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

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Abstract

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

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List of Accompanying Material

One (1) Supplemental CD, containing a database of recorded plague epidemics in Europe, c. 1346-1600. In Excel and SPSS formats.

CD SUPPLIED WITH THE PhD HAD NO CONTENT

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Chapter 1. Introduction

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

Illness and History

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

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[1] Jonathan Rée, *I See a Voice: A Philosophical History of Language, Deafness, and the Senses* (London: Flamingo, 2000), 328.

[2] This is not to dismiss the importance of earlier scholarship, which helped make the future systematisation of the historicity of disease possible. See in particular Lynn Thorndike, "The Blight of Pestilence on Early Modern Civilization," *The American Historical Review* 32, no. 3 (1927): 455-

However, following the publication of McNeill's groundbreaking work *Plagues and Peoples* in 1976, a more concerted effort was made to integrate the interaction between man and microbe into a larger framework of historical discourse. Authors such as Alfred Crosby (1986; 1994), and Jared Diamond (1997) have argued that geographical variations in humanity's relationships with disease-causing microparastites are partially responsible for the dominance of European settlers across continents,[3] while in the preface to his work on the impact of disease on Tudor and Stuart England, Paul Slack wrote, 'Decimating communities, destroying families, bringing grief and pain to individuals, it [plague] deserves study in its own right as a fundamental part of man's experience in history' (Slack, 1985: 3). Medicine, in all its complexity and interdependencies, is 'now too important (and expensive) a component of the human story to be left entirely to medical experts and specialists whose gaze may be narrowly focused: certainly they cannot tell the whole story of suffering' (Rousseau, 2003: 13).

Illness and Artistic Culture

One of the first to use art produced in the wake of an epidemic to argue for specific shifts in the style of narration of this story was Millard Meiss, who argued in an influential study of fourteenth-century Tuscan art that the Black Death of 1347-50 precipitated a shift away from an optimistic view of human life and towards a pessimistic, abstracted perspective marked by a fascination with the macabre (Meiss, 1951). While his conclusions were not without detractors (c.f. Os, 1981), Meiss'

474; Anna Montgomery Campbell, *The Black Death and Men of Learning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931; Hans Zinsser, *Rats, Lice, and History* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1935); and Elizabeth Carpentier, "Autour De La Peste Noire: Famines Et Epidèmes Dans L'histoire Du Xiv^{e} Siècle," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* vol. 17 (1962): 1062-1092.

[3] to immense popular and scholastic acclaim; in 1998 Diamond's *Guns, Germs, and Steel* won both a Pulitzer Prize and the Aventis Prize for Best Science Book before becoming the basis of a three-part documentary of the same name made by National Geographic and broadcast on the eleventh, eighteenth and twenty-fifth of July on American Public Broadcast Channel.

research had an enormously beneficial generative impact in provoking and inspiring other researchers to investigate more fully the artistic and iconographic legacy of disease in general and plague in particular. Among the scholars thus inspired was Louise Marshall, whose analysis of Renaissance Italian sacred art brought to light a fascinating array of images produced specifically either as a consequence, or in anticipation, of the arrival of plague in a locality, and highlighted the importance of a subset of saints (in particular St Sebastian, St Roch, and the Virgin Mary) in the artistic response to plague.[4] This work has been expanded by Christine Boeckl, who has compiled a litany of 110 intercessionary saints whose appearance in devotional art can be linked with outbreaks of illness, as well as a dictionary of plague-related iconographic symbols in artwork produced across five centuries (2000; 2001: 29-40).

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

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[4] See Louise Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague" (Doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1980); Louise Marshall, "Manipulating the Sacred: Image and Plague in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (1994): 485-532. The musical ramifications of votive compositions in honour of these saints will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, pp. 79-91.

Petrarch, and most famously in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Edward LeComte (1954) and Renee Watkins (1972) have both written eloquently on the literary repercussions of the Black Death in the writings of Petrarch, and more recently the impact of illness has been explored in the poetry of the English friar John Grimestone, the French polymath Guillaume du Machaut, the Welsh bards Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn and Tudur Aled, the Victorian Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and numerous novelists of the French enlightenment.[5] If Jonathan Rée is correct in thinking works of art are invitations to notice the precariousness of our ordinary perception of the world (see epigraph prefacing this chapter), then studies such as these which focus on illness's ability to shape the delicate fulcrum upon which balance life and death, productivity and quiescence, are performing a valuable service in enriching our understanding both of historical necessity and the pressures which constrain and define artistic/creative production.

Illness and Music

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

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[5] See Madeleine Pelner Cosman, "Machaut's Medical Musical World," in *Machaut's World: Science and Art in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Madeleine Pelner Cosman and Bruce Chandler, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1978), 1-38; Daniel Gordon, "The City and the Plague in the Age of Enlightenment," *Yale French Studies* 92 (1997), 67-87; Glyn Penrhyn Jones, "The Welsh Poet as a Medical Historian," in *Wales and Medicine: An Historical Survey from Papers Given at the Ninth British Congress on the History of Medicine at Swansea and Cardiff, 4-8th September, 1973*, ed. John Cule (Llandysul: British Society for the History of Medicine, 1975), 119-126, at 124; George Sebastian Rousseau and David Boyd Haycock, "Framing Samuel Taylor Coleridge's Gut: Genius, Digestion, Hypochondria," in *Framing and Imagining Disease in Cultural History*, ed. George Sebastian Rousseau (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 231-266; and Siegfried Wenzel, "Pestilence and Middle English Literature: Friar John Grimestone's Poems on Death," in *The Black Death: The Impact of the Fourteenth-Century Plague*, ed. Daniel Williman (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1982), 131-159.

diary painted a vivid picture of life in Paris during a cholera epidemic in the spring of 1832 and describes how 'in certain places hearses stood in ranks like cabs' in the deserted streets, while in the huge communal trenches dug to receive the dead, old coffins with half-rotted contents were broken up to make way for the new as the bright skies and spring sunshine seeming to mock the suffering of the stricken city.[6] On one particularly memorable day (16 April), after visiting the Hôtel-Dieu where the dead where laid out like mummies,[7] Fontaney attended a gathering at the residence of Victor Hugo, where Franz Liszt gave an impromptu performance of a funeral march by Beethoven. Reflecting afterwards, Fontaney wrote, 'It was magnificent! What a wonderful scene you could set to it! All those dead from cholera marching to Notre Dame in their shrouds!'[8]

On a more theoretical level, Jonathan Rée stated that there is a natural tendency to associate music with two correlates of illness: loss and decay. In *I see a Voice* he wrote, 'if there are such things as natural symbols, then sounds are surely the natural symbol of transience and the lostness of past time. They are essentially evanescent . . . They seem to be nature's way of mourning', and thus potentially an ideal way to communicate many of the emotions roused by the expectation and experience of disease.[9] Our curiosity increases even more when we come across references in the more distant past such as the notes in the court records of Henry

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

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

[8] '*C'était magnifique! Qu'il y aurait quelque chose de beau à faire là! Touts les morts du choléra se promenant à Notre-Dame avec leurs linceuls!*' Ibid. English translation adapted from John O'Shea, *Music & Medicine: Medical Profiles of Great Composers* (London: Dent, 1990), 8.

[9] Rée goes on to muse that 'perhaps that is why, as some would have it, beautiful music is always sad', though we need not agree with this later value judgement to be in sympathy with the symbolic equation of music and impermanence. See Jonathan Rée, *I See a Voice: A Philosophical History of Language, Deafness, and the Senses* (London: Flamingo, 2000), 23-4.

VIII which indicate that when fear of the plague prompted the king to dismiss his entire court and to remain in quarantine at Windsor, the only people who remained with him were his physician, his three favorite gentlemen, and the Italian composer and organist Dionisio Memo.[10] Given that Memo is not known for anything besides his musical ability, we must conclude that he was retained in this capacity, and that in other words, during a plague epidemic so deadly that the English court was dissolved, the only people the reigning monarch felt he could not do without were his three most trusted courtiers, his doctor, and . . . his composer. What accounts for this behaviour? Under what conditions was music performed during epidemics? To what extent is sickness reflected in musical works, and what can modern audiences learn from their study?

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

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

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[10] A letter from Sebastian Giustinian to the Council of Ten dated 27 August 1517 reads in part, 'His majesty is at Windsor with his physician, Dionysius Memo, and three favorite gentlemen. No one is admitted, on account of the disease, which is now making great progress. The Cardinal has been ill until now, which is the fourth time.' Later that same year, on 11 November, Giustinian wrote to the Doge of Venice that 'The King is abroad, and moves from place to place an account of the plague, which makes great ravages in the royal Household. Some of the pages who slept in his chamber have died. None remain with him except three favorite gentlemen and Memo.' See J.S. Brewer, ed., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, 21 vols., vol. 2, part 2, (London: Longman & Co, 1864), 1149, 1188.

investigations of music in clinical practice.[11] Others have investigated the link between musical creativity and mental illnesses such as depression, though such studies have tended to focus on the 'canonical' musical figures of the nineteenth and twentieth century and in their zeal to unravel the aetiology of creative production have provided little discussion of wider medical and social currents.[12] Yet to understand the roles played by music in social and cultural responses to disease, a more systematic interrogation of the repertoire is necessary, and to this end, the following research is dedicated to the collective experience of one particular illness now practically synonymous with the misery of ages past: plague.[13]

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

[12] See, for example, Kay Redfield Jamison, *Touched with Fire: Manic-Depressive Illness and the Artistic Temperament* (New York: Free Press (Division of Simon & Schuster Inc.), 1996); and O'Shea, *Music & Medicine: Medical Profiles of Great Composers*. A selective bibliography pertaining to music, musicians, and melancholy is also available on the website for the 2002 Yale University Symposium on 'Music and Melancholy: 1400-1800', http://www.princeton.edu/~rwegman/melancholy_2002/saturn.htm.

[13] There is actually considerable debate about the precise biological agent or agents responsible for the string of epidemics in Western Europe between 1348 and 1722, which unfortunately is beyond the scope of this discussion. For the purposes of the current analysis, the term 'plague' is defined as an illness characterized by swellings ('buboes'), black spots or 'apostumes' on the body, and the coughing up of blood, possibly accompanied by 'a burning heat' and/or 'an intolerable stench'; Marchione di Coppo Stefani, "Cronaca Fiorentina," in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Niccolo Rodolico (Castello: 1903-1913), 757. Regardless of its exact biological nature, the epidemiology suggested by a multitude of plague chronicles written by eyewitnesses has led most experts to conclude that the same agent (or constellation of agents) was responsible for the epidemics in Europe throughout the medieval and renaissance periods. For further reading see Samuel K. Jr. Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* (London: Arnold, 2002), 62.

Besides its emotional cachet through association with the calamity of the Black Death, this disease demonstrates a number of characteristics which lend themselves well to its use in exploring the musical culture of the medieval and renaissance periods. First, unlike many epidemic diseases which have been familiar to humanity since at least the dawn of agriculture (Preston, 2002), plague is a relatively young human affliction. Gabriele de Mussis described in his chronicle *Historia de Morbo* how a new illness followed by putrid fever' emerged from the steppes of Asia in 1347 to infect Italian merchants in the Crimean peninsula (Horrox, 1994: 17). These traders then took the disease back to Italy on their return voyage, and from Genoa and Venice, the plague swept through the immunologically naive population of Europe in a well-documented pandemic then referred to as 'the Big Death' or 'huge mortalyte' (Cohn, 2002: 104), but now more commonly known as 'the Black Death.' With knowledge of the precise timetable of the plague's progression across Europe, it becomes possible at least in theory to correlate aspects of its epidemiological history with notable features of the cultural landscape. After this initial explosion, plague epidemics became a regular if episodic feature of European life, sporadically afflicting cities and villages across the continent until at least the eighteenth century.[14]

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

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[14] The plague of Marseille in 1721-22 is traditionally considered the last great European plague epidemic; however, some scholars have argued this has less to do with epidemiological reality than with a Francocentric construction of the European narrative. See Daniel Gordon, "The City and the Plague in the Age of Enlightenment", 77-87; and Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, 8 and n.6.

subsequent reoccurrences in fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century epidemics. This makes research into the effects of plague easier than examining something less tangible like, for example, the effect of the spread of democratic ideals which were also 'infecting' the countryside at roughly the same time. From an artistic perspective, the plague is also of interest in terms of the extremely strong emotions it evoked in those who survived its passing. The written records of the medieval and renaissance periods contain heartfelt expressions of the complete spectrum of human affect—from the abject hopelessness of the Irish friar John Clynn, 'waiting among the dead for death to come' and leaving parchment at the end of his account 'in case anyone should still be alive in the future' as he watched his entire abbey succumb to plague before dying himself (Horrox, 1994: 82-84), to the jubilation of the Venetian Senate declaring the end of an epidemic in 1631 (Moore, 1984: 323). How might this have manifested in music?

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

A thought-experiment elaborating the range of sources relevant to the question at hand is illustrative. One might suggest the evidentiary gold standard in this case is a letter, in the composer's own hand, stating that an attached piece of music was written specifically for performance during, or as a result of his/her personal experience in, the plague epidemic of [year] in [city name]. Although it is possible to find documents filling similar roles in, for example, the 'composer's

notes' prefacing some modern music, the probability of finding such a document in the fourteenth or fifteenth century is extremely low, and it would be a historical study indeed that did not have to broaden its dataset to include other material. A list of other types of potential evidence includes:

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

- Music (vocal or instrumental) whose provenance indicates to a low degree of certainty it was composed during an epidemic
- Music (vocal or instrumental) whose provenance indicates to a low degree of certainty it was composed shortly after an epidemic
- Music (vocal or instrumental) whose provenance indicates to a low degree of certainty it was composed shortly before an epidemic
- Music (vocal or instrumental) which bears a similarity to some other piece of music which more exactly meets one or more of the above criteria.

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

Clearly decisions regarding the inclusion and exclusion of source material must be made both in reference to the continuum of possibilities the author recognizes in the chosen topic, and to the discrete number of scholarly topical conversations to which he/she feels the work can usefully contribute. The first is demonstrated by the framing and successful addressing of a central thesis topic, the

second by the ease with which common threads linking the sources can be found. In the chapters that follow, my aim will be to demonstrate that as plague progressed from being an unexpected biological catastrophe to being a quotidian hazard of life in late medieval Europe, a range of pre-existing genres of largely liturgical music was adapted to meet the physical and spiritual needs of the epidemically stressed population. This kind of 're-focusing' of existing classes of material is an issue commonly encountered in art history, and following the models developed within that discipline (and in particular the work of Boeckl and Marshall), I will illustrate the practices antedating the Black Death with discussions of earlier repertoires before showing how similar kinds of structured liturgies, musical votive petitions, and communal music-making were adapted for use during plague epidemics. In so doing, I hope to demonstrate that, although it is obscured by the miasma of a past even more viscerally dead than that typically grappled with by musicologists, the tracing of this particular strand of auditory experience through the tapestry of cultural and artistic history offers a viable way to illuminate the indefatigable and exquisitely exuberant vitality of a historical life which flickers just beyond the pages of our written records.

Chapter 2. Plague

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

Plague as Subject of Historical Inquiry

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

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

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[15] Lynn Thorndike, "The Blight of Pestilence on Early Modern Civilization", *The American Historical Review* 32, no. 3, 455-474, at 455.

understanding of the epidemics of 1348-52 is predicated on an assumed mechanism of transmission revolving around the lifecyle of the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*. This single-celled organism was first isolated by the eponymous Alexandre Yersin in an 1894 epidemic on the island of Hong Kong, where hundreds of people were suffering from an illness characterized by 'a bubo . . . which very quickly reaches the size of a hen's egg',[16] and subsequent details about the bacterium's transmission via rat-borne fleas, and the infections this caused, were worked out slowly over the next half-century (Cohn, 2002: 8-12). From the outset, Yersin was quick to note the similarities between his bacteria-borne plague and the pandemic of 1348, writing that 'the current plague presents all the symptoms and clinical characteristics of the ancient *peste à bubons*, which many times over the centuries has decimated the people of Western Europe and the Levant until it disappeared at Marseilles in 1720, after which the disease became restricted to Persia, Arabia, and the Chinese province of Yunnan', and this fact became a part of the received wisdom regarding the late medieval and early modern pestilences.[17] While this is seldom problematic in and of itself, difficulties arise when researchers begin to judge the veracity of chroniclers of historical epidemics and their records by how well their accounts fit the biological history of the flea-borne *Y. pestis*. Shrewsbury, for example, frequently concluded that fourteenth-century physicians and chroniclers who classified any epidemic occurring between December and March as plague were in error because the rat flea *Xenopsylla cheopis* hibernates in low temperatures such as those found during

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[16] '*un bubon . . . [qui] atteint très vite la grosseur d'un œuf de poule*'. Alexandre Yersin, "La Peste Bubonique À Hong Kong," *Annales de l'Institut Pasteur* 8 (1894): 662-667, at 663.

[17] '*la maladie . . . présente tous les symptômes et les caractères cliniques de l'ancienne peste à bubons qui a décimé maintes fois, dans les siècles passés, les peuples de l'Europe occidentale comme ceux du Levant. La fameuse épidémie de Marseille, en 1720, fut la dernière en date dont la France ait eu à souffrir. Depuis cette époque, le fléau est resté à peu près confiné en quelques foyers limités de la Perse, de l'Arabie et de la province chinoise du Yunnam.*' Ibid.: 662-63. Translation adapted from Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, 8-9.

English winters,[18] and that the causative disease therefore had to have been a different agent such as typhus fever (see Shrewsbury, 1970: 104). In recent years numerous other alternatives have been proposed for the disease organism (or organisms) causing the infamous epidemics of the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries, including a combination of bubonic plague and viruses such as smallpox, typhus and measles (Carmichael, 1986: 21; Carmichael, 1991: 213-256), Ebola virus (Scott and Duncan, 2001), and a pathogen hitherto undescribed in the scientific literature and possibly no longer in existence (Twigg, 1984; Cohn, 2002). In deference to the continued vitality of these debates, I will refrain from using the term 'bubonic' plague in subsequent references to these historical scourges and instead use the terms 'epidemic' or 'historical' plague.

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

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

[19] Samuel Cohn surveyed 407 chronicles, annals, and calendars and documented the frequency of use of various appellations for the disease, and while *mortalitas* was by the most frequently used, words like *peste* do appear in accounts of the original fourteenth-century epidemic and in subsequent infections in later centuries. See Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, 104.

modern biological models of particular diseases.[20] After all, our concern is with plague as a factor influencing artistic production, and not as an object of study in its own right.

The Aesthetics of Plague Narratives

So how was the plague 'experienced' by medieval audiences? We can learn much about the sensory dimension of the response to the plague by taking a close look at the initial descriptions of the plague's arrival, starting with the Black Death's first chronicler: Gabriele de Mussis. De Mussis is chiefly remembered today for his careful description of the symptoms of the illness, which he claims to have included in his 'History of Sickness' (*Historia de Morbo*) 'so that the conditions, causes and symptoms of this pestilential disease should be made plain to all'.[21] However, as Horrox noted, de Mussis intended his description of the physical marks of illness as but a single facet of a larger 'extended meditation on the plague as an expression of divine anger' (1994: 14). The full text appears on pp. 180-226 in Appendix A, and while the account is fascinating on a number of levels most relevant for current purposes is its rigorous grounding in a vocabulary of sensory experience. The visual elements of this characterization (which also inform the subsequent depictions of the plague in visual art) have already been described in detail elsewhere, and include a liberal use of the iconography of the Biblical Apocalypse and in particular of the symbolic association between illness and arrows seen in ancient literature from Homer's *Iliad* to the Book of Psalms.[22] The auditory dimension of de Mussis'

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[20] See in particular Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed*, ch. 6; Susan Scott and Christopher J. Duncan, *Biology of Plagues: Evidence from Historical Populations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 6-7.

[21] '*ut condictiones cause et accidencia, morbi huius pestiferi, omnibus patifiant*'. See Appendix A, p. 219, sentence 206.

[22] Apollo looses the arrows of plague to 'ravage the Acheans' for ten days at the beginning of the *Iliad* (I. 44-52), and Psalm 38: 1-3 reads, 'O Lord, rebuke me not in thy anger, / nor upbraid me in thy wrath. / For thy arrows are stuck fast in me, / and thy hand has come down upon me. / There is no health in my flesh because of thy indignation' (English from the King James edition of the Bible;

account, however, is no less prominent. Large stretches are in the form of a verbal dialogue between an angry God and the Earth (sentences 3-47) or between God and a hypothetical and generalized 'sinner' (sentences 71-82), and the account of the plague's first appearance in Italy even opens with a display of Homeric oratorical flair in its series of auditory verbs, as the chronicler exhorts his 'Muses' of divine retribution to 'Speak, Genoa, of what you have done. Describe, Sicily and Isole Pelagie, the judgements of God. Recount, Venice, Tuscany and the whole of Italy, what you have done'(sentences 88-90; trans. Horrox, 1994: 19). De Mussis even goes so far as to articulate the cries of the afflicted (sentences 154-166), describing how 'when the sick were in the throes of death, they still called out piteously to their family and neighbours, 'Come here. I'm thirsty, bring me a drink of water. I'm still alive. Don't be frightened. Perhaps I won't die. Please hold me tight, hug my wasted body. You ought to be holding me in your arms' (Horrox, 1994: 22).

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

to go about singing and amusing themselves, satisfying every appetite they could,

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unless otherwise noted, this translation is the source of all subsequent Biblical quotations in English throughout the thesis). The association between arrows and illness, and the corresponding impact this had on the visual iconography of the plague, is discussed in great detail in Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague", 14-114.

laughing and jesting at what happened', all involved some degree of deliberate auditory, and indeed even musical, production.[23]

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

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

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[23] '. . . *Dalle qua / li cose, et da assai altre ad queste simiglianti o mag / giori nacquero diverse paure et ymaginationi in / quegli che rimanevano vivi, et tutti quasi ad un / fine tiravano assai crudele, cio era di schifare et / di fuggire glinfermi et le lor cose, et cosi faccendo / si credeva ciascuno ad se medisimo salute acqui / stare. Et erano alcuni li quali advisavano che il / viver moderatamente et il guardarsi da ogni super / fluita avesse molto ad cosi facto accidente resiste / re, et facta lor brigata da ogni altro separati vive / ano, et in quelle case ricogliendosi et racchiudendosi, / dove niuno infermo fosse, et da viver meglio di / licatissimi cibi, et optimi vini temperatissimamente / usando, et ogni luxuria fuggendo, sença lasciarsi / parlare ad alcuno, o volere di fuori di morte o din / fermi alcuna novella sentire, con suoni, et con que / gli piaceri che aver poteano si dimoravano. Altri / in contraria opinion tracti affermavano il bere / assai et il godere, et landar cantando atorno et solla / çando, et il sodisfare dogni cosa allappetito chessi po / tesse, et di cio che adveniva ridersi et beffarsi esser / medicina certissima ad tanto male, et cosi come / il dicevano il mettevano in opera allor potere, il gi / orno et la nocte hora ad quella taverna hora ad quel / la altra andando, bevendo sença modo et sença mi / sura, et molto piu cio per laltrui case faccendo, sola / mente che cose vi sentissero che lor venissero ad / grado o in piacere, et cio potevan far di leggiere, per / cio che ciascun quasi non piu viver dovesse aveva / si come se le sue cose messe in abandono, di che le / piu delle case erano divenute comuni, et cosi lu / sava lo straniere pure che ad esse sadvenisse, come / lavrebbe il propio signore usate*'. Charles S Singleton, ed., *Decameron Di Giovanni Boccaccio: Edizione Diplomatico-Interpretativa Dell'autografo Hamilton 90*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 1-2 (fol. 2r, lines 23-54 of column I and lines 1-2 of column II). English translation from Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. Richard Aldington, 2nd ed. (Bury St Edmunds: St Edmundsbury Press, 1982), 3.

of Jesus Christ to come before the presence of the Lord in confession, reciting psalms and performing other works of charity.[24]

Unfortunately, Bishop Robert does not specify which psalms were to be performed, and communal recitation of the entire set of 150 psalms in the Old Testament each week formed a core component of the monastic Offices.[25] However, certain subgroups of psalms were singled out for more frequent recitation, the most prominent being the 'seven penitential psalms' (psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142 in the Septuagint numbering) named as a unified group by the sixth century monk Cassiodorus, and the fifteen gradual psalms (Psalms 119-133 in the Septuagint numbering) associated with ascending the temple steps in Jerusalem and made the focus of a unified Christian devotion by the French saint Benedict of Aniane (c. 747-821).[26] By the tenth century the *Regularis Concordia* compiled circa AD 970 at Winchester includes a devotion in which 'each monk was to say, sitting in his stall, the fifteen gradual psalms in three divisions in the same manner as the seven penitential psalms had just been recited'.[27]

It thus comes as little surprise to observe that, while Bishop Robert of Shrewsbury left unspoken the selection of psalms to be recited, episcopal mandates

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[24] '*Unde quia clades pestilencialis hujusmodi a plaga orientali ad vicina regna pervenit timendum est valde, timendum est valde ac devote et incessanter orandum, ne ad incolas hujus regni pestilencia hujusmodi suam propaginem venenosam extendat ipsosque percuciat et consumat. Quocirca vobis et cuilibet vestrum firmiter injungendo mandamus quatinus singuli vestrum presens mandatum in vestris ecclesiis temporibus oportunis exponatis publice in vulgari, vestrosque subditos regulares et seculares parochianos et alios exhortemini seu faciatis per alios exhortari in visceribus Christi Ihesu, ad preoccupandum Faciem Domini in confessione et in psalmis et aliis operibus caritatis*'. Thomas Scott Holmes, ed., "The Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells," *Somerset Record Society* X (1896): 555. Translation in Rosemary Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 112; emphasis added.

[25] For an excellent discussion of the devotional rituals and traditions practiced in English monasteries, see J.B.L. Tolhurst, ed., *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester (Mss. Rawlinson Liturg. E. 1*, and Gough Liturg. 8, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford). Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, 6 vols., vol. 6, in "Henry Bradshaw Society", 80 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1942).

[26] See Ibid., 64-68; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," in *Ancient Christian Fathers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation*, ed. Walter J Burghardt and Thomas Comerford Lawler (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1990, 511-512.

[27] It is also worth noting that in the tenth century the seven daily psalms were part of a daily horarium at the monastery of Cluny. See Tolhurst, ed., *Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, 65-7.

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containing greater detail highlight the performance of the penitential and gradual psalms. For example, a letter by Bishop of Winchester William Edenton's to the clergy of his diocese on 24 October 1348 notes how:[28]

> cities, towns, castles and villages, which until now rejoiced in their illustrious residents (their wisdom in counsel, their splendid riches, their great strength, the beauty of their womenfolk), which rang with the abundance of joy, to which crowds of people poured from far and wide for succour, pleasure and comfort, have now been suddenly and woefully stripped of their inhabitants by this most savage pestilence, more cruel than a two-edged sword. . . .
>
> But because God is benign and merciful, long-suffering, and above malice, it may be that this affliction, which we richly deserve, can be averted if we turn to him humbly and with our whole hearts, and we therefore earnestly urge you to devotion. We beg you in God's name, and firmly command you by the obedience which you owe us, that you present yourselves before God through contrition and the proper confession of your sins, followed by the making of due satisfaction through the performance of penance, and that every Wednesday and Sunday, assembled in the choir of your monastery, you humbly and devoutly chant [*decantentes*] the 7 penitential psalms and the 15 gradual psalms [*graduali psalmus*] on your knees. We also order that every Friday you should go solemnly in procession through the marketplace at Winchester, performing these psalms and in similar fashion the great litany [*a vobis simili modo dictis letaniam maiorem*] instituted by the fathers of the church for use against the pestilence and performing other exercises of

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[28] This letter is now known as the '*Vox in Rama*' letter for its opening evocation of the famous lines from Matthew 2.18 and Jeremiah 31.15; see Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 115.

devotion [*orationum suffragia*], together with the clergy and people of the city, whom we wish to be summoned to attend.[29] They are to accompany the procession with bowed heads and bare feet, fasting, with a pious heart and lamenting their sins (all idle chatter entirely set aside), and as they go they are to chant [*psallant*] devoutly, as many times as possible, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary. They are to remain in earnest prayer until the end of the mass which we wish you to celebrate in your church at the end of each procession, trusting that if they persevere in their devotions with faith, rectitude and firm trust in the omnipotence and mercy of the Saviour they will soon receive a remedy and timely help from heaven.[30]

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

[30] '*civites urbes castra et villi edificiis nobilibus et fulgidis complantata, que inclitis hortatoribus, in consilio providis, divitiis opulentis, robore fortissimus, matronarum et virginum venustate, solet hactenus copiosa multitudine chorustare, in quibus cuiuslibet gaudii habundantia resonabat ad que multitudo populi delonge lateque pro suis relevandis, nutritatibus et fruendis consolationibus confluebat, iam eorum incolis dicte pestilencie crudelissime ferocioris omni gladio ancipiti calamitatibus repente et dolente peremptis. . . . Quia tamen benignus et misericors est Deus paciens ac prestabilis super maliciam, ut huius flagella que iuste merimus avertat si ad ipsum toto corde humiliter convertamu, vestram devotionem attente rogamus hortamur in domino et in virtute obedientie firmiter iniungendo mandamus, quatinus faciem dei preoccupatentes contricione ac confessione oculi usorum omni peccatorum cum sequenti satisfactione debita per efficatem operam proventie salutaris et omnibus dominicis et singulis quartis feriis in choro monasterii vestrum insimul congregati septem penitentiales et quindecium graduali psalmus, flexis dicatis genibus humiliter, devote necnon singulis sextis feriis, huius psalmis a vobis simuli modo dictis letaniam maiorem contra huius pestilencias a sanctis patribus institutam per medium mercatus civitatis nostre Wynt una cum clero et populo civitatis eiusdem quos ad hoc per vis volumus evocari solempniter decantantes processiones faciatis solemnes, ac alia devotarum orationum suffragia exerceri, necnon populum, huius processiones insequentem sollicite invitari, ut huius processionibus durantibus demissis capitibus, et nudis pedibus, incedentes, ieiuni, pio corde et piacula sua plangentes, variis fabulis penitus omissis orationem dominicam cum salutatione angelica quotiens poterinit devote psallant, in missis quas dictis processionibus finicis in ecclesia vestra per vos volumus celebrari usque ad finem iugiter orando persistant finam fiduciam optinentes, quod si cum fidei rectitudine et spe solida de omnipotentia et misericordia salvatoris in huius suis devotionibus perseverent, cito de celo sentient remedium et auxilium opportunum.*' Hampshire Record Office, Reg. Edyngdon, 21M65 A1/9 fo. 17. Translation adapted from Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 116-17. Emphasis added.

The Archbishop of Canterbury Simon Islip's letter to the Bishop of London the following year on 28 December 1349 clearly prescribes the performance of very similar repertoire:

> we require and order you, our most loving brother in the Lord, and firmly urge you, to bring the king's victory and the remembrance of the pestilence to your people's notice so that everyone can ask for the safety of the realm with proper reverence, and at the same time advance the general rejoicing. For these reasons, order the seven penitential psalms and the litany to be specially recited [*edicant*] twice every week in parish churches for the peace of the realm, for the lord king and for the obedience of the people, and the usual processions around the churches and churchyards to be carried out on the same days, by which means the people, sincerely contemplating the past and present gifts of God, should be better able to serve and please him.'[31]

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

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[31] '*Fraternitatem igitur vestram charissimam in Domino requirimus et hortamur, vobis nihilominus firmiter injungentes, ut quod tam ad salutem vestram publicam, quam ad laetitiam processerit generalem, a cunctis cum reverentia debita veneretur, praedictam regis victoriam cum recordatione pestilentiae suprascriptae deduci f(s?)aciatis ad vestrorum notitiam subditorum, eis propterea demandantes, ut bina vice singulis hebdomadibus septem psalmos poenitentiales cum litania, in ecclesiis parochialibus pro pace regni, et dicto domino rege, gratoque obsequio singulorum specialiter edicant, et processiones circa ecclesias et coemeteria eisdem diebus adjiciant consuetas, in quibus tam praeterita, quam praesentia dona Dei sinceriter meditantes, f(s?)ibi serventius servire valeant et placere*'. David Wilkins, ed., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae Et Hiberniae Ab Anno Mcclxviii.*, 4 vols., vol. 2, (London: Gosling, Gyles, Woodward, & Davis, 1739), 752. Translation adapted from Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 119. Emphasis added.

[32] Although Archbishop Islip does not specify which two days of the week he wished the litany and penitential psalms recited, the emphasis placed on Wednesday and Friday as a time for penitential

little elaboration, but Wednesday and Fridays also enjoyed special status as so-called 'station days' (*stationem diebus*) for which the sixty-ninth Apostolic Canon specifies that a fast be kept until the hour of None (between twelve and three o'clock).[33] It seems likely that these days were further characterized by processions or other events where the faithful were required to remain standing (*stantes*), since in a sermon on Lent the fourth-century St Ambrose justified the term *stationes* for 'fast' by explaining that 'Our fasts are our encampments against the attacks of the devil; they are called *stationes* because we remain standing'.[34] The combination of processions and the recitation of penitential psalms, gradual psalms, and the litany may have also called to mind the ritual associated with the *viaticum*, the giving of the Eucharist to the dying. At least one bishop specified that priests delivering the

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devotion by other English commentators from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries, particularly during plague epidemics, suggests at least provisionally that these were the days intended. Examples in addition to the letter from Archbishop Edenton upon the arrival of the Black Death already cited include the establishment in 1468 of a 'Jesus Mass' to be said every Friday in the parish church of St Michael's in Coventry 'to the end that Almighty God, appeased by the prayers of the faithful, might deliver the said city' from visitation of the plague, the 1560 mandate of Bishop Grindal for public fasts and prayers during epidemics (with particular instruction for the reading of a sermon on 'the justice of God in punishing impenitent sinners'), and the '*General Fast* to the end that Prayers and Supplications may everywhere be offered up unto Almighty God for the removal of the heavy Judgment of Plague and Pestilence' mandated for the first Wednesday of each month in the cities of London and Westminster for the duration of the plague in 1665-66. See J.A. Twemlow, ed., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 12, (London: H.M.S.O., 1933), 644; Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 228-9; Mary Anne Everett Green, Francis Henry Blackburne Daniell, and Francis Lawrence Bickley, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II*, 28 vols., vol. 4, (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1863), 466.

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

[34] '*castra enim nobis sunt nostra jejunia, quae nos a diabolica oppugnatione defendunt. Denique stationes vocantur, quod stantes et commorantes in eis, inimicorum insidias repellamus.*' Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Ad Opera Sancti Ambrosii*, vol. 17, in "Patrologia Latina. Series Prima", 17 (Paris: J-P Migne, 1844), col. 0644C.

eucharist to the dying should make their way through town chanting the seven penitential psalms and (if the way was long) the gradual psalms and the litany.[35]

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

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

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[35] See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), citing *Les Statuts synodaux français du XIIIe siècle. II: Les Statuts de 1230 à 1260*, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie 15, ed. O. Pontal. Paris, 1983., c. 37, c. 68, p. 3. See also *Statuts synodaux* I, c. 19, p. 59.
[36] '*Non preco, non tuba, non Campana, nec Missa solempniter celebrata ad funus amicos et proximos Inuitabant*'. See Appendix A, pp. 212-213, sentence 170.

'singing is nothing to him now, and nor is dancing, for he no longer has a throat or a foot to stand on' (Book VII, Ch. 15; trans. Horrox, 1994: 351). One well-documented case of such plague-related changes in performance practice is found in the documents of the sojourn of the papal court in Noli (now Savona, Italy), where a record dated 27 June 1406 indicates how fear in the choir was so great after the death of one of their members that sufficient singers could not be found to perform the scheduled High Mass, resulting in the substitution of a spoken Low Mass for the day.[37] However, it is also possible that choices regarding the presence or absence of musical activity at funerals were made on psychological or aesthetic, rather than purely practical, grounds. If music was an integral part of the funerary rite, one could imagine how the sheer volume of the chanting of the requiem mass and the pealing of funeral bells might start from a background level (based on the municipal demographic) which the population is accustomed to, and dramatically crescendo in volume and prominence in the early phases of the epidemic as casualties from the plague mounted, until a decision was made to change the practice due to its effect on the populace. Such a view of the soundscape of the Black Death is confirmed by a series of remarkable laws passed by the *comune* and *contado* of Pistoia on 2 May 1348 and amended a month later on 4 June. According to the first set of legislation, these ordinances were passed 'So that the sickness which is now threatening the region around Pistoia shall be prevented from taking hold of the citizens' (Horrox, 1994: 195), and amongst a number of new measures designed to limit social interaction were the following:

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[37] '*Item illa die circa horam tertiam, venerunt Galeae Domini nostri de Saona apud Novi, quae obstante vento ante venire non potuerunt. Item ilia die Dominica audivit Missam in Ecclesia Fratrum Minorum, balsam dumtaxat, quia Cantores propter pestilentiam, & mortem unius ex eis erant dispersi, & haberi non poterant.*' Ludovico Antonio Muratori, ed., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 3, part 2, (Milan: Arnaldo Forni, 1734), col. 787A.

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

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

. . .

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

However it is to be understood that none of this applies to the burial of knights, doctors of law, judges, and doctors of physic, whose bodies

can be honoured by their heirs at their burial in any way they please.[38]

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

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[38] '*IX. Item providerunt et ordinaverunt, quod nullus preco bapnitor aut naccharinus dicti communis Pistorij audeat vel presumat publice vel occulte bapnire aut invitare aliquos cives Pistorij, ut vadant ad funera vel ad mortuum; nec aliqua persona eidem bapnitori tubatori preconi aut naccarino conmictere predicta, sub pena librarum decem denariorum auferenda cuilibet tali preconi tubatori bapnitori aut naccharino invitanti aut bapnienti, quam etiam illi cuius parte bapnum seu invitatio facta fuerit, vice qualibet. X. Item providerunt et ordinaverunt, ad hoc ut sonus campanarum non invadat infirmis, nec contra eos timor insurgat, quod campanarij seu custodes stantes super campanile maioris ecclesie cacthedralis civitatis Pistorij non permictant pulsari aliquam campanam occasione funeris mortuorum existentem super dicto campanile, nec aliqua alia persona audeat vel presumat pulsare de ipsis campanis nec aliquam earum dicta occasione, pena librarum decem denariorum auferenda tam pulsanti quam ipsis custodibus et cuilibet eorum permictenti pulsari vice qualibet, et etiam auferenda heredibus seu successoribus aut propinquioribus talis persone defunte, si heredes non extiterint. Ad ecclesias quoque parocchiales dictorum defunctorum, et fratrum, si apud ecclesias ipsorum fratrum sepelliri contigerit, possint campane ipsius ecclesie parocchialis ec ecclesie fratrum pulsari, dum tamen pulsetum solum una vice tantum et modicum, sub pena predicta auferenda modo predicto. . . XII. Item providerunt et ordinaverunt, quod nulla persona audeat vel presumat elevare aut elevari facere aliquem piantum vel clamorem de aliqua persona, vel occasione alicuius persone, que decessit extra civitatem et districtum vel comitatum Pistorij, nec dicta occasione aliquam personam adunari in aliquo loco, exceptis tamen consanguineis et consortibus talis persone defunte, nec dicta occasione aliquam campanam pulsari vel pulsari facere, vel bapniri per civitatem Pistorij per precones, vel aliter dicta occasione invitatam aliquam fieri sub pena librarum vigintiquinque denariorum auferenda, tam elevanti piantum vel clamorem et campanam pulsanti, et preconi bapnienti vel persone invitanti, quam eunti ad ipsam adunationem vel facienti invitare, et campanam pulsari facienti, et cuilibet et qualibet vice. Hoc tamen intellecto in quolibet scriptorum ordinamentorum loquentium de defuntis et honorandis sepulturis mortuorum, quod predicta non vendicent sibi locum in supulturis corporum alicuius militis de corredo, legum doctoris, judicis et medici fixici, quorum corpora ex dignitatibus eorundem liceat ipsorum heredibus in eorum supulturis honorare ut placet.* ' Alberto Chiappelli, "Gli Ordinamenti Sanitari Del Comune Di Pistoia Contro La Pestilenza Del 1348, 2 Maggio- 4 Giugno 1348," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 20 (1887): 3-22, at 11-12. English translation in Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 197-98.

is the case, the measures evidently did not work; on 4 June the *comune* of Pistoia passed several new ordinances among which were the following:

> 30. At the burial <u>of anyone</u> no bell is to be rung at all, but people are to be summoned and their prayers invited only by word of mouth; penalty 25 pence from the heirs or next of kin of the deceased.
>
> 31. When the corpse has been carried to the church, everyone who accompanied it there ought to withdraw, and when the next of kin leave no one ought to accompany them except their spouses and the neighbours, and also the dead man's next of kin on his mother's side. These people may go to the house of the dead man, or wherever the body is, but may not enter the building. 'Neighbours' are to be understood as people who lived within 50 arms length of the dead man during his lifetime; penalty 25 pence.[39]

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

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[39] '*Imprimis providerunt et ordinaverunt sapientes predicti, quod pro sepultura <u>alicuius defunte persone</u> pulsari non possit nec debeat aliqua campana modo aliquo, sed gentes convocentur solummodo ad requisitionem et preces invitantium, sub pena librarum vigintiquinque denariorum auferenda heredibus talis persone defunte, seu propinquioribus dicte persone defunte, si heredes non existerint, pro quolibet corpore defunto pro quo pulsatio fuerit. Item providerunt et ordinaverunt, quod cum corpus defuntum portatum fuerit ad ecclesiam, omnes et singuli qui assotiaverunt eum debeant illico discedere a dicta ecclesia. Et quod propinquiores defunte persone in redeundo nulla persona possit assotiare, exceptis consortibus et vicinis dictorum heredum seu propinquioribus talis defunte persone, et etiam propinquis ex latere matris dicte defunte persone, qui consortes et vicini et propinqui assotiare possint dictas personas propinquas persone defunte usque ad domum olim habitationis dicte defunte persone, seu unde extractum fuerit tale corpus, dummodo in domum vel locum predictos intrare non possint. Vicini autem intelligantur habitantes prope domum olim habitationis dicte defunte persone per quinquaginta brachia, sub pena librarum vigintiquinque denariorum auferenda cuilibet contrafacienti, et qualibet vice in quolibet suprascriptorum casuum.*' Chiappelli, "Gli Ordinamenti Sanitari Del Comune Di Pistoia Contro La Pestilenza Del 1348, 2 Maggio- 4 Giugno 1348," 20. English translation in Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 201; emphasis added.

Problems Knitting Biological and Musical History Together

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

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[40] See database on Supplemental CD. The year 1600 as a notional 'cut-off' date was chosen for the current discussion, in spite of the potential salience of seventeenth-century epidemics like the so-called 'Great Plague of London' in 1666 and the Venetian epidemics of 1630 and 1631, since the primary feature uniting the responses discussed is its grounding in doctrines of the Catholic Church incompatible with the ideals of the Protestant Reformation. Given that the Reformation (and the Counter-Reformation) took hold in Europe with varying strength at varying times in the sixteenth century, and were a fiercely political and social issue particularly in England into the final quarter of the 1500s, 1600 represented a chronological milestone that mediated between partially conflicting imperatives to include as much 'Catholic' music in countries affected by the Reformation as possible while maintaining some degree of doctrinal consistency. The year 1600 is also often used as a boundary for the end of the Renaissance and the beginning of the 'Baroque' period, but as

This database effectively represents an aggregate of reports of plague in the secondary literature, in which any report of of plague in a particular year in a particular locality is reported once, regardless of how many chroniclers reported it or of how many times it was mentioned in subsequent publications.[41] All together, a total of 5,504 epidemics were reported, as seen in Table 2.1:

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

[41] In compiling this information, my primary resource was Jean-Noël Biraben's monumental *Les Hommes et la Peste en France et Dans les Pays Europèens et Mèditerranèens* (1975), whose bibliography of sources stretches over 227 pages, though many additional citations came from Patrick Macey, "The Lauda and the Cult of Savonarola," *Renaissance Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (1992): 439-483; Johannes Nohl, *The Black Death: A Chronicle of the Plague, Compiled from Contemporary Sources*, trans. C.H. Clarke, Unwin Books (London,: Allen and Unwin, 1961); Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon 1309-1403* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983); Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series, edited by Frederick Freedman (New York: Da Capo Press, 1958; reprint, 1972); Scott and Duncan, *Biology of Plagues: Evidence from Historical Populations*; David Crawford and Scott Messing, *Gaspar De Albertis' Sixteenth-Century Choirbooks at Bergamo*, Renaissance Manuscript Studies, edited by Charles Hamm (Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1994); and William Rees, "Black Death in England and Wales, as Exhibited in Manorial Documents," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* XVI (1923): 27-45.

Region	Number of Epidemics
France	2276
Iberian Peninsula	456
Italy	788
British Isles	838
Germany & Central Europe	814
The Lowlands (Holland, Belgium)	269
Scandinavia	63
Total	**5504**

Table 2.1. The Number of Plague Epidemics in Western Europe, 1346-1600[42]

Since the majority of disease-causing microbes flourish in areas of high population density where there is ample opportunity for rapid transmission, it is not surprising that the areas which recorded the most epidemics of plague tended to be the prominent centres of Medieval/Renaissance population and culture (see Table 2.2.):

[42] Throughout this dissertation, tables and figures will be numbered in the format 'x.y', where 'x' represents the number of the chapter and 'y' the ordinal number of the table or figure within the chapter. For geographical areas, names in parentheses indicate regions, while names without parentheses indicate cities.

Region	Locality	Number of Epidemics	Region	Locality	Number of Epidemics
France	Toulouse	75	Iberian	Barcelona	43
	Bourg-en-Bresse	71	Peninsula	Sevilla	27
	Paris	70		Valladolid	20
	Amiens	58		Saragossa	17
	Nantes	57		(Catalonia)	13
	Strasbourg	56		Valencia	12
	Limoges	49		(Majorca)	12
	Troyes	45		Lisbon	11
	Dijon	45		Porto	11
	Bordeaux	43		(Portugal)	10
	Rouen	39		Coimbra	9
	Tours	37		(Aragon)	8
	Avignon	37		Madrid	6
	Villefranche-de Rouergue	36		(Andalusia)	5
	Angers	36			

Table 2.2. Localities reporting the highest numbers of plague epidemics, 1346-1600

Region	Locality	Number of Epidemics	Region	Locality	Number of Epidemics
Italy	Venise	61	British Isles	City of London	100
	Florence	40		Cambridge	27
	Milan	39		Oxford	25
	Genoa	30		Edinburgh	22
	Rome	29		York	17
	(Lombardy)	21		Leicester	13
	Bologna	21		Westminster	12
	Perugia	19		Newcastle	11
	Naples	18		(Scotland)	11
	(Tuscany)	18		Shrewsbury	11
	Plaisance	17		Aberdeen	11
	Ferrara	17		Dublin	10
	(Sardinia)	16		Exeter	10
	(Sicily)	16		Lincoln	10
				Tiverton, Yarmouth, Norwich	9

Table 2.2. (cont.) Localities reporting the highest numbers of plague epidemics, 1346-1600

Region	Locality	Number of Epidemics	Region	Locality	Number of Epidemics
Germany and	Bâle	51	The Low	Luxembourg	42
Central	Geneva	31	Countries	Mons	31
Europe	Bremen	40		Anvers	28
	Hamburg	26		Ypres	13
	Augsburg	23		(Flanders)	13
	Luneberg	21		Tournai	9
	Lübeck	21		Namur	9
	Hanover	20		Bruxelles	9
	Nuremberg	20		Louvain	8
	Brunswick	19		(Hainaut)	8
	Magdeburg	18		Ath	7
	(Styria)	18		(Holland)	7
	Köln	17		Liège	5
	(Silesia)	17		Delft	4
	Erfurt,	16		(Brabant)	4
	(Bohemia)				
	Stockholm	16			
	(Sweden)	7			
	(Iceland)	3			
	(Norway)	3			
	Copenhagen	2			
Scandinavia	(Finland)	2			
	Uppsala	2			

Table 2.2. (cont.) Localities reporting the highest numbers of plague epidemics, 1346-1600

A number of details with important implications for the psychological impact of the epidemics emerge if we examine the incidence of these plague epidemics plotted against time, as in Figure 2.1:[43]

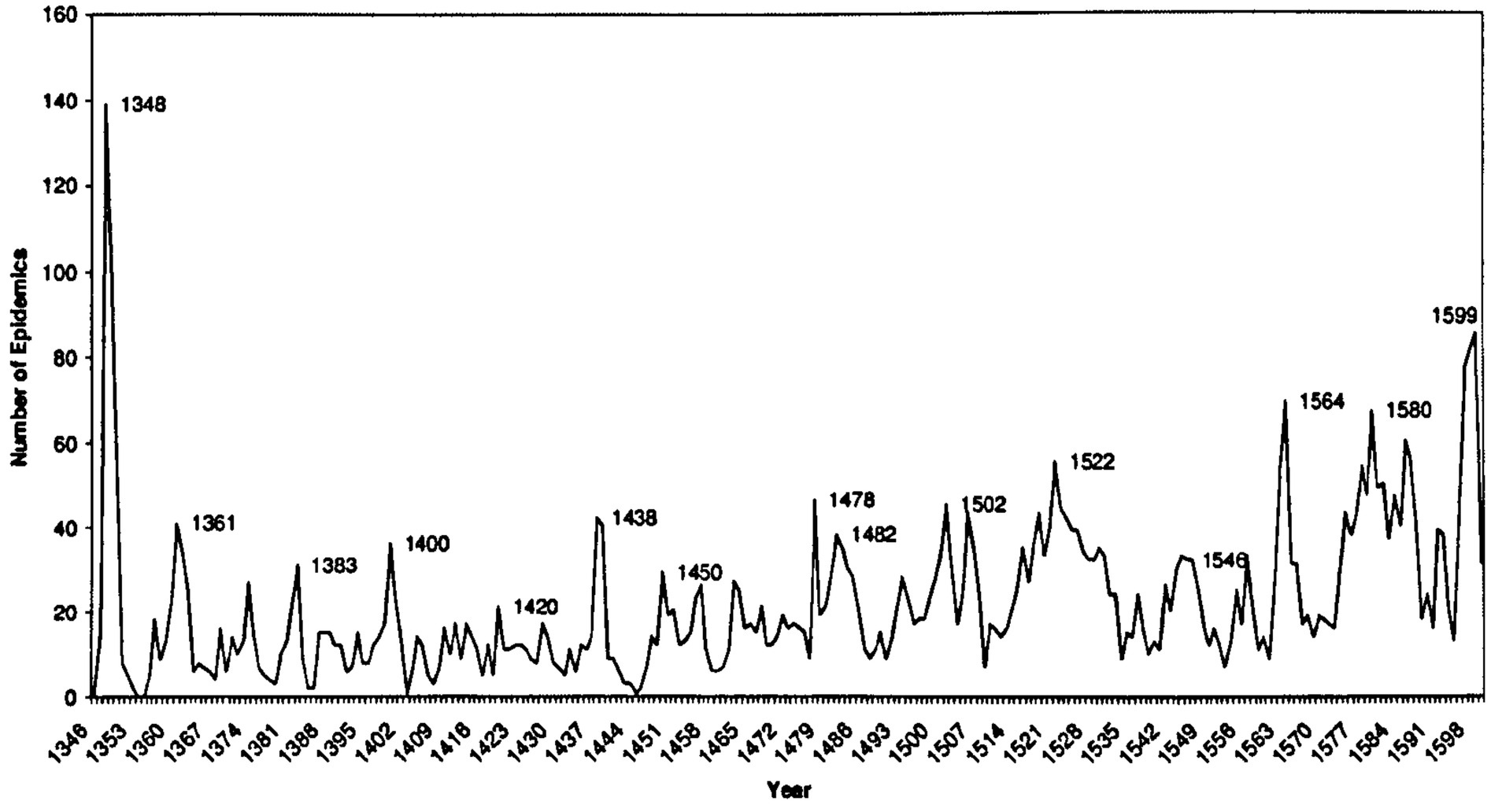

Figure 2.1. Reported Plague Epidemics in Europe (excluding Scandinavia), c. 1346-1600

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

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[43] Due to the relatively small amount of evidence concerning plague infection in the region, Scandinavia was excluded from further analysis.

[44] This aspect of plague epidemiology is seen more clearly in, and explored more fully by, Scott and Duncan, who charted plague deaths in individual cities such as London across the weeks of a single

equivalent to predictability—which in turn suggests that communities may have been able to see plague epidemics developing and to take proactive steps to ameliorate its impact. This impression is confirmed by an examination of the chronicles of the fourteenth-century epidemics, which frequently included a description of the locations plague reached before afflicting the chronicler's region (cf. Horrox, 1994: 14-84), and later records abound with examples similar to (if not quite as colourful as) Samuel Pepys' diary entry of October 19, 1663 in which he summarized a coffee-house conversation with Sir W. Batten in which the two discuss rumours that plague in Amsterdam had led to a national ban on Dutch ships sailing up the Thames.[45] This epidemiological reality not only meant that municipal authorities could take steps to prevent the spread of plague into their communities—it also meant that the religious authorities could institute measures of preventative 'sacred medicine', in the form of masses, processions and prayers involving music.[46]

Since ideas of divine causation and intercession weighed heavily on medieval understandings of health and disease,[47] it is not surprising that we should find accounts such as the letter of William Zouche, Archbishop of York, to his deputy on 28 July 1348:

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year and clearly document the gradual rise and fall in the numbers of plague infections. See Scott and Duncan, *Biology of Plagues: Evidence from Historical Populations*, 160, 195, 201, 206, 216.

[45] 'much talk about the Turke's proceedings, and that the plague is got to Amsterdam, brought by a ship from Argier—and it is also carried to Hambrough. The Duke says the King purposes to forbid any [of their] ships coming into the River.' Samuel Pepys, "19 October, 1663," in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 340. For ease of reading alligator brackets < > in Latham replaced with square brackets [ ].

[46] Accounts of spiritual preventative medicine have already been encountered in the letters of Bishop Edenton and Simon Islip (see pp. 26-28). On a more mundane level, physical barriers to plague spead included such measures as the barring of city gates to individuals from infected areas until they demonstrated no symptoms for periods of up to forty days (the 'quarantine') as was done, for example, in many municipalities in fourteenth-century Italy and practiced widely throughout Europe in the centuries thereafter. See Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, 48; Ann G Cartwright, *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 110-116; Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 195; Scott and Duncan, *Biology of Plagues: Evidence from Historical Populations*, 226, 245.

[47] See above, pp. 24-28, and Chapter 3, pp. 46-50.

There can be no one who does not know, since it is now public knowledge, how great a mortality, pestilence and infection of the air are now threatening various parts of the world, and especially England; and this is surely caused by the sins of men who, while enjoying good times, forget that such things are the gifts of the most high giver . . . Therefore we command, and order you to let it be known with all possible haste, that devout processions are to be held every Wednesday and Friday in our cathedral church, in other collegiate and conventual churches, and in every parish church in our city and diocese, with a solemn chanting [*decantatione*] of the litany, and that a special prayer be said in mass every day for allaying the plague and pestilence, and likewise prayers for the lord king and for the good estate of the church, the realm and the whole people of England, so that the Saviour, harkening to the constant entreaties, will pardon and come to the aid of rescue of the creation which God fashioned in his own image.[48]

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

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[48] '*Quantae siquidem mortalitates, pestilentiae, et aeris infectio in diversis mundi partibus, et praesertim Anglicanis, immineant his diebus, non est, cum sit publicum, qui ignoret; et hoc quippe hominum peccata efficiunt, qui, arridentes prosperis, summi Largitoris beneficia negligunt reminisci. . . . Discretioni itaque vestrae injungimus et mandamus quatenus faciatis cum omni celeritate qua poteritis publicari, quod, tam in ecclesia nostra cathedrali, quam aliis ecclesiis collegiatis et conventualibus, ac singulis ecclesiis parochialibus nostrae civitatis et dioecesios, singulis quartis et sextis feriis devote processiones fiant cum decantatione letaniae solemni, et specialis oratio dicatur in missis pro pestilentia et infectione sedanda hujusmodi omni die, similiter et pro domino rege et statu ecclesie atque regni totiusque populi Anglicani; ut frequentem pulsationem Salvator exaudiens, creaturae ignoscat et subveniat quam ad Suam formaverat imaginem ipse Deus.*' James Raine, ed., *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, in "Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland", (London: Longman & Co, 1873), 396. English translation in Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 111-112, emphasis added. For the significance of Wednesday and Friday, see above, pp. 28-29.

number of widely-scattered locations which then served as seeding points for fresh epidemics in following years. An examination of the locations reporting plague at each of the local minima (the 'valleys' or 'troughs' of the graph) reveals that in no two minima are the reporting regions the same (see database on Supplemental CD). However, the topic merits further exploration, since the emotional effect of endemic or pseudo-endemic disease could conceivably be quite different from that of a disease which completely vanishes and resurfaces—one need only to think of contemporary responses to the threat of an epidemic disease like bacterial meningitis compared to that of an endemic disease, even of far greater mortality like heart disease to get a sense of how a sense of 'normality' influences the emotions of an epidemic (Reuters, 2008; Reports, 2008). Curiously, an examination of the reporting of plague epidemics within the regions of Table 2.3. reveals that a 'pseudo-endemic' of constantly cycling plague characterized some parts of Europe better than others (see Table 2.3.):

Region	Number of years with no reported epidemics, 1355-1600 (% of total years)
France	10 (4.1 %)
Iberian Peninsula	112 (45.7 %)
Italy	75 (30.6 %)
British Isles	69 (28.2 %)
Germany & Central Europe	49 (20.0 %)
Lowlands	122 (49.8 %)

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

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

Chapter 3. The Sacred Relationship between Music and Medicine

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

Early Epidemics and Patristic Scholarship

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

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[49] Deuteronomy 28:59.
[50] See Appendix B, pp. 227-252.
[51] Calculated on the basis of the classification of the verses in Appendix B.

the images evoked in the diagnosis of 'uncleanliness' of leprosy leave precious little to the imagination:

> When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh a rising, a scab, or bright spot, and it be in the skin of his flesh like the plague of leprosy; then he shall be brought unto Aaron the priest, or unto one of his sons the priests: And the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh: and when the hair in the plague is turned white, and the plague in sight be deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is a plague of leprosy: and the priest shall look on him, and pronounce him unclean . . . And the leper in whom the plague is, his clothes shall be rent, and his head bare, and he shall put a covering upon his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean. All the days wherein the plague shall be in him he shall be defiled; he is unclean: he shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be.[52]

The converse of a strong assocation between illness and divine disfavour is that the cessation of illness can then be read as the result of divine benevolence and kindness. This is made explicit throughout the New Testament, where Jesus' divinity and compassion is made manifest by the frequent accounts of his 'healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people' (Matthew 4:23). More importantly for later cultural history, with the Bible's account of how Jesus later 'called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases' (Luke 9:1), the precedent was established for the concrete corporeal interpretation of the might of intercessionary figures which was to play such an important role in the development of visual and musical votive art.[53]

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[52] Leviticus 13: 2-3, 45-6.

