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2 Appendices (Appendix 1: fo. 35 + music a/w; Appendix 2: fos. 36–39)

1 Figure: caption on fo. 40

67 footnotes; copy on fos. 41–49

Þ = Middle English thorn (see note 16)

Music and Contemplation in the Twelfth-Century *Dulcis Jesu Memoria*

HELEN DEEMING

THE song *Dulcis Jesu memoria* was widely transmitted during the Middle Ages as a poem without music, in which form it was most often collected in the company of devotional and pious materials in books geared towards individual or collective spiritual contemplation. Its text has been analysed extensively by philologists and theologians who have sought to establish the textual history of its various versions and to interpret the poem in the light of the biblical, patristic and medieval sources upon which it draws.¹ But in a single twelfth-century manuscript, the earliest witness to the poem, the text appears in a musical setting that has been almost completely overlooked.² In some ways this is understandable, since the song's melody appears in only one of the 88 medieval manuscripts that preserve its text, and has never been available in a readily accessible modern edition.³ Yet this music demands our critical

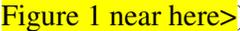
attention, not simply to redress a historiographical imbalance, but also because many of the text's themes – of utterance and hearing, of the carnal and the spiritual, and of inexpressibility and the ineffable – relate explicitly or indirectly to music, and would seem thus to be – at least potentially – inflected in the presence of a musical setting. From the evidence of the transmission history, music and text were bound together in the song's original form (or at least a very early one);⁴ hence an attempt to interpret both together as elements in the song's signification is clearly justified. This article explores methodologies for reading melody as a form of exegesis, and argues that *Dulcis Jesu memoria* is an ideal candidate for such treatment, owing to its comparatively rare status as an example of non-liturgical song surviving with its music before 1200, its complex relationship (both textual and musical) with the sequence genre, and its highly unusual – and in many ways deeply musical – theme, which, I will argue, sheds interesting light on the wider understanding of music in medieval thought.

In much later manifestations, *Dulcis Jesu memoria* is familiar to many musicians: its text is most often encountered in a truncated form (a short selection of its stanzas, often with the first two words reversed) in which it was set to music by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century composers. One of the best-known settings was once attributed to Tomás Luis de Victoria (though his authorship is now deemed doubtful), and another prominent one is by Jacobus Handl. This later adaptation of the text came about when the song was adopted as a liturgical hymn in Offices of the Holy Name of Jesus, established by the Franciscan and Dominican orders across Europe, and in the Sarum use in England, during the fifteenth century.⁵ But this tradition of appropriating the poem for official liturgical practice dates from late in the song's transmission history: the manuscript tradition before this point suggests that the song was found

primarily outside liturgical contexts for the first three centuries of its transmission, and that when it did come to acquire a liturgical use it was in a markedly different form from that of the original poem.⁶

The early transmission history of *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, charted in detail by André Wilmart, is worth summarizing here.⁷ In addition to the 88 manuscripts that survive from the Middle Ages, the text appears in five printed collections of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The manuscript tradition includes sources from across Europe, though it is notable that those of English origin are prominent among the early sources (10 out of 20 manuscripts dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are English). Nearly all the manuscripts are collections of devotional or pious materials, some focusing on poetry, others on the works of particular authors; 38 sources dating from the end of the thirteenth century onwards attribute the poem to Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), and 11 manuscripts include it among compilations of his works. Occasionally, the poem appears alongside liturgical materials, such as among the miscellaneous verses and prayers often to be found in Books of Hours: an early example of the poem's manuscript association with the liturgy is the thirteenth-century Lesnes Missal (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, missal of the Augustinians of Lesnes), where it appears with the title 'alia meditatio bona' ('another good meditation') among the supplementary prayers that precede the Order of Mass. The poem was translated into French (both the Continental and Anglo-Norman forms) and Middle English, and was also subject to literary adaptations in Latin, including one elaboration by means of an interlinear poetic gloss that effectively created a new poem.⁸

The sole manuscript in which the melody for *Dulcis Jesu memoria* is preserved is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 668 (hereafter GB-Ob Laud

668), a theological and historical miscellany with a Cistercian emphasis, containing material relating to churches in Yorkshire and the North East of England, and a substantial collection of the writings of Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–67), including *On the Miracles of the Church of Hexham*, *The Life of St Edward, King and Confessor* and *The Genealogy of the Kings of the English*.⁹ References to datable events within the manuscript's materials allow the copying of the book to be dated to the 1170s or 1180s, though additions continued to be made to it thereafter.¹⁰ The song appears among the manuscript's original materials, occupying four folios towards the centre of the book (fols. 101^r–104^r; see Figure 1 for a reproduction of the first of these  ); it was apparently an intentional inclusion from the outset, and not an addition made at a later date to leaves originally left blank. During this period, the appearance of musical notation outside books designed for the liturgy was a rarity, and the incorporation of these notated folios within a book primarily given over to prose texts required special efforts from the scribe, ruling the leaves individually to leave room for musical staves between the lines of text.¹¹ These efforts, along with the need for a scribe skilled in writing musical notation, may help to explain why the music was not included in any of the other manuscript witnesses (many of which are similar collections of largely non-musical texts), but might also be regarded as a mark of the particular esteem in which *Dulcis Jesu memoria* – and its melody – were held by the compiler(s) of GB-Ob Laud 668. As the earliest of the many surviving witnesses to *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, GB-Ob Laud 668 can lay claim to special authority, even if it cannot be shown definitively to represent the song's original redaction, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that its versions of the text and music were not very far removed from the song's author and composer (whether or not these were one and the same).

The question of the poem's authorship has occupied numerous modern critics, though no positive evidence in the form of an autograph or even an early attribution exists.¹² The later tradition of attributing the text to Bernard of Clairvaux probably arose because the text exhibits the influence of his writings as well as a distinctly Cistercian spirituality overall. A desire among early scribes and readers, particularly those of the Cistercian Order, to claim the poem for the Order's most prominent theologian is therefore understandable, even if several factors render it questionable on historical grounds. Bernard's literary efforts seem rarely to have been devoted to poetry, and the verses of his that do exist do not closely resemble *Dulcis Jesu memoria* in content or style. No manuscript with a definite connection to Bernard himself exists, nor was the poem included in any of the compilations of his oeuvre that were made at his institution, the abbey of Clairvaux, during his lifetime or in the generations immediately following. Moreover, the preponderance of English manuscripts among the earliest sources may make it more likely that the poem's author was an Englishman. On the basis of GB-Ob Laud 668 and other early sources that group the poem alongside works of Aelred of Rievaulx (sometimes known as 'the English Bernard' in recognition of his near-equal status in the development and expression of Cistercian thought), it has been speculated that Aelred could form a candidate for the authorship of *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, though more persuasive evidence is again lacking.¹³ All that may be said with confidence on the question of authorship is that the anonymous poet displays an evident familiarity with Cistercian theology, as well as a firm grounding in scripture, liturgy and the works of the Church Fathers: these factors imply that he was a cleric, most probably of the Cistercian Order, or at least with a profound interest in the works of Cistercian writers.¹⁴

<A>The text's sources and themes

The scope of the poet's literary sources is, however, far from limited to Cistercian writings: allusions to the works of Bernard and Aelred are most prominent in the poem, and citations of biblical texts (especially the *Song of Songs* and the Psalms) and of the works of patristic and late-antique writers also feature heavily. Among the latter were three writers whose works were extremely widely read and cited as authorities during the Middle Ages and form the theological backdrop to the poem: St Augustine (354–430), one of the most important writers in the early Christian period, responsible for the development of many of the tenets of medieval Christian thought; St Gregory the Great (c.540–604), the pope credited with reform of the Roman liturgy and linked by the famous legend to the origins of 'Gregorian' chant; and St Benedict (c.480–547), author of the monastic rule that not only formed the pre-eminent code for monastic life but was also drawn upon as a more broadly applicable spiritual guide. Meticulous, line-by-line accounts of these and other textual sources are to be found elsewhere and need not be repeated here, but certain of the text's principal themes and the textual environments which they inhabit are worth drawing out, because, as I hope to show, they contribute to a reading of the song from a specifically musical perspective.

Over the course of the poem's 42 stanzas, the writer of *Dulcis Jesu memoria* guides the reader through the stages in the spiritual journey of the soul towards union with Jesus (see Appendix 1 for an edition of the song and Appendix 2 for its text with a facing English translation).¹⁵ As James Wimsatt has observed, 'the underlying story of "Dulcis Iesu memoria" indeed involves the progression that its first stanza

adumbrates, the movement from the memory of Jesus to his presence'.¹⁶ In hinting at what is to become one of the most important themes of the poem, namely that Jesus is to be experienced by his followers first-hand, in nothing short of a physical sense, this first stanza also introduces the quality of sweetness to which the poet will have frequent recourse throughout the rest of the song:

Dulcis Jesu memoria	Sweet memory of Jesus,
dans vera cordi gaudia,	giving true joys to the heart,
sed super mel et omnia	but above honey and all else
eius dulcis presentia.	is his sweet presence.

(1. 1–4)

At every stage, the poet invokes the five senses and appeals to physical feelings as metaphors for the spiritual pleasures to be gained on this journey. At the climax of the poem, the profoundly sensory (indeed sensuous) image of an embrace is used, a sensuality that has already been hinted at by the poet's earlier allusion to his bed ('Jesum queram in lectulo'; 6. 1: 'I will seek Jesus in my bed'):

Tunc amplexus, tunc oscula	Then the embrace, then the kisses
que vincant mellis pocula,	which would surpass cups of honey,
tunc felix Christi copula.	then the happy clasp of Christ.

