

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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GRADUATE SCHOOL

SYMPHONIA CARITATIS:
THE CISTERCIAN CHANTS OF HILDEGARD VON BINGEN

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my wife, Krista Sandstrom and our children Soren and Birgitta for their continuing love, sacrifice, and support.

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides the first comparative analysis situating the chants of Hildegard von Bingen within the mid-12th century Cistercian liturgical reform. In applying Cistercian theory, a clear distinction between the melodies written before and after Hildegard's move to the Rupertsberg is exposed. In practice, her later chants demonstrate shared compositional strategies and motifs with the chants composed under the Cistercian reform, as evidenced by antiphonals from the third quarter of the 12th century. Moreover, cross-referencing subjects represented within the Dendermonde Codex with those feasts added to the Cistercian calendar between 1150 and 1175 suggests that the liturgy celebrated at the Rupertsberg was Cistercian influenced. A review of Hildegard's correspondence in her later years suggests that she intended the Cistercian liturgy to continue after her death.

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Symphonia Caritatis: The Cistercian Chants of Hildegard von Bingen

*...at God's admonition I paid a visit to Mount St. Disibod...where I presented the following petition to all who dwelt there: I requested that our monastery, as well as the alms accruing therefrom, be free and clear from their jurisdiction, for the sake of the salvation of our souls and our concern for the strict observance of the Rule.*¹ - Hildegard von Bingen to her congregation of nuns (ca. 1170)

For the past 20 years, the popular perception of Hildegard von Bingen in the United States has been one of New Age feminist prophet whose songs and visions shout out the virtues of 21st century female empowerment from the desert of a medieval patriarchal society.² Even the more serious graduate studies which focus on her use of feminine imagery tend to exclude many significant contextual details by referring to the same limited core sources.³ Although far from stating this is a bad thing, the lack of diversity in sources, methodology and the conclusions drawn from their analyses has served to uphold an unbalanced depiction of Hildegard among students and performers of her music.⁴

It was an article by *Nico* biographer, Richard Witts, appearing in *Early Music* which asked scholars and fans to mind the context of Hildegard within the scope of twelfth-

¹ Letter 195r. Hildegard von Bingen, *Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, volume II, trans. and edited by Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1998]), 170.

² Supporters of this latter approach in particular go well beyond the critical research and valuable insights of Hildegard's theology of feminine themes as presented by Barbara Newman.

³ For instance, Hildegard's first treatise *Scivias* (1141-1151) and the *Vita Hildegardis* are most cited for supporting her theological thought and biographical details. Significant changes found in her last treatise the *Liber diuinorum operum* (1163-1174) and her extensive correspondence of nearly 400 letters are rarely acknowledged.

⁴ In the new preface to the reprint edition, Barbara Newman writes, "Ten years after the publication of my book, I remain puzzled that the vigorous tradition of historical scholarship on Hildegard is still carried on chiefly by European, British, and Commonwealth scholars. American medievalists and their students continue to lag behind American artists, performers, and workshop leaders in taking up Hildegard's challenge." Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987; reprint 1989), xvii.

century reform.⁵ In this article, Witts created an intuitive argument citing, among other things, numerous coincidences and numerological conspiracy theories, to indicate that Hildegard may have been *created* by the Cistercians. While his argument was lacking in much concrete evidence, his intuition regarding a Cistercian connection is closer to the mark than has been previously acknowledged.

The argument of a Cistercian connection especially in regard to Hildegard's music has fallen short due to the perpetuation of such assumptions as: one, Hildegard maintained the Disibodenberg liturgy when she established her own communities at the Rupertsberg and Eibingen; two, Cistercian liturgical theory was already fully developed and strictly practiced in the Rhineland during Hildegard's lifetime; and three, Hildegard wrote only for her community for the sake of educating her nuns.⁶ Mention of the Cistercians is relegated to the footnote as Hildegard scholars cite trends and tendencies on a universal level rather than examining the particulars of individual works. Never has there been a serious comparative analysis between Hildegard's chant with contemporary Cistercian theory and, more importantly, *practice*.

What I attempt here is a re-evaluation of sources with a redirected focus on the last decade of her life beginning around 1170 and concluding with her death in 1179. It is my intent to build upon Witts' argument and present a case for a shared Cistercian liturgical practice between Hildegard and individual Cistercian communities. At the core of my argument is the assumption that Hildegard, acting with foresight was

⁵ Richard Witts, "How to Make a Saint: On Interpreting Hildegard of Bingen," *Early Music* 27.3 (1998): 478-486.

⁶ It is however safe to assume that the Disibodenberg liturgy, which she practiced for over 40 years, influenced her compositional thought. A critical edition of the "Disibodenberg antiphonal", ENG1, will be an enormous help in answering this questions.

concerned for the spiritual care of her community in the years after her death. She feared that without her intervention, the corrupting influences of her parent monastery at Disibodenberg and the lax clergy within her archdiocese of Mainz would lead her daughters away from salvation. To counter, she and her provost Volmar established a “Cistercian plan” sometime around 1170. The objective of this plan was to establish political, theological and liturgical ties with trusted communities who might intercede on behalf of Hildegard’s two houses at Rupertsberg and Eibingen.