[53] See for example Christine M. Boeckl, *Images of Plague and Pestilence*, (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2000); Christine M. Boeckl, "Georgio Vasari's "San Rocco Altarpiece": Tradition and Innovation in Plague Iconography," *Artibus et Historiae* 22, no. 43 (2001):

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

Another important consequence of the devotional reading of illness was that it made life more meaningful in hard times. The early medieval ramifications of this were set out in the eighth century by the Venerable Bede, who wrote 'that many bodily sicknesses arise from sins, and so it is, perhaps, that sins are first forgiven so that once the causes of sickness are removed, health may be restored. People suffer bodily afflictions for five reasons: to increase their merits, as Job and the Martyrs; to preserve their humility, as Paul by Satan's messenger; or in order that they should perceive and correct their sins, as Miriam, the sister of Moses, and this paralytic; for the glory of God, as the man born blind and Lazarus; or as the start of the pains of damnation, as Herod and Antiochus' (cited by Melling, 1999: 48-9). This idea remained current throughout the Middle Ages; one of the formal declarations of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 was that 'sickness of the body may sometimes be the result of sin' ('*Cum infirmitas corporalis nonnumquam ex peccato proveniat*':

29-40; Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague"; Marshall, "Manipulating the Sacred: Image and Plague in Renaissance Italy"; and this thesis, Ch. 4, pp. 79-107 and Ch. 6, pp. 147-175.

Constitution 22; Alberigo, et al., 1962: 221; trans. Tanner, 1990: 245), and the author of the Ancrene Wisse (or Ancrene Rewle), which is a guide for anchorites and anchoresses written around the same time (sometime between 1225 and 1240) declared:

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

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[54] *'Wel is hit i-seid, for alswa pruveth Godd his leove i-corene, as the golt-smith fondeth thet gold i the fure. Thet false gold forwurtheth th'rin: thet gode kimeth ut brihtre. Secnesse is a brune hat for-te tholien, ah na thing ne clenseth gold as hit deth the sawle. . . . Thus is secnesse sawlene heale, salve of hire wunden, scheld, thet ha ne kecche ma, as Godd sith thet ha schulde, yef secnesse hit ne lette. Secnesse maketh mon to understonden hwet he is, to cnawen him-seolven—ant, as god meister, beat for-te leorni wel hu mihti is Godd, hu frakel is the worldes blisse. Secnesse is thi gold-smith the i the blisse of heovene overguldeth thi crune. Se the secnesse is mare, se the golt-smith is bisgre, ant se hit lengre least, so he brihteth hire swithere to beo martirs evening thurh a hwilinde wa. Hwet is mare grace to theo the hefde ofearnet the pinen of helle, world abuten ende? Nalde me tellen him alre*

Concepts of physical health, and their interaction with music

Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that throughout this entire period, natural explanations of health and disease (when considered at all) were 'strongly Greek in character' and based on the writings of Hippocrates (late fifth or fourth century BC), his intellectual successor Galen (d. *circa* AD 200) and that of a rich heritage of natural philosophy developed by figures such as Empedocles (c. 490-430 BC), Plato (c. 424-328 BC, and Aristotle (384-322 BC).[55] A detailed treatment of the Hippocratic/Galenic theory is beyond the scope of this discussion, though a few of its concepts are key to the understanding of medieval medicine and thus bear review. According to Hippocrates and Galen, the fundamental building blocks of nature were held to be the 'four elements' of earth, water, fire, and air, which combined to give rise to everything else in the universe. Each of these elements is associated with two of four qualities based on a pair of fundamental dichotomies: hotness- coldness and dryness- moistness. Fire, for example, is hot and dry, while water is cold and moist, air is hot and moist, and earth is cold and dry. The relative proportions of the four elements were believed to differ in every living thing, which meant that all creatures possessed a unique balance of qualities (termed their complexion) which regulated how they responded to the environment. However, since it is obvious that living things are not actually physically made from the elements (i.e. people do not see fire or water when they view a decomposing body), the elemental combinatorics of living things were thought to occur via the

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monne dusegest, the forseke a buffet for a speres wunde? a nelde pricchunge for an behefdunge? a beatunge for an hongunge on helle weari-treo, aa on ecnesse? . . . The mei thenne edstearten thet ilke grisliche wa, the eateliche pinen thurh secnesse the ageath, thur ei uvel thet her is, seliliche mei ha seggen.' Robert Hasenfratz, ed., *Ancrene Wisse*, in "Middle English Texts Series", (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), 208-09.

[55] An excellent introduction to these figures and their importance for understanding medieval medical thought can be found in Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 78-152.

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

To use a mathematical metaphor, then, Galenic (and hence medieval) medical theory viewed the body as an interlocking network of proportional relationships whose changing values over time were made manifest through changes in the physical body. This philosophy grants music an exalted place in the hierarchy of sensory experience, as ever since the legendary experiments of Pythagoras in the sixth century BC which defined the ratios of musical consonace, music has been viewed as 'proportion made audible,' the sensual experience of an all-embracing rational order of the Divine. One consequence of the theory is that it allows for mutual influence between the human microcosm and the macrocosm of the natural

world.[56] Isidor of Seville claimed that 'no discipline can be perfected or completed without music; indeed, without it nothing at all can be' ("*sine musica nulla disciplina potest esse perfecta, nihil enim sine illa*"),[57] and countless treatises contain paeans to the vaunted powers of music. Greek authors made repeated reference to the varied powers of music. These could be physical, as when Pratinas described how 'in the seventh century BC, when Sparta was suffering from a plague, an oracle recommended summoning Thaletas, who was a noted composer of paeans from Gortyn in Crete. This was done, and Thaletas successfully delivered the city from the pestilence by means of his music'.[58] Alternatively the effects could be mental, as in the account of the Roman doctor Soran of Ephesus in his work on acute and chronic diseases, which was preserved for posterity in the Latin edition made by Caelius Aurelianus in the fifth century A.D. which indicated that 'in the case of illness varying measures should be played upon the flute: the phrygian mode should be applied to enliven depressive patients, while on the other hand the "Dorian" would calm and stabilise "overheated" sick people',[59] with the more Biblically minded seizing upon David's musical ministrations to Saul in the first book of Samuel as further support for the theory.[60] One of the most articulate formulations

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[56] Ann. E. Moyer, *Musica Scientia: Musical Scholarship in the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 18. Moyer's comments were made in reference to Plato, *Timaeus* 42e-44e; 47c-e; see also Alfred E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1928), p. 268-71 and 493-516.

[57] W. M. Lindsay, ed. Isidor von Sevilla, *Etymologarium sive originum libri XX*. Bd. 1-2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911, lib. 3, cap. 17, 1.

[58] Martin West, "Music Therapy in Antiquity," in *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, ed. Peregrine Horden (Aldershot: Ashgate, 200051-68, 54-5. This is a translation of Pratinas (*Poetae Melici Graeci*, 713 (iii)), in pseudo-Plutarch, *De musica*, 1146bc.

[59] 'Soran von Ephesus in seinem Werk über akute und chronische Krankheiten, das in der lateinischen Bearbeitung des Caelius Aurelianus aus dem 5. Jahrhundert erhalten ist' discusses ‚je nach Lage des Krankheitsfalles sollten auf der Flöte unterschiedliche Weisen gespielt werden; der „phrygische" Modus sei geeignet, depressive Patienten aufzumuntern, der „dorische" Modus hingegen könne überheiterte Kranke beruhigen und stabilisieren.' Kümmel *Musik und Medizin*, p. 143. See also Latin in Caelius Aurelianus, "On acute diseases and on chronic diseases", I.E. Drabkin, ed. and trans. Chicago, 1950, p. 556, §175/176.

[60] 1 Samuel 16:23: 'Whenever the spirit from God came upon Saul, David would take his harp and play. Then relief would come to Saul; he would feel better, and the evil spirit would leave him.' This

of the idea can be found in the Roman statesman and monk Cassiodorus' sixth-century work *Institutiones*, where he argues that 'The science of music, therefore, is diffused through all acts of our life for this reason; if, in the first place, we do the will of the Creator . . . Indeed, whatever we say or whatever is inwardly moved by the pulsing of the veins is proved to be associated through musical rhythms with the power of harmony'.[61]

Liturgical Medicine

For the first several centuries of Christianity, there is no recorded intersection between the thematic strands of complexion/medicinal theory with that of musical performance, and indeed, it is clear that not all Christian authors were comfortable with all of the ramifications of this 'pagan' philosophy. Niceta of Remesiana, for example, wrote in *De utilitate hymnorum* that David 'subdued the evil spirit working in Saul. Not that there was any kind of power in the harp, but, with its wooden frame and the strings stretched across, it was a symbol of the Cross of Christ' (Niceta, 1949: 68) while the third century bishop of Carthage St Cyprian, referred to the salutatory effects of both music and of illness, though never at the same time.[62]

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passage is discussed by many patristic writers (for example, Clement of Alexandria in *Protrepticus*, I, 5, 3-7m 3; Athenasius of Alexandria in the *Epistola ad Mercellinum* 29, Basil the Great in the *Exhortation to Youths as to How They Shall Best Profit by the Writings of Pagan Authors* vii; and Theodet of Cyrus in *Ecclesiastical History* III, 19, 1-4), and by Guido of Arezzo in the *Micrologus*. See Guido d'Arezzo, "Micrologus," in *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, ed. Claude V Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 197857-83, 69-70; James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, ed. John Stevens and Peter le Huray, Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 30, 53,69, 105.

[61] *Musica ergo disciplina per omnes actus vitae nostrae hac ratione diffunditur; primum, si Creatoris mandata faciamus et puris mentibus statutis ab eo regulis serviamus. Quicquid enim loquimur vel intrinsecus venarum pulsibus commovemur, per musicos rithmos armoniae virtutibus probatur esse sociatum*. From R.A.B. Mynors, ed., *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 2.5.2, p. 143. English translation in Nancy G. Siraisi, "The Music of Pulse in the Writings of Italian Academic Physicians (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)," *Speculum* 50, no. 4 (1975): 689-710, at 702.

[62] In Chapters XV-XVI of *De mortalitate*, Cyprian wrote, "Many of us are dying in this mortality, that is many of us are being freed from the world. This mortality is a bane to the Jews and pagans and enemies of Christ; to the servants of God it is a salutary departure. As to the fact that without any discrimination in the human race the just are dying with the unjust, it is not for you to think that the destruction is a common one for both the evil and the good. The just are called to refreshment, the unjust are carried off in torture; protection is more quickly given to the faithful; punishment to the

However, in the fourth century AD St Augustine forcefully made the argument that 'we must nevertheless not shun music because of the superstition of the heathen, if we are able to snatch from it anything useful for the understanding of the Holy Scriptures' (*De doctrina Christiana*, II, xviii, 28; PL xxxiv, 49; CCL xxxii, 53) and that ''Indeed, an ignorance of certain musical questions shuts off and conceals much . . . we find both number and music honorably placed in many passages of the sacred Scriptures' (*De doctrina Christiana* II, xvi, 26; *PL* xxxiv, 48-9; *CCL* xxxii, 51-2). Accordingly, in time the relationship between music and the medicine apparently grew closer. Niceta of Remisiana (d. after 414) extolled the psalm as a 'medicine, powerful enough to cure the wounds of sin, yet sweet to the taste by reason of the melody' (Niceta, 1949: 69), while the hagiographer of the sixth century Frankish bishop Caesarius of Arles noted the saint's sensitivity to the restorative potential of liturgical song as he 'had a very great concern for the sick and came to their assistance. He granted them a spacious house, in which they could listen undisturbed to the holy office [being sung] in the basilica. He set up beds and bedding, provided for expenses, and supplied a person to take care of them and heal them.' (Klingshirn, 1994: 18)

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faithless . . . How suitable, how necessary it is that this plague and pestilence, which seems horrible and deadly, searches out the justice of each and every one and examines the minds of the human race' (*'Multi ex nostris in hac mortalitate moriuntur, hoc est, multi ex nostris de saeculo liberantur. Mortalitas ista, ut Judaeis et gentilibus et Christi hostibus pestis est, ita Dei servis salutaris excessus est. Hoc quod, sine ullo discrimine generis humani, cum injustis moriuntur et justi, non est quod putetis bonis et malis interitum esse communem: ad refrigerium justi vocantur, ad supplicium rapiuntur injusti; datur velocius tutela fidentibus, perfidis poena. . . quam pertinens, quam necessarium, quod pestis ista et lues, quae horribilis et feralis videtur, explorat justitiam singulorum, et mentes humani generis examinat'*). trans. Mary Louise Hannon (Washington, D.C., 1933), pp. 15-16; English cited in William H McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York: Doubleday, 1976), 122; St Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, *Sancti Thascii Caecilii Cypriani Episcopi Carthaginensis Et Martyris Opera Omnia*, Patrologicae Cursus Completus. Series Latina (Turnholt: Brepols, 1944), cols 592-93. St Cyprian is also known to history as one of the earliest Christian writers to discuss music, as he calls for a psalm at a banquet and advises the performer, 'You will better nurture your friends, if you provide a spiritual recital for us and beguile our ears with sweet religious strains' (*'Magis charissimos pasces, si sit nobis spiritalis auditio, prolectet aures religiosa mulcedo'*) in his *Epistola ad Donatum.* Cyprian, *Sancti Thascii Caecilii Cypriani Episcopi Carthaginensis Et Martyris Opera Omnia*, col. 223; English translation in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 49.

The degree to which these Greek ideals affected the liturgical use of music is unknown. However, it does seem suggestive that by the sixth century AD, as the Platonic and Pythagorean theories of music were being enshrined in the writings of the Roman philosopher, scholar, and theologian Boethius whose texts *De institutione musica* and *De consolatio Philosophiae* formed the touchstone of musical learning and practice for over a millenium, music was playing a key role within the ritualized Christian context of liturgies specifically dedicated to medical intercession. Interposed between the human supplicant and God in these devotional exercises were the saints and martyrs, who according to Catholic doctrine, 'being more closely united to Christ . . . fix the whole Church more firmly in holiness' and 'do not cease to intercede with the Father for [the sinner], as they proffer the merits which they acquired on earth through the one mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus' (Council, 1964: 49). According to medieval accounts, the 'Great Litany' of the Catholic Church and a mass to be sung 'against human infirmity' (*contra mortalitatem hominum*) were composed by Pope Gregory I ('the Great') during the Roman epidemic of A.D. 590 known as the 'Plague of Justinian'.[63] The singing of these pieces, according to the widely-read account in the thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* by the Genoese bishop Jacobus de Voragine (also known as Iacopo da Varazze), resulted in the appearance of 'an angel of the Lord standing atop the castle of Crescentius [now known as the mausoleum of Hadrian], wiping a bloody sword and sheathing it. Gregory understood that that put an end to the plague, as, indeed,

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[63] Iacopo da Varazze, "De Sancto Gregorio," in *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Firenze: Sismel, 1998285-307, 290. This epidemic is commonly cited in the historical and epidemiological literature as the first of three major bubonic plague pandemics, the second being the Black Death and the third being the Asian plague of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which led to Yersin's isolation of the causative bacterium in Hong Kong. However, the assignation of *Y. pestis* as the causative organism of these historical epidemics has a number of problems, as has been noted earlier (see Ch. 2, pp. 19-22), and for the current research the musical legacy of the 'Plague of Justinian' will only be considered in so far as its music and records were adapted by the populations of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries to address the onslaught of the late medieval plague.

happened', and the building was renamed the Castel Sant'Angelo or 'Castle of the Angel'.[64] History also credits Gregory I as the formal architect of the doctrine of intercession (initially proposed by Augustine) which made sung votive masses to saints canonically permissible (Pelikan, 1978: 32-3), and by the end of the century there is evidence that such plainsong devotions were being performed with an eye toward the remission of epidemic diseases such as fever. For example, in the last decade of the sixth century Gregory of Tours noted that 'whenever people suffering from chills piously celebrate a mass in his [the Burgundian martyr St. Sigismund's] honour and make an offering to God for the king's repose, immediately their tremours cease, their fevers disappear, and they are restored to their earlier health',[65] and the diffusion of a votive mass to St Sigismund *pro febribus* (for fever) has been traced by Frederick Paxton in liturgical books dating from the sixth to the eleventh century.[66]

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

[65] '*Nam, si qui nunc frigoritici in eius honore missas devote celebrant eiusque pro requie Deo offerunt oblationem, statim, conpressis tremoribus, restinctis febribus, sanitati praestinae restaurantur.*' Bruno Krusch, ed., *Gregorii Turonensis Opera*, in "Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum", (Hannover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1884), 537; trans. in Raymond Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs. Translated with an Introduction by Raymond Van Dam*, Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 97.

[66] The preface of a ninth-century version of the Mass found in the sacramentary of Angoulême with the rubric '*Missa sancti Sigismundi regis quae pro febribus cantare debet*; begins, 'Father, all-powerful and ever-living God, we do well always and everywhere to give you thanks through Jesus Christ our Lord, you who assails your servants in the flesh so that they might grow in spirit, revealing clearly the glorious cure of your love, when you arrange it so that sickness itself can work in us health.' '*Vere dignum et iustum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubíque grátias ágere: Dómine, sancte Pater, omnípotens ætérne Deus: per Christum Dóminum nostrum. Qui famulos tuos ideo corporaliter uerberas, ut mente proficiant, patenter ostendens quod sit pietatis tuae praeclara saluatio, dum praestas, ut operetur nobis etiam ipsa infirmitas salutem.*' See Patrick Saint-Roch, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis*, vol. 159C, in "Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina" (Turnholt: Brepolis, 1987), 251. English translation in Frederick S. Paxton, "Liturgy and Healing in an Early

Might the use of music in votive performance be related to the influence of the Pythagorean/Platonic philosophy? It is not impossible, especially given the reverence medieval scholars had for Boethius and the way that these ideas were amplified in the centuries preceding the Black Death. For example, Robert Grosseteste, thirteenth century bishop of Lincoln, wrote a book called *De artibus liberalibus* (On the Liberal Arts) in which he said:

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

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Medieval Saint's Cult: The Mass *in Honore Sancti Sigismundi* for the Cure of Fevers," *Traditio* 49 (1994): 23-43, at 33-4.

> how to call forth well-proportioned sounds from musical instruments will find themselves easily capable to alter emotions as he desires.[67]

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

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[67] '*Musicae ministerium in philosophia naturali non minus utile, quam ad medendum, cum omnis aegritudo et in ordinatione spirituum et in temperantia curatur et omnis etiam, qui per ordinationem aut spirituum temperantiam curatur, musicis sanatur modulationibus et sonis, ut etiam credunt philosophi. Et dicunt etiam vulneribus et surdidati musicis modulationibus posse mederi. Cum enim anima sequatur corpus in suis passionibus et corpus sequatur animam in suis actionibus, corpore patiente ex numeris sonantibus extrahit anima in se numeros proportionatos secundum proportionem numerorum sonantium, movetque spiritus ipse easdem numerorum proportiones. Sapiens igitur est, qui corporis humani signati novit debitam proportionem et quibus proportionibus fiunt elementorum et humidarum partium principalium spirituum et animae cum corpore concordiae et easdem proportiones in numeris sonantibus effectas ut progressores et occursores animae illabantur et ex incommensuratione omnia redeunt ad propriam commensurationem; qui novit etiam, qualiter spiritus dilatantur in gaudio, qualiter in tristitia contrahantur, qualiter circumferantur in ira, qualiter in animosis super seipsis innudando [?] sese impellunt et excitant, qualiter in timidis sese fugiant, qualiter in mitibus sese quadam tranquillitate sedant et proportionatos sonos in musicis instrumentis, qui sciat educere, facile poterit, in quos voluerit affectus animi permutare*'. Ludwig Baur, ed., *Die Philosophischen Werke Des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs Von Lincoln* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1912), 4-5. Accessed online at Electronic Grosseteste (www.grosseteste.com), 28 November 2008.

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

Certainly music was used to confort the sick, as is evident even in the rather grudging language of Thomas Chobham (c. 1160-1236) in his *Summa Confessorum*:

> there are two varieties [of minstrel who play musical instruments to entertain people]. Some go to public drinking places and wanton gatherings so that they may sing wanton songs there to move people to lustfulness, and these are damnable just like the rest. There are others, however, who are called *ioculatores*, who sing the deeds of princes and the lives of saints and give people comfort either when they are ill or when they are troubled, and who are not responsible for too much shamefulness as male and female dancers are and others who play in deceitful mummings and cause what appear to be certain phantoms to be seen through incantations or in some other way. If, however, they do not do this, but sing the deeds of princes and other useful things to their instruments to give comfort to people, as has been said, then such entertainers may be tolerated. . .[69]

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[68] '*Quod cantu musico magis immutantur animi quam verbis. Cuius ratio secundum ipsum est, quod natura gaudet in omni eo, quod est secundum naturam: motus autem ordinatus est secundum naturam. Talis vero motus est in cantu musico, ubi voces diversae secundum musicas proportiones sibi invicem consonant, cui consonantiae condelectatur naturalis complexio, quae est ex contrariis habentibus proportionem ad invicem*'. Engelbertus Admontensis, "De Musica, Tractatus Quartus," in *Scriptores Ecclesiastici De Musica Sacra Potissimum*, ed. Martin Gerbert (St. Blaise: Typis San-Blasianis, 1784; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1963),338-69, Capitulum IIII, 341. Accessed online at Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum (www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml), 28 November 2008.

[69] *talium duo sunt genera* [*histrionum qui habent instrumenta musica ad delectandum homines*]. *Quidam enim frequentant publicas potationes et lascivas congregationes ut cantent ibi lascivas cantilenas, ut moveant homines ad lasciviam, et tales sunt damnabiles sicut et alii. Sunt autem alii qui dicuntur ioculatores qui cantant gesta principium et vitas sanctorum et faciunt solatia hominibus vel in egritudinibus suis vel in angustiis suis et non faciunt nimias turpitudines sicut faciunt saltatores et saltatrices et alii qui ludunt in imaginibus inhonestis et faciunt videri quasi quedam phastasmata per incantationes vel alio modo. Si autem non faciunt talia sed cantant instrumentis suis gesta principum et alia utilia ut faciant solatia hominibus sicut dictum est, bene possunt sustineri tales . . .* From F. Broomfield, ed., *Thomae De Chobham Summa Confessorum*, in "Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia", 25 (Louvain, Paris: Editions Nauwelaerts, 1968), 292; English translation in Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1989), 23, emphasis added.

From there it is but a small step to this passage from the *Summa de penitencia* of the thirteenth-century Franciscan friar Thomas Docking:

> Some minstrels [*mimi*], however, are harpists [*cithariste*] and string players [*viellatores*] and others playing musical instruments; if they spend their efforts, and exercise their trade so that they may provoke people to sloth or wantonness, they are to be shunned and kept apart from any benefit; if, however, they are poor, and use their trade to earn their food and with the intention of giving people comfort against anger, sadness, weariness or sloth, or against bodily infirmities, they are to be given benefits like the poor of Christ [*pauperes Christi*].[70]

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

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

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[70] *De mimis autem cuiusmodi sunt cithariste et viellatores et alii utentes instrumentis musicis; si hac intencione utuntur labore et officio suo ut provocent homines ad ocium vel lasciviam, repellendi sunt et prohibendi a beneficio; si autem indigentes sunt et utuntur talibus pro victu suo adhipiscendo hac intencione ut faciant hominibus solacium contra iram, tristiciam, tedium et accidiam, vel contra infirmitates corporales, tanquam pauperes Christi ad beneficia sunt recipiendi.* A.G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1943), 24; English translation adapted from Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300*, 24. Emphasis added.

the door being closed, a psaltery [*psalterium*] may be sweetly played before him by any brother, or by any reliable and discreet servant, without blame. But great care should always be taken lest music or melody of this kind be heard at any time in the hall of the infirmary or—perish the thought—in the chambers of the brothers.[71]

Page also notes that the Customary of St Augustine's specifically forbids any musical instruments to be played in the infirmary hall, suggesting that such performances had been taking place. Elsewhere in England, a passage in the register of Adam of Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, expresses disapproval that in 1318 the canons of Wigmore Abbey were similarly being diverted with 'wanton songs' (*cantilenis inhonestis*) while undergoing bloodletting, presumably in the infirmary.[72] Unfortunately, the historical record for this period is famously impoverished; indeed, the best collection of English music before 1350 (the so-called 'Worcester fragments') survived only by virtue of their utility for stiffening the bindings of other manuscripts—as shredded pieces of parchment. Nevertheless, even within this limited sample, we find some intriguing references to medical theory and practice. According to Luther Dittmer, 'the survival of these fragments in the bindings of

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[71] '*In infirmaria nullus aliquo tempore inconveniens fiet tumultus, sed neque ibidem in audiencia manifeste alicujus instrumenti fiet unquam melodia. Set pro/ majore necessitate, si ad alicujus melioracionem perutile censeatur, ut si contingat quod aliquis frater ita sit debilis et egrotus quod ad ejus spiritum exhilarandum musici instrumenti sono et armonia quamplurimum indegeat, poterit per infirmarium duci, aut eciam quoquo modo in capellam portari, atque, clauso hostio, psalterium musicum coram eo, absque reprehensione ab aliquo fratre seu famulo honesto et privato, dulciter resonari. Sed cavendum omnino est, ne hujusmodi sonus sive melodia in aula infirmariae aut in cameris fratrum, quod absit, aliquo tempore audiatur.*' From Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, ed., *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, 2 vols., vol. 1, in "Texts of the Henry Bradshaw Society", 23 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1902), 329-30. English translation in Christopher Page, "Music and Medicine in the Thirteenth Century," in *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, ed. Peregrine Horden (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000109-119, 110-11.

[72] '*Item dampnamus consuetudinem seu corruptelam minucionis sanguinis hactenus observatam, set minuantur quando oportet, et tunc absque dissolucione aliqua et cantilenis inhonestis et minutis deserviatur secundum ordinacionem Abbatis in victualibus.*' A.T. Bannister, ed., *Registrum Ade De Orleton, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. Mccxxvii-Mcccxxvii*, in "Publications of the Canterbury and York Society", 5 (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1908), 102; English translation adapted from Page, "Music and Medicine in the Thirteenth Century," 118.

manuscripts of Worcester provenence attests to the fact that this music was sung in Worcester, undoubtedly at the Cathedral, from the beginning of the thirteenth century (the earliest fragments) to the middle of the fourteenth century (the latest fragments)'.[73] Chronologically, the Worcester sources can thus serve as a snapshot of the musical life in one community just before the Black Death. An index of the medically significant passages appears in Appendix C (see pp. 253-254). While there are a number of evocations of medical practice and doctors, this material is of limited use due to the large number of *lacunae* and it is difficult even to get the sense of the text, let alone to discern its potential function when set to music. This is highly regrettable, as might be illustrated by taking a closer look at just one of these fragments. Fragment 34 (*Salve fenestra* [lacuna] *Grantis fumi virgula*) is an apparently freely composed motet with no known concordances in other manuscripts (Dittmer, 1957: 29-31). Both of the surviving voices of this three-voice motet make reference to some kind of seed (*granum/grantis*), which both is both fragrant (bottom voice: *fumus ex aromatibus*) and has some sort of relationship through strength (*utum*) with *contagio* (middle voice: *Granum ex utum pa*[lacuna] *contagio*). This last word has a variety of meanings in Latin ranging from infection and contagion to influence and social contact, and to make matters worse there is a *lacuna* in the second voice precisely where the verb is in the sentence. However, the reference to *balsamus* (balsam) in the next sentence is suggestive. This term was used generically to refer to a group of plants prized since Biblical times for the sweet

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[73] Luther A Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonne and Transcription*, ed. Armen Carapetyan, vol. 2, Musicological Studies and Documents (American Institute of Musicology, 1957), 9. All references to 'fragment numbers' in this and in succeeding paragraphs follow that used by Dittmer, who in turn included explanatory notes in his introduction (pp. 18-56) about how his organizational scheme relates to others used in the scholarly literature. Since its publication Dittmer's work has been refined and supplemented, but never entirely supplanted, by continuing scholarly interest, and there is a large literature available to the interested reader. For a more current overview of the field, see the bibliography of Nicky Losseff, *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York: Garland, 1994).

odour of their resin, and throughout the centuries was used widely in perfuming and medicinal ointments. This remained common knowledge throughout the Middle Ages; the plague tractate *A Little Book for the Pestilence* (originally written c. 1364 by John Jacmé and adapted by Swedish bishop Bengt Knutsson and subsequently translated into English by the end of the fifteenth century) offhandedly reminds the reader that 'as by the sweet odour of balsam the heart and the spirits have recreation, so of evil savours they be made feeble' (trans. Horrox, 1994: 176). The association between (at least some kinds of) music and medicine was apparently sufficiently entrenched in clerical life that the Franciscan friar and theologian Richard of Middleton saw fit to investigate the issue of 'whether herbs or harmonies are capable of preventing a demon from afflicting mankind' during a *quodlibet* (a debate on 'whatever you please') at Paris in 1287' (Page, 1989: 160). Richard concludes that 'music can mollify the effects of bodily sickness, and that it can influence human disposition,' though a demon, being a malign spirit 'has no body to be prevailed upon by sensations such as those produced by musical sound'.[74]

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[74] '"*Quaestio. Utrum herbae vel harmoniae possint impedire daemonem in vexando homines . . . [Solutio]: Possunt, sed in vexatum a daemone, non autem in ipsum daemonem agendo.* Question: whether herbs or harmonies are capable of preventing a demon from afflicting manking . . . [Solution]: they can, but by reacting upon him who is afflicted by the demon, not by acting upon the demon itself." *Quo[d]libeta . . . Ricardi de Mediavilla*, (Brixiae, 1591), pp. 97-8, trans. Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300*, 160. Similar ideas can be found in the writings of fellow Franciscan Astesanus de Ast of Piedmont, Italy, whose *Summa de casibus conscientiae* ('Cases of conscience') of 1317 contains a section which 'asks whether certain herbs and musical sounds can drive away devils, and therefore the maladies which possession can cause. The friar begins by saying that herbs and musical sounds cannot, by their own power, completely suppress a physical or spiritual trial produced by a demon—at least not if that trial is permitted by God or a good angel. Some herbs and melodies can mitigate the demon's effect, but they do not accomplish this by working upon the malign spirit (who, being pure spirit, has no bodily substance); they act upon the troubled individual, lifting his spirits and so giving him extra resources to combat his assailant)'. The 1519 Lyons edition of the *Summa Astesana*; translated in Page, "Music and Medicine in the Thirteenth Century," 117.

Chapter 4. Plague and the Expression of Devotion

Liturgical monophony in Plague-Associated Masses

With the sustained popularity of the *Legenda Aurea* throughout the Middle Ages and the continued importance of Greek natural philosophy, the combination of the Gregorian legacy of intercessionary doctrine with active votive performance in the face of physical illness set an important precedent which helped shape the fourteenth-century ecclesiastical response to the Black Death. As we have already observed in the letters from Archbishop Zouche of 28 July 1348 to the deputy archbishop of York, from Bishop Edenton to the clergy of Winchester on 24 October 1348, and from Archbishop Islip to the Bishop of London of 28 December 1349 (see pp. 26-28), expectation of the plague was greeted by the performance of Gregory's Great Litany in dioceses across England, as the clergy prescribed public acts of devotion in the form of public prayer and processions as an antidote to the corporeal and spiritual uncleanliness implied by the devastation of the epidemic. The celebration of the mass formed a natural adjunct to these public displays of piety, and although these letters from episcopal authorities do not specify which particular chants and prayers the clergy should perform during the Black Death processions of 1349, similar instructions sent by bishops during later epidemics of the plague do provide this level of detail. The public register [*Registrum Commune*] of the diocese of Exeter contains a letter from Archbishop of Canterbury William Courtenay which was received by the Bishop of London Robert Braybrooke on 3 June 1382 and forwarded to Thomas de Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter, two days later. This letter directs that a Mass with 'special prayers' [*oraciones specialiter*] and processions be performed throughout the province of Canterbury, again on the penitentially

significant Wednesday and Friday, to secure divine clemency.[75] More importantly, three prayers are written at the bottom of the letter, with indications of the point in the liturgy each should be recited (namely, recitation as the *Oracio*, *Secreta*, and *Postcommunio* of the liturgy.[76] From a musical standpoint this initially appears of limited interest, since these sections of the mass are largely chanted upon a single pitch (Solesmes, 1961: 124). However, these three prayers, in the same liturgical positions, are listed as part of a full 'Mass against human mortality' (*Missa contra mortalitatem hominum*) in the large numbers of printed missals of the fifteenth and sixteenth century for the Salisbury (Sarum) rite.[77] Of course, over time many small

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[75] '*Vestre, igitur, Fraternitati injungimus et mandamus quatinus cum celerlitate possibili, omnibus et singulis nostris Confratribus et Coepiscopis, nostre Cantuariensis Ecclesie Suffraganeis . . ., Missas celebrent in quibus oraciones subscriptas specialiter dicant; predicaciones, eciam, diebus et locis competentibus, et processiones singulis quartis et sextis feriis faciant, seu procurent fieri, aliaque pie placacionis officia excerceant humiliter et devote, ut Deus noster Omnipotens, eorum precibus complacatus, Populum Anglicanum de tribulacionibus hujusmodi eripiat, Sueque gracie sibi prestet auxilium, atque a tempestatum periculis et subitanea morte preservet, Sua ineffabili pietate. Et, ut mentes Fidelium nostre Provincie ad premissa propensius excitentur, omnibus Christicolis per dictam nostram Provinciam constitutis, de peccastis suis vere contritis, pro premissis Missas celebrantibus, predicaciones vel processiones facientibus, aut ipsis devote interessentibus et orantibus, necnon illis qui, propter locorum distanciam aut alias impediti, [start of p. 465] dictis quartis et sextis feriis processionibus hujusmodi interesse non poterunt, quinquies Pater noster et Ave Maria devote dicentibus pro predictis, quadraginta dies de injunctis sibi penitenciis misericorditer in Domino relaxamus. Vos, autem, premissa omnia in vestris Civitate et Diocesi Londoniarum faciatis efficaciter observari. – Oraciones de quibus premisimus in hec verba sequuntur, -- Oracio: Deus, Qui imminentem inmunitis interitum sola misericordia removisti, quibus ut misericors existeres conversionis penitenciam prestitisti; respice, quesumus, populum Tuum ante conspectum misericordie Tue prostratum, ut quos Unigeniti Tui sanguine redemisti non paciaris, propter misericordiam Tuam, subitanee mortis interire supplicio; per Eundem, etc. – Secreta: Ecclesie Tue, quesumus, Omnipotens Deus, minus placatum intende, et misericordia nos pocius quam ira preveniat; Qui si iniquitates nostras observare volueris, nulla poterit creatura subsistere; set, admirabili pietate qua nos fecisti, opera manuum Tuarum non sinas interire; per Dominum, etc. – Postcommunio: Omnipotens et misericors Deus, respice populum Tuum, Majestati Tue subjectum; et, ne nos furor sevientis mortis inveniat, Sacramentorum Tuorum percepcio sancta proficiat; per Dominum, etc.*' F.C. Hingeston-Randolph, *The Register of Thomas De Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1370-1394)*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: George Bell & Sons, 1901), 464.

[76] Ibid., 465.

[77] Franciscus Henricus Dickinson, ed., *Missale Ad Usum Insignis Et Praeclare Ecclesie Sarum*, 4 vols., vol. 2. (Comune Sanctorum), (London & Oxford: J. Parker & Soc., 1867), 810*-812*; Walter Howard Frere, *Graduale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century with a Dissertation and Historical Index Illustrating Its Development from the Gregorian Antiphonale Missarum* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1894; reprint, 1966, Gregg Press Limited). Dickinson's team found these texts in 121 copies of eighteen editions of Sarum missals printed in Paris, Antwerp and London between 1494 and 1555. Across these sources the wording of the material for the *Missa contra mortalitatem hominum* is entirely consistent, with the exception of minor variations in the wording from the Old Testament reading from the book of Jeremiah. For full

differences accumulated in the liturgical practices between different Christian communities, which meant that by the eleventh century there existed a multitude of similar but distinct rites for celebrating the mass. In light of the fact that each bishop could specify the rite used in his diocese, and the Salisbury or Sarum rite (i.e. the Mass as it was performed in the Cathedral at Salisbury), was one of the most widely-adopted liturgies in England, it is reasonable to surmise that this full set of chants was performed not only in Canterbury and Exeter in the closing decades of the fourteenth century as their bishops requested, but throughout the dioceses that looked to Salisbury as a liturgical model.[78]

Printed Sarum missals, as well as missals the Roman rite used in much of continental Europe, also include '*Missa pro mortalitate evitanda*' ['Mass for the avoidance of sickness'], whose rubric states that a fully sung plainsong Mass was authorized (and allegedly composed) during the Black Death by Pope Clement VI (1291-1352), who further ensured its performance by granting 260 days of indulgence to all who heard it.[79] The Mass was also said to have prophylactic

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bibliographic details on the editions used, see Dickinson, ed., *Missale Ad Usum Insignis Et Praeclare Ecclesie Sarum*, xvii-lxx.

[78] See, for example, Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 120. On the European mainland, the most widely used liturgy was that of the churches of Rome (the Roman rite), though influential dioceses such as those in Paris and Venice had their own liturgies which enjoyed some currency in their surrounding areas. For more information about variations in local liturgical practice, see Sarah Ann Long, "The Chanted Mass in Parisian Ecclesiastical and Civic Communities, 1480-1540: Local Liturgical Service Practices in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books" (Doctoral thesis, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 2008); Giulio Cattin, *Musica E Liturgia a San Marco*, 4 vols., vol. 2 (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1990).

[79] '*Missa pro mortalitate evitanda, quam dominus Papa Clemens fecit et constituit in collegio cum omnibus Cardinalibus, et concessit omnibus pœnitentibus, vere contritis et confessis, sequentem Missam audientibus, cclx. dies indulgentiæ.*' From Dickinson, ed., *Missale Ad Usum Insignis Et Praeclare Ecclesie Sarum*, 886*. In some missals in British libraries this rubric has been crossed out, raising the question of whether the indulgence, or indeed the mass as a whole, remained strictly an Avignonese observance or diffused throughout Europe. However, in light of the fact that during the English Reformation it was common practice to delete references in devotional manuscripts (including missals, graduals, breviaries, and even Books of Hours of the laity) to characteristically 'popish' practices such as indulgences and 'excessive' veneration of non-Trinity saints, a categorical interpretation of these alterations seems unwarranted. For further information on the 'censoring' of devotional texts in the English Reformation, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, C. 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. 379-423. A translation of the entire Mass as it appears in the Sarum Missal with the exception of the

powers; the same rubric states that for all 'those hearing the following mass [who] should hold a burning candle while they hear mass on the five following days and keep it in their hand throughout the entire mass, while kneeling . . . sudden death shall not be able to harm them'.[80] The texts for both of these masses appear in Appendix D (see pp. 255-269).[81]

We can now begin to combine the multiple strands of research which have coursed through this investigation of the musical experience of plague. Based on the epidemiological examination of plague reports in Chapter 2 and summarized in the database, we know that the celebration of either of these two masses would have been situationally appropriate, and at times episcopally mandated, in expectation of and during any of the 5,504 plague epidemics which struck Western Europe between 1350 and 1600. Further information is available on the appearance of the Black Death in Avignon in 1348, where in his study of Avignonese ritual during the papacy's residence Tomasello noted that the papal chaplain 'Johannes de Sinemuro was dead before September 1348, when one of his benefices was requested by a new

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sequence is in Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 122-24. In the missal for the Roman rite the mass appears under the name of the Missa *pro Vitanda Mortalitate, vel tempore Pestilentiæ* and does not include a sequence. These and other differences between the two editions are indicated in the version of the text in Appendix D, pp. 259-269.

[80] '*omnes audientes sequentem Missam debent portare in manu unam candelam ardentem dum Missam audiunt per quinque dies sequentes, et tenere eam in manu per totam Missam, genibus flexis: et eis mors subitanea nocere non poterit.*' Dickinson, ed., *Missale Ad Usum Insignis Et Praeclare Ecclesie Sarum*, 886*; English translation adapted from Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 122.

[81] It is worth noting in passing that the texts of this mass make numerous references, albeit in highly conventional language, to auditory experience. The chosen psalm for the *Missa contra mortalitatem hominum*, for example, begins with the exhortation to '*Attendite, populе meus, legem meam: inclinate aurem vestram in verba oris mei*' (Attend, O my people, to my law: incline your ears to the words of my mouth; Psalm 77 in the Masoretic numbering), while the corresponding passage from Psalm 79 selected for the *Missa pro mortalitate evitanda* reads ''*qui pascis Israhel ausculta qui ducis quasi gregem Ioseph qui sedes super cherubin ostendere*' (Give ear, O thou that rulest Israel: thou that leadest Joseph like a sheep; Psalm 79 in the Masoretic numbering). Jerome, "Biblia Sacra Vulgata," (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1891), Psalms 77, 79. Similarly, the Offertory of the *Missa contra mortalitatem hominum* notes that '*non est oblitus clamorem pauperum*' (the cry of the poor is not forgotten), while the postcommunion prayer of the *Missa pro mortalitate evitanda* begins with an exhortation to 'Hear us,' (*Exaudi nos*). Throughout the remainder of the postcommunion recitation there is a strong symbolic association between the scourge of illness and the flail (*flagella*) of divine anger, made explicit in the Offertory from Numbers 16: 46-48 and which acquired additional layers of sensory resonance through the devotional practices of the flagellants, as is discussed later in this chapter (p. 96-126).

chaplain, Johannes de Bralli. Johannes de Bralli and Johannes Hyera had already entered the chapel as of 25 April 1348. In the month of June, the names of three new members appear [in the records of the papal *capella*]: Johannes de Athies, Laurentius de Abbatisvilla, and Matheus de Barbino. On 9 August, Guillelmus Rastelrii joined their ranks' (Tomasello, 1983: 55-6). In light of the fact that plague mortality often reached a peak in the summer months (cf. Scott and Duncan, 2001), it is reasonable to conclude that this turmoil in the *capella* staff is due in some part to the Black Death, and that the *Missa pro mortalitate evitanda* was celebrated, if not indeed composed *de novo* or assembled, around this time. We also know that as plague cycled through Europe, epidemics tended to explode in periodic outbreaks of increased geographic impact approximately once every five to ten years, which gave the disease an element of predictability and allowed communities to make physical and spiritual provisions for its arrival (see Ch. 2, pp. 41-42). We might therefore reasonably expect that at least one of these two plague masses would be included in western European liturgical books which postdate the Black Death, and that, given the fact that the proper of each mass was always sung, an examination of these liturgical books would give a clear indication of the sacred music sung during plague epidemics.

However, it quickly becomes apparent that the chants for the *Salus populi* mass propers are of insufficient liturgical specificity to serve as reliable indicators of plague performance. All of these propers for this mass also reappear as propers in various feasts of the Temporale, as seen in the following table (Table 4.1):

Proper	Textual incipit	Cross-referenced liturgical use (Temporale, Sanctorale, Common of Saints)[source, pagenumber]
Introit	Salus populi	Temporale- 19th Sunday after Pentecost[a]; Vigil of the Ascension[b, Barberini 1854]
Psalm	Attendite populum meam	Temporale- 19th Sunday after Pentecost[a]; Vigil of the Ascension[b, Barberini 1854]
Gradual (Gradual Verse: In deo laudabimur)	Liberasti nos	Temporale- 4th Sunday after Pentecost[a]; 1st Saturday of Lent[b]; Thursday of the 2nd week of Lent[b]; 4th or 5th Trinity of Trinity[b]; Vigil of Pentecost[b, Vallicellian D 5]; Saturday of Pentecost[b, Paris Bibl. Nat. 17436]; Octave of Pentecost[b, Barberini 1854]; Tuesday of Rogation[b, Thomasius *Opera*]; Saturday of the 5th week of Lent[b, Angelica B.3.18]; Mens sept. iv[b, Westminster and Hereford uses]
Alleluia Verse	Domine, refugium	Temporale—13th Sunday after Pentecost[a,355]; 11th Sunday of Trinity[b, 153]

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

Proper	Textual incipit	Cross-referenced liturgical use (Temporale, Sanctorale, Common of Saints)[source, pagenumber]
Tract	De necessatibus	Temporale—Lent quat. iv[a, 102; b]
Offertory	Sperent in te	Temporale—3rd Sunday after Pentecost[a, 329]; Tuesday after the fifth Sunday of Lent[b, 74]; the third Sunday after Trinity[b, 144]; 22nd Sunday of Trinity[b, Paris Bibl. Nat. 17436]
Communion	Amen dico vobis: quidquid	Temporale—23 Sunday after Pentecost[a, 389; b, 167]; 24th Sunday and last Sunday of Trinity[b, 167c]

Table 4.1. (cont.) Cross-referencing of chant propers for *Salus populi* mass[82]

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

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[82] Guide to superscripts:
[a] = *Graduale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae De Tempore Et De Sanctis*. Paris: Desclèe & Socii, 1961.
[b] = Frere, Walter Howard. *Graduale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century with a Dissertation and Historical Index Illustrating Its Development from the Gregorian Antiphonale Missarum*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1894. Reprint, 1966, Gregg Press Limited.
Superscript numbers after initial 'a' or 'b' = page number of relevant source.
Superscript words after initial 'a' or 'b' = Manuscript in which Frere *et al.* found concordant item of chant.

experience. The annual performance of these chants in Sunday services and important vigils likely rendered them familiar, if not to the laity, to clergy of all kinds and not just those who lived in cloistered religious communities. This highlighting of quotidian, everyday experience is seen in other repertoire connected to the plague, as is discussed below (see below, pp. 75-78, and Ch. 5, pp. 131-135).

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

A somewhat different pattern of annual performance regularity emerges from a study of the propers of the *Recordare Domine*, as seen in the following table (Table 4.2.):

Proper	Textual incipit	Cross-referenced liturgical use (Temporale, Sanctorale, Common of Saints)[source, pagenumber]
Introit	Recordare domine testamenti	None*
(Psalm:)	Qui pascis Israel ausculta	
Gradual	Misit Dominus	Temporale—2nd Sunday after Epiphany[a, 485]; 16th Sunday after Epiphany[b, Zurich, Fonds Rheinau 30]; Feast of the Transfiguration[b, Vallicellian B. viii]
(Verse)	Confiteantur domino	
Alleluia verse	Salvabo populum	None
Tract	Domine non secundum	Temporale- Ash Wednesday[a, 89; b,31];
Offertory	Stetit pontifex	None
Communion	Multitudo languentium [et qui vexabantur]	Sanctorale—Feast of Sts Fabian and Sebastian[a, 416; b, 218; *]

Table 4.2. Cross-referencing of chant propers for *Recordare Domine* mass.[83]

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[83] Guide to superscripts:
[a] = *Graduale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae De Tempore Et De Sanctis*. Paris: Desclèe & Socii, 1961.
[b] = Frere, Walter Howard. *Graduale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century with a Dissertation and Historical Index Illustrating Its Development from the*

The liturgical promiscuity of the *pro mortalitate evitanda* Gradual, Gradual verse, and Tract is akin to that seen in the *Salus populi* mass, and sheds little additional light on plague-specific musical practice. A search of the 101 antiphonaries, graduals, breviaries, and missals which constitute the data set of the CANTUS project further reveals that a chant on the *Multitudo languentium* text appears as the Matins responsory for celebration of the feast of Sts Fabian and Sebastian on folio 162v of a fourteenth-century antiphoner from a monastery in Einsiedeln, Switzerland (Musikbibliothek 611),[84] and the *Recordare domine* text is used listed as a Matins responsory for the summertime liturgical celebration of Histories from the Book of Kings in fifty-seven service books from monasteries across Europe (Bailey, 2007). Both of these Office chants are in the same modes (Dorian and Hypophrygian, respectively) as their Missa *pro mortalitate evitanda* counterparts, though a more detailed melodic comparison of all the variants has yet to be performed.[85]

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

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(cont from p. 73) *Gregorian Antiphonale Missarum.* London: Bernard Quaritch, 1894. Reprint, 1966, Gregg Press Limited.
Superscript numbers after initial 'a' or 'b' = page number of relevant source.
Superscript words after initial 'a' or 'b' = manuscript in which Frere *et al.* found concordant item of chant.
* = additional concordance with Office chants; see discussion on this page.

[84] This is a particularly interesting substitution, since beginning in the eighth century Sebastian was venerated as a saint particularly renown for intercession against plague. See below (pp. 79-85).

[85] Terence Bailey, 'Cantus', 2007. Accessed 27 January 2008, <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>. The only 'melodic' information collected as a matter of course for the CANTUS project was the chant's modal classification and thus further comparisons may not be made, though there is reason to suspect that this hides substantial variation in melodic contour. Two of the servicebooks indexed in CANTUS (Worcester, Cathedral Chapter Library, F. 160; and Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile 601) were analyzed by Bryden and Hughes for their *Index of Gregorian Chant* (1969), and they describe differing melodic incipits for the Hypophrygian chant found in these Office chants and that in the Graduale Romanum votive mass. See John R Bryden and David G Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

intercession formalized by Pope Gregory I and Alcuin in the sixth century offered a structure through which so-called 'votive' petitions and offerings to saints could become a part of the medieval religious vocabulary of earthly and celestial salvation (Pelikan, 1978: 32-33), and over time a number of saints gained a reputation as 'plague saints' for their special efficacy in intercession against plague or other illnesses. The saints' lives provided numerous (if not always obvious) opportunities for medieval congregations to see their struggle against plague symbolically inscribed in the struggles of their virtuous predecessors. Sebastian was known and venerated from the sixth century onwards and his reputation as a plague saint is documented beginning in the late eighth century.[86] Although the commemoration of Sebastian was frequently combined with that of the papal (and medicinally undistinguished) martyr St Fabian, it is easy to imagine a scenario whereby a chant from this yearly commemoration (especially one whose text specifically mentions healing, as this one does) might be singled out and for special use as a votive petition and/or be subsequently incorporated into another mass.[87] In support of this view we might note that, in addition to use on the feast of Sts Fabian and Sebastian, the *Multitudo* appears as one of several Communion chants in the Common for Several Martyrs in the Common of Saints in a missal for the Parisian usage printed by Simon

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[86] Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague". Many missals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries include two masses in Sebastian's honour: a diocesan feast day on the 20 January which he shares with St Fabian, and a special votive mass which in Sarum missals is prefaced with the rubric *pro tempore pestis* (in time of plague). This special votive mass to Sebastian will be discussed below, on pp. 76 and 79-85, and the text is in Appendix D, on pp. 270-275.

[87] The establishment of a secure chronology and direction of transmission for such votive chants is complicated by the fact that St Sebastian's feast was added to the Sanctorale at widely different times across Europe and was subject to diocesan mandate, while the addition of votive masses in his honour to missals and graduals may be more reflective of pre-existing popular devotion. In the sole study to examine their relationship, Sarah Long found that in Parisian servicebooks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the festal mass to Sts Fabian and Sebastian has 'virtually no relationship' to the votive masses to the saint found at the end of diocesan books or in manuscripts owned by confraternities. However, the acknowledgement that transmission of chant repertoire is more complicated than a simple diffusion from 'old' to 'new' is not a reason to dismiss the dual use of the *Multitudo languentium* chant in Sebastian's festal celebration and the Recordare Domine mass. For more information on the veneration of Sebastian in Parisian sources, see Long, "The Chanted Mass in Parisian Eccesiastical and Civic Communities", 204-215.

Vostre in 1504, and in Sarah Long's study of the chanted mass in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Parisian communities this chant is one of two items from the diocesan feast to appear in a special votive mass appealing for the intercession of St Sebastian.[88]

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

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

[89] For example, Sarah Long found that the melodies of the alleluia verses used in the Sebastian votive masses in Ars MS 204 and 620 are both taken from the chants for the feast day of local Parisian saint Louis IX. See Long, "The Chanted Mass in Parisian Eccesiastical and Civic Communities", 233.

works by Priscian (*Artis Grammaticiae Libri XVII et XVIII*), Donatus (*De Barbarismo*), and an unknown author (*De arte gramatica*).[90] Musical notation with textual underlay is written in a sixteenth-century hand in the margins of three consecutive pages, and a fourth contains apparent musical notes without text.[91] Upon further inspection the texts on two of these pages closely parallel the full set of propers of the *Missa pro mortalitate evitanda*, and the third a variant of the *Salvator mundi* focusing on the Virgin Mary (see Appendix F for photographs, pp. 293-295). However, the versions for the mass propers in Hunter 432 are strikingly different from those contained in both the Solesmes *Graduale Romanum* and the 1490 gradual of the monastery of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (DMA 1011, fols 282r-v).[92] This can be illustrated by a side-by-side comparison of the Alleluias from the three sources (see Appendix E, pp. 288-289).

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

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[90] See John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1908), 356.
[91] Ibid. Approximately 25-30% of the pages of this manuscript are covered in brown ink marginalia which occupy the majority of the page space. For this information the author thanks Karen McAulay of the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Dance, who inspected the manuscript. [McAulay, personal communication].
[92] The mass in DMA 1011 is prefaced with the rubric *Officium contra pestilenciam*. These two graduals were selected for comparison by virtue of being fully notated servicebooks easily accessible to the general public (the Solesmes edition serving as the standard edition for modern Catholicism, the Augsburg edition available in facsimile at no charge through the University of Regensburg (http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/microfilm/dma1011/index.htm). While a more detailed examination of servicebooks is highly desirable, and a focused research project to accomplish this is in initial planning stages, this initial analysis provides a sense of the types of diversity encountered in the study of votive music performed during epidemics and why its unraveling is an important avenue for investigating the role played by music in times of social stress.

elaborate, though still recognizably congruent in that all depict an active god tending his flock in the chosen land (*Jerusalem* in Hunter 432 and DMA 1011, *Israel* in the GR). In general the text of Hunter 432 is closer to that of DMA 1011 than it is to the GR. Both chants locate the action *in medio Jerusalem* (in the midst of Jerusalem) where the GR generalizes to the people *Israel in die malo* (Israel on the wicked day), and *illi* and *illis* are so similar as to allow the possibility of scribal error. However, other relationships are suggested by the fact that the possessive *meum* is found DMA 1011 and the GR but not in Hunter 432, and that Hunter 432 and the GR share a similar initial verb *sa(lv/n)are* which is widely divergent from DMA 1011's *congregare*. The conjugated forms of the verbs *congregare* (to gather), *salvare* (to save) and *sanare* (to heal) form a continuum of medical specificity, which could indicate the relative age of the chant's association with the plague mass. Unfortunately, while the verb *sanare* is particularly evocative, underscoring a likely association of this chant with medical exigencies, both directions of mutation seem equally plausible. We can rule out simple scribal error, since while this could could conceivably transmute a hastily written 'lv' to an 'n' without any deeper meaning than a momentary lapse of concentration, the substitutions of larger, less easily confused words later in the text argues against such an easy dismissal of the variation. However, is it more likely that the initial word of this setting became more medically specific as its association with the plague mass became more familiar, or that the meaning of the text would be widened so the verse would be appropriate for more occasions? Some additional light is shed by the fact that this same phrasing of the text incipit is found in a '*Missa pro mortalitate [e]vitanda*' contained in a Italian gradual dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century of uncertain provenance (now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. MS 40608; hereafter

abbreviated Bs 40608),[93] suggesting the latter may be a stronger possiblity, but any conclusions are far from certain.

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

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

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

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

[96] See Long, "The Chanted Mass in Parisian Eccesiastical and Civic Communities", partic. 223, and the additional sources described in n. 156.

Votive liturgical monody: Sebastian and Roch

Of course, in the later Middle Ages, these masses were not the only liturgical options available to medieval congregations who desired deliverance from plague. Individual saints could be prevailed upon for intercession, and cultural historians such as Christine Boeckl have identified paintings and illuminations which credit over 110 different saints with a role in mediating the heavenly scourge of disease in different localities (Boeckl, 2000: xii). The analysis of these works is leading to an ever-expanding comprehension of the iconographical associations which acted as a symbolic lexicon linking concepts of local identity, religion, art, and medicine.[97] In this pantheon of plague saints, however, the figures of Saints Sebastian and Roch enjoy particular prominence as foci of disease-related popular devotion.[98] As we have already identified a chant in the Mass and Office for Sebastian's feast on 20 January as a point of concordance with the *Missa pro mortalitate evitanda*, it behooves us to investigate this relationship further.

According to his fifth-century biographer and the account in the widely read medieval *Legenda Aurea*, Sebastian was a member of the Praetorian Guard in the third century AD under the Roman Emperor Diocletian who was sentenced to death

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[97] Particular attention has been paid to the iconographical language of the votive art of Italy, as Louise Marshall and Christine Boeckl built on the early work of Millard Meiss on the visual legacy of the plague in late medieval Florence and Siena. The current discussion is heavily indebted to their work. See Christine M. Boeckl, "Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens' the Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 4 (1996): 34-39, Louise Marshall, "Manipulating the Sacred: Image and Plague in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (1994): esp. 489-500, Louise Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague" (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980), esp. 54-114 and 168-193, Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 1951), esp. 65-87.

