem' (A) (MT 65): 2 lugebat; 5 moriar

'Saul et Jonathas' (A) (MT 68): 2 morte; 5 flete

None of these words are treated melismatically, such that they could be said to receive emphasis. There is possibly some musical rhyme on the words 'planxit' and 'planctu' in the responsory 'Planxit autem' (MT 61) - Gcc GAcbAG and GGAcA FA, respectively - which is later heard on the word 'interierunt' (GAc). However, this figure has a different tonal identity in each of its melodic contexts. Considered in relation to the long melisma on 'arma' it is barely worth mentioning. The use of a distropha on the first syllable of 'doleo' in the antiphon 'Doleo super' (MT 14) is perhaps striking and could be said to give this word a declamatory quality. However, since the distropha is used commonly in chants on quite different subjects it is of little significance.

With the exception of 'Rex autem' (A) (MT 65) and 'Doleo super' (R) (MT 15), there is no evidence that composers considered the meaning of the text for which they were writing music, apart from observing its

general syntactical structure. Even in these two examples there is no sign that the composer was attempting to represent the meaning of the text, although repetition is employed for the purposes of emphasis. However, it is important to consider some of the comments made by both medieval and modern scholars of the chant before concluding this discussion about the question of 'expressiveness'.

In the much discussed Chapter xv of his Micrologus,<sup>14</sup> Guido of Arezzo (+ 1050) places most emphasis on analyses of phenomena concerning pitch, but also briefly comments on the relationship between the subject matter of a chant and its musical style:<sup>15</sup>

Likewise let the effect of the song so represent its matter that in sad things the neumes are graves, in happy things tranquil, in good fortune rejoicing and the rest.

John Cotton (fl.ca.1100) explains in some detail how words should be related to their music in the composition of chant in a chapter which follows a discussion of the effects which music can have on the listener:<sup>16</sup>

The first precept we give is that the chant be varied according to the meaning of the words ... Just as anyone eager for a poet's fame must take pains to match the action by the words and not to say things incongruous with the circumstances of the man he is writing about, so the composer eager for praise must strive to compose his chant so aptly that it seems to express what the words say ... a composer can be censured if he employs for sad subject-matter a dancing mode, or a mournful mode for joyful words. Therefore the musician must see to it that the chant is so regulated that for inauspicious texts it is pitched low and for propitious ones it is pitched high.

Speaking of the antiphon 'Montes Gelboe' (MT 45), Ferretti makes the following comment:<sup>17</sup>

Le trait mélodique de Quómodo avec cette descente de la dominante à la tonique, rend à merveille sa (David's) stupere devant l'affreuse nouvelle. Et quelle grâce émouvante dans ce Jónathas in excélsis interféctus est'.

These various observations suggest that the chant was, and still is, regarded as 'expressive'. However, Guido is concerned with the effects of music and not with 'expressiveness' in the sense of representing the meaning of particular words in the text. There is some ambiguity as to the meaning of the word graves. Three recent translators of this passage render it as 'sad', 'low', and 'grave', respectively.<sup>18</sup> Its meaning is apparently 'deep' and 'long' in classical usage:<sup>19</sup>

The double meaning of gravis ... goes back to antiquity, which associated both deep and long notes with slow movement.

It is however impossible to establish how Guido understood the word since he gives no example to substantiate his claims. Setting aside the question of rhythmic interpretation to which I will return, there

is no evidence in the responsories and antiphons under discussion that notes were deliberately pitched low: rather, different parts of the range of the chosen mode are explored. Guido is, as Crocker suggests,<sup>20</sup> synthesising classical precepts with medieval practice, even though the two do not quite blend naturally.

John Cotton's comments may seem to suggest that he considered the chant to be expressive in the narrower sense. However, he is much indebted to Guido.<sup>21</sup> Although he conveys an interest in the expressive nature of the chant closer inspection of his discussion indicates that he is, like Guido, concerned primarily with the effects music had on the listener. The examples he subsequently adduces to support his contentions turn out to be vague and misleading:<sup>22</sup>

We have some examples of what we have just said. For instance, antiphons for the resurrection of our Lord seem to reflect jubilation in their very sound ... The antiphon 'Rex autem David', on the other hand, seems to express grief not only in words but even in sound. By even the earliest composers, lamentations are most often sung in the Hypolydian, because this has a doleful sound.

The examples which he gives of 'jubilation' are suspect since they each are from the liturgy of Easter Sunday or Monday, occasions when 'jubilation' is part of the general mood.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Augustine's view of 'jubilation' was part of received opinion:<sup>24</sup>

For whom is this jubilation more proper than for the nameless God? ... And since you cannot name him and yet may not remain silent, what else can you do but break out in jubilation so that your heart may rejoice without words, and that the immensity of your joy may not know the bounds of syllables.

Undoubtedly Augustine sees in the melisma an expressive resource. But the highest rejoicing of the soul, to which Augustine refers, transcends temporal sorrow and joy: the use of the melisma is not confined to expressions of joy. John's 'jubilation' is joyful after the event.

His contention that 'Rex autem' (A) (MT 65) expresses grief 'not only in words but even in sound' is given no explanation. It seems most likely that he has selected this example on account of its subject matter, not because its music includes features intrinsic to the expression of grief.

Two points in particular strongly suggest that he is rationalising his interpretation of the chant in order that it should accord with classical and patristic precepts. Firstly, having commented on 'Rex autem' (A) (MT 65), he alludes to the suitability of the Hypolydian mode for lamentations. This he may have derived ultimately from a theorist

such as Cassiodorus,<sup>25</sup> or possibly from general observation: the Lamentations of Jeremiah are in this mode. Whatever his source, his interpretation of the moral significance of the modes reflects contemporary inconsistencies: as pointed out in Chapters One and Four a number of eleventh-century music theorists associated the Dorian mode with sadness, a mode which Cassiodorus considers to be a bestower of wisdom and a causer of chastity.<sup>26</sup> What is however puzzling is that 'Rex autem' (A) (MT 65) is in neither of these modes: John has not attempted to sustain any logical flow to his discussion.

Secondly, when in the next breath he describes the musical qualities which are found in good chants he advises against the use of literal repetition. By his standards 'Rex autem' (A) (MT 65) ought to be regarded as a poor attempt.

On the whole Guido and John's attitudes reflect a desire to give medieval music theory some authority by describing it in the language of their classical betters. Their terms of reference contrast markedly with those of Ferretti, who along with many modern scholars of the chant,<sup>27</sup> considers that its music actually represents the meaning of the text. Although there is no musicological basis for his comments on 'Montes Gelboe' (A) (MT 45) it is perhaps important to understand that if one is taught to associate a melody with the mood and significance of a particular text - even if that melody is a 'standard melody' and thus recurs in many chants on quite different subjects - it is inevitable that one will look for and see such connections. The religious sensibility will understandably see God's mysterious ways reflected in the music of the chant no matter how it may originally have been conceived. It is therefore possible that it is this type of attitude which John Cotton aims to reflect, but does not in fact articulate clearly, because the aesthetic of the chants with which he is concerned is different to that which he proposes for new compositions.

It is normally assumed that word accent played an important role in the singing of the chant. In the verses of the responsories under discussion, where a recitation passage is conventional, and in the more static sections of the antiphons, the sounds and accents of the text are important in that they allow shape to the melody. On the other hand, the vowel sounds effectively become ciphers for the melodic phrases of melismas in the responsories. There is thus a shift, particularly in the responsories, between the importance of speech and that of melody.

Even on the assumption that the accents of the text informed the general rhythmic shape of an antiphon or responsory there are still



MONTES GELBOE (responsory)

R. Mon-tes Gé-l-bo-e nec ros nec plu-vi-a vé-ni-ant

- וְשֶׁלֶטְוֹתֵיכֶם .

su-per vos.

וְיָבִיאוּ אֶת־הַמָּוֶטְרִים וְהַשֶּׁלֶטְוֹתֵיכֶם

U-bi ce-ci-dé-runt for-tes Ís-ra-hel

- וְיָבִיאוּ אֶת־הַמָּוֶטְרִים וְהַשֶּׁלֶטְוֹתֵיכֶם

V. Om-nes mon-tes in cir-cú-i-tu e-ius ví-si-tet Dó-mi-nus

אֶת־הַמָּוֶטְרִים וְהַשֶּׁלֶטְוֹתֵיכֶם

a Gé-l-bo-e tran-se at. Ubi.

IN EXCELSIS TUIS (antiphon)

יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה

A. In ex-cél-sis tu-is oc-cí-sus es;

יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה

do-le-o su-per te, fra-ter mi Jó-na-than, de-có-re ni-mis.

FIGURE ONE

considerable problems which arise concerning the performance of the chant. Of the manuscript sources available to me the only one which includes rhythmic indications is CH-SGs 390-91 (s.xi), from St.Gall. Here two different types of sign are provided, namely, significative letters and episemata. However, the meaning of both of these is still a matter of debate. It cannot be established whether they reflect nuances or explicit indications of precise lengthening or shortening of note values. A further difficulty also arises where neumatic or melismatic chants are concerned, that is, the question of whether the neume group, or the individual notes within the neume group, is to be regarded as the basic time unit.<sup>28</sup> Figure 1 presents an interpretation of the St.Gall rhythmic indications given in CH-SGs 390-91 (s.x) for the responsory 'Montes Gelboe' (MT 46a) and the antiphon 'In excelsis' (MT 35), on the assumption that the neume group is the time unit.<sup>29</sup> If word accents are an important factor in determining rhythm, then the episematic punctum above 'excelsis' in 'In excelsis' (A) (MT 35) is clearly out of keeping with the natural accent of the word, which is on the penultimate syllable. On the other hand an accent based on intensity is not dependent on increased duration for its effect. Moreover, the same time values are not necessarily given in each version of the same chant in manuscripts providing rhythmic indications. It seems to me that the rhythmic signs should therefore be regarded as nuances, rather than as absolute durational specifications.<sup>30</sup> However, this cannot be established.

As for the wider issue of how the basic time unit is to be determined, three points seem to be of particular importance here. Firstly, if a strict or measured concept of tempo were a relevant consideration the notations extant would surely have been designed to convey such information. In the absence of this a more flexible approach to rhythmic interpretation seems logical.<sup>31</sup> Secondly, the performance of the chant probably varied from locality to locality. This is suggested by the fact that St.Gall notation places emphasis on rhythmic considerations, whereas that of French centres such as St.Martial de Limoges is designed to give pitch indications. That rhythmic nuance was of less importance in West Frankish centres cannot of course be disproven. Thirdly, as Aribo suggests (ca.1070), rhythmic interpretation of the chant very likely changed completely during the course of time:<sup>32</sup>

In earlier times not only the inventors of melodies but also the singers themselves used great circumspection that everything should be invented and sung in proportion. This consideration perished some time ago and is now entirely buried.

On the basis of these points it would be rash to propose any general interpretation of the rhythm of the responsories and antiphons under discussion. Changes through time and variations from place to place seem highly likely. Thus, whether a slow pace articulated in long notes was ever employed for these planctus, as Guido may be suggesting, cannot be established.

Apart from the relationship between the musical phrase and the syntactic unit of the text there is only occasionally a connection between the meaning of the words and their corresponding music: this is one of emphasis, not an attempt to represent verbal meaning musically. That the accents of the text allowed shape to static or recitation passages seems highly likely, though the claims of speech were not entirely dominant, as is suggested by the melismas of the responsories.

### 3. Strophic Songs

The analyses of this type indicate that the musical phrase corresponds to the poetic half-line, or hemistich, particularly in the earliest extant planctus and those of German provenance:

|                           |                              |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 'Mecum Timavi' (MT 43: i) | 'Flete viri' (MT 21: ii)     |
| 'A solis' (MT 1: i)       | 'Cum venissem' (MT 10: ii)   |
| 'Hug dulce' (MT 34: i)    | 'Libram Phebus' (MT 42: iii) |
| 'Hactenus' (MT 22: ii)    | 'Organa' (MT 56: iii)        |
| 'Armonicae' (MT 9: ii)    |                              |

and to the poetic line, normally in later examples:

|                               |                                 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 'Ad te' (MT 6: ii)            | 'Omnipotens' (MT 54: iii)       |
| 'Omne quod' (MT 53: ii)       | 'Mentem' (MT 44: iii)           |
| 'Heu ... michi' (MT 24: iii)  | 'Voce tristi' (MT 73: iii)      |
| 'Jam moratur' (MT 39: iii)    | 'Eclipsim patitur' (MT 19: iii) |
| 'Cuncta sorores' (MT 11: iii) | 'In occasu' (MT 36: iii)        |
| 'Lamentemus' (MT 41: iii)     | 'Pange melos' (MT 57: iii).     |

The relationship between the musical phrase and the poetic line in the second group is made clear through cadences and, in the case of the polyphonic examples - 'Eclipsim patitur' (MT 19), 'In occasu' (MT 36) and 'Pange melos' (MT 57) - through the positioning of rest marks.

The relationship between the musical phrase and the hemistich of the first group is indicated unambiguously in melodies written in heightened notations through the cadence points at the end of each half-line, as, for example, in 'Hactenus' (MT 22) and 'Cum venissem' (MT 10), and in

From the Otfrid-Codex: D-HEu Cod.Palat.lat.52 (s.x), f.17v:


A: reconstruction published in K.Bertau, 'Epenrezitation im deutschen Mittelalter', Etudes Germaniques, 20 (1965), p.5.


B: diagrammatic transcription of the neumes reproduced in facsimile in the same article, p.6.

A: 

B: 

Tho quam bo -to fo- na go-te: en- gil ir hi- mi- le.

A: 

B: 

braht- er the-re-ra uuo- rol- ti. diuri a- run- ti.

From 'Mecum Timavi' (MT 43a), phrases 9 and 10.

A: diagrammatic transcription

B: the neumes provided in F-Pn lat.1154 (s.ix-s.x).

A: 

B: 

9.Na- tis- sa Cor- ca

A: 

B: 

10. gur- gi- tes I- son- ti- i.

'Flete viri' (MT 21) by the position of the recurring refrain figure, which begins on the fifth syllable, the first syllable of the second hemistich. In the unheighted notations it is implied by the melodic contours of each phrase which often appear to begin and end on the same note, as, for example, in 'Armonicae' (MT 9), 'Libram Phebus' (MT 42), and 'Organa' (MT 56), or by the presence of short melismas at the end of a phrase, as, for example, in 'Mecum Timavi' (MT 43), 'A solis' (MT 1), 'Hug dulce' (MT 34), and 'Organa' (MT 56). It is also suggested by the way in which the three planctus from F-Pn lat.1154 (s.ix-s.x) - 'Mecum Timavi', 'A solis', and 'Hug dulce' - are written out.

Using a page ruled for two columns the scribe takes a new line for each hemistich. While this is obviously the neatest way of writing out verse composed in relatively long lines in the space available, every line begins with an initial capital of the same size and colour, implying that each half-line has the same status. The only punctuation (',') is found at the end of each stanza (or, in the case of 'A solis', after the refrain). There are no signs which would indicate that the scribe conceived that the verse form of each was made up of lines of syllabic iambic trimeter: rather he appears to have regarded them as a series of hemistichs. While the music was added after the text had been written and thus, *fait accompli*, reflects the hemistich pattern, the melodic contours and occasional melismas at the end of half-lines imply that there is a cadence point. The suggestion is that these melodies are closely related to hemistichal epic melody. Their correspondence to the hemistichs of a longer line and the use of end-of-phrase melismas can be compared to passages from Otfrid's Evangelienbuch,<sup>33</sup> as illustrated in Figure 2, though whether these planctus melodies were formulaic, as epic melody is believed to have been, cannot be established. There are however important differences between the two which will be discussed later.

Although words and music are related architectonically, that is, the musical stanza corresponds to that of the text, and the melodic phrase to the poetic line or to the hemistich, the internal characteristics of both melody and text are only exceptionally related. This can be established with reference to the role of melodic patterning, the treatment of words associated with grief, and the relationship between the accents of the text and its corresponding melody.

As indicated in Chapter Four, melodic patterning in strophic planctus derives chiefly from the repetition of musical phrases, from

the deployment of tonal contrasts, from the balancing of syllabic passages against larger note-units, and from contrasts between step-wise movement and intervals. Sometimes it also results from the substitution of new melodies in the later stanzas of planctus for which the entire melody has been written out, as in 'Ad te' (MT 6), 'Armonicae' (MT 9), and 'Libram Phebus' (MT 42), or, in a few instances, from repeated cadence figures. In the polyphonic examples patterning is also achieved through contrasts made between melismatic and syllabic sections and in the balancing of the voice parts. Closer inspection reveals that these various kinds of patterning are essentially melodic devices.

With the exception of refrains, repeated musical phrases do not relate significantly to their corresponding text. For example, in 'Mecum Timavi' (MT 43a), the repetition of melody B occurs at the eighth musical phrase of the stanza: the corresponding text in the first three stanzas is as follows:

- |    |                           |     |
|----|---------------------------|-----|
| 1. | ... saxa novem flumina    | (a) |
|    | ..., Tissa, Culpa, Marua, | (b) |
| 2. | ... dulce nomen plangite, | (c) |
|    | ..., iuga Cenetensium,    | (d) |
| 3. | ..., de cuius confinio    | (e) |
|    | ... perdidisti nobile     | (f) |

Although there is assonance on 'a' in (a) and (b) this is a general feature of stanza one. In each of the above lines there is no semantic or syntactic parallelism which would provide any reason for the repetition of a previously used melody. The following lines, which are semantically parallel, but which are sung to melodies G and H, respectively, would seem more likely choices for melodic repetition:

- |    |                     |
|----|---------------------|
| 1. | Istris Sausque, ... |
|    | Natissa, Corca ...  |

Moreover, hemistichs (a), (e) and (f) are part of enjambements, while hemistichs (b) and (c) are continuations of the sense of the preceding hemistich: only hemistich (d) is a syntactically complete unit. The former two features are characteristic of this and other planctus as a whole and contrast with the style of the epic hemistich, mentioned above, which is normally composed of syntactically complete units, usually based on verbal formulae.<sup>34</sup> Although the melody is hemistichal, as in epic melody, the text is hemistichal only as regards the proportions of its syllabic poetic lines. While the accent patterns of hemistichs

(a), (b) and (c) are the same, those of the remaining lines quoted above (along with many other lines sung to melody B in subsequent stanzas) are varied: the repeated melody is thus not related to textual accent. Thus the sound, sense, syntax and accents of the poetic half-lines which have the same melody pursue independent courses.

The same can be said of other examples which include melodic repetitions. The text of the first two stanzas of 'Flete viri' (MT 21) which corresponds to the repeated melody D is as follows:

1.       ...     est rex in cíneres.  
           ...     de magnis régibus,  
           ...,    bello fortíssimus;  
           ...     dominus pátrie!
2.       ...     se cúnctis pretúlit,  
           ...     virtúti próprie  
           ...     sue militie,  
           ...     tot únus milia!

The syntactically parallel lines:

1.       Rex editus  
           rex Guilelmus,  
           rex Angelórum

each have different melodies.

The text of the four stanzas of 'Pange melos' (MT 57) which relates to the repeated melodies A and B is:

- | A   | B  |
|---|--|
| 1. Pange melos lacrimosum,<br>tempus venit planctuosum,       | lacrimans elegia,<br>tempus fraudans gaudia,   |
| 2. Rheni sidus in occasus<br>stella cadit, stelle casus       | Latium precipitat,<br>terras umbra limitat,    |
| 3. Omnis tellus admiretur<br>sed sub nocte lamentetur         | triste nubis pallium,<br>Rheni supercilium,    |
| 4. O quam probans argumentum,<br>quid sit mundus, per eventum | que sit mundi falsitas,<br>syllogizat veritas. |

There is no parallelism between the repeated lines of this example, although each is marked by disyllabic rhyme, a subject to which I will return. While there is considerably greater regularity in the accent patterns of lines sung to the same melody, in comparison to the preceding examples, it is not absolute. Moreover, many other lines share similar patterns, for example:

/        /        /        /  
 ad eclipsim vox meroris  
 /        /        /  
 obliquat spectacula,        (1.5-6)

Thus melodic repetition cannot be related to accent patterns.

Hemistichal examples such as 'Mecum.Timavi' (MT.43) do not have a consistent rhyme scheme. Those which do normally have end rhyme only: in 'Hactenus' (MT 22), 'Armonicae' (MT 9), and 'Organa' (MT 56) only one rhyme sound - normally a disyllable - is employed per stanza. As can be seen in the Excursus the patterning which results from melodic repetition is not mirrored by this. Even in examples where more than one rhyme sound is employed - 'Flete viri' (MT 21) and 'Cum venissem' (MT 10), whose rhyme schemes are aabbcc and aabb, respectively, - there is no correspondence between melodic repetition and rhyme. Of the non-hemistichal melodies several can be resolved to the bar-form AAB. However, in 'Cuncta sorores' (MT 11), 'Lamentemus' (MT 41), and 'Voce tristi!' (MT 73) there is no correspondence between musical form and rhyme, since in each of these only one rhyme sound is used per stanza. This contrasts with the normal treatment of the bar-form in the trouvère repertory where at least the AA section of the AAB form is mirrored by verbal rhyme. Only in 'Pange melos' (MT 57) is rhyme related to musical form. Here the AA part of the AAB form is reflected exactly in the rhyme scheme: however the longer B section is effectively through-composed and does not relate to the corresponding rhyme scheme of the text.

Although not characterised by syntactic or semantic parallelism the non-hemistichal examples 'Omne quod' (MT 53) and 'Jam moratur' (MT 39) are at first sight typified by a closer relationship between musical repetition and verbal rhyme. In 'Omne quod' (MT 53) the relationship is exact: two melodies are employed with two corresponding rhyme sounds. However rhyme is not the only feature which should be taken into account in this instance: the change to a new repeated melody coincides with a change in line length.<sup>35</sup> In 'Jam moratur' (MT 39), melody C, which recurs (in a slightly modified form) at the end of the stanza, has the same rhyme sound on both occasions. Here, however, the correspondence of rhyme and melodic repetition also coincides with a change in line length: lines three and six which both have melody C are the shortest lines in the stanza. Otherwise repeated rhyme sounds are not mirrored by correspondingly repeated melodies. Thus, though rhyme and musical repetition are apparently related in these two examples, it would be more accurate to say that musical repetition corresponds to line length, that is, to syllable count. Thus on the whole rhyme and melodic repetition are rarely related. Indeed,



the independence of melody and rhyme is very clearly represented in 'In occasu' (MT 36), whose text has, relatively speaking, an elaborate formal shape and rhyme scheme, but whose music is through-composed. As pointed out in Chapter Three rhyme is used as a counterpoint against the main syllabic proportions of the text: here rhyme effectively has an existence independent of both music and words.

It is only in the three examples with a refrain - 'A solis' (MT 1), 'Omnipotens' (MT 54), and 'Eclipsim patitur' (MT 19) - that a melody is repeated systematically in relation to the text. The refrain is however something of a special case, since it is normally the same text which is sung to its melody on each occasion. The refrain of the latter two examples is clearly more melismatic than the stanza which precedes it. Each refrain is also made up of a different number of syllables to the rest of the lines of the text. It would therefore stand out, quite apart from the fact that it carries with it repeated words and music. Whether the style of delivery was also varied is an open question.