The effect of their Cistercian plan is reflected musically in comparative analyses between Hildegard’s chants with those found in contemporary Cistercian antiphonals composed for liturgical practice. This approach will uncover a general trend of compositional refinement in Hildegard’s chants toward the Cistercian aesthetic.⁷ My research demonstrates that the chants written prior to her move to the Rupertsberg in 1150 clearly extend beyond Cistercian liturgical theory. Conversely it finds that those perceived to have been written in her later years do indeed conform to the principles of the Cistercian liturgy. To be clear, this is not to say that all of her chants are Cistercian and therefore acceptable by all Cistercian communities, but there is enough compounding evidence to support the argument that within her lifetime, the specific Cistercian community of Villers found the practice of her chants acceptable. Moreover, the evidence uncovered supports Witts’ hypothesis that the liturgy practiced at the Rupertsberg was Cistercian.

The sources considered for this study include Hildegard’s extensive body of correspondence in order to provide the political context which is lacking in her *Vita*, her

⁷ As with composers in more recent history, it should be assumed that her chants reflect change with exposure to influences from outside the Rupertsberg.

last and most vivid treatise, the *Liber diuinorum operum* which reflects her latest theological writings, and finally provide comparative analyses by using Hildegard's chants as found in the Dendermonde Codex and those found in contemporary 12th century manuscripts of Cistercian and Benedictine provenance.

In support of my argument three fronts shall be addressed. First, the political climate including contextual background into the Cistercian reform, the view of Hildegard's spiritual authority, as well as her strained relationships with her superiors in the archdiocese of Mainz. These together serve as the catalyst for her Cistercian plan. The second front provides an overview of the Divine Office within the monastic cursus. Attention will be focused on the hour of Matins with a description of its two most prevalent chant types, antiphons and responsories. Understanding the Divine Office is crucial in establishing the context and ideology behind the Cistercian liturgical reform. The third front provides detail of the main principles of the reform. From here examples will be drawn from chants composed by the Cistercian reformers in the mid-12th century in order to demonstrate instances where they broke from their own theory. In the following chapter Cistercian theory is applied to all of the chants which appear in the Dendermonde Codex. Cross-referencing these chants with those known to have been composed earlier, confirms the trend of refinement in Hildegard's melodies. The final chapter focuses on three of those chants, *Spiritus sanctus uiuificans*, *Karitas habundat*, and *Laus trinitati* in relation to Cistercian theory as well as in Hildegard's own compositional sensibilities.

A Word about Symphonia

Referring to the chants contained within the Dendermonde Codex (ca. 1175) and the Riesencodex (ca. 1180) as the *Symphonia armoniae celestium revelationum*, has served to perpetuate the myth that all of her chants were conceived as a cycle, not that they were in fact a collection of chants written over Hildegard's compositional lifetime. The term has been commonly used due to its appearance in the introduction of Hildegard's *Liber Vitae Meritorum*.⁸ I contend that what Hildegard knew as the *Symphonia* is actually a smaller number, approximated by those twenty-six chants whose texts appear in what Barbara Newman describes as the miscellany.⁹ Those, along with chants determined to have been written at the request of other communities, and those written prior to her move to the Rupertsberg, had been collected within the supplemental antiphonal we know today as the Dendermonde Codex and the Riesencodex (Henceforth D and R).

Therefore, when referring to these chants, I will use the term coined by Catherine Jeffreys *cantus cum melodia* (chant with melody), which appears to have been the preferred term used by Hildegard's secretary and biographers rather than to perpetuate the term *Symphonia*.¹⁰

⁸ Hildegard states that in the years after producing *Scivias* (i.e. between 1151 and 1158), she wrote the *Symphonia* as well as the *subtilitates diversarum naturam creaturarum*, and the *ignota lingua and ignota litteras*. Hildegard von Bingen, *Liber vitae meritorum*, Pitra 7-8.

⁹ The miscellany consists of twenty-six chants which appear in two places in the Riesencodex, one with neumes and one with text only. Hildegard of Bingen. *Symphonia: A Critical Edition of the Symphonia Armonie Celestium Revelationum*, 2nd ed. with an introduction, translations, and commentary by Barbara Newman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 9-11.

¹⁰ Catherine M. Jeffreys, "Melodia et rhetorica: The Devotional-Song Repertory of Hildegard von Bingen." (Ph.D. diss., University of Melbourne, 2000), xiii.

Background on the Cistercian Reform

The traditional account regarding the origin of the Cistercian movement begins with its founding by Robert of Molesme (c. 1027-1110) who led a small band of companions to establish a new monastery at Citeaux in 1098. The driving force behind this move was the desire to return to an *authentic* practice of monasticism and devote themselves to the practice of *caritas*.¹¹ In order to achieve this they removed themselves from the secular activities which they believed had so cluttered and corrupted the established Benedictine traditions epitomized in the late 11th century by Cluny.

The spread of the Cistercian order began under the abbots Alberic (1099-1109) and Stephen Harding (1109-1133). It was through their guidance that reform to pre-Benedictine ways sought measures which imitated Christ in poverty and in evangelism. In 1112 Bernard of Clairvaux and twenty-nine of his followers joined the abbey at Citeaux, doubling its size. Within a year, the Cistercian movement was well underway, and soon after Bernard became abbot of his own abbey at Clairvaux in 1115. Bernard's charismatic influence led to the establishment of no fewer than 327 Cistercian foundations in France, Britain, Spain, Italy and well into Eastern Europe between the