[98] The sufferings of Saint Job were a trope in late Florentine plague art, but the only musical parallel I have been able to find is the *Missa de Sancto Job* by the Belgian singer and composer Pierre de La Rue (c. 1452- 1518). See Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 1951), 68; Pierre de La Rue, "Missa De Sancto Job," in *Pierre De La Rue. Opera Omnia*, ed. Nigel St John Davison, J Evan Kreider, and T Herman Keahey, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae (Neuhausen, Stuttgart: American Institue of Musicology, 199297-136, 97-136. The plague saint *non-pareil* of both art and music, of course, is the Virgin Mary, but since manifestations of Marian devotion are so widespread I have elected to discuss them separately (see below, pp. 91-124 and Ch. 6, pp. 146-175).

for destroying idols and encouraging Christians to remain faithful in the face of martyrdom. Archbishop Antoninus of Florence (c. 1389-1459) claimed that in the ensuing trials Sebastian actually earned 'two crowns of martyrdom', first tied to a post and having so many arrows shot 'into his body that he looked like a porcupine' and then, after being miraculously revived by God, clubbed to death and thrown in the Roman sewers.[99] In her doctoral thesis Louise Marshall presented the argument that it was this element of Sebastian's martyrdom, in addition to his association with arrows and their venerable iconographical links with disease, which was seized upon by medieval commentators and led to his perceived efficacy in negotiating with an angry and judgemental Jesus. In her view the medieval Sebastian was a spiritual 'lightning rod', drawing the divinely-launched arrows of the plague away from humanity and 'grounding' them harmlessly in his own body. Then, 'in direct analogy with Christ's redemptive death, Sebastian's martyrdom by the arrows of the plague . . demonstrates satisfaction of the demands of divine justice, secured for all time by the merit of his vicarious sacrifice'.[100]

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

[100] See Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague", 67. This interpretation is graphically supported by a depiction of St Sebastian in a fifteenth-century fresco from the chapel of Saint Sebastian at Lauslevillard in Savoy which shows a surgeon lancing a bubo on a woman's neck.' Joseph Polzer, "Aspects of the Fourteenth-Century Iconography of Death and the Plague," in *The Black Death: The Impact of the Fourteenth-Century Plague*, ed. Daniel Williman (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1982107-130, 111.

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

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

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[101] Marshall, "Manipulating the Sacred: Image and Plague in Renaissance Italy," Original in Francisco Diedo, 'De Sancto Rocho Confessore Apud Montem Pessulanum in Gallia, Vita', 1478. *Acta Sanctorum: Full Text Database*, ProQuest. Accessed 19 October 2007, <http://acta.chadwyck.com/>. English translation in Irene Vaslef, ""The Role of St Roch as Plague Saint: A Late Medieval Hagiographic Tradition." " (Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1984), 189.

[102] Marie T. Schmitz-Eichhoff, "St. Rochus: Ikonographische Und Medizin-Historische Studien," *Kölner medizin-historische Beiträge* 3 (1977): 58-59, 89-90, 119. The information about the dating of Roch's feast also appears in an early English translation of the *Vita*, 'the lyf of Saynt Rocke', by Caxton, 'Legenda Aurea Sanctorum, Sive, Lombardica Historica', *Early English Books Online*, Accessed 16 September 2007. Final approval for the recitation of the propers of the Office on Roch's feast day was given by Pope Urban VIII in the early seventeenth century. See Gregory Cleary, 'St. Roch' [Online article] ed. [Accessed 28 January 2008]), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>.

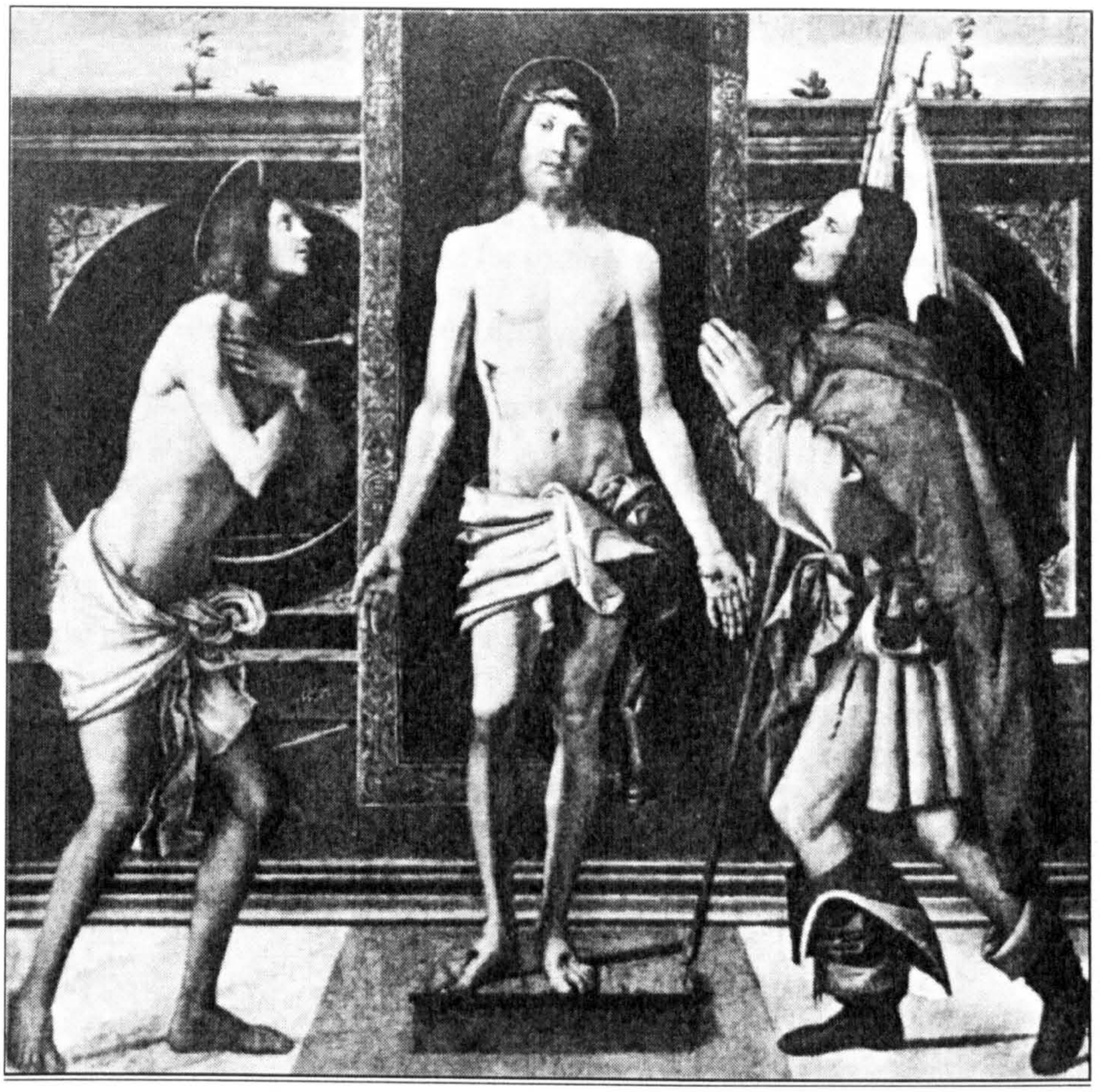

Figure 4.1. Christ between St Sebastian and St Roch, late fifteenth century. Bartolomeo Montagna (1450-1523) Gallerie dell'Accademia (Venezia, Italy).

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

justice have been satisfied and to petition for the intervention of divine mercy' (Marshall, 1980: 111).

However, while it is clear that these two saints were the focus of intense devotion which could and did take the form of powerful artistic production in times of plague,[103] the history of their musical veneration is only beginning to be unravelled. The festal mass to Roch in the Graduale Romanum is taken entirely from the Common of Saints (Solesmes, 1961: [46], 82**), while in the Sarum missals analyzed by Dickinson there is a separate votive mass to Roch after the votive mass to Sebastian (Dickinson, 1867: 895*-896*). Strikingly, the text of the *Præfatio* of the *Missa de Sancto Roccho* in the Sarum missal bears a very strong resemblance to the *Oratio* of the *Missa contra mortalitatem hominum* (see Table 4.3.):

[103] As is made very clear by a Scottish annalist who, in the course of describing the devastation of the plague in 1349, wrote that 'the greatest health is to be had through devotion to Saint Sebastian' (*cujus summa salus est devotionem ad sanctum Sebastianum habere*); see Felix J.H. Skene, ed., *Liber Pluscardensis*, 2 vols., vol. 1, in "The Historians of Scotland", 7 (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1877), 295. Louise Marshall also noted the intensity of devotion in the form of votive art to plague saints, and in particular the growth of the cult of Saint Roch when Saint Sebastian already seemed to fill the role of plague mediator. She suggests that the cult of St Roch should 'be thought of less in terms of some presumed lack in Sebastian than as a measure of the sheer constancy of the threat of plague, and the consequent need for as many avenues of access to celestial protection as possible'. If this is accurate, such belief would constitute a framework in which music, as well as visual art, might be expected to flourish. See Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: Imagery of the Plague", 193.

Oratio, Missa contra mortalitatem hominum	*Præfatio, Missa de Sancto Roccho*
Deus, qui imminentem Ninivitis interitum sola misericordia removisti; quibus ut misericors exsisteres, conversionis pœnitentiam præstitisti; respice, quæsumus, populum tuum ante conspectum misericordiæ tuæ prostratum; ut quos Unigeniti tui sanguine redemisti, non patiaris propter misericordiam tuam mortalitatis interire supplicio.	Æterne Deus, qui imminentem Ninivitis interitum sola misericordia revocasti, quibus ut propugnator exsisteres cum orationis pœnitentia præstitisti, et huic populo tuo ante conspectum gloriæ tuæ prostrato orandi tribue puritatem, et quem desiderat præsta liberationis effectum, ut quos Unigeniti tui pretioso sanguine redemisti, non patiaris misericordia tua mortalitatis interire supplicio.

Table 4.3. Side-by-side comparison of passages from the *Missa contra mortalitatem hominum* and the *Missa de Sancto Roccho* in the Sarum Missal printed by Regnault in 1526 used as the standard in Dickinson's study[104]

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

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[104] See Dickinson, *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclare et ecclesie Sarum*, xvii.

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

Liturgical polyphony for plague-associated masses

While monophonic chants represent one source of information on liturgical performance during plague epidemics, the masses and offices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were sites for increasingly elaborate polyphonic settings of liturgical texts whose study provides their own set of opportunities and obstacles. What are we to make, for example, of the fact that in the sixteenth century the *Recordare Domine testamenti tui* enjoyed some popularity as a motet text, particularly among Franco-Flemish composers working at home and abroad?[106] Do these polyphonic elaborations represent the first fruits of an elaborate effort to 'bend the ear' (as the psalm associated with this Introit would have it) of a wrathful god to the plague-stricken sufferings of his people, or a ploy of court musicians to flatter their employers by adding pomp and splendour to a summer feast associated with great rulers? It is difficult to discount either possibility, though in at least one instance, corroborating evidence exists to strengthen the former case that the motet was indeed intended for performance during a plague epidemic. Philippe Verdelot's (c. 1480s- before d. 1552) setting of *Recordare Domine testamenti tui* was published

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

[106] Printed Franco-Flemish musical settings of this text include the motet attributed to Pierre Vermont (c. 1495-1533) in the *Liber undecimus XXVI. musicales habet modulos quatuor et quinque vocibus* published by Attaingnant in 1535, a setting by Pierre Colin (*fl.* 1538-72) in the *Quartus liber modulorum, quatuor, quinque et sex vocum, (quos vulgus voteta vocat) à quibusvis celeberrimis authoribus excerptus, & nunc primùm in lucem aeditus* published by Du Bosc and Guéroult in 1555 in the *Quintus tomus Evangeliorum, et piarum sententiarum: quinque vocum. Continens historia & doctrinam, qua in Ecclesia proponi solet: de Poenitentia* published by Montanus and Neuber in 1556, and one by Pierre de Manchicourt in the *Liber XIIII. ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. De uno tono. Antea nunquam excusus* published by Susato in 1557. An additional setting by Rogier Patier (Roger Pathie, c. 1510-after 1565) on the single folio Mus pr. 156/7 (owned by the Bavarian State Library, Munich) is associated with the sixteenth century chapel court of Mary of Hungary in Antwerp. See Glenda G. Thompson, "Music in the Court Records of Mary of Hungary," *Tijdschrift van de Vereneging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 34, no. 2 (1984): 132-173147.

in 1534 in the volume *Liber quartus XXIX. musicales quatuor vel quinque parium vocum modulos habet* by Attaingnant with the superscript 'against plague' (*contra pestem*) (Bragard, 1973: XI). Interestingly, while one would expect a piece whose text is drawn from the liturgy to be based on plainchant, the *cantus firmus* of Verdelot's *Recordare Domine* is a quotation the tenor part of Jacob Obrecht's (c. 1458-1505) motet on the penitential text *Parce domine*.[107] Obrecht famously contracted the plague in an epidemic raging in the city of Ferrara in the summer of 1505, where he had replaced Josquin as master of the court chapel of the duke Ercole d'Este and perhaps contracted the illness in the course of pastoral care to the sick.[108] Verdelot also had ample reason to be thinking about deliverance from plague, having arrived in Florence from northern Italy in 1521—just in time for the longest sustained assault of plague in Florentine history. Plague is documented in the city of the

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[107] See Anne-Marie Bragard, ed., *Philippe Verdelot: Opera Omnia*, 3 vols., vol. 2, in "Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae", (American Institute of Musicology, 1973), XI; Willem Elders, "Josquin's "Absolve, Quaesumus, Domine": A Tribute to Obrecht?," *Tijdschrift van de Vereneging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* D. 37 (1987): 14-2414-24. The text of Obrecht's setting reads *Parce Domine, parce populo tuo quia pius es et misericors. Exaudi nos in aeternum, Domine* (Spare us O Lord, spare your people because you are tender and merciful. Hear us forever, o Lord). Although not firmly associated with a 'plague liturgy' such as the *Recordare Domine* mass, its mnemonic salience and indeed potential performance in times of epidemics is easy to understand in light of the association between illness and divine anger (see Chapter 3, pp. 46-47 and Appendix B, pp. 227-240).

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

Medici every year between 1522 and 1528, including 2 separate outbreaks in both 1527 and 1528, and reappeared after a year's hiatus again in 1530 and 1531.[109] Given this epidemiological profile one might also wonder about the setting of the *Recordare testamenti tui* published by the famed Venetian music printer Gardano in 1549 and attributed to the putatively Flemish Jacques Arcadelt (c. 1507-1568), who was active in northern Italy by the late 1520s and in Rome by the late 1530s who 'was said by the Florentine diplomat-scholar Cosimo Bartoli (*d* 1572) to have "followed in the footsteps of Verdelot"', having based his style (and perhaps elements of his professional career) on his countryman.[110]

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

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[109] Plague cases were also reported in Florence in 1348, 1359, 1363, 1371, 1374, 1383, 1390, 1391, 1399, 1400, 1402, 1410, 1411, 1417, 1422, 1429, 1430, 1439, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1456, 1478, 1479, 1494, 1497, 1498, 1505, 1509,1630, 1631, 1632, and 1633. See database on accompanying CD.

[110] The motet appears in the 1549 Gardano publication *Musica quinque vocum materna lingua moteta vocantur ab optimis et varijs authoribus elaborata, paribus vocibus decantanda nuperrime soliciti cura recognita atque in lucem producta.* See James Haar, 'Arcadelt, Jacques. Life' ed. L Macy [Accessed 17 October 2007]), <http://www.grovemusic.com>. Other known settings of the *Recordare domine* text include works by Pierre Colin, Rogier Patier, Pierre Vermont, Pierre di Manchicourt, Richard Bramston, and Dominique Phinot. However, in many of these cases only the year of the motet's publication is known, and biographical information is so scanty that we cannot even determine the likely area or time that the piece was written, so correlating the material with the chronology of epidemics is not yet a useful exercise.

[111] See for example, Karol Berger's discussion of the Dufay motet *O beate Sebastiane* in *Early Music* 17 no. 3, p. 342-357 and Barbara Haggh's more general discussion of music in the secular churches of Brussels in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and* Towns, ed. Fiona Kisby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 143-156.

[112] The manuscripts being Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale Q15 and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.X.1.11 (Lat. 471). For a discussion of the attribution of the motet to Dufay and

faith. Intercede for us to our Lord Jesus Christ to free us from epidemics of plague and sickness. Amen'.[113] It is worth noting that Dufay moved around a great deal at this point in his life and seems to have been chased by a succession of plague epidemics. A plague epidemic in Rome in 1428 marked the beginning of his tenure in Rome at the papal chapel, and when he next appears in the record books as a choirmaster of the court of Savoy at Chambery in 1434, an epidemic flared along the nearby Drôme river. From 1435 to 1437 Dufay was back with the papal chapel, which may have itself moved to Florence to avoid an epidemic raging in Rome, although to no avail; from 1436 to 1448 a succession of plague outbreaks ravaged Florence, and the composer seems to have moved to Bologna by April of 1436 (Berger, 1989: 343). Although Berger (following Hamm and Scott) assumed that the motet was written 'probably as an interpolation at vespers of the saint's feast' (1989: 354), alternative explanations are possible, especially since Sebastian's musical commemoration was apparently a task Dufay felt was worth doing well and often. Dufay also made an elaborate four-voiced isorhythmic setting of a prayer to St Sebastian, the text for which can be found in many Books of Hours and which (in the translation of Rosemary Horrox) reads:

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

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its dating, see Karol Berger, "The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian: The Function of Accidental Inflections in Dufay's "O Beate Sebastiane"," *Early Music* 17, no. 3 (1989): 342-349 + 351-357343.

[113] '*O beate Sebastiane, magna est fides tua: Intercede pro nobis ad dominum Jesum Christum, ut a peste epidemiae et morbo liberemur. Amen.*' See modern editions of the versions from both manuscript sources in Berger, "The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian", 344-345 and 348-349.

you have that merit: to Zoe, whom you miraculously healed and restored to health, and to Nicostratus her husband. You comforted martyrs in their time of trial, and promised them the eternal life which is the reward of martyrs. O martyr Sebastian! Be with us always, and by your merits keep us safe and sound and protected from plague. Commend us to the Trinity and to the Virgin Mary, so that when we die we may have our reward: to behold God in the company of martyrs.[114]

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

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

[115] The text is, '*Fiat pax in virtute tua et intercessione tua, o beate Sebastiane. Deus nostri misereatur et non despiciat opera manuum suarum; inclinet aures suas et audiat, aperiat oculos suos et videat tribulationem nostram et propitius fiat terre populi sui clamantis ad te cotidie,ut ipsum pro nobis depreceris. Domine Deus omnipotens, terribilis et fortis, justus et misericors rector humani generis*

Caracciolo even interrupts the progression of secular love songs in his 1582 *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* to voice a similar prayer to the saint pleading for his aid in securing clemency from an angry God during the plague of Milan in 1576, which emphatically suggests extra-liturgical use in contexts divorced from regular calendrical celebrations.[116] As for devotion to Saint Roch, it is of note that during the winter of 1523-1524 a plague epidemic swept through the ancient hill-top town of Bergamo, where the composer Gaspar de Albertis was working as a singer and *maestro di capella* at the Basilica Santa Maria Maggiore. Shortly afterwards (perhaps in December of 1524), de Albertis copied a four-voice setting of the Ordinary he had composed and explicitly dedicated to Saint Roch into one of the three choirbooks owned by the cathedral, and a four-voice anonymous motet (also likely composed by de Albertis) was copied into another of the other choirbooks shortly afterward (Crawford and Messing, 1994: 90).[117] The text of this piece translates as 'O blessed confessor Roch, how great are your merits before God, by which we believe you are able to free us from the sickness of epidemics and grant us

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

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

[117] The choirbooks in question are now in Bergamo's Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MS BergBC 1207 and 1209. The *Missa de Sancto Roccho* is in BergBC 1207, fols. 81v-94, while the motet *O beate confessor Roche* is in BergBC 1209, fol. 104v- 105. Particular thanks should be said to Gary Towne, who was kind enough to share his working drafts of his editions of these two works with me.

a well-tempered atmosphere [*aeris temperiem*]', calling to mind both the 'temperaments' of Galenic medical theory and the mixing of elements and ratios in medicine and in music.[118] Although apparently unattested in Italian sources, this same text appears both as the verse for the Alleluia of the *Missa de Sancto Roccho* in the Sarum Missal and a sixteenth century York Book of Hours (Wordsworth, 1920: 131; Dickinson, 1867: footnote to 895*). Further musical examples can be found which mention illness in the context of a prayer to Christ or God the Father without mentioning the names of any specific mediating figures. For example, Bragard called attention to how in the midst of the political and epidemiological upheaval in the Florentine republic of 1527, Verdelot composed the motet *Sint dicte grates Christo*, 'in which is sung the fervent hope that "cessabit bellum externum, penuria, pestis"' (Bragard, 1973: XI). Equally suggestive is the same composer's *Infirmitatem nostram*, which is a plea to God to listen to 'all the saints' (*omnium sanctorum*) interceding on behalf of Mankind for remittance from infirmities.[119]

The Virgin Mary and the intersection of the body and the spirit

Central to all discussions of late medieval popular devotion, and figuring prominently in many accounts of physical as well as spiritual healing, is the Virgin Mary.[120] Evidence for particular regard for the saint dates back to the early patristic

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

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

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

period, as commentators such as Irenaeus (d. c. 202) paralleled the acceptance of Mary of her divine pregancy with the defiance of Eve in the Garden of Eden.[121] Scarcely a century later this metaphor had acquired medical connotations, as the Syrian deacon Ephraem (c. 306-73) described the birth of Christ and the consequent redemption of Eve through the agency of Mary as 'the medicine of life',[122] and in the centuries that followed Mary acquired a reputation as a merciful healing saint both as a conduit linking the human and the divine and as a uniquely blessed member of God's anointed capable of autonomous action.[123] Belief in Mary's medical efficacy can be traced as far back as the tenth century, as attested by the account of a healing apparition which allegedly appeared to the ninth- and early tenth- century bishop Radbod of Utrecht (d. 917) and chronicled by a cleric of the same city about AD 972. According to the *Vita Radbod*, when the bishop was stricken with an

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devotion occurred. See in particular the essays in R.N. Swanson, ed., *The Church and Mary*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2004).

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

[122] "Let Eve rejoice in Sheol. For lo, the Son of her daughter has descended as the medicine of life to raise the mother of his mother. The blessed child crushes the head of the serpent which had wounded her." Ephraem, *De Nativitate*, 13, 2; quoted in Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion. Parts I and Ii*, 61.

[123] The sixth-century *Akathistos* hymn of the Eastern Orthodox Church hails Mary as both the 'Celestial ladder, by whom God came down' and the 'Bridge leading earthly ones to heaven,' a view of Mary as an incarnate 'Jacob's ladder' (Genesis 28:12) which was developed by writers such as the eighth-century St Andrew of Crete, who wrote that the Virgin is 'the mediatrix of law and grace, she is the mediation between the sublimity of God and the abjection of the flesh,' and the twelfth century St Bernard of Clairvaux, who wrote that she is the one "through whom we ascend to him who descended through her to us". See W. Christ and M. Paranikas, eds., *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubneri, 1871), 140-47; Bernard, Sermo de Aquaeducto, In Nativate Beatae Mariae Virginis, in Migne, Patrologia Latina, 183, col. 1013-14 cited in Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 391. Some care should be taken, however not to overstate claims of the Virgin's independent agency. Donna Ellington has argued that 'to suppose that Mary was seen fully autonomous in the minds of the people is to perhaps introduce a mental dichotomy that did not exist at the time,' while Virginia Reinburg has cautioned that 'a sharp distinction between prayer to God and prayer to other heavenly persons was probably not clear to ordinary lay people, for God's presence permeates prayers to the saints' See Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 43-4; Virginia Reinburg, "Hearing Lay People's Prayer," in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honour of Natalie Zemon Davis*, ed. Barbara B Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 199319-39, 19-39, esp. 22.

apparently deadly illness, the Virgin Mary appeared to him with two consorts in a blaze of light and told him he would get well. She left behind a cloud of exquisite perfume, and the bishop's illness was cured immediately.[124] This recognition of Mary's reputation as a healing saint eventually influenced nearly every aspect of her veneration, and by the thirteenth century, the association between the Virgin Mary and physical health figured prominently in the burgeoning number of devotional pieces of music composed in her honour. This is particularly evident in compositions intended for lay, rather than clerical, performance; as Marcia Epstein noted, the French trouvères who composed and performed the Marian paeans contained in the Chansonnier de La Vallière MS 59 (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Fr. 24406) and the Chansonnier de Clairambault (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale N.A. Fr. 1050) made repeated use of verbs such as *saner, garir,* and *mediciner* (to restore to health, to cure, and to heal, respectively) in their characterization of her attributes (Epstein, 1997: 37-8), and indeed one of the greatest artistic achievements of the medieval period, the collection of 400 songs (*cantigas*) made under the direction of King Alfonso X of Spain between 1270 and 1290, is dedicated entirely to the praise of the Virgin and to the recounting of her miraculous physical and spiritual healing powers (Anglès, 1943). The prominence of this theme in 'uncloistered', popular devotional music is striking; within the 461 songs of the Cantigas and the

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

Chansonniers de la Vallière and Clairambualt, reference is made linking Mary to the healing of sickness 158 times.[125]

The mendicant friars, and the Marian hymns of the flagellants

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

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[125] Figure based on author's own unpublished analysis of the cantigas as they appear in the edition of Walter Mettman, ed., *Cantigas De Santa Maria*, 4 vols., in "Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis", (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras, 1959). See also the postscript to this chapter, pp. 127-130.

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

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

[127] '*In ore eorum sonabant Dei voces et non hominis, et vox eorum tamquam vox multitudinis; et ambulabant homines in salvacione. Et componebant laudes divinas ad honorem Dei et beate Virginis, quas cantabant, dum se verberando incederent.*' Giuseppe Scalia, ed., *Cronica De Salimbene De Adam Da Parma, Testo Latino a Cura Di Giuseppe Scalia, Traduzione Di Berardo Rossi*, 2 vols., vol. 2, (Parma: Monte Università Parma, 2007), 1294. English translation adapted from Cyrilla Barr, *The Monophonic Lauda and the Lay Religious Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988), 32.

our only glimpse of the musical material used in these thirteenth-century processions comes from a reference in the *Annales Genuenses*, whose chronicler stated that the flagellants sang the Marian invocation, 'St Mary, our Lady / have mercy on us sinners; / and petition Jesus Christ / that he might spare us'.[128]

The uniquely demonstrative combination of physical mortification and supplicatory vocal performance of the *flagellati* experienced an enormous spike in popularity with the arrival of the Black Death in 1347 as townspeople, in a gruesome evocation of the text of the *Oratio* of the *Missa pro mortalite evitanda* which exhorts God, 'in as much as they [his people] are devoted to you, you should mercifully withdraw the flail of your anger from them' (*'ut dum tibi devotus exsistit, iracundiæ tuæ ab eo flagella clementer amoveas'*) (Troy, 1804: lxii-iii) joined *disciplinati* confraternites in droves.[129] This time, however, the phenomenon spread well beyond its spiritual home in Perugia, and chroniclers noted with wonder the occurrence of processions characterized by song and self-flagellation in areas as far-flung as London and southern Austria. The singular integration of music into the ritual of the *flagellati* is particularly evident in the account of Henricus de Hervordia, and thus worth quoting at length:

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

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[128] *'Nam in civitate Perusii coeperunt homines ire per civitatem nudi, verberando se cum flagellis, & clamando: Domina Sancta Maria, Recipite peccatores et rogate Jesum Christum, Ut nobis parcat'.* In Caffari, "Annales Genuenses Ab Anno Mc Ad Annum Usqeue Mccxciii," in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (Vol. 6)*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori (Milan: Typographia Societatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1725, col. 527. English translation in Barr, *The Monophonic Lauda and the Lay Religious Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages*, 33.

[129] According to one study, of the Florentine companies founded between 1240 and 1300, 59% were *laudesi* companies compared to 18% *disciplinati* companies and 18% charitable groups, while in the fifty years after the Black Death, *disciplinati* groups comprise 62% of all new companies. However, it is important to note that by the fourteenth century distinctions between confraternities of *laudesi* and *disciplinati*, with the exception of ritual use of flagellation, had begun to fade, and both groups drew upon a similar repertory of music. See John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 40-41.

calling themselves cross bearers or flagellants . . . They were called flagellants because of the whips [flagella] which they used in performing public penance. Each whip consisted of a stick with three knotted thongs hanging from the end. Two pieces of needle-sharp metal were run through the centre of the knots from both sides, forming a cross, the ends of which extended beyond the knots for the length of a grain of wheat or less. Using these whips they beat and whipped their bare skin until their bodies were bruised and swollen and blood rained down, spattering the walls nearby. I have seen, when they whipped themselves, how sometimes those bits of metal penetrated the flesh so deeply that it took more than two attempts to pull them out. Flocking together from every region, perhaps even from every city, they overran the whole land. In open country they straggled along behind the cross in no particular order, but when they came to cities, towns and villages they formed themselves into a procession, with hoods or hats pulled down over their foreheads, and sad and downcast eyes, they went through the streets singing a sweet hymn [*cum cantu devoto dulcique melodia*]. In this fashion they entered the church and shut themselves in while they stripped off their clothes and left them with a guard. They covered themselves from the navel down with a pleated linen cloth like the women's undergarment which we call a kirtle, the upper part of the body remaining bare. Then they took the whips in their hands. When that was done, the north door of the church, if it had one, was opened. The eldest came out of the church first and threw himself to the ground immediately to the east of the door, beside the path. After him, the second lay down on the west side, then the third next to the first, the fourth next to the second and so on. Some lay with right hand raised, as though taking an oath, others lay on their belly or back, or

on their right or left side, representing in this way the sins for which they were performing penance. After this, one of them would strike the first with a whip, saying, 'May God grant you remission of all your sins. Arise'. And he would get up, and do the same to the second, and all the others in turn did the same. When they were all on their feet, and arranged two by two in procession, two of them in the middle of the column would begin singing a hymn [*cantio*] in a high voice, with a sweet melody. They sang one verse and then the others took it up and repeated it after them, and then the singers sang the second verse and so on until the end. But whenever they came to the part of the hymn which mentioned the passion of Christ they all suddenly threw themselves down prostrate on the ground, regardless of where they were, and whether the ground was clean or filthy, whether there were thorns or thistles or nettles or stones. And they did not lower themselves gradually to their knees or steadying themselves in some other way, but dropped like logs, flat on their belly and face, with arms outstretched, and, lying there like crosses, would pray. A man would need a heart of stone to watch this without tears. At a sign given by one of them they would rise and resume their procession as before. And usually they sing the hymn [*cantio*] three times, and prostrate themselves, as described, three times. And then, when they have returned to the same door by which they left the church, they re-enter and resume their clothes, taking off the linen cloths. As they leave the church they ask for nothing, requesting neither food nor lodging, but accepting with gratitude the many offerings freely made to them.[130]

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[130] '*Eodem anno gens sine capite, sui multitudine et adventus sui subitatione mirabilis universis, ex omnibus subito Theutonie partibus exsurgunt, cruciferos se vel flagellarios appellantes. . . Cruciferi autem dicebantur, vel quia crucem in viis suis ante se ferebant [start of p. 281] et illam sequebantur, vel quia ad modum crucis in processione prosternebantur, vel quia cruce super vestes suas assuta*

Records of the flagellant processions elsewhere in Europe similarly indicate the prominence of the singing; a 1348 account from the monastery of Neuberg, in southern Austria, describes the procession of men 'singing beautiful hymns [*cantilenas*] in honour of the Passion in their mother tongue and beating themselves so hard with knotted whips that drops of blood spattered the roadway',[131] while the chronicle of Fosses contains a brief rhyme which details how 'pilgrims' (*pellerins*)

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signabantur. Flagellarii vero dicti sunt propter flagella, quibus penitentiam agere videbantur. Fuit quodlibet flagellum baculus quidam, a quo tres cordule in extremitatibus suis, nodos magnos habentes, dependebant, sic quod utrimque duo ferramenta, sicut acus acuta per medios nodos in modum crucis transeuntia, ad longitudinem medii grani tritici vel parum plus nodos ipsos exibant. Per talia flagella se nudos percutiebant et flagellabant, in tantum quod corpus livore deturpatum tumescebat, et sanguis ad inferiora defluebat, immo sparsione sua parietes vicinos deturpabat. Vidi, cum se flagellarent, aliquando ferramenta dicta carni taliter infigi, quod uno tractu quandoque, quandoque duobus, non extrahebantur. Ex singulis autem nationibus vel fortassis et urbibus se consociantes, per totam terram discurrebant, in campis et agris sine ordine, sicut occurrisset, crucem sequentes; sed cum ad civitates, urbes et villas magnas et opida venissent, processionaliter incedebant, caputio vel pileo parum ad frontem velandam protracto, tristibusque et demissis oculis, per plateas, cum cantu devoto dulcique melodia. Et sic ecclesiam intrantes, claudunt eam super se, vestes deponentes, sub custodia ponunt. Pannis lineis multas plicas habentibus, ut est inferior pars vestis muliebris, que Theutonice dicitur kedel, corpus suum am umbilico inferius cooperiunt, superiori parte totaliter nuda remanente; flagella manibus accipiunt. Quibus actis, ostium ecclesie meridionale, si fuerit aliquod, aperitur. Senior prius ecclesiam egreditur, ad orientalem partem ostii juxta viam se prosternit super terram. Post eum secundus ad partem occidentalem, postea tertius juxta primum, et quartus juxta secundum, et sic deinceps se prosternunt. Quidam dextram sublevando quasi juraturi, quidam super ventrem, quidam super dorsum, quidam in latere dextro vel sinistro jacent, exprimentes sic peccata, pro quibus penitentiam agebant. Post hec unus eorum cum flagello primum percutit, dicens: 'Deus tribuat tibi remissionem peccatorum tuorum omnium; surge'! Et ille surgit. Post similiter facit de secundo, et sic per ordinem de singulis aliis. Omnibus stantibus et binis binisque processionaliter ordinatis et sociatis, duo ex eis in medio processionis incipiunt alta voce cantionem unam devotam cum melodia dulci, unum versum ejus ex integro prosequentes. Et processione tota illum versum cantando resumente, cantores secundum versum prosequuntur. Et processio post eos iterum similiter prosequitur usque in finem. Cum autem psallendo venerint ad partem cantionis, ubi de passione Cristi mentio fit, ubicumque tunc fuerint, sive terra munda, sive lutum, sive spine, sive tribuli, sive urtica, sive lapides ibi sint, se subito totos ex alto proni prosternunt in terram, non genibus successive vel aliquo alio fulcimento se demittentes, sed quasi ligna cadentes, se totos super ventrem, faciem et brachia proicientes, et sic in modum crucis jacentes, orant. Cor lapideum esset, quod talia sine lacrimis posset aspicere. Post signo dato per unum eorum, surgunt, cantionem suam processionaliter sicut prius prosequentes. Et ut plurimum cantionem dictam ter complent, et ter, ut dictum est, prosternuntur. Et tunc cum redierint ad ostium ecclesie, per quod exierant, in ecclesiam regrediuntur, vestes suas resumunt, pannos lineos deponunt, et procedentes de ecclesia, nichil a quoquam petunt, nec cibum nec hospitium requirentes, sed eis oblata libenter et cum gratitudine multa recipientes.' Augustus Potthast, ed., *Liber De Rebus Memorabilioribus Sive Chronicon Henrici De Hervordia* (Göttingen: Sumptibus Dieterichianis, 1859), 280-81. English translation in Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 150-52. Emphasis added.

[131] '*canentes materna lingua de passione Domini dulces ac devotas cantilenas; verberantes se nodosis flagellis, et tam dure, quod sanguis guttatim super pavimentum spargeretur.*' From the *Continuatio Novimontensis*, in Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*, 10 vols., vol. 9, (Hannover: Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1851), 675. English translation in Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 60.

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

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

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[132] '*Alle Maszelaine mil treicent / Un mains de cinquante, / Pellerins aloient leur cors batant / Deis cornes de fier treis poindant, / Si kal teirre chaioit li sant. / De dieu Mariie aloient chantant, / De leur peichiens mierchit criant.*' Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*, 10 vols., vol. 4, (Hannover: Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1841), 34.

[133] '*Dicto vero anno Domini millesimo CCC^mo XLIX^no, circiter festum sancti Michaelis, plus quam vj^cc homines, pro majore parte de Selond et Houland oriundi, per Flandriam venientes Londonias, aliquando in ecclesia sancti Pauli et aliquando locis aliis ejusdem civitatis, bis in die, in conspectu populi, a femoribus usque ad talos panno lineo cooperti, toto residuo corporis denudato, supra caputque singuli habentes singulos capellos cruce rubea ante et retro signatos, singulique habentes in manu dextera flagellum cum tribus cordulis, singulis habentibus unum nodum (per mediumque cujuslibet nodi illac et istac quasi acus acuti infixi fuerunt), per medium processionis quolibet post alium nudo pede incedente, seipsos cum dictis flagellis in nudo sanuginolento corpore flagellarunt, ipsorum iiij^or cantantibus in idiomate proprio, ceteris omnibus dictis iiij^or respondentibus ad modum letaniae a Christocolis decantandae; et omnes simul trina vice in hujusmodi processione se ad terram, per modum crucis extensis manibus, prosternebant. Continue, ut praefertur, cantantes, et ultimo ipsorum sic jacentium inchoando, quilibet ultra alium passum faciens cum suo flagello sub se jacentem semel percussit; sicque de uno ad reliquum, usque ad compeltum numerum sic jacentium, similem ritum quilibet observavit.*' Cited in Paul Fredericq, ed., *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae*, 5 vols., vol. 2, (Gent: J. Vuylsteke, 1896), 121; English in Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 154.

the chroniclers who decide which elements should be recorded for posterity. In the case of those observing the *flagellati*, those priorities apparently varied widely. Of all the written accounts of public processions involving self-flagellation made during the Black Death, I have only encountered three which make a claim to recording either the texts or the music actually used in performance,[134] and only a single source contains both. The sources consist of:

- A manuscript in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France which contains an account of 'the tenor of a prayer sung [by the flagellants] as they beat themselves with their scourges' ('*Item s'ensuit la teneur d'une prière qu'ilz (les flagellans) disoient en chantant, quant ilz se batoient de leurs escourgées*') in the Walloon region of modern Belgium,[135]
- A text of a fourteenth-century flagellant song (*Geisslerlied*) found on the reverse sides of parchment containing medical recipes now in the Berliner Staadsbibliothek,[136]
- An account of the rituals of the flagellants in 1349 in the German city of Reutlingen containing (for the only time) both verbal and melodic indications

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

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

[136] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Culturbesitz, Special Collections (Meusebach Library). Published in H.F. Massmann, *Erläuterungen Zum Wessobrunner Gebet Des 8ten Jahrhunderts. Nebst Zweien Noch Ungedruckten, Gedichten Des Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: 1824), 39-41.

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

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

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

[138] In his original discussion of the Meusebach parchment Massmann stated that the flagellant song was written in 'Saxon' (*Sassisch*), though his conclusion has since been challenged by other authors who argue that the language is very similar to the Middle Dutch spoken in the area around Overijssel and Geldern. See Fredericq, ed., *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae*, vol. II, 139.

Original	Line	Translation
Sve siner sele wille pleghen	1	Whoe'er to save his soul is fain,
De sal gelden unde weder geuen		Must pay and render back again.
So wert siner sele raed		His safety so shall he consult:
Des help uns leue herre goed		Help us, good Lord, to this result.
Nu tredet here we botsen wille	5	Yet that repent your crimes, draw nigh.
Vle wi io de hetsen helle		From the burning hell we fly,
Lucifer is en bose geselle		From Satan's wicked company.
Sven her hauet		Whom he leads
Mit peke he en lauet		With pitch he feeds.
Datz vle wi ef wir hauen sin	10	If we be wise we this shall flee.
Des help uns maria koninghin		Maria! Queen! We trust in thee,
Das wir dines kindes hulde win		To move thy Son to sympathy.
Jesus crist de wart ke vanghen		Jesus Christ was captive led,
An en cruce wart he ge hanghen		And to the cross was riveted.
Dat cruce wart des blodes rod	15	The cross was reddened with his gore
Wer klaghen sin marter unde sin dod		And we his martyrdom deplore.
Sunder war mide wilt tu mi lonen		"Sinner, canst thou to me atone.
Dre negele unde en dornet crone		Three pointed nails, a thorny crown,
Das cruce vrone en sper en stich		The holy cross, a spear, a wound,
Sunder datz leyd ich dor dich	20	These are the cruel pangs I found.
Was wltu nu liden dor mich		What wilt thou, sinner, bear for me?"
So rope wir herre mit luden done		Lord, with loud voice we answer thee,=

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 4.4. (cont.) Song of the German flagellants, as it appears in the Meusebach parchment[139]

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

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[139] Guide to superscripts:
[a] = Massmann, H.F. *Erläuterungen Zum Wessobrunner Gebet Des 8ten Jahrhunderts. Nebst Zweien Noch Ungedruckten, Gedichten Des Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Berlin, 1824, 137-39
[b] = Hecker, J F C, Walker Robert Milnes, G F Naylor, John William Trotter, York County Hospital. Medical Library, and York Medical Society. *Epidemics of the Middle Ages.* London: The Sydenham Society, 1844, 65-68.

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

Section 2 in Hugo von Reutlingen (*Alia cancio*)

Hugo Text[a]	**Concordant Line in Meusebach**	**Meusebach Text**[b]
U tret herzuo der bössen welle.		
fiehen von die haissun helle.	6	Vle wi io de hetsen helle
Lucifer ist bös geselle.	7	Lucifer is en bose geselle
Wen er behapt mith bech er lapt	8, 9	Sven her hauet / Mit peke he en lauet
dez fliehen wir in	10 (first half)	Datz vle wi ef wir hauen sin
hab wir den sin.	10 (second half)	Datz vle wi ef wir hauen sin

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

Section 3 in Hugo von Reutlingen (*Quando flagellatores uolebant se flagellare*)

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

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

Hugo Text[a]	Concordant Line in Meusebach	Meusebach Text[b]
Dez hilf uns lieber herre got,	4	Des help uns leue herre goed
des bit wir dich dufh dinen tot.	25	Des bidde wi dich dor dinen dod
Sunder wa mit wilt du mir lonen.	17	Sunder war mide wilt tu mi lonen
Dri nagel und an dûrnen cronen.	18	Dre negele unde en dornet crone
Das creuze fron. An sper. Ain stich.	19	Das cruce vrone en sper en stich
sunder, daz laid ich als durch dich	20	Sunder datz leyd ich dor dich
Waz wilt du nu liden durh mich.	21	Was wltu nu liden dor mich
So rösen wir in lutem done.	22	So rope wir herre mit luden done
unsern dienst geb wir ze lone	23	Unsen denst den nem to lone
Durh dich vergiess wir unser bluot.		
Das		

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

Hugo Text[a]	Concordant Line in Meusebach	Meusebach Text[b]
Ut supra usque ad illum locum: Sunder		
Ir lûgener ir mainfwörere		
ir sint dem lieben got ummere		
Ir bihtend dhaine sunde gar.		
dez mosd ir in die helle warn.		
Da sind ir eweclich verlorn.		
Darzuo so bringt ûch gottes zorn		
Da vor behöt uns herre got.	64	Dor vor behode uns herre god

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

Hugo Text[a]	Concordant Line in Meusebach	Meusebach Text[b]
Dez bit wir dich durch dinen tot.	25	Des bidde wi dich dor dinen dod
Jesus wart gelast mit gallen.	49	Jesus wart gelauet mid gallen
des fûln wir an ain creuze uallen	50	Des sole wi an en cruce vallen
U hebent us die ûwern hend.		
Daz got daz grozze sterben wend.	51	Er heuet uch mit uwen armen
Nu reggen us die uwren arm	52	Dat sic god ouer uns en barme
um daz sich got ûber uns erbarm	53	Jesus dorch dine namen dry
Jesus durch diner namen dri	54	Nu make uns hir van sunde vry
Du mach uns herre vor fundenfri	55	Jesus dor dine wnden rod
Jesus durch dine wnde rot.	56	Be hod uns vor den gehen dod
behött uns vor dem gehen tot.		

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

Section 4 in Hugo von Reutlingen (*Ad secundam genuflexionem*)

Hugo Text[a]	**Concordant Line in Meusebach**	**Meusebach Text**[b]
Maria stuont in grossen nötten	43	Maria stund in grotzen noden
do si ir liebes kind sach tötten	44	Do se ire leue kint sa doden
Un swert ir durch die sele snaît.	45	En svert dor ire sele snet
Sünder das las dir wesen laît	46	Sunder dat la di wesen led
Dez hilf uns maria kunigin	11	Des help uns maria koninghin
daz wir dins kindes huld gewin	12	Das wir dines kindes hulde win
Jesus rüft in himelriche	73	Cristus rep in hemelrike
sinen engeln all geliche	74	Sinen engelen al gelike
dû cristenhait wil mir entwichen.	75	De cristenheit wil mi ent wichen

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

Hugo Text[a]	Concordant Line in Meusebach	Meusebach Text[b]
Dez wil ich lan die welt zergan	76	Des wil lan och se vor gaen
Da uor behött uns herre got.	64	Dor vor behode uns herre god
dez bitt wir dich durch dinen tot.	25	Des bidde wi dich dor dinen dod
Maria bat ir kint so sössen	77	Marie bat ire kint so sere
Vil liebes kind la si gebössen	78	Leue kint la se di boten
So wil ich schiggen daz si mössen	79	Dat wil ich sceppen dat se moten
bekeren sich dez bitt ich dich.	80, 81	Bekeren sich. / Des bidde ich dich
Des hilf uns maria *ut supra*		

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

Hugo Text[a]	Concordant Line in Meusebach	Meusebach Text[b]
Wel man und vrow ir e zerbrechent.	59	De vrowe unde man ir e tobreken
daz wil got selber an si rechen.	60	Dat wil god selven an en wreken (60)
Swebel. Bech. Und auch die galle.	61	Sveuel pik und och de galle
Daz gûsd der tieffel in si alle	62	Dat gutet de duuel in se alle
sûrwar si sint des tieffels spot.	63	Vor war sint se des duuels spot
Da uor behött uns herre got *ut supra*	64	Dor vor behode uns herre god
Jesus wart gelapt mit galle.	49	Jesus wart gelauet mid gallen

ut supra usque ad illium locum: Maria stunt u.

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

Section 5 in Hugo von Reutlingen (*Ad tertiam genuflexionem*)

Hugo Text[a]	**Concordant Line in Meusebach**	**Meusebach Text**[b]
O we dir arme wvchere	87	Owe du arme wokere
dû wag ist dir an tail ze swere		
Du lihst die mark all umm ein pfunt.	88	Du bringst en lod up en punt
daz zûht dich in der helle grunt.	89	Dat senket din an der helle grunt
Da bist du eweclich verlorn ue	93	Des sin gy eweliken vor loren
Ut supra in primo: Ir lûgener.		
Ir morder und ir strazrôbere.	90	Ir morder und ir straten rouere

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

Hugo Text[a]	Concordant Line in Meusebach	Meusebach Text[b]
div rede ist iv an tail ze swere		
ir went iuch ûber niemen erbarn.	92	Ir ne wilt uch ouer nemende barmen
dez mosd ir in die helle uarn.		
Da sind ir eweclich verlorn ue	93	Des sin gy eweliken vor loren
ut supra in fine primi.		
Wer den fritag nit enuaftät.		
und den suntag nit enrastet		
zwar der mois in der helle pin.		

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

Hugo Text[a]	Concordant Line in Meusebach	Meusebach Text[b]
unt eweclich verflüchet sin		
Da uor behött uns herre got.	64	Dor vor behode uns herre god
dez bitt wir dich durch dinen tot.	25	Des bidde wi dich dor dinen dod
Dû e dû ist ain raines leben.		
die hat got selber uns gegeben		
Der die entert der wirt verlorn.		
Darzü ue *ut supra in primo in fine*		
Ich ratt iv vrow und mannen allen		

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

Hugo Text[a]	Concordant Line in Meusebach	Meusebach Text[b]
daz ir lant die hohfart vallen.		
Durch got so lant die hohfart varn		
so wil sich got ûber ûch erbarn.		
Dez hilf uns maria k. *Ut supra in II.*		
Wissent ouch das ganze rôwe		
we die hat mit rehter trûwe		
Mitt biht mit püss mit wider geben		
dem wil got gen an ewig leben		
Des hilf uns maria kûnighin	11	Des help uns maria koninghin

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

Hugo Text[a]	Concordant Line in Meusebach	Meusebach Text[b]
daz wir dins kindes huld gewin	12	Das wir dines kindes hulde win
Dî erd erbidemt, zercliebent die steine.	32	De erde beuet och kleuen de steyne
jr hertû herz ir fülent wainen.	33	Lebe hertze du salt weyne
Winent tögen mit den ougen	34	Wir wenen trene mit den oghen
habt in herezen cristes smercen	paraphrase of 36-37	Mit unsen sinnen unde mit hertzen / Dor uns leyd crist vil manighen smertzen
flaht ûch ser durch cristes ere.	38-39	Nu slaed w sere / Dor cristus ere.
daz ist uns fûr die sunde gut.	27	Dat is uns tho den suden guot
dez hilf uns liber herre got	4	Des help uns leue herre goed

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

Hugo Text[a]	Concordant Line in Meusebach	Meusebach Text[b]
Jesus wart gelapt mit galle *etc.*	49	Jesus wart gelauet mid gallen
ut supra in primo usque ad illum locum: Maria stunt		

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

Guide to superscripts:

[a] = Runge, Paul, Heinrich Schneegans, and Heino Pfannenschmid. *Die Lieder Und Melodien Der Geissler Des Jahres 1349: Nach Der Aufzeichnung Hugos Von Reutlingen*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900, p. 36-40.

[b] = Massmann, H.F. *Erläuterungen Zum Wessobrunner Gebet Des 8ten Jahrhunderts. Nebst Zweien Noch Ungedruckten, Gedichten Des Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1824, p. 137-39.

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

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[140] The translation of the second invocation as above depends on the interpretation of *playes* as an intelligible pluralisation of *plaie* (sore or wound, in modern French) However, this word is not found in Frédéric Godefroy's magisterial 10 volume *Dictionnaire De L'ancienne Langue Française Et Tous Ses Dialectes De Ixe Au Xve Siècle* (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1889), while *cinq* is a virtual homonym of *sang* (blood). Reference to the '*sang rouge*' of the incarnate Christ is a common trope religious composition. Such substitutions are a hallmark of oral transmission, and indeed of 'oral composition' in the model of Milman Parry and Albert Lord—one wonders whether the scribe, as he tried to remember the songs he heard, transcribed the couplets as they occured to him, in a way that may or may not resemble their original performance, and when he was not entirely sure, simply composed something afresh which worked contextually and metrically. However, even if this were the case, additional factors are obviously at work. The presence of lines in the Germanic song texts which lack rhyming partners imply either that Hugo von Reutlingen and/or the scribe of the Meusebach parchment was copying an existing written document or was inconsistent in transcription from

Another common feasture of these songs is that, although they are all in vernacular languages, they make direct references to Latin texts of Marian devotion. In the Wallonian songs, this occurs by direct quotation in Latin of a number of Marian epithets which figure prominently in devotional poetry and music (*Ave regina* [*coelorum*], *maris stella*, *Ave* [Maria, *gratia plena*). In the Germanic songs, the allusion occurs through a paraphrasing translation made of the opening invocations of the hymn *Stabat Mater* (table 4.6.):

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

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

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

Conclusions

What general conclusions can be drawn from this eclectic body of evidence? The most important observation to emerge has been that even in focusing on the response to plague in liturgical music (a genre which is, after all strongly associated with strong social inertia and regulation by the Church hierarchy), our attention has repeatedly been drawn to the chaotic and flexible realm of personal and domestic performance in the late Middle Ages. The absence of rigid institutional control is first suggested by the many chants for the *Recordare Domine* and votive masses which cannot be associated with the calendrical cycle of the Temporale and Sanctorale, and instead reflect more time-specific, 'personal' concerns. Such a view is further supported by the large amount of local variability of the melodies and texts used in propers such as the Alleluia verse. The variation in the texts and chants of the votive masses is also paralleled by a diversity in chants and texts characteristic of oral transmission in the songs of the flagellants. A variety of additional avenues also suggest that personal experience and emotion, exemplified in the musical tribute to the plague sufferer Obrecht in Verdelot's setting of the *Recordare Domine*, figure prominently in this repertoire. Carraciolo's inclusion of a motet to St Sebastian in a collection of madrigal settings intended for entertainment highlights the domestic, extra-liturgical element, as does the copying of the *Recordare Domine* mass propers in the margins of the grammatical texts in Hunter MS 432. The wording of the texts set in this repertoire (in particular Hunter MS 432 and Bs 40608's use of *sanare* in the Alleluia verse, and the reference to the *aeris temperiem* in the devotions to St Roch in the Books of Hours and the Bergamasque Mass to the saint) additionally hint at the converge of natural philosophy and medicine with musical and liturgical liturgical life.

Behind these few surviving relics of music associated with disease and epidemics, we thus can catch fleeting glimpses of a much larger aural culture in which Latin hymns and vernacular songs mixed and reconfigured to meet the needs of a devout and musically-sensitive populace. While the depradations of the plague may evoke images of fear, isolation through the imposition of quarantines and the stifling of natural commerce, the music reveals an alternative world of social exchange and diffusion prompted by the displays of communal solidarity in the face of the universal threat.

Postscript to Chapter 4

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

To illustrate the point, one of these potential avenues is described below. It is well established that 'the Muslim conquests that began in the seventh century were followed in the eighth and ninth centuries by assimilation of Greek philosophy and science into an Islamic intellectual context', which was then translated into Latin in 'the endeavour to secure access to the whole range of Greco-Arabic philosophy and science so characteristic of western learning between the late eleventh and early

thirteenth centuries' (Siraisi, 1990: 11, 15). Most significant for medicine were the works of Galen, Hippocrates, and Ptolemy (particularly the compendium of four books known to medieval medical commentators simply as the *Tetrabiblos*), which described the effects that the celestial motion described in the cosmogony of the *Almagest* had on the Earth based on their ability to heat, cool, moisten, and dry and thus to affect the complexion of living things. The synthesis of the ideas of these scholars is apparent in the *Kitāb al-lahw wa'l-malāhī* (Book of diversion and musical instruments) by Ibn Khurradādhbih (c. 205/820-300/911)[141], which discusses the effect of music on the intellect and the soul, how 'the philosophers made the four strings of the *ʿud* [an Arabic instrument widely considered to be the physical and etymological ancestor of the European lute] correspond to the four humours' and 'the influence of music on the body and the soul, its therapeutic effect, and its influence on animals, including philosopher's sayings and tales about King David' (Shiloah RISM p. 193-194). These ideas are developed more fully in the epistle on music attributed to the '*Ikhwān al-Safā*' (Brethren of Purity), a fraternity based in Basra in the later tenth century 'dedicated to the pursuit of holiness and truth, especially the truth of (ancient) Greek science' (Horden, 2001: 140). Their writings greatly clarify and expand the remarks of some of the earlier authors, explaining how (in the words of the *Ikhwān al-Safā*, as translated by Amnon Shiloah) 'melodies which are composed of notes and rhythms (*aswāt wanaghamāt*) leave an impression on the soul similar to that made by the artisan's work on the material which is the substratum of his art.' (Shiloah 'Dimension, p. 12). More specifically, ''The high sounds are hot; they heat the mixture of humours of the compact chymes and mitigate them. The low sounds are cold; they moisten the

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[141] For chronologies relating to Muslim authors, I have followed the convention of indicating the year in the format 'hidjra date/common era date'.

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

> In effect, the first string is comparable to the element of fire, and its sonority corresponds to the heat and its intensity. The second string is comparable to the element of air and its sonority corresponds to the softness of air and its gentleness. The third string is comparable to the element of water and its freshness. The fourth string is comparable to the element of earth and its sonority corresponds to the heaviness of earth and its density. These diverse qualities are given to bodies in terms of their regional relations and the effects that their notes exercise on the mixtures of the temperaments of those who listen to them. In effect, the sonority of the first string reinforces the humour of yellow bile, augments its vigour and its effect; it possesses a nature opposed to that of the humour of phlegm, and softens it. The sonority of the second string reinforces the humour of the blood, augments its vigour and its effect; it posesses a nature opposed to that of the humour of black bile, it refines it and makes it more tender. The sonority of the third string reinforces the humour of phlegm, augments its force and its effect; it

posesses a nature opposed to that of yellow bile, it is suited to break its irascibility. The sonority of the fourth string reinforces the humour of black bile, augments its vigour and its effect, is opposed to the humour of blood and attenuates its boiling. . . If the notes produced by these strings merge into one harmony in the melodies that correspond to them and if these melodies are used during the various parts of the day and night whose nature is opposed to that of the illnesses and ailments in force, these melodies would appease the illnesses and ailments in question, would break their violence and alleviate the pains of the sick, for things similar in their natures, once multiplied and united, gain in strength, exercise an evident effect and overcome what is in opposition to them. (Ibid, p. 43-44).

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

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[142] For more information on the cultural milieu of the Cantigas, , see Joseph F O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), partic. 100-146; Martin G Cunningham, ed., *Cantigas De Loor of Alfonso X (El Sabio)*, (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2000). For information on Arabic medical scholarship and the potential influence of the Arabic world on western Europe, the two RISM volumes (B/X/ 1-2) written by Amnon Shiloah on the theory and practice of music in Islam form an indispensable guide. See also Amnon Shiloah, *Music in the World of Islam: A Socio-Cultural Study* (London: Scolar Press, 1995).