It would be wrong to lay too much stress on the role of melodic repetition in strophic planctus since not all examples are characterised by this. It is however evident that it is an essentially musical phenomenon.

The balancing of tonal contrasts is similarly unrelated to the internal characteristics of the text. For example, in the simple exploration of the chosen range of 'Heu ... michi' (MT 24) the melody of phrases one, two and four recites mainly on e, while the third phrase moves towards a climax and recites chiefly on g. The relevant lines of the two stanzas of this example are:

1. quo peccáto mérui pérdere
2. cur me nŭtrix lactare debuit?

However there is no literary or prosodic reason why this musical phrase should be tonally distinct: both these lines are part of the series of rhetorical questions of which the two stanzas consist. Moreover, the fact that 'Hactenus' (MT 22) has two different settings in which pitch contrasts occur in different positions seems to confirm that textual considerations were irrelevant. It is, however, interesting to note that in some versions of 'Cum venissem' (MT 10) the word 'heu' occurs in place of 'et' at the beginning of the fifth musical phrase, the point at which the melody reaches a climax. 'Et' appears to function as a means of completing the syllable count of the half-line and has no significant grammatical value. Since the full textual history of this planctus

cannot be established it is impossible to tell whether 'heu' was substituted for 'et' later, as the dates of the extant manuscripts tend to suggest, or vice versa. Either way it receives some emphasis as a result of its occurrence at the climax of the melody. The question of whether this was intentional, the result of a later mode of performance, or a coincidence, remains however open.

Melodic patterning resulting from the balancing of syllabic passages against larger note units can be seen most clearly with reference to 'Flete viri' (MT 21) where differing types are at work. Firstly, single notes are balanced against one or more two-note units, as in the following phrases:

|           |                   |                 |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1 1 2 1   | 2 1 2 1 1 1       | 2 1 2 1 1 1     |
| resolútus | et dux Normánnie. | Dóminus pátrie. |

Secondly, phrases consisting of larger note units are balanced by phrases of single note units: for example, the two phrases;

|               |     |                    |
|---------------|-----|--------------------|
| 1 2 3 3       | and | 2 2 3 1 1 1        |
| Rex Guilélmus |     | bello fortíssimus, |

which are set to melodies containing the greatest concentration of larger note units in the stanza, are followed by the phrase:

|               |
|---------------|
| 1 1 1 1       |
| Rex anglórum, |

a phrase made up of single notes. It is clear that neither of these types of patterning relate to the internal characteristics of the text, that is, to its syntax, meaning or accents. This is further evidenced in the manner in which the recurring refrain is treated. The pattern made up by the note units of this figure varies as follows:

|                     |
|---------------------|
| 2 2 2 1 1 1         |
| est réx in cíneres. |
| 2 2 3 1 1 1         |
| de mágnis régibus,  |
| 2 2 3 1 1 1         |
| bello fortíssimus;  |
| 2 1 1 1 1 1         |
| dóminus pátrie!     |

There is no literary reason why the note units should change in size. As noted earlier the accent patterns vary, but obviously not in accordance with the number of notes per unit.

Melodic movement is normally by step. This is often lubricated by the presence of two-note units, one of which functions as a passing note. Thus, in 'Heu ... michi' (MT 24), the interval of a third is

avoided in phrase one through the addition of the passing note d: cd e e e ...; similarly, in phrase three of this example, the interval of a fifth is obscured through the inclusion of the note e: ce g ga g ... , such that the interval of a third is the largest in this piece. Greater intervals frequently occur as a new phrase begins, that is, especially where a different melodic range is to be explored, for example, in 'Flete viri' (MT 21), between phrases one and two, in 'Hactenus' (MT 22a), between phrases two and three, and in 'Cum venissem' (MT 10), between phrases one and two. Otherwise, within the musical phrase, intervals are relatively rare and are normally balanced by stepwise movement. Examples with intervals greater than a third include the following:

- 'Flete viri' (MT 21): (phrase) 9 Anglorum (descending 4th)
- 'Omne quod' (MT 53): 5 plorant (ascending 4th and descending 4th)
- 'Jam moratur' (MT 39): 6 velle Dei (ascending 5th)
- 'Lamentemus' (MT 41): stanza 2.3 posset and stanza 3.3 surrexit (ascending 4th)
- 'Mentem meam' (MT 44): 1 meam ledit (ascending 5th)  
3 color (ascending 4th)  
4 repente (descending 4th)  
4 repente peregrinus (ascending 5th)

However, there is no special significance about the words where intervals occur: in 'Flete viri' (MT 21) the descending 4th falls from the final D which, as Huglo<sup>36</sup> has pointed out, is characteristic of D mode melodies. Although 'plorant' in 'Omne quod' (MT 53) may appear to be a significant word, since it is associated with grief, the words from other stanzas which occur at the same point - 'dolet', 'cogens', 'iam red(det)', 'parens', 'huius', and 'Deus' - are only exceptionally connected with grief. In 'Jam moratur' (MT 39) the interval of a fifth results because of a short ornamental melisma. (FEDC GFE): the melodic Gestalt would otherwise be: F G. In the case of 'Lamentemus' (MT 41) the interval of a fourth functions as an ornament in the second and third stanzas: it does not occur in stanza one. As indicated in Chapter Four, the melodic range is covered in each phrase of 'Mentem meam' (MT 44); the presence of intervals as a feature of this melody is inevitably a result of this.

Substitution of new melodies in the later stanzas of planctus for which the entire melody has been written out is also a purely musical device. This can be seen with reference to 'Ad te' (MT 6) where melody A is replaced by a somewhat different melody for stanzas 8, 10, 11, 21, 22, 23, and 28. The corresponding lines of the text are as follows:

8. Héu, quam gravis conditio,  
 10. O virorum dulcissime,  
 11. Bonis eras tu iocundus,  
 21. Vita tibi fastidium,  
 22. Ave, pater egregie,  
 23. Quis tam, ut tu me diliget,  
 28. Iam tu, rex potentissime,

Clearly these lines do not share any special association which would be highlighted by the substituted melody. Although there is quite a degree of similarity in their accent patterns there are nevertheless some variations. Moreover, the most dominant accent pattern - / o / o o / o o - is also to be found in many of the other stanzas of this planctus: since there is considerably less scope for varying the accent patterns of lines which are short, are often made up of disyllables, and end normally with proparoxyton accents, it is inevitable that there should be greater regularity.

There are only a few examples in which cadence figures are unambiguously repeated (that is, when they are not part of a musical phrase reiterated in its entirety):<sup>37</sup>

'Heu ... michi' (MT 24): phrases 1 and 3,

'Lamentemus' (MT 41): phrases 1 and 2; phrases 3 and 4,

'Cum venissem' (MT 10a C & D, 10d and 10f): phrases 2 and 4.

The rhyme scheme of the former two is however aaaa: thus musical and textual rhyme are not systematically related. In the case of 'Cum venissem' (MT 10), it is only in four of its musical settings that a cadence figure is repeated. Although the aa of the rhyme scheme aabb is reflected in this, the bb pattern is not. Thus, again the coincidence of musical and textual rhyme is not systematic.

The individual voices of the polyphonic examples - 'Eclipsim patitur' (MT 19), 'In occasu' (MT 36), and 'Pange melos' (MT 57) - depend much on the various types of patterning already outlined. In addition patterning in polyphonic examples derives both from contrasts between syllabic passages and melismatic sections, and from the balancing of the voice parts, especially through the use of contrary motion and through the contrasts which result when the size of the note units for each syllable of the text varies from voice to voice. The patterning which derives from the balancing of voice parts is self-evidently part of the musical design of each example. The function of melismas is also melodic: the following words in 'Eclipsim patitur' (MT 19) and 'Pange melos' (MT 57) are sung to melismas (there

are no melismas in 'In occasu' (MT 36)):

'Eclipsim patitur' (MT 19): stanza 1.1 Eclipsim; 1.3 solis  
refrain Mors, parcere  
2.1 Virtutis; 2.3 iam  
3.1 Comes; 3.3 qui  
4.1 Morum; 4.3 vultus

'Pange melos' (MT 57): stanza 1.8 specula  
2.8 angulum  
3.8 Hectorem  
4.8 gratia

The syllables on which melismas occur are either the first at the beginning of a musical phrase, or the penultimate at the end of a stanza. They thus function as a means of marking the beginning or end of a phrase. Although it might appear that the word 'Mors' in 'Eclipsim patitur' (MT 19) is given particular emphasis through its long melisma, it is not only part of a refrain, which I suggested earlier may have been treated more melismatically as a matter of convention, but positioned in a musical context which is in keeping with the general style of the preceding stanza.

It can thus be seen that melodic patterning is essentially a musical phenomenon. This point can be reinforced through a consideration of the melodic treatment of words associated with the expression of grief, and of the varied nature of textual accent patterns.

Comment has already been made on a number of words which express grief and the fact that they are not given special musical treatment, for example, descending figures, or melismas. This holds good for strophic planctus as a whole. Thus, in the following additional examples words associated with grief do not stand out musically from the rest of the stanza:

'Cuncta sorores' (MT 11): 2 tristitia  
'Lamentemus' (MT 41): 1 Lamentemus, tristissime  
'Omnipotens' (MT 54): 4 dolor  
'Mentem meam' (MT 44): 1 dolor

In the polyphonic settings of 'Pange melos' (MT 57) and 'In occasu' (MT 36) words such as 'lacrimosum', 'lacrimans', 'planctuosum', and 'dolor', in 'Pange melos', and 'dolorem', 'fletus', and 'dolori', in 'In occasu', often have descending figures in the tenor. However, each is then complemented by a melody in contrary motion in the duplum. Since this type of melodic contrast between parts is characteristic of each setting throughout, and is thus applied to words expressive of joy,

such as 'letiori' in 'In occasu', it cannot be regarded as an attempt to represent the emotion of grief.

However, the treatment of the word 'heu' is of particular interest, though, as I will show, it is unlikely in strophic planctus that it was given special treatment as a result of the composer's original conception of his melody. I have already noted that 'heu' is included in some versions of 'Cum venissem' (MT 10) instead of 'et' at the point where the melody reaches its climax. In the earliest extant versions of this planctus it is, like 'et', set to one note, and appears therefore to be regarded as a monosyllable, thus conforming to the syllable count of the poetic line. However, in two versions - CH-EN 314 (s.xiv) (MT 10c) and CS-Pu 1.B.12 (ca.1384) (MT 10e) - 'heu' is set to two notes at the same pitch: the layout of music and text in the manuscript sources confirms that it was treated as two syllables. It could thus be said that this word is deliberately formalised in these two versions: because it is set to a repeated note it appears to have a declamatory effect. It could thus be described as the mimesis of speech sound, though not as the representation of verbal meaning. However, since the manuscript sources in question are of a relatively late date it seems most likely that this treatment of 'heu' developed as a result of performance.

In the majority of examples in which this word occurs it is treated prosodically as a monosyllable, for example, 'Mecum Timavi' (MT 43), 'Ad te' (MT 6), 'Flete viri' (MT 21), and 'Jam moratur' (MT 39). Since, in 'Mecum Timavi' (MT 43) and 'Flete viri' (MT 21), 'heu' occurs in an unnotated stanza it is impossible to determine whether it was also treated thus musically. However, in 'Jam moratur' (MT 39) it is unequivocally notated as one syllable. In contrast, in the two instances when it belongs to a refrain - 'A solis' (MT 1) and 'Omnipotens' (MT 54) - it is treated as a disyllable. Since the refrain is a separate prosodic unit it is impossible to establish through comparison with other lines whether 'heu' was regarded by the poet as a monosyllable or a disyllable. In 'Heu ... michi', however, where the word occurs three times in succession in phrase one - 'Heu, heu, heu michi misere' - the musical notation indicates clearly that the first 'heu' is sung as a monosyllable, but that the other two are sung as disyllables. Since this would mean that the first line of the text should have ten syllables and, in fact, conforms with the normal syllable count of each line, it seems reasonable to deduce that here the musical treatment reflects the prosodic values given to

this word. Thus it could be treated either as a monosyllable or as a disyllable in the same piece.

In 'Ad te' (MT 6) and 'Armonicae' (MT 9) a somewhat different problem is raised. In both, the melody is written out in its entirety. In 'Ad te' (MT 6) 'heu' is treated prosodically as a monosyllable, but musically as a disyllable, through the addition of an extra, repeated note. In 'Armonicae' (MT 9) the word used is 'Eheu', a disyllable. (The poem is an Abecedarian, 'Eheu' introducing the stanza for 'E'.) One might expect that this word would be sung as two syllables, thus according with the syllable count of the poetic line. However, the musical notation indicates quite unambiguously that it is to be treated as three syllables: E-he-u. These two examples strongly suggest that (-)he-u was often formalised musically. Since this formalisation upsets the normal syllable count of the text it seems highly likely that it arose as a result of performance, and not on account of the method of composition employed: that is, the singer responded to the speech sound of the word, not the composer. The fact that these two strophic melodies are written out in full, with occasional melodic substitutions and variations adds weight to this suggestion. Thus, in the case of strophic planctus, 'heu' was probably treated initially in accordance with its prosodic value; however, in performance this was often elaborated.

That the accents of the text do not normally make up a regular pattern has already been alluded to in discussion of melodic patterning derived from repeated melodies and from the balancing of syllabic passages with those consisting of larger note units. As illustrated in Chapter Three, the final accents of the text normally conform to a consistent pattern, although there are many exceptions, while the internal accents of the poetic line are often extremely varied. This is not only within the stanza but also from stanza to stanza. Thus in the following planctus lines or pairs of half-lines sung to the same melody do not have the same accent patterns:

'Mecum Timavi' (L86):

|     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| 1.2 | fle <sup>´</sup> te per no <sup>´</sup> vem | fo <sup>´</sup> ntes redun <sup>´</sup> dantia  |
| 2.2 | Si <sup>´</sup> rmium, Po <sup>´</sup> la,  | te <sup>´</sup> llus Aquile <sup>´</sup> iae    |
| 3.2 | est ori <sup>´</sup> undus,                 | urbs di <sup>´</sup> ves Arg <sup>´</sup> entea |
| 4.2 | o <sup>´</sup> lim quod no <sup>´</sup> men | ami <sup>´</sup> sisti ce <sup>´</sup> lebre    |

'Hactenus' (L46):

|     |                           |                       |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1.2 | nunc meum extendam cursum | caras ad exequias     |
| 2.2 | quam non valeo supplere   | quod prius decreveram |
| 3.2 | ad lamentum huius ritmi,  | auditum extendite     |
| 4.2 | cuius mihi vultum fingo   | forma non dissimili   |

'Eclipsim patitur' (L35):

|     |                     |
|-----|---------------------|
| 1.3 | solis extinguitur   |
| 2.3 | jam Christi militem |
| 3.3 | qui fortes domuit   |
| 4.3 | vultus simplicitas  |

It is thus apparent that the text does not provide a reliable basis for determining musical rhythm, and that words and music are not systematically related to one another through their rhythm. It could be argued that such variations in the accent patterns reveal incompetence on the part of medieval poets. However, this assumes that they intended to write accentually regular verse, but failed miserably. Since irregularity is so consistently in evidence it seems reasonable to conclude that the notion of accentual regularity is anachronistic when applied to medieval Latin strophic verse: rather than being regarded as a negative feature it should be seen as a positive attribute, providing variations analogous to metrical substitutions in quantitative verse. The rhythmic interpretation of planctus as song, a question to which I will return, thus resolves itself to a musical rather than a literary problem.

The results of this analysis indicate that words and music had essentially independent existences: the two are related only insofar as the poetic line or half-line corresponds with the musical phrase, that is they are related architectonically. The key to this type of relationship is 'number' (numerus, rhythmus, or armonia). As in the trouvère chanson,<sup>38</sup> the poet and composer alike respond to a set of numerical proportions which prescribe the length of each line or half-line and the overall design of the stanza. This method of composition thus precludes an expressive, or rhythmic relationship between words and music. Instead, the aesthetic of this type of song appears to be based on a principle of variety for its own sake. This is derived from the various types of patterning discussed above and exists on several different levels: textually, through the treatment of the commonplace topics of praise; prosodically through the orchestration of sound (through assonance or rhyme) and through variation of the accent patterns; and musically through tonal, note unit size, and melodic contrasts.

This approach to song composition is further illuminated by Guido of Arezzo. In Chapter xv of his Micrologus he discusses the art



of composing melodies for the chant, comparing the constituents of music and its notation (pthongi, neumae, partes, distinctiones) to those of verse (litterae, syllabae, partes et pedes, versus). Of particular interest are his comments about how musical subdivisions and phrases should correspond to those of the text, and also about how the musician does not adhere to quite such strict rules as the versifier:<sup>39</sup>

since in every way his art keeps transforming itself through a reasonable variety in the ordering of notes.

Speaking of repeated melodies, he suggests that they should:<sup>40</sup>

either /be/ the same or modified by some change, even though slight, and if they are particularly beautiful, be duplicated, with their "parts" not too diverse; and let those occasional phrases that are the same be varied as to intervals (per modos), or, if they retain the same intervals, let them be heard transposed higher or lower.

Further on he suggests:<sup>41</sup>

also let almost all phrases proceed to the principal note (of the mode), that is, the final, or some note related to it (affinis) if such be chosen instead of the final.

He leaves much to the discretion of the composer, advising him in conclusion:<sup>42</sup>

Do everything that we have said neither too rarely nor too unremittingly, but with taste.

He is undoubtedly speaking about an aesthetic of variation for its own sake, in which melodic commonplaces are given a new identity through tasteful and artful display.

Several of the types of patterning discussed earlier are characteristic of the rhythmic genre of the courtly chanson, especially patterning derived from the balancing of note units of differing sizes, and from the balancing of occasional intervals with stepwise movement. However, the use of repetition of the musical phrase, particularly exact repetition, is not usual in the courtly chanson (where motive recall is a frequent source of patterning), except when it is part of a fixed form such as the bar-form. Here repetition is normally mirrored in the rhyme scheme of the text. As I have demonstrated there is only exceptionally a systematic relationship between melodic repetition and rhyme in strophic planctus. Moreover, the deployment of range contrasts in the strophic planctus is much more pronounced and defined in its short musical phrases than it is in the courtly chanson: as Stevens explains, the pace of the latter 'is leisurely, even clogged'.<sup>43</sup> The emphasis placed on patterning derived from repetition and range contrasts in strophic planctus together with the onward moving, fluid nature of their melodic phrases relates them closely to the style of

music composed for the singing of narrative. Significantly, the earliest planctus are hemistichal, suggesting the influence of epic melody. In contrast, however, to the latter, the text of such planctus is neither accentual, as in the four-stressed epic line, nor syntactically complete within the hemistich, in the idiom of epic formulae. Properly speaking one might describe the strophic planctus as a hybrid of two rhythmic genres, that of the purely 'number'-based song, epitomised by the courtly chanson, and that of music composed for narrative.

Returning then to the question of rhythmic interpretation, if the text, as I have illustrated, is unable to provide a reliable basis for this, then there are effectively only three other possibilities. Either the melodies are metrical, or there is an absolute musical rhythm, that is, a rhythm inherent in the melody, or a more flexible approach to rhythmic interpretation is required. The problem which would arise if a metrical interpretation is adopted can be illustrated with reference to 'Hactenus' (MT 22). The first two hemistichs are as follows:

Hactenus tetendi liram      musice per semitas;

If these were sung to a trochaic rhythm their accents would be distorted:

~~Hactenus tetendi liram      musice per semitas;~~

This is, however, to be preferred to the results of reversing the accent pattern in favour of an iambic rhythmic interpretation:

Hactenus tetendi liram      musice per semitas;

Not only would the medial and final accents of the verse form be badly distorted, but the sense of the opening phrase might be seriously affected: 'Hac tenus tetendi liram' (I stretched out as far as the lyre, rather than: Till now I plucked my lyre). The same type of distortions would inevitably occur if there were a recoverable, absolute musical rhythm. My suggestion is that an isosyllabic treatment of rhythm would be most appropriate on aesthetic grounds. Not only would this allow variations of the textual accent to be heard, but it would also ensure that the various types of musical patterning would be appreciated. In particular, the balancing of syllabic passages with those made up of larger note units would be heard as rhythmic contrasts. Isosyllabism does not mean a negation of rhythm: the short musical phrases, conveying tonal, rhythmic and melodic contrasts, are in effect rhythms in themselves which contrast with each other within the stanza, and recall each other, if not within the stanza through repetition, then from stanza to stanza. The effect is of duration being divided up by spatially

formalised patterns, based on ordered proportions, with internal variations of different types. This seems a satisfactory approach to the interpretation of rhythm in monophonic examples.

The rhythm of the polyphonic examples is a more difficult issue to resolve. The notational ligatures provided in the two manuscript sources of each - I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240) and D-W Helmst.628 (s.xiii mid.) - do not vary significantly. Modal notation is used for the melismas of 'Pange melos' (MT 57) and 'Eclipsim patitur' (MT 19), while the music of the main body of the text is syllabic. In principle there would not be any serious difficulty in treating the latter isosyllabically, since there are relatively few instances where large note units in one voice are not set against a single note in the other, and because on the majority of occasions when both voices have large note units simultaneously they normally consist of the same number of notes. Difficulties arise when simultaneously sung equal-sized note units clash tonally, as above 'doloris' in 'Pange melos' (MT 57), and when unequal-sized note units are sung together. However, the dissonances may not have been of offence to the medieval ear as they would have been to Bach's. Although the results might be rather odd, with many figures of three against two, or four against three, the process involved is at least no more chaotic than attempting to apply modal rhythmic interpretations, and leaves considerably less to individual judgment and taste. Another solution would be to assume that a triple musical metre is intended. This is the normal approach adopted by editors of polyphonic settings, since it fits in with the triple metres of the modal melismas, because it avoids ineptitudes such as three notes against two, and because it may also be historically justified. Many editors, of course, go a step further and apply a modal rhythmic interpretation. As Apel explains in his assessment of the arguments for and against applying modal rhythm to syllabic sections of conductus:<sup>44</sup>

The main argument against its universal acception lies in the fact that in many cases it leads to versions of a rhythmic complexity far exceeding the limitations of thirteenth-century style.

Since the planctus under discussion were probably composed shortly after the death of Geoffrey of Brittany (+ 1186) ('Eclipsim patitur'), Henry II of England (+ 1189) ('In occasu'), and Barbarossa (+ 1190) ('Pange melos'), all late twelfth-century deaths, the problem is yet greater.