¹¹ The meaning of *caritas* is often obscured in English where it is often translated as either *Love* or *Charity*, words which themselves carry multiple meanings. It is cited by Paul in 1 Corinthians 13:13 as the third and greatest of the divine virtues, *Faith, Hope and Caritas*. It can be generally summarized as a *love* which stems from the Holy Spirit working through the human heart then directed back towards God and only then back towards humanity, whereby charity to the sick and poor is truly practiced. Because of its divine source, it is therefore recognized as different from the natural inclination of simply doing good works. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume IX., 1910, s.v. "Love (Theological Virtue)" by J.F. Sollier; available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09397a.htm>, Internet, accessed 2005 November 27; The two most influential writers of the early Cistercians, Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St. Thierry elaborate on this *love* between human and God as a mystical union through the metaphor of Bride and Bridegroom in Song of Songs. For a more detailed discussion see Bernard McGinn, "Love, Knowledge, and Mystical Union in Western Christianity: Twelfth through Sixteenth Centuries," *Church History*, Vol. 56, No.1 (Mar., 1987) : 9-10.

years 1125 and 1151.¹² There were 160 affiliated daughter houses to Bernard's abbey alone. To ensure unity of purpose, practice and matters of governance among these many houses, the Cistercian abbots met annually in General Chapters.¹³

The attraction to the Cistercian movement by so many however made it difficult for the monks of Citeaux and Clairvaux to remain removed from the secular world. It also made it difficult to enforce uniform practice among the new houses. Nevertheless, through continual recruitment from lesser nobility, as is the case of Bernard of Clairvaux and his family, and land donations from the likes of Theobald of Blois, Henry of Troyes and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, the Cistercians became economically prosperous.¹⁴ Moreover, between 1137 and 1147 Bernard's fame kept him fully embroiled in the affairs of Church and State including his role as intermediary between Louis VII and Thibault, Count of Champagne.¹⁵ Through Bernard's influence, the Cistercian order gained a considerable political foundation which culminated in the election of the first Cistercian Pope, Eugenius III (1145-1153). Coupled with their evangelistic attitude, the Cistercians preached out against the Cathar heresy and became dominating forces for the Second, Third and Fourth Crusades.¹⁶

Life in Cistercian Communities

In their drive toward authenticity, the Cistercians modeled their community on the ideal monk, St. Benedict of Nursia (480-547) and therefore strove to live in strict

¹² Brenda Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation* (New York, 1983), 44-45.

¹³ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume III, 1908, s.v. "Cistercians" by F.M. Gildas; available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03780c.htm>, Internet, accessed 2004 February 2.

¹⁴ Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform* (Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1996), 79.

¹⁵ Pauline Matarasso, *The Cistercian World: Monastic Writings of the Twelfth Century* (London : Penguin Classics, 1993),15-16.

¹⁶ Bolton 1983, 49-50.

observance of the Rule of St. Benedict. Their zeal for authentic practice did not end there for they also re-examined the works of those authors which were likely known by St. Benedict. The greatest impact from this train of thought is noted in the reform of liturgical practice. Initially they adopted what they believed were the “original” chants of Pope Gregory I (540-604) supplemented with hymns composed by St. Ambrose of Milan (ca 337-397). A detailed account regarding the liturgical reform is in Chapter 4.

Aside from the devotion to *caritas* and strict observation to the Rule of St. Benedict, which included the wearing of a white habit (ergo their appellation “white monks”), all Cistercian houses venerated the Virgin Mary.¹⁷ Their stated reason was because their founders came to Cîteaux from the church of Molesme which was itself dedicated in honor of the blessed Mary.¹⁸ They decreed therefore that all succeeding churches be founded in dedication to the Queen of Heaven and Earth, establishing a relationship of “mother – daughter” houses.¹⁹ In keeping with the *Song of Songs* metaphor, popular especially through Bernard’s famous sermons on the subject, the soul of a Cistercian monk was the ideal “Bride of Christ” and “Daughter of Zion.”²⁰

Origins Reconsidered

It is generally acknowledged today that many of the Cistercian communities did not start from scratch, that is they did not all begin with a small band of monks settling in

¹⁷ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume III, 1908, s.v. “Cistercians” by F.M. Gildas; available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03780c.htm>, Internet, accessed 2004 February 2.

¹⁸ Quia antecessores nostri et patres de ecclesia Molismensi, quae in honore est beatae Mariae ad Cisterciensem locum, unde et nos exorti sumus, primitus venerunt, idcirco decernimus ut omnes ecclesiae nostrae ac successorum nostrorum in memoria eiusdem caeli et terrae reginae sanctae Mariae fundentur ac dedicentur. *Annum 1134, Statuta XVIII*, SC.

¹⁹ *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell, (Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses 1999), 463.

²⁰ Emphasis on the female-positive which Kraemer points out is the virile spiritual perseverance embodied in the bride. Shawn M. Kraemer, “The Virile Bride of Bernard of Clairvaux,” *Church History*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (June 2000) : 314.

the wilderness. Rather the large number of houses amassed in the short period was due to the adoption and ultimate conversion of Cistercian practices in existing communities. In a conversation with Constant Mews, he clarified that “It was not unusual for communities once reformed by Hirsau to be taken over by Cistercians. The process was beginning even by the mid 12th century.”²¹ Supporting this process is that Hildegard’s own parent community at Disibodenberg, which itself fell under the Hirsau reform in the late 11th century, became Cistercian in 1259 as a colony of Otterberg.²²

Further, making the distinction between what constitutes a full fledged Cistercian community and those communities adopting Cistercian practice in the 12th century is not always clear. It had been previously believed that there were no Cistercian communities for women in the 12th century.²³ This was simply not the case, Waddell has pointed out that Heloise and her community at the Paraclete were in fact using an early form of the Cistercian liturgy, to which Abelard wrote his famous critique of their practice in 1132.²⁴ It is conceivable therefore that when Hildegard initially removed her nuns from Disibodenberg to their own community dedicated to Mary in 1150, she may have indeed adopted the Cistercian liturgy. How did liturgical practice and jurisdiction play out?