Chapter 5. The Music of the *Disciplinati* and *Laudesi*

Introduction

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

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

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[143] Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence*, 51.; translation from the Italian in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Compagnie Religione Soppresse, vol 537, Statuti della compagnia del Crocefisso di Santa Maria Maddalena "dei Bianchi", prologue. Although this account (whose original remains unpublished and was unavailable for consultation by the author) was written in the sixteenth

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

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century, the account Weissman gives of it corresponds closely with late-fourteenth century descriptions such as the chronicle for 1399 of 'the anonymous Florentine'. According to more contemporary account, at the time of the processions of the Bianchi in Tuscany 'all men of good humour [*buon amore*] embraced and kissed each other, and all sang that lauda which begins thus: "Have mercy, o eternal god, peace, peace, o charitable lord: look not upon our errors" [*Misericordia, eterno Iddio, pace, pace, o Signor pio: non guardate al nostro errore*]. And then all sang spiritual laude calling for peace [*laude di Dio chiamando pace*], and the Cross went in front'. See Elina Bellondi, Giosue Carducci, and Ludovico Antonio Muratori, eds., *Cronica Volgare Di Anonimo Fiorentino: Dall'anno 1385 Al 1409*, in "Rerum Italicarum Scriptores: Raccolta Degli Storici Italiani Dal Cinquecento Al Millecinquecento", vol. 27, part 2 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1918), 241-2.

circumstantially linked with *disciplinati* performance in times of plague. The second stanza of the *lauda* '*Regina pretiosa*' of the Florentine Magliabechiano codex contains the line, 'if they [the supplicants] have a contrite heart let them go to the dance [in 'the divine court of heaven'] whipping themselves', '*se egli avrà il cor pentuto, / vadasi scoriando a questa danza* [*nella divina corte*]'; and given the compilation date of the manuscript, it is easy to hypothesize that this represents the diffusion of music from a confraternity of *disciplinati* into a wider performing population. Further implications of the fluid nature of this repertory are found in the fact that a musically notated, seven-strophe *lauda* in the thirteenth century Cortona laudario reappears with additional strophes describing the act of self-flagellation in a codex dating from 1356 in the archives of the civic hospital of Udine belonging to the Confraternità di Santa Maria dei Battuti [St. Mary of the Flagellants] (Fabris, 1907: 36-39; Liuzzi, 1935: 270-271). The text and music for these *laude* appear in Appendix G (see pp. 296-308).

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

originated in the wake of the Black Death: the plague Madonna della Misericordia (see Figure 5.1.):

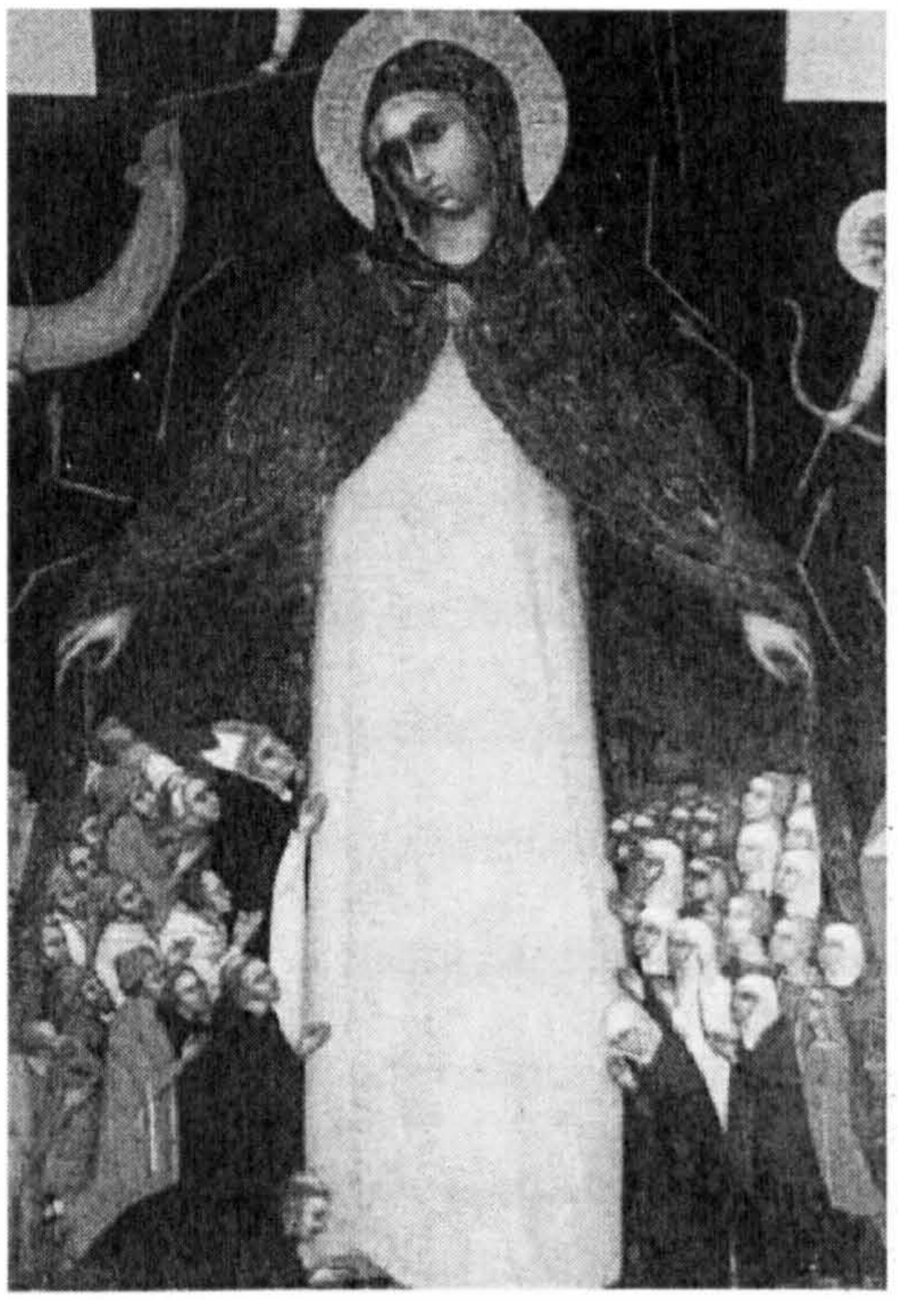

Figure 5.1. Barnaba da Modena, Plague Madonna della Misericordia, 1370s. S. Maria dei Servi (Genoa, Italy).

In this image, 'a wrathful deity—who may be identified as either Christ or God the Father—appears in the upper area brandishing the plague arrows against a sinful humanity. In a striking reversal of traditional hierarchies of scale, the tiny figure of the enraged divinity is dwarfed by the Virgin, whose towering presence dominates the image. . . Plague arrows rain down uselessly and break upon her outstretched mantle. With a single act, the terrible anger of the divine judge is reduced to impotency: God's chosen victims are safe from punishment within the charmed circle of her protection' (Marshall, 1994: 506-508). There are also parallels between these visual and musical compositions in the use of a visual 'hierarchy of scale,' in which a figure's importance is communicated by its relative

size in the image (which clearly emphasizes the Virgin Mary is in Barnaba's painting), and the musical hierarchy of importance implied through repetition (as does the Marian refrain of *Regina pretiosa*).While earlier art historians had cited the perceived naivety of "popular" faith for the development of visual genre, in her doctoral thesis Marshall documented the 'involvement of a broad range of individuals and groups in commissioning images of the plague Madonna della Misericordia, including confraternities, communal officials, and secular and regular clergy of all ranks and orders' (1980: App. 2, 267-272; 1994: 510). It is thus possible that penitential *laude* of the *disciplinati* and *laudesi* such as the *Regina pretiosa* represent an aural counterpart to the paintings of the Plague Madonna della Misericordia, as Italian parishes and lay communities under threat of epidemic plague expressed their desire for relief through artistic votive offerings grounded in a common belief in the doctrine of intercession and in contrition as an avenue to spiritual health.

Physicians and the *lauda*

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

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[144] See for example the following excerpt from the 1382 statutes of the Compagnia di Sant'Agostino (Fas, CRS A VIII, 1, fol. 3v): 'We ordain that our company . . . should always have one priestly governor, two counsellors, one procurer of supplies, one inspector, , one secretary, one chamberlain, three masters of the novices, three infirmerers, three procurers of supplies for the infirm. . . and a physician.' "*Ordeniamo che la nostra compagnia . . abbi sempre uno padre governatore due consigliere uno proveditore uno apuntatore uno scrivano uno camarlingho tre maestri di novitii tre*

'*infermieri*', for which there were usually several for each company, who were responsible for visiting the sick, aiding ill brothers with the management of their finances and personal affairs, and recording confession (cf. Weissman, 1982: 130). What were these doctors doing? Is it possible to see their influence in the repertoire of the *laudesi*? One clue might lie in the sustained use of a vocabulary of fragrance and smell in the sung texts. A catalogue of lines containing images of olfaction in the *laude* of the Florence Laudario appears in Appendix H (see pp. 309-312), and while it is clear that in many cases the evocation of smell is part of a well-worn metaphoric pairing between a venerated figure and a cherished flower, these are many instances where this explanation appears insufficient. To take only a few examples, the *lauda* immediately following the *disciplinati*-related *Regina pretiosa* in the Florence laudario (item 37) describes the Virgin Mary as both a 'fragrant rose' and 'fine musk', '*aulente rosa et moscado fino*' (Wilson and Barbieri, 1995: text on lxx, music on 43) while a *lauda* in honour of St George demonstrates the apparent validity of the opposite polarity of the image. According to the *lauda*, prior to the arrival of St George the people of Silena 'gave their children by lot / to the dragon, in order to escape death / from his poisonous stench', '*lor figli davano per sorte / a lo draco, per fugir la morte / dello suo fetor velenoso*' (Wilson and Barbieri, 1995: text on lxxxiv, music on 80). Later *laude* take the olfactory symbolism to even more dizzying heights; a *lauda* which now exists as a *contrafactum* of a sixteenth-century canzonetta by Orazio Vecchi likens the Virgin Mary to 'musk-deer or ambergris',

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infermieri tre proveditore d'infermi . . . e un medico." Cited in Barr, *The Monophonic Lauda and the Lay Religious Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages*, 154.

('*muschio od ambra*'; see Deford and Haussmann, 1993: 122), the latter of which is a pungent waxy secretion of the intestines of sperm whales.[145]

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

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

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[145] Albeit one prized for its odour; See J.M. Riddle, 'Pomum Ambrae: amber and ambergris in plague remedies', Sudhoff's Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften XLVIII, 1964, pp. 111-22.

[146] Translated in Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 161. Similar comments can be found in countless medical tracts from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, including (most relevantly for our current purposes) the *Consilium contra pestilentiam* of Gentile da Foligno (d. 1348), a prominent Italian physician who taught at the universities of Bologna and Padua. According to da Foligno, '"It must be believed that whatever may be the case in regard to the aforesaid causes, the immediate and particular cause is a certain poisonous material which is generated about the heart and lungs . . . [which,] . . . breathed up with the pestilential air, multiplies itself while feeding upon the moist humours of the body, till it reaches the heart and drives out the vital spirit.' See Karl Sudhoff, ed., *Pestschriften Aus Den Ersten 150 Jahren Nach Her Epidemie Des 'Schwarzes Todes'*, vol. 5, in "Archiv Für Geschichte Der Medizin", (Leipzig: [s.n.], 1911).; translated in Jon Arrizabalaga, "Facing the Black Death: Perceptions and Reactions of University Medical Practitioners," in *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, ed. Luis Garcìa-Ballester, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994237-288, 239; Campbell, *The Black Death and Men of Learning*, 37-54.

[147] For examples, see the legislation passed by the Comune of Pistoia in 1348 and that of the City of London in 1371and 1388, translated into English in Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 198-206.

this as often as a foetid or bad odour can be detected in the air, and especially when the weather is foggy or the air tainted, and it can protect against the epidemic."[148] The references to aromaticity in these *laude* thus seem to be implying that the saints are benevolent protectors which can shield them from the foul pestilential influences of bad air, and may in fact represent one channel of the influence of physicians and medical theory on the ideology and performance of the singing confraternities.

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

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

[149] See Johannes Wolf, "Bonaiutus De Casentino, Ein Dichter-Komponist Um 1300," *Acta Musicologica* 9, no. 1/2 (1937): 1-51-5. For more information concerning the relationship between music and medicine in Italian universites at the beginning of the Ars Nova, see Nino Pirrotta, "Due Sonetti Musicali Del Secolo Xiv," in *Miscelànea En Homenaje a Monsenor Higinio Anglès* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientìficas, 1958-61651-62, 657-661.

medicine and music. Perhaps the most illustrious example is that of Giordano Cardano (1501-76), a mathematician/physician who taught at the universities of Pavia and Bologna, maintained a highly regarded private medical practice, and wrote three treatises which deal extensively with music.[150] It was not unheard even to move professionally from one field to another. A degree in medicine was awarded in 1487 to one '*Ulricus Pilcer de Constantia cantor ducis Ferrariae*', with two of the three witnesses being fellow singers the *capella* of Ercole I D'Este.[151] Unfortunately, as Nan Carpenter noted in a classic study of music in early universities, it is difficult to directly 'evaluate the place of music among studies in the early university from academic statutes, for no such documents for the arts faculty exist from the fourteenth century and no references to music appear in the statutes for the *Facultas Artistarum et Medicorum* of 1405' (Carpenter, 1958: 33). It nevertheless bears mentioning that in the university town of Padua music-making was so common that it had become an actual nuisance and necessitated the passing of an ordinance in 1339 which criminalized the making of noise "with musical instruments in the city and environs" from "the sounding of the evening bell-ringing to the morning bell-ringing".[152]

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

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

[151] Lewis Lockwood, "Strategies of Music Patronage in the Fifteenth Century: The *Capella* of Ercole I D'este," in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981227-248, 236, citing Giuseppe Pardi, Titoli dottorali conferiti dallo Studio di Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI (Lucca, 1900), p. 81.

[152] "'*con istromenti musicali nella città e nei borghi . . . [dal] . . . suono della campana di notte al suono di quella mattutina*'" Quoted in Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, 38.

sense's capacity to feel with the intellect's to perceive, and . . . permits the elements and parts of the body to be harmonized within itself'.[153] This idea of the proportions of music unites the human *microcosmos* and the greater *macrocosmos*, of course, stems from the tradition of 'universal harmony' in ancient Greek and Roman scientific thought which was espoused most articulately by Boethius (in fact the preceding quote is a paraphrase of Boethius' *De musica*),[154] and it thus may not be surprising that music theorists echo the sentiments in their own works. Amongst the intellectual descendants of Boethius, the trumpeting of the all-encompassing powers of music (including its power to fend off plague) became a well-worn trope in the introductory sections of music theory texts,[155] and while it is clear that in many cases

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[153] 'Humana vero musica, quam quisque insemet intuendo cognoscit, animae partes, id est, potentias, sua iubilatione concordat, ut, scilicet, intellectus possibilis a sensu perceptas species teneat, et . . . elementa permixtas musicae harmonia coaptat.' Albertus Seay, ed., *Ugolini Urbeuetanis, Declaratio Musicae Disciplinae*, 3 vols., vol. 1, in "Corpus Scriptorum De Musica", 7 (Rome: American Institue of Musicology, 1959), 16; English translation from Claude V Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 164. Other examples include the 1330 *Speculum musicae* of pseudo-Johannes de Muris (likely Jacobus von Lüttich) which reads, " Music's reach extends to very nearly all things, to God and the creation, the incorporeal and the corporeal, the celestial and the terrestrial and human, to both theoretical and practical subjects". Quoted in Werner Friedrich Kümmel, *Musik Und Medizin: Ihre Wechselbeziehungen in Theorie Und Praxis*, ed. Hugo Ott, vol. 2, *Freiburger Beiträge Zur Wissenschafts- Und Universitätsgeschichte* (Freiburg/München: Verlag Karl Alber, 1977), 72. Ugolino of Orvieto and Gentile da Foligno, among others, also wrote extensively on the utility of musical ideas in the functioning of the pulse, developing ideas set forth by Galen and Avicenna and debating the merits of pulse is *musica mundana* or *musica instrumentalis*. See Siraisi, "The Music of Pulse in the Writings of Italian Academic Physicians (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)," 689-710.

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

[155] For example, Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* (*De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii*) contained an account of how a man named Thaletas of Crete dispersed an epidemic of 'pestilence' through the playing of his cithara with was often repeated in late medieval and early modern tracts. This story is also contained in Pratinas (*Poetae Melici Graeci*, 713 (iii)) and in pseudo-Plutarch, *De musica*, 1146bc.) See West, "Music Therapy in Antiquity," (54-55. Similarly, in Carlo Valgulio's *Contra vituperatorem musicae* (1509), he mentions how in Greek times 'plagues which could not be relieved by any other means were removed by music. Even common people know that Homer tells of an army that was liberated from a severe plague by songs addressed to the heavens.' See Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, 104. Others, like Girolamo Mercuriale in 1580, argued that "The music of Thaletas is . . . the confidence, joy, and joviality though which one makes spirit and body stronger in their battle against the sickness of plague." G. Mercuriale, 1580, fol. 46 r/v, quoted in Kümmel, *Musik und Medizin*, 325. These and similar associations have been catalogued and explored in depth by historians of music therapy, and an excellent overview can be found in Peregrine Horden, ed., *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000). The bibliography in Schullian, Dorothy

the idea is intended merely as a rhetorical identification of the theorist's craft with the lofty *ars* of the Pythagoreans,[156] it is equally apparent that the idea was not a purely theoretical construction. For example, in his *Consilium contra pestilentiam* the indefatigable Gentile da Foligno advised those facing an impending plague epidemic 'to avoid rage, sadness and solitude, because these accidents of the soul negatively influenced the bodily complexion and favoured the appearance of diseases' and to cultivate a good disposition by means of 'melodies, songs, stories, and other similar pleasures' since 'pleasure, although it sometimes moistens the body, strengthens the spirit and the heart'.[157] Or, as concisely stated later by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), "*Medicina sanat animam per corpus, musica autem corpus per animam*" (Medicine heals the soul through the body; so likewise [does] music the body through the soul).[158] Werner Kümmel also draws attention to a manuscript of the "Regime du corps" made in the thirteenth century by Aldebranchino of Siena, where an illumination of the capital of the chapter on 'How one should guard against rage' depicts a man playing a fiddle (Kümmel, 1977: 161). It is also suggestive that in a fifteenth-century manuscript (now Vipiteno (Sterzing), Archivio Comunale, s.s) which apparently was created somewhere in the vicinity of Bipiteno (Tirol region of northern Italy), medical and cosmetic recipes alternate with

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

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

[157] Gentile da Foligno, *Consilium contra pestilentiam* (Perugia, before 18 June 1348,) signat. B1r, translated in Arrizabalaga, "Facing the Black Death: Perceptions and Reactions of University Medical Practitioners," (280.

[158] Pico della Mirandola, *Conclusiones sive Theses DCCCC (1486)*, sentence 8 of section [35] ('*Conlusiones de mathematicis secundum opinionem propriam, numero LXXXV*'). Digital edition by Joseph H. Peterson, www.esotericarchives.com/pico/conclus.htm (accessed 13 March 2009).

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

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[159] After a 'Compendio di teoria degli intervalli (mutilo) on fol 3va, on fol 4 there are 'Tre ricette di cosmesi seguita da una tavola delle mutazioni e da elementi di teoria musicale in versi.' Then on fol 6 are written 'Tre ricette mediche seguite da mano musicale (*in marg.* "Manus hant. G dat bedurum c naturalem f-que bemollem").' See Christian Meyer, ed., *The Theory of Music, Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to C. 1500*, 6 vols., vol. 6, in "Rèpertoire International Des Sources Musicales", B.III6 (München: G. Henle Verlag, 2003), 634.

[160] Salvatore de Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, 5 vols., vol. 1 (Napoli: M'Dauria Editore, 2001), lines 1696-97. See also the modern edition by Linne R Mooney, "A Middle English Verse Compendium of Astrological Medicine," *Medical History* 28 (1984): 406-419, at 412.

[161] '*Sanguineus: Largus amans hilaris ridens rubeique coloris / Cantans carnosus satis audax atque benignus. / Colericus : Hirsutus fallax irascens prodigus audax / Astutus gracilis siccus croceique coloris / Flematicus: Hic somnolentus piger in sputarnine multus / Huic ebes est sensus pinguis facies color albus. / Melancolicus: Invidus et tristis cupidus dextreque tenacis / Non expers fraudis timidus luteique coloris.*' See A.G. Rigg, *A Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Norman Davis, Helen Gardner, and Alice Walker, *Oxford English Monographs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 82-83; Salvatore de Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, 5 vols., vol. 1 (Napoli: M. D'Auria Editore, 2001), ll. 1696-1715; Hans Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 6 vols., vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 689; Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin* (London: The Medieval Academy of America, 1963), col. 811. While in many of these examples the verses appear to be little more than an *aide-memoire* to facilitate recollection of the essential features of complexion theory, there are occasional indications of a more specific therapeutic application. For example, F.W.E. Roth described a fifteenth-century manuscript now in the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt (Hofbibliothek 2769) in which these complexional verses are sandwiched between a tract against the plague and a medical recipe to treat the plague, and the verses also appear in the Winchester

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

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

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

[162] An early sixteenth-century biography of Savonarola contains an account of how the Dominican friar would sing *laude* informally after dinner in the monastery of San Marco, and how he created a new way of singing the first verse of Psalm 132 ('*Ecce quam bonum*') which became a touchstone for Savonarola's followers. The case for the identification of this melody (which was unspecified by the biographer) with that which forms the canonic tenor in Verdelot's *Letamini in Domino*, the *secunda pars* of Richafort's '*O quam dulcis*', and various parts of Gombert's *Ecce quam bonum* and its parody

and Benivieni wrote several polyphonic *laude* which were sung by several thousand people in Florence in the famous Carnival processions of 1497 and 1498 which culminated in the 'bonfires of the vanities'. (Macey, 1992: 444; Macey, 1999: xxxii-xxxiii, 38-39). Moreover, both of these years were marked by plague epidemics, and this did not go unmarked in Benvieni's music.[163] The third verse of the *lauda* '*Da che tu ci hai Signore*', which is known to have been performed during the Carnival procession on 16 February 1497, contains a reference to the use of plague as a divine punishment for the sins of mankind,[164] while in the *lauda* '*Io vo darti anima mia*' Benivieni uses an extraordinary medical metaphor to explain the Christian

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mass by Mouton is laid out in Patrick Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36, no. 3 (1983): 422-452, esp. 426-434.

[163] One might also observe that all of the Verdelot motets which have associations with plague (*Recordare Domine, Sint dicte grates Christo*, and *Infirmitatem nostram*; see Ch. 4, pp. 85-91) were written during what Böker-Heil described as his 'mature phase', which in addition to being unifed by 'fewer rhythmic contrasts and melismas in non-imitative passages, longer note values, short phrases often emphasizing one note and rarely exceeding a 5th or a 6th in compass, and close attention to the unifying of text and music, both accentually and symbolically all relate to the plague, famine and strife that beset Florence between 1527 and 1530' and 'celebrate Florentine revivals of Savonarola's theological and political doctrines during the last republic' See H. Colin Slim and Stefano La Via, 'Verdelot, Philippe. Works' ed. L Macy [Accessed 24 October 2007]), <www.grovemusic.com>.; emphasis added. Furthermore, Patrick Macey noted how 'the memory of Savonarola was especially venerated in Florence during the second republic of 1527-30, when the Medici had once more been expelled' Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 427-428. and also at the court of Ferrara, where editions of the controversial Dominican reformer's sermons were published in 1513 and 1516 and where hymns in honour of Savonarola and settings of his meditations were published during the reign of Duke Ercole II d'Este Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 437.. In point of fact Ferrara was the birthplace of Savonarola, and some have suggested that the influence of the Dominican can be seen in Josquin's much celebrated setting of Psalm 50, *Miserere mei, Deus*. The argument is that a contemporary of Josquin's named Teofilo Folengo wrote a chronicle in 1521 in which he stated, "*illud compositum 'miserere' Duce rogitante Ferrariae*," and this Duke, the first Ercole d'Este, is known to have corresponded with Savonarola, condoned the first printing of Savonarola's meditation on Psalm 50 in 1498, and instituted reforms in Ferrara modeled on the preacher's own in Florence. These ideas are explored in greater detail in Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet", partic. 448-452. See also Paul Merkley, "Josquin Desprez in Ferrara," *The Journal of Musicology* 18, no. 4 (2001): 544-583, esp. 572-573.

[164] The strophe reads, '*Chi non sa che al peccato / Del tuo popol' ribello / In vendecta hai parato / Fame, peste e coltello. / De, fa che el tuo flagello / A buoni torni in letitia / A rei in iustitia in breve ira e furore.*' 'Who does not know that for the sins / of your rebellious people, / You have prepared in vengeance / famine, plague, and the sword? O see that Your scourge / brings happiness to good people, / and justice to the wicked, in [Your] swift anger and rage.' In Patrick Macey, ed., *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems*, in "Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance", (Madison: A-R Editions, 1999), xxxiii, 38-39.

condition.[165] To concoct the 'singular remedy that is effective against every ill' ('*rimedio sol che vale . . . à ciascun male*) which he terms 'insanity'('*pazzia*'), Benivieni advises listeners to 'Take at least three ounces of hope, / three of faith and six of love, / two of tears and place them together / on the fire of fear. / Let it then boil for three hours / strain it at the end and add as much / of humility and sorrow as / suffices'.[166] Interestingly, the likening of the 'divine medicine' of Christianity to the physical ministrations of corporeal physicians echoes the figurative language used by the Benedictine friar Dom Theophilus of Milan which survives on folios. 97v-98 of a fifteenth century Italian manuscript of medical remedies.[167] In the words of Dom Theophilus:

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

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

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[165] The text and music also appear in Appendix G, pp. 305-308.

[166] '*To tre oncie almeno di speme, / Tre di fede e sei di amore, / Due di pianto e poni insieme / Tutto al fuoco del timore. Fa da poi bollir tre hore, / Premi enfine vi giugni tanto / Di humiltà e dolor, quanto / Basta a far questa pazzia.*' Macey, ed., *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems*, xxxix.

[167] Now Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London: Western MS 668. See Horrox, ed., *The Black Death*, 149.

significance, as each is the numerical representation of a Pythagorean consonance, as is shown in the following table (Table 5.1.):

	Faith (3 oz)	Hope (3 oz)	Love (6 oz)	Tears (2 oz)
Faith (3 oz)	X	3:3 = 1:1 Unison	3: 6 = 1:2 Octave	3:2 Fifth
Hope (3 oz)		X	3:6 = 1:2 Octave	3:2 Fifth
Love (6 oz)			X	6:2 = 3:1 Octave + Fifth
Tears (2 oz)				X

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

Conclusions

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

Chapter 6. *Stella Coeli* and the Tracing of Plague Performance

The *laude* of the Italian confraternities reveal a sophisticated interdigitation of music and medical ideas, linked in a manifestation of collective (often Marian) piety in the devotions of communities under threat from epidemic plague. Bearing this in mind, let us now examine another formulation of Marian devotion which similarly combines ideas of religion, medicine, and music, but whose investigation leads us in rather different directions. Now commonly known as the *Stella celi extirpavit* by virtue of its incipit in Latin, this hymn might be best characterized as a family of strongly related pleas for divine clemency in the face of illness in general and plague in particular. Below is the most common version, as it appears in the late-medieval *Horae Eboracensis* at York Minster (see Table 6.1.):

Stella coeli extirpavit	Star of Heaven,
qu[a]e lactavit Dominum	who nourished the Lord
Mortis pestem, quam plantavit	and rooted up the plague of death
primus parens hominum.	which our first parents planted;
Ipsa stella nunc dignetur	may that star now deign
sydera compescere;	to restrain the constellations
quorum bella plebem cedunt	whose strife brings the people
dire mortis vlcere.	the ulcers of a terrible death.
O gloriosa stella maris,	O glorious star of the sea,
a peste succurre nobis,	save us from the plague.
Audi nos: nam Filius tuus	Hear us: for your Son
nihil negans te honorat.	who honours you denies you nothing.
Salva nos, Jesu, pro quibus	Jesus, save us, we for whom the
virgo mater te orat.[168]	Virgin Mother prays to you.[169]

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

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

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[168] Spelling regularized; Latin in Christopher Wordsworth, ed., "Horae Eboracenses: The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, According to the Use of the Illustrious Church of York with Other Devotions as They Were Used by the Lay-Folk in the Northern Province in the Xvth and Xvith Centuries " *Publications of the Surtees Society* 132 (1920): 69.
[169] English translation adapted from Horrox, ed. *The Black Death*, 124.

material spanning several centuries. Samuel Hemingway, for example, offhandedly noted an allusion to it in the rubricated stage directions of the mid-fifteenth-century 'Adoration of the Shepherds" play from the dramatic 'N-Town Cycle' (formerly known as the *Ludus Coventriae*), describing it in 1909 as a 'very little known' piece which merited a mention in Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum* of 1892 only as part of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in a small number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French missals.[170] Such nonchalance has apparently endured among scholars of drama, as in discussing the same play Gail Gibson characterized the *Stella coeli* as 'an obscure hymn rarely found in service books either in England or on the Continent' (1981: 88). In contrast to this, Eamon Duffy called special attention to the *Stella coeli*, singling it out as as a 'frequently recurring' element in late medieval English Books of Hours.[171] The invocation is also of interest to musicologists. Archival searches made in the last fifty years have revealed editions of the hymn featuring musical notation which had been copied in the margins and pastedown pages of collegiate and monastic manuscipts,[172] and fully notated

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

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

[172] Noted for the first time by W. Barclay Squire, "Notes on an Undescribed Collection of English 15th Century Music," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 2, no. 3 (1901): 342-392351. This work was greatly expanded and refined by Margaret Bent, who included a lengthy footnote on the '*Stella celi*' in her 1968 article "New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony" for the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (vol. 21, issue no. 2) based on an appendix in her doctoral dissertation "The Old Hall Manuscript: A palaeographic study" (Cambridge University, 1969). At time of writing these two soruces remain the most thorough examinations of the history and significance of the hymn in print. Since that time, however,

polyphonic editions of *Stella coeli* figure in three of the most significant surviving collections of pre-Reformation English vocal music: the Old Hall Manuscript (British Library Additional MS 57950), the Eton Choirbook (Eton College Library MS 178), and on multiple occasions in the Ritson Manuscript (BL Add MS 5665).[173] We thus have a single item figuring in works of late medieval literature, music, and drama—an exceptional range of use, particularly for an anonymous non-biblical text. The questions posed by the *Stella coeli* only multiply with Margaret Bent's observation that the hymn 'occupied no official place in the liturgical books of the principal rites' and thus had no single official plainsong melody.[174] Without official liturgical dissemination, how do we account for the diversity of use of this little-known plague hymn? More importantly, what does the multimodal adoption of *Stella coeli* indicate about musical performance and artistic activity in times of epidemic stress?

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

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numerous other settings (both musical and in unadorned verse and prose) have come to light, and synthesizing this new material with the earlier studies from music, literature, and drama form part of the rationale for the current study. Particularly helpful have been the discoveries of *Stella coeli* exempla discussed in Alexandra Barratt, "Two Middle English Lyrics in the Bibliothèque Mazarine," *Notes and Queries* 31 (1984): 24-27, at 24; and Andrew Wathey, "Newly Discovered Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony at Oxford," *Music & Letters* 64, no. 1/2 (1983): 56-66, at 62; Nick Sandon, "Mary, Meditations, Monks and Music: Poetry, Prose, Processions and Plagues in a Durham Cathedral Manuscript," *Early Music* 10, no. 1 (1982): 43-55; Richard Sherr, ed., *Selections from Motetti a Numero Trentatre*, in "Sixteenth-Century Motet", 1 (New York: Garland, 1991), 67-73; and Rebecca L Gerber, ed., *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent: Trent, Museo Provinciale D'arte, Codex 1375 (Olim 88)*, in "Monuments of Renaissance Music", 12 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 163-168.

[173] These works have been published and edited in the following volumes: Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, eds., *Old Hall Manuscript*, in "Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae", (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1969), 48-50; Frank Llewellyn Harrison, ed., *The Eton Choirbook*, 3 vols., vol. 3, (London,: Stainer & Bell, 1956), 32-36; Nick Sandon, Christine Bayliss, and Eleanor Lane, *The Ritson Manuscript : Liturgical Compositions, Votive Antiphons, Te Deum* (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 2001), 2-3 and 29-30.

[174] Margaret Bent, "New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21, no. 2 (1968): 137-156147. This is not to say, of course, that *Stella coeli* did not have ANY plainsong melodies associated with it. In fact, plainsong versions plainsong for the hymn appear in radically different forms in different sources, as will be discussed below in pp. 160-162.

general assumption is that the text was written first as a poem and subsequently selected for musical elaboration. Such a pattern, if it held here, would posit that the *Stella coeli* was originally conceived as an unadorned verbal prayer whose popularity and applicability in the lives of laity led to its copying in Books of Hours, which then was mined as a source of verbal underlay by composers who perhaps 'were searching for texts of greater variety and a more personal expression' (Blackburn, 1967: 58). However, even given the difficulty of dating many of its appearances in writing, the evidence for the use of the *Stella coeli* hymn provides little support for such an interpretation (see Table 6.2.):

ID[source]	Date	Type	Country of Origin	Composer/author	MS Location (if different from published source)
1[a,b]	c. 1420	Hymn/Poem (Latin)	France/England	Anonymous (Book of Hours written for Charles of Orleans during English captivity)	**France-** Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1196, fol. 231[v]
2[c]	c. 1434?	Hymn/Poem (Middle English)	England	John Lydgate	**GB-**London BL MS. Harley 2255, fol. 103r-v; copied with minor variations in Cambridge, Jesus Coll 56 fol. 73r-v; London BL Add. MS 34360, fols. 132v-133r; London BL MS Harley 2251, fols 9v-10r, and Cambridge Trinity Coll R. 3. 21, fols. 168v-169.
3[d]	c. 1477	Hymn/Poem (Latin)	Netherlands	Anonymous	**Netherlands-** Ter Apel (Groningen), Domus Novae Lucis, Cod. Ultraiectin. Scriptt. Eccl. 375.

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

[a] Margaret Bent, "New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21, no. 2 (1968): 145-148.
[b] Solange Corbin, *Essai Sur La Musique Religieuse Portugaise Au Moyen Âge, Collection Portugaise* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1952), 374-378.
[c] Henry Noble MacCracken, "The Minor Poems of John Lydgate," *Early English Text Society* 107 (1910): 294-96.
[d] Clemens Blume and Guido M. Dreves, eds., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi. Vol. Xxxi. Pia Dictamina. Reimgebete Und Leselieder Des Mittelalters.*, 55 vols., vol. 31, (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1898), 210-211.

ID[source]	Date	Type	Country of Origin	Composer/author	MS Location (if different from published source)
4[c, e]	early 15th cent.	Hymn/Poem (Middle English)	England	John Lydgate	GB-London BL Rawl. C. 48, fols 133v-134r;
5[e]	early 15th cent.	Hymn/Poem (Middle English)	England?	Anonymous (Book of Hours)	FR-Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 469, fol 104v
6[f]	late 15th c. (after 1450)	Hymn/Poem (Latin)	Flanders	Anonymous (Book of Hours)	FR-Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 18029, fol. 119v.
7[g]	late 15th c. (c. 1492)	Hymn/Poem (Middle English)	England	James Ryman	GB-Cambridge, University Library MS E.e. 1.12., fol. 62v.
8[h]	late 15th c. (c. 1494)	Hymn/Poem (Latin)	England	Anonymous (Book of Hours)	Printed on Vellum by Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster. 4 existing copies: GB Lambeth Archep. 25.1.23; Oxford Bold. D. subt. 59; Cambridge Univ. G.4.4.; Cambridge Univ. G.3.61.

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

[e] Alexandra Barratt, "Two Middle English Lyrics in the Bibliothèque Mazarine," *Notes and Queries* 31 (1984): 24.
[f] Abbè Leroquais, *Les Livres D'heures Manuscrits De La Bibliothèque Nationale*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Paris: Protat, 1927), 216-18.
[g] Julius Zupitza, "Die Gedichte Des Franziskaners Jakob Ryman," *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen* 89 (1892): 248.
[h] Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers Wtih Kindred Books and Primers of the Reformed Roman Use* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1901), 106, 111, 169-70.

ID[source]	Date	Type	Country of Origin	Composer/author	MS Location (if different from published source)
9[b]	15[th] c.	Hymn/Poem (Latin)	Portugal	Anonymous	written on a piece of 15[th] c. parchment 'conservé commo relique au monastère de Santa Clara de Coimbre.' (Corbin p. 374)
10[b]	After 1526	Hymn/Poem (Latin)	??	Anonymous	Little information known; Corbin describes this as 'un manuscrit provenant des Capucins, donc(e?) postérieur à 1526.'
11[i]	1536	Hymn/Poem (Latin)	England	Anonymous (Book of Hours)	*Horae Eboracenses*, end of quire G.
12[h]	1536	Hymn/Poem (Latin and Middle English)	Printed in France for English market	Anonymous (Book of Hours)	GB-Oxford Bodl. Douce BB. 231(1)
13[h]	1537	Explicit mention of the deletion of hymn/poem (Latin)	England	Anonymous (Book of Hours)	Printed by Robert Redman, London. Preface in 3 extant copies: GB-Lambeth Archep. 39.2.6 (1); Oxford Balliol Coll. Arch.c.12.5(1). Cambridge St John's Coll. T.9.27(1).

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

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

ID[source]	Date	Type	Country of Origin	Composer/author	MS Location (if different from published source)
14[e]	c. 1480	Hymn/Poem (Latin)	Italian or Spanish	Anonymous (addititon in a book of Hours)	**GB**-Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 265 (Yates Thompson MS 20), fol. 83
15[j]	early 15th c.	Plainsong	England	Anonymous (in a Sarum Processional)	**GB**-Norwich, Castle Museum MS 158.926.4e, ff. 133[v]-134.
16[a]	c. 1460-80	Plainsong? (words written in tenor of an otherwise unrelated motet)	Bohemia or Moravia	Anonymous	**Czech Rep**-Prague, Strahov Monastery Library (Museum of Czech Literature, Strahov Library), D.G. IV 47, pp. 471-472 (fols. 236[v]-237)
17[a]	15th cent?	Plainsong	England?	Anonymous	**GB**-Cambridge, University Library, Add. 6668, fols. 112-112[v]
18[a]	late 15th-early 16th cent.	Plainsong	Netherlands	Anonymous	**GB**- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 46, fols. 152[v]-153[v]
19[a]	16th cent.	Plainsong?- Tenor *cantus firmus* of a 4-voice motet	Italy?	Anonymous (mostly copied from Petrucci prints of 1501-03)	**Italy**-Florence, Panc. 27, fols 69v-70

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

[j] Andrew Wathey, "Newly Discovered Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony at Oxford," *Music & Letters* 64, no. 1/2 (1983): 62.

ID[source]	Date	Type	Country of Origin	Composer/author	MS Location (if different from published source)
20[b]	16th	Plainsong	Portugal	Anonymous	**Portugal**-Coimbra, Museo Machado de Castro, Antiphoner 5,
21[b]	?? (In a theory book published in 1685)	Plainsong	Portugal	Nunes da Silva	*Summa da Arte de Canto-chaõ* (Lisbon, 1685)
22[k]	Before 1450	Polyphony (only countertenor survives)	England	Anonymous	**GB**-London, British Library, Royal MS 7.A.VI, fol. 127[v].
23[l]	Before 1420	Polyphony (3-voices)	England	John Cooke	**GB**-London, British Library Add. MS 57590, fol. fol. 40[v]
24[aj]	15th cent., c. 1430?	Polyphony (fragments of 3 voices of a likely 4-part setting)	England	Anonymous	**GB**-Oxford, University College MS 16, fol. 150-153v.
25[aj]	15th. cent	Polyphony(countertenor?)	England	Anonymous	**GB**- London, British Library MS Lansdowne 462, fol. 152v

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

[k] Nick Sandon, "Mary, Meditations, Monks and Music: Poetry, Prose, Processions and Plagues in a Durham Cathedral Manuscript," *Early Music* 10, no. 1 (1982).
[l] Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript—a Re-Appraisal and an Inventory," *Musica Disciplina* 21 (1967): esp. p. 104.

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

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

[m] Frank Llewellyn Harrison, ed., *The Eton Choirbook*, 3 vols., vol. 3, (London,: Stainer & Bell, 1956), 32-36.
[n] Catherine K Miller, "A Fifteenth-Century Record of English Choir Repertory: B.M. Add.Ms.5665: A Transcription and Commentary " (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1948), 15-23.
[o] Nick Sandon, Christine Bayliss, and Eleanor Lane, *The Ritson Manuscript : Liturgical Compositions, Votive Antiphons, Te Deum* (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 2001), 2-3.
[p] Richard Sherr, ed., *Selections from Motetti a Numero Trentatre*, in "Sixteenth-Century Motet", 1 (New York: Garland, 1991), 67-73.

ID[source]	Date	Type	Country of Origin	Composer/author	MS Location (if different from published source)
32[a,q]	Late 15th century	Polyphony (4 voices)	England?	Guillaume Le Rouge	**Italy**-Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte Codex 1375 (olim 88), fols. 11[v]-13
33[r]	late 15th/ early 16th cent.	Polyphony (3 voices)	England	Rober Cowper	**GB**-London, British Library R.M.24.d.2., fol. 162[v]-164[r]
34[s]	Early 16th cent.	Polyphony (5 voices)	Italy	Pie(t)ro da Lodi	Petrucci, *Laude Libro Secondo*, (pub. 1507), fol. 37v-38r
35[a]	c. 1515-40?	Polyphony (only medius part survives)	England	Anonymous	**GB**-London, British Library Royal Appendix 58, fols. 26-26[v]
36[t]	c. 1551	Polyphony (3 voices)	England	John Thorne	**GB**-London, British Library, RM 24 d 2, fols. 161[v]-163r[r]
37[u],[v]	15th cent	Reference to public performance	England	Anonymous- Reference to its singing by students in the Oxford Halls	N/A

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

[q] Rebecca L Gerber, ed., *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent: Trent, Museo Provinciale D'arte, Codex 1375 (Olim 88)*, in "Monuments of Renaissance Music", 12 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 42, 163-68.
[r] David Greer, 'Cowper, Robert' ed. L Macy [Accessed 26 November 2007]), <www.grovemusic.com>.
[s] Knud Jeppesen and V Brondal, *Die Mehrstimmige Italienische Laude Um 1500* (Leipzig: 1935), 60-61.
[t] Peter Aston and John Thorn, *The Music of York Minster* (London,: Stainer & Bell; New York Galaxy;, 1972), 1-3.
[u] Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, ed. Egon Wellesz, *Studies in the History of Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), 85-88, 158.
[v] Strickland Gibson, ed., *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), 575.

ID[source]	Date	Type	Country of Origin	Composer/author	MS Location (if different from published source)
38[w]	15th cent	Reference to public	England	Anonymous- Reference to its singing by the choristers of Eton College	N/A
38[x]	mid-15th c.	Reference to public performance	England	Anonymous (direction for performance by the Shepherds in the N-Town Cycle's 'Adoration of the Shepherds')	**GB-**London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.viii, fol. 90.
39[u,y]	1487	Reference/Implication of public performance	England	Anonymous- Boards with it were made for Magdalen College, Oxford	N/A
40[u]	1527-1528	Reference/Implication of public performance	England	Anonymous- Payment made to the precentor of New College, Oxford for 'noting' the piece	N/A

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

[w] James Heywood and Thomas Wright, *The Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century for King's College, Cambridge, and for the Public School of Eton College* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850), 556.
[x] Douglas Sugano, ed., *The N-Town Plays*, in "Middle English Texts Series", (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), 144.
[y] William Dunn Macray, *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. New Series*, vol. 1 (London: Horace Hart, 1894), 16.

ID[source]	Date	Type	Country of Origin	Composer/author	MS Location (if different from published source)
41[u,z]	1538	Reference/Implication of public performance	England	Anonymous- 'Boards' with it were repaired at Magdalen College, Oxford	N/A
42[aa]	Early 16th century	Reference/Implication of Private recitation	England	Anonymous (Addition in Book of Hours)- Superscript of '*Stela celi*' added to autonomous prayer against plague and famine, and on facing page note in English reading 'At the levation time say 'Stella celi extirpavit.'	GB-Cambridge Univ. Lib. Ii 6 2, fol. 102v

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

[z] William Dunn Macray, *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. From the Foundations of the College. New Series*, vol. 2 (London: Horace Hart, 1897), 18.
[aa] Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 88.

As seen in the table, the earliest known appearance of the hymn as a nonmusical text is in the Book of Hours of Charles d'Orléans, which was apparently written during his captivity in England circa 1420 (Ouy, 1955; Corbin, 1952: 375). At this same time or perhaps even earlier, the text was copied as the underlay of a three-voice descant motet attributed to (and possibly in the handwriting of) John Cooke in the Old Hall Mansucript (BL Add MS 57950),[202] and in a variety of other early- to mid-fifteenth-century manuscripts whose provenance cannot be dated more precisely. These include a plainsong melody in a *Liber Cantus* now in Cambridge,[203] a separate plainsong in a Sarum processional in Norwich,[204] three parts from a likely four-part polyphonic setting in Oxford,[205] an isolated tenor part in mensural notation in a Sarum Gradual now in London,[206] and two nonmusical Middle English verse translations (one with Latin glosses in the margins referencing the hymn text) attributed to John Lydgate.[207] In other words, within a single generation of the first surviving written edition, the *Stella coeli* plague hymn was being copied

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

[203] Cambridge University Library, Add. 6668, fols. 112-112^{v}. Cited in Bent, "New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony," 147.

[204] Norwich Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4e, ff. 133^{v}-134. Cited in Wathey, "Newly Discovered Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony at Oxford," 64.

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

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

[207] The first of these poems is London BL MS. Harley 2255, fol. 103r-v, with copies containing minor emendations in Cambridge, Jesus Coll 56 fol. 73r-v; London BL Add. MS 34360, fols. 132v-133r; London BL MS Harley 2251, fols 9v-10r, and Cambridge Trinity Coll R. 3. 21, fols. 168v-169. The second poem, containing Latin glosses, exists only in a single copy in London BL Rawlinson C. 48, fols 133v-134r. Both are discussed in Henry Noble MacCracken, "The Minor Poems of John Lydgate," *Early English Text Society* 107 (1910): xxviii, 294-96.

nonmusically in both formal Latin and the English vernacular, and musically in both monophonic and polyphonic vocal arrangements. Such diversity could imply that this Marian invocation had been in circulation for some time before these initial written records, either through now-lost textual exempla or through oral transmission. Certainly the melodies of the three monophonic versions in the Norwich and Cambridge manuscripts share little resemblance beyond their modal classification, as is apparent in this side-by-side comparison of their incipits (see Figure 6.1.):[208]
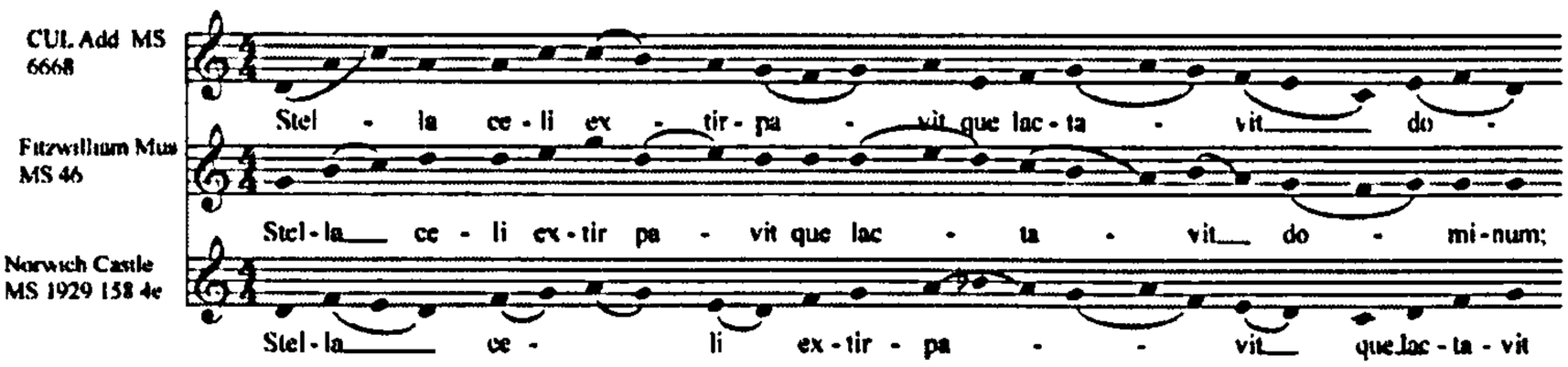
Figure 6.1. Comparison of monophonic *Stella coeli* incipits in fifteenth-century British MSs.

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

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[208] A full comparison of these melodies is found in Appendix I, pp. 313-314.
[209] Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte Codex 1375 (olim 88), fols. 11^{v}-13. See Gerber, ed., *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent: Trent, Museo Provinciale D'arte, Codex 1375 (Olim 88)*, 2-4.
[210] Prague, Strahov Monastery Library (Museum of Czech Literature, Strahov Library), D.G. IV 47, pp. 471-472 (fols. 236^{v}-237). This tenor is, in fact, related to the tenor of the Trento cathedral *Stella coeli* as well as the chanson '*So ys emprentid*', as discussed below (pp. 168-169).

The inference of a period of oral transmission and cross-regional diffusion might also help explain the striking style of the earliest known polyphonic *Stella coeli* in the Old Hall Manuscript. The rigid, note-for-note homophony of the setting attributed to John Cooke in Old Hall appears anachronistic and anomalous in the context of early fifteenth-century English liturgical music, but it is unexceptional compared to the popular devotional tunes of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such as the carol in England and the lauda in Italy, which like the *Stella coeli* itself could be monophonic or polyphonic, in Latin or the vernacular (see Figure 6.2):[211]

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[211] The bibliographies of Richard Leighton Greene, ed., *The Early English Carols*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); and Fernando Liuzzi, *La Lauda E I Primordi Della Melodia Italiana*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Roma: La Libreria di Stato, 1935), are an invaluable resource for anyone interested in the history of these important musical forms.
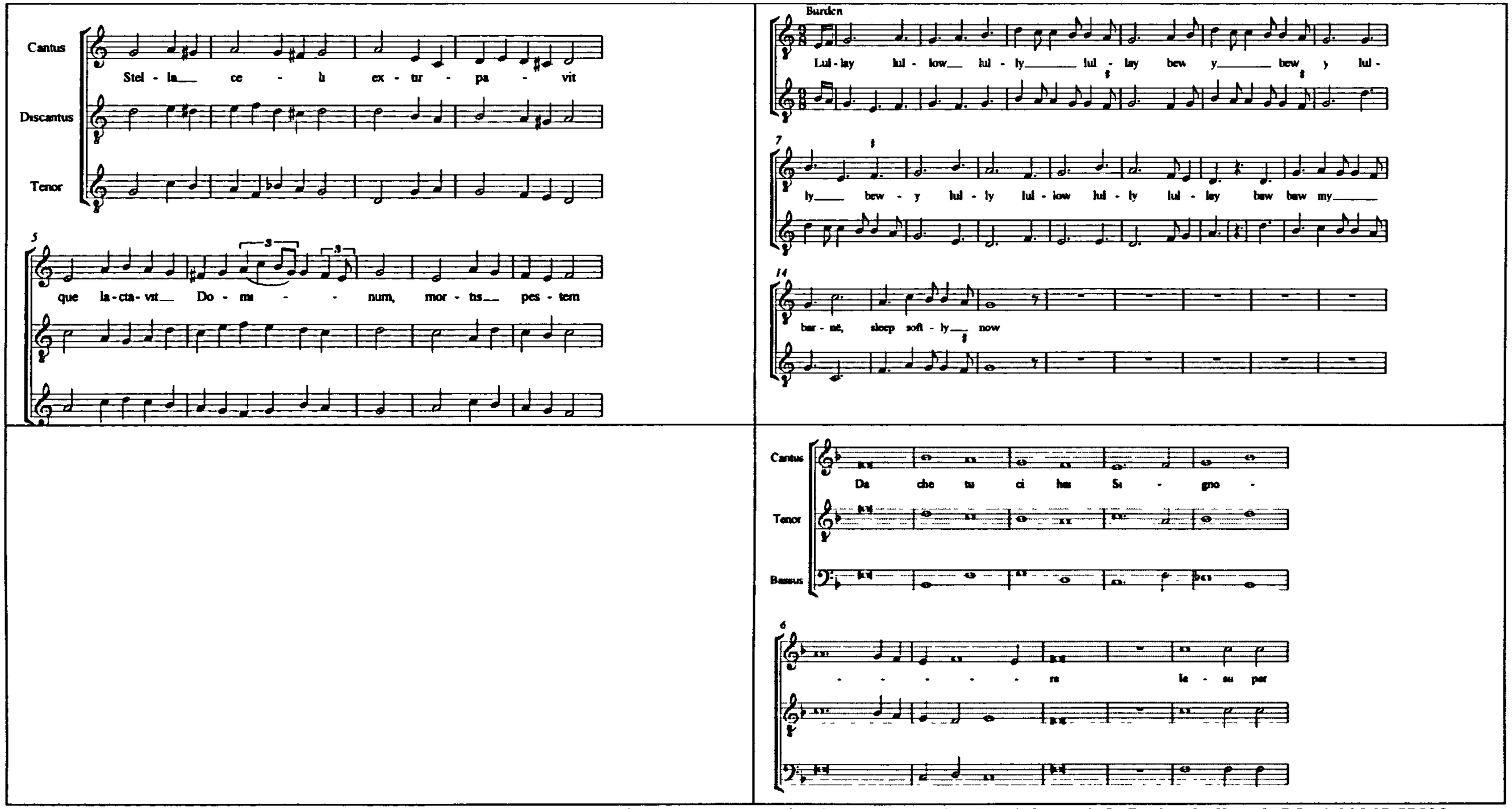
Figure 6.2. Comparison of Incipits of Cooke *Stella coeli* with exempla of 15th century popular devotional music. Top left panel: J. Cooke, *Stella celi*, BL. Add MS 57590, fol. 40v. Top right: 15th century English carol, Anon, *Lullay, I saw*, BL Add. MS 5666, fol 4v-5. Bottom right: 15th c. Italian lauda, G. Benivieni, *Da che tu ci hai Signore*, published in *Commento sopra a più sue canzone et sonetti dello amore e della belleza divina*, Florence, 1500.

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

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

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

[213] One of the key texts of officially prescribed university instruction was a simplified textbook of Ptolemaic planetary theory, and generally a 'measure of astrological competence was indeed one of the marks separating an educated practitioner from an empiric' (Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, p. 67-8). However, as Faye Marie Getz has pointed out, 'interest in "university medicine" was not solely the province of the graduate physician' and that 'graduate physicans . . . owned fifteenth-century medical texts in English, and their less formally educated brothers had texts containing large chunks of medical material in Latin'. Faye Marie Getz, "Gilbertus Anglicus Anglicized," *Medical History* 26 (1982): 436-442, 437.

known to have associated with the Franciscans during his English captivity, and made copies of poetic works by the Franciscan friar John of Hovedean which are still extant (Ouy, 1955: 284-85). James Ryman, who made a vernacular English translation of the hymn in the late fifteenth century was a Franciscan friar (Zupitza, 1892), and the Ritson Manuscript (BL Add MS 5665), which contains two separate editions of the hymn, was apparently compiled at a Franciscan friary in Devon and intended for use at services with lay congregations (Miller, 1948; Sandon, et al., 2001).

Further insight into the cultural milieu of the *Stella coeli* can be gleaned from an examination of the references to performances of the hymn in Table 6.2 which cannot be paired with specific literary or musical documents. The fact that the denotation of the bare incipit of the hymn was deemed sufficient to evoke performance by the scribe of the N-Town 'Adoration of the Shepherd's' play strongly indicates that the tune was well-known to the performers of the dramatic cycle.[214] The records of Oxford University also provide evidence of a robust (if not necessarily enthusiastic) popular performance tradition amongst the students. Frank Harrison noted that the *Stella coeli* was one of the five antiphons whose performance was required in the fifteenth century at the ringing of the curfew bell for students living in the Oxford Halls (and thus not affiliated with colleges) on vigils of the five feasts of the Virgin Mary.[215] In a similar vein, in 1487-8 Magdalen College

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

[215] '*Item, quod quilibet specialiter assit in aula singulis diebus sabati et quinque vigilis beate Marie immediate post primam pulsacionem ignitegii in ecclesia beate Marie quando cantatur antiphona Beata Marie, omni excusacione postposita, nisi gravis infirmitas aut alia racionabilis causa prius per propriam personam alligata et per principlaem approbata eum excusaverit, sub pena quadrantis. Et*

purchased two boards (now lost) indicating the notes of *Stella coeli*, which were repaired in 1538 and presumably used in the performance of the Marian antiphon by the entire college after Compline on Saturdays and vigils of the Virgin specified in their college statutes.[216] Strikingly, both of these payments occurred in years where there was documented concern for the ravages of plague; Macray noted that in 1486-7 'the plague was in Oxford, and the fellows and scholars were consequently sent to Witney and Harwell; for their expenses at the former place £3 15*s*. 8*d*. were paid to Roper, one of the fellows, and at the latter £5 9*s*. 4*d*. to Wythyrs', while in 1538 beds were carried from Magdalen to to the village of Water-Eaton and back, likely on account of plague-fear (1894: 17; Macray, 1897: 18).

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

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si venerit post incepcionem clausule Funde preces etc. quando cantatur Aue regina, vel post incepcionem clausule Per illud aue quando cantatur Benedicta, vel post incepcionem clausule Resurrexit quando cantatur Regina celi, seu post incepcionem clausule Ipsa Stella quando cantatur Stella celi; vel post incepcionem clausule Quia genuisti quando cantatur Sancta Maria consimiliter ut absens puniatur.' Strickland Gibson, ed., *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), 575.