(25. 1–3)

The sense of taste figures especially prominently throughout, culminating in the effects of repletion to be gained from tasting divine love:

Quem tuus amor debriat	He whom your love intoxicates
novit quod Jesus sapiat,	knows what Jesus tastes like,
felix gustus quem satiat	he whom the happy flavour fills up,
non est ultra quod cupiat.	there is nothing further that he desires.

(17. 1–4)

<half-line space>

Cuius amor sic afficit,	The love of whom thus affects me,
cuius gustus me reficit.	the taste of whom restores me.

(33. 1–2)

The reference to tasting as a means of knowing Jesus and his love accords with a long tradition of association between these concepts in medieval writing, drawing on biblical sources: in *Genesis*, Eve’s tasting of the fruit from the forbidden tree was the action by which she obtained mortal knowledge, and – more positively – Psalm 33 gave the instruction to ‘taste and see that the Lord is sweet’.¹⁷ For medieval thinkers, the etymology of the Latin word ‘sapientia’ (‘knowledge’) from the verb ‘sapio’ (‘to taste’) confirmed the close connection between the physical experience of tasting and the inner sense of knowing. In a discussion of this linguistic relationship, Mary Carruthers concurs with the author of *Dulcis Jesu memoria* that ‘*sapientia*, which in this context I would translate as “intelligent belief based upon experience of the world”, can truly know God’s *sapor* or flavor’.¹⁸ In the language of the poem, it is the ‘*experti*’ (those who have experienced it directly) who can apprehend what it is to recognize and love Jesus:

Nec lingua potest dicere	Neither tongue can say
nec littera exprimere,	nor words express,

expertus novit tenere	[only] the one who knows by experience has
	learnt to grasp
quid sit Jesum diligere.	what it is to love Jesus. ¹⁹

(5. 1–4)

This is knowledge, in other words, that cannot be acquired in conventional, language-grounded ways of learning, an idea that finds support in Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermons on the Song of Songs*: 'Porro in huiusmodi non capit intelligentia, nisi quantum experientia attingit' ('But in matters of this kind, understanding can grasp only as much as experience touches').²⁰

Bernard's sermon addresses the ointments of the *Song of Songs*' Bridegroom, and the physical senses of smell and touch with which the Bride may experience them. In *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, however, it is the sense of taste that is repeatedly referred to as the primary means of gaining direct experience. This emphasis on the sense of taste allows the poet to make numerous references to the mouth, tongue and lips, and furthermore to make connections between tasting and the other bodily functions those same organs fulfil. In stanza 25, quoted above, the mouth's functions of tasting and kissing are blurred in the phrase 'the kisses which would surpass cups of honey'. The quality of sweetness, inherent in the poet's multiple references to honey and use of words based on the adjectives 'dulcis' and 'suavis' (the former 16 times during the poem), may also be experienced in the mouth either through the act of tasting or through that of singing: 'Nil canitur suavius' (2. 1: 'Nothing is sung more sweet'). A sermon of St Augustine's likewise draws attention to the different functions of the mouth, with a wonderfully musical metaphor: 'Dentes enim non tantum nos adiuvant ad mandendum, verum etiam ad loquendum; sicut plectru nervos, sic linguam nostram, ut syllabas sonet, percutientes' ('For the teeth assist us not only

in chewing, but also in speaking; our tongue striking [them] as a plectrum [strikes] strings, so that it might articulate syllables’).²¹ Elsewhere in *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, the sweetness of taste and of song are set closely together:

in aure dulce canticum, in the ear a sweet song,
in ore mel mirificum, in the mouth a marvellous honey,

(18. 2–3)

a phrase that strongly echoes Bernard’s chiasmic construction ‘Jesus mel in ore, in aure melos’ (‘Jesus [is] honey in the mouth, in the ear a melody’),²² itself a formulation of such elegance, in Carruthers’s view, that it is ‘language that demonstrates the aesthetic effect of *dulcis* even as it defines it’.²³ The imagery of the *Song of Songs* hovers behind both of these phrases, but so too does that of the Psalms. ‘Quam dulce gutturi meo eloquium tuum super mel ori meo’ (‘How sweet is your speech to my taste, more than honey to my mouth’), wrote the Psalmist, drawing taste and utterance into almost inseparable connection through the quality of sweetness.²⁴ In both biblical books, the adjective ‘sweet’ is very often used as an attribute of voice or of words,²⁵ especially those of the Lord, and Bernard took up the same theme: ‘cum mens ineffabilis Verbi illecta dulcedine’ (‘when the mind [is] enraptured by the sweetness of the ineffable Word’),²⁶ at the same time introducing the concept of the ‘ineffable’ or ‘unutterable’ quality of that sweetness, a concept to which we will return, as it was likewise taken up by the poet of *Dulcis Jesu memoria*. Of prime significance in these references to the functions of the mouth, tongue and lips – both in the song itself and in the textual tradition upon which it draws – is the close association between spoken and sung utterance and the sweet pleasures of kissing and

of tasting, an association that seems to mark out singing as a profoundly carnal kind of music-making that resides squarely within the realm of physical human experience.

Though it is material, sensory experience (rather than intellectual reasoning) that is foregrounded in the poem's description of the encounter with Jesus, it is nonetheless made clear that the experiences referred to are those of the inner senses. With the phrase 'Tua Jesu dilectio / grata mentis refectio' (15. 1–2: 'Jesus, your love, pleasing refreshment for the mind'), the poet skilfully draws on the reader's physical experience of tasting and nourishment whilst clarifying that this particular 'refreshment' is one that is enjoyed mentally. The concept of the 'spiritual sensorium' to which the poet of *Dulcis Jesu memoria* frequently alludes is another with a long history in Christian writing: Augustine wrote of the 'mouth of the heart' and the 'palate of the heart' as a means of tasting and receiving the Word of God.²⁷ Gregory the Great, meanwhile, directed his readers thus: 'Cibum vitae ex palato cordis tangite, ut probantes eius dulcedinem amare valeatis' ('Touch the food of life by means of the palate of your heart, so that in trying it, you may be able to love its sweetness').²⁸ The image of the heart's palate is also found in Bernard's writings, and in those of Aelred of Rievaulx. The latter wrote: 'Est palatum cordis cui sapis, quia dulcis es; oculus quo videris, quia bonus es' ('It is the heart's palate for which you have flavour, because you are sweet; [the heart's] eye by which you are seen, because you are good').²⁹ In *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, the poet writes:

Jesum queram in lectulo,
clauso cordis cubiculo,
[...]
mente queram non oculo.

I will seek Jesus in my bed,
with the cubicle of my heart closed,
[...]
I will seek [him] with mind, not with eye.

The mind's ear was particularly important to medieval writers, as the organ through which the soul may receive direct encouragement. In the writings of both Aelred and Bernard, the concept is referred to as part of an imploration for spiritual fulfilment: 'Sonet ergo vox tua in auribus meis, bone Jesu, ut discat quomodo te amet cor meum' ('Let your voice sound in my ears, good Jesus, so that my heart may learn how to love you');³⁰ 'Utinam et mihi aperiat aurem Dominus, intret ad cor meum sermo veritatis, mundet oculum, laetae praeparet visioni' ('I wish that the Lord would open my ear, so that the word of truth might enter into my heart, purify my eye, prepare it for that joyous sight').³¹ Bernard further declared that a state of physical silence was required for the mind's ear to hear Christ's invitation, but that the silent music that may then reach it was incomparably sweet: 'Sedebo et silebo, si forte experiar quod de plenitudine intimae suavitatis sanctus propheta eructat: Bonum est, inquiens, exspectare Dominum in silentio' ('I will sit and be silent: perhaps I will experience that which the holy prophet proclaims regarding the fullness of the most profound sweetness: It is good, he says, to wait for the Lord in silence' (*Lamentations* iii. 26)).³² In the Prologue to his Rule, St Benedict likewise asked: 'Quid dulcius nobis ab hac voce Domini invitantis nos?' ('What is more sweet to us than the voice of the Lord inviting us?').³³ In the language of *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, 'auditur nil iucundius' (2. 2: 'nothing [is] heard more pleasant').

For all the colourful description that pervades *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, its poet recognizes that there remain divine truths that are inexpressible. The poet admits the limits of his own powers of expression:

Cum digne loqui nequeam	Although I cannot speak worthily
de te, non tamen sileam,	concerning you, I will not remain silent,
(14. 1–2)	

and describes the love of Jesus as

plus milies dulcissimus	more than a thousand times more sweet
quam dicere sufficimus.	than we can suffice to say.
(11. 3–4)	

But the poet goes further than his own limitations and suggests that there is something inherently inexpressible and incomprehensible about Jesus: employing the time-honoured medieval literary device that has come to be known as ‘the inexpressibility topos’,³⁴ he writes that

Nec lingua potest dicere	Neither tongue can say
nec littera exprimere	nor words express
[...]	[...]
quid sit Jesum diligere.	what it is to love Jesus.
(5. 1–2, 4)	

In an idea that echoes Augustine,³⁵ Benedict³⁶ and Bernard,³⁷ Jesus is referred to as ‘dulcedo ineffabilis’ (9. 3: ‘ineffable sweetness’), and ‘incomprehensa bonitas’ (21. 3: ‘incomprehensible goodness’), and later (resonating with biblical phraseology)³⁸ as one who ‘im pace imperat / que omnem sensum superat’ (40. 1–2; ‘rules with a peace

/ that passes all understanding’). The poet’s concern with the ineffable is apparent not simply in these direct references to the theme, but also in his harnessing of linguistic means to evoke it. The literary scholar Lowry Nelson commented on the poet’s frequent recourse to superlatives (especially in stanza 11), and the many comparatives have a similar effect, by intimating that Jesus’s qualities are ultimately unimaginable, because they are superior to anything that can be expressed by the poet.³⁹ Nelson refers also to the poet’s use of paradox, in such phrases as stanza 14 (quoted above) and in the two which follow:

Tua Jesu dilectio,	Jesus, your love,
grata mentis refectio,	pleasing refreshment for the mind,
replet sine fastidio,	fills without distaste,
dans famem desiderio.	giving hunger to desire.