²¹ The Hirsau reform was an 11th century Benedictine reform instigated by Wilhelm von Hirsua (1026-1091). It was part of their custom to develop local liturgy. Email from Constant Mews, Wednesday, April 04, 2007 1:55 AM

²² I must thank Professor Ron Akehurst for clarifying and correcting my limited French. Mons S. Disibodi, St-Disibode (irlandais, eveque regionnaire), abbaye de Benedictins, 674 par s. Disibode, collegiale vers 976, Benedictins de nouveau en 1095, et Cisterciens, colonie d'Otterberg, ligne de Clairvaux, en 1259, diocese de Mayence, auj. Spire, pres Kreuznach ; sur la Nahe, Province rhenane. Laurent H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topobibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 2 vol. Mâcon, 1939.

²³ For an overview see Constance H. Berman, “Were There Twelfth-Century Cistercian Nuns,” *Church History* Vol. 68 no. 4 (Dec 1999) : 824 - 65.

²⁴ Chysogonus Waddell, *The Twelfth Century Cistercian Hymnal*, Cistercian Liturgy Series volume I, (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1984), 70.

Jurisdiction and Liturgy

I am indebted to Constant Mews for clarifying the relationship of jurisdiction and liturgical practice between orders and diocese, “Religious orders all have to acknowledge the authority of the local bishop (unless they have a special exemption which puts them under the authority of the pope, like Cluny in the middle ages), but they are all entitled to develop their own liturgy, which they did. Unlike the Benedictines, the Cistercians were initially very strict about wanting to have a uniform liturgy, and would meet annually in general chapter to hammer out this sort of thing... it would not surprise me if Cistercians still were putting in local things into their liturgy without telling the General Chapter.”²⁵ Such discrepancies warrant a closer investigation between the Cistercian community in Villers and Hildegard’s own community.

²⁵ This last statement is corroborated with a 13th century example that the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin was adopted by the Cistercian General Chapter after 1289 but was celebrated in the monastery of Villers as early as 1252. Claire Maître, “A propos de quelques tropes dans un manuscrit cistercien,” in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques* ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (Stockholm, 1993), 357-358.

CHAPTER 1: Origins of Authority

In 1176 Hildegard von Bingen received a letter from Guibert of Gembloux on behalf of the Cistercian brothers at Villers. The letter expressed thanks for a book she sent as a gift that they were "...reading zealously and embracing...affectionately."²⁶ This gift, assumed to be *St. Pieters & Paulusabdij Dendermonde Ms. Codex 9*, is one of two surviving primary sources which contain Hildegard's *Cantus cum melodia*.

Villers was a daughter house of Clairvaux. It was located in the region of modern Belgium known as Brabant. The community was founded in 1146 by Bernard of Clairvaux, where his disciple Laurent was the first abbot. The gift mentioned above was received shortly after Bernard was canonized in 1174.²⁷ If the account provided in the *Vita Hildegardis* is to be believed, Bernard was instrumental in supporting Hildegard's works early in her public career. This leaves room for speculation that there was a far deeper spiritual understanding shared between the nuns of Rupertsberg and this Belgian order of male "brides of Christ" who practiced strict observance of the Rule of St. Benedict.

The first mention of Cistercian influence in Hildegard's public life is cited in the *Vita Hildegardis*. According to the *Vita*, Hildegard received papal sanction shortly after

²⁶ Letter 107, *Letters* Vol. 2, 43.

²⁷ I thank again, Professor Ron Akehurst's assistance with the following translation: Villers-la-ville, Cistercien abbey founded in 1146 as a daughter house to Clairvaux by Saint Bernard under Godfrey III (the Brave), Duke of Brabant, Where the Blessed Laurent, disciple of St. Bernard, was the 1st abbot, and where there were in the 13th century as many as 100 monks and 300 or 400 lay brothers. Suppressed in 1796 by the French Revolution. Formerly Diocese of Liege, today diocese of Namur commune of Tilly Arrondissement of Nivelles, Brabant . On the river Thyle.

Villarum, abbaye de Cisterciens, 1146 fil. de Clairvaux, par s. Bernard, sous Godefroi III "le Courageux", duc de Brabant, ou le Bx Laurent disciple de s. Bernard fut le 1er abbe, et ou il y eut au XIIIe s. jusqu'a 100 moines et 300 ou 400 convers, supprimee en 1796 pa la Revolution Francaise, diocese de Liege, auj. Namur. comm Tilly, arrond. Nivelles, Brabant ; sur la Thyle. Laurent H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topobibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 2 vol. Mâcon, 1939.