[216] '*Solut. xxix Decembris* [1487] *pro factura duarum tabellarum in quibus figuntur rotulae antiphonicae, Stella celi, iii*^{s}*, iiii*^{d}*.*' William Dunn Macray, *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. New Series*, vol. 1 (London: Horace Hart, 1894), 16. In Volume II of his publication of the Magdalen register (1897), Macray also called attention to how 'tables hanging in the hall with antiphons were repaired, and the organs in the chapel' (p. 18). The antiphon was also evidently part of the repertoire of at least the college chapel of New College by 1528, as their records indicate a payment to the precentor for the 'noting' of the piece, though whether this was in the form of boards as at Magdalen, or of more standard choirbook pages, remains unclear as none of the existing copies of the *Stella coeli* have been linked with this institution. This and the other details concerning the paratextual evidence of performance were highlighted in the magisterial work by Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, ed. Egon Wellesz, *Studies in the History of Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), esp. 85-88, 158.

approval which could constrain performance. In this light, many other features of the musical settings become suggestive, and mini-families of settings with different spheres of distribution begin to emerge. For example, Manfred Bukofzer noted that the tenor of the *Stella coeli* setting attributed to Le Rouge in Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte Codex 1375 (*olim* 88) is identical to that of the chanson *So ys emprentid* (Hughes and Abraham, 1960: 131-32) (see Figure 6.3.):

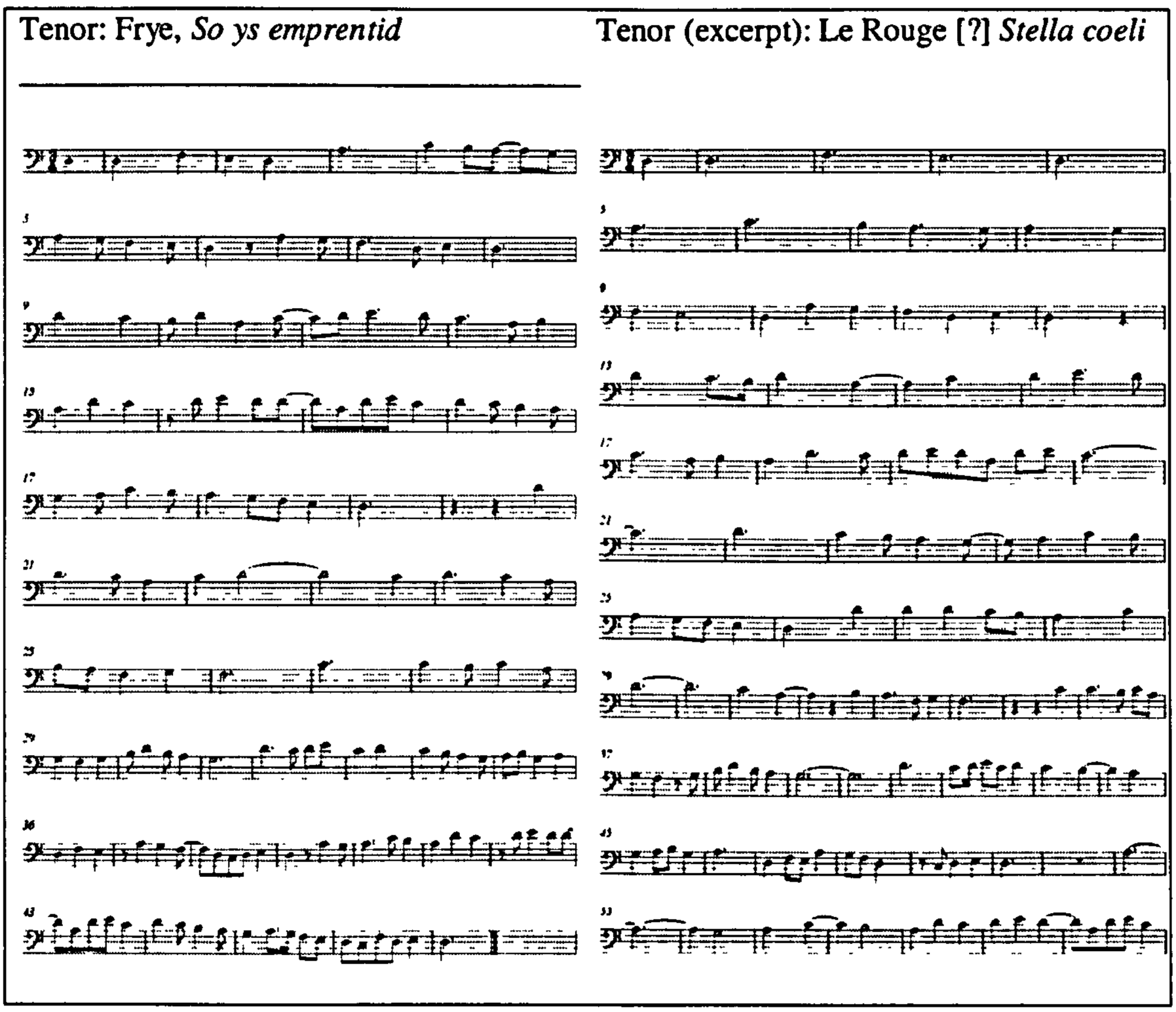


Figure 6.3. Comparison of fifteenth-century tenors in *chanson* attributed to Walter Frye, and in setting of *Stella coeli* attributed to Guillaume le Rouge.

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

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

Another set of pieces which share important musical similarities are the fragments of polyphonic settings of the *Stella coeli* found in Oxford Lincoln College MS 64, BL Royal 7.A.VI, and BL Lansdowne 462. All three are of fifteenth-century provenance, although little else is known about their origins.[217] All three depict the same melodic line, which Sandon described as in his study of Royal 7.A.VI as 'having no melodic integrity of its own but leaping about as if to produce a counterpoint below another voice which moved largely by step; in fact it behaves like a typical early fifteenth-century supporting part below a melodic cantus firmus (Sandon, 1982: 53). Most interestingly, while the fragment in Lansdowne 462 is in ordinary fifteenth-century measured notation, the fragments in both Lincoln College

[217] This is particularly true of the Lincoln College notation, which was found on the back of a piece of endpaper used to strengthen the binding of another manuscript, and for which the only chronological information comes from the handwriting. See the description of the manuscript in Andrew Wathey, 'Oxford, Lincoln College Ms Lat. 64' ed. Julia Craig Mc-Feeley [Accessed 21 February 2009]), <www.diamm.ac.uk>. Slightly more is known about the other two sources; Lansdowne 462 is a Sarum Gradual which may have belonged to Norwich Cathedral, while Royal 7.A.VI is a devotional collection compiled at the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St Cuthbert in Durham, with the *Stella coeli* one of the last things entered in the manuscript in the first half of the fifteenth century. See Sandon, "Mary, Meditations, Monks and Music: Poetry, Prose, Processions and Plagues in a Durham Cathedral Manuscript," 47.

MS 64 and in Royal 7.A.VI are in stroke notation, a graphological technique used in late medieval England to enable singers who may not be familiar with the symbology of mensural notation to sing polyphonic music (Sandon, 1982: 53; Bent, 1968: 149) (see Figure 6.4.):

Images of Manuscripts:

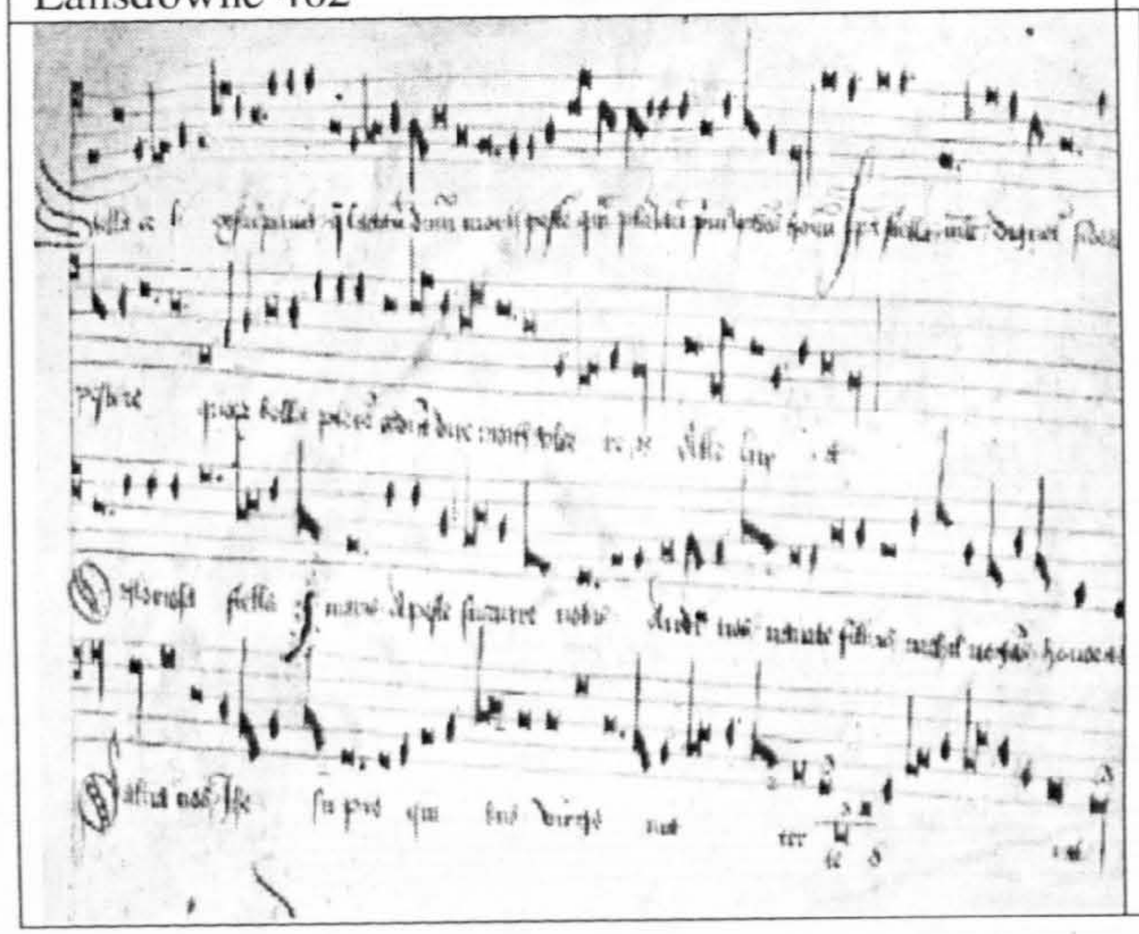
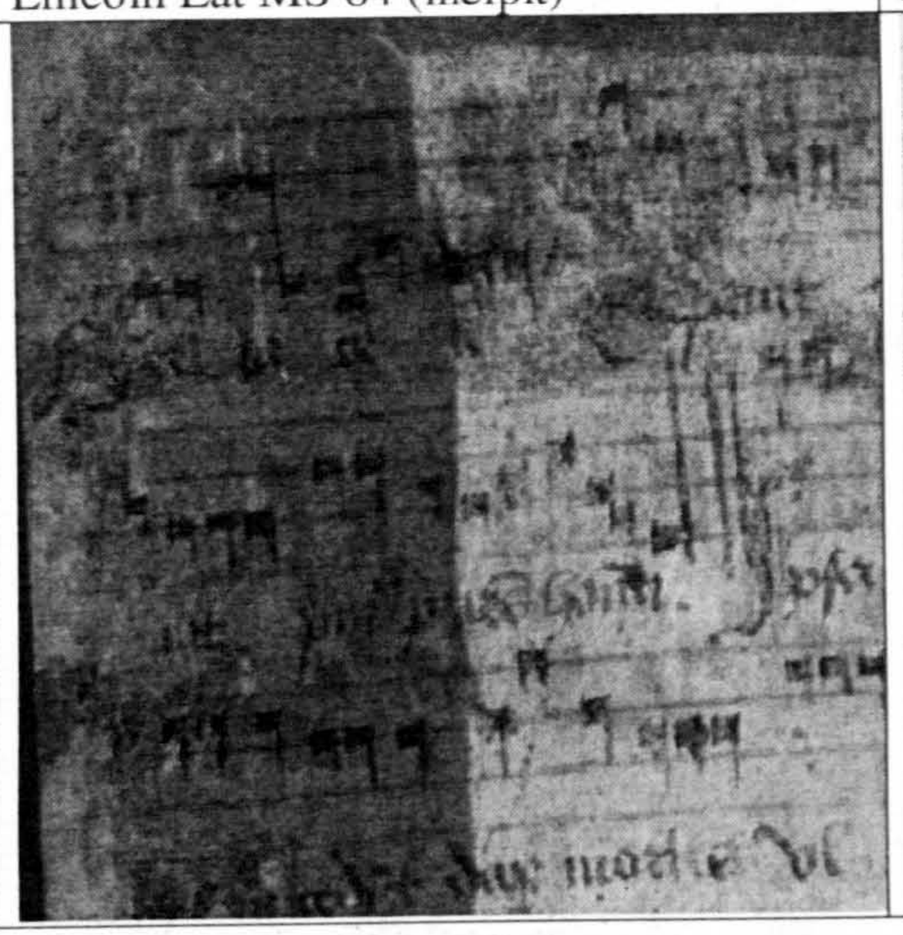
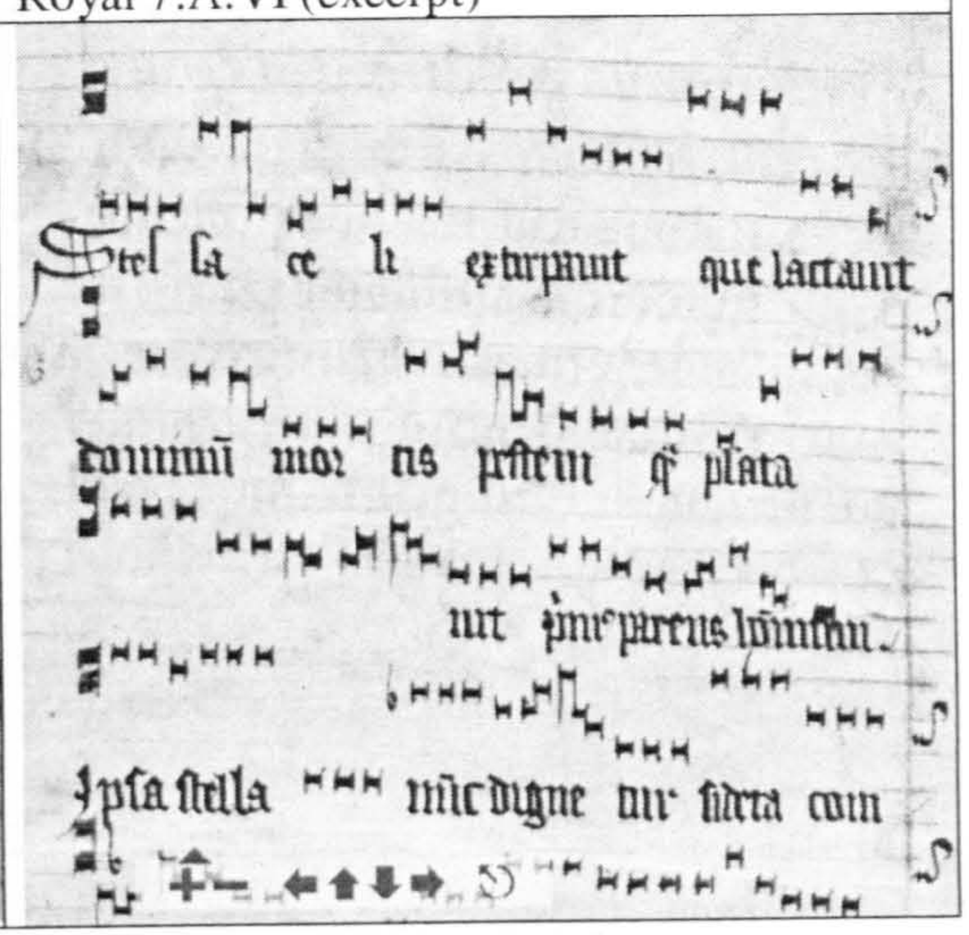
Lansdowne 462	Lincoln Lat MS 64 (incipit)	Royal 7.A.VI (excerpt)
		

Figure 6.4. Notation of melody common to BL Lansdowne 462, BL Royal 7.A.VI, and Oxford Lincoln Lat 64

Transcribed Melody Common to All Three Sources:

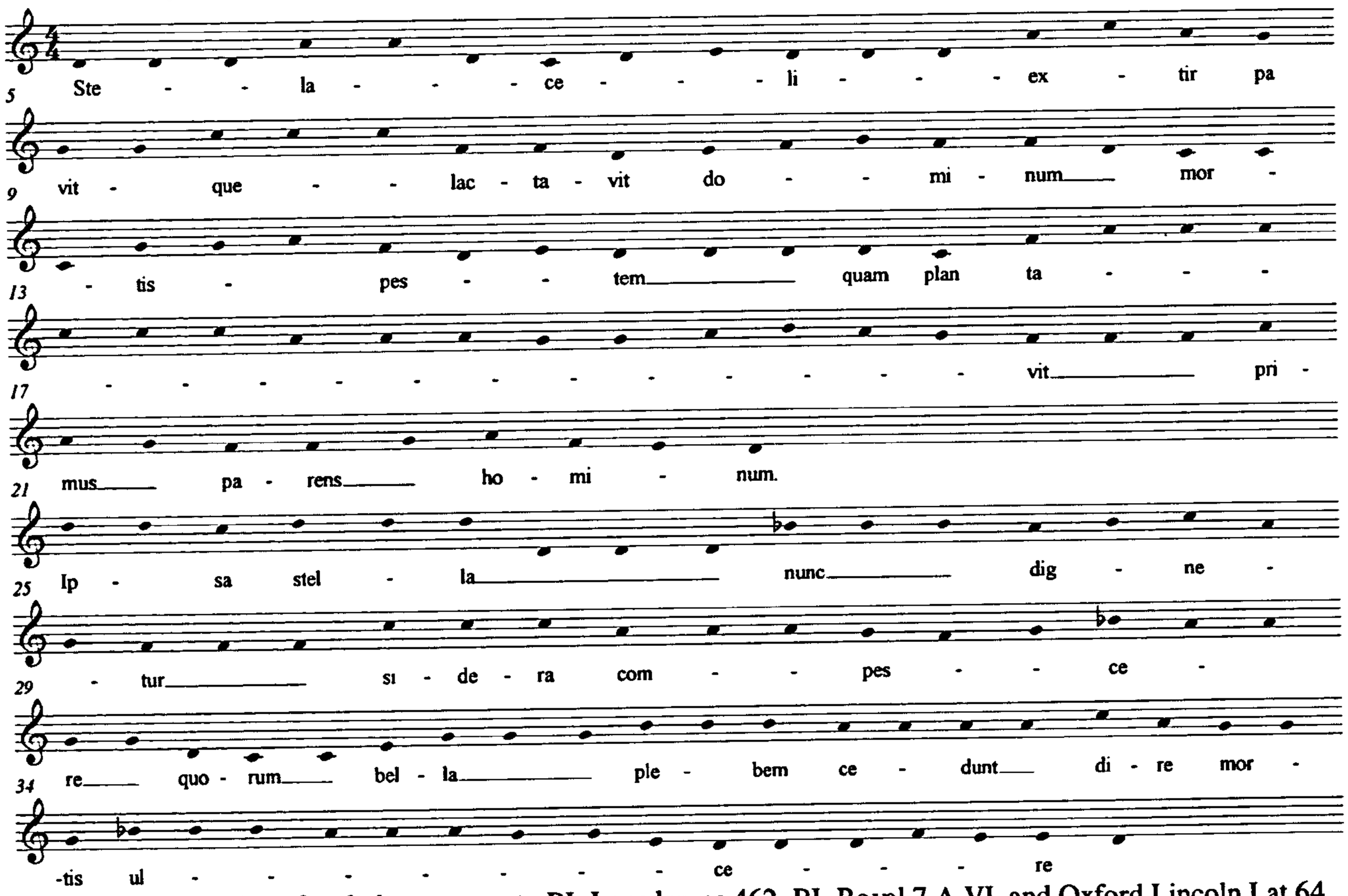


Figure 6.4. (cont.) Notation of melody common to BL Lansdowne 462, BL Royal 7.A.VI, and Oxford Lincoln Lat 64

These two notational styles are combined in another fragmentary polyphonic *Stella coeli*, unrelated to these three settings and surviving only by virtue of its being recycled as binding reinforcement for a copy of St Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, in which the bass part is written in a white mensural notation, while the tenor part (which follows the bass part immediately on the staff) is in stroke notation (Figure 6.5.):[218]

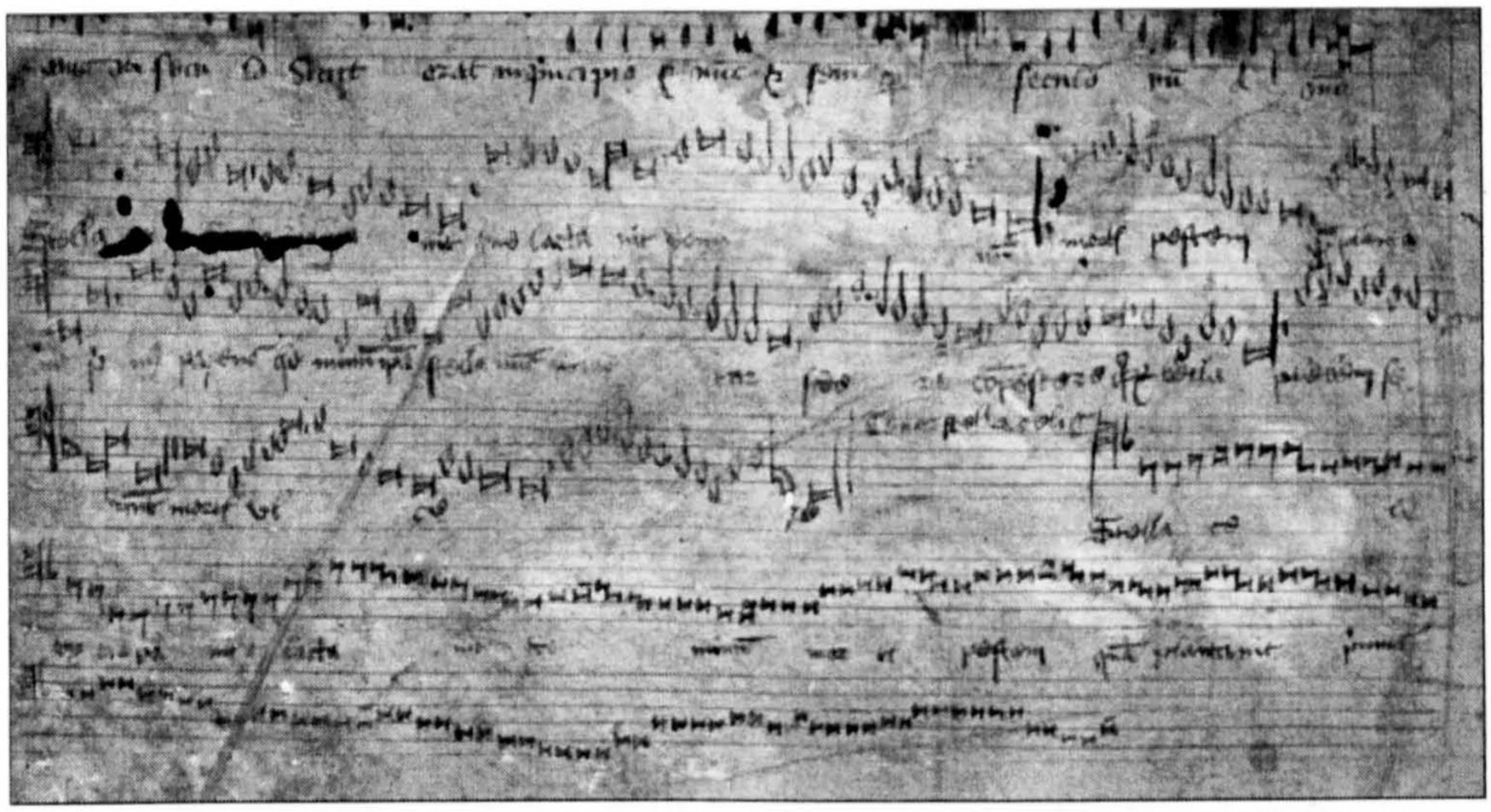


Figure 6.5. Back Pastedown of Oxford, Okes 253

Interestingly, Andrew Hughes noted that the single manuscript which contains the greatest number of pieces written in stroke notation is none other than the Ritson Manuscript (BL Add MS 5665), a collection to which we have already called attention for its distinction of holding multiple *Stella coeli* settings, its association with the Franciscans, and its intimation of use in lay devotional contexts.[219] Based on his study of the Ritson Manuscript and other exempla, Hughes

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[218] Oxford, Christ Church Okes 253, back pastedown. See Bent, "New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony," 143-44, Plate III.

[219] Ritson manuscript pieces in stroke notation (what Hughes termed 'playnsong' notation) include the cycle of the Ordinary of a Mass lacking the Kyrie (fols. 111v ff.), *Salve festa dies* (fol 119), *[Sancta] Maria virgo intercede* (fol 119v), *Salve regina misericordie* (fol 121v), *Anima mea liquefacta* (fol

argued that the use of stroke notation to craft 'a beginner's style of polyphony' reflects the democratization of multivocal performance, enabling singers with a non-specialist set of skills to engage with a larger part of the musical canon.

Conclusions

The *Stella coeli* thus appears across a wide swathe of documentary sources pertaining to domestic and everyday life in the late Middle Ages. From scraps of parchment to cathedral choirbooks, and from primers to play manuscripts to Oxonian statute books, this hymn with its allusions to the astrology of natural philosophy and medical knowledge appears interwoven throughout the fabric of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century devotional life, both inside and outside of cloistered foundations. We might well marvel that *Stella coeli* is as well-represented as it is in this phase of the history of choral performance, given its lack of established plainsong and the fact that, as the primer printed by Robert Redman in 1537 testifies, it was singled out for condemnation during the English Reformation.[220] Such durability is a testament to its as-yet ill-glimpsed significance in late medieval devotional and musical life.

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

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126v), and *Nunc Jesu te petimus* (fol. 128v). Andrew Hughes, "The Choir in Fifteenth-Century English Music: Non-Mensural Polyphony," in *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977127-145.

[220] The preface to this primer states that the *Stella coeli* does not appear within its pages because in the minds of the English reformers it diminished the importance of God as the sole empowered agent of salvation. Redman writes, 'I here touch the more apertly by occasion of this english Prymar of Sarum use which when it was first imprinted, like as it lacked not the vituperation and dispraise of some, so had it again the favour and commendation of the more learned sort. Howbeit when it came so to pass that it was not utterly misliked of the better party, but that also it seemed to men of authority not inconvenient to pass among the common people, it hath animated the setters forth thereof not a little, to communicate the same eftsones again to the reading of other, being more diligently corrected, more purely imprinted, and meetly well purged of many things that seemed no small faults therein . . . Likewise in "Stella caeli extirpavit, quae lactavit Dominum, mortis pestem quam plantavit primus parens hominum," i that our Lady hath extirped the mortal pestilence which our first father hath planted, with divers other things applied to the praise of Saints and their merits, which have proceeded of to immoderate affection of some men towards Saints, and therefore ought not be admitted into any part of our belief, because they seem to derogate the due honour of God not a little and the faith that we should have in him.' Cambridge St John's College T.9.27(l); cited in Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers Wtih Kindred Books and Primers of the Reformed Roman Use* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1901), 168-170.

celestial influence has the potential to demonstrate just how rich the sensual vitality of life in the shadow of the plague could be.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

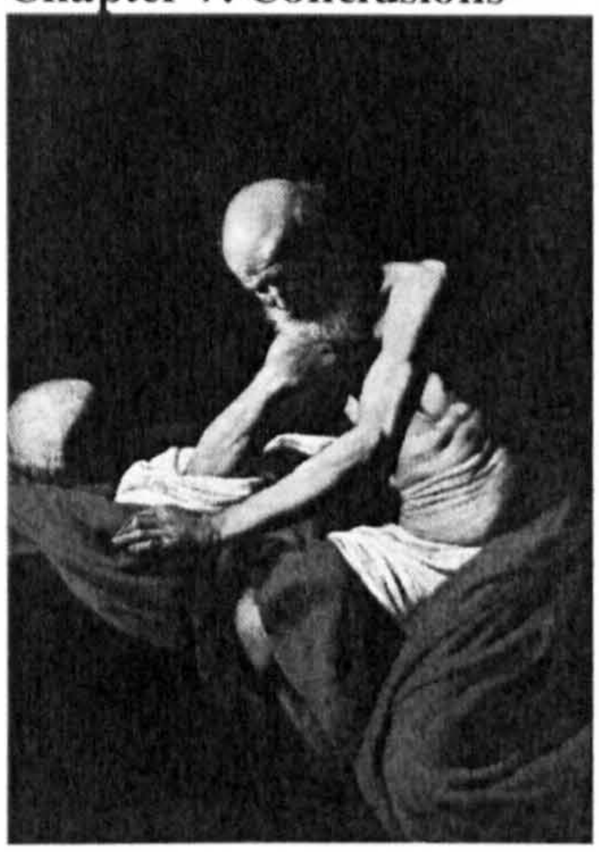


Figure 7.1. Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi), St Jerome in Meditation (c. 1605). Oil on canvas, 118 x 81 cm. Museo del Monasterio de Santa Maria, Monserrat. Image courtesy of the Web Gallery of Art (www.wga.hu/index1.html).

The preceding chapters represent a first effort to situate the discipline of music within the epidemiological narrative of Europe's struggle with plague. Beginning with the initial investigation of the description of sound in the earliest chronicles of the Black Death, the ears were an essential medium for the experience of life in the shadow of the plague, bombarded as they were both by paramusical elements of the soundscape such as funeral bells and by tailor-crafted acoustic artifacts which sought to address the physical and spiritual needs of the fear-fevered populace. Much of this cultural production was mediated through the didactic and social agenda of the Church, as bishops mandated the performance of liturgies such as the *Missa pro mortalitate evitanda* and votive masses to saints such as Sebastian and Roch, and groups of laypeople such the *laudesi* and the flagellants sublimated the association between sickness and divine anger implicit in biblical and patristic writing into exquisite communal displays of penitence and musical supplication.

Moreover, seen as the bridge between the human microcosm and the macrocosm of the natural world through the system of 'scientific' physical philosophy inherited from the ancient Greeks, music found a ready place within the medical ideas of the time, though the very sensory immediacy and vibrancy which may have formed the basis of its appeal in the sensual realities of a plague epidemic do not lend themselves well to the fixing and ossification necessary for successful transmission in the historical record. Compositions which were written down were those which found relevance in a multitude of settings, such as the *Stella coeli* plague hymn and the invocation of the *Recordare Domine*, and reflect a wide variation of local variation.

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

Moreover, the absence of this tale in the collective consciousness of historical awareness has keen consequences. Deaf to the ringing challenge implicit

in Lynn Thorndike's assertion that plague, 'like an incubus . . . . weighed upon the human imagination and spirit. Like some crawling venomous worm it has left its foul trail across the face of history' (1927: 455), musicologists have left the discussion of artistic life during epidemics to scholars of literature and visual art, and thus biased the evolving modern understanding of the historical shadow of the Black Death towards an undue preoccupation with the artifacts of visual experience. This is, of course, to some degree inevitable, as the study of history is dependent upon the study of surviving artifacts which (at least prior to the invention of the phonograph) can only be experienced visually. However, the inclusion of essentially ephemeral music and auditory production in the dialogue on the creation of artistic culture in plague forces modern scholars to confront the fact that, regardless of the primary material, the artistic constructs can only indirectly shed light on the topics of our primary interest and are themselves the products of minds whose perspectives differ from our own in unknown and unknowable ways. This is no bad thing; just as tenebrist artists of the seventeenth century such as Caravaggio recognized that the absence of light possesses its own artistic radiance, the study of ephemeral art in times of plague demands recognition of the communicative import of silence. While the musical examples of this study came from many times and places, they all stood on the brink of much larger pools of performance, tempting us with their intimations of the musical culture of lay congregations which only occasionally ventured within the illuminatory sphere of written documents. Like the darkness surrounding the careworn face of Caravaggio's *Saint Jerome*; such records can only be a melancholy invitation to contemplate the rest of the masterpiece, forcing us as modern observers to question both our experience of history and of our own perceptions of artistic creation. If (as Jonathan Rée suggests) works of art are invitations to notice the

complexity, multiplicity and precariousness of our ordinary perception of the world, then such elucidations of the role of plague the essential evanescence of music will have lasting value. We have here a rich opportunity to appreciate how these inventions and discoveries shape the delicate fulcrum upon which the mundanity of universal physical necessity, and the transcendence of uniquely human creativity, find balance. It would be a shame to let it pass unnoticed.

Appendix A. Account of the arrival of the Black Death in Gabriel de Mussis,

Historia de Morbo

1	*In nomine domini amen.*	In the name of God, amen.
2	*Incipit ystoria de Morbo siue mortalitate que fuit anno domini MCCCXLVIII. Compylata per Gabrielem de Mussis placensem.*	Here begins an account of the disease or mortality which occured in 1348, put together by Gabriele de' Mussis of Piacenza.
3	*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam Nouerint vniuersi presentes, pariter et futuri, quod omnipotens deus, rex celestis qui uiuorum dominator et mortuorum, in cuius manu sunt omnia, ex alto respiciens, vniuersum genus ad omnia scelera pronum et lubricum, criminibus obuolutum, innumeris perseuerancie delictis, et in omni genere uiciorum inextimabili malitia usque ad Interiora dimersum, omni bonorum gracia denudatum, dei Judicia non exhorrens, ad omnia malla opera prosilleret, tot abhominabilia, tot horribilia ulterius*	May this stand as a perpetual reminder to everyone, now living and yet to be born, how almighty God, king of heaven, lord of the living and of the dead, who holds all things in his hand, looked down from heaven and saw the entire human race wallowing in the mire of manifold wickedness, enmeshed in wrongdoing, pursuing numberless vices, drowning in a sea of depravity because of a limitless capacity for evil, bereft of all goodness, not fearing the judgements of God, and chasing after everything evil,

	ferre non ualens, clamauit ad terram.	regardless of how hateful and loathsome it was.
4	*Quid agis terra, miserorum captiuata ceteruis, peccatorum sordibus maculata,*	Seeing such things he called out to the earth: 'What are you doing, held captive by gangs of worthless men, soiled with the filth of sinners?
5	*Tota es Ineffecta?*	Are you totally helpless?
6	*Quid agis.*	What are you doing?
7	*Cur humano sanguine madefacta non postulas ultionem.*	Why do you not demand human blood in vengeance for this wrongdoing?
8	*Cur hostes et aduersarios meos pateris.*	Why do you tolerate my enemies and adversaries?
9	*Debuisses jam Inimicos meos, producta libie (libidine?) suffocasse,*	When confronted by such wantonness you should have swallowed my opponents.
10	*Prepara te ut possis exercere uindictam.*	Make yourself ready to exercise the vengeance which lies within your power.'

11	*Et ego terra, tuo Imperio fundata, postquam jubes, apperiam venas meas et infinitos degluciam criminosos. negabo fructus solitos. blada, vina et olea non effundam.*	And the earth replied, 'I, established by your power, shall open and swallow up the countless criminals as soon as you give the word.
12	*Cumque in celestibus demisso tonitruo irattus uehementer. Judex, ellementa, planetas, sydera, et ordines Angelorum, contra humanum genus ineffabili censura conduceret et singulos animatos in exterminium peccatorum armaret, et quodam crudelitas impetu prouocaret.*	When the enraged Judge gives the signal, with violent thunder from heaven, and leads the elements, the planets, the stars and the orders of angels against the human race in an unspeakable judgement, enlisting all forms of life to wipe out the sinners at one savage stroke, I shall refuse the usual harvest, I shall not yield grain, wine and oil.'
13	*Inquit meum est exercere Justiciam.*	God said, 'The exercise of justice belongs to me.
14	*Ego sum uita uiuencium.*	I am the life of the living.
15	*Ego mortis cle[a]gero.*	I bear the keys of death.
16	*Ego retribuo, reddens unicuique, quod suum est.*	I bring retribution, giving each individual his due.

17 *Manus mee formauerunt celos.* My hands shaped the heavens.

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

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

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

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

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

23 *Ubi me descendere compulisti, substinui globos vteri virginalis,* When you compelled me, who upheld the spheres, to descend into

	famem, sitim, labores, crucis,	the womb of a virgin I endured
	patibulum et mortem pertuli, quid	hunger, thirst, toil, crucifixion and
	fecisti Ingratissime, adhuc me	death – and your deeds, you ingrate,
	postulas crucifigi	condemn me still to the cross.
24	*debuissem eternis te punire supplicijs,*	I ought to have punished you with
	fateor me pietas.	eternal death, but pity conquered me.
25	*En ego tuj misertus fui, et me tuum*	Behold, I have been merciful
	saluatorem minime cognouisti	towards you, and you have barely acknowledged the salvation you have gained through me.
26	*Indignus es beatitudinis eterne, te*	You are unworthy of eternal bliss,
	dignum constituisti tormentorum	showing yourself instead to be
	Infernj	worthy of the torments of hell.
27	*egredere de terra mea, te desero*	Leave my earth, I abandon you to be
	draconibus lacerandum.	torn into pieces by dragons.
28	*Ibis ad tenebras, ubi perpetuus*	You shall go into the shadows,
	gemitus, et dencium stridor erit.	where there will be perpetual wailing and gnashing of teeth.
29	*Jam tue calamitatis terminus adest.*	Now disaster is at hand; your

	desinant vires tue.	strength must have an end.
30	*uanitates et uoluptates quibus te in omnibus dedicasti. conspicio ipsis ad iram me non modicam pruocasti.*	The sight of the vanities and lecheries to which you have abandoned yourself has provoked me to fury.
31	*Accedant maligni spiritus, te deuorandi eisdem concedatur potestas,*	May evil spirits arise with the power to devour you.
32	*non sit tibi libertas vlterius*	May you have no escape from this time forward.
33	*Ago Judicia, gaudia tua conuertantur ju luctum. prospera conturbentur aduersis. nullus uite ordo. sed sempiternus horror Inhabitet*	'I pronounce these judgements: may your joys be turned to mourning, your prosperity be shaken by adversity, the course of your life be passed in never-ending terror.
34	*Ecce mortis vmago*	Behold the image of death.
35	*Ecce caracteres et portas Infernales apperio*	Behold I open the infernal floodgates.
36	*Fames captiuatos prosternat. Pax a*	Let hunger strike down those it

	mundi finibus euellatur. Scandalla consurgant. Regna adversus regna odio execrabili consumentur. pereat in terris misericordia. clades, pestes, uiolencie, latrocinia, lites, et omnia genera scandalorum nascantur.	seizes; let peace be driven from the ends of the earth; let dissensions arise; let kingdoms be consumed in detestable war; let mercy perish throughout the world; let disasters, plagues, violence, robberies, strife and all kinds of wickedness arise.
37	*Post hec nutu meo, planete Aerem Infficiant, atque vniuerssam terram corrumpant, vbique sit dolor et gemitus.*	Next, at my command, let the planets poison the air and corrupt the whole earth; let there be universal grief and lamentation.
38	*Vndique mortis jacula Impietatis morsibus dominentur*	Let the sharp arrows of sudden death have dominion throughout the world.
39	*Nemini parcatur. non sexui non etati. pereant cum nocentibus innocentes. Nulli sit ex euadendo libertas.*	Let no one be spared, either for their sex or their age; let the innocent perish with the guilty and no one escape.
40	*Sed quia pastores mundi quos constitui, greges suos lupis rapacibus dimiserunt et uerbum deij non predicant, cuib[v]is negligentes*	'Because those I appointed to be shepherds of the world have behaved towards their flocks like ravening wolves, and do not preach the word

	dominici, et penitenciam minime clamauerunt, duman contra eos exercebo uindictam.	of God, but neglect all the Lord's business and have barely even urged repentance, I shall take a savage vengeance on them.
41	*Delebo eos a facie terre*	I shall wipe them from the face of the earth.
42	*Et texauros eorum absconditos*	The enemy and adversary will seize their hidden treasure.
43	*Inimicus et aduersus possidebit, pacientur cum deliquentibus grauia onera delictorum.*	They, along with all other wrongdoers, will bear the heavy burden of their offences.
44	*Nil proderit eis falax officium et quia plus homines quam deum timuerunt et magis suam graciam dilexerunt, omnia pessima sustinebunt ypocritarum scelerata*	Their office – acquired through deceit– will not avail them, and because they feared men rather than God, and valued their grace more highly, they will be branded as hypocrites.
45	*Religio suis finibus ellungata [elongata] lugebit.*	Religion, turned out of doors, will grieve.
46	*Sacerdotum et tocius ordinis*	The treacherous and maleficent

clericalis, falsa et inimica societas suis periclitata deffectibus Interibit.

fellowship of priests and clergy, imperilled by their own failings, will be destroyed.

47 *Nulli dabitur requies. singulos sagita uenenata percuciet. febres superbos deicient. et morbus Incurabilis fulminabit.*

No one will be given rest, poisoned arrows will strike everyone, fevers will throw down the proud, and incurable disease will strike like lightning.'

48 *Sic sic monitione premissa mortalibus uibrata omnipotentis lancea, duris aculleis undique destinatis, egressus morbus, totum genus Infecit humanum.*

After this warning had been given to mortals, disease was sent forth; the quivering spear of the Almighty was aimed everywhere and infected the whole human race with its pitiless wounds.

49 *Nempe Orion illa stella crudelis et seua cauda draconis. et gelus ueneni fiallis precipitatis in mare. et Saturni horribilis et indignata tempestas, quibus datum est nocere terre et mari, hominibus et arboribus, ab oriente in occidentem, pestiferis gradibus incedentem, per mundi uaria climata,*

Orion, that cruel star, and the tail of the dragon and the angel hurling vials of poison into the sea, and the appalling weather of Saturn were given leave to harm land and sea, men and trees; advancing from east to west with plague-bearing steps they poured out the poisoned vessels

uenenata pocula detullerunt. bullas igneas infirmantibus relinquentes

throughout the countries of the world, leaving fiery tokens on the sick.

50 *Ex quibus mortis impetus horribilis discurrens mundi comminans ruijnam, mortales subita percussione consumpsit ut infra patebit.*

And so the terrible violence of death, running through the world threatening ruin, devoured mortals by a sudden blow, as I shall describe below.

51 *Plangite plangite populi manibus, et dei misericordiam inuocate.*

Mourn, mourn, you peoples, and call upon the mercy of God.

52 *Anno domini MCCCXLVI. in partibus orientalis, Infinita Tartarorum et Saracenorum genera, morbo inexplicabii, et morte subita corruerunt.*

In 1346, in the countries of the East, countless numbers of Tartars and Saracens were struck down by a mysterious illness which brought sudden death.

53 *Parcium latissime regiones, Infinite prouincie, regna magnifica, vrbes, Castra, et loca, plena hominum multitudine copiosa, morbo pressa, et horrende mortis morsibus, propriis Acollis denudata paruo tempore*

Within these countries broad regions, far-spreading provinces, magnificent kingdoms, cities, towns and settlements, ground down by illness and devoured by dreadful death, were soon stripped of their

	deffecerunt.	inhabitants.
54	*Nan (!) locus dictus Thanna, in partibus orientis, uersus Acquilonem Constantinopolitana contrada (!) sub Tartarorum dominio constituta, ubi merchatores ytalici confluebant, cum propter quosdam excessus, superuenientibus Tartaris infinitis, modic temporis Interuollo (!) obsessa, et hostiliter debellata, deserta penitus remaneret.*	An eastern settlement under the rule of the Tartars called Tana, which lay to the north of Constantinople and was much frequented by Italian merchants, was totally abandoned after an incident there which led to its being besieged and attacked by hordes of Tartars who gathered in a short space of time.
55	*Accidit ut uiolenter christianj merchatores expulsi, Intra menia Terre Caffensis, quam ab olim illa regione Januenses extruxerant, fugientes christiani sese pro suarum tutione personarum et rerum, Tartarorum formidantes potenciam, Armato Nauigio receptatrent.*	The Christian merchants, who had been driven out by force, were so terrified of the power of the Tartars that, to save themselves and their belongings, they fled in an armed ship to Caffa, a settlement in the same part of the world which had been founded long ago by the Genoese.
56	*Ha deus. Ecce subito, gentes Tartarorum profane, vndique confluentes, Caffensem vrbem circumdantes, incluxos christicolas*	Oh God! See how the heathen Tartar races, pouring together from all sides, suddenly invested the city of Caffa and besieged the trapped

	obsederunt, fere Triennio perdurantes.	Christians there for almost three years.
57	*Ibique hostium exercitu Infinito uallati, uix poterant respirare, licet Nauigio Alimenta ferrente illud talle subsidium intrinsecis spem modicam exhyberet*	There, hemmed in by an immense army, they could hardly draw breath, although food could be shipped in, which offered them some hope.
58	*Et ecce Morbo Tartaros inuadente totus exercitus perturbatus longuebat et cottidie Infinita millia sunt extincta videbatur eis*	But behold, the whole army was affected by a disease which overran the Tartars and killed thousands upon thousands every day.
59	*Sagittas euolare de celo, tangere et opprimere superbiam Tartarorum*	It was as though arrows were raining down from heaven to strike and crush the Tartars' arrogance.
60	*Qui statim signati corporibus In iuncturis, humore coagulato in Inguinibus, febre putrida subsequente, expirabant, omni conscilio et auxilio medicorum cessante*	All medical advice and attention was useless; the Tartars died as soon as the signs of disease appeared on their bodies: swellings in the armpit or groin caused by coagulating humours, followed by a putrid fever.
61	*Quod Tartari, ex tanta clade et morbo*	The dying Tartars, stunned and

	pestifero fatigati, sic defficientes attoniti et vndique stupefacti, sine spe salutis mori conspicientes	stupefied by the immensity of the disaster brought about by the disease, and realising that they had no hope of escape, lost interest in the siege.
62	*Cadavera, machinis eorum superposita, Intra Caffensem vrbem precipitari Jubebant, ut ipsorum fectore [!] intollerabili, omnino defficerent*	But they ordered corpses to be placed in catapults and lobbed into the city in the hope that the intolerable stench would kill everyone inside.
63	*Sic sic proiecta vedeantur Cacumina mortuorum, nec christiani latere, nec fugere, nec a tali precipicio liberari valebant, licet deffunctos, quos poterant marinis traderent fluctibus inmergendos*	What seemed like mountains of dead were thrown into the city, and the Christians could not hide or flee or escape from them, although they dumped as many of the bodies as they could in the sea.
64	*Moxque toto aere inffecto, et aqua uenenata, corrupta putredine, tantusque fetor Increbuit ut vix et Millibus vnus, [start of p. 49] relicto exercitu fugere conaretur*	And soon the rotting corpses tainted the air and poisoned the water supply, and the stench was so overwhelming that hardly one in several thousand was in a position to flee the remains of the Tartar army.

65	*qui eciam uenenatus alijs ubique uenena preparans, solo aspectu, loca et homines, morbo Infficeret uniuersos*	Moreover one infected man could carry the poison to others, and infect people and places with the disease by look alone.
66	*Nec aliquis sciebat, uel poterat viam Inuerire salutis*	No one knew, or could discover, a means of defence.
67	*Sic undique Orientalibus, et meridiana plaga, et qui in Aquilone degebant, sagita percussis Asperima, que corporibus crepidinem Inducebat, morbo pressis pestiffero, fere omnes, defficiebant, et morte subita corruebant*	Thus almost everyone who had been in the East, or in the regions to the south and north, fell victim to sudden death after contracting this pestilential disease, as if struck by a lethal arrow which raised a tumour on their bodies.
68	*Quanta, qualisque fuerit mortalitas generalis, Cathijnj, Indi, Perses, Medi, Cardenses, Armeni, Tarsenses, Georgianj, Mesopotami, Nubiani, Ethijopes, Turchumani, Egiptij, Arabici, Saraceni, Greci et fere toto oriente corrupto, clamoribus, flectibus (!) et singultibus occupati, a supra dicto Millesimo, usque ad Millesimo,*	The scale of the mortality and the form which it took persuaded those who lived, weeping and lamenting, through the bitter events of 1346 to 1348 – the Chinese, Indians, Persians, Medes, Kurds, Armenians, Cilicians, Georgians, Mesopotamians, Nubians, Ethiopians, Turks, Egyptians, Arabs,

	CCCXLVIIII in amaritudine commorantes, extremum deij Judicium suspicantur	Saracens and Greeks (for almost all the East has been affected) – that the last judgement had come.
69	*Sane, quia ab oriente in occidentem transiuimus, licet omnia discutere que uidimus et cognouimus probabilimus argumentis, et que possumus deij terribilia Judicia declarare*	Now it is time that we passed from east to west, to discuss all the things which we ourselves have seen, or known, or consider likely on the basis of the evidence, and, by so doing, to show forth the terrifying judgements of God.
70	*Audiant vniuersi et lacrimis habundare cogantur*	Listen everybody, and it will set tears pouring from your eyes.
71	*Inquit enim conctipotens, delebo hominem quem creaui a facie terre*	For the Almighty has said: 'I shall wipe man, whom I created, off the face of the earth.
72	*Quia caro et sanguis est, in cinerem et puluerem conuertetur*	Because he is flesh and blood, let him be turned to dust and ashes.
73	*Spiritus meus non permanebit in homine*	My spirit shall not remain among man.'

74 *Quid putas bone deus, sic tuam creaturam delere, et humanam genus, sic jubes, sic mandas subito depperire*

– 'What are you thinking of, merciful God, thus to destroy your creation and the human race; to order and command its sudden annihilation in this way?

75 *Vbi misericordia tua, vbi fedus patrum nostrorum. vbi est uirgo beata, que suo gremio continet peccatores. vbi martirum preciosus sanguis vbi confessorum et uirginum Agmina decorata, et tocius exercitus paradixi. qui pro peccatoribus rogare non desinunt. vbi mors Christi preciosa crucis, et nostra redemptio admirabilis*

What has become of your mercy; the faith of our fathers; the blessed virgin, who holds sinners in her lap; the precious blood of the martyrs; the worthy army of confessors and virgins; the whole host of paradise, who pray ceaselessly for sinners; the most precious death of Christ on the cross and our wonderful redemption?

76 *Cesset obsecro ira tua bone deus, nec sic conteras peccatores, ut fructu multiplicato penitencie. Aufferas omne malum nec cum iniustis iusti dampnentur quia misericordiam vis et non sacrificium*

Kind God, I beg that your anger may cease, that you do not destroy sinners in this way, and, because you desire mercy rather than sacrifice, that you turn away all evil from the penitent, and do not allow the just to be condemned with the unjust.'

77 *Te audio peccatorem, uerba meis*

– 'I hear you, sinner, dropping words

	auribus instillantem	into my ears.
78	*Stille jubeo*	I bid you weep.
79	*Misericordie tempora deffecerunt*	The time for mercy has passed.
80	*Deus uocor ulcioneum*	I, God, am called to vengeance.
81	*Libet peccata et scelera vindicare*	It is my pleasure to take revenge on sin and wickedness.
82	*Dabo signa mea morientibus preuenti studeant animarum prouidere saluti*	I shall give my signs to the dying, let them take steps to provide for the health of their souls.'
83	*Sic euenit a preffata Caffensi terra, nauigio discedente, quedam paucis gubernata nautis,*	As it happened, among those who escaped from Caffa by boat were a few sailors who had been infected with the poisonous disease.
84	*Eciam uenenato morbo infectis Januam Applicarunt quedam venecijs quedam alijs partibus christianorum*	Some boats were bound for Genoa, others went to Venice and to other Christian areas.
85	*Mirabile dictu. Nauigantes, cum ad*	When the sailors reached these

	terras aliquas accedebant, ac si maligni spiritus comitantes, mixtis hominibus Intererint [ierunt]. omnis ciuitas, omnis locus, omnis terra et habitatores eorum vtriusque sexus, morbi contagio pestifero uenenati, morte subita corruebant	places and mixed with the people there, it was as if they had brought evil spirits with them: every city, every settlement, every place was poisoned by the contagious pestilence, and their inhabitants, both men and women, died suddenly.
86	*Et cum vnus ceperat Egrotari, mox cadens et moriens vniuersam familiam uenenabat. Iniciantes, ut cadauera sepelirent, mortis eodem genere corruebant*	And when one person had contracted the illness, he poisoned his whole family even as he fell and died, so that those preparing to bury his body were seized by death in the same way.
87	*Sic sic mors per fenestra Intrabat. et depopullatis vrbibus et Castellis, loca, suos deffunctos acolas deplorabant.*	Thus death entered through the windows, and as cities and towns were depopulated their inhabitants mourned their dead neighbours.
88	*Dic dic Janua, quid fecisti.*	Speak, Genoa, of what you have done.
89	*Narra Sijcilia, et Insule pellagi copiose, Judicia deij*	Describe, Sicily and Isole Pelagie, the judgements of God.

90	*Explica venecia, Tuscia, et tota ytalica, quid agebas*	Recount, Venice, Tuscany and the whole of Italy, what you have done.
91	*Nos Januensis et venetus dei Judicia reuellare compellimus*	We Genoese and Venetians bear the responsibility for revealing the judgements of God.
92	*Proli dolor Nostris ad vrbes, classibus applicatis, Intrauimus domos nostra.*	Alas, once our ships had brought us to port we went to our homes.
93	*Et quia nos grauis Infirmitas detinebat. et nobis de Mille Nauigantibus vix decem supererant, propinqui, Affines, et conuicini ad nos vndique confluebant*	And because we had been delayed by tragic events, and because among us there were scarcely ten survivors from a thousand sailors, relations, kinsmen and neighbours flocked to us from all sides.
94	*Heu nobis, qui mortis Jacula portabamus*	But, to our anguish, we were carrying the darts of death.
95	*Dum amplexibus et osculis nos tenerent, ex ore, dum uerba uerba loquebamur, venenum fundere cogebamur*	While they hugged and kissed us we were spreading poison from our lips even as we spoke.
96	*Sic illi ad propria reuertentes, mox totam familiam venenabant. et Infra*	When they returned to their own folk, these people speedily poisoned

	triduum, percussa familia, mortis jaculo subiaceba[n]t	the whole family, and within three days the afflicted family would succumb to the dart of death.
97	*Exequias funeris pro pluribus ministrantes, crescente numero deffunctorum pro sepulturis terra sufficere non ualebant*	Mass funerals had to be held and there was not enough room to bury the growing numbers of dead.
98	*Presbitiri et medici, quibus Infirmorum cura maior necessitatis Articulis Iminebat, dum Infirmos uisitare satagunt, proli dolor, recedentes Infirmi, deffunctos statim subsequuntur*	Priests and doctors, upon whom most of the care of the sick devolved, had their hands full in visiting the sick and, alas, by the time they left they too had been infected and followed the dead immediately to the grave.
99	*O, patres. O, matres, O filij, et vxores*	Oh fathers! Oh mothers! Oh children and wives!
100	*Quos din prosperitas, Incollumes conseruauit, nec Infelices et Infeliciores, pre ceteris, vos simul, eadem sepultura concludit.*	For a long time prosperity preserved you from harm, but one grave now covers you and the unfortunate alike.
101	*Qui pari mundo fruebamini leticia et omnis prosperitas aridebat. qui*	You who enjoyed the world and upon whom pleasure and prosperity

	gaudia uanitatibus miscebatis, idem tumulus vos suscepit, vermibus esca datos.	smiled, who mingled joys with follies, the same tomb receives you and you are handed over as food for worms.
102	*O mors dura, mors Impia, mors aspera, mors crudelis, que sic parentes diuidis, dissocias coniugatos, filios Interficis, fratres separas, et sorores.*	Oh hard death, impious death, bitter death, cruel death, who divides parents, divorces spouses, parts children, separates brothers and sisters.
103	*Plangimus, miseri calamitates nostras. Nos preterite consumpserunt. presentes corrodunt viscera. et future maiora, nobis discrimina comminantur.*	We bewail our wretched plight. The past has devoured us, the present is gnawing our entrails, the future threatens yet greater dangers.
104	*Quod Ardenti studio laborantes percepimus, perdimus vna hora.*	What we laboured to amass with feverish activity, we have lost in one hour.
105	*Vbi sunt delicate vestes, et preciosa Juuentus*	Where are the fine clothes of gilded youth?
106	*'Ubi nobilitas et fortitudo pugnancium. vbi seniorum maturitas autiquata. et dominarum purpurata*	Where is nobility and the courage of fighters, where the mature wisdom of elders and the regal throng of

	caterua. Vbi thesaurus et preciosis lapides congregate	great ladies, where the piles of treasure and precious stones?
107	*Proh dolor. omnes mortis Impetu deffecerunt.*	Alas! All have been destroyed; thrust aside by death.
108	*Ad quem Ibimus. qui nimium medebitur*	To whom shall we turn, who can help us?
109	*Fugere non licet. latere non expedit*	To flee is impossible, to hide futile.
110	*Vrbes, menia, Arua, nemora vie, et omnis aquarum materia, latronibus circumdantur. Isti sunt maligni spiritus, summi tortores Judicis, omnibus supplicia Infinita parantes.*	Cities, fortresses, fields, woods, highways and rivers are ringed by thieves – which is to say by evil spirits, the executioners of the supreme Judge, preparing endless punishments for us all.
111	*Quoddam possumus explicare pauendum, prope Januam, tunc exercitu residente euenit.*	We can unfold a terrifying event which happened when an army was camped near Genoa.
112	*vt quatuor exercitus socij, Intencione spoliandi loca et homines, exercitum dimiserunt. et ad Riparolum pergentes*	Four of the soldiers left the force in search of plunder and made their way to Rivarolo on the coast, where

	in littore maris, ubi morbus Interfecerat vniuersos	the disease had killed all the inhabitants.
113	*Domos clausas inuenientes, et nemine comparente, domum vnam apperientes, et Intrantes lectulum, cum lana obuolutum Inueniunt, aufferunt et exportant.*	Finding the houses shut up, and no one about, they broke into one of the houses and stole a fleece which they found on a bed.
114	*Et in exercitum reuertentes, nocte sequenti, quatuor sub lena [lana], in lectulo dormitiui quiescunt.*	They then rejoined the army and on the following night the four of them bedded down under the fleece.
115	*Sed mane facto, mortui sunt Inuenti.*	When morning comes it finds them dead.
116	*Ex quo tremor Inuasit omnes, ut Rebus et vestibus deffunctorum contemptis, nullus postea frui velet. nec eciam manibus atractare.*	As a result everyone panicked, and thereafter nobody would use the goods and clothes of the dead, or even handle them, but rejected them outright.
117	*Hec de Januensibus, quorum pars Septima vix Remansit.*	Scarcely one in seven of the Genoese survived.
118	*Hec de venetis, quorum In*	In Venice, where an inquiry was

	Inquisitione facta super defunctis asseritur, ex centenario ultra Septuaginta. Et ex viginti quatuor medicis excellentibus, viginti, paruo tempore deffecisse.	held into the mortality, it was found that more than 70% of the people had died, and that within a short period 20 out of 24 excellent physicians had died.
119	*Ex alijs partibus ytalie, Sycilie, et Apulie, cum suis circumdantibus plurimum dessolatis congemunt*	The rest of Italy, Sicily and Apulia and the neighbouring regions maintain that they have been virtually emptied of inhabitants.
120	*Florentini, Pisanij, lucenses, suis acollis denudati, dolores suos exagerant uehementer.*	The people of Florence, Pisa and Lucca, finding themselves bereft of their fellow residents, emphasise their losses.
121	*'Romana Curia, prouincie citra, et vltra Rodanum, hyspanie, Francia, et latissime Regiones, Allamaniae, suos exponant dolores, et clades, cum sit mihi in narrando difficultas eximia.*	The Roman Curia at Avignon, the provinces on both sides of the Rhône, Spain, France, and the Empire cry up their griefs and disasters – all of which makes it extraordinarily difficult for me to give an accurate picture.
122	*Sed quid acciderit Saracenis, constat*	By contrast, what befell the Saracens

	Relatibus fide dignis.	can be established from trustworthy accounts.
123	*Cum igitur Soldanus plurimos habeat subiugatos, ex sola Babilonis vrbe vbi thronum et dominium habet, tribus mensibus non elapsis. In MCCCXLVIII. ccclxxxm.^{M} morbi cladibus Interempti dicuntur, quod quidem Innotuit ex Registro Soldani, ubi nomina mortuorum notantur, a quorum quolibet recipit bisancium vnum, quando sepulture traduntur.*	In the city of Babylon alone (the heart of the Sultan's power), 480,000 of his subjects are said to have been carried off by disease in less than three months in 1348 – and this is known from the Sultan's register which records the names of the dead, because he receives a gold bezant for each person buried.
124	*Taceo Damascum et ceteras vrbes eius, quarum Infinitus extiti(t) numerus deffunctorum.*	I am silent about Damascus and his other cities, where the number of dead was infinite.
125	*de alijs Regionibus orientis, que per trienium vis [vix written above] (!) poterunt equitari, cum tanta sit multitudo degentium, ut quando occidens vnum, genera X.^{M} [10,000] Oriens producat. et nos refferunt, Insulatos, credendum et*	In the other countries of the East, which are so vast that it takes three years to ride across them and which have a population of 10,000 for every one inhabitant of the west, it is credibly reported that countless people have died.