In a recent article Knapp<sup>45</sup> raises questions which may be of some relevance to this discussion. In her investigation of the musical rhythm of a number of Notre Dame polyphonic conductus she assumes that

their syllabic sections must have been modal on the basis of some remarks on the subject by Anonymous IV, a late thirteenth-century theorist. He suggests that the properties of a note form were to be seen not on the page but in the mind's eye,<sup>46</sup> implying that, while the syllabic settings are not written out in ligatures, like the melismas, modal rhythm was nevertheless intended. It is hard to see how the teaching of a thirteenth-century theorist, writing at a time when the rhythmic modes were well understood, bears directly on compositions written almost one century earlier when the modal system was either in its infancy or not even formulated. However, Knapp's suggestion that the syllabic sections of conductus, including the three planctus under discussion, are most musically interpreted in the fifth mode, that is, a series of longs, is of particular interest. On the basis of the early date of many of her examples, including planctus, she concludes that the fifth mode may have been the earliest of the rhythmic modes to develop. The rhythmic interpretation of these three planctus can only be considered tentatively: the manuscript sources are of a relatively later date than their probable dates of composition. Hence the music scribe may have notated a more developed rhythmic style than was in fact originally conceived. In view however of the fact that the style of the individual voices of the syllabic sections of the polyphonic examples has much in common with monophonic strophic planctus it is worth considering Knapp's conclusion in more detail. The isosyllabic rhythm which I have recommended for the monophonic examples is virtually identical to the fifth rhythmic mode. One might therefore speculate that the three polyphonic strophic planctus may not have been composed in a clearly conceived version of the fifth mode, but in an isosyllabic rhythm, modified for the purposes of polyphony; and that the posited isosyllabic style of the early planctus became recognised as the rhythmic style of the cantus coronatus. In conclusion, Knapp suggests that there may be some historical justification for her choice of the fifth mode, based on the writings of Johannes de Grocheo, a late thirteenth century theorist. He recognises the simplex conductus or cantus coronatus as a particular category of conductus, and says that it was executed entirely in long notes.<sup>47</sup> One might therefore conclude that by the end of the twelfth century a relationship was developing between the subject matter of a particular type of text composed for a special occasion, that is, the cantus coronatus, and a particular rhythmic style. However, this

|     |                               |                    |                                 |
|-----|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1.  | Haec est sancta               | (112) x 4 (112)    | Quid tu Virgo,                  |
| 2a  | solemnitas                    | (4) - 4 (22)       | Mater ploras,                   |
|     | solemnitatum                  | (5) - 5 (23)       | Rachel formosa,                 |
| 2b  | insignita                     | (4) - 4 (22)       | Cuius vultus                    |
|     | triumpho Christi:             | (32) - 5 (23)      | Jacob delectat?                 |
| 3a. | Qui devicit imperium          | (134) x 8 (134)    | Ceu sororis aniculae            |
| 3b  | Male potens diaboli           | (224) - 8 (422)    | Lippitudo eum iuuet.            |
| 4a  | Suo nos pretioso sanguine     | (2143) x10 (2233)  | Terge, mater, fluentes oculos.  |
| 4b  | Eius de potestate eruens.     | (2143) x10 (11233) | Quam te decent genarum rimulae? |
| 5a  | Redempti                      | (3) - 3 (111)      | Heu, heu, heu,                  |
|     | ergo gratias agamus           | (233) - 8 (1142)   | quid me incusatis fletus        |
|     | nostro redemptori!            | (24) - 6 (33)      | incassum fudisse?               |
| 5b  | Rex regum Christe,            | (122) x 5 (113)    | Cum sim orbata                  |
|     | cui angelorum chori           | (242) x 8 (242)    | nato paupertatem meam           |
|     | iuge famulantur,              | (24) - 6 (123)     | qui solus curaret.              |
| 6a  | Vultu placido homines         | (233) x 8 (1133)   | Qui non hostibus cederet        |
|     | in tuis laudibus              | (123) x 6 (33)     | angustos terminos,              |
|     | sedulos                       | (3) - 3 (12)       | quos mihi                       |
|     | pius intuere,                 | (24) x 6 (24)      | Jacob adquisivit,               |
| 6b  | Quorum mortibus condolens     | (233) x 8 (233)    | Quique stolidis fratribus       |
|     | in tantum humilis             | (123) - 6 (1212)   | quos multos pro dolor,          |
|     | factus es,                    | (21) - 3 (3)       | extuli,                         |
|     | ut mortem subires.            | (123) - 6 (24)     | esset profuturus.               |
| 7.  | Tu devictis inferni           | (133) - 7 (2212)   | Numquid flendus est iste,       |
|     | legibus resurgens triumphans. | (333) - 9 (1233)   | qui regnum possedit caeleste,   |
|     | Tu post crucem per orbem      | (11212) x 7 (223)  | Quique prece frequenti          |
|     | gentibus imperas,             | (33) - 6 (33)      | miseris fratribus               |
|     | omnipotens filius dei.        | (432) - 9 (225)    | apud Deum auxiliatur?           |

FIGURE THREE

(Bracketed numbers indicate word syllable units; x denotes that parallel lines have the same accent pattern; the central unbracketed number denotes the number of syllables in each phrase.)

p.483, 1.10

De UNO MARTYRE

VIRGO FLORANS

Ā Ē Ū Ŷ

Quid tu VIRGO

Mater ploras ra l. √ =

chel formosa / ∞

Cuius vultus iacob delectat ~ √ = ∞

l = f ∞ ∞ ∞

l = f ∞ ∞ ∞

e ∞ ∞ ∞ = ∞ ∞

e ∞ ∞ ∞ = ∞ ∞

l e ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

∞ ∞ ∞

l e ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

l ∞ = ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

l ∞ = ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

e ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

p.484, 1.1

word syllable units/

neume groups

1. 1 1 2 1 1 2-1

2a 2 2 / 1 5

2b 1 / 3 x 1 3

3a 2 2 2 3 5 1 3

3b 1 3 4 2 2 1 3

4a 4 2 2 2 2 1 3

4b 2 2 3 3 x 2 2 3 3

5a 1 1 2 3 3 2 2 3 3

5b 1 1 1 / 1 1 4 1 2 2 4

6a 2 / 3 3 2 2 4

6b 1 1 3 3 x 2 3 3

7. 3 3 3 2 4

1 2 2 4 x 3 2 4

2 3 3 x 2 3 3

1 2 1 2 3 3

3 2 4 x 3 2 4

2 2 1 2 1 1 2 3

1 2 3 3 1 2 1 2 3

2 2 3 1 1 2 3

3 3 / 2 2 5 1 5 4 5

p.485, 1.1

Qui regnum possedit caeleste l - ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

Quique prece frequenti l e ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

miseris fratribus apud deum auxiliatur? - ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

FIGURE FOUR

CH-SGs 381 (s.xi in.): the word syllable units correspond to the bracketed numbers in Figure Three; the neume group size is indicated parallel to this; x denotes instances where the two coincide.

can only be speculation.

All that one can be reasonably certain of is that the relationship between words and music in strophic planctus was primarily architectonic; that the meaning, syntax and accents of the text were probably of no importance to the musician; and that the strophic planctus was a type of art song which depended on 'number' for its organisation, but was also closely related to the style of music composed for the singing of narrative. The rhythm, as performed, may have been isosyllabic; this can be established on both aesthetic and historical grounds, though it cannot be verified.

#### 4. Sequences and Lais

As pointed out in Chapters Three and Four, the nature of both sequence and lai can only be fully understood when words and music are considered together. The relationship between text and melody in this category differs from that of the strophic planctus primarily on account of the greater opportunity for inventiveness which the sequence and lai forms afford the composer. The sequence is made up of pairs of versicles, the lai of one- to five-versicle units. In both, each versicle in a unit has the same melody; each new unit normally has a different formal shape and correspondingly a new melody. Hence there is a general architectonic relationship between words and music which constantly varies in its design and which is sustained throughout. Accordingly inventiveness is deployed on a much larger scale than in the strophic planctus, where normally there is only one stanza form with its corresponding melody.

The range of melodic and verbal patterning, and the degree to which it is systematically deployed depend much on whether the text is in Kunstprosa (as in the early, 'liturgical' sequence), or in verse (as in the later sequence and in the lai); in the case of the latter, differences of emphasis also arise according to whether the text is composed in a regular double versicle structure, as in the strict sequence, or in a freer sequence structure with up to four repetitions of each versicle, as in the lai.

In Notker's 'Quid tu Virgo' (MT 62a), an early sequence, the text is in an elaborate Kunstprosa. The most sustained type of patterning derives from the repetition of versicles. There is variation inherent in this, since each versicle differs in length. Within this generally

continuous pattern there are minor discrepancies which are, however, quite conventional in the early sequence. Versicles 1 and 7 are not repeated; and 5b has three syllables more (with corresponding music) than 5a. Melodically 2b is slightly different from 2a, though it is syllabically the same.

The melodic unit is primarily that of the single versicle. This corresponds to the versicle unit of the text, normally a complete semantic unit. Most versicles, especially the longer ones, are made up of smaller musical units, marked by 'open' cadences, which in turn correspond to shorter units of the text. As Figure 3 indicates the texts of 'Haec est sancta solemnitas solemnitatum' and its contrafactum 'Quid tu Virgo' (MT 62a) follow a very strict syllabic pattern. The importance of this as an organising principle is reinforced by the fact that it is reflected to a large extent in their manuscript layouts, as exemplified in Figure 4, a diplomatic transcription of 'Quid tu Virgo' from CH-SGs 381 (s.xi in.). On the whole these smaller syllabic units correspond to the most obvious subdivisions of the melody of each versicle unambiguously. However, in a short versicle such as versicle 3 it is impossible to determine whether the melody was conceived of as two small phrases, as suggested by the syllable count of the text, or as one continuously flowing phrase. Moreover, for musical reasons, it seems more likely that the notes of 'quos mihi' (6a) and 'extuli' (6b) belong to the last phrase of the versicle, rather than existing as a brief separate melodic unit. The syllabic pattern which emerges when 'Quid tu Virgo' and 'Haec est sancta solemnitas solemnitatum' are compared is thus somewhat more intricate than that which is unequivocally reflected in the melodic phrasing within each versicle. These two instances may, of course, be the result of coincidence. The smaller syllabic units of the text (within each versicle) are normally complete syntactic or semantic units, though not always: for example, 'nato, paupertatem' (5b). It is thus apparent that the musical phrase corresponds to a syllabic pattern in the first instance, a pattern based on 'number'.

In corroboration of this it is interesting to note that in his description of his first attempt at sequence composition, 'Laudes deo concinat', Notker explains that he was not entirely successful. According to his teacher Iso, this was because 'the notes (individual motions) of the melody should have separate syllables' (singulae motus cantilenaе singulas syllabas debent habere).<sup>48</sup> Notker says that the text of his first draft was:



Laudes deo  
 concinat orbis  
 universus,  
 qui gratis est  
 redemptus. 5

This he revised to:

Laudes deo  
 concinat orbis  
 ubique totus,  
 qui gratis est  
 liberatus. 5

The modifications occur in lines 3 and 5 and indicate that in his first text he had too few syllables for the number of notes in the melody. In order to compensate for this, without altering the meaning of his text, he chose synonyms which consist of one syllable more.

The continuous patterning effected through the repetition of the versicle is complemented by the almost consistently syllabic nature of the melody. There are only two instances of two-note units in the whole sequence. Textually they are of no special significance:

1. Virgo
7. frequenti.

The former occurs in versicle one, as is often the case in the early sequence,<sup>49</sup> and the latter in versicle seven, a note-unit which does not occur in every manuscript source of 'Quid tu Virgo'.<sup>50</sup>

The general patterning which results from the repetition of syllabic melodies is counterpointed by various types of contrast. The melody - which would in essence be through-composed were it not for the reiteration of the versicle - contains a few instances of repetition, as indicated in Chapter Four:

- |    |                                 |        |                                    |
|----|---------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|
| 5a | <u>Heu heu heu</u>              | and 7  | <u>quique prece frequenti</u>      |
| 5b | <u>Cum sim orbata</u>           |        |                                    |
| 5a | <u>incassum fuisse</u>          | and 6a | quos mihi <u>Jacob adquisivit</u>  |
| 5b | <u>qui solus curaret</u>        | and 6b | extuli <u>esset profuturus</u>     |
| 7. | <u>Numquid flendus est iste</u> | and 7  | qui <u>regem possedit caeleste</u> |

Clearly there are no syntactic or semantic parallels in the lines of the text sung to the same melody; nor is the verbal accent pattern of repeated melodies the same. Although in the last example there is assonance and even rhyme, they are occasional rather than systematic.

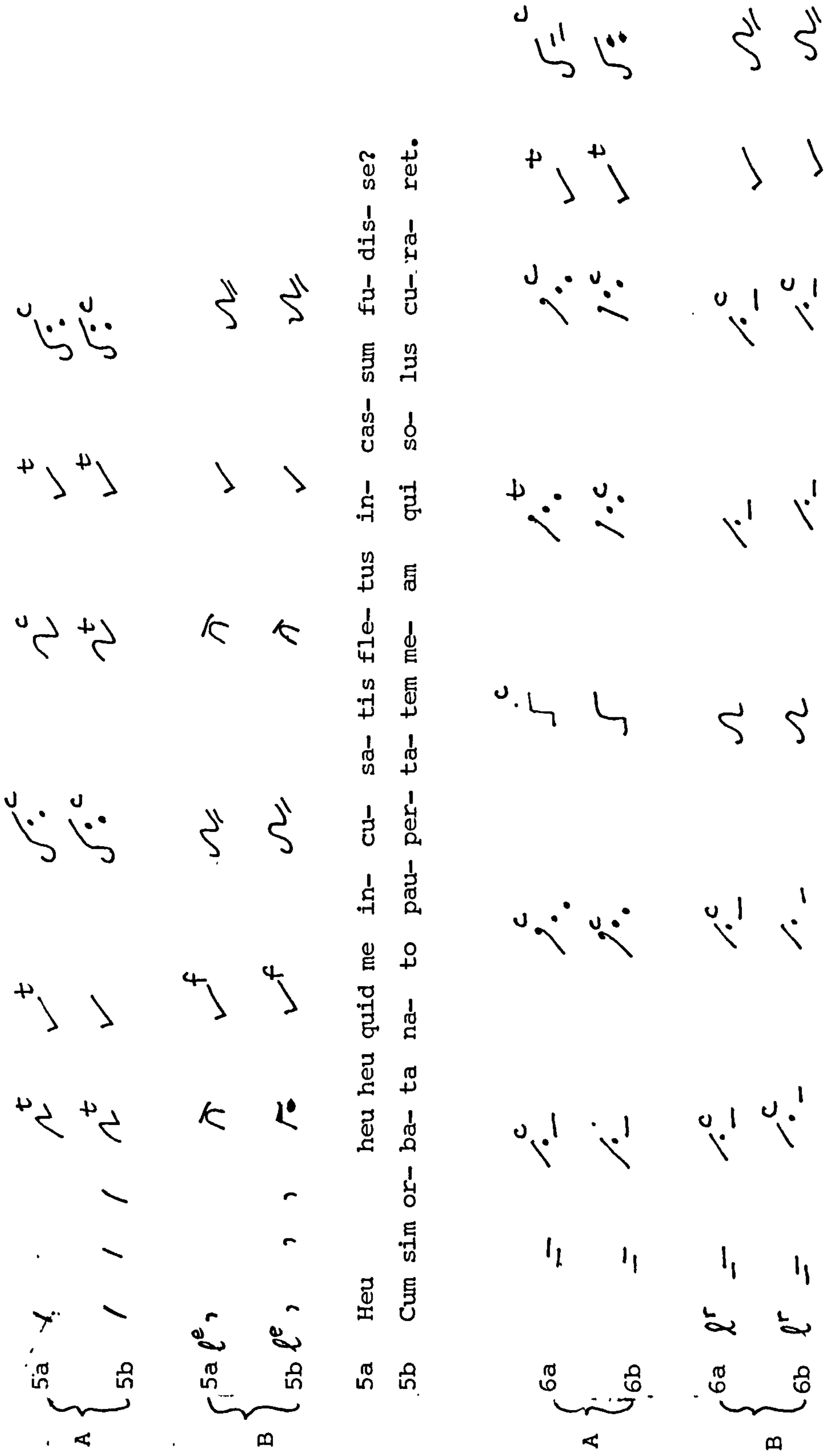


FIGURE FIVE

A: GB-Lbl Additional 19768 (ca.968-72), f.18v

B: CH-SGs 381 (s.xi in.), p.483

The repetitions thus function as melodic recall, a purely musical device.

The movement of this syllabic melody is normally by step or in thirds, including the distinct rising triad:

|    |                                |     |    |                                      |
|----|--------------------------------|-----|----|--------------------------------------|
| 6a | <sup>F A c</sup><br>mihi Jācob | and | 7. | <sup>D F A</sup><br>flendus est iste |
| 6b | extūli <u>esset</u>            | and | 7. | possédit <u>caelēste</u>             |

The few larger intervals which occur within the musical phrase are:

|   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 3 | soróris/lippitudo: descending 4th |
| 4 | terge/quam te: descending 4th     |
| 5 | flētus/meam: descending 4th       |
| 7 | Dēum auxiliātur: ascending 4th    |

That neither the rising triads nor the larger intervals serve to highlight important features of the text is evident: they are musical devices which function as a means of changing the direction of the melody, and thus provide melodic contrasts.

Further evidence of the self-sufficiency of the melody is supplied by the rhythmic signs provided in some of the manuscript sources of 'Quid tu Virgo'. As Figure 5 illustrates, rhythmic nuance varies not only from manuscript source to manuscript source, but also - in the same manuscript - within the versicle: the rhythmic nuances of versicle 5a in GB-Lbl 19768 (ca.968-72) differ from those of 5b as well as from those of 5a and 5b in CH-SGs 381 (s.xi in.). Clearly they indicate that different notes could be lengthened or shortened without regard for the natural accents of the text.

The melody could be divided into three main sections:

|    |                 |
|----|-----------------|
| A: | (versicles) 1-4 |
| B: | 5-6             |
| C: | 7               |

This is primarily because the central section (B) concentrates on movement towards the higher end of the melodic range, reaching a climax at the beginning of versicle 6; and because versicles 5 and 6 are linked through a common concluding phrase. This division of the melody corresponds exactly to the three main parts of the text: the speakers asking Rachel why she is lamenting; her impassioned reply, the climax; and the elliptical words of comfort. Thus it might be argued that the general design of the melody is reflected in the structure of the text. However, although the melodies of versicles 5 and 6 are closely related, those of versicles 1-4 could be further subdivided into X: 1-2 and Y: 3-4, since their finals are different.

Versicle 7 could be described as a series of motive recalls of previous melodies: its first two phrases explore the same range as versicle 4; its third phrase recalls the opening of versicle 5; and in a smaller way, the melody of 'miseris fratribus' looks back to that of 'cuius vultus' (2b), and the melody of 'apud Deum' to that of 'cederet'/'fratribus' (6). Thus the melody does not in fact divide into a neat tripartite form. Rather it is composed of phrases which explore different and clearly defined parts of the range. Short passages or small groups of notes are recalled as part of a melodic rhetoric in which the commonplace is varied tastefully through contrast. Moreover, to be completely accurate, the melodic climax occurs in versicle 6, whereas that of the text is undoubtedly at the beginning of versicle 5. Since the design of the melody, like the organisation of the text, moves towards a climax, and because climaxes require some preparation, it would not be surprising to find that the two almost coincided. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the structure of the text of 'Haec est solemnitas solemnitatum' forms a different pattern: A: 1-2; B: 3-6 and C: 7. Thus the apparent relationship between the structure of the text of 'Quid tu Virgo' and that of its melody is simply coincidence.

However, the melodic treatment of 'Heu, heu, heu' (5a), Rachel's opening words of lament, deserves special comment. They are set to a simple tune in the idiom of a short recitation melody (which is two syllables shorter than the corresponding phrase in 5b). It might thus be argued that it stands out from the previous more fluid melodies and that it may represent an attempt to imitate speech sound. However, the irregularity of syllable count, and the recitation type melody are both present in 'Haec est sancta solemnitas solemnitatum', which was probably composed before 'Quid tu Virgo': at the corresponding point in the former there is no direct speech or emotionalism; the tone is assertive and celebratory as in the rest of this sequence:

5a Redempti ergo gratias agamus nostro redemptori.

5b Rex regum Christe, cui angelorum chori iuge famulantur.

At most Notker has contrived to place Rachel's outburst on these notes. More likely, however, it is again an instance of coincidence: her other most anguished expression 'pro dolor' is set to the notes cbG, which mirror the pattern of intervals in the preceding, 'open' cadence: dcA. There thus is nothing special about its musical treatment. Moreover, the syllabic nature of the melody is well disposed to the articulation of the meaning of a text, since it is not cluttered by melismas. Thus this apparent instance of a close relationship between

melody and the meaning of the text is of little significance when seen in this wider context.

Although 'Haec est sancta solemnitas solemnitatis' and 'Quid tu Virgo' share the same syllabic pattern, they only rarely have the same accent patterns. This can be seen from Figure 3 where the parallel lines marked 'x' have the same verbal accent patterns. Similarly, although there is a certain amount of coincidence in the size of the word-syllable units in some versicles (indicated in columns three and five in italics) it is by no means systematic. Thus the process of contrafacture did not include imitation of accent or verbal patterns. However, in 'Quid tu Virgo' there are several instances where the accents of one versicle are paralleled in all or part of its mirror image, for example:

|    |                 |    |                 |
|----|-----------------|----|-----------------|
| 2a | Máter plóras    | 2b | Cúius vúltus    |
|    | Ráchel formónsa |    | Jácob deléctat. |

However in versicle 3 the accents do not coincide consistently:

|    |                      |    |                      |
|----|----------------------|----|----------------------|
| 2a | Céu soróris anículae | 3b | Lippitúdo éum iúvet. |
|----|----------------------|----|----------------------|

In versicle 4 accent regularity is re-established, but in versicle 6 it is again unsystematic. Since versicles 2 and 4 also contain word-syllable units of the same size and are also extremely short the probability is that their accent patterns will be the same. Thus, although it may appear that there is occasionally an impulse towards accentual regularity, or to patterning through number within the versicle (that is, regularity in the size of word-syllable units), this seems most unlikely. A similar situation arises with respect to the relationship between the word-syllable unit and its corresponding neume: although there is a close correspondence between the two in versicle 6:

|     |  |                   |                             |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|-------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (J) | 1  | 1                 | 3                           | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
|     | 1  | 1                 | 3                           | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| 6a  | Qui non hostibus cederet   | angustos terminos | quos mihi Jacob adquisivit. |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|     | 2  | 3                 | 3                           | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6b  | Quique stolidis fratribus quos multos pro dolor extuli esset profuturus. |                   |                             |   |   |   |   |   |   |

this is an exception, rather than the rule, as Figure 4 illustrates.

A further source of contrast is to be found in the sound patterning of the text. This is not however treated systematically, but functions as a counterpoint against other types of patterning. In the following example it can be seen how in Kunstprosa a rich aural picture is created through assonance and alliteration:

ui  
 e e e e  
 au a a a a  
 o a a o o a  
 i u u  
 u u u u  
 5b Cum sim orbata nato paupertatem meam qui solus curaret.  
 c m m n m m m q c  
 s r t t t t s s r r  
 b p p l  
 1

Recurring sounds do not however coincide with accented syllables, let alone with musical devices.