Pope Eugenius III read portions from her then unfinished treatise *Scivias* at the Synod of Trier (1147/48). After this, Hildegard sought to found a convent of her own, taking with her the community of nuns recruited, like herself, from lesser nobility.²⁸ Impeded by abbot Kuno of Disibodenberg, Heinrich, Archbishop of Mainz intervened and allowed Hildegard and her nuns to establish a new community at the Rupertsberg.²⁹

While it may be that Hildegard did not initially convert her house entirely to the Cistercian order when she left Disibodenberg, there is enough evidence to support that she modeled much of her work, and I suggest her liturgy too, on Bernard's writings and sermons on the *Song of Songs*.³⁰ It was only in her later years (ca. 1170) that she exploited these similarities when she began moving toward a complete transition. Hildegard was compelled by fear that the lax care and governance, which had infiltrated her archdiocese, would corrupt her nuns from salvation in the years after her death. She therefore resolved to align her communities at Rupertsberg and Eibingen with the spiritual authority she most respected. Only strict observation of the Rule of St. Benedict would ensure their salvation at the time of the impending apocalypse she viewed was near.

In seeking allies among the Cistercians, three significant points in thought and deed are noted. First, clarification of vision in the *Liber diuinorum operum* (written 1163-74) in which the virtue of *Caritas* plays a primary role. Second, she needed proof of a

²⁸ Not to mention their dowries

²⁹ Heinrich himself, after deposed from his office took up the Cistercian habit himself. Fiona Maddocks, *Hildegard of Bingen: A Woman of Her Age* (London : Headline Book Publishing, 2001; Image Books, 2003), 125.

³⁰ About one-third of Hildegard's chant text share a vocabulary with the *Song of Songs*, these include: *arbor, caritas, columba, cypressina, hortus, fons, flos, lilium, myrrha, nasus paradisis, suavis, unguentum, and vinum*. D. Martin Jenni, "Echoes in Hildegard's Songs of the Song of Songs," *Mystics Quarterly* 17 (1991): 71.

written endorsement by the Cistercian Pope Eugenius III. As his support is listed only in the *Vita Hildegardis*, a spurious letter of papal sanction by Eugenius was inserted by Volmar, Hildegard's secretary and provost. Third, the refinement of her chant melodies to resonate with contemporary Cistercian aesthetics was required.³¹

With these changes, Hildegard compiled samples of her works for communities she thought could offer assistance. The Dendermonde Codex therefore represents a sort of "press-kit" designed to establish new ties in liturgical practice, if not jurisdiction itself, for her community upon her death.

The Spiritual World of Hildegard

The growth of intellectual and spiritual activity in the 12th century often has been equated with that of *renaissance*. Theological debate on the nature of the Trinity and arguments between faith and reason dominated the century. The influence Honorius Augustodunensis' (1070-1139) Commentaries on the Feast of the Assumption loomed large over the century. This first Marian interpretation of the Song of Solomon kindled the flame of Marian devotion which spread throughout Western Europe. Further, the rediscovery of commentaries on the *Song of Songs* by the patristic father Origen provided Bernard of Clairvaux with the inspiration for his most famous Sermons on the same subject.

In the world of monastic reform, Constant J. Mews provides a concise introductory account of the various cathedral, canonical, and monastic communities which sprang up in the Rhineland in the early part of the twelfth century. He notes that women of ministerial rank and below associated themselves, "...with communities of canons

³¹ It should be reiterated that Hildegard's *Vita* was completed some years after her death in 1179.

regular, following the Augustinian Rule, explicitly directed to women as well as men.” Citing examples of such *magistrae* as Tenxwind and Richlind, “Hildegard was growing up in a world in which female spiritual leaders were emerging outside the traditional aristocracy and the Benedictine order,” concluding that it was their examples that may have provided the impetus for Hildegard to abandon the reclusive life she lived until the 1136 death of her superior, Jutta.³²

By the early 1170s, Hildegard had already embarked on numerous evangelical tours, preaching out against the Cathar heresy which she believed to be the greatest threat against the Church [*Ecclesia*]. She was compelled into action as she viewed the clergy within the Church were either unable or worse, unwilling to stop it. It seems incredible however that a woman who lived in such a patriarchal society would have been allowed to preach and admonish without herself being accused of heresy. Although it may be rare, it was nevertheless acceptable medieval practice.

Hildegard’s Divine Authority

In order for Hildegard to establish herself as a *magistra* and theological exegete she needed to express authority [*auctoritas*]. Understanding this concept is crucial to knowing how Hildegard earned the right to preach, and why so many people, Cistercians included, sought and accepted her spiritual counsel. Hildegard’s provost, Volmar provides an indication of the accepted practice of divine authority via woman in a letter dated around 1170.

Why do so many undertake difficult journeys into remote parts of the world to seek out the teachings of various men... they sweat over the profundity, or, rather, the enigma, of sententiae, listening to disputes in the courts and

³² Constant J. Mews, “Hildegard and the Schools.” In *Hildegard of Bingen and the Context of her Thought and Art*, eds. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London: Warburg Institute, 1998), 93-95.

*remaining awake at all hours of the night...The result is that to the embarrassment of modern scholastics who abuse the knowledge given them from above, the Spirit of prophecy and vision, revitalized in a fragile vessel and without help of secular learning, brings forth things that they cannot comprehend in any way. For the Spirit gives what instruction He will and "breatheth where he will" [John 3.8]. And so here we see the principle fulfilled that God, according to the Scripture, has chosen the foolish and weak things of this world in order to confound the wise and strong [cf I Cor 1.27].*³³

He is seemingly baffled at what he considers the folly of secular learning by scholastic theologians. To him, they ignore the divine by debating its meaning, not simply accepting its fundamental *truth*. It is a fair assumption that he considers the written word, the Bible, as the ultimate divine authority, but how does a *fragile vessel* become a conduit for the *Spirit of prophecy and vision* without evoking heresy?