Innumerabiles deffecisse.

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

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

127 *Quidam Januenses, quos morbus egredi compelebat, cupientes locis salubribus collocari, transactis*
128 *Alpibus ad lombardie se planiciem contullerunt.*

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

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

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

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

One man there, wanting to make his will, died along with the notary, the priest who heard his confession, and the people summoned to witness the

	omnes pariter tumulati fuerunt	will, and they were all buried together on the following day.
131	*Et tanta postmodum ibi calamitas Invalavit, ut fere omnes habitatores ibidem repentina morte conciderint. quia post defunctos paucissimi remansserunt. Hec de Bobiensibus, § Ceterum in Estate, dicto millesimo*	The scale of the disaster was such that virtually all the inhabitants were subsequently struck down by sudden death and only a tiny handful remained alive.
132	*Alter Januensis, se transtulit ad territorium placentinum, qui morbi cladibus vexabatur*	Another of the Genoese, who was already suffering from the illness, managed to reach Piacenza.
133	*Et cum esset Infarmato, querens fulchinum de lacruce, quem bona amicicia diligebat, hunc suscepit hospicio*	Finding himself unwell, he sought out his close friend Fulco della Croce, who gave him shelter.
134	*Qui statim moriturus occubuit. § post quem in mediate dictus fulchinus, cum tota familia, et multis vicinis expirauit*	He immediately took to his bed and died, and then straightaway Fulco, with his whole household and many of the neighbours, died too.
135	*Et sic breviter morbus ille effusus Intrauit placentiam*	And that, briefly, is how this disease (spreading rapidly throughout the world) arrived in Piacenza.

136 *Nescio ubi possum Incipere* — I don't know where to begin.

137 *Vndique planctus et lamenta consurgunt* — Cries and laments arise on all sides.

138 *Videns continuatis diebus Crucis defferi vexilla, corpus domini deportari, et mortuos absque numero sepeliri* — Day after day one sees the Cross and the Host being carried about the city, and countless dead being buried.

139 *Tantaque fuit mortalitas subsecuta, ut vix possent homines respirare* — The ensuing mortality was so great that people could scarcely snatch breath.

140 *Supersites esse sepulturas parabant, deficiente terra pro tumullis per porticus et plateas ubi nunquam extiterat sepultura, fossas facere cogebantur.* — The living made preparations for their burial, and because there was not enough room for individual graves, pits had to be dug in colonnades and piazzas, where nobody had ever been buried before.

141 *Accidit quoque frequenter, vt vir cum vxore, pater cum filio et mater cum filia. demum post modicum tota familia, et plures conuicini, simul et Eadem fuerint sepultura locati* — It often happened that man and wife, father and son, mother and daughter, and soon the whole household and many neighbours, were buried together in one place.

142 *Idem in Castro arquato, et vigoleno,* — The same thing happened in Castell'

	et Alijs villis, locis, vrbibus et Castellis. et nouissime in valletidonj, ubi sine peste vixerant	Arquato and Viguzzolo and in the other towns, villages, cities and settlements, and last of all in the Val Tidone, where they had hitherto escaped the plague.
143	*Plurimi ceciderunt*	Very many people died.
144	*Quidam dictus Obertus de sasso, qui de partibus morbosis processerat, iuxta Ecclesiam Fratrum minorum, dum suum vellet facere Testamentum, conuocatis notario testibus et uicinis, omnes cum reliquis, ultra numera Sexaginta, Infra tempus modicum migrauerunt*	One Oberto de Sasso, who had come from the infected neighbourhood around the church of the Franciscans, wished to make his will and accordingly summoned a notary and his neighbours as witnesses, all of whom, more than sixty of them, died soon after.
145	*Hoc tempore Religiosus vir frater Syfredus de Bardis conuentus et ordinis predicatorum, vir utique prudens et mague sciencie, qui Sepulcrum domini visitauerat cum XXIII eiusdem ordinis et conuentus*	At this time the Dominican friar Syfredo de Bardis, a man of prudence and great learning who had visited the Holy Sepulchre, also died, along with 23 brothers of the same house.
146	*Item Religiosus vir frater Bertolinus*	There also died within a short time

	coxadocha placentinus, minorum ordinis, sciencia, et multis virtutibus decoratus, cum alijs XXIIIj^{or} sui ordinis, et conuentus, ex quibus nouem una die. Item ex conuentu heremitarum Vjj. Ex conuentu Carmelitarum, frater Franciscus todischue, cum Sex sui ordinis et conuentus. Ex Seruis beate marie IIIj^{or}. Et ex alijs prelatis et Rectoribus Ecclesiarum ciuitatis et destrictus placensis, ultra numero LX. Ex nobilibus multi. Ex juuenibus Infiniti. Ex mulieribus presertim pregnantibus, innumerabiles, paruo tempore deffecerunt.	the Franciscan friar Bertolino Coxadocha of Piacenza, renowned for his learning and many virtues, along with 24 brothers of the same house, nine of them on one day; seven of the Augustinians; the Carmelite friar Francesco Todischi with six of his brethren; four of the order of Mary; more than sixty prelates and parish priests from the city and district of Piacenza; many nobles; countless young people; numberless women, particularly those who were pregnant.
147	*Tedet plura contexere, et tante Calamitatis uulnera denudare*	It is too distressing to recite any more, or to lay bare the wounds inflicted by so great a disaster.
148	*Contremescat omnis creatura, Judicio deij perterita*	Let all creation tremble with fear before the judgement of God.
149	*Et suo creatori, humana fragilitas, non resistat*	Let human frailty submit to its creator.

150	*Plus dolor, cordibus accendatur et oculi omnium uberes in lacrimas prorump[un]tur. Audiant vituri (victuri?) seculi huius calamitatis euentum*	May a greater grief be kindled in all hearts, and tears well up in all eyes as future ages hear what happened in this disaster.
151	*Jacebat solus languens in domo. nullus proximus accedebat*	When one person lay sick in a house no one would come near.
152	*Cariores flentes, tantum Angulis se ponebat*	Even dear friends would hide themselves away, weeping.
153	*Medicus non Intrabat*	The physician would not visit.
154	*Sacerdos attonitus, ecclesiastica sacramenta timidus ministrabat*	The priest, panic-stricken, administered the sacraments with fear and trembling.
155	*Ecce vox flebilis Infirmantis clamabat. Misereminj miseremini*	Listen to the tearful voices of the sick: 'Have pity, have pity, my friends.
156	*Saltem vox amici mei, quia manus domini tetigit me. Alter Aiebat.*	At least say something, now that the hand of God has touched me.'
157	*O pater cur me deseris*	'Oh father, why have you abandoned

		me?
158	*Esto non immemor geniture § Alius*	Do you forget that I am your child?'
159	*O Mater ubi es*	'Mother, where have you gone?
160	*Cur heri mihi pia modo crudelis efficeris*	Why are you now so cruel to me when only yesterday you were so kind?
161	*Que mihi lac vberum propinasti, et nouem mensibus, vtero portasti*	You fed me at your breast and carried me within your womb for nine months.'
162	*Alter, O, filij, quos sudore et laboribus multis educauj cur fugitis*	'My children, whom I brought up with toil and sweat, why have you run away?'
163	*Versa vice vir et vxor Inuicem extendebat, heu nobis, qui placido coniugio lectabamur, nunc tristi, proh dolor diuorcio separamus*	Man and wife reached out to each other, 'Alas, once we slept happily together but now are separated and wretched.'
164	*Et cum jn extremis laboraret egrotus, voces adhuc lugubres emittebat. Accedite proximi et convicinj mei. En*	And when the sick were in the throes of death, they still called out piteously to their family and

	sicio, aque gutam porrigite sicienti	neighbours, 'Come here. I'm thirsty, bring me a drink of water.
165	*Viuo Ego. Nolite timere.*	I'm still alive. Don't be frightened.
166	*Forsitan viuere plus licebit. tangite me. Rogo, palpitate corpusculum*	Perhaps I won't die. Please hold me tight, hug my wasted body.
167	*Certe nunc me tangere deberetis*	You ought to be holding me in your arms.'
168	*Tunc quispiam, pietate ductus remotis ceteris, accessa in pariete candelam iuxta Caput fugiens Imprimebat (?)*	At this, as everyone else kept their distance, somebody might take pity and leave a candle burning by the bed head as he fled.
169	*Et cum spiritus exalaret sepe mater filium, et maritus uxorem, cum omnes deffunctum tangere recusarent in capsia pannis obuolutum ponebant*	And when the victim had breathed his last, it was often the mother who shrouded her son and placed him in the coffin, or the husband who did the same for his wife, for everybody else refused to touch the dead body.
170	*Non preco, non tuba, non Campana, nec Missa solempniter celebrata ad*	No prayer, trumpet or bell summoned friends and neighbours to

	funus amicos et proximos Inuitabant	the funeral, nor was mass performed.
171	*Magnos et nobiles ad sepulturam gestabant viles et abiecte perssone conducte peccunia, quia deffunctis consimiles, pauore percussi, accedere non audebant*	Degraded and poverty-striken wretches were paid to carry the great and noble to burial, for the social equals of the dead person dared not attend the funeral for fear of being struck down themselves.
172	*Diebus ac noctibus, cum necessitas deposcebat, breuj ecclesie officio, tradebantur sepulcris.*	Men were borne to burial by day and night, since needs must, and with only a short service.
173	*Clausis frequenter domibus deffunctorum, nullus Intrare, nec res deffunctorum tangere presumebat*	In many cases the houses of the dead had to be shut up, for no one dared enter them or touch the belongings of the dead.
174	*Quicquid actum fuerit*	No one knew what to do.
	Omnibus Inotescat, vno post Alium decedente omnes tandem mortis Jaculo deffecerunt	Everyone, one by one, fell in turn to death's dart.
175	*O durum et triste spectaculum vniuersis*	What a tragic and wretched sight!
176	*Quis pia compassione non lugebat*	Who would not shed sympathetic

tears?

177 *Et superuenientis pestis cladis et morbi teribilibus non turbetur*

Who would not be shaken by the disastrous plague and the terrors of death?

178 *Indurata sunt corda nostra et nullam futurorum memoriam computamus*

But our hearts have grown hard now that we have no future to look forward to.

179 *Heu nobis. Ecce hereditas nostra uersa est, ad Alienos et domus nostre ad extraneos*

Alas. Our inheritance has been diverted to strangers, our homes to outsiders.

180 *Addant si uolunt superstites, nempe lacrimas singultibus*

It is only the survivors who can enjoy the relief of tears.

181 *Occupatus procedere non valeo*

I am overwhelmed, I can't go on.

182 *quia vndique mors, vbique amaritudo describitur*

Everywhere one turns there is death and bitterness to be described.

183 *plus et plus Iterato, manus omnipotentis extenditur*

The hand of the Almighty strikes repeatedly, to greater and greater effect.

184	*Judicium teribile, continuatis temporibus Inualescit*	The terrible judgement gains in power as time goes by.
185	*Quid faciemus, o, bone yhesu, animas suscipe deffunctorum. Auerte faciem tuam a peccatis nostrijs. et omnes iniquitates nostras delle*	– What shall we do? Kind Jesus, receive the souls of the dead, avert your gaze from our sins and blot out all our iniquities.
186	*Scimus scimus, quia quicquid patimur peccata nostra merentur*	We know that whatever we suffer is the just reward of our sins.
187	*Apprehendite igitur disciplinam, ne quando Irascatur dominus, et pereatis de via iusta*	Now, therefore, when the Lord is enraged, embrace acts of penance, so that you do not stray from the right path and perish.
188	*Humilientur ergo superbi*	Let the proud be humbled.
189	*Errubescant Auari, qui pauperum detinent ellemosinas Impeditas*	Let misers, who withheld alms from the poor, blush for shame.
190	*Invidi caritate calescant*	Let the envious become zealous in almsgiving.
191	*Lusuriosi spreta putredine, honestatis*	Let lechers put aside their filthy

	regula decorentur	habits and distinguish themselves in honest living.
192	*Effrenes, Irracundi, salutis sue terminos non excedant*	Let the raging and wrathful restrain themselves from violence.
193	*Gulosi Jeiunijs temperentur*	Let gluttons temper their appetites by fasting.
194	*Et quibus accidia dominatur, bonis operibus Induantur. Non sic, non sic adolescentes et Juuenes, vestibus delectentur in cultu*	Let the slaves of sloth arise and dress themselves in good works. Let adolescents and youths abandon their present delight in following fashion.
195	*Sit fides et equitas In Judicibus: Sit legalitas Merchatorum*	Let there be good faith and equity among judges, and respect for the law among merchants.
196	*Notariorum parua et inordinata condictio, prius discat, et sapiat, quam scribere meditetur*	Let pettifogging lawyers study and grow wise before they put pen to paper.
197	*Religiosorum abiciatur ypocrisis*	Let members of religious orders abandon hypocrisy.

198 *Ordinetur in melius dignitas prelatorum*

Let the dignity of prelates be put to better use.

Omnis populus viam salutis Impetrare festines

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

199 *Et dominarum pomposa vanitas, que sic uoluptatibus Imescetur, freno moderata procedat*

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

200 *Contra quarum arroganciam ysayas, suo vaticinio resonabat. pro eo quod elleuate sunt filie Syon, et ambulauerunt extento collo, et nutibus oculorum ibant et plaudebant ambulabant, et pedibus suis, composito gradu Incedebant decaluabit dominus verticem filiarum Syon et dominus crinum earum nudabit*

It was against their arrogance that Isaiah inveighed: 'Because the daughters of Sion are haughty, and have walked with stretched out necks and wanton glances of their eyes, and made a noise as they walked with their feet, and moved in a set pace: the Lord will make bald the crown of the head of the daughters of Sion: and the Lord will discover their hair.

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

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

	discriminalia, periscelidas, et murenullas, et olfactoriola, et in Aures Annullos et gemas in fronte pendentes, et mutatoria, et paliola, et linteamina, et acus, et specula, et Syndones, et nittas, et terristra	and bracelets, and bonnets and bodkins, and ornaments of the legs, and tablets, and sweet balls, and earrings: and rings, and jewels hanging on the forehead: and changes of apparel, and short cloaks, and fine linen, and crisping pins: and looking glasses, and lawns and headbands, and fine veils.
202	*Et erit pro suavi odore fetor, et pro Zona funiculus, et pro crispanti crine caluicium, et pro fascia pectorali cillicium.*	And instead of a sweet smell, there shall be a stench: and instead of a girdle, a cord. And instead of curled hair, baldness: and instead of a stomacher, haircloth.
203	*Pulcerimi quoque viri tui gladio cadent, et fortes tui in prelio.*	Thy fairest men also shall fall by the sword: and thy valiant ones in battle.
204	*Et moerebuntur atque lugebunt ponte eius. et dessolata terra manebit*	And her gates shall lament and mourn: and she shall sit desolate on the ground'.
205	*Hec contra dominarum et Juuenum superbiam elleuatum*	This was directed against the pride of ladies and young people.

206 *Ceterum ut condictiones cause et accidencia, morbi huius pestiferi, omnibus patifiant libet litteris apperire*

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

207 *Existentes sani, vtriusque sexus, nec mortis pericula formidantes, IIIj^or^ Ictibus asperimis carnibus vexabantur*

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

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

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

209 *Que quasi lancea perforati sagittarum pungentes aculeos senciebant*

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

210 *Ex quibus quosdam, In Junctura brachij subter lagenam*

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

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

In some people this developed under the armpit and in others in the groin between the scrotum and the body.

212	*Et quandoque grosioris, dirus Impetus affligebat, cuius ardore mox in febrem acutissimam et putridam,*	As it grew more solid, its burning heat caused the patients to fall into an acute and putrid fever, with severe headaches.
213	*Cum dolore capitis Incidebant. qua nimium preualente, Alijs fetorem Intollerabilem relinquebat*	As it intensified its extreme bitterness could have various effects. In some cases it gave rise to an intolerable stench.
214	*Alijs sputum ex ore sanguineum. Alijs Inflaturas iuxta locum precedentis humoris, post tergum, et circha pectus, et iuxta femur, et alia acerbitate precipua Ingerebat*	In others it brought vomiting of blood, or swellings near the place from which the corrupt humour arose: on the back, across the chest, near the thigh.
215	*Quidam uero inebriati sopore, non poterant excitari*	Some people lay as if in a drunken stupor and could not be roused.
216	*Ecce bulle domini comminantis*	Behold the swellings, the warning signs sent by the Lord.
217	*Hij omnes, mortis periculis subiacebant*	All these people were in danger of dying.

218 *Quidam prima die Inuasionis morbi, alij sequenti die et alij pluriores triduo 1. uel v[a] morituri cadebant*

Some died on the very day the illness took possession of them, others on the next day, others – the majority – between the third and fifth day.

219 *Circha sanguinis vomitum nullum poterat adhiberi remedium*

There was no known remedy for the vomiting of blood.

220 *Dormientes Inflacti, et fectori corrupti, rarissime euadebant.*

Those who fell into a coma, or suffered a swelling or the stink of corruption very rarely escaped.

221 *Sed febre descedente quandoque poterant liberari*

But from the fever it was sometimes possible to make a recovery.

222 *Sed circha fectorem ab Infirmo susceptum, noui quempiam sumpta optima tyriaca, illatum expullisse venenum, et mortale accidens euitasse*

I have, however, known a case where, although there was a stench arising from the patient, the use of the best theriac expelled the poison and prevented it proving fatal.

223 *Si humor ille tumens, duriciem ostendebat, exterius nulla superueniente molicie signum mortis*

If the tumid humour revealed itself in numbness, but not by any external growths, it was a sign of death,

	erat. Et quia tunc ad venas cordis se venenum transferens suffocabat Infirmum	because then the poison, passing into the veins of the heart, smothered the patient.
224	*Et si exterius desuper, uel de subtus, molicies apparebat. poterat liberari*	But if swellings appeared externally, on the upper or lower body, the patient might be rescued.
225	*Illico si in superiori parte, ex brachio pacientis penam gerente. Et si Inferiori jn clauicula pedis, partis pacientis flebotomia subita curabatur.*	He could be cured by immediately letting blood from the appropriate part of his body: from his arm if the upper part of the body was affected; from the tendon of the foot if it was the lower part which was affected.
226	*Quandoque medicamine subsequente, qui a loco Morbi, cum Aluina [Malvina?], Emplastro Maluauischij, cum maturitate Incisione et euacuatione humoris, pacientes graciam sanitatis habebant*	When this was followed up with medicinal means, using mallow or a plaster of marsh mallow to ripen the boil and draw the humours from the seat of the illness, and then cutting out the boil, the patients received the blessing of health.
227	*Sed si febris acerbitas perdurabat, omnino languentes, uita priuabat*	But if the bitter fever persisted it stole the life of its victims.

228 *Assertum quoque experencia manifesta quod In Eclypsi periculosior fuerit Infirmitas augmentata et tunc maxime expierabant*

It can be asserted, on the clear evidence of experience, that the illness was more dangerous during an eclipse, because then its effect was enhanced, and it was at such times that people died in the greatest numbers.

229 *In Oriente aput Cathayn, ubi est caput mundi et terre principium, signa horribilia et pauenda apparuerunt*

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

230 *Serpentes, et buffones, in condempsata pluuia descendentes, habitationes Ingressi, Innumerabiles sauciantes veneno, et corrodentes dentibus consumpserunt*

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

231 *In Meridie aput Indos, terre motibus subuersa loca, et vrbes consumpte ruijna faculis ardentibus igneis, emissis celitus*

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

232 *Infinitos uapores ignei cremauerunt et*

The hot fumes of the fire burnt up

certis locis, sanguinis habundancia pluit et lapides ceciderunt

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

233 *Verum quia tunc tempus erat amaritudinis et doloris, et opus erat ad dominum conuertendi*

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

234 *Dicam quid Actum fuerit*

I shall recount what happened.

235 *A quadam persona, sancta, visione recepta, precessit monitio. Vt in singulis Ecclesiis, tribus continuatis diebus, omnes vtriusque sexus, ciuitatibus et Castellis et locis sue Ecclesiam prrochie conuenirent et Candella accensa in manibus, Missam beata Anastasie que In aurora natiuitatis dominice consueuit solempniter celebrari, devotissime audirent, et humiliter Inclinati misericordiam Implorarent, ut meritis sancte misse liberarentur a morbo*

A warning was given by a certain holy person, who received it in a vision, that in cities, towns and other settlements, everyone, male and female alike, should gather in their parish church on three consecutive days and, each with a lighted candle in their hand, hear with great devotion the mass of the Blessed Anastasia, which is normally performed at dawn on Christmas Day, and they should humbly beg for mercy, so that they might be delivered from the disease through the merits of the holy mass.

236 *Quidam beati domini martyris, suffragia postulabant. Alij ad Alios sanctos se conuertebant humiliter, vt morbi possent euadere prauitatem*

Other people sought deliverance through the mediation of a blessed martyr; and others humbly turned to other saints, so that they might escape the abomination of disease.

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

For among the aforesaid martyrs, some, as stories relate, are said to have died from repeated blows, and it was therefore the general opinion that they would be able to protect people against the arrows of death.

238 *Denique sanctissimus papa clemens In Consistorio sedis apostolice, Statuit Indulgenciam generalem, In MCCCL duraturam per annum, a pena et culpa omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis*

Finally, in 1350, the most holy Pope Clement ordained a general indulgence, to be valid for a year, which remitted penance and guilt to all who were truly penitent and confessed.

239 *Ob quod, Infinita gentium multitudo vtriusque sexus Rome peregrinationem peregit, basilicas beatorum Apostolorum petri et pauli et sancti Johannis Reuerentia et deuocione maxima vistando*

And as a result a numberless multitude of people made the pilgrimage to Rome, to visit with great reverence and devotion the basilicas of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul and St John.

240	*Eija Ergo dillectissimi non simus vipere, crudelitate peiores, manus nostras leuemus ad celum. An miserebitur nisi deus et pro omnibus misericoriam Imploremus*	Oh, most dearly beloved, let us therefore not be like vipers, growing ever more wicked, but let us rather hold up our hands to heaven to beg for mercy on us all, for who but God shall have mercy on us?
241	*Hijs explicatis finem facio.*	With this, I make an end.
242	*Celestis medicus uulera nostra curet et plus Animarum, quam corpuorum*	May the heavenly physician heal our wounds – our spiritual rather than our bodily wounds.
243	*Qui est benedictus laudabilis et gloriosus in secula seculorum Amen.*[a]	To whom be the blessing and the praise and the glory for ever and ever, Amen.[b]

Guide to Superscripts:

[a] = Adapted from August Wilhelm Henschel. "Document Zur Geschichte des Schwarzen Todes." *Archiv für die gesammte Medizin* 2 (1841): 45-58.

[b] = Adapted from Horrox, ed. *The Black Death*, 14-26.

Appendix B. Plague, Pestilence, and Disease in the Bible

Illness as manifestation of divine anger (total = 95)

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
Genesis 12:17	And the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai Abram's wife.
Exodus 5:3	And they said, The God of the Hebrews hath met with us: let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the Lord our God; lest he fall upon us with pestilence, or with the sword.
Exodus 9:3	Behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thy cattle which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the oxen, and upon the sheep: there shall be a very grievous murrain.
Exodus 9:14	For I will at this time send all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people; that thou mayest know that there is none like me in all the earth.
Exodus 9:15	For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence; and thou shalt be cut off from the earth.
Exodus 11:1	And the Lord said unto Moses, Yet will I bring one plague more upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence: when he shall let you go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether.
Exodus 12:13	And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are: and when I see the blood, I will pass over you,

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt.
Exodus 15:26	And said, If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee.
Exodus 30:12	When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them, when thou numberest them.
Exodus 32:35	And the Lord plagued the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.
Leviticus 26:25	And I will bring a sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant: and when ye are gathered together within your cities, I will send the pestilence among you; and ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy.
Numbers 8:19	And I have given the Levites as a gift to Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to do the service of the children of Israel in the tabernacle of the congregation, and to make an atonement for the children of Israel: that there be no plague among the children of Israel, when the children of Israel come nigh unto the sanctuary.

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
Numbers 11:33	And while the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people, and the Lord smote the people with a very great plague.
Numbers 14:12	I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a greater nation and mightier than they.
Numbers 14:37	Even those men that did bring up the evil report upon the land, died by the plague before the Lord.
Numbers 16:46-50	And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly unto the congregation, and make an atonement for them: for there is wrath gone out from the Lord; the plague is begun. And Aaron took as Moses commanded, and ran into the midst of the congregation; and, behold, the plague was begun among the people: and he put on incense, and made an atonement for the people. And he stood between the dead and the living; and the plague was stayed. Now they that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, beside them that died about the matter of Korah. And Aaron returned unto Moses unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and the plague was stayed.
Numbers 25:8-9	And he went after the man of Israel into the tent, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her belly. So the plague was stayed from the children of Israel. And those that died in the plague were twenty and

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	four thousand.
Numbers 31:16	Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Peor, and there was a plague among the congregation of the Lord.
Deuteronomy 7:15	And the Lord will take away from thee all sickness, and will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt, which thou knowest, upon thee; but will lay them upon all them that hate thee.
Deuteronomy 28:21-22	The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have consumed thee from off the land, whither thou goest to possess it. The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish.
Deuteronomy 28:59-61	Then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance. Moreover he will bring upon thee all the diseases of Egypt, which thou wast afraid of; and they shall cleave unto thee. Also every sickness, and every plague, which is not written in the book of this law, them will the Lord bring upon thee, until thou be destroyed.
Deuteronomy 29:22	So that the generation to come of your children that shall rise

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	up after you, and the stranger that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sicknesses which the Lord hath laid upon it;
Joshua 22:17	Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us, from which we are not cleansed until this day, although there was a plague in the congregation of the Lord,
Joshua 24:5	I sent Moses also and Aaron, and I plagued Egypt, according to that which I did among them: and afterward I brought you out.
1 Samuel 4:8	Woe unto us! who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty Gods? these are the Gods that smote the Egyptians with all the plagues in the wilderness.
1 Samuel 6:4	Then said they, What shall be the trespass offering which we shall return to him? They answered, Five golden emerods, and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the Philistines: for one plague was on you all, and on your lords.
2 Samuel 24:13	So Gad came to David, and told him, and said unto him, Shall seven years of famine come unto thee in thy land? or wilt thou flee three months before thine enemies, while they pursue thee? or that there be three days' pestilence in thy land? now advise, and see what answer I shall return to him that sent me.
2 Samuel 24:15	So the Lord sent a pestilence upon Israel from the morning even to the time appointed: and there died of the people from

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	Dan even to Beersheba seventy thousand men.
2 Samuel 24:21	And Araunah said, Wherefore is my lord the king come to his servant? And David said, To buy the threshing floor of thee, to build an altar unto the Lord, that the plague may be stayed from the people.
2 Samuel 24:25	And David built there an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So the Lord was intreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel.
2 Kings 1:2	And Ahaziah fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber that was in Samaria, and was sick: and he sent messengers, and said unto them, Go, enquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron whether I shall recover of this disease.
2 Kings 8:8-9	And the king said unto Hazael, Take a present in thine hand, and go, meet the man of God, and enquire of the Lord by him, saying, Shall I recover of this disease? So Hazael went to meet him, and took a present with him, even of every good thing of Damascus, forty camels' burden, and came and stood before him, and said, Thy son Benhadad king of Syria hath sent me to thee, saying, Shall I recover of this disease?
1 Chronicles 21:12	Either three years' famine; or three months to be destroyed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine enemies overtaketh thee; or else three days the sword of the Lord, even the pestilence, in the land, and the angel of the Lord destroying throughout all the coasts of Israel. Now therefore

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	advise thyself what word I shall bring again to him that sent me.
1 Chronicles 21:14	So the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel: and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men.
1 Chronicles 21:22	Then David said to Ornan, Grant me the place of this threshing floor, that I may build an altar therein unto the LORD: thou shalt grant it me for the full price: that the plague may be stayed from the people.
2 Chronicles 7:13	If I shut up heaven that there be no rain, or if I command the locusts to devour the land, or if I send pestilence among my people;
2 Chronicles 16:12	And Asa in the thirty and ninth year of his reign was diseased in his feet, until his disease was exceeding great: yet in his disease he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians.
2 Chronicles 20:9	If, when evil cometh upon us, as the sword, judgment, or pestilence, or famine, we stand before this house, and in thy presence, (for thy name is in this house,) and cry unto thee in our affliction, then thou wilt hear and help.
2 Chronicles 21:14	Behold, with a great plague will the Lord smite thy people, and thy children, and thy wives, and all thy goods:
2 Chronicles 21:15	And thou shalt have great sickness by disease of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out by reason of the sickness day by day.
2 Chronicles 21:18-19	And after all this the Lord smote him in his bowels with an incurable disease. And it came to pass, that in process of time,

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	after the end of two years, his bowels fell out by reason of his sickness: so he died of sore diseases. And his people made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers.
Job 30:18	By the great force of my disease is my garment changed: it bindeth me about as the collar of my coat.
Psalm 78:50	He made a way to his anger; he spared not their soul from death, but gave their life over to the pestilence;
Psalm 89:23	And I will beat down his foes before his face, and plague them that hate him.
Psalm 106:29-30	Thus they provoked him to anger with their inventions: and the plague brake in upon them. Then stood up Phinehas, and executed judgment: and so the plague was stayed.
Jeremiah 14:12	When they fast, I will not hear their cry; and when they offer burnt offering and an oblation, I will not accept them: but I will consume them by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence.
Jeremiah 19:8	And I will make this city desolate, and an hissing; every one that passeth thereby shall be astonished and hiss because of all the plagues thereof.
Jeremiah 21:6	And I will smite the inhabitants of this city, both man and beast: they shall die of a great pestilence.
Jeremiah 21:7	And afterward, saith the Lord, I will deliver Zedekiah king of Judah, and his servants, and the people, and such as are left in this city from the pestilence, from the sword, and from the

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	famine, into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of those that seek their life: and he shall smite them with the edge of the sword; he shall not spare them, neither have pity, nor have mercy.
Jeremiah 21:9	He that abideth in this city shall die by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth out, and falleth to the Chaldeans that besiege you, he shall live, and his life shall be unto him for a prey.
Jeremiah 24:10	And I will send the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, among them, till they be consumed from off the land that I gave unto them and to their fathers.
Jeremiah 27:8	And it shall come to pass, that the nation and kingdom which will not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and that will not put their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, that nation will I punish, saith the Lord, with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hand.
Jeremiah 27:13	Why will ye die, thou and thy people, by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence, as the Lord hath spoken against the nation that will not serve the king of Babylon?
Jeremiah 29:17-18	Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Behold, I will send upon them the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, and will make them like vile figs, that cannot be eaten, they are so evil. And I will

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	persecute them with the sword, with the famine, and with the pestilence, and will deliver them to be removed to all the kingdoms of the earth, to be a curse, and an astonishment, and an hissing, and a reproach, among all the nations whither I have driven them:
Jeremiah 32:36	And now therefore thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, concerning this city, whereof ye say, It shall be delivered into the hand of the king of Babylon by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence;
Jeremiah 34:17	Therefore thus saith the Lord; Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbour: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.
Jeremiah 38:2	Thus saith the Lord, He that remaineth in this city shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth forth to the Chaldeans shall live; for he shall have his life for a prey, and shall live.
Jeremiah 42:17	So shall it be with all the men that set their faces to go into Egypt to sojourn there; they shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: and none of them shall remain or escape from the evil that I will bring upon them.
Jeremiah 42:22	Now therefore know certainly that ye shall die by the sword,

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	by the famine, and by the pestilence, in the place whither ye desire to go and to sojourn.
Jeremiah 44:13	For I will punish them that dwell in the land of Egypt, as I have punished Jerusalem, by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence:
Jeremiah 49:17	Also Edom shall be a desolation: every one that goeth by it shall be astonished, and shall hiss at all the plagues thereof.
Jeremiah 50:13	Because of the wrath of the Lord it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate: every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues.
Ezekiel 5:12	A third part of thee shall die with the pestilence, and with famine shall they be consumed in the midst of thee: and a third part shall fall by the sword round about thee; and I will scatter a third part into all the winds, and I will draw out a sword after them.
Ezekiel 5:17	So will I send upon you famine and evil beasts, and they shall bereave thee: and pestilence and blood shall pass through thee; and I will bring the sword upon thee. I the Lord have spoken it.
Ezekiel 6:11-12	Thus saith the Lord God; Smite with thine hand, and stamp with thy foot, and say, Alas for all the evil abominations of the house of Israel! for they shall fall by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence. He that is far off shall die of the pestilence; and he that is near shall fall by the sword; and

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	he that remaineth and is besieged shall die by the famine: thus will I accomplish my fury upon them.
Ezekiel 7:15	The sword is without, and the pestilence and the famine within: he that is in the field shall die with the sword; and he that is in the city, famine and pestilence shall devour him.
Ezekiel 12:16	But I will leave a few men of them from the sword, from the famine, and from the pestilence; that they may declare all their abominations among the heathen whither they come; and they shall know that I am the Lord.
Ezekiel 14:19	Or if I send a pestilence into that land, and pour out my fury upon it in blood, to cut off from it man and beast:
Ezekiel 14:21	For thus saith the Lord God; How much more when I send my four sore judgments upon Jerusalem, the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast?
Ezekiel 28:23	For I will send into her pestilence, and blood into her streets; and the wounded shall be judged in the midst of her by the sword upon her on every side; and they shall know that I am the Lord.
Ezekiel 33:27	Say thou thus unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; As I live, surely they that are in the wastes shall fall by the sword, and him that is in the open field will I give to the beasts to be devoured, and they that be in the forts and in the caves shall die of the pestilence.

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
Ezekiel 38:22	And I will plead against him with pestilence and with blood; and I will rain upon him, and upon his bands, and upon the many people that are with him, an overflowing rain, and great hailstones, fire, and brimstone.
Amos 4:10	I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt: your young men have I slain with the sword, and have taken away your horses; and I have made the stink of your camps to come up unto your nostrils: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the Lord.
Zechariah 14:12	And this shall be the plague wherewith the Lord will smite all the people that have fought against Jerusalem; Their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet, and their eyes shall consume away in their holes, and their tongue shall consume away in their mouth.
Zechariah 14:18	And if the family of Egypt go not up, and come not, that have no rain; there shall be the plague, wherewith the Lord will smite the heathen that come not up to keep the feast of tabernacles.
Revelation 9:20	And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:
Revelation 11:6	These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will.
Revelation 15:1	And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is filled up the wrath of God.
Revelation 15:6	And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.
Revelation 15:8	And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power; and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.
Revelation 16:9	And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.
Revelation 18:8	Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.

Illness in the context of simple statements of historical fact/neutral emotional valence (Total = 22)

Chapter:Verse(s)	**King James Translation**
Numbers 25:18	For they vex you with their wiles, wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi, the daughter of a prince of Midian, their sister, which was slain in the day of the plague for Peor's sake.
Numbers 26:1	And it came to pass after the plague, that the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, saying,
1 Kings 8:37	If there be in the land famine, if there be pestilence, blasting, mildew, locust, or if there be caterpillar; if their enemy besiege them in the land of their cities; whatsoever plague, whatsoever sickness there be;
1 Kings 15:23	The rest of all the acts of Asa, and all his might, and all that he did, and the cities which he built, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? Nevertheless in the time of his old age he was diseased in his feet.
2 Chronicles 6:28	If there be dearth in the land, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting, or mildew, locusts, or caterpillars; if their enemies besiege them in the cities of their land; whatsoever sore or whatsoever sickness there be:
2 Chronicles 24:25	And when they were departed from him, (for they left him in great diseases,) his own servants conspired against him for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest, and slew him on his bed, and he died: and they buried him in the city of David, but

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings.
Psalm 38:7	For my loins are filled with a loathsome disease: and there is no soundness in my flesh.
Psalm 91:3	Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence.
Psalm 91:6	Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday.
Psalm 91:10	There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling.
Jeremiah 28:8	The prophets that have been before me and before thee of old prophesied both against many countries, and against great kingdoms, of war, and of evil, and of pestilence.
Jeremiah 32:24	Behold the mounts, they are come unto the city to take it; and the city is given into the hand of the Chaldeans, that fight against it, because of the sword, and of the famine, and of the pestilence: and what thou hast spoken is come to pass; and, behold, thou seest it.
Ezekiel 34:4	The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them.
Ezekiel 34:21	Because ye have thrust with side and with shoulder, and pushed all the diseased with your horns, till ye have scattered

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	them abroad;
Habbakuk 3:5	Before him went the pestilence, and burning coals went forth at his feet.
Zechariah 14:15	And so shall be the plague of the horse, of the mule, of the camel, and of the ass, and of all the beasts that shall be in these tents, as this plague.
Matthew 24:7	For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.
Luke 21:11	And great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences; and fearful sights and great signs shall there be from heaven.
Revelation 16:21	And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.
Revelation 18:4	And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.
Revelation 21:9	And there came unto me one of the seven angels which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.
Revelation 22:18	For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:

Removal of illness/healing as manifestation of divine compassion (Total = 20)

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
Psalm 103:3	Who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases;
Matthew 4:23-24	And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people. And his fame went throughout all Syria: and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatick, and those that had the palsy; and he healed them.
Matthew 9:20	And, behold, a woman, which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years, came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment:
Matthew 9:35	And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people.
Matthew 10:1	And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease.
Matthew 14:35	And when the men of that place had knowledge of him, they sent out into all that country round about, and brought unto him all that were diseased;
Mark 3:10	For he had healed many; insomuch that they pressed upon him for to touch him, as many as had plagues.
Mark 5:29	And straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up; and she felt in her body that she was healed of that plague.
Mark 1:32	And at even, when the sun did set, they brought unto him all that were diseased, and them that were possessed with devils.
Mark 1:34	And he healed many that were sick of divers diseases, and cast out many devils; and suffered not the devils to speak, because they knew him.
Mark 5:34	And he said unto her, Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace, and be whole of thy plague.
Luke 4:40	Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto him; and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them.
Luke 6:17	And he came down with them, and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people out of all Judaea and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, which came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases;

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
Luke 7:21	And in that same hour he cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits; and unto many that were blind he gave sight.
Luke 9:1	Then he called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases.
John 5:4	For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had
John 6:2	And a great multitude followed him, because they saw his miracles which he did on them that were diseased.
Acts 19:12	So that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.
Acts 28:9	So when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed:

Illness as indication of spiritual uncleanliness (Total = 46)

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
Leviticus 13: 2-6	When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh a rising, a scab, or bright spot, and it be in the skin of his flesh like the plague of leprosy; then he shall be brought unto Aaron the priest, or unto one of his sons the priests: And the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh: and when the hair in the

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	plague is turned white, and the plague in sight be deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is a plague of leprosy: and the priest shall look on him, and pronounce him unclean. If the bright spot be white in the skin of his flesh, and in sight be not deeper than the skin, and the hair thereof be not turned white; then the priest shall shut up him that hath the plague seven days: And the priest shall look on him the seventh day: and, behold, if the plague in his sight be at a stay, and the plague spread not in the skin; then the priest shall shut him up seven days more: And the priest shall look on him again the seventh day: and, behold, if the plague be somewhat dark, and the plague spread not in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him clean: it is but a scab: and he shall wash his clothes, and be clean.
Leviticus 13:9	When the plague of leprosy is in a man, then he shall be brought unto the priest;
Leviticus 13:12-13	And if a leprosy break out abroad in the skin, and the leprosy cover all the skin of him that hath the plague from his head even to his foot, wheresoever the priest looketh; Then the priest shall consider: and, behold, if the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce him clean that hath the plague: it is all turned white: he is clean.
Leviticus 13:17	And the priest shall see him: and, behold, if the plague be

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	turned into white; then the priest shall pronounce him clean that hath the plague: he is clean.
Leviticus 13:20	And if, when the priest seeth it, behold, it be in sight lower than the skin, and the hair thereof be turned white; the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a plague of leprosy broken out of the boil.
Leviticus 13:22	And if it spread much abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a plague.
Leviticus 13:25	Then the priest shall look upon it: and, behold, if the hair in the bright spot be turned white, and it be in sight deeper than the skin; it is a leprosy broken out of the burning: wherefore the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy.
Leviticus 13:27	And the priest shall look upon him the seventh day: and if it be spread much abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy.
Leviticus 13:29-32	If a man or woman have a plague upon the head or the beard; Then the priest shall see the plague: and, behold, if it be in sight deeper than the skin; and there be in it a yellow thin hair; then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a dry scall, even a leprosy upon the head or beard. And if the priest look on the plague of the scall, and, behold, it be not in sight

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	deeper than the skin, and that there is no black hair in it; then the priest shall shut up him that hath the plague of the scall seven days: And in the seventh day the priest shall look on the plague: and, behold, if the scall spread not, and there be in it no yellow hair, and the scall be not in sight deeper than the skin;
Leviticus 13:44-46	He is a leprous man, he is unclean: the priest shall pronounce him utterly unclean; his plague is in his head. And the leper in whom the plague is, his clothes shall be rent, and his head bare, and he shall put a covering upon his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean. All the days wherein the plague shall be in him he shall be defiled; he is unclean: he shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be.
Leviticus 13:47	The garment also that the plague of leprosy is in, whether it be a woollen garment, or a linen garment;
Leviticus 13:49-59	And if the plague be greenish or reddish in the garment, or in the skin, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; it is a plague of leprosy, and shall be shewed unto the priest: And the priest shall look upon the plague, and shut up it that hath the plague seven days: And he shall look on the plague on the seventh day: if the plague be spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in a skin, or in any work that is made of skin; the plague is a fretting leprosy;

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	it is unclean. He shall therefore burn that garment, whether warp or woof, in woollen or in linen, or any thing of skin, wherein the plague is: for it is a fretting leprosy; it shall be burnt in the fire. And if the priest shall look, and, behold, the plague be not spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin;Then the priest shall command that they wash the thing wherein the plague is, and he shall shut it up seven days more: And the priest shall look on the plague, after that it is washed: and, behold, if the plague have not changed his colour, and the plague be not spread; it is unclean; thou shalt burn it in the fire; it is fret inward, whether it be bare within or without. And if the priest look, and, behold, the plague be somewhat dark after the washing of it; then he shall rend it out of the garment, or out of the skin, or out of the warp, or out of the woof: And if it appear still in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; it is a spreading plague: thou shalt burn that wherein the plague is with fire. And the garment, either warp, or woof, or whatsoever thing of skin it be, which thou shalt wash, if the plague be departed from them, then it shall be washed the second time, and shall be clean. This is the law of the plague of leprosy in a garment of woollen or linen, either in the warp, or woof, or any thing of skins, to pronounce it clean, or to pronounce it unclean.

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
Leviticus 14:3	And the priest shall go forth out of the camp; and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the plague of leprosy be healed in the leper;
Leviticus 14:32	This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy, whose hand is not able to get that which pertaineth to his cleansing.
Leviticus 14:34-37	When ye be come into the land of Canaan, which I give to you for a possession, and I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your possession; And he that owneth the house shall come and tell the priest, saying, It seemeth to me there is as it were a plague in the house: Then the priest shall command that they empty the house, before the priest go into it to see the plague, that all that is in the house be not made unclean: and afterward the priest shall go in to see the house: And he shall look on the plague, and, behold, if the plague be in the walls of the house with hollow strakes, greenish or reddish, which in sight are lower than the wall;
Leviticus 14:39-40	And the priest shall come again the seventh day, and shall look: and, behold, if the plague be spread in the walls of the house; Then the priest shall command that they take away the stones in which the plague is, and they shall cast them into an unclean place without the city:
Leviticus 14:43-44	And if the plague come again, and break out in the house, after that he hath taken away the stones, and after he hath

Chapter:Verse(s)	King James Translation
	scraped the house, and after it is plaistered; Then the priest shall come and look, and, behold, if the plague be spread in the house, it is a fretting leprosy in the house; it is unclean.
Leviticus 14:48	And if the priest shall come in, and look upon it, and, behold, the plague hath not spread in the house, after the house was plaistered: then the priest shall pronounce the house clean, because the plague is healed.
Leviticus 14:54	This is the law for all manner of plague of leprosy, and scall,
Leviticus 26:21	And if ye walk contrary unto me, and will not hearken unto me; I will bring seven times more plagues upon you according to your sins.
Deuteronomy 24:8	Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you: as I commanded them, so ye shall observe to do.

Total number of verses = 183

Notes: As elsewhere throughout the thesis, King James Version of Bible was used as the English edition of Biblical verse. Numbers based on examination of King James text for clearly disease-related use of the 'plague', 'pestilence', 'murrain' or 'disease'.

Appendix C. Index of potentially medically-relevant phrases in the Worcester fragments

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

Fragment Number (voice part)	Latin	Translation
78 (4)	Tu nobis sis propitius, / Et omnis pestis eminus	May you be well-disposed towards us, and all distant plagues

Notes:

Source is Dittmer, Luther A. *The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonne and Transcription.* Edited by Armen Carapetyan. Vol. 2, *Musicological Studies and Documents*: American Institute of Musicology, 1957.

Appendix D. Masses to be said in time of plague

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

Officium.	Introit: I am the safety of the people,
Salus populi ego sum, dicit Dominus: de quacunque tribulatione clamaverint ad me, exaudiam eos: et ero illorum Dominus in perpetuum.	says the Lord; when they shall have cried to me from tribulation I will hear them, and I shall be their Lord for ever.
Psalmus	Psalm 77:
Attendite, popule meus, legem meam: inclinate aurem vestram in verba oris mei..	Attend, O my people, to my law: incline your ears to the words of my mouth.
Oratio.	Collect: O God, who of your sole mercy
Deus, qui imminentem Ninivitis interitum sola misericordia removisti; quibus ut misericors exsisteres, conversionis pœnitentiam præstitisti; respice, quæsumus, populum tuum ante conspectum misericordiæ tuæ prostratum; ut quos Unigeniti tui sanguine redemisti, non patiaris propter misericordiam tuam mortalitatis interire supplicio.	removed the danger which hung over the people of Ninevah; to whom, so that you could show your mercy, you gave penitence and conversion; look, we beseech you, on your people prostrate before your mercy; for your mercy's sake, do not allow the people whom you redeemed with the blood of your only begotten son to die of pestilence.
Lectio Hieremiæ prophetæ.	The Lesson (Jeremiah 14.7-8):

Si iniquitates nostræ contenderint contra nos, Domine, libera nos; fac, quæsumus, propter nomen tuum, quoniam multæ sunt aversiones nostræ. Tibi peccavimus, exspectatio Israel, salvator noster in tempore tribulationis. Tu autem in nobis es, Domine, et nomen sanctum tuum invocatum est super nos; ne derelinquas nos, Domine Deus noster.

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

Graduale

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

V. Adjuva nos, Deus salutaris noster: et propter honorem nominis tui, Domine, libera nos.

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

Gradual:

Be kind, O Lord, to our sins; lest the people should say, 'Where is our God?'

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

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

Secundam Lucam [cap. xi. B. (v. 9-13)]. In illo tempore, Dixit Jesus discipulis suis; Petite, et dabitur vobis: quærite, et invenietis: pulsate, et aperietur vobis. Omnis enim qui petit, accipit: et qui

The Gospel (Luke 11.9-13): At that time Jesus said to his disciples: Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and you shall find; knock and it shall be opened to you. For everyone that

quærit invenit: et pulsanti aperietur.

Quis autem ex vobis patrem petit panem, numquid lapidem dabit illi? Aut piscem: numquid pro pisce serpentem dabit illi? Aut si petierit ovum: numquid porriget illi scorpionem? Si ergo vos cum sitis mali, nostis bona data dare filiis vestris: quanto magis Peter vester de cœlo dabit Spiritum bonum petentibus se?

asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. And which of you, if he ask his father bread, will he give him a stone? Or a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent? Or if he shall ask an egg, will he reach him a scorpion? If you then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father from heaven give the good Spirit to them that ask him?

Offertorium [Ps. ix (10, 11, 12)]

Sperent in te omnes qui noverunt nomen tuum, Domine: quoniam non derelinquis quærentes te; psallite Domino qui habitat in Sion quoniam non est oblitus clamorem pauperum.

Offertory: All who know your name, O Lord, trust in you; because you do not abandon those seeking you; sing unto the Lord who lives in Sion, for the cry of the poor is not forgotten.

Secreta.

Ecclesiæ tuæ, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, munus placatus intende; et misericordia tua nos potius quam ira præveniat; quia si iniquitates nostras

Secret: Almighty God, look, we beseech you, favourably upon the gift of your church, and come before us in your mercy rather than your anger, for if you choose to take notice of

observare volueris, nulla poterit creatura subsistere, sed admirabili pietate qua nos fecisti, opera manuum tuarum non sinas interire. Per Dominum.

our iniquities, no creature could survive it; but for the sake of the wonderful kindness with which you made us, do not let the works of your hand perish.

Communio [Marci xi. (24)]

Amen dico vobis: quicquid orantes petitis, credite quia accipietis: et fiet vobis.

Communion [Mark 11:24]: Amen I say to you: whatever you seek with prayers, believe that you will receive it; and be it done to you.

Postcommunio.

Omnipotens et misericors Deus, respice populum majestati tuæ subjectum; et ne nos furor sævientis mortis inveniat, sacramentorum tuorum perceptio sancta perficiat.

Postcommunion: Almighty and merciful God, look upon the people subject to your majesty; and may the receiving of your sacrament prevent the fury of cruel death from coming upon us.

Notes:

Source of Latin text is Dickinson, Francisci Henrici, ed. *Missale Ad Usum Insignis Et Praeclare Ecclesie Sarum.* 4 vols. Vol. 2. (Comune Sanctorum). London & Oxford: J. Parker & Soc., 1867, cols. 810*-812*. English translation is that of Horrox, Rosemary, ed. *The Black Death.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994, 121-22.

Mass for the avoidance of [sudden] death (*pro mortalitate [subitanea] evitanda*) =

Recordare Domine Mass

Rubric.	Rubric
quam dominus Papa Clemens fecit et	which was made by Pope Clement and
constituit in collegio cum omnibus	ordained with the approval of all the
Cardinalibus, et concessit omnibus	cardinals. And he granted 260 days of
pœnitentibus, vere contritis et confessis,	indulgence to all penitents, being truly
sequentem Missam audientibus, cclx.	contrite and confessed, who heard the
dies indulgentiæ. Et omnes audientes	following mass. And all those hearing
sequentem Missam debent portare in	the following mass should hold a
manu unam candelam ardentem dum	burning candle while they hear mass on
Missam audiunt per quinque dies	the five following days and keep it in
sequentes, et tenere eam in manu per	their hand throughout the
totam Missam, genibus flexis: et eis	entire mass, while kneeling; and sudden
mors subitanea nocere non poterit. Et	death shall not be able to harm them.
hoc est certum et approbatum in	And this is certain and proved in
Avinione et in partibus circumvicinis.	Avignon and neighbouring regions.
Officium.	Introit: Remember, O Lord, your
Recordare, Domine, testamenti tui, et dic	covenant, and say to the scourging angel,
angelo percutienti, cesset jam manus tua:	'Now hold your hand', so that the earth
ut non desoletur terra: et ne perdas	is not laid waste and you do not lose
omnem animam viventem [S = vivam].	every living soul.
In tempore Paschali, Alleluya.	In Easter time: Alleluya

Psalmus [Ps. Lxxix (lxxx, 1.)]

Qui regis Israel intende: qui deducis velut ovem Joseph.

Psalm 79: Give ear, O thou that rulest Israel: thou that leadest Joseph like a sheep.

Oratio.

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

Collect: O God, who does not desire the death but the penitence of sinners, we beseech you graciously to turn your people to you, and that in as much as they are devoted to you you should mercifully withdraw the flail of your anger from them.

Lectio libri Regum

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

Lesson from the Book of Kings: In those days the Lord sent a pestilence upon Israel, from the morning unto the time appointed. And there died of the people from Dan to Bersabea seventy thousand men. And when the angel of the Lord had stretched out his hand over Jerusalem to destroy it, the Lord had pity on the affliction and said to the angel that slew the people: It is enough. Now hold thy hand. And the angel of the Lord was near the threshing floor of Areuna the

aream Areuna Hiebusæi. Dixitque David ad Dominum cum vidisset angelum cædentem populum; Ego sum qui peccavi, et ego iniqua egi: isti qui oves sunt, quid fecerunt? Vertatur, obsecro, manus tua contra me, et contra domum patris mei. Venit autem Gad propheta Domini ad David in die illa, et dixit ei: Ascende et constitue altare Domino in area Areuna Hiebuzzæi. Et ascendit [David—4L. 15] juxta sermonem Gad quem præceperat ei Dominus.

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

Graduale [Ps. Cvi (cvii. 20, 21)] Misit Dominus verbum suum et sanavit eos: et eripuit eos de interitu eorum. *V.* Confiteantur Domino misericordiæ ejus: et mirabilia ejus filiis hominum.

Gradual [Ps. 106: 20-21]: The Lord sent his word and healed them, and snatched them from their ruin. Verse: They should acknowledge before the Lord his mercy and his marvellous deeds for the sons of men.

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

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

Sequentia. Jubilemus pia mente,

Sequence: With pious minds let us

voci corde concinente,
Trinitate collaudantes;
Patrem Prolemque precemur,
Sanctum Pneuma veneremur,
laudis melos concrepantes.
Omnes una proclamemus,
summum Deum imploremus,
misereri ut dignetur;
cor gravatur, mens languescit,
jam gens mœret et plangescit.
pestis morsum dum veretur.
Aura lædit, furit pestis,
morbus urit, nulla mœstis
spes salutis redditur;
mare fluit mixtum felle,
jam tempestas, jam procellæ,
plebs ubique premitur.
Si pro malis irascaris,
tempus est ut revertaris;
pie Jesu, miserere;
leo lustrans, oves quærit;
nisi præsis, ovis perit;
bone pastor, nos tuere.
Terra, mare, firmamenta,
quæque parent elementa,

rejoice,
our hearts responding to our voice,
the Trinity to praise;
The Father and the Son entreat,
and Holy Ghost with reverence meet,
while lauding hymns we raise.
To him together let us cry,
beseeching of the Lord on high
that he will pitying hear:
Our hearts are faint, our souls oppressed,
the nation now is sore distressed,
the plague strikes all with fear.
Fierce pestilence doth taint the air,
disease prevails, and none doth dare
to hope for safety more;
The waves with poison mingled flow,
and storms and tempests wildly blow;
the people mourn full sore.
If thou dost for our sins chastise,
now it is time thou should'st arise --
have mercy, Jesu kind:
The lion seeks the flock to tear;
good Shepherd, if thou art not there
no succour can we find.
The earth, the sea, the firmament,

tuo facta numine;

mare novit te calcantem,

dum te sentit ambulantem,

factor fertur flumine.