It is thus evident that the words and music of this sequence exist as two synchronous shapes which are joined together conceptually through a common numerical pattern; otherwise they are independent. Patterning - effected through the repetition of versicles of differing numbers of syllables, set to syllabic melodies - is counterpointed by various types of contrast. Melodic contrast derives from changes in the normal movement of the melody at the introduction of occasional intervals; from the few instances of repetition and short sections of motive recall, both of which give passing unity to an otherwise through-composed melody; and from the different tonal identities of each versicle. Prosodic contrasts result from the occasional suggestions of accentual regularity, and also from the sound patterns of individual lines which create an attractive aural picture, but which are not systematic. Verbal contrasts come about through coincidences of the word-syllable shapes of one versicle and its mirror image, or of the word-syllable shapes and their corresponding neumes. Textually, contrast is to be found particularly through Notker's varied use of the rhetorical question as a means of elucidating a conventional theological point.

As pointed out in Chapter Four, some of the melodies of 'Quid tu Virgo' occur in other early sequences. Of particular interest is the cadence figure of versicles 5 and 6. The frequency with which it occurs in other early sequences in the G mode strongly suggests that it is a musical formula - possibly one which could be appended to another melody if extra notes were required, and clearly one which could be expanded to include extra notes, as in the instances on which it includes the addition FGG indicate.<sup>51</sup> Considered in relation to

other factors - the fluid, uncluttered, syllabic style of the melody and its cadences (those of the shorter phrases of its versicles are normally 'open', like commas, and 'closed', like full-stops, at the end of a versicle) - the likely use of melodic formulae relates 'Quid tu Virgo' and other early sequences to the style of music composed for the singing of narrative. Thus, like the strophic planctus, 'Quid tu Virgo' depends on 'number' for its organisation, but its musical style betrays several 'narrative' traits.

Although, as pointed out in Chapter Four, the five strict sequences do not form a unified group as regards their musical style, they share a similar relationship between words and music. Like 'Quid tu Virgo' they are each composed in double versicle forms - this time, however, in verse marked by a regular rhyme scheme. Not only does the melody of the single versicle correspond to a normally complete semantic unit of the text, but the musical phrase corresponds to the poetic line (or occasionally to the half-line), as indicated in the Excursus. Although several metres are often employed in one versicle, each is normally repeated at least once. Thus the pattern created by the text and musical phrases alike is more systematically organised than it is in 'Quid tu Virgo', where the length of the smaller syllabic unit and its corresponding musical phrase (within the versicle) varies constantly.

The most sustained type of patterning in the strict sequence derives both from the repetition of the single versicle, and from the systematic use of rhyme. As in 'Quid tu Virgo' there are minor discrepancies in the former: not all versicles are repeated, for example, the last versicle of 'O felix' (MT 49); there are also occasionally minor variations in the melody of the second of the pair of versicles, for example, the opening melisma of versicle 1b in 'Flete fideles' (MT 20d), or the second phrase of the same, where the syllable count is less than that of the corresponding line in 1a and its melody accordingly contracted. Moreover, by definition the strophic sequence 'Heu pius' (MT 32a) is not made up of pairs of differently structured versicles, but conforms to the same stanza form throughout, though the melodies of its last three versicles are not repeated.

As was normal in the strophic planctus rhyme relates neither to melodic repetition nor to recurring cadence figures. There are in fact very few instances of exact melodic repetition. In, for example, 'Divina providentia' (MT 13) the melody is almost entirely through-composed. In slightly modified forms melodies J and L recur:

|    |      |  |      |  |
|----|------|--|------|--|
| J: | 2a.1 | In h <sup>o</sup> ra s <sup>a</sup> c <sup>r</sup> i c <sup>a</sup> no <sup>n</sup> is | 3a.1 | Post m <sup>e</sup> nsam d <sup>o</sup> mi <sup>n</sup> icam |
|    | 2b.1 | En s <sup>u</sup> a n <sup>o</sup> ster S <sup>y</sup> meon                            | 3b.1 | Celebr <sup>a</sup> to pr <sup>a</sup> ndio                  |
| L: | 2a.3 | t <sup>o</sup> t lacrim <sup>a</sup> rum riv <sup>u</sup> lis                          | 2a.7 | et ut d <sup>i</sup> gne c <sup>a</sup> piti                 |
|    | 2b.3 | revelat n <sup>o</sup> stre fid <sup>e</sup> i   | 2b.7 | c <sup>u</sup> ius p <sup>r</sup> ece Mo <sup>y</sup> si     |

This is a text which is marked by the use of disyllabic rhyme. Thus although a number of the above rhymes end with '-i', this sound is only part of the rhyme. Otherwise the sounds are quite different. Hence the repetition of a previously used melody is clearly of no significance here.

In 'Flete fideles' (MT 20d) the melody of the last phrase of each versicle ends with the same cadence figure; since it is also more melismatic than the preceding notes it stands out and thus has the effect of a melodic refrain. Although the end of each versicle is thus punctuated, there is no parallel procedure in the rhyme-scheme: as can be seen from the rhyme sounds of the first three versicles each one is different:

|    |                 |    |                  |
|----|-----------------|----|------------------|
| 1a | lacrim <u>e</u> | 1b | puerper <u>a</u> |
| 2a | transverberat   | 2b | profluvio        |
| 3a | macul <u>a</u>  | 3b | nesci <u>a</u>   |

Similarly, in 'Omnis in lacrimas' (MT 55), where cadence figures occasionally recur, it is plain that this type of repetition is a purely musical phenomenon:

FGG: 1 est causa/serenus; operuit/regibus; Campanie/debitum.  
 BAGG: 1 rapuit/crudelibus; 2...patrocinio/gladium; 3...scelerum/  
tenuit; titulus/proprium; 4. jactitas; humana.

Although the first six phrases of the melody of this example - ABC ABC - are complemented by the rhyme-scheme aab ccd, they are not exactly mirrored by this and subsequently both melody and rhyme pursue independent courses. While the first three pairs of versicles in 'Heu pius' (MT 32a) are mirrored exactly in the rhyme-scheme, the last three versicles depart completely from this symmetry. It is thus evident that, as in the strophic, planctus, rhyme follows a scheme which is normally independent of the formal design of the melody.

In essence the patterning effected by the repetition of each versicle is comparable to that of 'Quid tu Virgo'. It is likewise counterpointed by various types of unsustained patterning which provide contrast and which do not relate significantly to the text. However, on account of the fact that the melodic styles of the strict sequences differ from the style of 'Quid tu Virgo' the overall effects are somewhat different.



Motive recall and the use of accidentals are further resources of melodic patterning which vary an otherwise through-composed melody. That these are musical devices can be seen with reference to the role of motive recall in 'Omnis in lacrimas' (MT 55) and to the treatment of accidentals in 'Divina providentia' (MT 13). In the former the motive bbG occurs at the following points:

- 1 oculus/induit; populus/aruit; 4. mundana; exitus.

and the motive g fed c at:

- 1 tristitie/flos comitum; 2 pauperes suffragiis/totis urbibus;  
4. te torquet; vanitatum.

That these are musical features is self-evident. In 'Divina providentia' (MT 13) there is no literary or prosodic reason why its first syllable (the opening cauda), most of versicle 2, and all of versicle 3 should have a b flat. That it is a musical device is highlighted especially by the fact that the third occurrence of one of the motives of versicle 2 - AbAF - includes the b flat shortly after it has occurred twice without one: a feature is thus made of the change in tonal colour.

Since, as indicated in Chapter Four, the movement of the strict sequences is normally by step, the incidence of intervals is very slight. Those larger than a third include the following:

- 'Flete fideles' (MT 20d): 2 hic ille/dum locus: ascending 4th  
3 agnus sine/caro culpe: descending 5th
- 'Heu pius' (MT 32a): 3 iustus/hic/crucifigi/agemus/magistro: ascending 4th  
4 eamus ergo/solum quimus: ascending 5th  
6 vetet: descending 4th; in tumulo: ascending 5th
- 'Omnis in lacrimas' (MT 55): 1 dum nobis/fatis: ascending 4th  
2 stipendiis/visceribus: ascending 4th  
4. torquet ambitus: ascending 4th
- 'O felix' (MT 49): 1 providit/regnat: descending 5/6th  
2 dum actus/eum: descending 5th; mellior/carni:  
descending 5th  
3 limine: ascending 4th; profundo: descending 5th;  
fuit fundo: ascending 5th
- 'Divina providentia' (MT 13): 1 exercitio/virtutis: ascending 5th  
2 sudore/rei: ascending 4th; renovatus re-/Christi pre-: ascending 4th  
3 condescendit/sunt in-: ascending 4th;  
alterum sic/utrique: descending 6th

It is apparent from the above examples that intervals do not occur on words of special significance.

Unlike 'Quid tu Virgo' the tonal design of the strict sequence is not organised in order to balance different parts of the range by concentrating on one part of it in each versicle: normally the whole range is covered in each versicle such that melodic interest lies in treating the same melodic range in a different way. This is paralleled prosodically by the varied use of different metres, or different combinations of previously used metres, in each versicle.

However, much is made of one melodic device not employed in 'Quid tu Virgo', namely, the balancing of purely syllabic passages with groups of large note units or with short melismas. A brief examination of 'Omnis in lacrimas' (MT 55) indicates that larger note units neither highlight important words of the text, nor do they coincide systematically with either accented or unaccented syllables. Counting the plica as two notes the patterns which emerge in the second half of 2a are as follows:

```

...      1 11 4   1 21
         /     /
         lugeat ecclesia

         1 11   1 1 21
         /     /
         vidua presidio

         1 1   1 1 2 31
         /     /
         clerus patrocínio

         1 1 1   1 1 31
         /     /
         milites stipendiis

         1 1 1   3   1 24
         /     /
         pauperes suffragiis

         1 11 1 4 31
         /     /
         Francia consilio.

```

The role of melismas and caudae is on closer inspection again melodic:

```

'Heu pius' (MT 32a):  1  O/O; 2  Plebs/O; 3  O/Heu sors; 5  Quo
'O felix' (MT 49):  1  O/In; Aquitanie/potentia; Gallie/gratia; ecclesie/
                   celestia
                   2  Per/Penas
                   3  isto
'Divina providentia' (MT 13):  1  Divina/Quem
                               3  condimentum/talentum
'Flete fideles' (MT 20d):  1  Flete/Fleant; lacrimae/puerpera
                               2  virginee/digitis; prenuntius/lateris;
                               transverberat/profluvio
                               3  macula/nescia
                               4  peccati/virtutis
                               5  morienti/crucis
                               6  noletis/occidunt

```

In each instance the melismas and caudae occur at the beginning or end of a versicle, or, occasionally, as in versicle 1 of 'O felix' (MT 49), at the beginning or end of a musical phrase. Sometimes in 'Flete fideles' (MT 20d) the melismas occur on accented syllables, but this seems to be coincidence: except for those in versicle 3 they are consistently sung on the penultimate syllable of a versicle (or line, as in versicle 2). That they are, moreover, later additions to the melody is strongly suggested by the fact that the penultimate note units of each versicle in the earliest extant manuscript sources of this planctus are either single notes, as frequently in D-S1 HB I Asc.95 (s.xiii) (MT 20b), or of the same size as the ante-penultimate note unit, as often in D-Mbs Clm 4660 (s.xiii) (MT 20a). Since the manuscript sources of the other strict sequences postdate their probable dates of composition often considerably, it is likely that many of their melismas and caudae are more elaborate than they were originally. The second terminal cauda of 'O felix' (MT 49a) occurs only in I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240) and not in D-W Helmst.628 (s.xiii mid.) and is thought to have originated in St.Victor.<sup>52</sup> Thus these clausula-like passages may have been added later.

There is a remarkable incidence of accentual regularity in these strict sequences. The accent patterns of one versicle are frequently the same as those of its mirror image, for example:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1a Fléte, fideles anime,<br/>fléte, sorores optime,<br/>ut sint multiplices<br/>doloris indices<br/>plánctus et lácrime.</p> | <p>1b Fleant materna viscera<br/>Marie matris vulnera:<br/>matérne doleo,<br/>que dici soleo<br/>félix puerpera.</p> |
|---|--|

However, a number of factors indicate that this clear tendency towards accentual regularity is such that the text could not provide a reliable basis for determining musical rhythm. Firstly, as already noted, larger note units do not occur consistently on either accented or unaccented syllables; secondly there are several instances where accentual regularity is unambiguously violated, for example, in 'Divina providentia' (L25):

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>2a In hora sacri canonis<br/>cum soli Deo loquitur,<br/>tot lacrimarum <u>rivulis</u>, ...</p> | <p>2b En sua noster Symeon<br/>consummat desideria,<br/>revelat nostre <u>fidei</u> ...</p> |
|---|---|

or in 'O felix' (L97):

1a O félix Bitúria,  
caput Aquitánie,  
in qua víget glória, ...

1b In te víget íncliti  
pastóris poténtia,  
qui sancti parácliti ...

or in 'Omnis in lacrimas' (L113):

(1a) ... nube tristítie  
terras operuit,  
dum nobis rapuit  
solem Campanie.

(1b) ... comes flos comitum,  
non impar regibus,  
fatis crudelibus  
exsolvit debitum.

thirdly, the accent patterns of the text sung to melody A of 'Heu pius' (MT 32a) are not the same on its final occurrence in versicle 5:

1a Heu! pius pastor occidit,  
quem culpa nulla infecit. ...

1b Heu! verus pastor obiit,  
qui vitam functis contulit. ...

5 Condimentis aromatum ...

A further problem is raised by the versicles quoted above from 'Flete fideles' (L42). The suggested rhythm conforms neither to a regular trochaic or iambic metre. This in itself does not matter since the same accent pattern occurs in both versicles, each of which is sung to the same melody. However, whereas lines 1, 2 and 5 begin with an accented syllable, the same is not so of lines 3 and 4. Were the unaccented opening syllables not consistently found at this point, one would dismiss them as prosodic variations or irregularities. However, they seem to be deliberate. Moreover, they are highlighted by the use of a different end-rhyme. Unless the musical rhythm adopted is sufficiently flexible to accommodate this and also the rhythmic patterns of the remaining lines, the natural accents of several words, which appear to conform to a clearly conceived accentual pattern, will be violated. Additionally, a technical difficulty arises in the second pair of versicles of 'O felix' (L97). In 2a the metre is 4 (7pp + 6p), whereas in 2b it is 8 (7pp). Either the scribe of I-F1 Pluteo 29.1 (ca.1240) has made a mistake (the scribe of D-W Helmst.628 (s.xiii mid.) does not give the text of the second of each pair of versicles), or else the singers were expected to expand the melody at appropriate points in 2b. Since 'O felix' (MT 49) is a three-voice composition this could only be achieved if one note at the same position in each voice were repeated.

There are few instances where there is a close connection between

the meaning of a word and its musical setting. In, for example, 'Omnis in lacrimas' (MT 55) words associated with grief, such as 'lacrimas' (1a), 'dolor' (1a), 'tristitie' (1a), and 'flebilis' (2a) are set to descending musical phrases, though the reverse is so of 'suspiria' (1a) and 'lugeat' (2a). The apparent relationship between the former group and descending phrases is thus coincidence. In 'O felix' (MT 49) a number of words are associated with height or depth. The tenor melody of 'caput' (1a) and 'lux' (1a) are appropriately set to notes at the top of the melodic range. In the second versicle, when the poet describes how light was obscured at William's death 'lux' (2a) is given a note which is just a third above the lowest note in the whole sequence: William's eclipse is apparently reflected in the changing pitch of the melody. However, 'funde' (3), another word which might invite similar treatment were it meant to be deliberate, does not receive the descending phrase in the tenor which one might expect, although the two upper voices move downwards in contrary motion. Moreover, the melody otherwise reaches the top of its range on words such as 'dum' (2a) and 'vixit' (3), and its lower range on 'in qua' (1a), none of which have special associations with height or depth. There is thus no significance in the apparent connections between words and music mentioned above.

Of special interest is the treatment of 'heu' in the earliest extant setting of 'Heu pius' (MT 32a). Here it is treated prosodically as a monosyllable, but musically as a disyllable in 1a, 1b and 2a (where it is set to a repeated note), and as a monosyllable in 3b (where first it is set to a ligature consisting of the notes b flat and A, and then, in the refrain, to a single note). This raises questions about how exactly the word was sung, especially since in the later versions of this melody it is treated musically as a monosyllable. Clearly if some kind of lengthening were intended the only way in which it could be notated would be through the repetition of a note: it could not be written out as a ligature, as at the fourth occurrence of 'heu' (3b). Were this the case, however, one would expect that the two notes would be written close together, or even as a distropha. Since neither of these possibilities is in evidence - the repeated notes and their corresponding word-syllables are clearly separated in the manuscript - it seems that the word was in fact first sung as 'he-u' and then, in 3b, as 'heu'. The refrain of 'Heu pius' (MT 32a) is also of interest. Although it might be argued that its more melismatic nature results from a conventional treatment of refrains which accompany otherwise

syllabic compositions, the text of the first six consists of an exclamation of grief, and each successive pair of refrains increases in melismatic complexity, as if reflecting a swell of emotion. However, that this resulted from performance is strongly suggested when the refrains of the other versions of this planctus are compared. Although short melismas are included they normally occur on different words. This suggests that the performer had some scope for self-expression in the refrain, as long as he adhered to its melodic Gestalt.

A further instance of expressiveness in performance is evidenced in the only complete version of 'Flete fideles' (MT 20d) which is written in a heightened notation (I-Pc C56 (s.xiv)). In contrast to the earlier unheighted versions it includes the words 'O dolor, pro dolor' at the beginning of versicle 3a. These two phrases are not matched by an additional phrase at the beginning of 3b and thus constitute a formal irregularity. More importantly, they share the same short melody, a melody which seems to function as an expressive counter. It is as if it was felt that some more direct expression of grief was necessary at this point. At the end of 2b the Virgin says that she is growing faint at the sight of Christ's wounds, but she does not project her horror in explicit words of exclamation.

However, this is expressiveness after the event, so to speak. The method of composition employed in each of these strict sequences is again one based on 'number'. The use of repetition in 'Heu pius' (MT 20a) together with the simple syllabic style of its versicles relate it closely to music composed for narrative. However, as far as can be determined from their manuscript settings, other musical interests dominate in the remaining examples. Since so few are under consideration it would be rash to attempt generalisations about their nature and significance.

Like the strict sequence, the lai is written in verse with a regular rhyme scheme. The melodic phrase also corresponds to the poetic line (or occasionally to the half-line). However, in contrast, its general formal design is more flexible: the versicle (that is, both stanza structure and melody) is repeated no or up to four times. This affords additional levels of patterning. Firstly, the number of occurrences of each successive versicle unit can be varied, as illustrated in the following example, 'Abner fidelissime' (MT 3):

|             |   |    |     |    |   |
|-------------|---|----|-----|----|---|
| versicle    | I | II | III | IV | V |
| occurrences | 1 | 2  | 4   | 2  | 4 |

Secondly, instead of arranging all the repeats of a versicle in succession, they can be alternated with other versicles, as, for example, in 'Ad festas' (MT 5), where the first of its four sections is as follows:

|                      |   |    |     |    |     |    |
|----------------------|---|----|-----|----|-----|----|
| versicle arrangement | I | II | III | II | III | II |
| occurrences          | 1 | 1  | 1   | 1  | 1   | 1  |

As illustrated in Chapter Four, the lai versicle unit is made up of short, normally repeated, musical phrases, in contrast to the strict sequence which frequently is essentially through-composed. In the lai each versicle is usually made up of different sets of repeated phrases, whereas in the strict sequence the few melodies which are repeated tend to recur in later versicles. Thus, in the lai each successive versicle unit is melodically distinct. This is complemented textually in two main ways. Firstly, the prosodic structure of each successive versicle unit is also varied. This can be achieved through differences in the line length, in the number of lines in the versicle, or, occasionally, in the final accent or rhyme-scheme pattern. Thus, in 'Infelices filii' (L70) each versicle unit is based on a different metre or metres, that is, the line length and occasionally the final accent are varied:

|          |     |     |          |           |           |
|----------|-----|-----|----------|-----------|-----------|
| versicle | I   | II  | III      | IV        | V         |
| metres   | 7pp | 8pp | 4<br>5pp | 7pp<br>6p | 7pp<br>7p |

In however 'Dolorum solatium' (L30), where the metre 7pp is employed in all but two (II and III) of its six versicle units, variation is achieved through differences in the number of times the poetic line is repeated in versicle units I, IV and V, and through contrast in the rhyme-scheme pattern in I and VI (which are otherwise formally the same):

|                      |     |    |    |     |
|----------------------|-----|----|----|-----|
| versicle             | I   | IV | V  | VI  |
| occurrences          | 4   | 4  | 3  | 2   |
| lines per versicle   | 3   | 4  | 12 | 3   |
| rhyme-scheme pattern | xyx |    |    | xxx |

Secondly, as can be seen from the Excursus, successively new rhyme sounds are normally employed throughout each lai; just as new melodies are normally used in each successive versicle unit, so too new rhyme sounds are employed. This contrasts with the strict sequence where rhyme sounds already employed in one versicle are frequently reused. The close relationship between rhyme and melodic repetition in the lai can be seen with reference to the opening versicles of 'Dolorum solatium' (MT 17). Here the melody for each is in the form AAB. The rhyme sounds

reflect this pattern though not exactly with aab ccb ddb eeb, rather than aab aab aab aab. The correspondence between the two is not always as close as this, for example, in versicle 3 the musical form and rhyme-scheme are as follows:

(J)           FFGG' FFGG' FFGG' FFGG'  
rhyme       kkkk dddd bbbb kkkk

Thus the rhyme-scheme follows a pattern which is closely related to that of the musical form, but nevertheless independent. What the two seem to share is a mutual impulse towards the avoidance of reusing melodies and rhyme sounds which have already occurred.

Although the tendency is towards varying successive versicles melodically and prosodically, there are occasions when versicle units recur, as in the examples with a double cursus, a formal device characteristic of the archaic sequence.<sup>53</sup> In 'Abissus' (MT 2) the double cursus is complete; in 'Planctus ante nescia' (MT 58) it is partial; and in 'Ad festas' (MT 5) there are two: the one in the second section is complete, though slightly irregular; the other in the fourth section is a partial reiteration of the first section. In 'Planctus ante nescia' (MT 58) there is no literary reason why versicles 2 and 3 should be repeated.<sup>54</sup> However, it could be argued that in 'Abissus' (MT 2) the double cursus mirrors the general structure of the poem: in the first section Samson's unfortunate past is considered, while in the second his triumph is the central theme. In 'Ad festas' (MT 5) the double cursus in the second section does not reflect a change of mood or theme. However, the partial double cursus coincides with two passages - introductory and final - in which the speaker makes evaluative remarks about Jephtha's fate; otherwise he confines himself to narrating the story. Although some of these instances suggest that there was a close connection between words and music the relationship which they reflect is, at most, one between meaning and 'number', as articulated in the formal structure of the text, rather than a relationship between meaning and melody.