Authority of Virginitly and Humility

In his overview of late medieval mysticism, Bernard McGinn relates a quote dated around 1290 from the Parisian master Henry of Ghent regarding the authority of women as teachers of theology. While women were not allowed to teach by ecclesiastical approbation, they were allowed to teach from grace. Henry states, "...speaking about teaching from divine favor and the fervor of [*caritas*], it is well allowed for a woman to teach just like anyone else, if she possesses sound doctrine."³⁴

Hildegard's authority [*auctoritas*] stemmed from her access to the divine mysteries which were revealed through vision. Recognition of her authority required a blend of three traits: *humility*, *gender*, and *virginitly*. First "Humility..." as noted by Anna

³³ Letter 195, *Letters* Vol. II, 168-169.

³⁴ Henry of Ghent, *Summa Quaestionum Ordinarium*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1520; rep. St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1953), art. XI, q. 11, fol. 78r: "Loquendo autem de docere ex beneficio et charitatis fervore, bene licet mulierem docere sicut & quemlibet alium si sanam doctrinam habeat." Quoted in Bernard McGinn, "The Changing Shape of Late Medieval Mysticism," *Church History*, Vol. 65, No.2 (Jun 1996), 209.

Somfai, "...was the precondition for the visionary mystic to fulfill her function as a mediator of the divine truth. For women, who generally were not allowed to teach, nor to participate in the kind of activities that enabled their male counterpart's self-expression, visions provided a genre of theology not yet monopolized by men".³⁵

Second "Since her gender served as a critical obstacle, Hildegard invariably had to establish her authority over considerable resistance from her male peers and superiors." This is noted by the number of instances found in her correspondence to dignitaries and other authorities. In these letters Hildegard stressed her inferior nature as a woman through her self description as *paupercula feminea forma* [a poor little woman's shape].³⁶ Where this phrase might appear as self-deprecating, it serves as a necessary strategy to preserve Hildegard's humility. "Hildegard herself explained the discrepancy at various instances with a line of argumentation that runs roughly like this: God must have chosen an uneducated and timid woman as His mouthpiece only because the higher clergy had fallen so low in moral matters."³⁷

Third and most important trait of visionary authority is virginity. While much has been written of Hildegard's adoration of the Virgin Mary, or the plausible emulation of Ursula and her companions for her community, it is the virginity of John the Evangelist which is of prime importance to the visionary. In Christian tradition, revelation into the divine mysteries is granted to those pure and chaste. In the New Testament, John the

³⁵ Anna Somfai, "Hildegard of Bingen: The Power of Vision and the Vision of Power," in *Issues in Medieval Philosophy* ed. Nancy van Deusen (Ottawa : The Institute of Medieval Music, 2001), 97.

³⁶ Tatiana Tsakiropoulou-Summers, "Hildegard of Bingen: Teutonic Prophetess," in *Women Writing Latin: From Roman Antiquity to Early Modern Europe* vol. 2, ed. Laurie J. Churchill, Phyllis R. Brown and Jane E. Jeffrey (New York, 2002), 139.

³⁷ *ibid.*, 139.

Evangelist is the chaste apostle, the “white martyr,” acknowledged in the medieval world as author of both the *Gospel of John* and the *Apocalypse of John*.

It is clear that John had always been of special importance for Hildegard. He happens to be the only Evangelist for whom she dedicated chant. Furthermore, references to John abound in practically all of her works and correspondence. A notable inclusion is an exegesis on the opening chapter of the *Gospel of John* which appears in the fourth vision of her final treatise *Liber diuinorum operum*.³⁸ For the purposes of this thesis, the relevancy of the following should be noted. Sometime between 1173-1179 Hildegard writes:

*John is the mirror of holy virginity because he gave up earthly marriage for the sake of his love for the Son of God, and since the Son of God descended from His Father into the virginal material of His humanity, which he adorned with all the virtues, He had a special love for John beyond all the other saints, and sealed him with the seal of His hidden miracles. It is John who says in a mystical vision, “I saw the holy city,” etc. [Apoc 21.2].*³⁹

Her virginity, combined with her virtue of humility and *paupercula feminea forma*, bestowed upon Hildegard *wisdom*, the understanding through divine revelation. Her writings, though filled with natural metaphors, remain wholly orthodox and therefore express *revealed exegesis*. Upon her then is bestowed an authority near, if not at, the same level granted John the Evangelist. In the Cistercian preference for divine revelation over the reasoned thought characterized by Peter Abelard; these points alone pave the way for the acceptance of Hildegard’s chant by the “white monks” of Villers.

³⁸ Part I, Vision 4 105, LDO

³⁹ In this letter Hildegard provides her interpretation of John’s vision of the celestial Jerusalem which is adorned like a virgin for her betrothed. Letter 373, *Letters* Vol. 3, 159.

CHAPTER 2: The Devil in Mainz

Hence, with regard to the tribulation and affliction which you and yours are enduring because of the suspension of the divine offices, the clearer your innocence in this matter becomes to us, the more firmly we sympathize with you. Nevertheless, the Church held that the man buried in your churchyard had incurred the sentence of excommunication while he was alive, and although some doubt remained concerning his absolution, the fact that you disregarded the outcry of the clergy and acted as if this would cause no scandal in the Church was a very dangerous act, since the statutes of the holy fathers are inviolable. You should have waited for definitive proof based on the suitable testimony of good men in the presence of the Church.⁴⁰

The quote, contained within a March 1179 letter by Christian, Archbishop of Mainz to the 80-year old Hildegard, is the final word in the matter regarding the burial of an excommunicated nobleman in the churchyard of the Rupertsberg.⁴¹ It stands as one of the great examples of Hildegard's defiance against the patriarchal authority of her archdiocese.