(15. 1–4)

<half-line space>

Qui te gustant esuriunt,	Those who taste you hunger,
qui bibunt adhuc siciunt,	those who drink still thirst,
desiderare nesciunt	they are unable to wish [for anything]
nisi Jesum quem sentiunt.	except Jesus, whom they sense.

(16. 1–4)

To these literary devices designed to capture the unsayable could perhaps be added the striking number of repetitions of the name Jesus during the course of the poem. The 37 occurrences of the name, averaging almost one per stanza, could be regarded as part of the poet’s response to the limitations of his own verbal powers: unable to do justice – in his own words – to the greatness of his subject, the poet

resorts to uttering Jesus's name again and again, as a kind of incantation that is simultaneously part of the syntactical structure of the stanzas but also something supra-verbal. A similar, though less pronounced, effect is also apparent in the repetition of words referring to sweetness and derived from the root 'dulcis' (16 occurrences), and those pertaining to love and based on the roots 'dilec-' or 'dilig-' (25 instances). Wilmart remarked that the poetic construction, too, has something of an incantatory quality, each of the 42 stanzas maintaining the same form of monorhymed octosyllabic quatrains, and with the fourfold repetition of each rhyme-sound further cemented by frequent repetition of words and sounds within stanzas.⁴⁰ Though Wilmart interpreted this 'monotony' as evidence of the poem's deliberately simple and popularizing register, a more sympathetic reading might conclude that these examples of sonic reiteration form part of an artful play on the sounds of language that lend the poem a musical quality even independent of its musical setting. Some of these internal repetitions of sounds are examples of chiasmus that are both elegant and adroit:

Jesum ardenter querite,	seek Jesus ardently,
querendo inardescite,	burn in seeking,

(12. 3–4)

while others deftly link one poetic line to the next through the use of similar-sounding or similarly derived vocabulary:

Jesum queram in tumulo,	I will seek Jesus in the tomb,
cordis clamore querulo,	with a querulous clamour of the heart,

mente queram non oculo.

I will seek him with mind and not with eye.

(7. 2–4)

<half-line space>

Hic amor ardet dulciter,

This love burns sweetly,

dulcessit mirabiliter,

miraculously grows sweeter,

sapit delectabiliter,

tastes delightfully

delectat et feliciter.

and delights joyfully.

(27. 1–4)

Sonic reiteration in the poetry is not limited to these cerebral devices, but also occurs in purely phonic ways that are divorced from the sense of the language. There is considerable repetition of rhyme-sounds not just within each stanza, with its four internal rhymes, but also across the song: six rhyme-sounds are used twice or three times, so that 14 stanzas (one third of the total) reiterate a rhyme-sound that is heard in at least one other stanza.⁴¹ The density of phonic reiteration at line-endings, though, is even greater than this, because 30 of the 42 stanzas use a rhyme-sound with the vowel *i* in the penultimate position (‘-ia’, ‘-ium’, ‘-ibus’, etc.).⁴² Since the rhymes throughout the song typically involve two syllables, the recurrence of this vowel-sound as the first of these syllables in so many stanzas is noteworthy, and further contributes to a sense of phonic reminiscence built up across the song’s length. This kind of non-semantic poetic play has an effect that reaches beyond the conscious processing of language towards a contemplative and incantatory mode that is more musical than verbal.

<A>The song’s associations with *iubilus* and sequence

In this sense, these linguistic ploys that derive their effect primarily from the sound rather than the sense of their vocabulary have something in common with the range of wordless vocalizations that are captured within the sense of the term ‘*iubilus*’. Though in the most specific sense the term refers to the lengthy melisma on the final syllable of the opening word in Alleluia chants for the Mass, it was also used by patristic and medieval writers to encompass a broader spectrum of wordless song and linguistically inexpressible jubilation. Augustine refers twice to the concept in his *Expositions on the Psalms*:

Iubilum sonus quidam est
significans cor parturire quod
dicere non potest. Et quem decet
ista iubilatio, nisi ineffabilem
Deum? Ineffabilis enim est, quem
fari non potes; et si eum fari non
potes, et tacere non debes, quid
restat nisi ut iubiles, ut gaudeat cor
sine verbis, et immensa latitudo
gaudiorum metas non habeat
syllabarum?

<half-line space>

Qui iubilat, non verba dicit, sed
sonus quidam est laetitiae sine
verbis; vox est enim animi diffusi
laetitiae, quantum potest,

The *iubilus* is something which signifies
that the heart labours with what it cannot
utter. And whom does such jubilation
befit but the ineffable God? For he is
ineffable whom you cannot speak. And if
you cannot speak him, yet ought not to
be silent, what remains but that you
jubilate, so that the heart rejoices without
words, and the great expanse of joy has
not the limits of syllables?⁴³

One who jubilates does not speak words,
but it is rather a sort of sound of joy
without words, since it is the voice of a
soul poured out in joy and expressing, as

esprimentis affectum, non sensum comprehendentis. Gaudens homo in exultatione sua, ex verbis quibusdam quae non possunt dici et intellegi, erumpit in vocem quandam exultationis sine verbis; ita ut appareat eum ipsa voce gaudere quidem, sed quasi repletum nimio gaudio, non posse verbis explicare quod gaudet.	best it can, the feeling, though not grasping the sense. A man delighting in his joy, from some words which cannot be spoken or understood, bursts forth in a certain voice of exultation without words, so that it seems he does indeed rejoice with his own voice, but as if, because filled with too much joy, he cannot explain in words what it is in which he delights. ⁴⁴
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Augustine's conception of God's ineffability finds echoes in *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, especially perhaps in the phrase 'si eum fari non potes, et tacere non debes' ('if you cannot speak him, yet ought not to be silent'), closely related to the song's 'cum digne loqui nequeam / de te non tamen sileam' (14. 1–2; 'although I cannot speak worthily concerning you, I will not remain silent'), but also – by extension – in the linguistic strategies of incantation, repetition and phonic play by which the poet seems to lift the expression above the semantic limits of words and sentences. It is also telling that Bernard's beautiful chiasmus, to which *Dulcis Jesu memoria* seems to owe much of its inspiration, is followed immediately by a reference to a 'iubilus': 'Jesus mel in ore, in aure melos, in corde iubilus' ('Jesus [is] honey in the mouth, in the ear a melody, in the heart a jubilation').⁴⁵

It is in this sense – of an intense expression of rejoicing, verging on the inexpressible – that *Dulcis Jesu memoria* as a whole is sometimes referred to as a 'iubilus',⁴⁶ but the connection of this term to the Alleluia chant, its melisma and the

genre of the sequence, whose early history is closely entwined with the Alleluia iubilus, is also of specific relevance to the song. When accorded a generic category at all, *Dulcis Jesu memoria* is usually referred to as a hymn, partly because it was most often in this liturgical category that extracts from the poem were used later in the Middle Ages and beyond, as part of Offices of the Holy Name. The designator ‘hymn’ has also been deemed appropriate on the grounds of the poem’s textual form: a single stanza construction endures throughout the whole song – in theory allowing all its stanzas to be sung to one repeating melody – and moreover, the specific form used is that of octosyllabic quatrains, sometimes known as Ambrosian stanzas, one of the most commonly encountered metrical patterns in the liturgical hymn repertory.⁴⁷ Yet there are instances of *Dulcis Jesu memoria* being used as a sequence for the Mass (as opposed to a hymn for the Office) from early on, and – more importantly for the present purpose – the music for the song as preserved in GB-Ob Laud 668 has much more in common with the musical characteristics of the sequence than with those of the hymn.⁴⁸ Unlike hymns, whose music repeats identically for each stanza, the musical construction of the sequence involves a combination of repeated and new material. In its simplest form, the sequence consists of paired versicles of text, each sung to a repeated melody, but with a new melody provided for each new pair, leading to a construction that could be labelled *AABBCC*, etc. This musical pattern can accommodate a changing stanza-form in the text, with each versicle-pair adopting a different metrical pattern, but equally it could be used with a textual form that remained constant: it was in this latter configuration, the so-called ‘regular sequence’, that the genre was most often composed in the twelfth century. Thus a text theoretically capable of being set musically as a hymn owing to an unchanging textual pattern throughout could alternatively take the musical form of the sequence, the

musical construction thereby acting as the sole determinant of the overall form. The musical aspects of *Dulcis Jesu memoria* will be analysed in detail later in this article: for now, it suffices to point out that, in its earliest manuscript witness, the song is set to a musical form that broadly follows the conventions of the sequence, but that, because this musical dimension has been largely ignored to date, inaccurate general applications of the term ‘hymn’ to all versions of the song have abounded, and moreover a rich interpretative angle – namely the textual and exegetical environment of the sequence repertory – has been missed.