Further evidence of the independence of melody and text can be adduced with reference to the most distinctive feature of the lai melody, its tonal architecture. As indicated in Chapter Four, its short repeated musical phrases work towards a climax at the highest point of the musical range about three-quarter of the way through the song. Were the meaning of the text reflected in the melody one would expect that the literary and musical climaxes would coincide. There is undoubtedly a sense of mutual climax in versicle 6 of 'De profundis' (MT 12), when, as the highest point of the range is reached, the speaker exclaims



'Ad festas choreas' (MT 5)

1a. Ad fes-tas cho-re-as ce-li-bes  
 ex mo-re ve-ni-te vir-gi-nes! etc.

'Planctus ante nescia' (MT 58b)

3a Flos flo-rum dux mo-rum ve-ni-e ve-na, quam gra-vis in cla-vis est ti-bi pe-na!  
 3b Pro do-lor hinc co-lor ef-fu-git o-ris; hinc ru-it hinc flu-it un-da cru-o-ris!  
 3c O pi-a gra-ci-a sic mo-ri-en-tis o sce-lus o ze-lus in-vi-de gen-tis  
 3d O fe-ra dex-te-ra cru-ci-fi-gen-tis o le-nis in pe-nis mens pa-ti-en-tis

'Samson dux fortissime' (MT 67a)

8a Ur-bem val-la-ve-rant et me qua-si vin-xe-rant frau-den-ter  
 8b Noc-te di-lu-cu-lo sur-re-xi clan-cu-lo si-len-ter  
 12... Proh do-lor proh do-lor de-te-go mi-ra-cu-lum  
 Proh pu-dor proh pu-dor vir-tu-tis sig-na-cu-lum ....  
 14. I et O I et O hos-tem vic-tum te-ne-o  
 I et O I et O de-cal-va-tum ri-de-o  
 16... He-u me he-u me co-gor i-bi mo-le-re.  
 16. No-lunt mi-chi no-lunt mi-chi no-lunt mi-chi par-ce-re....

FIGURE SIX

'De profundis' (MT 12a)

86a Ve ve no-bis mi-se-ris se-ro pe-ni-ten-ti-bus....

86b He-u he-u do-mi-ne quid cre-a-ti fu-i-mus...

'Ad festas choreas' (MT 5) (Compare with 'De profundis' (MT 12a) above)

4a Vic-tor hic de proe-li-o dum re-dit cum po-pu-lo ....

6a De-ce-pis-ti fi-li-a me, dux a-it u-ni-ca....

'Dolorum solatium' (MT 17a)

5a ... Vel con-fos-sus pa-ri-ter mo-re-rer fe-li-ci-ter ...  
et me post te vi-ve-re mo-ri sit as-si-du-e ...

'Clangam filii' (EX. A2) / 'Altissime Deus' (EX. A2)

6a Or-tus oc-ca-sus pla-ge po-li ad-mi-nis-ra-ta lu-ci-da si-de-ra  
Pro-cla-mant vo-ces ve-re De-us ius-ta iu-di-ci-a tu-a

7a Cum haec co-gi-ta-rem ta-ci-ta ve-nit ru-ti-la ad-mi-ni-cu-la au-ro-ra  
ET au-di-unt a sanc-tis-si-ma vo-ce pre-cla-ra tem-po-ra sus-ti-ne-te mo-di-ca

⊕ = variants in "Altissime Deus" (EX. A2)

FIGURE SIX (continued)

with grief. However, when this example is seen in relation to 'Samson dux fortissime' (MT 67), 'Planctus ante nescia' (MT 58) and 'Dolorum solatium' (MT 17), the remaining lais written in heightened notations, it seems clear that this is the result of coincidence, as in the parallel case of 'Quid tu Virgo' (MT 62). In both 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) and 'Dolorum solatium' (L30) there is no clearcut literary climax, while in 'Samson dux fortissime' (L141) the literary climax occurs in the penultimate versicle (20), whereas the musical climax takes place in versicle 11.

An additional level of patterning occurs in each of the lais which survive in heightened notations. It may also have been employed in 'Abissus' (MT 2) (versicle 3) and in the other unheighted lais, but this cannot be established. As illustrated in Figure 6, a number of musical phrases contain internal repetition and can thus be further subdivided. This normally conforms to comparable divisions in the text. Thus, in 'Ad festas' (MT 5) the three short melodic units in the musical phrase of 1a correspond to the syllabic subdivisions of the text (3 + 3 + 3), first pointed out by Spanke.<sup>55</sup> In 'Planctus ante nescia' (MT 58b) the melody is based on a short sequential passage, the components of which are reflected in the text: at this point it includes internal rhyme and some alliteration which serve to emphasise the syntactic units that correspond to the components of the sequential passages. The passages from 'Dolorum solatium' (MT 17a) and 'De profundis' (MT 12a) are not pronounced by poetic effects and are again defined by further subdivisions of the syllable count of the line. In 'Samson dux fortissime' (MT 67a) two melodies are of special interest, melody K and melody Y. The former occurs in versicles 4b, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, and 20 and the latter in versicles 11 and 16. Interestingly all expressions of emotion are articulated in melody K, that is, in versicles 12, 14 and 16. (Only these and melody K from versicle 8 are included in Figure 6.) Melody K could not be said to be a musical representation of grief - the notes of which it consists are much too simple and are also used for words on other subjects. However, in versicle 12 they begin to take on an association with grief and when they recur in versicles 14 and 16 they could be said to have achieved the status of expressive counters. The subsequent occurrences of melody K are not associated with grief. However, it is quite likely that they reverberate with their previous association. Melody Y is especially effective as a melodic counter in versicle 16 where it articulates the vehement 'Nolunt michi, nolunt michi, nolunt michi parcere'. Although such smaller melodic fragments

are normally given complete word-syllable units or groups of words it should be noted that this is not always the case, as, for example, in 'Ad festas' (MT 5) versicle 6a (see Figure 6). This process of further dividing up a musical phrase (or extending one through the repetition of a short motive) can be compared to the role of melodic repetition in 'Clangam filii' which survives with the sequence melody planctus cygni. Though not in verse it is made up of word-syllable units or groups of words which mirror the repetition of the short melodies characteristic of most of its versicles. Versicles 6 and 7 are included in Figure 6. One might therefore speculate that the role of repetition within the musical phrase in the lai recalls the style of an early sequence like 'Clangam filii': through time and with the development of verse texts the repeated units became expanded to accord with the poetic line, as is more normal in the Latin lai. However some traces of this earlier practice are still in evidence in the examples cited above.

As one might expect in a musico-poetic form in which the melody conforms so clearly to its own internal logic there are no instances, apart from those mentioned above, where the melody could be said to reflect the meaning of the text. In, for example, 'Dolorum solatium', (MT 17a) the word 'Heu' (5a) is treated as a disyllable both prosodically and musically and receives the same repeated note (g g) as the following words:

- 5a: (Heu); adquievi; ut tibi; non essem.  
 5b: Vicem; vel unam; oportebat; summe.  
 5c: Infausta; potitus; quam vana; hinc percepi.

Although the word 'planctibus' (6a) receives a short melisma, it shares the melody of 'vocibus' (6b), the last word of the penultimate line of the poem. The short melisma is an ornament of an essentially syllabic melody and occurs at this point possibly as a formal indication that the song is reaching an end.

The question of the relationship between the accents of the text and the music is a more difficult question to resolve. As in the strict sequence there is undoubtedly a considerable degree of correspondence between the accent patterns of like versicles, for example:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1a    <u>Planctus</u>    <u>ante</u>    <u>nescia</u>,</p> <p>        <u>planctu</u>    <u>lassor</u>    <u>anxia</u>,</p> <p>        <u>crucior</u>    <u>dolore</u>;</p> | <p>1b    <u>Orbat</u>    <u>orbem</u>    <u>radio</u>,</p> <p>        <u>me</u>    <u>Iudéa</u>    <u>filio</u>,</p> <p>        <u>gaudio</u>,    <u>dulcore</u>.</p> |
|---|---|

and in 'Dolorum solatium' (L30):

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>2a Amalech invaluit,<br/>         Ísrahel dum córruit;<br/>         infidelis iubilat Philistea,<br/>         (//) dum lamentis macerat (//) se Iudea.</p> | <p>2b Insultat fidelibus<br/>         infidelis populus.<br/>         (//) In honorem maximum plebs adversa,<br/>         (//) in derisum omnium (//) fit divina.</p> |
|---|---|

However, there is nevertheless a certain degree of inconsistency, for example, in 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123):

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>2a Fili, dulcor unice,<br/>         singulare gaudium,<br/> <u>matrem flentem respice</u><br/> <u>conferens solatium.</u></p> | <p>2b Pectus, mentem, lumina<br/>         tua torquent vulnera.<br/> <u>que mater, que femina</u><br/> <u>tam felix, tam misera!</u></p> |
|--|--|

or in 'Dolorum solatium' (L30):

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>3b <u>Quasi non esset</u> oleo<br/> <u>consecratus</u> dominico,<br/> <u>sceleste manus</u> gladio<br/>         iugulatur in prelio.</p> | <p>3c <u>Plus fratre michi,</u> Ionatha,<br/> <u>in una mecum</u> anima,<br/> <u>que peccata,</u> que scelera<br/>         nostra sciderunt viscera.</p> |
|---|--|

In spite of these irregularities one feature which is noticeable in the lais is the large number of versicles which are based on regular trochaic metres, as in the first two examples above, or occasionally, as if in contrast, on iambic metres, as in the last example (3b line 3; 3c lines 1 and 2). That is not to say that all lai metres are either trochaic or iambic (with or without irregularities). Other patterns also occur, as, for example, in 2b (lines 3 and 4) of 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123), quoted above. However, the degree of coincidence of the accent patterns of versicles which belong to the same unit together with the frequency with which they conform to a simple trochaic or iambic pattern is so great that it can hardly be accidental. Thus, in the lai, patterning created by word accents is more defined than in the strophic planctus, since accents often conform to regular schemes. On account of the fact that there are irregularities and also 'substitutions' of iambic lines for trochaic lines this patterning is not completely systematic. The implications of this for the rhythmic interpretation of the melody can be illustrated with reference to the last example cited above. The first two lines of 3b and 3c are sung to melody F: thus, in the light of their varied accent patterns, it is inevitable that the accent patterns of some words would be violated if a fixed rhythm were adopted for the melody. Clearly word accents would not conform to musical accents, even if this could be established with confidence. Since the accent patterns conform to their own scheme of organisation it is

desirable that the rhythmic interpretation of the melody should accommodate them.

It is thus apparent that the relationship between words and music in the lai is architectonic. Compared to the strict sequence the relationship between the two is much closer. 'Number' is not, however, the only principle of organisation at work. Whereas it was difficult to generalise about the relationship between 'narrative' music and the strict sequence, there is little doubt that 'narrative' elements play an important role. The lai's normally syllabic melodies are clear and defined and have an onward moving quality. This is effected by the flexibility with which the versicle units are repeated, by the repetition of the musical phrase within the versicle, by the use of figures such as the rising triad and by the presence of 'open' cadences which invite continuation within the versicle before it concludes with a 'closed' cadence. Thus, duration is broken up by a series of short recurring and clearly defined melodies, rarely encumbered by melismas; that it may also be affected by a further series of contrasting, rather bouncy verbal rhythms is a possibility, depending on the interpretation of musical rhythm. The aesthetic of the lai is patterning par excellence.

In view of the individual identities of the early 'liturgical' sequence, the later strict sequence and the lai, and the many ways in which patterning - sustained and intermittent - is achieved, unnecessary violence would be done to at least one level of this if a fixed type of rhythm were chosen, that is, either a metrical rhythm, one based on the most consistently employed accent patterns of the text, or an absolute musical rhythm. For this reason, I would suggest that an isosyllabic interpretation would be most suitable. This would not prevent the singer from emphasising the consonants of accented syllables in order to bring out contrasting prosodic rhythms, assonance or alliteration. That the singer could vary the rhythm when syllabic irregularities occur, as if they were an integral part of a new dimension of rhythmic variation, would be logical. This would mean that emphasis could shift between the meaning of the text, its shape and its sound, and the design and idiosyncracies of the melody.

##### 5. Through-composed Songs

Since, as already mentioned in Chapters Three and Four, this category includes all songs which are neither strophic, nor in sequence

|           |      |           |          |          |           |             |          |     |
|-----------|------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-------------|----------|-----|
| <u>35</u> | 2    | 1         | 1        | <u>8</u> | 2         | 1           | <u>7</u> | 2   |
| <u>0</u>  | 0    | mo-       | ni-      | a-       | lis       | con-        | ci-      | o,  |
|           | 2    | 3         | <u>7</u> | 2        | <u>10</u> | 1           | <u>7</u> | 2   |
|           | Bur- | gens-     | sis      | plan-    | ge        | fi-         | li-      | am; |
|           | 1    | 2         | <u>9</u> | 1        | 2         | <u>8</u>    | 1        | 1   |
|           | tri- | bu-       | to       | da-      | to        | prop-       | ri-      | o,  |
|           | 1    | 3         | 1        | 1        | 4         | 1           | 4        | 6   |
|           | a-   | mit-      | tens     | hanc     | in        | no-         | xi-      | am, |
|           | 1    | <u>11</u> | 4        | 1        | 1         | 1           | <u>6</u> | 3   |
|           | set  | plau-     | de       | pro      | vic-      | to-         | ri-      | a   |
|           | 1    | 1         | 1        | 1        | 1         | <u>46</u>   | 2        | 1   |
|           | dum  | ful-      | get      | hic      | in        | <u>glo-</u> | ri-      | a.  |

(Digits refer to the number of notes per syllable;  
caudae and melismas are underlined)

FIGURE SEVEN

form, there is a wide range of different musical styles and prosodic types included in it. Moreover, as I argued previously, there is a strong possibility in the case of examples with caudae and melismas that those composed of one stanza only may in fact have been strophic songs originally, and that the type consisting of several stanzas (stanzas written in different verse forms) may have been sequences. It is perhaps more accurate therefore to say that the only examples which can be established beyond doubt as through-composed are the simple, syllabic examples without caudae. With one exception - 'O dulces filii' (MT 48), a dramatic trope - they each belong to liturgical dramas. Furthermore, as indicated in Chapter Four existing sequences provided the music for two of these: that of 'Heu dolor' (MT 23) is derived from 'Heu pius' (MT 32a), and that of 'Heu me misera' (MT 28) from 'O quam magno'; much of the words and music of 'O fratres' (MT 50) are taken directly from 'Flete fideles' (MT 20); and the text (and possibly the tonal centre and one cadence figure) of 'Heu ... quid' (MT 25) are borrowed from 'Quid tu Virgo' (MT 62). Thus these examples inevitably betray a number of features associated with the strict sequence.

As can be seen from the Excursus, normally the musical phrase corresponds to the poetic line, in the case of planctus in verse, or to the syntactic unit, in examples written in prose. The exceptions to this - the two motets, 'Doleo'/'Absolon'/? (MT 16) and 'Scariotis'/'Iure quod'/'Superne matris' (MT 69) - will be discussed later. An examination of the role of the most important types of melodic patterning in each type indicates that it is normally a melodic device, as in the strophic song, the sequence and the lai. However, in a number of simple, syllabic examples, there is occasionally clear evidence of a connection between the rhetorical patterning of a poetic line and its melody.

In the one-stanza planctus with caudae and melismas the most frequently employed type of patterning is the contrast between syllabic passages and melismatic sections; a brief look at 'O monialis' (MT 51), which contains the most melismas of this group, indicates unambiguously that the role of the caudae and melisma alike is purely melodic. As illustrated in Figure 7 initial and terminal caudae occur on the opening and closing words 'O' and 'gloria', while other melismas consisting of more than four notes occur on an apparently random selection of words: their meanings are not significantly highlighted by the melismas; nor do the melismas coincide consistently with either accented or unaccented syllables. The cauda, as in a number of strophic songs and strict sequences, is thus a formal device for indicating



the beginning and end of the stanza, while the melismas are essentially melodic ornaments.

In the complex through-composed type with caudae and melismas, patterning is achieved not only through the balancing of melismatic and syllabic sections, but also through recurring cadence figures, through motive recall, and through the deployment of accidentals. In, for example, 'Sol eclýpsim' (MT 70), the 'closed' cadence figure (AbAG) FGG occurs on the following words:

|            |                 |            |
|------------|-----------------|------------|
| (Phrase) 1 | <u>patitur</u>  | (stanza 1) |
| 4          | <u>defectu</u>  |            |
| 5          | <u>iustitie</u> |            |
| 8          | <u>operit</u>   |            |
| 14         | <u>terrui</u>   | (stanza 2) |
| 18         | <u>bravio</u>   |            |
| 21         | <u>regia</u>    |            |

and in 'O mors' (MT 52) the 'open' cadence figure Abd is found at:

|            |                  |            |
|------------|------------------|------------|
| (Phrase) 4 | <u>vulnere</u>   | (stanza 1) |
| 6          | <u>gloria</u>    |            |
| 14         | <u>dispendia</u> | (stanza 2) |

Plainly there is no systematic relationship between the cadences on these words and either their meaning, their final accents, or their rhyme sounds.



The same can be argued for the role of motive recall, as, for example, in 'Turmas arment' (MT 72), where several motives are employed:

| Motive: | bbA                   | gec               | bAG                   |
|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
|         | 2 <u>arment</u>       | 3 <u>Syon</u>     | 3 <u>devote</u>       |
|         | 3 <u>Syon</u>         | 7 <u>ecclesie</u> | 7 <u>matris</u>       |
|         | 3 <u>filie</u>        | 8 <u>barbarie</u> | 8 <u>que</u>          |
|         | 4 <u>cient</u>        |                   | 8 <u>barbarie</u>     |
|         | 5 <u>triumphantis</u> |                   | 9 <u>pernitie</u>     |
|         | 14 <u>voragine</u>    |                   | 10 <u>occiso</u>      |
|         | 17 <u>sanguine</u>    |                   | 11 <u>proditoris</u>  |
|         | 23 <u>accerimis</u>   |                   | 15 <u>mutilata</u>    |
|         |                       |                   | 16 <u>contaminata</u> |
|         |                       |                   | 37 <u>consilio</u>    |
|         |                       |                   | 44 <u>convallium</u>  |

for the sequential passages in this planctus:

bAG cbA  
 8 que con-(cussa)  
 ff(e) decba ee(d) cebbG  
 13 gen- tis mer- sa  
 f ee(d) cbA /ā df e7dd(c) bAG  
 15 mem-bris-que (muti)-la- ta  
 b d ee(d) cc(b) AG  
 40 con-di-ta fel- le

and for the recurring rhythmic figures in 'Sol eclipsim' (MT 70):

|         |   |   |
|---------|---|---|
| Figure: |  |  |
| 1       | <u>patitur</u>  | 19 <u>solio</u>   |
| 2       | <u>mortis</u>   | 21 <u>stola</u>   |
| 4       | <u>defectu</u>  | 21 <u>regia</u>   |
| 5       | <u>iustitie</u>   |   |
| 6       | <u>terras</u>   |   |
| 8       | <u>operit</u>   |   |
| 9       | <u>Fernandus</u>  |   |
| 11      | <u>gratie</u>   |   |
| 21      | <u>regia</u>  |   |

Moreover, there is no literary or prosodic reason in 'Eclipsim passus' (MT 18) why the following syllables or lines should have the accidental b flat added:

1 E(-clipsim) .....  
 3 ... dolores iteret  
 4 preclare lucis patiens  
 5 occasum ...  
 12 ... medio  
 13 felicem vitam terminat

Clearly, the complex through-composed planctus is virtually indistinguishable from the strict sequence in these respects at least.

In the simple syllabic examples recurring cadence figures, recitation-like melodies, and melodic repetition are important resources for melodic patterning. However, with the exception of some instances of the latter, their function is again melodic. The following words in 'Heu me misera' (MT 28) have the cadence figure CDD:

(Phrase) 2 tristicia; 9 oculis; 10 patibulis; 11 angelicis;  
 22 quid dicam?

Two of these - oculis and patibulis - follow melodies F and E', but otherwise, as so often with other melodies in this example, it is added on to other combinations of melodic fragments.

Lines which resemble a recitation melody and are therefore essentially static in their movement are particularly noticeable in:

'Heu miseri' (MT 30): 6 De celo venit angelus

'Tu pater' (MT 71): 3 tunc sanctificatum est  
4 noli me derelinquere  
5 sed demonstrare omnibus  
8 quando michi dimisisti  
12 et ubi est pater nescio

'O fratres' (MT 50) (excluding versicles from 'Elete fideles' (MT 20)  
(stanza) 10 O Maria mater mea  
14 Ubi sunt discipuli quos tu dilexisti  
ubi sunt apostoli quos tantum amasti  
15 Quis est hic qui non fleret  
16 O vos omnes qui transitis  
pariter lugete et videte.

On closer inspection it is, however, evident that they are preceded and followed by lines which are more melodic. The recitation-like melodies thus provide contrast in the musical texture. The words where they occur are not notably declamatory or narrative.

Except where the poetic lines are of equal length, as, for example, in 'Heu nobis' (MT 31) and 'O dulces filii' (MT 48), repetition of the musical phrase in syllabic through-composed planctus is never exact. As can be seen from the Excursus there is no systematic correlation between musical repetition and rhyme-scheme, either in the examples just cited, or in others such as 'Heu teneri' (MT 33), where there is internal rhyme only, or 'Heu me misera' (MT 28), where there is no consistent rhyme scheme. Of special interest, however, are instances where the poetic line is subdivided into smaller units (as in the lai), which have the same melody:

'Heu ... quomodo' (MT 26): 9 O dolor, O patrum

'Heu me misera' (MT 28): 17 Deus et homo! Deus et homo! Deus et homo!  
21 Me misera! Me misera! Me misera!

'Tu pater' (MT 71): 10 Heu dolens! Heu amara! Heu misera!

'O fratres' (MT 50): stanza 2 O dolor, proh dolor  
14/18 Heu me! Heu me (misera Maria)

Undoubtedly these phrases are of special significance. Each is an exclamatory expression of grief. Though it is true that the syllable count of each repeated section is the same, the close connection between words and music in these examples has not come about by chance. The first example in 'O fratres' (MT 50) consists of the same words and notes as the extra line in 'Flete fideles' (MT 20d), discussed earlier. That it arose through performance is not improbable. The second and third examples are closely related to the first and function as a refrain at the end of stanzas 14 and 18. The second is an elaborated version of the first; the third is the same as the second, only a third higher. Since this melody is not otherwise employed in this long planctus and, when it occurs, is repeated, it would stand out. In 'Heu ... quomodo' (MT 26) the repeated melody stands out from the rest of the piece, not only because it is repeated, but also because it is melismatic, whereas the rest of the song is syllabic, and it covers the entire range in a first rising and then descending figure. The melody of the repeated section in 'Tu pater' (MT 71) is also prominent, although its melody is anticipated in phrases 1 (in qui es in celis) and 5 (demonstrare omnibus). This is chiefly because the text is in prose, and the syntactic units with their corresponding melodies therefore irregular in length. The syllabic regularity of the repeated phrase thus stands out. The first of the repeated phrases in 'Heu me misera' (MT 28) is also anticipated, particularly in melodies A and E'; nevertheless its syllabic regularity ensures that it receives emphasis, especially since this verse text is often syllabically irregular. Interestingly, the second of the repeated phrases is exactly the same as the only melodic unit which is not derived from 'O quam magno', that is melody G, which occurs on the word 'surrexisse'. The contrast between joy and sorrow which this seems to invite may just be coincidence: a great many instances where the music of the liturgical drama to which this planctus belongs reaches the lower end of the range could be cited; moreover, the treatment of the word 'surrexit' ('surrexisse' does not occur again) or 'resurrexit' is quite varied. These instances where the poetic line is subdivided into smaller units do not, however, have melodies which could be described as representative of grief. Their function, as in the lai, is ultimately that of expressive counters. Since, in each instance the text is not written in a regular syllabic form, it seems highly likely that the musician was not working with a numerical pattern, but more closely with the texts. This is to some extent reinforced when the melodies of repeated words in 'Anglia

planctus' (MT 8) ('O dies') and 'Turmas arment' (MT 72) ('clamat') are considered. They are admittedly not reiterated consecutively and the latter (though not the former) is not an exclamation. Nevertheless there is no attempt at melodic repetition: the composers of these songs were clearly not concerned with highlighting rhetorical parallelism.