Cuncta sistunt, te jubente;

Non moventur, sed repente

Redduntur pacifica;

Toto nisu, tota cura,

Omnis laudat te factura,

O virtus almifica.

Auras mitte nobis lætas,

pestes prece procul pelle,

transfer nos ad vitæ metas,

ne nos turbent tot procellæ.

Olim culpa nos ligati

Respirantes cedimus,

Corde mœsto flagellati,

tibi soli credimus.

Lex antiqua transgressores

Conversos eripuit;

tuæ legis abusores

pie dum corripuit.

Joab Abner persequente,

et hunc armis insequente,

prece datur venia;

and each obedient element,

thy hand divine declare:

As thou didst walk the sea confessed,

thy footsteps on her waters pressed;

the floods their Maker bare.

At thy command all tumults cease,

and in a moment there is peace,

nought moves, and all is still;

All rests on thee, all reverence pays,

the whole creation thee doth praise,

O power of kindly will.

Send us propitious gales, we pray,

and bear us to the goal of life;

the pestilence drive far away,

and rid us of the tempest's strife.

We that were long time bound by sin,

turn back to thee, regaining strength;

chastised, and sad of heart within,

in thee alone we trust at length.

Converted sinners the old law

ne'er to receive refused;

and mercifully did chastise

those who its grace abused.

As Joab after Abner went,

pursuing him with fierce intent,

Joab vitam consecutus,
nocte viam transit tutus,
per montis cacumina.
Davidi prophetico
Vita datur termino,
pro delicto gravi;
tersum fugit facinus,
dum fatetur vocibus,
inquiens, Peccavi.
Ezechias reddit fletum,
et peccatum est deletum,
statim ut pœnituit;
fletum fecit et profecit,
sibi Deus hinc adjecit
annos et constituit.
Mitis Hester piæ mentis
Pro salute suæ gentis,
Assuerum adiit;
hinc fit salus Mardochæo,
cur æquatur Aman reo,
qui suspensus periit.
Virtus Judith de supernis
Diva dum illuminat,
Caput aufert Holofernis
Et captivos liberat.

good words for peace prevailed;
In safety o'er the mountain height
Joab, returning, marched by night,
else life for all had failed.
According to the appointed word,
pardon the prophet doth accord
to David's great offense;
His grievous crime is cleansed away,
when "I have sinned," he doth say,
in tones of penitence.
King Hezekiah sore doth weep;
forthwith at his repentance deep,
his sin is put aside;
He weeps, and profits by his tears,
for God doth add unto his years
a longer term beside.
The gentle Esther seeks relief
of Assuerus in her grief,
her nation's life to win;
Hence Mordecai deliverance found:
on his own gallows, Haman bound,
doth expiate his sin.
Whilst heavenly valour from on high
Judith illuminates,
headless she leaves her enemy,

Mater ergo summi regis,
tibi natus Christus verus,
Vos signavit umbra legis,
Hester tu, Hic Assuerus.
Virgo Natum intercede,
ut afflictos liberet;
salvet hos a pestis cæde,
quos pie redemerat.
Virgo mater, maris stella,
Fons hortorum, Verbi cella,
ne nos pestis aut procella
peccatores obruant.
Eia, mater, terge fletum,
tempestatis tolle fretum,
cor mœstorum redde lætum,
jam preces subveniant.
Proles parcit si peroras,
mater ergo rumpe moras;
posce tuum Filium;
aura fœda rumpens pestis
simul cadant, confer mœstis
salutis auxilium.
Nostros tuus ipse Natus
Tollat pœnas es reatus,
nobis præstans consolamen,

and captives liberates.
Thee, mother of the highest king,
the true Anointed One we see,
you both the law prefiguring,
thou Esther, Assuerus he.
O blessed virgin, intercede,
us from the pestilence to save;
those whom thy Son redeemed and freed,
let him deliver from the grave.
O virgin mother, the Word's cell,
star of the sea, thou garden-well,
the pestilential storm dispel;
let us poor sinners live;
O mother, wipe our tears away,
the raging tempest still this day,
now in our trouble for us pray,
our drooping hearts revive.
The Son doth spare if thou dost pray,
O mother, then, no more delay, / thy holy
Child implore;
Let the fell plague, the deadly blast,
together cease, and now at last
health to our land restore.
Our guilt and punishment, we pray,
let thy Son wholly take away,

Sui regni sempiterni,
ubi cives sunt superni,
personemus omnes, Amen.

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

Secundam Lucam [cap. iv. F. (v. 38-44)]

In illo tempore, Surgens Jesus de synagoga, introivit in domum Simonis. Socrus autem Simonis tenebatur magnis febribus, et rogaverunt illum pro ea. Et stans super illam imperavit febri: et dimisit illam. Et continuo surgens ministrabat illis. Cum sol autem occidisset, omnes qui habebant infirmos variis languoribus, ducebant illos ad eum. At ille singulis manus imponens, curabat eos. Exibant autem dæmonia a multis, clamantia et dicentia; quia tu es Filius Dei. Et increpans non sinebat ea loqui: quia sciebant ipsum esse Christum. Facta autem die, egressus ibat in desertum locum; et turbæ requirebant eum, et venerunt usque ad ipsum. Et detinebant eum, ne discederet ab eis. Quibus ille ait; Quia et aliis civitatibus

Gospel of Luke (4.38-44): In that time Jesus rising up out of the synagogue, went into Simon's house. And Simon's wife's mother was taken with a great fever: and they besought him for her. And standing over her, he commanded the fever: and it left her. And immediately rising, she ministered to them. And when the sun was down, all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them to him. But he, laying his hands on every one of them, healed them. And devils went out from many, crying out and saying: Thou art the son of God. And rebuking them he suffered them not to speak; for they knew that he was Christ. And when it was day, going out he went into a desert place: and the multitudes sought him, and came unto him. And they stayed him

oportet me evangelizare regnum Dei: quia ideo missus sum. Et erat prædicans in synagogis Galilææ.

that he should not depart from them. To whom he said: To other cities also must I preach the kingdom of God: for therefore am I sent. And he was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee.

Offertorium [(Num. Cap. xvi. v. 46-48)] Stetit pontifex inter mortuos et vivos [S = viventes], habens thuribulum aureum in manu sua: et offerens incensi sacrificium placavit iram Dei [S = Domini], et cessavit qussatio a Domino [S = cessavit plaga a domo et a populo Israel].

Offertory: The priest stood between the living and the dead, with a gold censer in his hand, and offering the sacrifice of incense he appeased the anger of the Lord, and the plague ceased from the house and people of Israel.

In tempore Paschali, Alleluya.

In Easter Time: Alleluya.

Secreta.

Subveniat nobis [S = omit nobis], quæsumus Domine [S = Domine, quæsumus] sacrificii præsentis oblatio [S = plebi tuæ sacrificii præsentis operatio], quæ nos et ab erroribus [S = et terroribus] universis potenter absolvat; et a totius eripiat [S = custodiat et defendat] perditionis incursu.

Secret: We beseech you, O Lord, let the operation of your present sacrifice rescue the people, and powerfully release us from all faults and fears, and completely protect and defend us from threatened damnation.

Communio [(Luc. Cap. vi. 18, 19)] Multitudo languentium et qui vexabantur a spiritibus immundis veniebant ad eum [S = Jesum]: quia virtus de illo exibat et sanabat omnes.	Communion [Luke 6:18-19]: A crowd of the sick, and those troubled by unclean spirits came to Jesus, for power came out of him and healed them all.
Postcommunio. Exaudi nos, Deus salutaris noster, et [S = intercedente beata Dei genitrice Maria] populum tuum ab iracundiæ tuæ terroribus [S = horroribus] liberum, et misericordiæ [S = in misericordia] tuæ [S = tua] fac tua largitate securum.	Postcommunion: Hear us, O God our salvation, and at the intercession of Mary, blessed mother of God, free your people from the terrors of your anger and in mercy let them be secure in your bounty.

Notes:

- The source of the Latin text is Troy, F. Joh. Thomas, ed. *Missale Romanum, Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini Restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. Jussu Editum, Et Clementis Viii. Primum, Nunc Denuo Urbani Papae Viii. Auctoritate Recognitum.* Dublin: Patritii Wogan, 1804, lxii-lxiv; and that of the English text, excluding the sequence, is Horrox, Rosemary, ed. *The Black Death.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994, 122-124. The translation of the sequence is adapted from *The Sarum Missal in English*, trans. Frederick E. Warren. 2 vols. Vol. 2. London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1913, p 203-06.
- Differences between the text of the Roman use of Italy and the Sarum use of Britain are indicated by the Sarum text appearing in closed brackets []

prefaced by 'S ='. The source of the Latin text of the Sarum use is

Dickinson, Francisci Henrici, ed. *Missale Ad Usum Insignis Et Praeclare Ecclesie Sarum.* 4 vols. Vol. 2. (Comune Sanctorum). London & Oxford: J. Parker & Soc., 1867, cols. 886*-890*.

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

Officium.

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

Introit:

Eminent martyr Sebastian, leader and disseminator of the most holy precepts, behold, your name is written in the heavenly book of life: and your memory will never be neglected.

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

Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore.

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

Oratio.

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

Collect:

All powerful and everlasting God, who by the merits of your most glorious blessed martyr Sebastian turned back the pestilential epidemic afflicting mankind: heed your supplicants, that similar plagues might be revoked by taking refuge in You, the one through whom merits and prayers might release us from epidemic pestilence and every tribulation.

Epistola.

Beatus vir qui in sapientia sua morietur et qui in iustitia sua meditabitur et in

Epistle: (Ecclesiasticus 14: 22-25)

Blessed is the man that shall continue in

sensu cogitabit circumspectionem Dei, qui excogitat vias illius in suo corde et in absconsis illius intellegens vadens post illam quasi vestigator et in viis illius consistens, qui respicit per fenestras et in ianuas illius audiens, qui requiescit iuxta domum illius et in parietibus illius figens palum statuet casulam suam ad manus illius et requiescunt in casula eius bona per aevum

wisdom, and that shall meditate in his justice, and in his mind shall think of the all seeing eye of God; he that considereth her ways in his heart, and hath understanding in her secrets, who goeth after her as one that traceth, and stayeth in her ways; he who looketh in at her windows, and hearkeneth at her door; he that lodgeth near her house, and fastening a pin in her walls shall set up his tent high unto her, where good things shall rest in his lodging for ever.

Graduale.

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

Gradual:

O saint Sebastian,
most glorious contender for Christ,
who for Christ's sake relinquished
military leadership
and took up the greatest of sufferings,
intercede with God for us.
Verse. O saint Sebastian,
esteemed martyr of Christ,
through whose merits all of Lombardy
was liberated from the fatal plague,
free us from the same and from the
wicked enemy.

Alleluya *V.* O sancte Sebastiane, nos trementes ac flentes [non habet 55P] imploramus tuum clemens auxilium ut possimus obtinere per te pestis mortiferæ apud Christum remedium.

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

Sequentia.

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

Sequence:

Let us all with voiceful ring,
our great martyr's praises sing,
praises of Sebastian.
Chosen out by God was he
sufferers from sad plague to free,
languor and infection.
He to Christ himself devoted,
be to him new reverence given,
Christ hath highly him promoted
in the realm of heaven.
He to sorrowers all brought aid;
instantly a plague was stayed
by his merits solely:
And if now his help we claim,
humbly honouring the name
of that martyr holy,
Us that sickness shall not kill
he will quell the deathful ill

populum qui tenuit;	that hath seized our nation.
nos pro nostris tantis malis	We for evil deeds now pay,
jam absorbet pestis talis,	therefore plague our folk doth slay,
quam tota gens gemuit,	cause for lamentation.
Sancte martyr Sebastiane,	O Sebastian, martyr saint,
salva nos a peste epidemiæ;	save us from the spreading taint.
nostra gravia ob peccata	Let not for our sins' sad weight
terra ista desolata	this our land lie desolate,
non sit, pie quæsumus;	we with prayer adore thee;
sed nos considera,	Look on us with pitying eyes,
et in nobis cesssa,	stay the plague that on us lies,
pestem jam te petimus.	humbly we implore thee.
Ista per te gens sit tuta,	Keep our people; not for ever
et ne noceat acuta	let these arrows keen of fever
febris hæc in Anglia;	waste our England's plain:
ex quo nostra spes est tota	All our hope on thee doth rest,
in te martyr, nunc remota	martyr thou, of this our pest /
sit pestis mortifera.	ward the deadly bane.
O sancte Sebastiane,	Saint Sebastian, be from ill
nostræ gentis Anglicanæ	helper and defender still
conservator et tutor sis;	of our English race.
et Dominum deprecare,	Make thou now to God thy prayer
ut a nobis revocari [elongare—55P]	that this raging plague his care
valeat vesana pestis.	Soon away may chase.
Ex tua sancta prece	May thy holy words prevail,

Ne sit morbus nobis nece,
Sed recedat ab hac domo;
Amen, dicat omnis homo.

nor this sickness bring our bale;
let it from our homes refrain,
chant, ye people all, Amen.

Evangelium

nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum adfert qui amat animam suam perdet eam et qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in vitam aeternam custodit eam; si quis mihi ministrat me sequatur et ubi sum ego illic et minister meus erit si quis mihi ministraverit honorificabit eum Pater meus.

Gospel: John 12:24-26

Unless a grain of wheat falling into the ground die itself, it remaineth alone. But if it die it bringeth forth much fruit. He that loveth his life shall lose it and he that hateth his life in this world keepeth it unto life eternal. If any man minister to me, let him follow me: and where I am, there also shall my minister be. If any man minister to me, him will my Father honour.

Offertorium.

Martyr egregie, decus militiæ, athleta fidei, ora Natum Dei, ut avertat a nobis indignationem suam; martyr suffragia effunde pia, ut epidemia nec sit noxia in hac patria nec in alia, per subsidia posce tua; nos tibi talia damus præconia, hic prece præmia da nobis pia, miles eia, alleluya.

Offertory: Esteemed martyr, glory of the military, contender of faith, beseech the Born God, that he might remove his wrath from us; pour forth your pious judgement, o martyr, that the epidemic be not harmful in this country or in others; ask through your intercession; to you we direct such pleas, to you we ask that you reward our piety, good soldier,

alleluia.

Secreta.

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

Secret:

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

Communio.

Beatus es, et bene tibi erit, egregie martyr Sebastiane: quia cum sanctis gaudebis, et cum angelis exsultabis in æternum.

Communion:

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

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

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

Notes:

Source of non-Biblical Latin text is Dickinson, Franciscus Henricus, ed. *Missale Ad Usum Insignis Et Praeclare Ecclesie Sarum.* 4 vols. Vol. 2. (Comune Sanctorum). London & Oxford: J. Parker & Soc., 1867, cols. 892*-896*. Passages with Biblical citations in brackets ([ ])in the Readings, Gospel, Psalm and Epistle are adapted from the Douay-Rheims Latin and King James English translation of the Bible (accessed online on 18 March 2008, www.latinvulgate.com). English translation of the sequence in *The Sarum Missal in English*, trans. Frederick E. Warren. 2 vols. Vol. 2. London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1913, p 209-10

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

Officium.	Introit: All rejoice in the Lord, on this
Congratulamini omnes in Domino, diem	day commemorating the blessed Roch, in
beati Rochi commemorantes, in cujus	whose commemoration the Church takes
commemoratione lætatur Ecclesia, plebs	delight, the people exult, and angels give
exsultat, et angeli dulcia dant melodia,	forth sweet melodies declaring your
dicentes gloria tibi, Domine, qui talem	glory, Lord, who chose such a great man
virum in confessorem elegisti.	as a confessor.
Psalmus [Ps. 118].	Psalm [Ps. 118]:
Beati immaculati in via qui ambulant in	Immaculately blessed in life are they
lege Domini. (Gloria Patri—15. 4L)	who walk in the way of the Lord.
Oratio.	Collect:
Deus, qui es gloriosus in gloria	Lord, you who are glorious in the glory
sanctorum, et cunctis ad eorum	of the saints, and by the means of his
patrocinia configientibus suæ petitionis	combined petition and patronage bring
salutarem præstas effectum, concede	about health, that with your blessed
plebi tuæ ut, intercedente beato Rocho	confessor Roch interceding, grant it to
confessore tuo, quæ in ejus celebritate se	your people who display themselves in
devota exhibet, languore epidemiæ	his devout celebration that from the
quam in suo corpore pro tui nominis	feebleness of the epidemic which he
gloria passus (*sic*) est, sit liberata, et tuo	suffered in his body for the glory of your
nomini semper sit devota.	name they may be liberated and may
	always be devoted to your name.

Epistola. Carissimi memor esto Iesum Christum resurrexisse a mortuis ex semine David secundum evangelium meum; in quo laboro usque ad vincula quasi male operans sed verbum Dei non est alligatum; ideo omnia sustineo propter electos ut et ipsi salutem consequantur quae est in Christo Iesu cum gloria caelesti. Tu autem adsecutus es meam doctrinam institutionem propositum fidem longanimitatem dilectionem patientiam; persecutiones passiones qualia mihi facta sunt Antiochiae Iconii Lystris quales persecutiones sustinui et ex omnibus me eripuit Dominus; et omnes qui volunt pie vivere in Christo Iesu persecutionem patientur.

Gospel [Timothy 2:8-10; 3:10-12]: Dear ones, be mindful that the Lord Jesus Christ is risen again from the dead, of the seed of David, according to my gospel: Wherein I labour even unto bands, as an evildoer. But the word of God is not bound. Therefore I endure all things for the sake of the elect, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with heavenly glory. But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, longsuffering, love, patience, persecutions, afflictions: such as came upon me at Antioch, at Iconium and at Lystra: what persecutions I endured, and out of them all the Lord delivered me. And all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.

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

Gradual: To you, pious saint Roch, may there be honor and glory, and return the saved people, begging before the celestial divine will, from the sickness of the epidemic by your merits.

V. Fac, quæsumus, beate confessor Christi, ut apud Deum preces nostræ non sint vanæ, et nobis aeris temperiem concede, ut in fine tecum in cœlis congratulemur.

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

Alleluya. *V.* O beate confessor Roche, quam magna apud Deum sunt merita tua quibus credimus nos a morbo epidemiæ posse liberari et aeris temperiem concedi, alleluya.

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

Evangelium:

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

Gospel: (Matthew 24:42-47)

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

super omnia bona sua constituet eum.

lord shall come he shall find so doing. Amen I say to you: he shall place him over all his goods.

Offertorium.

Te beatum Rochum Christi confessorum exoratum facimus et preces ad te patrem nostrum dirigimus, ut tua intercessione a languoribus epidemiæ salvemur et aeris temperiem potiamur.

Offertory: To you, blessed Roch confessor of Christ, we make entreaty, and direct to you our Father prayers, that by your intercession we may be saved from the feebleness of the epidemic and granted well-tempered air.

Præfatio. Æterne Deus, qui imminentem Ninivitis interitum sola misericordia revocasti, quibus ut propugnator exsisteres cum orationis pœnitentia præstitisti, et huic populo tuo ante conspectum gloriæ tuæ prostrato orandi tribue puritatem, et quem desiderat præsta liberationis effectum, ut quos Unigeniti tui pretioso sanguine redemisti, non patiaris misericordia tua mortalitatis interire supplicio.

Preface: Eternal God, who by mercy alone recalled the danger threatenin to the Ninevites, to whom you revealed yourself in order that you might be a defender with penitence of prayer, aboth grant purity of praying to this your people prostrate before the sight of your glory, and effect the liberation which he had desired, that you may not for the sake of your mercy allow those ones whom you redeemed with the precious blood of your only-begotten Son to die of pestilence.

Secreta.

Secret: Spare us, Lord, and mercifully

Parce nobis, Domine, et flagella iræ tuæ quæ peccata nostra merentur, precibus et meritis beatissimi confessoris tui Rochi, a nobis misericorditer averte. Per Dominum.

turn away from us the flail of your anger, which our sins merit, through the prayers and merits of your most blessed confessor Roch.

Communio.

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

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

Postcommunio.

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

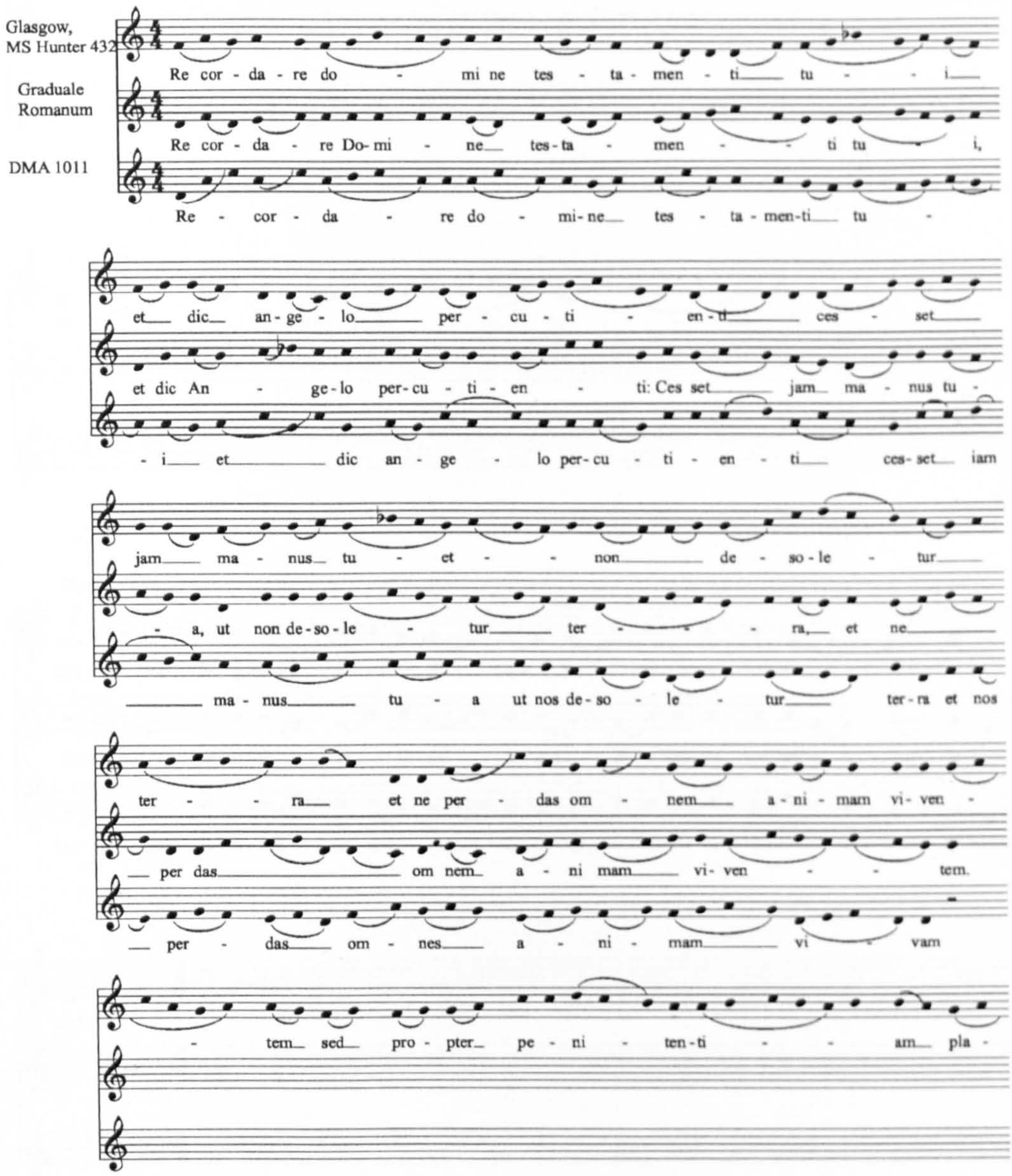
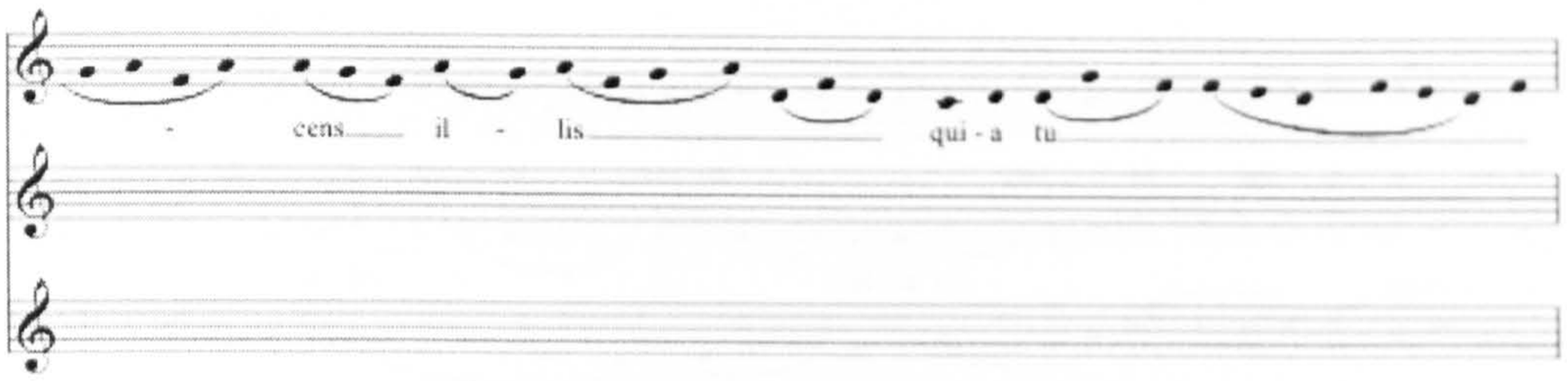
Postcommunion:

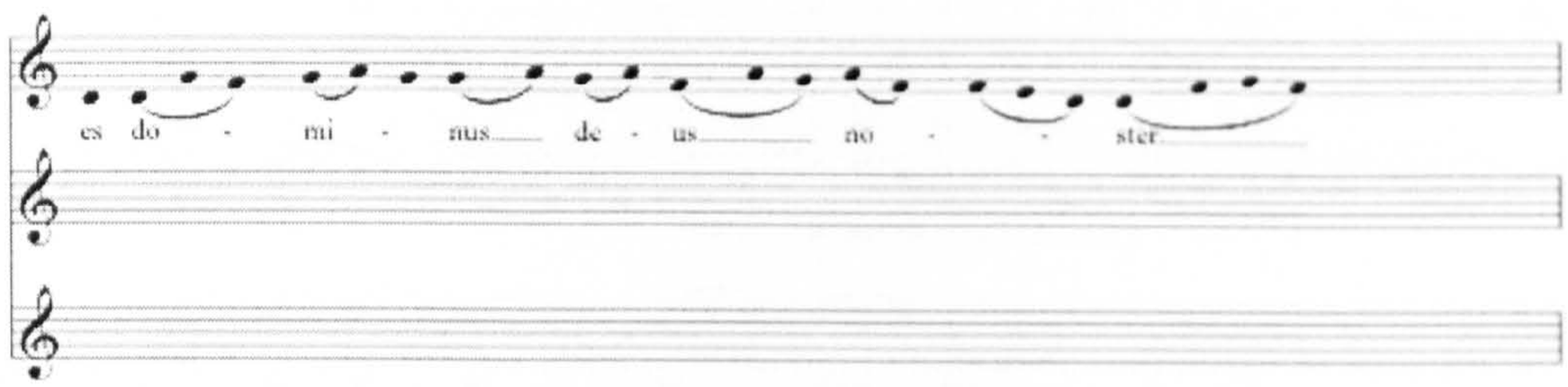
We beseech you, all-powerful God, to make it that, with the blessed Roch your confessor interceding, we who reaped the heavenly sacraments be strengthened against all adversities of the world, and that we may be freed from all sickness and plague and from sudden death.

Notes:

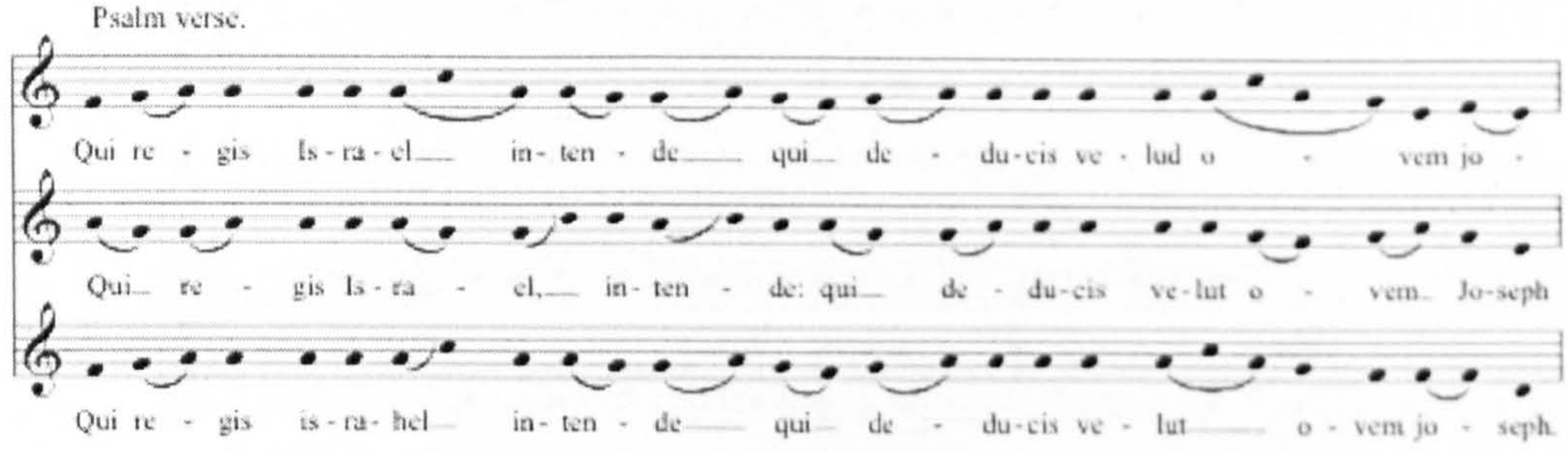
Source of non-Biblical Latin text is Dickinson, Franciscus Henricus, ed. *Missale Ad Usum Insignis Et Praeclare Ecclesie Sarum.* 4 vols. Vol. 2. (Comune Sanctorum). London & Oxford: J. Parker & Soc., 1867, footnote to cols. 895*-896*. English translation of non-Biblical Latin text is the author's own. Passages with Biblical citations in brackets ([ ])in the Readings, Gospel, Psalm and Epistle are adapted from the Douay-Rheims Latin and King James English translation of the Bible (accessed online on 18 March 2008, www.latinvulgate.com).

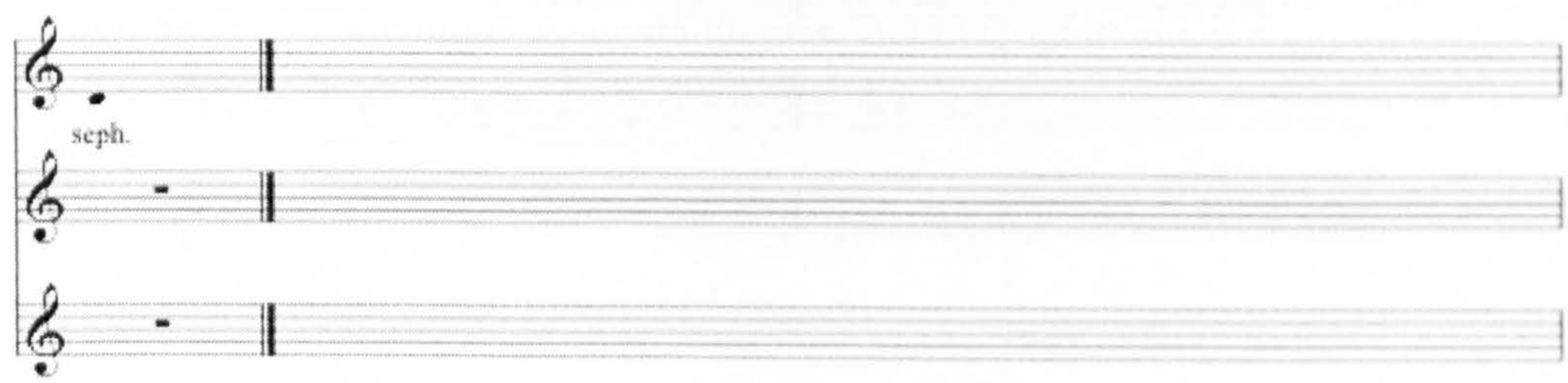
Appendix E. Melodic comparison of *Missae pro mortalitate evitanda*

Introit


- cens il - lis qui - a tu


es do - mi - nus de - us no - ster

Psalm verse.


Qui re - gis Is - ra - el in - ten - de qui de - du - cis ve - lud o - vem jo -
Qui re - gis Is - ra - el, in - ten - de: qui de - du - cis ve - lut o - vem Jo - seph
Qui re - gis is - ra - hel in - ten - de qui de - du - cis ve - lut o - vem jo - seph.

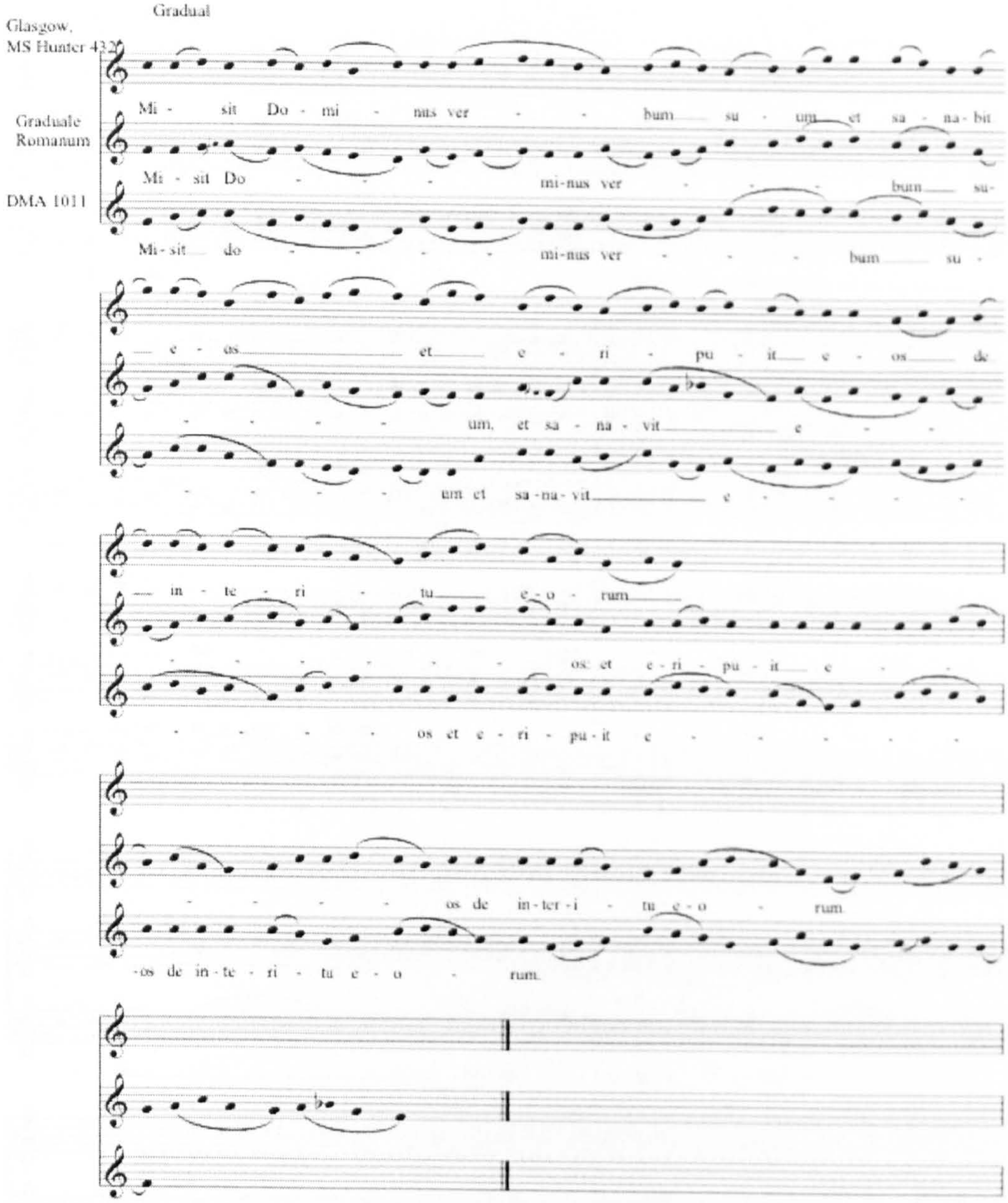

seph.

Gradual

Glasgow, MS Hunter 432

Graduale Romanum

DMA 1011



Gradual Verse

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

Con fi - te - an - - - - - - - - - - -

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

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

- - tur Do - mi-no

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

ho - - - mi - num

mi-se - ri - cor - di-ae

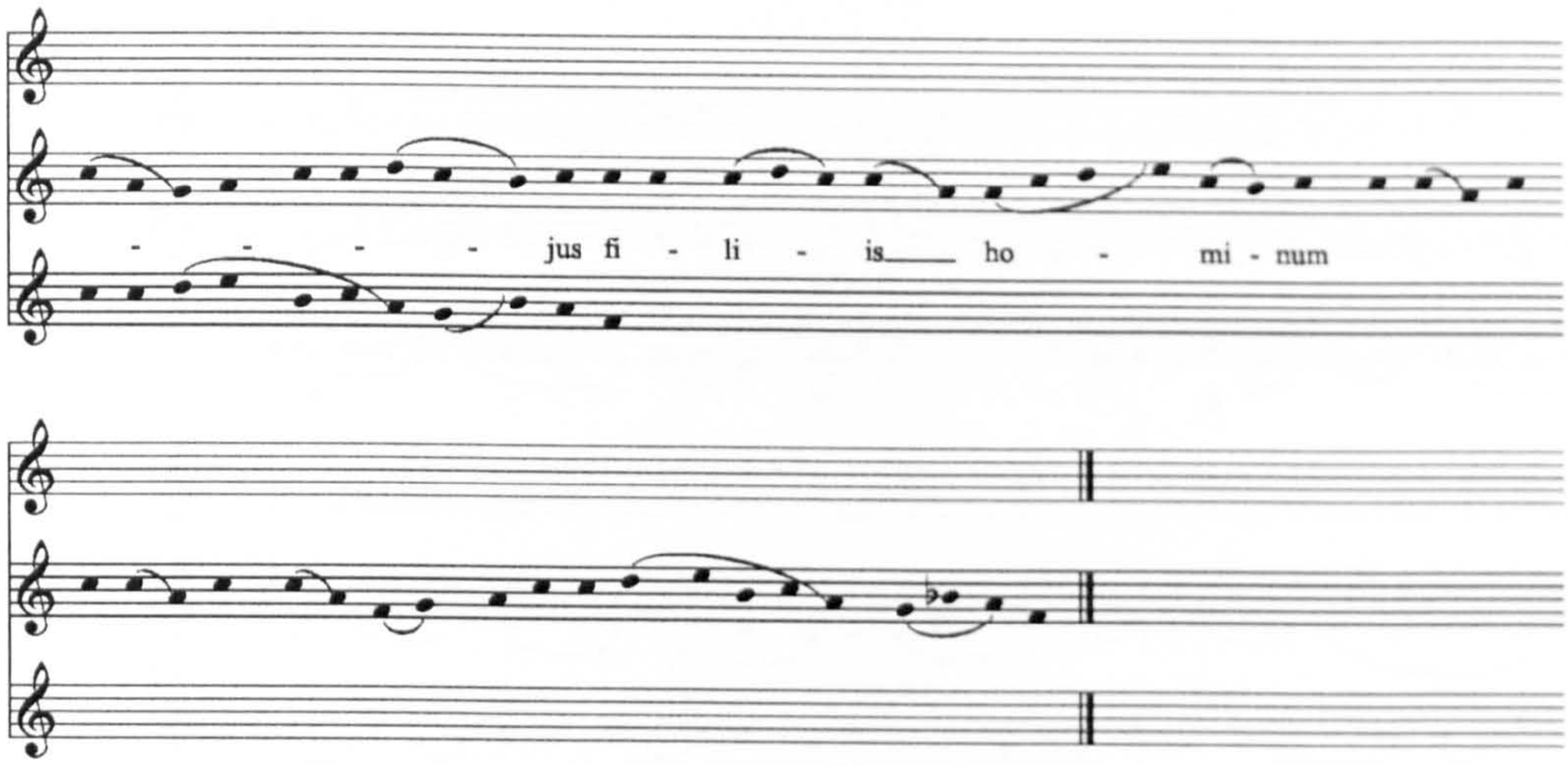
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

e - - - - -

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

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

- us fi - li - is ho - mi - num.


- - - - jus fi - li - is___ ho - mi - num

Alleluia

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Romanum

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Al - le - lu - ia. Al - le - lu - ia

Al - le - - - - - lu - ia. ij.

Al - le - - - - - lu - - - - ia.

Alleluia verse

(scratched out)

Sa - na - bo po - - pu - lum in me - di - o Ihe

Sal - va - bo po - pu lum me - um Is - ra - el

Con gre - - - - - ga - bo po - pu - lum me -

(unclear if meant as neume)

- ru - sa - - lem et e - is il -

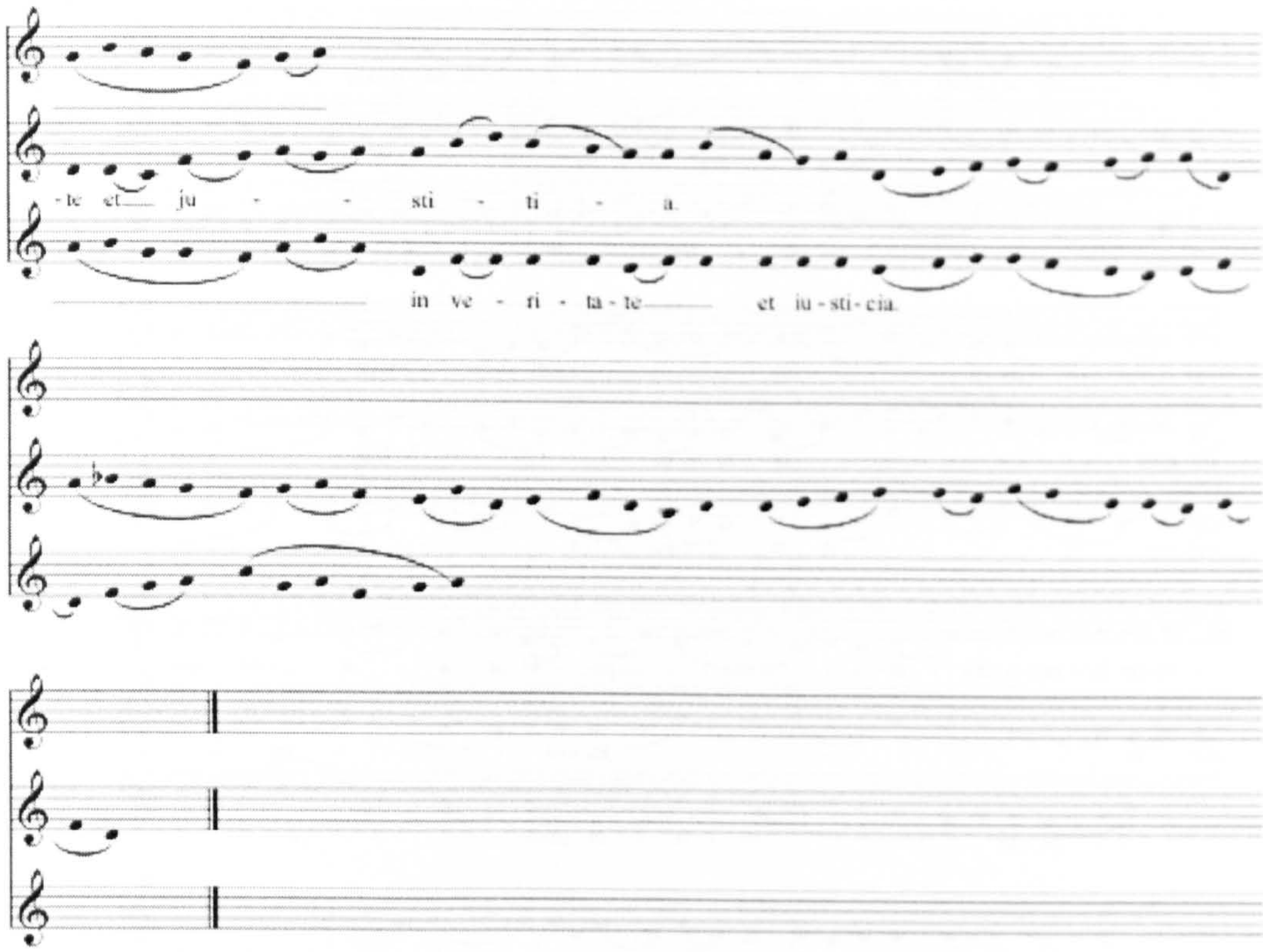
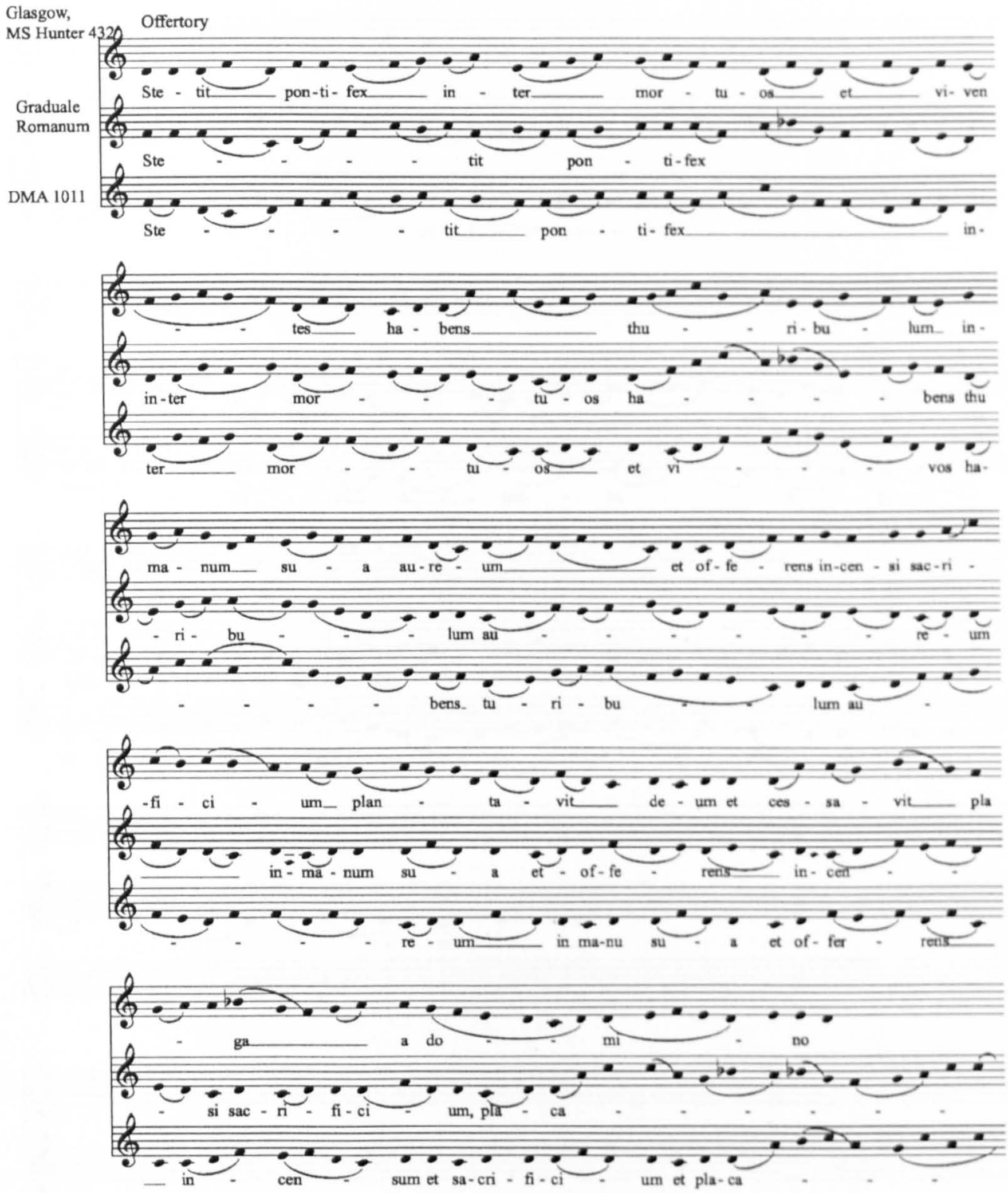
in di - e ma - - - - - lo: et e -

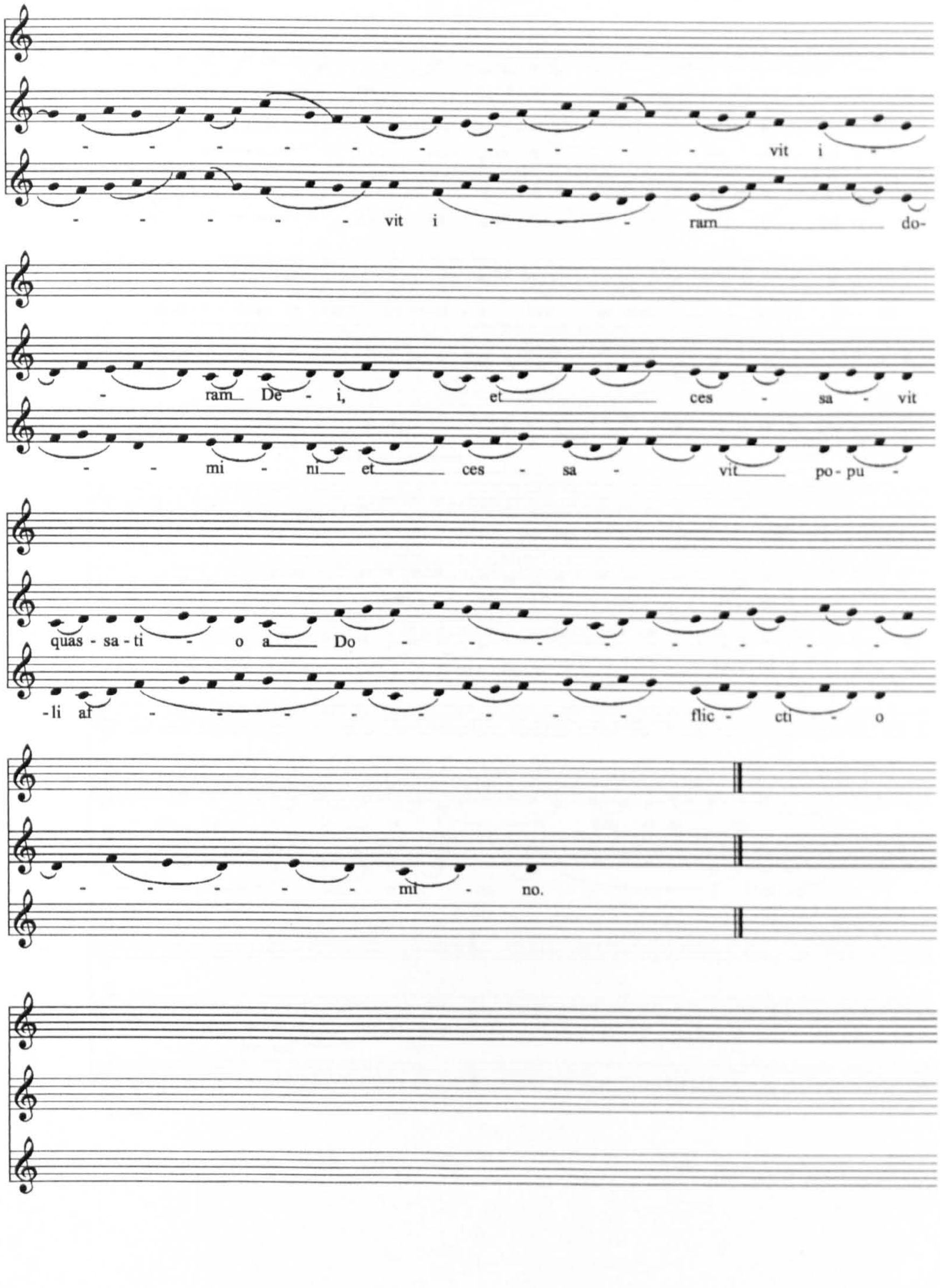
- um in me - - - - di - o ie - ru - sa - -

- lis in de - um in ver - - - i - ta - te et ju - sti - ti a

- ro e - is in De - um, in ve - ri - ta - - -

lem et


-te et ju - - sti - ti - a.
in ve - ri - ta - te et iu - sti - cia.

Glasgow,
MS Hunter 432
Offertory
Graduale
Romanum
DMA 1011
Ste - tit pon-ti- fex in - ter mor - tu - os et vi- ven
Ste - - - - tit pon - ti-fex
Ste - - - - tit pon - ti- fex in-
- - tes ha - bens thu - - ri- bu - lum in-
in-ter mor - - - tu - os ha - - - - bens thu
ter mor - - tu - os et vi - - - - vos ha-
ma - num su - a au-re - um et of- fe - rens in-cen - si sac-ri -
- ri - bu - - - lum au - - - - - - re - um
- - - - bens tu - ri - bu - - lum au -
-fi - ci - um plan - ta - vit de - um et ces - sa - vit pla
in - ma - num su - a et - of- fe - rens in- cen - -
- - - - re - um in ma-nu su - a et of- fer - rens
- ga a do - - mi - no
- si sac - ri - fi- ci - um, pla - ca - - - - - -
in - cen - sum et sa-cri - fi- ci - um et pla-ca - - -


vit i
vit i ram do-
ram De - i, et ces - sa - vit
mi - ni et ces - sa - vit po - pu -
quas - sa - ti - o a Do
li af flic - cti - o
mi no.