Given the theme of the inadequacy of words to express the poetic subject that pervades *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, the poet-musician’s choice of the sequence form seems highly appropriate, on account of the multiple early connections between the sequence and melismatic or wordless singing. Though the long-held theory that all early sequences originated in the supply of new text to the pre-existing melismatic iubili of Alleluia chants has now been discredited, it is nonetheless acknowledged that many sequences may have been generated in this fashion, or by the invention of texts to fit other, originally wordless, melodies.⁴⁹ Moreover, however questionable the association might be in terms of the surviving examples, the notion of ‘texted Alleluias’ was strongly cemented in medieval consciousness by the preface to the ninth-century writer Notker’s widely transmitted collection of sequence texts, in which he described their derivation in his attempt to make wordless melodies more easily memorable through the supply of matching words. Though direct derivation from Alleluia iubili may account for only some of the early examples of the sequence (and there is no evidence that *Dulcis Jesu memoria* came about in this manner), a prevailing performance practice of singing sequences wordlessly – in whole or in part – sustained the association between the sequence genre and melismatic vocalization

into the thirteenth century and beyond. This practice, known as ‘neumatizing’, is implied by the layout of sequence melodies in some early manuscripts, but also described in explicit terms both in later manuscript rubrics and by medieval liturgical commentators.⁵⁰ In some cases, such performances involved singing one melodic phrase with its text, then repeating the same melody wordlessly; there is also evidence of sequence melodies being sung entirely melismatically throughout. Significantly, both kinds of practice were glossed by liturgical commentators using language closely akin to that of Augustine on the *iubilus*: the influential thirteenth-century writer Guillaume Durand (following the twelfth-century Hugh of St Victor) wrote:

Rursus, quoniam laudes eternitatis	Again, because the praises of eternity are
verbis humanis plene non	not resonated fully by human words,
resonantur, ideo quedam ecclesie	certain churches neumatize, therefore, in
mistiche neumatizant sequentias sine	a mystical manner sequences without
verbis, aut saltem aliquos versus	words, or at least some of their verses. ⁵¹
earum.	

Beyond arguments about the origins of the genre in the *Alleluia iubilus*, and certain performance practices of sequences that may have been somewhat atypical, the sequence repertory as a whole is bounded to the notion of ineffability through its prevalent internal references and linguistic norms that relate to this theme. As Lori Kruckenberg has remarked:

For centuries before Durand, liturgical commentators had contemplated the purpose of Christians engaging in wordless song, viewing it as mankind’s aspiration to emit the mysterious, hermetic, musical language of the angels. Throughout the entire

Middle Ages, numerous liturgical writings addressed the idea of a *lingua incognita in terra*, which, nevertheless, is fully understood by God. Texts of sequences, too, frequently refer to this supernal tongue and to how the otherworldliness of wordless praise is mediated in earthly, concrete imitation.⁵²

In turning, at its close, to the music of angels, *Dulcis Jesu memoria* similarly suggests that human voices should follow (or perhaps join with) those of the citizens of heaven in praising Jesus:

Te celi chorus predicat
et tuas laudes replicat.

[...]

Iam prosequamur laudibus
Jesum hymnis et precibus.

The celestial choir proclaims you
and repeats your praises.

[...]

Now let us attend upon Jesus
with praises, hymns and prayers.

(39. 1–2 ; 42. 1–2)

This exhortation to praise in the manner of the angels could be read, in the context of the text as a whole, as one solution to the problem of ineffability, with the reference here to repetition (‘tuas laudes replicat’) a subtle nod to the poetic technique of reiteration – of Jesus’s name, and of the vocabulary of sweetness and love – that has formed one of the poet’s main strategies throughout. At the same time, the language of repetition is another staple of the sequence repertory, something that Kruckenberg regards as a self-referential statement on the musical reduplication built into the form.⁵³

<A>Music as exegesis

Analysis and interpretation of the text of *Dulcis Jesu memoria* has demonstrated that its poetry can be read as exegetical, both in the textual sources to which it alludes and in the poetic techniques it employs. The distinctive sequence form provides the starting point for a complementary reading of the song's music as exegesis, though – as we will see – the music of *Dulcis Jesu memoria* departs from the sequence's norms in ways that may be understood as contributing specific musical commentary on the song's central themes. An approach that considers music alongside text as part of an exegetical whole has been profitably demonstrated by Margot Fassler in relation to the sequences composed at the Augustinian abbey of St Victor in Paris during the twelfth century: just as her analysis yields rich insights into the communal theology at St Victor, approaching *Dulcis Jesu memoria* in this way could lead us closer to an understanding of the contemplative environment in which it was first composed and used.⁵⁴

In its twelfth-century 'regular' form, the sequence sets up a tension between music and text, insofar as the text continues throughout repeating the same metrical stanza form, while the music replaces each melodic unit with a new one after only a single repetition. The sense of textual repetitiveness or circularity is thus undercut by the changing, forward-moving musical progression, a tension that is perhaps most apparent in the longest sequences (of which *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, at 42 stanzas, is a clear example). But *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, alongside some of the most impressive sequences produced by the Victorines of Paris, subverts the norms of the regular sequence in two significant ways: first, not every musical unit is repeated immediately, and secondly, some musical components (entire versicles, or more often

single phrases from within versicles) recur at later points in the song, so that the music is not wholly unidirectional, but involves some recourse to previously heard material throughout its long duration. A sense of the first point can be readily grasped from the layout of the music in Appendix 1: though in GB-Ob Laud 668 the music is written out in full for all 42 stanzas of text, in the transcription, adjacent stanzas that share substantially the same music are both laid out below the melody (with any slight differences between the two shown on the *ossia* staff above).⁵⁵ This editorial strategy has involved some difficult judgments, however: stanzas 2 and 3, for example, share a very similar melodic shape, though with at least one variation in each of the four musical phrases. In contrast to pairs such as stanzas 6 and 7, whose music is identical, the compositional procedure at work in stanzas 2 and 3 would seem to be one of variation rather than reiteration, and to have presented these stanzas as a double-underlaid pair would have risked obscuring this distinction.⁵⁶ Thus, while some stanzas are set musically as singletons, not resembling the music of the previous or next stanza, others form identical pairs, and yet more exhibit a looser relationship of greater or lesser variation with their adjacent stanzas. In some cases the musical linking of stanzas into pairs seems to respond to an aspect of the text, as for example in stanzas 6 and 7, the only pair of adjacent stanzas to share the same rhyme-sound, and whose texts are also linked by a continuation of sense and repeated vocabulary: their setting to musically identical units seems textually appropriate, and the same could be said of stanzas 27 and 28, linked closely by verbal rhetoric and an almost identical melody. A looser textual connection pertains between stanzas 15 and 16, in that the discussion of Jesus as refreshment continues through both, with one term ('desiderio'/'desiderare') in common; a correspondingly looser musical connection also links the two stanzas. But for every such example of a musical link that may

respond to a textual one, numerous other musical pairings could be cited that show no correspondingly clear textual link (stanzas 11–12, 17–18 and 21–2, for instance). Stanzas 2 and 3 have little in common in terms of textual content, though the half-rhyme (‘-ius’ / ‘-ibus’) shared between them may have been the textual prompt for their setting as related but varied musical units. In other cases, the melody seems to ignore a textual link between adjacent stanzas: stanza 17, for instance, continues the discourse that was initiated in stanzas 15–16, with some shared vocabulary, but not only is a musical link with those previous stanzas eschewed, there is moreover a decisive melodic shift to a lower register. Indeed, stanza 17 (and stanza 18, to which it is musically related, despite the lack of clear textual connection between them) occupies a distinct registral space, at its outset descending from the final *g* to explore the fourth below, in contrast to stanzas 15–16, which begin on the fifth above the final and continue to rise higher in the first two phrases, sinking decisively to the final only towards the end of the stanza.

An editorial layout that does justice to the long-range recurrence of musical phrases across the entire song would have been even more difficult to devise, especially since – just as with some adjacent stanzas, such as 2 and 3 – these non-adjacent recurrences of material are very often slightly varied in different positions (compare stanzas 4–5 with 21–2, for example). Heinrich Lausberg, the only modern commentator to have paid any attention to the music of *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, presents his melodic analysis in a tabular form that assigns a label to each of the four phrases of each stanza, using the same label for phrases that repeat those heard earlier in the song, and a modified version of the label for those that are related but with variants.⁵⁷ But his analysis ignores what he calls minor variants, meaning that his system of labelling phrases takes no account of the distinction between phrases that are identical

and those which, in his opinion, vary only in insignificant ways: consequently, stanzas 2 and 3 appear from his tabular analysis to be identical, just as 6 and 7 are, though I would argue that their differences are (at least potentially) significant. Similarly, Lausberg's decision to 'iron out' differences that he deems insignificant leads him to label some phrases as related whose 'surface' differences are in fact extensive. For example, the fourth phrase of the first stanza is labelled 1d: recurrences of this phrase later in the song that are identical or display only 'minor' variants are likewise labelled 1d, and those with 'major' variants are referred to with the labels 1dv, 1dw, 1dx, 1dy and 1dz. This system leads Lausberg to regard the final phrase of every stanza except 25–6 and 41–2 as related to the original 1d, and moreover to consider the final phrases of stanzas 2–3, 9–12, 21–2 and 34–5 as identical with it. The substance of the music as presented in GB-Ob Laud 668 hardly supports this categorization, though it is undeniable that a degree of resemblance exists – to a greater or lesser extent – between these phrases. Some of this resemblance, however, can be put down to the normal expectations of cadential phrases throughout the song, all of which end on the melodic final *g*, and many of which approach that final through exploration of the triad on the subfinal (here *f-a-c*).⁵⁸ In a song of this length, whose melody spans a relatively constrained range, there is a limit to the number of different ways in which cadences can be satisfactorily composed, and though some of these resemblances seem to be clearly perceptible as repetitions of material, others are probably no more than the inevitable sense of familiarity that results from the limited number of possible cadence configurations in this melodic vein. Lausberg's tabular analysis thus draws attention to the difficulty of finding adequate ways to describe the dense processes of reiteration, variation and

reminiscence that characterize the music of complex twelfth-century sequences such as *Dulcis Jesu memoria*.