If the composition of some of the simple syllabic compositions resulted from the musician working directly with the text, and occasionally taking into consideration its rhetorical structure, if not also its meaning, the two motets present a quite different case. Here melody dominates quite unequivocally over the words, which are merely pegs to which notes are attached. This is most clearly evidenced in 'Scariotis'/'Iure'/'Superne' (MT 69) where the three voices come together only at the final cadence. The three occurrences of the tenor melody, which functions as an isorhythmic ground bass, do not begin or end at significant points of the texts of either the duplum or the triplum. Moreover, rests occur often in the middle of a sentence, as, for example, the first rest in the duplum, or in the middle of a poetic line, as in the case of the first rest in the triplum. The upper parts of 'Doleo'/'Absolon'/? , which are derived from the antiphons 'Doleo super te' (MT 14) and 'Rex autem' (MT 65), as pointed out in Chapter Four, are phrased according to the syntactic units of their source material, although they work independently of one another until the penultimate phrase where they cadence together, before the final cadence. However, the tenor, which occurs twice moves independently of this.

In through-composed planctus there is normally no special relationship between the meaning of individual words and their corresponding melody. In, for example, 'Plange Castella' (MT 59) words such as 'Plange'(1), 'misera' (2), 'plange' (3), 'ploratu', 'plangunt' (5) and 'plangens' (7) are not given special treatment. The first occurrence of 'Plange' (1) coincides with the formal device of the initial cauda, while, though melismatic, 'misera' (2) and 'plangens' (7) are no more so than 'Castella' (2), 'qui' (8) or 'cedes' (10). Moreover, no attempt is made to represent the light and dark imagery of, for example, 'Sol eclipsim' (MT 70), 'Anglia planctus' (MT 8) or 'Eclipsim passus' (MT 18) in corresponding high and low pitches. Although the exclamation 'O' is frequently treated melismatically in examples which include a cauda and melismas, it always occurs at the beginning of a stanza, as in 'O mors' (MT 52), or at the beginning of a musical phrase, as in 'Anglia planctus' (MT 8). It thus does not stand out from other

words also treated melismatically which are not associated with grief or exclamation. However, the treatment of 'heu' is of special interest. In 'Sol eclipsim' (MT 70), 'Scariotis'/'Iure'/'Superne', (MT 69), and 'O dolor' (MT 47) it is treated both prosodically and musically as a monosyllable, and is thus undistinguished. Although in 'Heu misere' (MT 29) and 'Heu nobis' (MT 31) its prosodic value is that of a monosyllable, in some settings it is treated musically as a disyllable, often with an introductory melisma. In the remaining examples, where its prosodic value is normally monosyllabic,<sup>56</sup> it is usually treated melodically as a disyllable, as often in strophic songs. These examples include 'Heu dolor' (MT 23), 'Heu ... quid' (MT 25), 'Heu teneri' (MT 33), 'Heu ... quomodo' (MT 26), 'Heu miseri' (MT 30), 'Tu pater' (MT 71), 'Heu me misera' (MT 28), 'Heu infelices' (MT 27), 'O dulces filii' (MT 48), and 'O fratres' (MT 50). Of special interest are the three planctus of Rachel from F-O 201 (s.xiii) - 'Heu teneri' (MT 33), 'Heu ... quomodo' (MT 26) and 'Heu ... quid' (MT 25). In the first every poetic line except the last one begins with the word 'heu'. Its prosodic value is consistently monosyllabic, but on each occasion it is treated musically as a disyllable with a repeated note, the pitch of which varies in accordance with the scheme of melodic repetition. Then, as if reaching an emotional climax, the three opening utterances of 'heu' in 'Heu ... quomodo' are given a sequential treatment. (The prosodic and musical values of the word as monosyllable and disyllable, respectively, are the same as in 'Heu teneri',):

d b c A b G

He-u, he-u, he-u

Finally, in 'Heu ... quid' the three opening utterances of 'heu' are each treated musically as disyllables, and each have the repeated note d. (The text is a slightly corrupt version of Notker's 'Quid tu Virgo' (MT 62); according to its syllabic structure 'heu' should be treated as a monosyllable, but as pointed out in Chapter Four, the composer of this Play of the Innocents has not observed the sequence structure. The prosodic value of 'heu' in this instance cannot therefore be established.) It is thus apparent that the word 'heu' is given special treatment. It is hardly, however, a representation of weeping; rather the composer has attempted to imitate speech sound, by giving its setting a declamatory quality.

That the accent patterns of the texts of through-composed planctus do not normally conform to a regular scheme, and, in the case of texts in verse, cannot provide a reliable basis for determining musical

rhythm can be seen with reference to 'O monialis' (L103) (see Figure 7). Not all examples are, however, in syllabic verse: some are in prose, and two - 'Heu ... teneri' (MT 33) and 'Heu ... quomodo' (MT 26) are in quantitative. The latter two are of special interest because they both have the melodic refrain G A E F G G, a figure which also occurs at the beginning of 'Heu ... quomodo' (MT 26) after the initial exclamations of 'heu'; both are also in hexameters. The hexameter conventionally concludes with the scansion - u u / - - . However, although the scansion of the words sung to the last five notes of the melodic refrain would be stable if quantitative scansion were adopted, the scansion of the phrase 'quomodo gaudebo' does not conform to this pattern:

|      |     |    |      |     |    |     |      |     |   |      |     |     |     |    |
|------|-----|----|------|-----|----|-----|------|-----|---|------|-----|-----|-----|----|
| G    | A   | E  | F    | G   | G  | [A  | c    | G]  | G | A    | E   | F   | F   | G  |
| -    | u   | u  | -    | -   | -  | -   | -    | u   | u | -    | u   | u   | -   | -  |
|      | /   |    | /    |     |    | /   | /    |     | / |      |     | /   |     |    |
| quo- | mo- | do | gau- | de- | bo | dum | mor- | tu- | a | mem- | bra | vi- | de- | bo |

Moreover, poetic lines which share the same musical phrase, as in 'Heu teneri' (MT 33) do not conform to a consistent quantitative or accentual pattern:

|       |   |      |     |     |      |     |    |     |     |     |      |      |     |     |     |      |    |
|-------|---|------|-----|-----|------|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|------|----|
| G     | G | Ab   | cb  | A   | G    | A   | FE | G   | Ab  | cb  | AG   | G    | A   | E   | F   | G    | G  |
| -     | - | -    | -   | -   | -    | u   | -  | u   | -   | u   | -    | u    | -   | u   | u   | -    | -  |
| /     |   | /    | /   |     |      |     |    | /   |     | /   | /    |      |     | /   |     |      |    |
| He(-) | u | te-  | ne- | ri  | par- | tus |    | la- | ce- | ros | quos | cer- | ni- | mus | ar- | tus. |    |
| (G    | G | A    | c   | A   | AG   | FED |    | G   | G   | A   | C    | A    | G   | E   | F   | G    | G) |
| -     | - | -    | -   | -   | -    | -   |    | -   | -   | u   | u    | -    | u   | u   | -   | -    | -  |
| /     |   | /    |     | /   |      |     |    | /   |     | /   |      |      | /   |     |     |      |    |
| He(-) | u | dul- | ces | na- | ti   |     |    | so- | la  | ra- | bi-  | e    | ju- | gu- | la- | ti.  |    |

Since there are no elisions in either of these planctus it is impossible to establish beyond doubt that quantitative values were of no significance. However, the treatment of 'heu' in both strongly suggests that the musician treated them as if they were syllabic texts.

As in previous types, the through-composed planctus is essentially architectonic. It is however apparent that on occasions short repeated musical phrases function as expressive counters, and that the treatment of 'heu' was often such as to imitate speech sounds. Thus composers of some of the simple, syllabic examples may have been working closely with the text, rather than with a numerical pattern. The use of melodic repetition and such formulaic figures as the recitation melody relates the simple, syllabic examples closely to music composed for narrative. Although the musical style of the through-composed planctus is diverse, the types of patterning employed and the accentual

irregularity of the texts argue strongly for a flexible type of isosyllabic rhythm. In however, the case of the motets, the question of musical rhythm is not problematic, since the notations employed provide clear indications of the duration of notes.

## 6. Conclusion

It is evident that the relationship between words and music in the planctus is normally architectonic, and that with the exception of a small number of syllabic through-composed planctus, the antiphons, and responsories, and the motets, it depends on 'number' for its organisation. This normally precludes any type of expressive relationship between words and music: notes and syllables are connected 'physically', and ultimately abstractly through numerical proportions. Melodic patterning is thus normally a musical phenomenon. The influence of another musical genre, that of music composed for narrative, is of special note. The planctus is normally a lyric poem rather than a narrative or story. Nevertheless, syllabic examples in strophic, lai and through-composed forms betray 'narrative' musical features. The emphasis of this depends on the chosen form: in the strophic song repetition, the frequent division of the poetic line into hemistichs, and the use of 'open' and 'closed' cadences are of most importance; in the lai, these and the use of formulaic melodies are especially significant; in the through-composed planctus the most notable feature, apart from repetition, is the flexibility - the extensibility and contractability - of melody. 'Archaic' is perhaps the wrong term to apply to these compositions: rather they are art songs which normally combine two different rhythmic genres: rhythmic to us in two senses: the sounds are not measured but most naturally conform to a flexible type of isosyllabic rhythm; secondly, within this rhythmic framework rhythm is conceived of as a series of syllabic units which fit an abstract set of numerical proportions. In this idiom the musical phrase takes on a particular identity: it can be repeated literally, or with modifications, and is blended with and balanced against formal, tonal, melodic and smaller scale rhythmic contrasts. This is carried out in accordance with an aesthetic of variety for its own sake. The formal structure of poetic lines, the role of which varies according to which of the three main forms is employed, provides a series of equal syllabic temporal units which allow musical shape to melodies which are often



malleable.

There is however some evidence that in performance and occasionally in the process of composition repeated melodies were employed as expressive counters, and that sometimes speech sound was imitated musically. Nevertheless there are no indications that the melody was ever intended to be expressive of the meaning of particular words, in the sense defined at the beginning of the chapter.

Clearly it is impossible to recover the musical style of planctus which do not survive with music. However, in the light of this discussion of the relationship between words and music it is possible to speculate that the sequences from the Cambridge Songs manuscript - those written in very short syllabic units<sup>57</sup> - may well have been sung to short repeated melodies, such as are characteristic of 'Clangam filii' and of musical phrases of lais which can be further subdivided; and that the strophic planctus would have been composed in a style similar to those extant with music, that is based on 'number', often with 'narrative' traits.

The question of the performance of planctus has been touched on both in Chapter Five, with reference to the gestures employed, for example, in the Cividale planctus Mariae, and in this chapter chiefly in discussion of the singing of words such as 'heu'. Whether the planctus was accompanied is, however, a different issue. I have not come across any documentary account of the performance of a planctus. It seems, however, beyond doubt that the lyric lai was accompanied by the lyre or cithara.<sup>58</sup> There are also some allusions in the texts of planctus composed at the death of an historical personage (in both strophic and sequence forms) to their accompaniment on the lyre.<sup>59</sup> Although it could be argued that such allusions may well constitute a rhetorical topic, and thus may not be intended to reflect practice, or that they represent the remarks of someone unacquainted with the technicalities of performance, they occur only occasionally and hence are hardly conventional topics of the planctus. Moreover, they suggest a consistent practice.<sup>60</sup> That other historical planctus with music may have been performed in this manner is therefore quite probable. It seems, however, unlikely that examples from the liturgy or from liturgical dramas were ever accompanied.<sup>61</sup>

It has been impossible to be exhaustive in the treatment of words and music in the planctus because of the large number of examples under consideration. Nevertheless, there is now sufficient evidence on which to base an assessment of the nature of the planctus as a genre.

## EXCURSUS TWO

The following analyses of the formal relationship between words and music are arranged as follows:

- (a) Responsories and antiphons,
- (b) Strophic planctus,
- (c) Sequences and lais,
- (d) Through-composed songs.

In the analyses of responsories and antiphons (a) the upper row of numbers refers to the phrase number of the melody as marked on the musical transcription; the lower row of letters denotes the form of the melody. In the strophic examples (b), the sequences and lais (c), and the through-composed songs (d), the following are indicated, depending on the complexity of the melody: the section of the melody is noted in Roman numerals (for example, in planctus with a double cursus); the stanza or versicle number is given next, unless there is only one stanza; the rhyme scheme of the poem is notated in lower case letters, except in the case of examples in prose or prosa which do not have a consistent rhyme scheme; the number of syllables per hemistich or per line is then given in Arabic numbers; finally, the form of the melody is indicated in upper case letters.

These analyses represent a synthesis of those presented in Chapters Three and Four. It should be noted that in certain sequences and lais where a large number of rhyme sounds and melodies are employed Arabic numbers up to 9 and then upper case letters supersede the lower case letters which denote the rhyme scheme; and lower case letters and Arabic numbers supersede the upper case letters which designate musical form. Though confusing this is unavoidable.

A RESPONSORIES AND ANTIPHONS

(i) Responsories

- |    |                 |                    |                                    |  |
|----|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | 'Montes Gelboe' | (L90)<br>(MT 46)   | 1 2 3 4<br>A B C D                 | (syntactic units of text)<br>(musical phrases) |
| 2. | 'Doleo super'   | (L28)<br>(MT 15)   | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8<br>A B C D A'D E F |  |
| 3. | 'Planxit autem' | (L128a)<br>(MT 61) | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7<br>A B C D E F G     |  |

(ii) Antiphons

- |    |                 |                   |   |  |
|----|-----------------|-------------------|---|--|
| 1. | 'Rex autem'     | (L139)<br>(MT 65) | 1 2 3 4 5 6<br>A B C D E D                        |  |
| 2. | 'In excelsis'   | (L67)<br>(MT 35)  | 1 2<br>A B  |  |
| 3. | 'Montes Gelboe' | (L89)<br>(MT 45)  | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11<br>A B C D E F G H I E' J |  |
| 4. | 'Doleo super'   | (L27)<br>(MT 14)  | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8<br>A B C D E F D'E'               |  |
| 5. | 'Saul et Jon.'  | (L142)<br>(MT 68) | 1 2 3 4 5<br>A B C D E                            |  |
| 6. | 'Planxit autem' | (L128)<br>(MT 60) | 1 2 3 4<br>A B C B'                               |  |

B STROPHIC PLANCTUS

- |    |                |          |                                |                                |
|----|----------------|----------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | 'Mecum Timavi' | (L86)    | 1. a b c d e<br>57 57 57 57 57 | 2. f g h<br>57 57 57           |
|    |                | (MT 43a) | AB CD EF GB HF                 | AB CD EF                       |
|    |                | (MT 43b) | AB CD EF GH IJ                 | - - -                          |
| 2. | 'A solis'      | (L1)     | 1. a b c d r<br>57 57 57 57 7  | 2. e f g h r'<br>57 57 57 57 7 |
|    |                | (MT 1)   | AB AB CD CD' R                 | EF EF GH IJ R'                 |
| 3. | 'Hug dulce'    | (L66)    | a b c d<br>57 57 57 5          |                                |
|    |                | (MT 34)  | AB AB CD E                     |                                |
| 4. | 'Hactenus'     | (L46)    | a a a<br>87 87 87              |                                |
|    |                | (MT 22a) | AB CD AB                       |                                |
|    |                | (MT 22b) | AB AC DE                       |                                |

5. 'Ad te namque' (L9)      a a a a  
8 8 8 8  
(MT 6)      A B B' C
6. 'Armonicae' (L14)      a a a  
87 87 87  
(MT 9)      AB CD ED'
7. 'Flete viri' (L44)      a a b b c c  
46 46 46 46 46 46  
(MT 21)      AB CD DD ED FG HD''
8. 'Omne quod' (L110)      a a a a a  
8 8 46 46 46  
(35)  
(MT 53)      A A B B' B''
9. 'Heu ... michi' (L52)      a a a a  
46 46 46 46  
(MT 24)      A B C D
10. 'Jam moratur' (L72)      a a b c c b  
46 46 4 46 46 4  
(MT 39)      A B C D E C'
11. 'Cuncta sorores' (L22)      a a a a a a a  
8 8 8 8 8 8 8  
(MT 11)      A B A B C D B /
12. 'Lamentemus' (L79)      a a a a  
8 8 8 8  
(MT 41)      A A' B C
13. 'Omnipotens' (L111)      a a a r  
46 46 46 9  
(MT 54a)      AB AB CD R
14. 'Cum venissem' (L21)      a a b b  
46 46 46 46  
(MT 10)      AB CD EF GH
15. 'Libram' (L81)      ab ab ab ab  
76 76 76 76  
(MT 42)      AB CD AB' CD'
16. 'Mentem meam' (L87)      a a b b  
8 8 8 8  
(MT 44)      A B C D
17. 'Organa' (L116)      a a a a  
76 76 76 76  
(MT 56)      AB CD AB CD

18. 'Voce tristi' (L153) a a a a  
46 46 46 46  
(MT 73) A A B C
- a2 19. 'Eclipsim patitur' (L35) a b a b a b a b r  
6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 4 6  
(MT 19) A B C D E B' F G H I J K
- a2 20. 'In occasu' (L69) a b a b c c d d e g e g g h g  
7 6 7 6 7 7 7 7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6  
(MT 36) A B C B D E F G H I J K L M A'
- a2 21. 'Pange melos' (L121) a b a b c d c d  
8 7 8 7 8 7 8 7  
(MT 57) A B A B C D E F G

### C SEQUENCES AND LAIS

#### 1. 'Quid tu Virgo'

(L134) 1. 2a 2b 3a 3b 4a 4b 5a 5b 6a 6b 7.  
4 45 45 8 8 10 10 386 586 869 869 79769  
(MT 62a) a bc bc d d e e fgh fgh ijh' ijh' kkf'bl  
A B B C C D D E E F F G

#### 2. 'Abrahe'

(L4) 1a 1b 1c 2a 2b 2c  
a a a a a a R b b R c c R d d R  
55 55 55 55 55 55 66 77 77 66 77 77 66 77 77 66  
(MT 4) AB CD AB CD AB CD EF GH GH EF GH GH EF GH GH EF

(L4) 3a 3b 4.  
e e f f f f g g a a a a h h  
77 77 446 446 446 446 77 77 446 446 446 446 3343 3343  
(MT 4) IJ IJ KLM KLM NOP NOP IJ IJ KLM KLM NOP NOP P Q P Q

#### 3. 'Infelices'

(L70) 1a 1b 2a 2b 3a 3b  
abababab cdcddcd dddd aaaa efgfhihi cjkjalgl  
77777777 77777777 8888 8888 45454545 45454545  
(MT 37) ABABCD CD ABABCD CD EEFE EEFE GHIJGHIJ GHIJGHIJ

(L4) 4a 4b 5a 5b 5c 5d 5e  
gm gm gm gm dda gga aaa ffa bba  
7676 7676 777 777 777 777 777  
(MT 37) KLKL KLKL MNO MNO MNO MNO MNO

4. 'Ad festas choreas'

(L6) I  
1a                      2a                      3a                      2b  
a a a a a a a a a b b c c c c  
333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 443 443 333 333 333 333  
(MT 5) AAB AAB AAB AAB CDE FDG FDG FDG HIJ HIJ CDE FDG FDG FDG

(L6) (I)                                      IIa  
3b                      2c                                      4a                      5a                                      6a  
d d e e e e ffff g g g cgcgcg  
443 443 333 333 333 333 7777 335 335 335 777777  
HIJ HIJ CDE FDG FDG FDG KKKK ALM ALM ALM KKNKKNK

(L6) (IIA)                                      IIb  
7a                      8a                      4b                      5b                                      4c                      5c                                      6b  
hhhh eieiei jj k k k ff k k k fffgfg  
7777 757575 77 335 335 335 77 335 335 335 777777  
(MT 5) KKNK OPOPOP KK ALM ALM ALM KK ALM ALM ALM KKNKKNK

(L6) (IIb)  
7b                      7c                      8b                      4d                      5d                                      6c  
llii eeee mamama ee g g g fffbfb  
7777 7777 757575 77 335 335 335 777777  
(MT 5) KKNK KKNK OPOPOP KK ALM ALM ALM KKNKKNK

(L6) III  
9.                      10a                                      11a                                      10b                                      11b  
b b b e e e e e e e a a a k k k  
666666 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333  
(MT 5) QRQRQR STU STU VTU WXY WXY WXY STU STU VTU WXT WXY WXY

(L6) (III)                                      IV  
12a                                      12b                                      13.                      14a                                      15a                      14b  
eee mhnjn ggg eopoqo qqhh k k r e s s  
777 666666 777 666666 7777 4444 4444 7777 4444 4444  
(MT 5) ZZZ ababab ZZZ ababab cccc ddef ddef ghgh ddef ddef

(L6) (III) IV  
15b                      1b                                      2d                                      1c  
t j g g g g g g g q q q q  
7777 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333 333  
(MT 5) ghgh AAB AAB AAB AAB CDE FDG FDG FDG AAB AAB AAB AAB

(L6) (IV)  
2e  
a a a a  
333 333 333 333  
(MT 5) CDE FDG FDG FDG

5. 'Abissus vere multa'

(L2) I  
 1a 1b 2a 2b 3a 3b 3c  
 aaaaaa bbbbbb acac dede ccd eed ffd ggb ddb eeb aah aah aah  
 787777 787777 6666 6666 584 584 584 584 584 584 584 584 584 584

(MT 2) ABCDEF ABCDEF GGGH GGGH IJK LJK MJK IJK LJK MJK IJK LJK MJK

II  
 (L2) 1a 1b 2a 2b 3a 3b 3c  
 aaaaaa aaaaaa ijij idid kkl ddl ddl jjm iim aam nne eee bbe  
 777777 787777 6666 6666 584 584 584 584 584 584 584 584 584 584

(MT 2) ABCDEF ABCDEF GGGH GGGH IJK LJK MJK IJK LJK MJK IJK LJK MJK

6. 'Abner fidelissime'