Communion

Glasgow, Hunter 432

Graduale Romanum

DMA 1011

Mul-ti - tu - do lan - gu - en - ti - um_ et_____ qui ve - xa - ban - tur

Mul-ti - tu do_____ lan - guen - ti - - um et_____ qui ve -

Mul-ti - tu - do_____ lan - guen - ti - - um_____ et_____ qui ve - xa -

a spi-ri - ti - bus_ im mun - dis ve - ni - e - bant_ ad eum_____ qui-[a] vir - tus_

-xa ban - tur_____ a spi - ri - ti - bus_ im mun -

ban - tur_____ a spi - ri - ti - bus_ in mun - - dis_____ ve - ni - e -

smudge obscures notes

obscured by smudge

de il - lo ex - i - bat et sa - na - - bat om - nes_

- dis,_ ve - ni - e - bant_____ ad_ e - - um:_ qui - a vir -

- bant ad_____ e - um_____ qui - a - vir - tus_ de il - lo_____ ex -

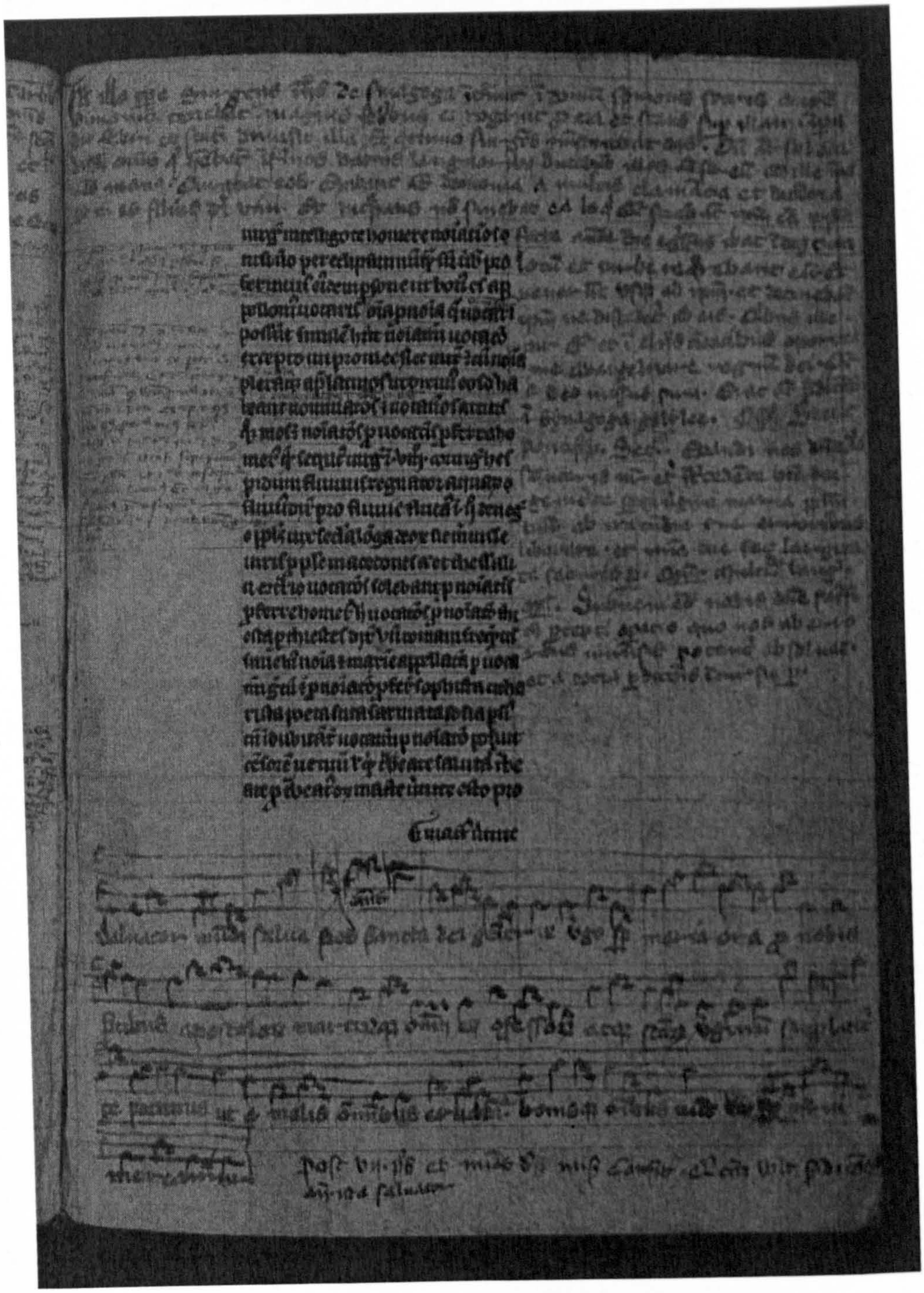
- tus_ de_____ il - lo_____ ex - i - bat,_ et sa - na - -

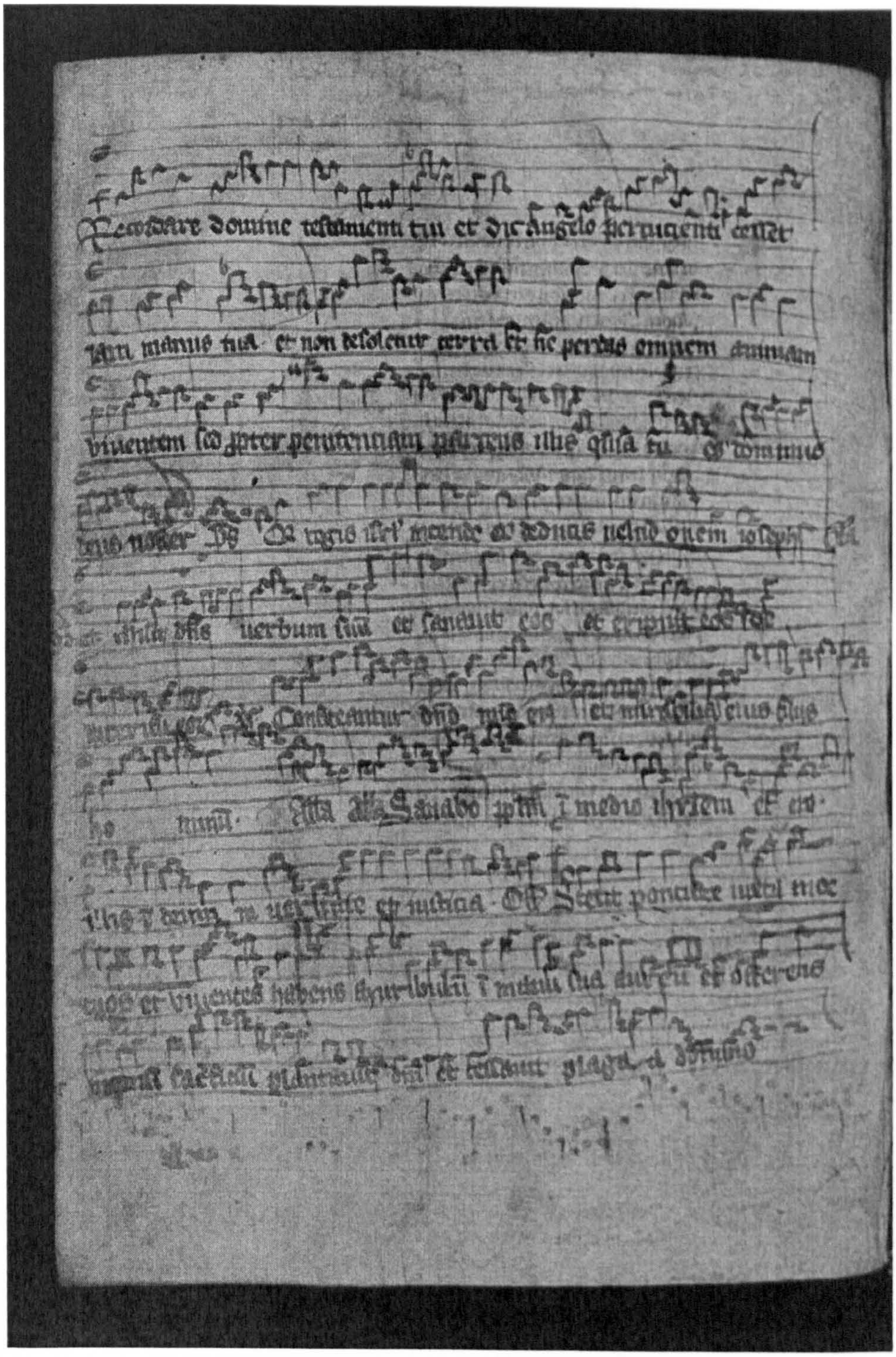
- i - bat_____ et sa - na - - - bat om -

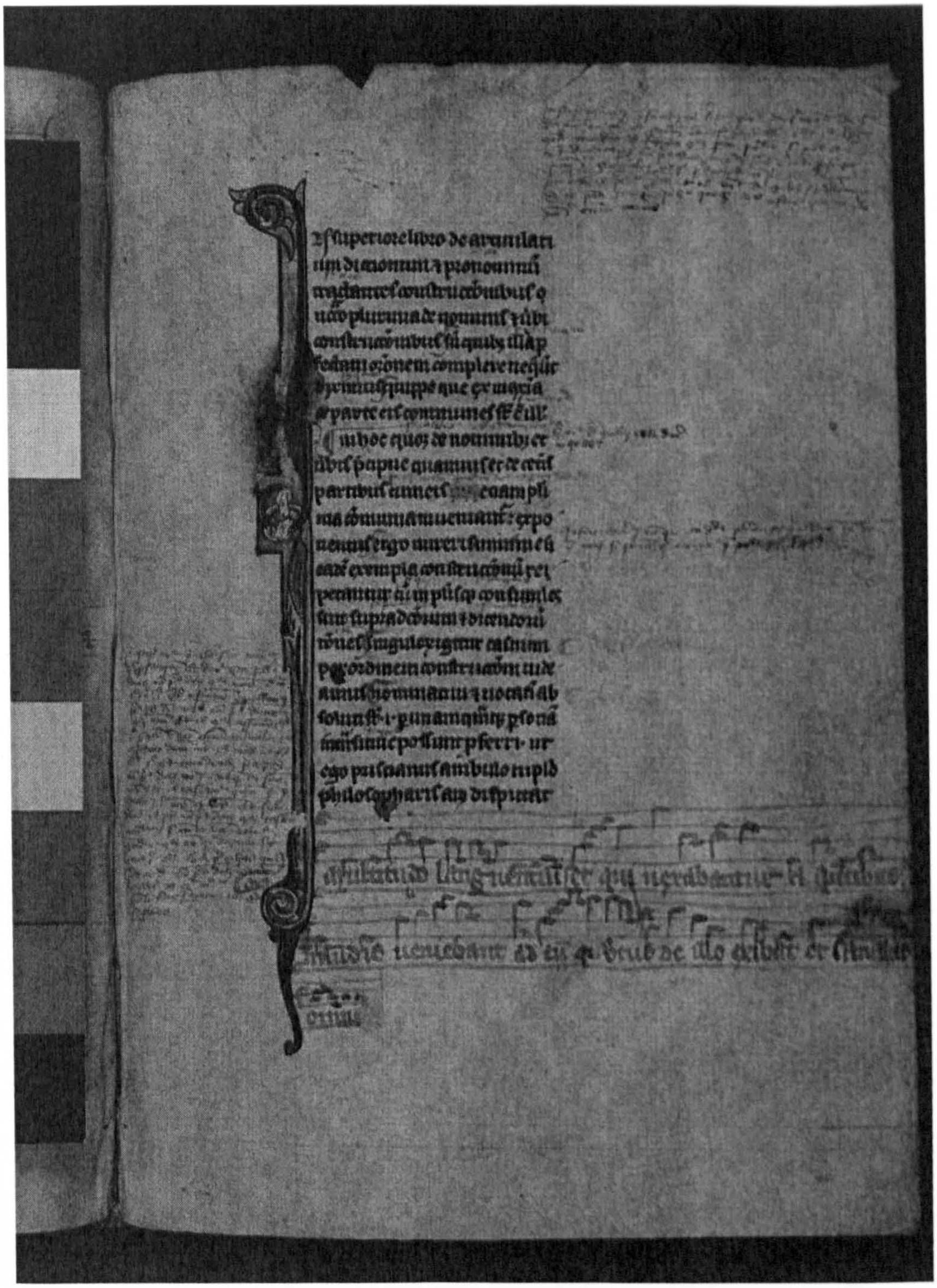
- bat om - nes

nes

Appendix F. Musical notation in Glasgow, Hunter MS 432







Appendix G. *Laude* of plague interest

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

Florence Laudario, fol. 51r-52v

Refrain:

Re - gi - na pre - ti - o - - sa,___ ma - dre del glo -

5

ri - o - - so, no' v'in - che - ram___ mer - ze - de

9

con pie - tan - za.

Strophe 1:

13

No' vi fac - ciam_____ pre - gie - ro [e]all' al - to re del___

17

cie - lo, che nne chon - du - ca a que - sta lu - ce

21

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

25

co e Lu - ca et sonn - vi tut - t'il san - - ti; che

29

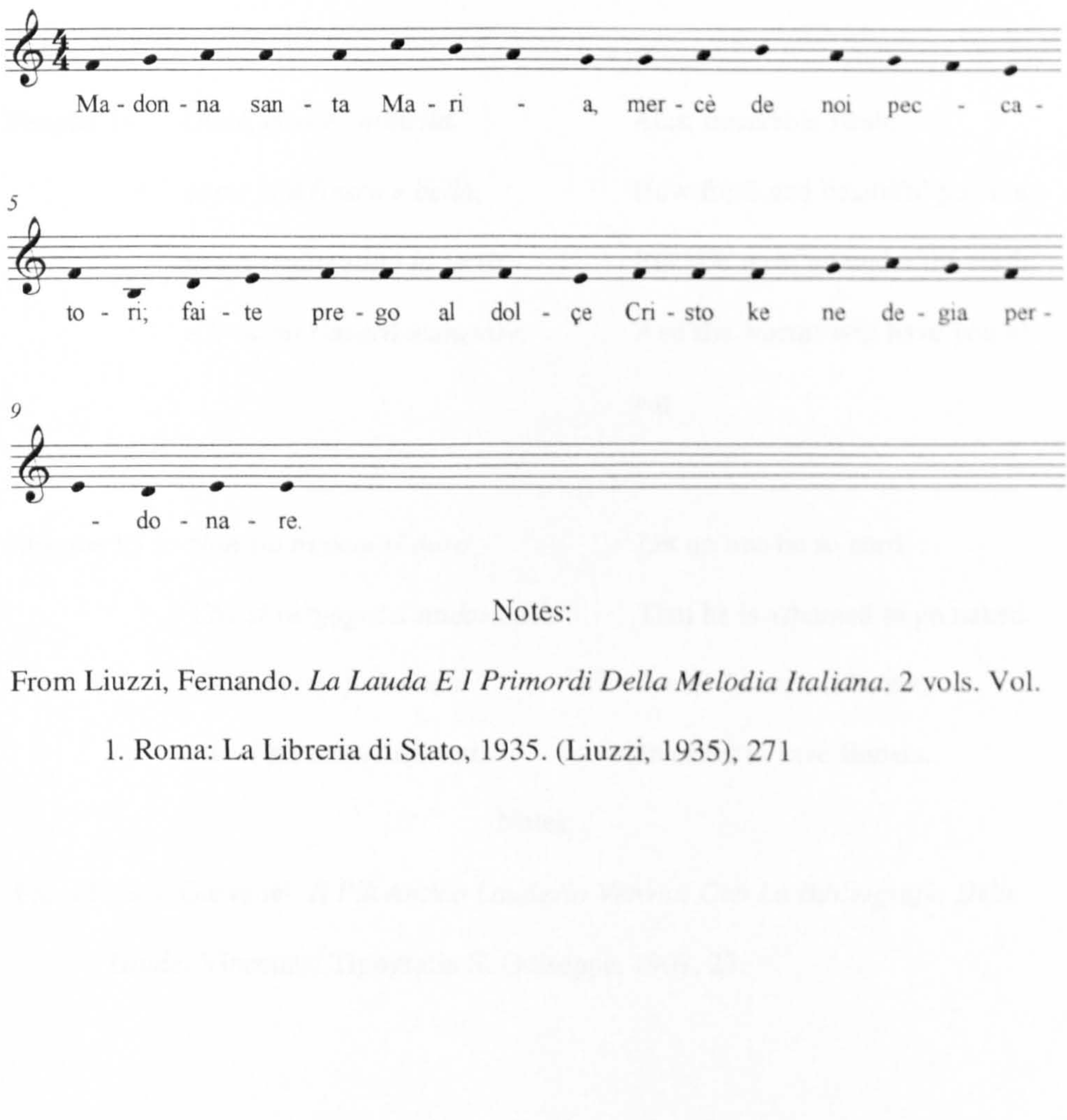
fan-no i dol - zi can_____ ti; da-van - ti al - la re - gi - na fan - no dan- za.

Regina pretiosa,	Precious queen,
madre del glorioso,	mother of the glorious one,
no v'incheram merzede con pietanza.	devoutly we beg you for mercy.
No vi facciam pregiero	We pray to you
[e] all'alto re del cielo, che nne	and to the high king of heaven, that he
chonduca	might lead us
a questa luce chiera,	to this clear light,
là 've sonno li vangelista Marco e Luca	where the evangelists Mark and Luke,
et sonnvi tutt'i sancti	and all the saints,
che fanno i dolzi canti;	are singing sweet songs
davanti alla regina fanno danza.	and dancing before the queen.
Nella divina corte	In the divine court
n'aspecta ciascum giorno; inmantenente	they wait for us every day; suddenly
aperte son le porte:	the doors are opened
chi bene à facto vada sicuramente,	let those who acted rightly go in
sarà ben ricevuto;	confidently: they will be well received;
se egli avrà il cor pentuto,	if they have a contrite heart
vadasi scoriando a questa danza.	let them go to the dance whipping themselves.
Audite, buona gente,	
voi che questo sermone avete audito,	Listen, good people
penitentia prendete	who have heard this sermon,
et agiate sempre il vostro cor contrito,	be penitent

ché nn'è apparito un segno	and always keep a contrite heart,
c'a fine vien questo regno:	because a sign has appeared
lasàti state oimai vostra argoglianza.	that this kingdom is coming to an end:
	abandon your pride now.

From Wilson, Blake, and Nello Barbieri. *The Florence Laudario: An Edition of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 18*. Madison,: A-R Editions, 1995, p. 42.

Example 2- Cortona, Biblioteca del comune, MS 91



Notes:

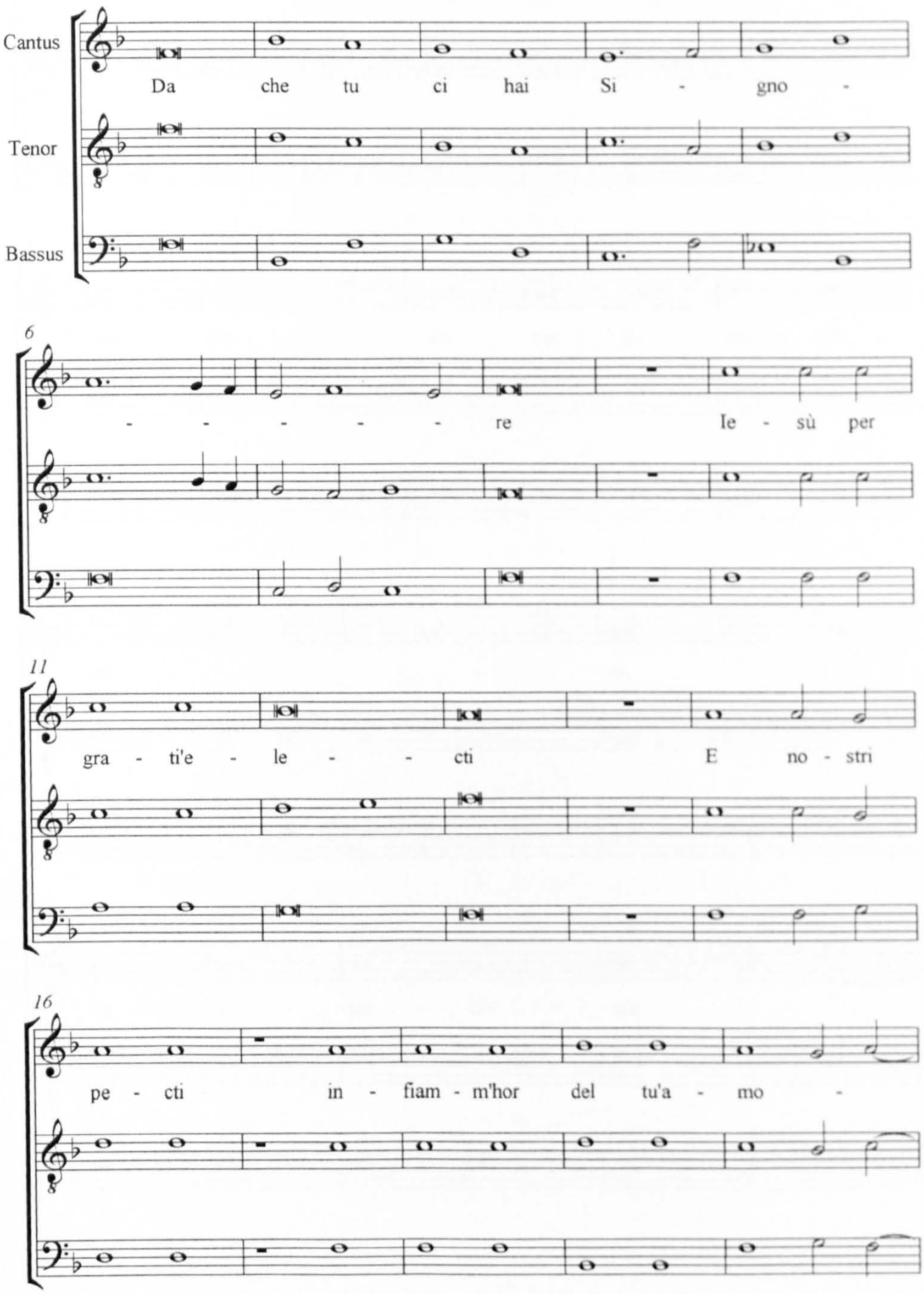
From Liuzzi, Fernando. *La Lauda E I Primordi Della Melodia Italiana*. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Roma: La Libreria di Stato, 1935. (Liuzzi, 1935), 271

Additional stanzas describing self flagellation:

Strophe 11	*Io si son stado pecadore*	I have been a sinner
	Et ai offeso al mio signore	And have offended my Lord,
	Battome per lo suo amore	And thus will scourge myself for
	Ch'el me debia perdonare.	his love so he will pardon me.
Strophe 12	*Et alegro e gaudente*	And joyously and happily
	Battome le spalle e'l ventre,	I scourge my shoulders and belly
	per descazar quel serpente	To escape the serpent
	che me volea devorare.	Who wants to devour me.
Strophe 14	*Oimé, carne topinella,*	Alas, miserable flesh,
	come tu é fresca e bella,	How fresh and beautiful you are,
	tu dei andar sotto la terra	But you must go under the earth,
	e li vermi t'averá manziare.	And the worms will have you to eat
Strophe 15	*Non sia nessun sí duro*	Let no one be so hard
	Che si vergogni d'andar nudo	That he is ashamed to go naked.
	Gesú Cristo fo batudo	Jesus Christ was beaten
	Per li peccatori salvari.	In order to save sinners.

Notes:

From Fabris, Giovanni. *Il Più Antico Laudario Veneto; Con La Bibliografia Delle Laude*. Vincenza: Tipografia S. Guiseppe, 1907, 23.

Example 3: Girolamo Benivieni, '*Da che tu ci hai Signore*'

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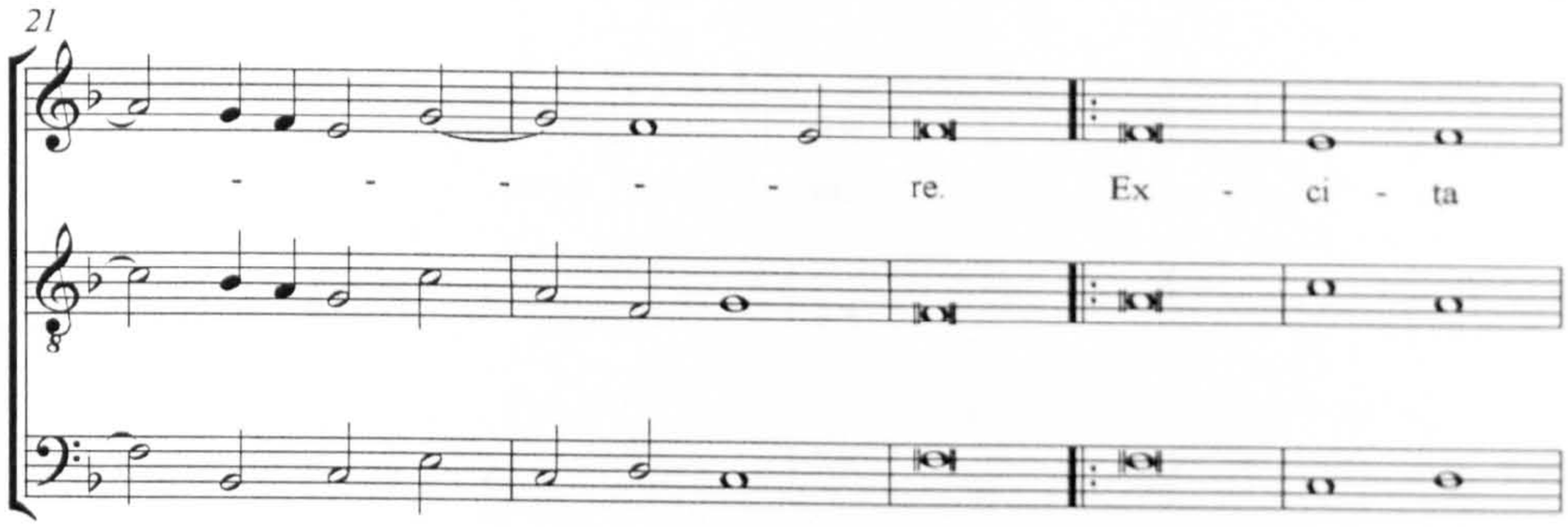
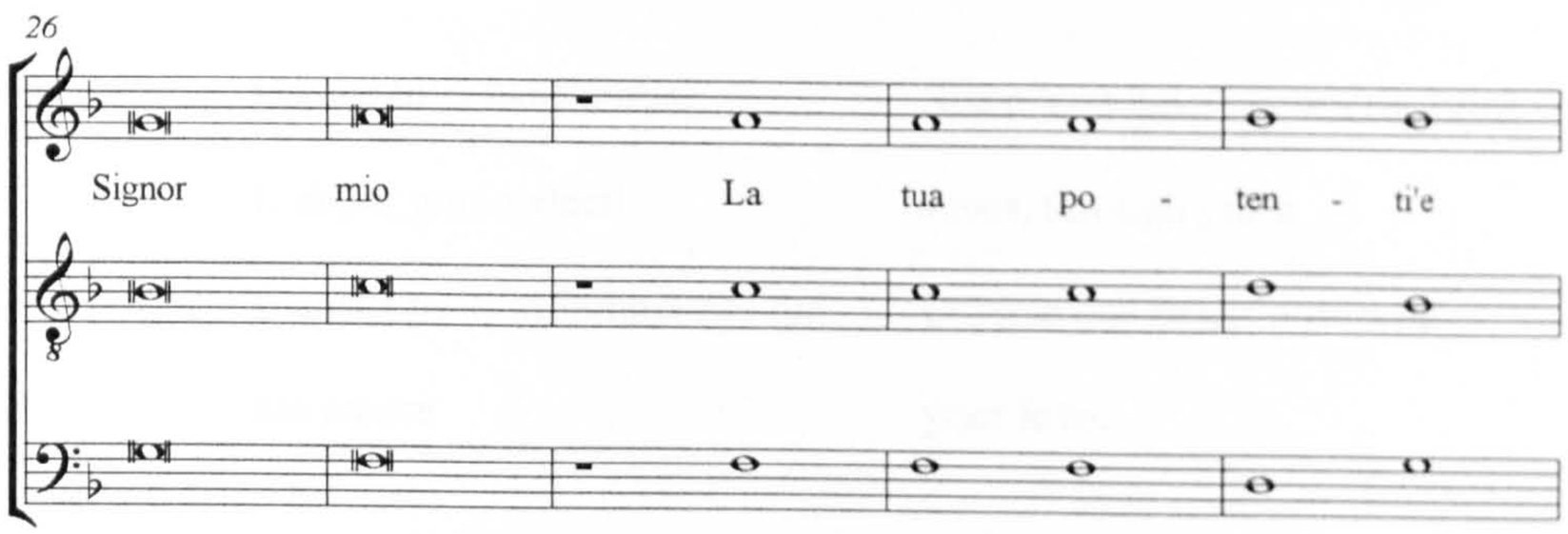
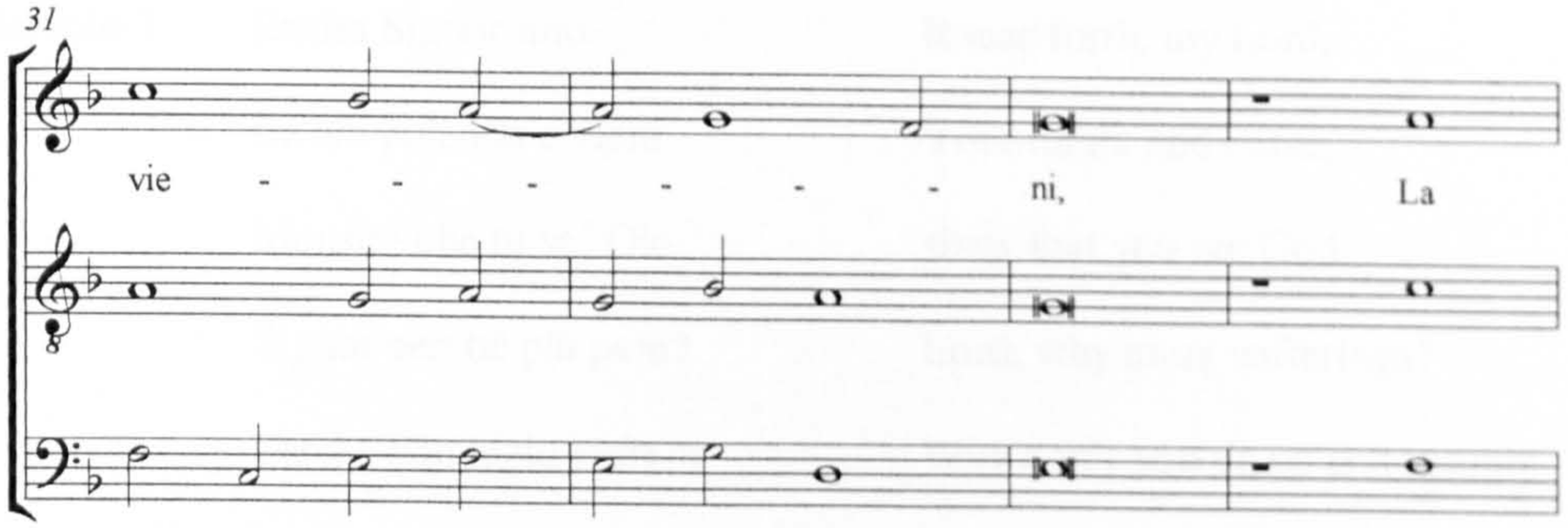
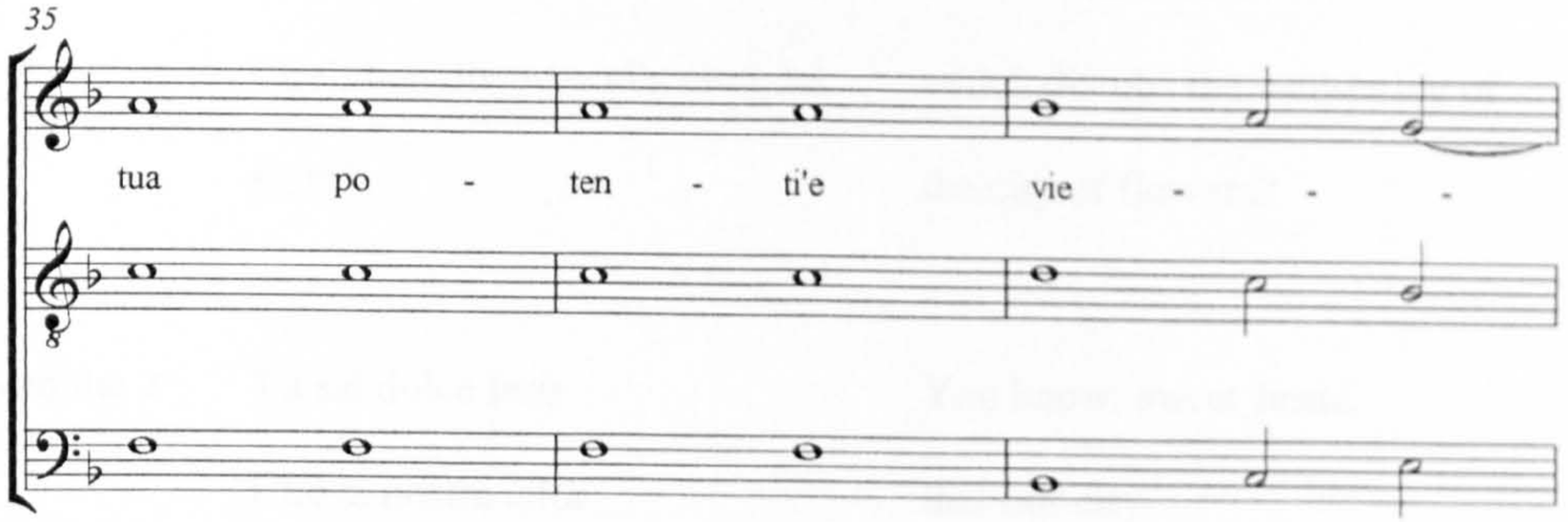
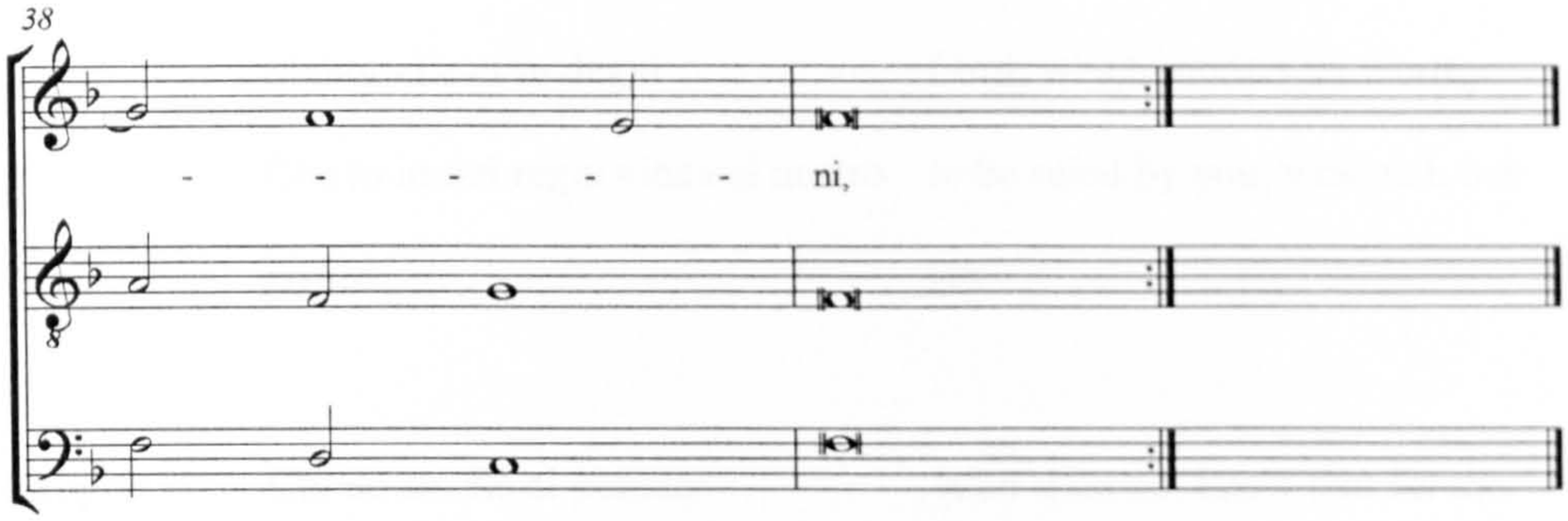

re. Ex - ci - ta

26

Signor mio La tua po - ten - ti'e

31

vie - - - - - - ni, La

35

tua po - ten - ti'e vie - - -

Refrain	Da che tu ci hai Signore	Since You have chosen us, Lord
	Iesù per gratia electi	Jesus, through grace
	E nostri pecti infiamma hor del	inflame our hearts now with
	tuo amore	your love.
Strophe 1	Excita Signor mio	Rouse forth, my Lord,
	La tua potentia e vieni	Your might and come,
	Monstra che tu se' Dio	show that you are God;
	Signor perché più peni?	Lord, why more sufferings?
	Perché non leghi enfreni	Why don't you tie up and restrain
	Quella insanabil turba	this incurable mob
	Che'l ben disturba alla città del	which distubs the well-being of
	fiore?	the city of flowers?
Strophe 2	Tu sai dolce Iesù	You know, sweet Jesus,
	Che la nostra città	that our city
	Re non ha in terra hor più	has no king on earth any more
	Fuor' della tuoa bontà.	except for your goodness.

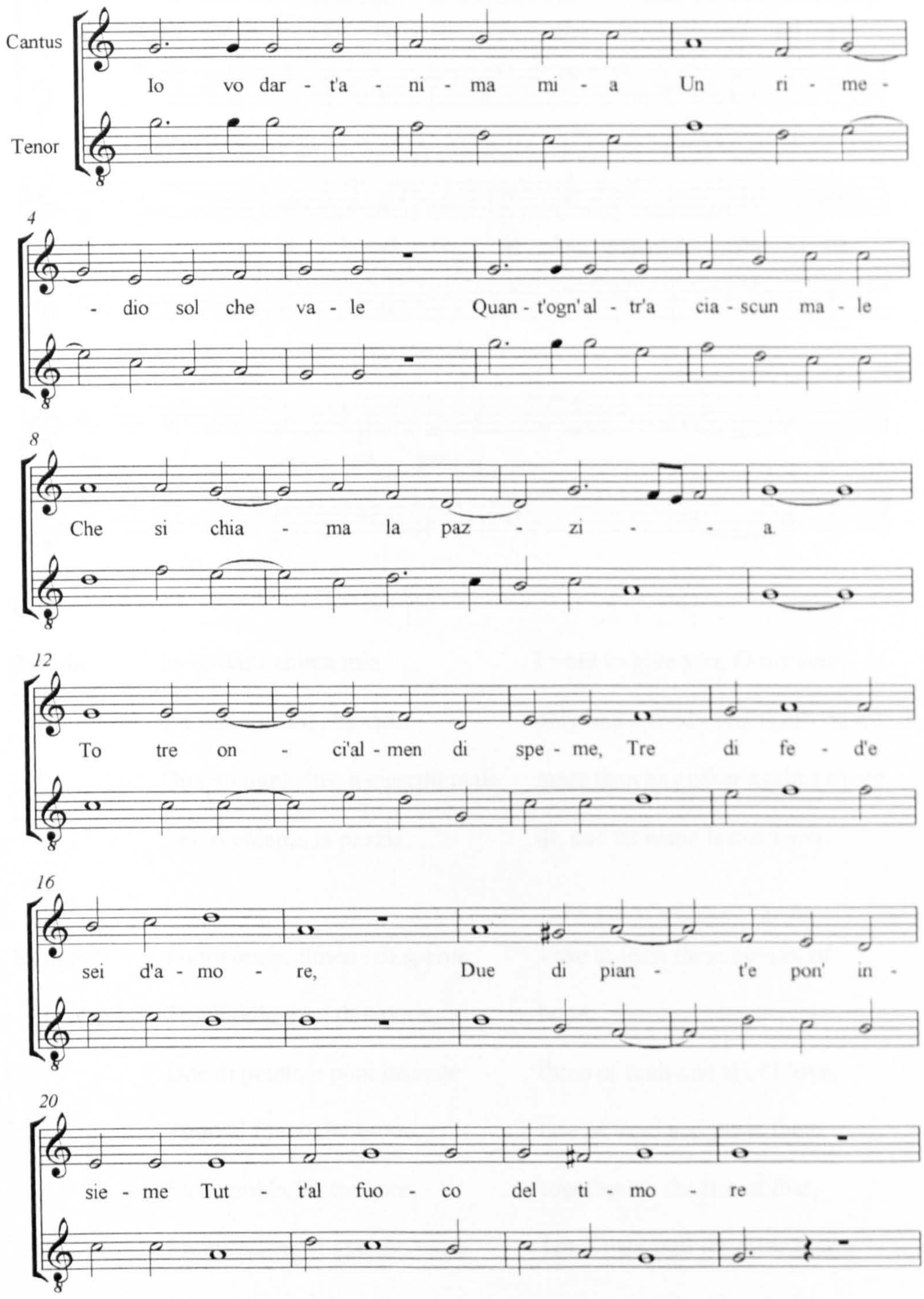
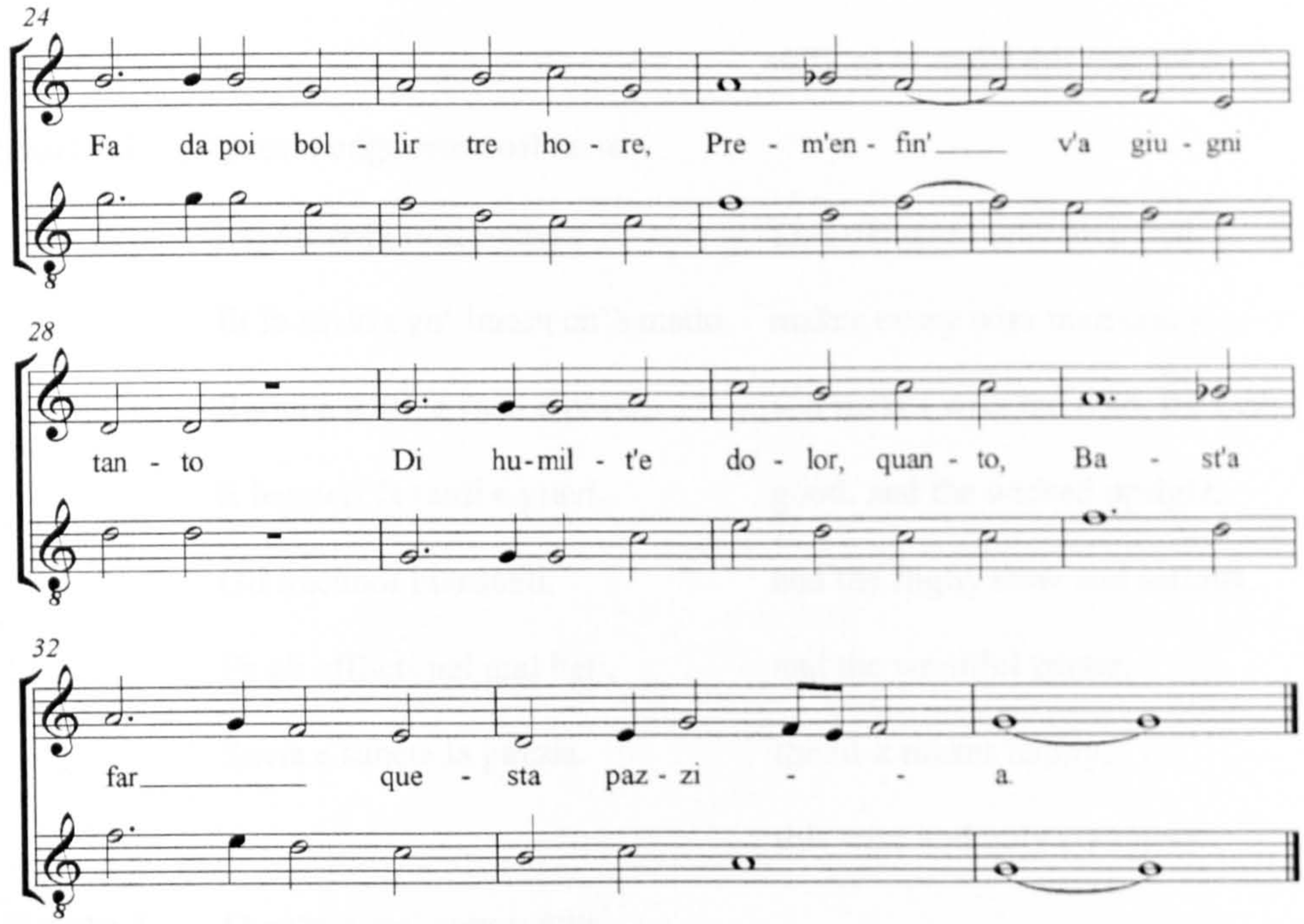
	Dunque quella pietà	Therefore, let that mercy,
	Signor che ci fa degni	Lord, which renders us worthy
	Che tu in noi regni vinca el nostro	to be ruled by you, vanquish our
	errore.	sin.
Strophe 3	Chi no sa che al peccato	Who does not know that for the
	Del tuo popl' ribello	sins of your rebellious people,
	In endecta hai parato	you have prepared in vengeance
	Fame, peste e coltello.	famine, plague, and the sword?
	De, fa che el tuo flagello	O see that your scourge
	A buoni torni in letitia	brings happiness to good people,
	A rei in iustitia in breve ira e	and justice to the wicked, in
	furore.	[your] swift anger and rage.
Strophe 4	Se el mal nutrito ingegno	If the poorly nourished brain
	D'alchun superbo o stolto	of someone proud or stupid
	Ha el tuo governo a sdegno	holds your rule in disdain
	Perché ne vitii i involto,	because he is immersed in vices,
	Allui sia el fructo tolto	then let be taken from him
	De tuoi promessi doni,	the fruit of your promised gifts,
	Che vita è buoni, a rei morte e	which are life for the good, death
	dolore.	and sorrow for the wicked.
Strophe 5	Apri el tuo fonte e piovi	Open your font and rain down
	Iesù benigno hor quella	now, good Jesus, that

Gratia che in te rinnuovi	gracy of yours by which you
La tua Florentia bella	renew your beautiful Florence.
Noi in questa età novella	We, in this new age
Del corpo e della mente	make a present of our body and
Facto un presente hor te 'l doniamo e 'l core.	mind, now we offer [them] to you, and our heart.

Notes:

From Macey, Patrick, ed. *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*. Madison: A-R Editions, 1999.

Text on p. xxxii-xxxiii, music on 38-39.

Example 4: Girolamo Benivieni, '*Io vo darti anima mia*'

2

Text:

Refrain	Io vo darti anima mia	I want to give you, O my soul,
	Un rimedio sol che vale	only one remedy that is effective
	Quanto ogni altro à ciascun male	more than any other against every
	Che si chiama la pazzia.	ill, and its name is craziness.
Strophe 1	To tre oncie almeno di speme,	Take at least three ounces of
	Tre di fede e sei di amore,	hope,
	Due di pianto e poni insieme	three of faith and six of love,
	Tutto al fuoco del timore.	two of tears and place them
	Fa da poi bollir tre hore,	together on the fire of fear.
	Premi enfine vi agiugni tanto	Let it then boil for three hours
	Di humiltà e dolor, quanto	strain it at the end and add as

	Basta a far questa pazzia.	much humility and sorrow as suffices to make this craziness.
Strophe 2	Questo unguento così facto	
	Impazzar fa tutti e savi	This ointment thus prepared
	Et fa savio ogn' huom ch'è matto,	makes every wise man crazy
	Buoni e tristi, e recti e pravi,	and makes wise the mad, the evil
	E leggieri fa tardi e gravi,	good, and the wicked upright,
	Gli iracundi mansueti,	and the flighy slow and serious,
	Fa gli afflicti nel mal lieti,	and the wrathful gentle,
	Savia e sancta la pazzia.	the ill it makes happy, this wise and holy craziness.
Strophe 3	O pazzia mal conosciuta	
	Da color che t'han per pazza,	O poorly understood craziness
	Chi ti spregia, odio, e rifiuta	by those who say you are crazy,
	Pel suo troppo senno inpazza,	those who scorn, hate, and refuse
	Ma chi teco si sollazza	you because of excesive sense go
	Si trastulla e si compiace,	crazy. But those who take
	In te trova quella pace	pleasure in you, amuse
	Che non è in altra pazzia.	themselves and take delight, in you they find peace that is lacking in other craziness.
Strophe 4	O Iesù per quello immenso	
	Tuo amor che si ti strinse	O Jesus, through the immensity
	Che a salire fuor d'ogni senso	of your love that bound you so
	Per noi in croce ti sospinse,	that it led you, beyond all reason,

De, se mai pietà ti vinse	to climb on the cross for us,
Dammi priego solo ch'io ama	ah, if mercy moves you,
Chi conosca, segua e brama	grant me, I pray, only that I love
Questa tua sancta pazzia.	him who I know, [and] follow
	and desire this, your holy
	craziness.

Notes:

From Macey, ed., *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems*. Text on pp. xxxix-xl, music on pp. 48-49.

Appendix H. Catalogue of Fragrance imagery in Florence Laudario

Lauda Title (page of text; *page of music*)	Line	*Italian*	English
Sovrana sì ne' sembianti (liv; *12*)	4	*quella rosa che aulorisce*	[the more pleasing] that fragrant rose becomes
	12	*ke soave aulor mena*	Emanating gentle fragrance
Piange Maria cum dolore (lviii; *19*)	16	*fresco giglio aulente d'orto*	O fresh fragrant garden lily
Nat'è in questo mondo (lxv; *32-33*)	21	*poi ven'el flore aulente*	Then came the fragrant flower
Con umil core salutiamo cantando (lxviii; *39*)	9	*aulente più che giglio*	more fragrant than the lily
Vergine donzella imperadrice (lxx; *43*)	3	*Aulente rosa et moscado fino*	Fragrant rose and fine musk
Ave, virgo Maria (lxxi; *N/A*)	20	*delli prophete se' aulore*	[You are] the fragrance of the prophets
Regina sovrana di grande pietade (lxxi-ii; *46*)	7	*O sole lucente et rose aulente*	O shining sun and fragrant rose
Vergen pulzella, per merzé (lxxiv; *49*)	6	*nova donna, novel aul[è]*	new woman, noble fragrance
	11	*Aulentissimo giglio*	Most fragrant lily
Stephano sancto, exemplo	5	*flore aulente*	O fragrant flower

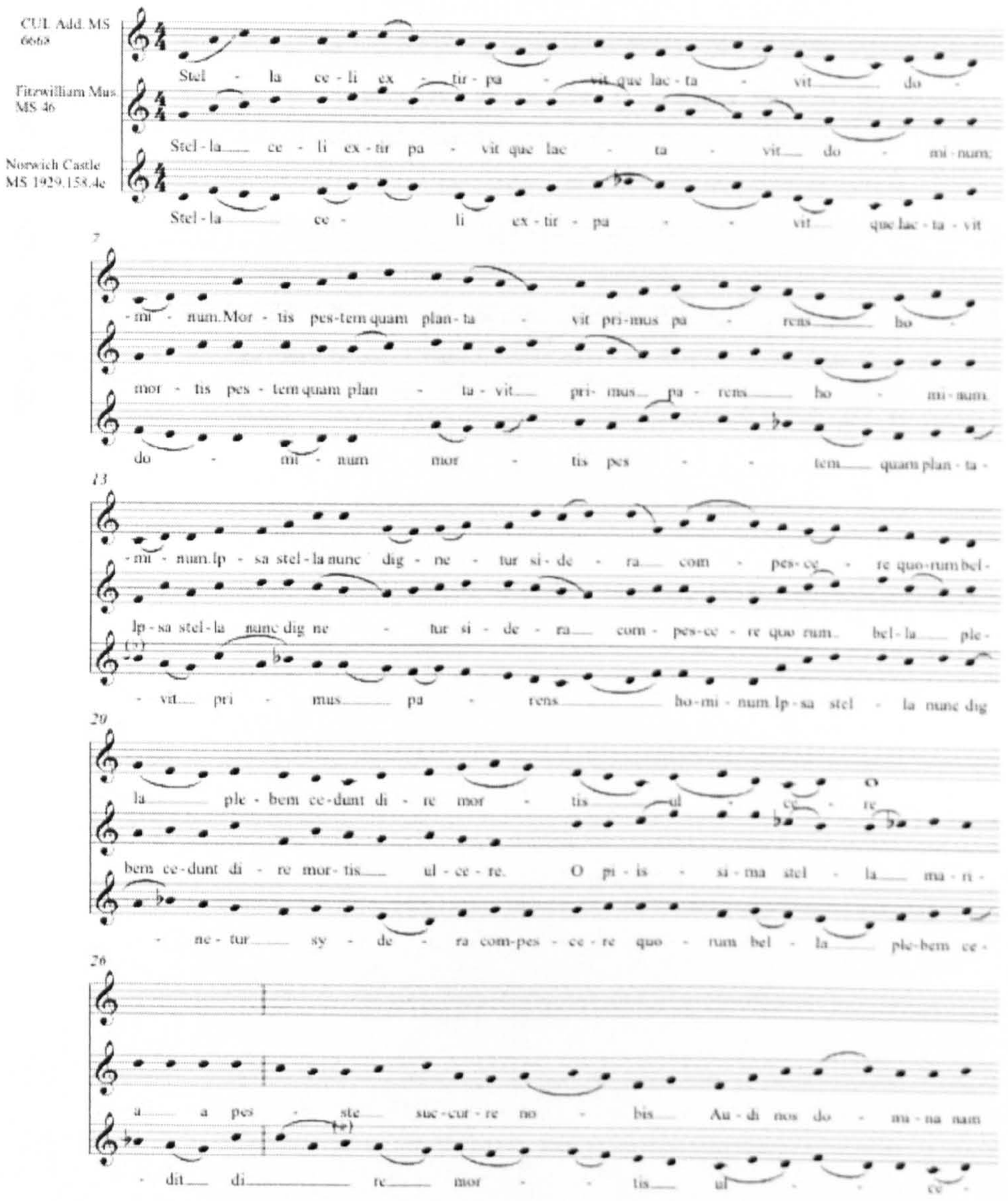
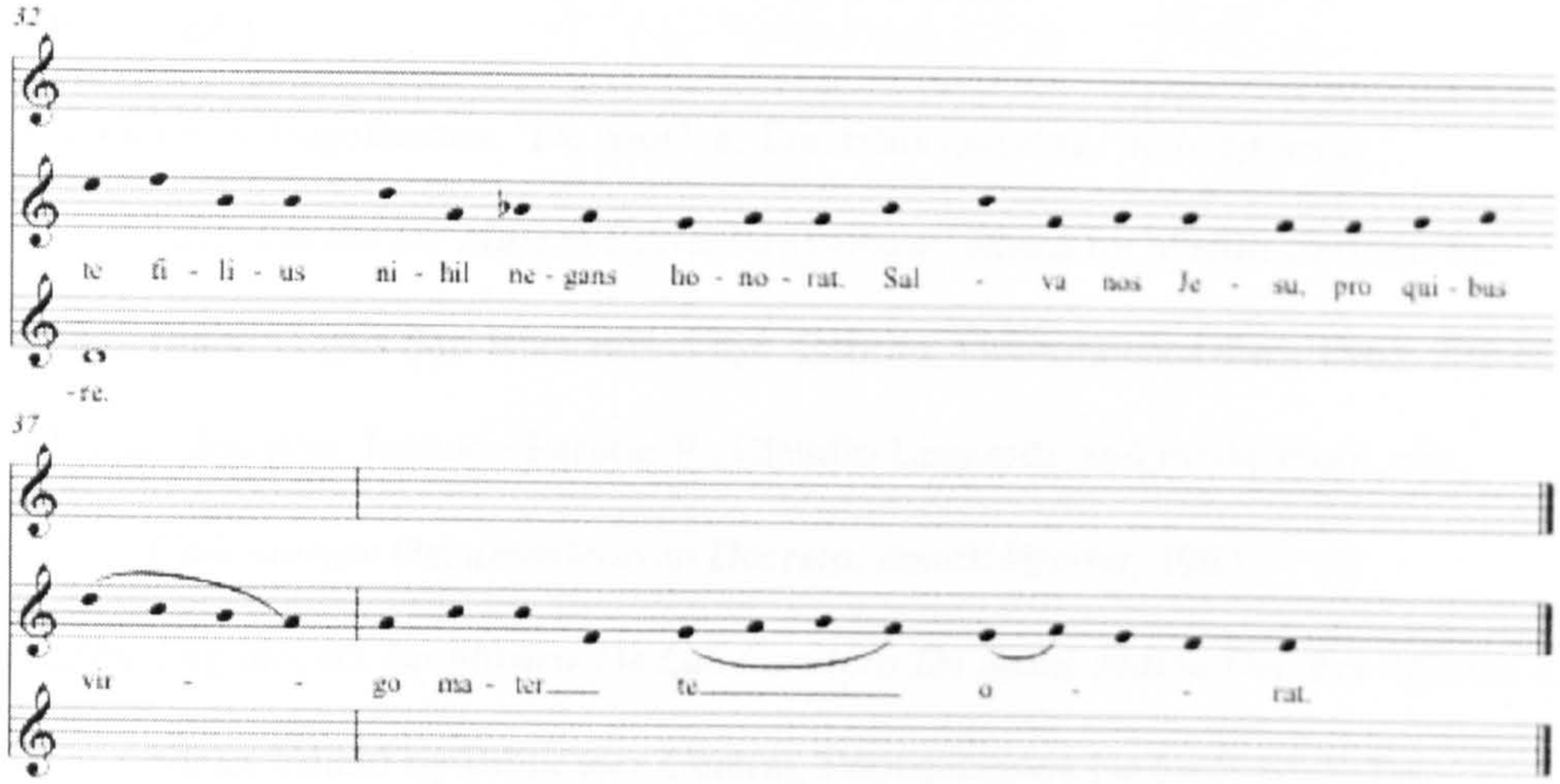
Lauda Title (page of text; *page of music*)	Line	*Italian*	English
se' lucente (lxxxii; *74*)			
Sancto Lorenzo, martyr d'amore, (lxxxii; *75*)	8	*se' aulente flore*	you are a fragrant flower.
Martyr glorioso, aulente flore (lxxxii; *76*)	1	*Martyr glorioso, aulente flore*	Glorious martyr, fragrant flower
Sancto Vincentio, martire amoroso (lxxxiii; *78*)	7	*ben si convene di te, flore aulente*	it is indeed acceptable [to sing] to you, fragrant flower
O sancto Blasio, martyre beato (lxxxiii-lxxxiv; *79*)	9	*rosa vermiglia et aulente flore*	O red rose and fragrant flower
Sancto Giorgio, martyr amoroso (lxxxiv-lxxxv; *80*)	30	*dello suo fetor velenoso.*	[to escape death] from his [the dragon's] poisonous stench.
Alla regina divoto servente (lxxxvi; *87*)	8	*fructo del flore c'a la madre aulìa*	fruit of the flower that was fragrant to the mother.
Da tucta gente laudato (lxxxvi-lxxxvii; *88*)	22	*rosa aulente [sanza pruno]*	fragrant rose [without thorns]
Sancto Allexio, stella risplendente (lxxxix-xc; *N/A*)	6 38	*giglio bianco,* *aulente flore* *che tu fossi aulente fiore*	O white lily, fragrant flower that you were a fragrant flower
A sancto Jacobo (xc; *92*)	11	*Aulente giglio*	Fragrant, white lily

Lauda Title (page of text; *page of music*)	Line	*Italian*	English
	16	*candidato aulente flore di giardino*	O fragrant garden flower
Sancto Bernardo amoroso (xc; *93*)	2	*giglio aulente dilectoso*	delightful, fragrant lily
Novel canto, tucta gente [to St Genobius] (xc-xci; *94-95*)	4	*San Zenobio, flore aulente*	Saint Zenobius, fragrant flower
Ogn'omo canti novel canto [to St John] (xci; *96*)	2	*a san Giovanni, aulente flore*	to Saint John, fragrant flower
A sancta Reparata (xcvi; *107*)	4	*A sancta Reparata, rosa aulente*	to Saint Reparata, fragrant rose
A tutta gente faccio prego e dico (xcvi-xcvii; *108*)	2	*che laudi meco Margarita aulente*	laud with me the fragrant Margaret
	14	*entrò per tocca cosa non aulente*	nothing unfragrant could enter your castle
Sancta Agnesa da Dio amata (xcviii; *110*)	14	*d'ogne fiore*	adorned with every
	22	*aulente ornata de l'aulente flore granata.*	fragrant virtue [caught] by the fragrant fruitful flower

Lauda Title (page of text; *page of music*)	Line	*Italian*	English
Verbum bonum et suave (cii-ciii; *119*)	19	*aromatum virga fumi*	smoking rod of fragrance

Notes:

All page numbers refer to the edition of Blake Wilson, and Nello Barbieri. *The Florence Laudario: An Edition of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 18*. Madison,: A-R Editions, 1995. A facsimile of the laudario has also been published by Fernando Liuzzi in volume II of *La Lauda E I Primordi Della Melodia Italiana*. Roma: La Libreria di Stato, 193.

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


32
te fi - li - us ni - hil ne - gans ho - no - rat. Sal - va nos Je - su, pro qui - bus
- re.
37
vir - - go ma - ter te o - - rat.

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