The sense of musical familiarity at the cadences of each stanza, exhibiting differing degrees of reminiscence, is analogous to the poet's handling of rhyme-sounds mentioned above. Both in text and in music, these recurrences of sounds (with or without slight variations from stanza to stanza) may be partly accidental: just as the musical phrases must employ one of a limited number of acceptable gestures to reach the melodic final, likewise the textual rhymes must abide by the constraints of the poetic metre and form, and moreover – given the inflected nature of the Latin language – it is to some extent inevitable that certain sounds will be used repeatedly at the end of words. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that both aspects may be entirely attributed to coincidence: the prevalence of *i* vowels in the penultimate position in more than two thirds of the text's stanzas, as well as the appearance of a four- or five-note melisma (*a-g-a-b* or *a-g-a-b-g*) associated with the antepenultimate or penultimate syllable in almost a third of stanza-ends,⁵⁹ are so pervasive that deliberate compositional choice seems likely to lie behind them. Furthermore, the position of these musical features just before the pauses between stanzas causes them to anchor especially firmly in the memory, contributing still further to the incantatory effect of sonic reiteration already identified in the poem.

In spite of its shortcomings, Lausberg's tabular analysis remains a useful attempt to draw attention to the recurrences of musical material across the song's expanse, something that is extremely difficult to highlight in an edition such as that in Appendix 1. In some cases, whole stanzas of the melody are reintroduced in non-adjacent positions: the melody of stanza 17, for example, is a version of that originally heard at stanza 8, with slight variations, and a similar relationship pertains between

stanzas 9–10 and 31. More frequently, however, individual phrases of the melody are rehearsed in new combinations: the cadential phrase first heard at the end of stanzas 6–7 is reused in no fewer than ten further stanzas (8, 17, 19–20, 23, 27–8, 32–3 and, with one slight change, 18), and while some of these stanzas share more substantial similarities across their length, others employ this cadential phrase in the context of entirely different melodic material (compare stanzas 6–7 with stanzas 32–3, for instance). Whilst certain phrases, such as this one, seem anchored to particular positions within the stanza (in this case, the melodic shape being quintessentially suited to the closing position), others migrate to different positions. The phrase that occurs in third place in stanza 15 (at ‘replet sine fastidio’) occurs twice more in third place (stanzas 16 and 24), but is then found in second position in stanzas 27 and 28, albeit with its initial *d'* replaced with *g*; in the following two stanzas this modified version appears again as the second phrase (with another slight variant introduced in stanza 29 only). The phrase features prominently at the end of the song, modified to form a cadential gesture (its closing *b* replaced with *g*) in stanzas 41–2, and also returning to the third position in stanza 42, with its final two notes shifted so as to finish the phrase on the ‘open’ sonority of *a*. The many long-range repetitions of phrases do not seem to have been suggested by any verbal resonances between those lines, perhaps surprisingly, for – as we have seen – there are many recurring verbal elements (such as the sense of taste, and the name of Jesus) that could have been mirrored in music. Nor do the freely repeated musical phrases occur at regularly spaced intervals throughout the song, but instead create a thread of melody whose repetitions imply circularity, whilst its new elements and new combinations indicate linear progression. These unpredictable and unfathomable musical resonances thus contribute still further to the impression of *déjà entendu* already engendered by the

text. Medieval authors addressing the subject of music were certainly aware of the effect that musical repetition could have on the memory: writing at the end of the twelfth century, Gerald of Wales recounted a moralizing tale of a priest who, having heard a secular song with a repeating refrain the night before, accidentally sang that refrain rather than the priestly blessing ‘Dominus vobiscum’ at Mass the following morning. In Gerald’s words, the refrain presented itself ‘ex reliquiis cogitationum’ (‘out of the remains of his thoughts’), having lodged there so firmly that it overwhelmed the unfortunate cleric’s concentration at the crucial moment.⁶⁰

Other compositional strategies in *Dulcis Jesu memoria* are more readily identifiable and explicable in relation to the song’s overall structure and shape. Control of the melodic range and tessitura, for example, appears to have been exercised in the music. The majority of the stanzas make use of the octave that spans the *d* a fourth below the final to the *d'* a fifth above; many are limited even further to the space from the subfinal *f* to the *d'* above. The melody never reaches below *d*, but notes above *d'* are introduced one by one during the course of the song, with *e'* first appearing in stanza 4, *f'* in stanza 9 and *g'* not until the penultimate stanza, 41. Once each of these higher notes appears, the melody continues to explore this higher register until it is extended even further: after the first appearance of *f'* in stanza 9, for instance, only six stanzas limit themselves to the original melodic high-point of *d'*, so that an overall sense of rising tessitura is created. Delaying the arrival of the octave above the final, *g'*, until the last pair of stanzas – especially following this gradual lifting of the tessitura throughout the song – generates a musical climax appropriate to the song’s ending. This is further reinforced by the repetition of that *g'* (being sounded twice in each of stanzas 41–2), which anchors the song’s sense of arrival at the registral peak before the concluding melodic descent to the cadence on *g*.

If the melody's insistence on the final *g* as the only cadence note for stanza endings throughout the song lends a sense of inevitability to these moments by the end, there is no such reiterative quality to the notes at the starts of stanzas. Each of the five notes from *g* to *d'* is used repeatedly to initiate stanzas; stanzas 11 and 12 add further variety by beginning on low *d*. The first musical phrase in each stanza usually tends in an upwards direction, with use of the melodic space below the final often reserved for the second half of the stanza, but occasional stanzas (8, 17–18, 27–30) are interspersed whose melodies reverse this pattern by heading downwards initially and rising later. The subfinal *f* is regularly heard in the approach to final cadences – as one would expect – but it is eschewed in some stanzas, particularly as the song progresses: stanzas 24–6, and even more noticeably every stanza from 38 to the end of the song, descend no lower than the final *g*, a feature which serves to reinforce the melody's general ascent towards its close.

The music of *Dulcis Jesu memoria* thus respects some melodic conventions whilst also reaching far beyond the formulaic in other musical aspects, just as it nods to the traditions of the sequence genre without being strictly bound by them. Such features would seem to be evidence of compositional intent, and therefore – in common with the approaches of the sequence writers at St Victor – invite us to view the music as a vital and integral part of the exegetical purpose of the song. In both poetic and musical strategies, *Dulcis Jesu memoria* amply demonstrates the sophistication to which the writers of twelfth-century sequences could aspire. Both poetry and music employ tactics that generate an incantatory register, chiming with the wordless vocalization of the *iubilus*, while each at the same time pursues its own sense of directional progression. Words and music are in one sense hand in glove, since the stable regularity of the eight-syllable text lines is always matched by distinct

musical phrases (mostly free of melismatic embellishment). At the same time, opportunities to reinforce textual resonances (whether sonic or semantic) across the poem with musical ones are only sometimes taken up, and elsewhere undercut by musical contrasts. In this way, the musical substance seems to lift itself above the text, defining itself according to its own, difficult-to-fathom processes rather than exclusively those of the words. In the light of the song text's explorations of the nature of music and singing, it is possible to interpret the song melody as an indication of the song-writer's attitude towards music: music, it seems to suggest, is a higher form of human utterance than speech, and thus must not be too tightly constrained by words, even when the two elements are fused into song. Eschewing the potential for the simple pleasure of tying words and notes together, the musical processes at work in *Dulcis Jesu memoria* are *supra-verbal*, and it is in this that the music finds a register in which to approach the ineffable.

In conclusion, it is worth returning to the evidence concerning the original manuscript source of *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, in view of the ideas its poet expresses, and the nature of the piece as song. Although we can never be sure of the reason for which *Dulcis Jesu memoria* was written down and notated in the manuscript GB-Ob Laud 668, it seems unlikely to have been for the purpose of singing. Not only is the physical format of the book neither designed nor particularly suitable for singing from, it is hard to imagine an occasion in the monastic life of a northern Cistercian abbey on which its performance would have been appropriate (since at this early date no liturgical use had yet been established for it). Its companions in the manuscript are mostly works of theology, and the song is best regarded as the direct counterpart of these. Further medieval examples exist of songs appearing in otherwise text-only manuscripts, whose musical notation was included not to facilitate a performance, but

rather to serve a kind of honorific purpose, marking out a particular text as noteworthy or special.⁶¹ Similarly, one could imagine that *Dulcis Jesu memoria* in its original state was not intended to be either sung or heard by the physical mouths and ears of its readers. Rather, it may have been regarded as music to be appreciated by the mind's ear, in a state of physical silence. Research on the history of medieval reading has concluded that the truly silent reading of texts (as opposed to reading in which words were always sounded out, at least *sotto voce*, by the reader) was a comparatively new phenomenon in the twelfth century;⁶² what has been much less studied is the impact of the widespread adoption of stave notation (at around the same time) in terms of its musical corollary, silent listening. Whilst it has been rightly remarked that Guido of Arezzo's introduction of the stave led to the possibility that 'a singer might perform an unfamiliar chant exclusively from the written text' (i.e. without prior, heard knowledge of the melody),⁶³ it is surely also the case that Guido's system made possible a wholly visual encounter with music, one in which it need never be sounded out loud, but could be appreciated in a fully musical sense solely by the mind's ear.⁶⁴

Though the relatively frequent instances of single, stave-notated pieces in otherwise non-musical books cannot all be accounted for by this suggestion, certain themes prominent in the text of *Dulcis Jesu memoria* seem to make the song especially well suited to its interpretation as music for silent listening. Its emphasis on the sense of taste finds telling echoes in the works of Augustine and Bernard, who both drew parallels between the process of contemplation of sacred texts and that of tasting. The former wrote:

Qui autem in lege Domini

But he who meditates day and night on the

meditatur die et nocte, tanquam
ruminat, et in quodam quasi
palato cordis verbi sapore
delectatur,

law of the Lord, it is as though he
ruminates, and in something akin to a
palate of the heart tastes the savour of the
Word,⁶⁵

and the latter ‘cibus in ore, psalmus in corde sapit’ (‘as food in the mouth, so tastes a Psalm in the heart’).⁶⁶ The song’s pervading theme of inexpressibility also gains more poignancy if it were indeed destined for silent appreciation. The physical expression or utterance of the song would tie it to a human body, and thus render it still more unworthy of its divine subject; but remaining in the book, unuttered, it could do no violence to that subject’s ineffability: in Augustine’s words, it could become music ‘ab omni corpore aliena’ (‘free of all body’).⁶⁷ Contemplating the song on the page would thus constitute a spiritual exercise, testing out the reader’s powers of inner listening, and forcing him to search beyond the immediate gratification of the song’s physical performance to a higher level of meditative encounter. Appreciated in this way, the song could exist outside time, in a way that sung music never can: the reader could linger over certain moments, speed up over others, and skip forwards or backwards in pursuit of the song’s elusive melodic echoes, in a way that would render an actual performance musical nonsense. In setting itself up as silent music, *Dulcis Jesu memoria* could be seen to free itself from the necessarily time-bound nature of sounding music, striving in this way to be more fitting to the ineffable quality of its subject-matter.