(L3) 1. 2a 2b 3a 3b 3c 3d  
 aaaa bccccc ddeeee ffg ddg ddg hhg ddg ccg ddg ddg  
 7777 777777 777777 444 444 444 444 444 444 444 444

(MT 3) ABAB CCABAB CCABAB DEF GHI DEF GHI DEF GHI DEF GHI

(L3) 4a 4b 5a 5b 5c 5d  
 diff jjff kbkb fgbg alal alal  
 4646 4646 7474 7474 7474 7474

(MT 3) JKJK JKJK LMNO LMNO LMNO LMNO

7. 'Dolorum solatium'

(L30) 1a 1b 1c 1d 2a 2b 2c 2d 3a 3b  
 aab ccb ddb eeb ffghgh iiahah jjfifi ffeded kkkk dddd  
 777 777 777 777 777474 777474 777474 777474 8888 8888

(MT 17a) AAB AAB AAB AAB CCDEDE CCDEDE CCDEDE CCDEDE FFGG FFGG

(L3) 3c 3d 4a 4b 4c 4d 5a  
 bbbb kkkk bbbb dddd kkkk bbbb ddddllmmkkbb  
 8888 8888 7777 7777 7777 7777 777777777777

(MT 17a) FFGG FFGG HIJG HIJG HIJG HIJG KKKKLLJMHJMJ

(L30) 5b 5c 6a 6b  
 kkkknnnoopp bbqbiirrggii iii iii  
 777777777777 777777777777 333 333

(MT 17a) KKKKLLJMHJMJ KKKKLLJMHJMJ NOP NOP

8. 'De profundis'

(L24) 1a 1b 1c 1d 2a 3.  
 a a a a b c c c c d e e e e b f f f f d ggbb ccbb  
 46464646 4 46464646 4 46464646 4 46464646 4 8888 8888

(MT 12a) A B A B C A B A B C A B A B C A B A B C DEFG HIJK

(L24) 2b 4a 4b 4c 4d 5a 5b 5c 5d  
 hhee afhf iaea afaf jklk ccee ggcc mmff ffbb  
 8888 4646 4646 4646 4646 8888 8888 8888 8888

(MT 12a) DEFG L K L K L K L K MMNN MMNN MMNN MMNN

(8. 'De profundis')

|          |      |      |      |      |      |    |    |    |    |    |
|----------|------|------|------|------|------|----|----|----|----|----|
| (L24)    | 6a   | 6b   | 6c   | 6d   | 7.   | 8a | 8b | 9a | 9b | 9c |
|          | cbcb | ebcb | cncn | cmcm | d h  | ch | od | ed | fd | dd |
|          | 7777 | 7777 | 7777 | 7777 | 4442 | 86 | 86 | 86 | 86 | 86 |
| (MT 12a) | OPQP | OPQP | OPQP | OPQP | RST  | UV | UV | WX | WX | WY |

9. 'Planctus ante nescia'

|          |        |        |      |      |        |        |       |       |
|----------|--------|--------|------|------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| (L123)   | 1a     | 1b     | 2a   | 2b   | 3a     | 3b     | 2c    | 2d    |
|          | aab    | ccb    | dede | fgfg | hhijji | klmml  | nono  | lala  |
|          | 776    | 776    | 7777 | 7777 | 335335 | 335335 | 7777  | 7777  |
| (MT 58a) | AAB    | AAB    | CDEF | CDEF | GHIGHI | GHIGHI | CDEF  | CDEF  |
| (L123)   | 3c     | 3d     | 4a   | 4b   | 5a     | 5b     | 6a    | 6b    |
|          | aapqqp | ggprrp | elcl | alal | ssso   | ttto   | ggggg | vvvvu |
|          | 335335 | 335335 | 7676 | 7676 | 5555   | 5555   | 77777 | 77777 |
| (MT 58a) | GHIGHI | GHIGHI | JJJK | JJJK | LMNO   | LMNO   | PPQDR | PPQDR |
| (L123)   | 7a     | 7b     | 8a   | 8b   | 9a     | 9b     | 10a   | 10a   |
|          | wwxy   | zz112  | gzgz | 4545 | 6c6c   | ezez   | 7878  | efef  |
|          | 77667  | 77667  | 7676 | 7676 | 7777   | 7777   | 7777  | 7777  |
| (MT 68a) | LLSST  | LLSST  | CMUV | CMUV | CLWX   | CLWX   | Yaba  | Yaba  |
| (L123)   | 11a    | 11b    | 12   |      |        |        |       |       |
|          | 9999A  | vvyvA  | BByy |      |        |        |       |       |
|          | 77776  | 77776  | 7777 |      |        |        |       |       |
| (MT 58a) | cdcDR  | cdcDR  | AAef |      |        |        |       |       |

10. 'Samson dux fortissime'

|          |          |      |        |        |          |          |                 |          |      |      |
|----------|----------|------|--------|--------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------|------|------|
| (L141)   | 1a       |      |        |        | 1b       |          |                 |          | 2a   | 2b   |
|          | aabcbc   | d    | d      | d      | eefefe   | d        | d               | d        | g g  | g g  |
|          | 777575   | 333  | 333    | 333    | 777576   | 333      | 333             | 333      | 7575 | 7575 |
| (MT 67a) | AABCBC   | D    | D      | D      | AABCBC   | D        | D               | D        | EFGH | EFGH |
| (L141)   | 2c       | 3.   | 4a     | 4b     | 5a       | 5b       | 6.              | 7.       |      |      |
|          | g g      | hhhh | iiiijj | kkkkkk | klkl     | khkh     | llmm            | nnoonpp  |      |      |
|          | 7575     | 7777 | 777777 | 777777 | 7474     | 7474     | 7777            | 77777777 |      |      |
| (MT 67a) | EFGH     | JJJJ | AAAJJJ | KKJJDD | MNOH     | MNOH     | KKJJ            | PPQRQRKR |      |      |
| (L141)   | 8a       | 8b   | 8c     | 8d     | 9.       | 10.      | 11.             |          |      |      |
|          | qqu      | ffr  | kkk    | ccr    | sssggggg | aakktti  | kkklkl          |          |      |      |
|          | 663      | 663  | 663    | 663    | 77777779 | 77777777 | 777474          |          |      |      |
| (MT 67a) | KKS      | KKS  | KKS    | KKS    | TTUUKRKR | WWXXQRKR | YZabcd          |          |      |      |
| (L141)   | 12.      |      |        |        | 13a      | 13b      | 14.             |          |      |      |
|          | uuvvwxx  | yys  | yys    | klkl   | llll     | zzdd     | 1 1 23 23       |          |      |      |
|          | 77777777 | 337  | 337    | 7474   | 7777     | 7777     | 443 434 337 337 |          |      |      |
| (MT 67a) | JJKRVedR | K R  | K R    | UHUH   | JJff     | JJff     | ggh ggh K R K R |          |      |      |
| (L141)   | 15.      |      |        | 16.    |          | 17.      | 18.             |          |      |      |
|          | j        | j    | qqiiii | b      | b        | b        | 44jj55          | 667878   |      |      |
|          | 4443     | 4443 | 777777 | 4443   | 33343334 | 777777   | 777272          |          |      |      |
| (MT 67a) | gggh     | gggh | JJQKVi | YYYj   | kkkhK R  | JJKRKR   | KKR R           |          |      |      |



(10. 'Samson dux fortissime')  
 (L141) 19a 19b 20. 21.  
 99AA AABB CCDDEE EE  
 5555 5555 777777 77  
 (MT 67a) 1111 mmmm KRnnKR Vi

11. 'Omnis in lacrimas'

(L113) 1a 1b 2a  
 aab ccb dd effe ggf eef hh ijji kllkccmmnnm  
 646 646 44 6666 646 646 44 6666 66664777777  
 (MT 55) ABC ABC DE FGHI ABC ABC DE FGHI JFKBLFMNEFO

(L113) 2b 3a 3b 4.  
 noonccppjjp qbbqb rrrb fppfp sssp tuu v tu vt  
 66664777777 77777 8887 77777 8887 888 7 88 78  
 (MT 55) JFKBLFMNEFO PQRES TUVW PQRES TUVW XYZ a bb cZ

12. 'Divina providentia'

(L25) 1a 1b 2a 2b  
 aaabcccb dddefffe ghihgh jklk mnonhn okpk  
 88888888 88888888 888888 7676 888888 7676  
 (MT 13) ABCDEFGHI ABCDEFGHI JKLMNO LPQR JKLMNO LPQR

(L113) 3a 3b  
 qqrrbbiis bbcctthhs  
 777777776 777777776  
 (MT 13) JSTUVWXYZ JSTUVWXYZ

13. 'Heu pius pastor'

(L61) 1a 1b 2a 2b 3a 3b 4. 5. 6.  
 aa R aa R bb R bb R cc R dd R dd R ee R ff R  
 88 5 88 5 89 5 88 5 88 5 88 6 88 5 89 5 88 5  
 (MT 32a) AA R AA R BB R BB R CC R CC R DD R AE R FG R

a3 14. 'O felix Bituria'

(L97) 1a 1b 2a 2b 3  
 abababab cdcdcdcd efefefef ghghghgh ijijkjlijmmnn  
 77777777 77777777 76767676 88888888 767676767676  
 (MT 49) ABABCDEF G ABABCDEF GHIJKLMNOP HIJKLMNOP QRSTUVWXYZa b

15. 'Flete fideles anime'

(L42) 1a 1b 2a 2b 3a  
 aabba ccddc efefggghhg ijijkkklk RR mmno ppqgo  
 88666 88666 6666666666 6666666666 33 44447 44447  
 (MT 20d) ABCDE ABCDE FGHEIJHKE FGHEIJHKE LL M N O P M'Q

(L42) 3b 4a 4b  
 r rs t ts ubvbw. wwx yyx z1213 334 554  
 8 8 7 8 8 7 66668 643 643 66668 643 643  
 (MT 20d) M N O P M'Q RJSTI JU VW RJSTI JU VW

(15. 'Flete fideles anime')  
 (L42) 5a 5b 6a 6b  
 66778998 AABBCDDC mmEEFFF G FG 77HHIII J IJ  
 88776776 88776776 444434446433 444434446433  
 (MT 20d) MNOIEXYZ MNOIEXYZ a a b c de f a a b c de\_f

D THROUGH-COMPOSED SONGS

1. 'O dulces filii'

(L95) a a b b c c c d d e e f f R e g g R  
 66 66 66 66 66 66 66 66 66 46 46 46 46 4 46 46 46 4  
 AB AB AB AB AB AB AB AB AB C C C C R C C C R

2. 'O dolor'

(L94) aa bb bb cc dd dd ee ff ee dd cc  
 339 69 69 59 59 58 58 69 69 50 69  
 (MT 47) AAB CD EF GH IJ KL MN OP QR ST UV

3. 'Heu ... quid'

(L53) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
 (MT 25) A B C B D E D' F G H H'

4. 'Heu teneri'

(L63) aa bb cc dd ee ff gg  
 79 69 89 79 78 79 69  
 (MT 33) ABC ABC DEC DEC FGC'FGC'CAC'

5. 'Heu ... quomodo'

(L54) a a b b c c d d e e f f  
 6645 545 655 3345 645 5 55  
 (MT 26) ABCB DEB BFB GGHB IJB D'LB'

6. 'Heu miseri'

(L59a) a a a a b b b  
 54 4 6 5 8 8 8  
 (MT 30) AB B'C D E F G

7. 'Tu pater'

(L147) 1 23 45 67 89 10 11 12  
 8 78 88 78 85 455 5 9  
 (MT 71) A BC DE FG HG III A'H

8. 'Heu dolor'

(L48) a a a  
 87 87 87  
 (MT 23) AB CD EF

9. 'Heu misere'

(L59) ab ca da  
88 88 88  
(MT 29a) AB CD EF

10. 'Heu nobis'

(L60) 12 34 56 12 34 56 12 34  
87 87 87 87 87 87 87 87  
(MT 31c) AB CD CD EF CD CD EF CD

11. 'Heu me misera'

(L56) a a a a a a a b c c c d e f  
33 4 47 48 47 48 51 47 4 44 7 44 7 4 47 447 547 44 7  
(MT 28) AB A'BC DE DE DE DE DE A' FE'C FE'C A'GC HIJ HIJ DE'K

(L56) f g h i i i a j  
44 7 44 8 5 5 5 44 7 449 447 444 47  
HE'K HE'H A'A'A HE'J HEJ HEJ GGG FC'

12. 'Plange Castella'

(L125) ababababa  
888888888  
(MT 59) ABCDEFGHIJ

13. 'Eclipsim passus'

(L34) abab ccbb deed  
8888 8888 8888  
(MT 18) AB CDEF GHIJ KHJB'L

14. 'Rex obiit'

(L140) ababab bccb  
767676 6667  
(MT 66) ABCDEF GDHI

15. 'O monialis'

(L103) ababcc  
888888  
(MT 51) ABCDEFGH

16. 'Quis dabit'

(L136) 1 2 3 4 5  
10 11 8 7 5  
(MT 63) A B C D E

17. 'Anglia planctus'

(L11) ab a b bc b b c /de de f f ef f  
88 8 8 88 8 8 8 88 88 8 8 88 8  
(MT 8) AB B'C DE B'F B DB'' BE' B'D' GB'' B''

18. 'Turmas arment'
- (L148) ababbbbcccccdcccdceeeff gffgffgggggg ffggggffg  
8888888488488788878784884 884488488884 848884448
- (MT 72) ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ abc defghijk lmnopqr s
19. 'Jerusalem'
- (L73) 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.  
abbcddceeffd hffhhijjikklli lmlmn oopffp qqnfnc rcrc  
888888888888 488888888888 767689 888888 888888 8888
- (MT 40) ABCDEFGHIJKL MNOPQRSTUVWXYZ abcdeF'fghIiJ jkljmF nLFopq
20. 'O mors'
- (L104) 1. 2. 3.  
ababbaabba cacaaccaac adaddaadda  
88888888888 88888888888 88888888888
- (MT 52) ABCDEDFAGE HGIJJKLMNO PQRSTUVWXYZ
21. 'Alabastrum'
- (L10) 1. 2. 3.  
aabaabccdccd eefeefggghgh iifiifjjkjjk  
777777777777 777777777777 777777777777
- (MT 7) ABCDBEFGHIJK KBLMNDOLPQMR STUVWBXTVYZ
22. 'Sol eclipsim'
- (L145) 1. 2.  
ababcdcd ccceeeaaaffgg  
76768888 88888888888888
- (MT 70) ABCDAECF GHIJKLMNOQKR
- a2 23. 'Regi regum'
- (L137b) 1. 2. 3.  
ab ab ab ab cd cd ed fd gg hh ii jj  
77 77 77 77 77 77 87 87 88 77 88 77
- (MT 64) A BA' BA' 'C DE-FG H I JK LI' MN OP Q RS TO' UV WS' X
24. 'Heu infelices'
- (L55) a a  
10 77
- (MT 27) A BA'
25. 'Infelix ego'
- (L71) a a  
14 18
- (MT 50) A B
26. 'O fratres et sorores'
- (L99) 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.  
aa bb cd ee ffggh ij jh kkl mm nnm oo ppo qrqsqs  
34 69 65 33 44447 44447 887 88 666 88 666 768677
- (MT 50) A BC BD EE F G H I F'J FGH KL MNO KL MNO FPFPOK

(26. 'O fratres et sorores')

(L99) 8.                    9.                    10.                    11.                    12.  
tutuvvwwv xx yyz 11z bb:2w ffffz s' s :bf33 34s4s  
6656766666 88 776 776 89 89 67876 8 11 8888 66968

(MT 50) RSTOUVTTWO FG HUO XYZ FG Ha UVTWO b cd efgb cdefg

(L99) 13.                    14.                    15.                    16.                    17.  
zz z55 zzzzz6d6 l 771 8 ftfqw l ssqsws  
88 898 76767676 336 787 11 68966336 767676  
bcdefg hihijkjK llm FGF F GHUnXX Z jkjkkk

18.                    19.                    20.  
own9 ttdt l aal ApB pw wwz ttz  
7676 8677 336 887 666(67 643 643)  
hVop UVqr sst IFJ hVo pU Vq . rt

- a3 27. 'Doleo super te'/'Absolon, fili mi'/unknown: through-composed, see p.179.
- a3 28. 'Scariotis'/'Iure quod'/'Superne matris': through-composed, see p.177.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: THE LATIN PLANCTUS AS A MEDIEVAL GENRE

Initially I proposed that although the material included in the Bibliography of Planctus (Appendix A) evidently shares features in common, since it was assembled according to a consistently applied working definition, it can only be regarded as a taxonomic class in the first instance. My aim was thus to discover whether the shared characteristics of this class have an underlying unity, that is, whether planctus are organised according to the same controlling principles and can therefore be described as a genre.

In this concluding chapter I will argue that the Latin planctus derives its generic unity both from its literary characteristics, discussed in Chapter Five, and from its status as song, considered in the previous chapter. Having established it as a genre in its own right, I will then reassess the place of the planctus in the three main areas of scholarship (discussed in Chapter One) in which it has featured in the past. Finally I will outline the contributions and limitations of this study.

### 1. The Generic Unity of the Latin Planctus

In Chapter Five I illustrated that Latin planctus consistently share a set of literary characteristics. Since, however, musical considerations were not included in this discussion I suspended judgment on the question of generic unity. In the previous chapter on the relationship between words and music I concluded that most planctus which survive with music are set to melodies in a particular rhythmic style or genre. This is ultimately defined according to the 'number' principle; its treatment varies depending on which of the three main forms is employed, that is, the strophic, the sequence, or the through-composed form. Each of these presents a composer with a different type of challenge.

The 'number' principle is alluded to in grammatical treatises where a distinction is normally drawn between musica rhythmica and

musica metrica.<sup>1</sup> Rhythmus (also called numerus and armonia) refers to the abstract numerical proportions which provide the conceptual basis of a syllabic verse form and its corresponding music; metrum, on the other hand, alludes to measure, as in the quantitative scansion of classical metre. It is with the former that I have been concerned. Although there is no treatise in which it is expounded in such detail as to make explicit the procedure of composition - writers such as Marius Victorinus,<sup>2</sup> Bede,<sup>3</sup> and, later, Dante<sup>4</sup> assume that the reader already has some grasp of the general subject area - it is clear that the principle of rhythmus was well understood at least from the fourth century until after the time of Dante.<sup>5</sup> As he explains, the aim was: 'the "harmony" of lines and syllables' (numerus carminum et sillabarum).<sup>6</sup>

The implication is that this rhythmic genre would certainly identify the planctus as belonging to a particular type of song, as distinct, for example, from the dance song,<sup>7</sup> and should thus be regarded as a generic feature. In itself, this assertion does not refer to characteristics of the planctus which are exclusive to it: it does not indicate a means of distinguishing planctus melodies from those of other songs in the same rhythmic genre. Since numerical proportions normally provide the only significant relationship between words and music it might be argued that musical considerations should be dispensed with altogether. However, this approach is indifferent to questions of aesthetic and therefore ultimately unhistoric. For instance, it is impossible to know whether strophic sequences are strophic songs or sequences unless their music is taken into consideration. To dismiss as irrelevant such formal considerations is to reject as significant the means by which songs were composed in the Middle Ages. More importantly, if the melodies are ignored, one is denied a full appreciation of the aesthetic of variety for its own sake which is evidenced in the two synchronous shapes of words and music. On aesthetic grounds there is strong justification for treating songs as song, not simply as literary texts, and therefore good reason to consider recurring melodic features as generically significant.

A large proportion of planctus melodies are also closely related to the rhythmic genre of music composed for the singing of narrative, that is, they are effectively hybrids of two rhythmic genres. This is not true of every planctus melody, as indicated in Chapter Four. However, since it applies to a significant number it is important that it is considered more closely. Of particular interest in this context is the

prevalence of repetition used as a device for melodic patterning. This is characteristic not only of strophic and through-composed planctus, especially those of an early date or from liturgical dramas, but also of the lyric lai. Indeed, the latter could be described as a 'narrative' music par excellence, 'number' providing the framework for what might be called a 'narrative' art-song. Two further questions thus arise: firstly, whether there are antecedents to the lyric lai; and secondly, whether these posited antecedents were ever specially associated with funeral lamentation.

Few lais were written down before the eleventh century, although this may be a reflection of the type of material considered suitable by monastic scribes, rather than evidence of the lai's non-existence. Some early fragments have however survived, for example, the Hildegardslied and The Battle of Finnesburh. These so-called heroic lais very likely represent the type of song, or leoð - the Anglo-Saxon cognate of lai - which was sung or recited to a harp or lyre accompaniment, or intoned to formulaic melodies<sup>8</sup> by minstrels, while 'cup-bearers served wine in wondrous vessels' (byrelas sealdon/wín of wunderfatum).<sup>9</sup>

There is also an account of the composition of a Breton lai. That the Breton art was well established by the tenth century is attested by the Scandinavian Ljóðabok,<sup>10</sup> which includes condensed translations of many of Marie de France's lais. In one of these - one not included in Marie's oeuvres - the story of the composition of a lai for William I of England is related. Because he wished to have a reminder of the happy time he had recently spent in Brittany (ca.1072-84), he commissioned a professional harpist to write him a lai, the kind of entertainment he enjoyed as a boy when he visited this locality. This lai consisted of 'the most beautiful notes' (með þeim hinum fagrstum nótum) and was not set to words, at least in the first instance. Its title, The Lai of the Coast, thus referred to the melody.

Although what is known about the heroic lai appears to contrast with this account of the composition of a Breton lai the differences result primarily because information about the former is so scanty. It may therefore be necessary to place the so-called heroic lai in a wider musico-literary context, which includes the Breton lai, rather than elevating it as some metaphysical spectre of a lost heroic age.

The history and etymology of the word lai and its cognates in other European languages confirm that it signified either an instrumental melody, or melody-and-words.<sup>11</sup> As such, it could be used of strophic and through-composed songs, as well as of sequences and lyric lais.



By the twelfth century, if not well before, it is evident that the word could be applied both to the narrative lai (written by such authors as Marie de France and thought to relate the story of an originally sung lai) and to the lyric lai.

There are a number of early types of song which have specific features in common with the lyric lai. Firstly, the titles of a number of 'secular' sequences included in the Cambridge Songs collection - GB-Cu Gg.5.35 (s.xi mid.) - are normally introduced by the word modus, a term which means melody. Like the lai, they are thus named after a melody, the title of which does not always relate to the subject matter of the extant text.<sup>12</sup> Similarly the titles of a large number of early 'liturgical' sequences, especially those which lack a confirmed relationship with an alleluia melody, appear to refer to the melodies rather than to their texts, since they allude to non-religious subjects.<sup>13</sup> The implication is that these melodies were drawn from outside the liturgy, perhaps, also from outside the church, from a corpus of 'secular' song closely related to the sequence form. Secondly, the form of some lyric lais, including several planctus, is related to that of the archaic sequence: both are characterised by a double cursus.<sup>14</sup> One of the archaic sequences - 'Rex caeli'<sup>15</sup> - dates back to the first half of the ninth century and thus predates the earliest 'liturgical' sequence repertories by at least half a century. The archaic sequence is, moreover, in verse, like the lyric lai, rather than in Kunstprosa, like the early 'liturgical' sequence. Finally, a number of early sequences, including the archaic sequence, some of the sequence melodies which begin with the word planctus, and 'liturgical' sequences whose melody titles allude to 'secular' subjects,<sup>16</sup> depend much on the repetition of short melodic units, a notable characteristic of the lyric lai. Thus, although the sophisticated style of the lyric lai may not have developed until the twelfth century, many of its early relatives aspired to its complex design.