The punishment imposed upon her community by the prelates of Mainz, who were acting in the archbishop's absence, forbade her community from singing the Divine Office and participating in the Mass. Her well-known response to the prelates regarding the interdict is a demonstration of her skilled rhetoric. It is at once a minor treatise concerning the divine origins of music and an admonishing sermon decrying the Devil's infiltration into the thoughts and actions of the clergy. After a lengthy account supporting the divine reason for celebrating praise with song, she all but suggests that the interdict they imposed was inspired by the devil who,

⁴⁰ Verum quia constabat Ecclesie, sepultum apud ecclesiam uestram defunctum in uita sua excommunicationis sententiam incurrisse, dum adhuc eidem Ecclesie de absolutione ipsius incertum exstitit, uobis interim, propter statuta sanctorum Patrum non euitanda, clamorem cleri declinare et scandalum Ecclesie dissimulare periculosum nimis fuit, donec idoneo testimonio bonorum uirorum in facie Ecclesie illum absolutum fuisse comprobetur. Letter 24r, *Letters* vol. 1, 82-83; 207

⁴¹ The heated exchange of letters between Hildegard and the prelates of Mainz regarding this famous incident has been cited often enough to make its inclusion here unnecessary. Refer to letters 23, 24, 24r, *Letters* vol 1, 76-83.

*...never ceases from confounding confession and the sweet beauty of both divine praise and spiritual hymns, eradicating them through wicked suggestions, impure thoughts, or various distractions from the heart of man and even from the mouth of the Church itself...through dissension, scandal, or unjust oppression.*⁴²

Upon his return the archbishop adopted a conciliatory tone and reversed the interdict. His response nevertheless demonstrates that no matter how great and blessed Hildegard's gifts were perceived to be, they did not give her license to act above her temporal superiors, the statues of the holy fathers or the ultimate authority of the Church.⁴³ While the letter is specific to the interdict, it serves as the capstone in a long history of contention between Hildegard's community and the political jurisdiction of her archdiocese within the imperial government of Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor from 1152-1190.

Hildegard lived virtually all of her life at the Rupertsberg during Frederick's reign. Her world during these years was marked by the conflict between the Holy Roman Emperor and Pope Alexander III. The undercurrent of this conflict, and one which ostensibly affected Hildegard's thought was the struggle for power between papal and imperial agents. This ultimately led to the papal schism between Pope Alexander III and the anti-Popes of Frederick Barbarossa.

Consolidating the Empire

In an effort to consolidate the empire, Frederick exercised his supreme authority by selecting his own archbishops as well as subduing the provinces which had fallen away

⁴² Letter 23, *Letters* vol. 1, 78.

⁴³ Immediately preceding the excerpted quote, Christian appears to contradict himself by going out of his way to lay praise upon her gifts stating, "...He has been pleased, and rightly so, with your soul and has illuminated it with His true and unfathomable light...these obvious signs of your holy life, and such amazing testimonies to the truth oblige us to obey your commands and to pay especial heed to your entreaties. And having the greatest confidence in your sanctity (next only to that we owe God), we hope, through the sacred odor of your prayers, to attain God's eternal grace." Letter 24r, *Letters* vol. 1, 82-83

from the empire. Of the latter it was Frederick's efforts in Northern Italy which dominated much of his attention.

The Diet of Roncaglia in 1158 restored to the emperor rule by divine right over northern Italian provinces. As the Italian cities did not accept this verdict, Frederick enforced the law with military might, destroying Milan in 1162. In 1167, Pope Alexander III organized the Lombard League, a band of fourteen cities, to counter Frederick's campaigns. With his forces depleted by disease, Frederick was finally forced to concede after the Battle of Legnano in 1176. The Treaty of Venice was signed the following year.⁴⁴

Throughout these campaigns support from the Archbishopric of Mainz was crucial. Frederick first enlisted the aid of Arnold of Mainz. Arnold was his hand picked archbishop, selected to replace Heinrich whom he had deposed upon his election.⁴⁵ Arnold however proved to be ineffective both at political and, in Hildegard's view, spiritual administration. His short time as archbishop was characterized by political protest of his constituency. His most severe act was in excommunicating the entire city of Mainz for refusing to pay Frederick's war-tribute. After numerous violent conflicts, he was eventually murdered on June 24, 1160.⁴⁶

Arnold's successor, Conrad (1162-1165) received a more favorable view from Hildegard. It was during his tenure that Frederick granted a charter of imperial

⁴⁴ Kurt Stadtward, "Pope Alexander III's Humiliation of Frederick Barbarossa as an Episode in Sixteenth-Century German History," *Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 23, No. 4 (1992). 757.

⁴⁵ It was Heinrich who brought Hildegard's attention to Eugenius and Bernard at the Synod of Trier. *Vita Hildegardis*.