ABSTRACT

The music of the twelfth-century song *Dulcis Jesu memoria* has been almost entirely neglected in modern scholarship, though its text (or rather a version of it) is well known in settings by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century composers. This article presents a new edition and translation of the song, and seeks to interpret its music alongside the text as partners in an exegetical whole. The song's complicated relationship with the sequence genre proves a fruitful backdrop against which to interpret both text and melody, and analysis of the song's only notated manuscript source leads to new conclusions about the purpose to which the song may have been put by the manuscript's first readers.

<Appendices – smaller typesize>

APPENDIX I

DULCIS JESU MEMORIA

GB-OB Laud Misc. 668, fols. 101^r–104^f

<Insert music a/w for Appendix 1>

APPENDIX 2

TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *DULCIS JESU MEMORIA*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Dulcis Jesu memoria,
dans vera cordi gaudia,
sed super mel et omnia
eius dulcis presentia. | 1. Sweet memory of Jesus,
giving true joys to the heart,
but above honey and all else
is his sweet presence. |
| 2. Nil canitur suavius,
auditur nil iocundius,
nil cogitatur dulcius
quam Jesus Dei filius. | 2. Nothing is sung more sweet,
nothing heard more pleasant,
nothing thought more sweet
than Jesus, son of God. |
| 3. Jesu, spes penitentibus,
quam pius es petentibus,
quam bonus te querentibus:
sed quid invenientibus? | 3. Jesus, hope for the penitent,
how faithful you are to the beseeching,
how good to those seeking you:
but what to those who find you? |
| 4. Jesus, dulcedo cordium,
fons veri, lumen mentium,
excedit omne gaudium
et omne desiderium. | 4. Jesus, the sweetness of hearts,
source of truth, light of minds,
exceeds all joy
and all desire. |
| 5. Nec lingua potest dicere
nec littera exprimere,
expertus novit tenere

quid sit Jesum diligere. | 5. Neither tongue can say
nor words express,
[only] the one who knows by experience has learnt
to grasp
what it is to love Jesus. |
| 6. Jesum queram in lectulo,
clauso cordis cubiculo,
privatim et in populo
queram amore sedulo. | 6. I will seek Jesus in my bed,
with the cubicle of my heart closed,
privately and in public
I will seek with persistent love. |
| 7. Cum Maria diluculo
Jesum queram in tumulo,
cordis clamore querulo,
mente queram non oculo. | 7. With Mary at dawn
I will seek Jesus in the tomb,
with a querulous clamour of the heart,
I will seek with mind and not with eye. |
| 8. Tumbam profundam fletibus,
locum replens gemitibus,
Jesu provolvar pedibus,
strictis herens amplexibus. | 8. I will drench the tomb with tears,
filling the place with moans,
I will cast myself at the feet of Jesus,
clinging with a tight embrace. |
| 9. Jesu, rex ammirabilis
et triumphator nobilis,
dulcedo ineffabilis,
totus desiderabilis. | 9. Jesus, wonderful king
and renowned victor,
ineffable sweetness,
wholly desirable. |
| 10. Mane nobiscum Domine,
mane novum cum lumine,
pulsa noctis caligine,
mundum replens dulcedine. | 10. Stay with us, Lord,
at the new dawn with light,
the fog of night driven away,
filling the world with sweetness. |

11. Amor Jesu, dulcissimus
et vere suavissimus,
plus milies dulcissimus
quam dicere sufficimus.

12. Experti, recognoscite,
amorem pium pascite,
Jesum ardentem querite,
querendo inardescite.

13. Jesu, auctor clementie,
tocius spes leticie,
dulcoris fons et gratie,
vere cordis delicie.

14. Cum digne loqui nequeam
de te, non tamen sileam,
amor facit ut audeam
cum solum de te gaudeam.

15. Tua Jesu dilectio,
grata mentis refectio,
replet sine fastidio,
dans famem desiderio.

16. Qui te gustant esuriunt,
qui bibunt adhuc siciunt,
desiderare nesciunt
nisi Jesum quem sentiunt.

17. Quem tuus amor debriat
novit quod Jesus sapiat,
felix gustus quem satiat
non est ultra quod cupiat.

18. Jesus, decus angelicum,
in aure dulce canticum,
in ore mel mirificum,
corde pigmentum celicum.

19. Desiderate milies:
mi Jesu, quando venies?
quando me letum facies
ut me de Jesu scies?

20. Amor tuus continuus
michi langor assiduus,
michi Jesus mellifluus
fructus vite perpetuus.

21. Jesu, summa benignitas,
mira cordis iocunditas,
incomprehensa bonitas,
tua me stringit caritas.

11. Love of Jesus, the sweetest
and truly most agreeable,
more than a thousand time more sweet
than we can suffice to say.

12. You who know by experience, recognize him,
nourish pious love,
seek Jesus ardently,
burn in seeking.

13. Jesus, author of mercy,
hope of joy entirely,
fount of sweetness, of grace,
and of the delight of the true heart.

14. Although I cannot speak worthily
concerning you, I will not remain silent,
love makes me bold
since I will rejoice about you alone.

15. Jesus, your love,
pleasing refreshment for the mind,
fills without distaste,
giving hunger to desire.

16. Those who taste you hunger,
those who drink still thirst,
they are unable to wish [for anything]
except Jesus, whom they sense.

17. He whom your love intoxicates
knows what Jesus tastes like,
he whom the happy taste fills up,
there is nothing further that he desires.

18. Jesus, angelic crown,
in the ear a sweet song,
in the mouth a marvellous honey,
in the heart a heavenly colour.

19. Love him a thousand times:
my Jesus, when will you come?
When will you make me blessed,
that you might satisfy me concerning Jesus?

20. Your constant love
is continual languor to me,
mellifluous Jesus is to me
the eternal fruit of life.

21. Jesus, highest kindness,
wonderful pleasure of the heart,
incomprehensible goodness,
your love draws me in.

22. Bonum michi diligere,
Jesum nil ultra querere,
michi prorsus deficere,
ut illi queam vivere.

23. Jesu, mi dilectissime,
spes suspirantis anime,
ut querunt pie lacrimae
et clamor mentis anime.

24. Quocumque loco fuero,
meum Jesum desidero:
quam letus cum invenero,
quam felix cum tenuero.

25. Tunc amplexus, tunc oscula
que vincant mellis pocula,
tunc felix Christi copula,
sed in his parva morula.

26. Iam quod quesivi video,
quod concupivi teneo,
amore Jesu langueo
et corde totus ardeo.

27. Hic amor ardet dulciter,
dulcessit mirabiliter,
sapit delectabiliter,
delectat et feliciter.

28. Hic amor missus celitus
heret michi medullitus,
mentem intendit penitus,
hoc delectatur spiritus.

29. O beatum incendium,
o ardens desiderium,
o dulce refrigerium
amare Dei filium.

30. Jesus cum sic diligitur,
hic amor non extinguitur,
nec tepescit, nec moritur,
plus crescit et accenditur.

31. Jesu, flos matris virginis,
amor nostre dulcedinis,
tibi laus, honor numinis,
regnum beatitudinis.

32. Jesu, sole serenior
et balsamo suavior,
omni dulcore dulcior,
pre cunctis amabilior.

22. It is good for me to love,
and to seek nothing beyond Jesus,
to withdraw entirely from myself,
that I might be able to live for him.

23. Jesus, my most beloved,
hope of my sighing soul,
how the pious tears of my soul
and the clamour of my mind seek you.

24. Wherever I shall be,
I will desire my Jesus:
how glad when I shall have found him,
how happy when I shall have held him.

25. Then the embrace, then the kisses
which would surpass cups of honey,
then the happy clasp of Christ –
but a little delay in these things.

26. Presently I see what I sought,
I hold what I desired,
I languish in the love of Jesus
and love with my whole heart.

27. This love burns sweetly,
miraculously grows sweeter,
tastes delightfully
and delights joyfully.

28. This love sent from heaven
clings to the very marrow in me,
it extends inwardly to the mind,
the spirit is delighted in it.

29. O blessed fire,
o burning desire,
o sweet coolness
to love the son of God.

30. When Jesus is loved thus,
this love is not extinguished,
it neither wanes nor dies,
but increases and is kindled further.