Little evidence survives which would suggest that lais composed for funerals had a distinctive musical style. Maillard<sup>17</sup> draws attention to the survival of functional classification names for joyful-music, lamentation-music, and sleep-music in the Old Irish lai. However, owing to the fact that the music is not extant, he is unable to invoke any details which would permit one to assume that there was once a genre of lamentation-music. The historical writer Jordanes<sup>18</sup> relates how at the burial of Attila the Huns told of his deeds in a funeral song (facta eius cantu funereo), but unfortunately tells nothing about its style or

performance. However, the association of song and funeral panegyric is explicit.

That epics such as Beowulf, the Táin bó Cuailnge, and the Chanson de Roland derive their respective digressions, songs and episodes from earlier lais, or from historical songs, has long been accepted.<sup>19</sup> However, because existing material may have been substantially refashioned, it is normally impossible to know what its prototypes may have been. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that laments are usually presented in direct speech, it is likely that some are relatively unchanged. This may be the case in the Táin bó Cuailnge in which songs are introduced into an otherwise prose text. Cuchulainn's lament for his son Ferdia<sup>20</sup> consists simply of exclamatory expressions of grief and epithets of praise of his son's 'conquering arm', his 'fine hand', and his physical appearance. Apart from lacking an underlying moral purpose, it has much in common with the Carolingian planctus. However, its musical style (if it was sung), and manner of performance can only be guessed at.

In Beowulf there are allusions to the performance of laments at funerals, or after a battle, normally by women;<sup>21</sup> there are also two laments in direct speech, one delivered by Hrothgar for Aeschere, and the other by the lone survivor for his dead ancestors.<sup>22</sup> While the former group might be related to a posited tradition of death lais - indeed the term sorhleod ('lai' or 'song' of sorrow') is used to describe one of them<sup>23</sup> - the latter pair are more properly described as funeral orations and thus may have their roots in classical epideictic literature. While the association of a death lament with the word leod invites speculation about the existence of a genre of lamentation-music, this is an hypothesis which clearly cannot be substantiated.

Moreover, as Zumthor<sup>24</sup> has suggested, the relationship between the laments in the Chanson de Roland and the Latin planctus may not be so close as might be expected, since these laments are designed to prefigure Charlemagne's final lament typologically. Equally, although Hrothgar's lament in Beowulf includes the panegyric elements of the planctus, it is also a means by which the narrator can move on to the next part of the story. After praising Aeschere, Hrothgar urges that his close comrade's murderer should be destroyed. While therefore the subject matter of epic laments may be based on death lais, or historical laments, it could be refashioned to serve the epic poet's purpose and was very likely a conventional narrative device.

Furthermore, were there a close relationship between the posited death lai and the planctus, one would expect to find some consistency

in the musical style of at least the earliest planctus. However, as indicated in Chapter Four, the necessary evidence which might be invoked in such a discussion, for example, the employment of a particular melodic mode, or the use of musical formulae, is not available, on account of the fact that the few extant examples do not survive in heightened musical notations. The only feature which Carolingian strophic examples share with the so-called heroic lai is the relationship between the melodic unit and the hemistich. As far as I can see this has not been noted before.

While the relatively frequent use of the D mode and of cadence formulae in the heightened examples composed between 950 and 1130 might suggest that the planctus was conventionally sung in the mode which some contemporary theorists associated with sadness, and that it was sung to melodic formulae, there are too few examples extant and an insufficient number of contemporary songs for the purposes of comparison to justify generalisation. However, since the planctus is found in several quite distinct repertoires from which particular melodic modes are customarily excluded, it would not be surprising to find that old traditions were forgotten or superseded by new ones. There may therefore be some significance in the choice of the D mode, although it cannot be regarded as generically significant. Clearly, if there was a genre of lamentation-music associated with the early lai, it is now irrecoverable.

Ethno-musicological studies<sup>25</sup> of death laments provide little support for an argument about the generic distinctiveness of music, although they give useful insight into the type of oral tradition to which pre-literate and ritual death laments may have belonged. The most detailed of these - Bartók and Kodály's<sup>26</sup> study of the Hungarian sirato, or death lament, - draws attention to the continual use of melodic formulae, and the dependency of singers on recitation and descending melodies. They claim that it would not be difficult to devise classificatory categories of the melodies according to mode, compass, melodic line, cadence, formula, and reciting note, but confine themselves to a geographical classification primarily because death laments were the product of local musical traditions and were normally improvised. Of particular interest is their survey of the Latin planctus. Speaking of the planctus Mariae they comment:<sup>27</sup>

We have good reason to suspect that the authors of the Marian laments, so widespread in the Middle Ages, were recruited from among the monks who had not lost touch with ordinary folk, rather than from among representative propagators of the Church.

Although this may well be true of Abelard's six planctus and Geoffrey

of St. Victor's 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123), which are each in lai style, since both writers had close ties with Brittany, it is rarely possible to establish the exact place of origin of other planctus. Thus, the essential information required for a study of the relationship between planctus melodies and local death lament traditions is not available. Referring to 'A solis ortu' (L1) and 'Mecum Timavi' (L85) they say:<sup>28</sup>

The Planctus texts of the Carolingian era abound in farewell phrases addressed to departing heroes, as well as in descriptions of mourning ceremonies in their honour. These permit us to assume the uninterrupted continuity of the practice of traditional lamentation.

Attractive though this may be Bartók and Kodály mean 'ritual lamentation' when they speak of 'traditional lamentation'. The Latin planctus was however normally composed in monastic communities for monastic use. These poets consciously aspired to literary eloquence. There is no evidence that the Latin planctus was ever associated with ritual lamentation. Moreover, although monastic communities were sensitive to local mores and developed their own liturgical customs within the broader framework of the canon liturgy, the style of their planctus melodies conforms to an aesthetic which was internationally recognised and which, as far as can be established, changed in accordance with general developments in musical style.

Whatever the origins of the patterned musical style of a large number of planctus melodies, it is evident that it represents an aspect of a general rhythmic style, the significance of which is only gradually being recognised as the claims of medieval theorists are more precisely understood. In order to appreciate its aesthetic an awareness of the organising principles of words and music alike is required.

The presence of a melody and in a large number of cases a certain type of melody seem to have been a significant aspect of the early medieval poet's perception of a planctus. Even in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century plays and ceremonies which include 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123) and 'Flete fideles' (L42), or laments of Mary Magdalene, such as 'Cum venissem' (L21), the earliest surviving versions of their melodies are retained (with occasional ornamentation), rather than new melodies being composed. This suggests that these laments were conceived as words-and-music compositions. In the early fourteenth century the two parody laments 'Vexilla regni prodeunt' (L151) and 'Pange lingua necem' (L120) are both contrafacta, indicating again that music remained an important aspect of a planctus.

This is not, however, to suggest that all planctus would have been sung. Of particular interest are two of the laments for Odilo of Cluny (+ 1049), 'Ad te namque' (L9) and 'Ad fletus' (L8), both found in the same two manuscripts. In one of these - F-Pn lat.18304 (s.xi) - 'Ad te namque' (L9), which is written in a non-quantitative metre, is set to music; however, 'Ad fletus' (L8), which takes the form of a dialogue and is in a quantitative metre, is not. While the former was apparently sung, its syllabic melody designed to fit syllabically equal poetic lines, the latter was most likely spoken. Odilo's death was thus commemorated in both song and speech. It is also very unlikely that either 'Pergama flere' (L122) or Geoffrey de Vinsauf's 'Neustria sub clypeo' (L93) would have been sung. Both are associated with the teaching of rhetoric: the former as an exercise in abbreviation, the latter as an example of amplification.<sup>29</sup>

In drawing attention to the musical style of the planctus I am not therefore arguing that it was always intended to be sung, or, for that matter, that it was typified by generic purity. Thus, some relatively common features, such as a musical setting, are not necessarily generic prerequisites. Rather, the planctus as a genre represents a literary family whose members resemble each other as human relatives do.<sup>30</sup> Over many generations, which are characterised by cultural change, and each typified by differing social environments, it retains a small nucleus of attributes, that is, a eulogy for the dead and an exclamatory rhetorical style, which like genetic characteristics are shared by all; it also has a stock of common features which do not occur in every example, that is, a musical setting, often typified by elaborate patterning, and a non-quantitative metre.

The planctus is a family whose early genealogy is not altogether clear. I have suggested that its musical strain derives from the tradition of rhythmus and in part from that of the lai, and that its literary style is descended from the rhetoric of the Second Sophistic. Achieving respectability in the eyes of Carolingian monastic composers as a short, moral-historical or devotional song, its descendants pursued a number of different, though closely related, careers: as a more exclusively panegyric song composed at the death of kings and bishops; as a narrative poem about the deeds of a popular or saintly patron; as a school exercise; as a meditation on the sufferings of Christ on the cross; as a significant element of religious dramas; as a political song; and as parody.

There are other types of poetry which resemble individual members

of the planctus family, but which are recognisably not part of it. The Carolingian penitential song frequently includes refrains containing lamentation, for example, Gottschalk's 'Ut quid iubes' (C 21044).<sup>31</sup> Exclamatory expressions of emotion, which are characteristic of the planctus, are often used to articulate grief at a loss, which to the poet is like death, for example, in the jilted lover's lament,<sup>32</sup> or the admonitory political complaint.<sup>33</sup> The Carolingian planctus, in particular, has close affinities to the historical poem, such as 'Aurora cum primo mane' (Poetae, II, p.138), or to the saint's life, such as 'Cantica virginis Eulaliae'.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the influence of the planctus is evident in 'David vates dei',<sup>35</sup> a poem about the life of David, which contains a short lament of David for Jonathan, and in Marian crucifixion poetry, for example, Philip the Chancellor's 'Crux te de volo conqueri' (C 4014), in which the Virgin speaks to the cross, or 'Stabat mater dolorosa' (C 19416), in which the Virgin's lament at the cross is the subject of meditation.

The Latin planctus seems to have remained primarily the creation of monastic composers throughout its history. After the twelfth century poets of the secular courts of Provence, Northern France and German-speaking areas began to commemorate their deceased patrons in the vernacular. By the late thirteenth century only a small number of planctus continued to be composed in Latin. Most of these were either the responses of English clerics to political executions, or laments of the Virgin composed in German or Italian monasteries. However, as a literary family it did not quite die out. Although its descendants written in vernacular languages were gradually superseded by the elegy, they at least paved the way for this by providing a language of lamentation.

## 2. The Planctus and Scholarship

In Chapter One I described three main areas of scholarship in which planctus about the death of an important personage, or about the destruction of a city have featured: namely, the origins of the Passion play and the development of religious drama; funeral verse; and the history and interrelation of European verse and musical forms. Owing to the fact that previous scholars normally concentrated on aspects of these areas it was impossible to construct a continuous history of the Latin planctus. By considering whether it constitutes a genre, my aim has been to see it

as a whole. My working definition might be revised as follows:

The planctus in Latin is a lament, primarily the creation of monastic composers, containing an utterance of grief at the death of a recently deceased personage, or a personage from biblical or classical history, or about the destruction of a city. It is normally characterised by eulogy, usually written in syllabic verse, often in sequence form, and delivered in the dramatic first person; it is usually set to music, the melodies of which depend on 'number' for their organisation, and often have 'narrative' characteristics.

It is now time to reconsider each of these areas of scholarship in the light of my investigations into the Latin planctus' social environment, verse form and metre, music, subject matter and literary style, and the relationship between words and music.

(a) The planctus and religious drama

The main issues which were raised by previous scholarship on religious drama in relation to the Latin planctus concerned the origins of the planctus Mariae; the form and musical style of planctus in religious drama; and the contribution of the planctus to its development. My investigations indicate that the planctus Mariae arose as an independent composition which was designed to stimulate meditation on the Passion and used initially in French monasteries and nunneries from the late twelfth century. Subsequently it was included in Latin Passion plays from Austria in the thirteenth century; in the liturgy of Good Friday in fourteenth-century Friuli and Padua and in fifteenth-century Regensburg, where it was an optional item; and in a number of German Marienklagen in the fifteenth century. Only in one instance did a planctus Mariae originate as an integral part of an Easter play, and this, 'Heu dolor' (L48), was also sung by Mary Magdalene in the same play. Thus the Virgin was not given the special focus she received in the latter instances.

The precise origins of the Latin planctus Mariae remain, however, uncertain. The earliest example extant, 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123), was composed by Geoffrey of St. Victor towards the end of the twelfth century. Its music is unequivocally in the lai style, as is that of a number of other contemporary self-contained planctus of biblical personages. However the inspiration for its text is unknown. There is no scriptural account of her sorrows at the crucifixion, and whether the idea of a poem consisting entirely of her first person lament was the product of Geoffrey's imagination, or whether it was

based on a literary source, conceivably of Greek origin, which is now lost, is impossible to establish.

A number of factors strongly suggest that the former is the most likely. St. Victor was a centre renowned for its own type of mystical theology, affective devotion, and a large output of devotional Marian verse, much of it written by the sequence composer Adam of St. Victor.<sup>36</sup> Thus Geoffrey lived in an environment where devotion to the Virgin was an increasingly important aspect of religious activity. Since the time of Augustine biblical scholars meditated on her sorrows, although they did not go as far as to imagine her words of lament.<sup>37</sup> Meditation on the Virgin's sorrows was therefore not new to the twelfth century. Laments of the three Marys had already been included in visitatio sepulchri ceremonies of the early twelfth century.<sup>38</sup> Hence, the inclusion of lamentation in an Easter drama was not unprecedented. Furthermore, laments of Rachel are found in plays of the Holy Innocents, one of which - D-Mbs Clm 6264 (s.xi-s.xii) - predates 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123). Here Rachel is treated as a type of the Virgin. This suggests that the sorrows of the Virgin were already present in the imaginations of the early twelfth-century religious. Moreover, the next earliest self-contained planctus Mariae, 'Flete fideles' (L42), is not based on the same subject matter as 'Planctus ante nescia' (L123). There is therefore every reason to suppose that they were both original compositions. Although it seems highly unlikely that the planctus Mariae provided the germ of the Passion play, it is clear that a number of Marienklagen derived textual and musical material from either or both of these planctus. A musico-literary study of their relationship to the Marienklage is therefore necessary.

Apart from common literary characteristics, the most important features shared by planctus from Easter and non-Easter plays alike is their 'narrative' musical style. Although they may therefore stand out in plays which are otherwise made up of liturgical chants, they nevertheless blend with these, in the same way as another type of 'narrative' song, the sequence, harmonises with the chants of the Mass. Suggestions made in the past concerning the apparently expressive nature of the musical style of planctus in religious dramas are moreover untenable: the relationship between words and music is normally architectonic. Only in a few instances are speech sounds apparently imitated. There is however no attempt made to represent emotion musically.

Although in proportion to the large number of extant liturgical



dramas there are relatively few which include planctus, they represent a wide range of differing types, including a number which approach the lai in formal complexity. This draws attention to the fact that the liturgical play based on a trope with later accretions of verse and prose was not the only way in which plays were composed, and thus that the history of religious drama is varied and complicated.

(b) The planctus and funeral verse

The picture presented of the Latin planctus as a type of funeral verse varied according to the examples which scholars selected when comparing it to planctus in vernacular languages. It was normally seen as a highly conventional type of verse consisting of a limited number of literary themes and essentially impersonal in tone. A number of scholars also suggested that it was a strophic song with a refrain, and that its purpose was liturgical. Its musical style was rarely discussed. It is evident that it was in fact given varied treatment throughout its history, and that though its literary style is public and rhetorical, it is occasionally personal in tone. The forms and metres employed in its composition are also varied, and there are moreover very few examples which have a refrain. That it was a liturgical item is not substantiated by the manuscript evidence, except possibly in the case of the planctus included in the so-called Office of St. Thomas of Lancaster and 'Orbata' (L115), sung at Vespers in honour of Thomas a Becket;<sup>39</sup> rather, it served a range of differing purposes. Since previous studies of the vernacular planctus were based on an incomplete knowledge of the Latin planctus and were pursued in virtual ignorance of the fact that a large proportion of the latter survive with music, they are clearly in need of review.

(c) The planctus and European poetic and musical forms

The emphasis which was placed on the interrelation between sequence, planctus and lai by previous scholars gave the impression that a great number of planctus are written in sequence or lai form, and that it might therefore be a genre defined according to form. However, it is clear that the majority are in strophic or through-composed forms. (None are in fixed forms such as the rondeau, virelai, ballade or carol.) There is nevertheless a concentration of planctus composed in sequence or lai forms in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that is, all the self-contained planctus of biblical personages composed after ca.1130.

Their significance is however impossible to define: it may simply be chance that this concentration is extant. Since they are not found in consistently the same type of social environment they cannot be established as a cohesive group. Moreover, although it might be thought that Abelard's six planctus were the inspiration for this group there is no evidence that his treatment of Old Testament personages or his use of the lai style was widely influential. The association of the planctus with the sequence and lai has therefore been exaggerated. However, when extensive studies of the musical style of the various types of early sequence have been carried out, more evidence may be adduced about the relationship between sequence and lai. At this point the place of the planctus in the sequence-lai debate may become clearer.

### 3. Epilogue

My study began as an investigation of whether the planctus in Latin and European languages is a genre in its own right, with the aim of providing insight into developments in the expression of emotion, and in the notion of individuality in the Middle Ages. My contribution has been confined to a study of the generic characteristics of the Latin planctus because of the unexpectedly large number of survivors which an initial bibliographical survey revealed and the limited scope of a doctoral thesis. My suggestion is that there was very little development in either the expression of emotion or in the notion of individuality as regards the planctus composed about a recently deceased personage. However, this is not because poets adhered slavishly to literary conventions. It is true that this might be said of some. However, throughout its history a significant number of often striking examples bear witness either to a poet's use of the planctus as a vehicle for personal expression, or as an opportunity to experiment with new ways of varying the commonplace. As illustrated in Chapter Five, planctus were often the creations of the competent rather than of the exceptionally talented poet: it is apparent that some authors extended themselves to their creative limits in their imitations of literary models which they had studied at school. Nevertheless, others often succeeded in conveying movingly their community's, or, indeed, their personal sense of loss at the death of a much-loved teacher or spiritual leader. On the other hand, a number of poets were

clearly more concerned with transforming the praiseworthy aspects of the deceased's life into a moral tale about how to be a good Christian: their interests were thus not personal, but didactic. Hence it is evident that medieval poets were well able to express personal emotion or to experiment with received tradition if it suited their purposes. To conclude, therefore, that the planctus about a recently deceased personage was treated conventionally throughout its history would be grossly inaccurate. That the rhetorical expressiveness of the planctus was only exceptionally reflected in its music is a clear index of the aesthetic of the period. This aesthetic precluded a musical style typified by word-painting: the emotional effects of the music were metaphysical; the music was not intended as an expression of the emotion of a text.

The planctus of a biblical personage, on the other hand, provided a poet with a persona through which the emotions of this type of subject could be explored, primarily for the purposes of inspiring affective devotion in the listener or reader. Nevertheless, although the sentiments expressed by, for example, the Virgin at the cross are often violent or passionate, the musical style creates a distancing effect. The marriage of philology and music through rhythmus guarantees a measure of control. Indeed, it might be regarded as an additional aspect of the meditation, since it provides access to the mystical music of the spheres.<sup>40</sup>

There still remain a number of aspects of the Latin planctus which will only become clearer in the light of further research. A comparative study of vernacular laments, which I propose to carry out, will provide a perspective for laments in Latin composed after the eleventh century. A detailed investigation of whether musical formulae are a significant aspect of the early sequence should create a further context for a discussion of the patterned style of planctus melodies. A study of manuscripts containing laments such as 'Pergama flere volo' (L122) and Geoffrey de Vinsauf's 'Neustria sub clypeo' (L93) may reveal more precise information about the role of the planctus in the teaching of rhetoric in the schools; it will also help to document the extent to which these pieces were known in England, and whether they influenced Chaucer. The social environment of the short collections of Marian verse written from the twelfth century is a further question which remains unanswered. A study of the musical and intellectual activities of twelfth-century St. Victor, in particular, of its devotional verse and sermons (including those of Geoffrey of St. Victor, as yet unedited),

may increase our understanding of another religious centre, as important perhaps in the development of twelfth-century spirituality as the religious establishments of St. Bernard and St. Anselm. Since a number of English monasteries were strongly influenced by the Victorines and inherited copies of many of their works it may be that an important connection between continental and English devotional practices will be discovered.

The emphasis on music as an important generic feature of the planctus, the investigation of its social environments primarily with reference to its manuscript sources, the examination of its verse forms, the editions and analyses of planctus melodies and the discussions of their style and aesthetic are the new contributions of this study. Authors of histories of medieval Latin verse frequently offer a scheme of classification of the genres which they discuss.<sup>41</sup> On the basis of my investigation of the musical style of the planctus I would suggest that in future such a scheme should include some consideration of melody. Histories of songs such as the planctus might therefore be seen as continuous rather than as fragmentary, as they all too often are made to appear when classified according to literary criteria alone.

The value of this study depends much on the importance attached to the planctus in the Middle Ages. Its non-musical considerations do not suggest a new approach to the planctus, let alone to medieval poetry. However, by documenting in detail a range of laments not hitherto treated together it has been possible to recognise the diversity of a genre which has often been regarded as a highly conventional literary type and to explain how it retained its vitality over almost eight centuries. As a type of ephemeral occasional verse the planctus about a recently deceased personage had a remarkable range of social roles to perform, apart from the commemoration of the dead. The most important achievement in the planctus as a literary phenomenon, however, seems to have been the application of its exclamatory language of persuasion to devotional matters. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine the manner in which religious devotion might have developed had the planctus Mariae not been written in the first place.

The medieval Latin planctus is not, however, a genre of major importance, as compared, for example, to the medieval romance. While it can most certainly claim some credit for providing a rhetoric for elegiac and complaint passages in such works as Chaucer's Book of the Duchess, The Nun's Priest's Tale, and The Franklin's Tale, and Pearl, its

early manifestations are not infrequently of mediocre literary quality. A study of the planctus, however, leads to the recognition of a particular musico-literary aesthetic, represented by occasional formal brilliance, an aesthetic which other types of early medieval song are gradually being found to share in some measure.<sup>42</sup> While otherwise it initially tells more about one of the gloomier aspects of monastic life, one of the minor duties of the competent poet, by the twelfth century it was transformed and revitalised, as regards both its musical style and literary technique. It became a central source of affective devotion and was soon transferred to religious dramas and finally to the Passion play. It was thus closely linked with the most significant developments in the early history of European drama.