31. Jesus, flower of the virgin mother,
love of our sweetness,
praise to you, honour of the deity,
kingdom of blessing.

32. Jesus, brighter than the sun
and more agreeable than balsam,
sweeter than all sweetness,
lovelier than everything.

33. Cuius amor sic afficit,
cuius gustus me reficit,
Jesus in quem mens deficit,
solus amanti sufficit.

34. Tu mentis delectatio,
amoris consummatio,
tu mea gloriatio,
Jesu, mundi salvatio.

35. Mi dilecte revertere
consors paterne dextere,
hostem vicisti prospere,
iam celi regno fruire.

36. Sequar quocumque ieris,
michi tolli non poteris,
cum meum cor abstuleris,
Jesu, laus nostri generis.

37. Portas vestras attollite,
celi cives, occurrite
triumphatori, dicite:
'Salve, Jesu, rex inclite.'

38. Rex virtutum, rex glorie,
rex insignis victoriae,
Jesu largitor gratiae,
honor celestis curiae.

39. Te celi chorus predicat
et tuas laudes replicat,
Jesus orbem letificat
et nos Deo pacificat.

40. Jesus in pace imperat
que omnem sensum superat,
hunc semper mens desiderat
et illo frui properat.

41. Jesus ad patrem rediit,
regnum celeste subiit,
cor meum a me transiit,
post Jesum simul abiit.

42. Iam prosequamur laudibus
Jesum hymnis et precibus,
ut nos donet regalibus
cum Christo celi sedibus.

Amen.

33. The love of whom thus affects me,
the taste of whom restores me,
Jesus in whom the mind loses [itself],
he alone suffices for the lover.

34. You delight of the mind,
consummation of love,
you my exulting,
Jesus, salvation of the world.

35. My beloved partner, be returned
to the fatherly right hand,
you who have conquered the enemy, prosper,
now enjoy the kingdom of heaven.

36. I will follow you wherever you go,
you cannot be taken from me,
since you stole my heart,
Jesus, praise of our race.

37. Lift up your gates,
citizens of heaven, run to meet
the victor, say to him:
'Hail, Jesus, renowned king.'

38. King of strength, king of glory,
king of the remarkable victory,
Jesus, bestower of grace,
honour of the celestial court.

39. The celestial choir proclaims you
and repeats your praises,
Jesus gladdens the world
and makes peace for us with God.

40. Jesus rules with a peace
that passes all understanding,
the mind desires him at all times
and hastens to enjoy him.

41. Jesus returned to the father,
entered the heavenly kingdom,
my heart went from me,
it went away together with Jesus.

42. Now let us attend upon Jesus
with praises, hymns and prayers,
so that he might deliver us
with Christ to the royal seats of heaven.

Amen.

CAPTION FOR FIGURE

Figure 1. The opening of *Dulcis Jesu memoria* in GB-Ob Laud 668 (fol. 101^r). By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

<Footnotes>

¹ The most extensive studies are Étienne Gilson, ‘Sur le *Iesu dulcis memoria*’, *Speculum*, 3 (1928), 322–34, repr. as ‘La mystique cistercienne et le *Iesu dulcis memoria*’ in his *Les idées et les lettres* (Paris, 1932), 39–57; André Wilmart, *Le ‘jubilus’ sur le nom de Jésus dit de Saint Bernard*, *Ephemerides liturgicae: Analecta historico-ascetica*, 57 (Rome, 1943), repr. as *Storia e letteratura*, 2 (Rome, 1944); and Heinrich Lausberg, *Der Hymnus ‘Iesu dulcis memoria’*, *Hymnologische Studien*, 1 (Munich, 1967). The poem is also mentioned in numerous studies and anthologies of medieval Latin religious verse, among them Frederic James Edward Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1966), 329–30.

² Wilmart mentions the music in two sentences of his 250-page study (p. 32); Lausberg’s 500-page book devotes 12 of those pages (pp. 55–66) to the musical setting, of which six are taken up with a transcription: this forms the only published edition of the music so far available in print, but is unsatisfactory as a critical text since Lausberg normalized many of the manuscript variations, making the melody appear to follow a much more regular repetitive structure than it in fact does. Appendix 1 below presents a new transcription showcasing these variants, whose significance is analysed on pp. 00–00 below.

³ An edition of the song set in the context of the other songs preserved in British manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can now be found in *Songs in British Sources, c.1150–1300*, ed. Helen Deeming, *Musica Britannica*, 95 (London, 2013), 15–20 (edition) and 172–3 (commentary).

⁴ It is of course impossible to know if earlier manuscripts once existed that have not survived, or whether such lost sources would have contained music or not. But the text’s references to the work of twelfth-century authors suggests that it is unlikely to have originated much before the earliest witness that is currently known; see below for further analysis of the textual and transmission histories.

⁵ The Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus was not officially incorporated into the Roman calendar until 1791, but had been in use in the Franciscan, Dominican and Sarum commemorations, as well as a number of other ‘unofficial’ devotions, for some three centuries by then. On these liturgical and devotional adoptions of the song, see Wilmart, *Le ‘jubilus’*, chapter 3.

⁶ Wilmart, *Le ‘jubilus’*, 111, notes that ‘the original poem had certainly not been written to serve the fulfilment of solemn liturgy [...]. Furthermore, [those who selected only certain stanzas for liturgical use] caused it serious harm by keeping only scraps, chosen with little discernment’ (‘L’ancien rythme n’avait certainement pas été écrit pour servir à l’accomplissement de la liturgie solennelle [...]. De plus, on lui fait un grave tort en n’en retenant que des bribes, choisies avec peu de discernement’).

⁷ Wilmart’s inventory of manuscripts is in *Le ‘jubilus’*, 10–47; see also chapter 3 of the same volume for his study of the later transmission of the poem in printed books, liturgical appropriations and modern editions.

⁸ Samuel Harrison-Thomson, ‘The *Dulcis Jesu Memoria* in Anglo-Norman and Middle French’, *Medium aevum*, 11 (1942), 68–76; Wilmart, *Le ‘jubilus’*, appendices; Denis Renevey, ‘Anglo-Norman and Middle English Translations and Adaptations of the Hymn *Dulcis Iesu memoria*’, *The Medieval Translator*, 5 (1996), 264–83.

⁹ Walter Howard Frere, *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica*, 2 vols. (London, 1894–1932; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), i, 407; Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, *Introduction to the Study of Some of the Oldest Latin Musical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, Early Bodleian Music, 3 (London, 1909), lxxxvi and plate 68; Anselm Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana: A Survey of the Manuscripts, Old Catalogues, Editions and Studies Concerning St Aelred of Rievaulx* (Steenbrugge, 1962), 35, 112, 115, 125 and 127; Otto Pächt and Jonathan James Graham Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1966–73), iii, 25; Henry Octavius Coxe, *Laudian Manuscripts*, rev. Richard William Hunt, Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues, 2 (Oxford, 1973), cols. 482–3.

¹⁰ For example, the manuscript includes a Passion of St Thomas Becket (fols. 96^r–100^v), which places its copying after his martyrdom in 1170, and a list of English kings originally ending with Henry II (fol. 129^v), which was hence presumably written before the accession of Richard I in 1189. This same list of kings, and a list of the kings of Scotland on the same folio, has been extended by the addition of further kings' names in later hands.

¹¹ A sense of the rarity of musical notation outside liturgical books may be gained by consulting Karl Drew Hartzell's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge, 2006), in which only a small handful of sources constitute neither liturgical books nor casually written jottings added to margins and blank leaves; GB-Ob Laud 668 is listed on p. 481. The challenges posed to scribes who incorporated music in books designed primarily for text are explored in Helen Deeming, 'Observations on the Habits of Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Music Scribes', *Scriptorium*, 60 (2006), 38–59.

¹² See especially the discussions of Gilson, 'Sur le *Iesu dulcis memoria*', *passim*, and Wilmart, *Le 'jubilus'*, 222–4.

¹³ A recent contribution arguing strongly for Aelred's authorship on the basis of the poem's content is Wolfgang Buchmüller, '*Dulcis Iesu memoria*: Poetische Christumystik bei Aelred von Rievaulx', *Geist und Leben*, 80 (2007), 436–52.

¹⁴ For example, Lausberg tentatively proposed Stephen Langton (c.1150–1228) as a possible author, arguing that this archbishop of Canterbury (the likely author of the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus*) was schooled in and drawn to Cistercian theology without being a member of the Order (*Der Hymnus 'Iesu dulcis memoria'*, 395–6). Lausberg's argument, however, partly rests on a different chronological view from that proposed here, in that he dates GB-Ob Laud 668 to the early thirteenth century instead of the late twelfth. The same chronological grounds cause Lausberg to rule out Aelred's authorship altogether.

¹⁵ The text presented in Appendix 1 preserves the readings of GB-Ob Laud 668: for a critical text, based on the collation of many textual sources, see the editions of Wilmart (*Le 'jubilus'*, chapter 4) and Lausberg (*Der Hymnus 'Jesu dulcis memoria'*, 491–502).

¹⁶ James Wimsatt, 'The Canticle of Canticles, Two Latin Poems, and "In a vale of **b**is restles mynde"', *Modern Philology*, 75 (1978), 327–45 (p. 335).

¹⁷ Mary Carruthers has pointed out that this verse was widely known in two alternative Latin versions during the Middle Ages: 'gustate et videte quoniam *suavis* est Dominus' and 'gustate et videte quoniam *bonus* est Dominus'. Contemporary ambivalence over the propriety of describing the Lord as 'sweet' (a term that could have negative connotations in some contexts) may lie behind the alternative reading, 'good' ('Sweetness', *Speculum*, 81 (2006), 999–1013 (p. 1006)). Leofranc Holford-Strevens has proposed that the Latin word 'suavis' ought not to be translated as 'sweet', as if it were a direct synonym for 'dulcis': he prefers to render it as 'pleasing' ('*Suavis et morosus*: The Ways of a Word', *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie, Rena Charnin Mueller and John Louis Nádas (Middleton, WI, 2008), 3–14 (p. 4)). On the other hand, Franz Posset regards 'suavitas' and 'dulcedo' as synonymous when used in relation to God ('The Sweetness of God', *American Benedictine Review*, 44 (1993), 143–78 (pp. 148–9)).

¹⁸ Carruthers, 'Sweetness', 1007.

¹⁹ See also 12. 1–2: 'Experti, recognoscite / amorem pium pascite' ('You who know by experience, recognize him, nourish pious love').

²⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, 22. 2, ed. Jean Leclercq, Charles Hugh Talbot and Henricus M. Rochais, *Sancti Bernardi opera* (hereafter *SBO*), 8 vols. (Rome, 1957–77), i, 130.

²¹ Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones*, 123.4, quoted in Bruce Holsinger, *Music, Body and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford, CA, 2001), 80.

²² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, 15. 6, ed. *SBO*, i, 86.

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- ²³ Carruthers, 'Sweetness', 1000.
- ²⁴ Psalm 118. 103.
- ²⁵ Carruthers, 'Sweetness', 1005.
- ²⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, 85. 13, ed. *SBO*, ii (1958), 316. This passage, among many others, is discussed in Edith Scholl, 'The Sweetness of the Lord: *Dulcis* and *Suavis*', *Cistercian Studies*, 27 (1992), 359–66 (p. 362).
- ²⁷ The textual history of this idea is traced in Franz Posset, 'Sensing God with the "Palate of the Heart" According to Augustine and Other Spiritual Authors', *American Benedictine Review*, 49 (1998), 356–86. See also Rosemary Drage Hale, "'Taste and See, for God is Sweet": Sensory Perception and Memory in Medieval Christian Experience', *Vox mystica: Essays for Valerie M. Lagorio*, ed. Anne Clark Bartlett, Thomas Bestul, Janet Goebel and William F. Pollard (Cambridge, 1995), 3–14.
- ²⁸ Pope Gregory I, Homily 36, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, *Sancti Gregorii papae I cognomento magni opera omnia*, ii, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, 76 (Paris, 1857), cols. 1265–74 (col. 1266).
- ²⁹ Aelred of Rievaulx, *De speculo caritatis*, ed. Anselm Hoste and Charles Hugh Talbot, *Aelredi Rievallensis opera omnia*, 1 (Turnhout, 1971), Book I, chapter 1, no. 2.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 1, no. 16.
- ³¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, 28. 6, ed. *SBO*, i, 196.
- ³² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, 228. 3, ed. *SBO*, viii (1977), 99.
- ³³ Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*, ed. Timothy Fry, *RB 1980: The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN, 1981), Prologue, verse 19.
- ³⁴ For a brief summary, see Hale, "'Taste and See'", 13.
- ³⁵ 'Ineffabilis suavitas atque dulcedo', Augustine of Hippo, *Epistolae*, epist. 11, par. 4; *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Epistolae I–LV*, ed. Klaus-Detlef Daur (Turnhout, 2004), 28.
- ³⁶ 'Inerrabili dilectionis dulcedine', Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*, ed. Fry, Prologue, verse 49.

³⁷ ‘Dulcedo ineffabilis et bonitas’, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sententiarum series tertia*, 97, ed. SBO, vi/2 (1972), 155.

³⁸ *Philippians* 4. 7: ‘et pax Dei quae exsuperat omnem sensum custodiat corda vestra et intellegentias vestras in Christo Jesu’ (‘and may the peace of God which passes all understanding keep your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus’).

³⁹ Lowry Nelson, Jr, ‘The Rhetoric of Ineffability: Toward a Definition of Mystical Poetry’, *Comparative Literature*, 8 (1956), 323–36 (pp. 327–8).

⁴⁰ Wilmart, *Le ‘jubilus’*, 234–6.

⁴¹ The repeated rhyme-sounds are: ‘-ibus’ (stanzas 3, 8 and 42), ‘-ium’ (stanzas 4 and 29), ‘-ere’ (stanzas 5, 22 and 35), ‘-ulo’ (stanzas 6 and 7), ‘-ite’ (stanzas 12 and 37) and ‘-io’ (stanzas 15 and 34).

⁴² Though some of the repeated rhyme-sounds could be considered serendipitous, given the inflectional endings of Latin words and the further constraints of the metrical structure, this density of vowel-sound repetition is even more striking and seems likely to be evidence of poetic intent.

⁴³ Augustine of Hippo, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Enarratio II on Psalm 32, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini opera omnia*, iv/1, Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina, 36 (Paris, 1841), cols. 277–300 (col. 283); trans. James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge, 1987), 155.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Enarratio on Psalm 99, ed. Migne, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini opera omnia*, iv/2, Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina, 37 (Paris, 1846), cols. 1271–81 (col. 1272); trans. McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 158. Fuller exploration of Augustine’s use of this term, and its position within his changing attitudes towards the value of music, may be found in Robert Boenig, ‘St Augustine’s *Jubilus* and Richard Rolle’s *Canor*’, *Vox mystica*, ed. Bartlett, Bestul, Goebel and Pollard, 75–86. On Augustine’s wrangling with the morally ambiguous nature of song, see most recently Philip Weller, ‘*Vox – Littera – Cantus: Aspects of Voice and Vocality in Medieval Song*’, *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of*

Bryan Gillingham, ed. Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (Aldershot, 2007), 239–62 (pp. 255–61).

⁴⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, 15. 6, ed. *SBO*, i, 86. An appropriate English translation of ‘iubilus’ is very hard to find, and most writers leave it untranslated. In translating this passage, Carruthers opts for ‘jubilee’ and Raby for ‘joy’, but neither alternative (nor my own, ‘jubilation’) seems quite to capture the musical-vocal quality of the term as Bernard must surely have understood it; see Carruthers, ‘Sweetness’, 1000, and Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry*, 329.

⁴⁶ For example, in the title of Wilmart’s study, and more generally in literary and theological criticism, particularly of the early twentieth century.

⁴⁷ Frederick Brittain called it ‘the Office Hymn form *par excellence*’ in his introduction to the extract from *Dulcis Jesu memoria* included in his anthology *The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric to A.D. 1300* (Cambridge, 1937), 109–11.

⁴⁸ The extract printed by Brittain is that selection of nine stanzas often referred to as ‘The Rosy Sequence’ and appearing, in the liturgical position of a sequence in a Mass for the Holy Name, in the edition of the Sarum Gradual printed in 1532. Brittain’s introduction points out that only this excerpt (and not the whole 42-stanza poem) should properly be referred to with this modern title, and also that the ‘more liturgically correct home’ in which excerpts from *Dulcis Jesu memoria* were usually found was among the hymns for the Office (*The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric*, 109).

⁴⁹ Fuller analysis of the arguments may be found in Richard L. Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1977).

⁵⁰ Lori Kruckenberg, ‘Neumatizing the Sequence: Special Performances of Sequences in the Central Middle Ages’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 59 (2006), 243–318.

⁵¹ Quoted (with a tabular comparison of the texts of Guillaume and Hugh) *ibid.*, 251.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 265–6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 280.

⁵⁴ Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁵⁵ The editorial policies employed in Appendix 1 are as follows: music and text follow the readings of GB-Ob Laud 668 entirely (unlike Lausberg's transcription, which underlays a critical text, collated from several manuscripts, to the music uniquely preserved in GB-Ob Laud 668); the distinction between virga and punctum in the original notation is not preserved in the transcription, both being presented as closed note-heads without stems, but occurrences of the 'wave-note', a note-form somewhat resembling the quilisma of plainchant notation though differing from it in usage in this and other non-liturgical manuscripts, are recorded using a wavy notehead similar to the form found in the manuscript; notes joined into a single neume- or ligature-form in the manuscript are slurred in the transcription. Stanza numbering, capitalization and punctuation are editorially supplied in line with modern convention, though original spelling is retained.

⁵⁶ Similar procedures of musical variation between two adjacent stanzas may be observed in stanzas 15–16 and 41–2.

⁵⁷ Lausberg, *Der Hymnus 'Jesu dulcis memoria'*, 55–9.

⁵⁸ Similar melodic and cadential procedures can be identified in many of the Victorine sequences, with those using the G final offering numerous points of comparison with phrases in *Dulcis Jesu memoria*; see the anthology in Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 416–41.

⁵⁹ These 13 stanzas are nos. 1–3, 9–14, 21–2, 31 and 37; note also that different note-groups (as opposed to one note per syllable – by far the norm across the song) occur in these positions in stanzas 4–5, 15–16, 35 and 39–40.

⁶⁰ The passage is found in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. John Sherran Brewer and James Francis Dimock, 8 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1861–91), ii (1862), 119–20, and discussed in Weller, 'Vox – Littera – Cantus', 242–5.

⁶¹ Sam Barrett, 'Music and Writing: On the Compilation of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 1154', *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), 55–96 (p. 93).

⁶² Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA, 1997).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁶⁴ Though this proposition has not been extensively researched, several studies have drawn attention to the (surely related) increased importance of visual memory in music copying from the twelfth century onwards; see, for example, Michel Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, 52 (Turnhout, 1988), 127–30, and James Grier, ‘Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), 373–427.

⁶⁵ Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones*, sermo 149; ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini opera omnia*, v, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, 38 (Paris, 1845), cols. 800–7 (col. 801).

⁶⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, 7. 5, ed. *SBO*, i, 34.

⁶⁷ Augustine of Hippo, *De musica libri sex*, book 5; quoted in Holsinger, *Music, Body and Desire*, 65.