⁴⁶ *Letters* Vol. 1, 72.

protection in perpetuity to Hildegard's community.⁴⁷ In a letter, she reminds Conrad of his temporal role and warns him of the dangers of his office:

*But gird yourself with justice and the love of eternal felicity. Moreover, in the dawning of this new day, do not give heed to those who spurn God and reject His works, as it is written: "Deliver, O God, my soul from the sword: my only one from the hand of the dog" [Ps 21.21]. In this way, you will escape from the sword which falls on evil men, and avoid the infidelity of the words of men who, like dogs, reject God.*⁴⁸

Conrad's support for Alexander III however, ensured that his career in office would not last long. He was ultimately forced out of his archbishopric when he refused to acknowledge the anti-pope, Paschal III as Frederick's appointment to the papal see. Conrad fled to Alexander where he joined in his efforts against Frederick.

It was Conrad's replacement who ensured Mainz's support in the Emperor's campaigns. This man was Frederick's chancellor, Christian I, the Count of Buch. Christian had served as provost of Mainz cathedral since 1162 when Frederick and Paschal III appointed him Archbishop of Mainz (1165-1183). Christian was a capable soldier and diplomat. As Frederick's chancellor, he was the Emperor's right hand man.⁴⁹ At the turn of the last century, the historian Ferdinand Gregorovius described Christian as a jovial knight who kept a harem of beautiful girls, and whose army pack mules were cared for in greater luxury than the servants of the Emperor.⁵⁰

Although no correspondence between Hildegard and her archdiocese exist from the time of Conrad to her 1178 letter to the prelates of Mainz, one can guess what

⁴⁷ The charter was awarded on 18 April 1163. MGH, DDF.I 2/10:274-275. *Letters* Vol. 1, 84-85.

⁴⁸ Letter 21, *Letters* Vol. 1, 74.

⁴⁹ Christian had been in Venice along with the Archbishops of Magdeburg, Treves, and Cologne who were mediating the Peace of Venice (1177) in which Frederick Barbarossa finally accepted the papal authority of Alexander III. Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1910), 420-434.

⁵⁰ Ferdinand Gregorovius, *The History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages A.D. 1003-1199* Vol. IV part 1, trans. Annie G. Hamilton (London: G. Bell, 1894-1902; New York: Italica Press 2002), 294.

Hildegard, a supporter of Alexander III, pious woman, and admonishing “Voice of the Living Light” against lax clergy, thought of Christian’s position of ecclesiastical authority. Her apocalyptic tenth vision of the *LDO* appears as a reflection of the situation in Mainz:

...God will allow punishment to strike all who have exceeded what is right, just as punishment will strike the tyranny of those who are God’s foes. And people will say to each other...because they have the power to bind and to loose, they bind us as if we were the most savage of wolves. Their wantonness attacks us, and the whole Church is diminished as a result. For they no longer announce what is just, and they undermine the Law just as wolves devour sheep. They are voracious in their carousing and often commit adultery. And because of their sins, they condemn us without mercy...⁵¹

The passage demonstrates that she was growing concerned with the Devil’s corrupting influence within the clergy of the Church, i.e. those who “...have the power to bind.” If her letter to the prelates is any indication, it can be assumed that between 1165 and 1178, she held no confidence in their spiritual authority, but abided by their power to bind.

Hildegard relates this vision to a wider scope of imperial politics. She summarizes her view of the papal schism to an excommunicated lay person in a letter dated between 1173-1177:

The great tribulations that, through the judgment of God, the Church has now been suffering for a long time on account of the oppression of the Apostolic See are the result of the iniquity of all the people, who indulge their own will and bring the precepts of God into scorn...On account of these and countless other sins, the head of the Church has now long been

⁵¹ Book III Vision 10:16. Hildegard of Bingen, *Hildegard of Bingen’s Book of Divine Works with Letters and Songs*, ed. Matthew Fox, trans. Robert Cunningham et al. (abridged) (Santa Fe: Bear and Co, 1987), 240-241.

*divided, and the Church has suffered a loss in each contender to the apostolic seat since it refuses to accept either one of them unanimously.*⁵²

The schism is rooted in the indulgence of personal will rather than obedience to God. It seems clear that she is criticizing both sides, Frederick and Alexander. Furthermore, she sympathizes with the Church. The Church is still the temporal authority and working against its agents however is dangerous to the soul. Her point is clearer in the following letter regarding the personal matter of excommunication.

*Therefore, let each of the faithful flee in solicitude of soul to his own spiritual teacher to learn what he should do, in the correct faith, because the souls of the subordinates should always be ruled by the teaching of their spiritual leaders. The power of binding was first granted to priests through the chief of the apostles [cf. Matt 16.19]...Yet the priest, who has the power of binding and loosing among men, should be exceedingly careful lest he be accused by the Highest Judge of destroying his brother by excommunicating him unjustly.*⁵³

She serves a warning to the priests who abuse their power that the celestial judgment of God is upon them. This echoes the sentiments of her response to the prelates of Mainz: dutifully obeying the interdict of the priests, but not without admonishing their spiritual misguidance. Note that she is careful not to criticize the Church [*Ecclesia*]. It is not *Ecclesia's* fault but the fallible clergy. If she criticized *Ecclesia*, she would have been just as heretical as those Cathars against whom she preached. So in order for the priests to return to God's good graces, they must first practice *Caritas*.

The problem for Hildegard was that she felt powerless to influence the prelates of Mainz. What recourse to salvation exists then for the soul, or a community of souls,

⁵² Hildegard also addresses the Cathar heresy as one of the sins of the Church on account of its laxity in suppressing it. Letter 352, *Letters* vol. 3, 144-45.

⁵³ In the final paragraph, Hildegard urges the lay person to abide by the judgment of the priests by laboring "...diligently, with the help of both your secular and spiritual friends to be absolved from this judicial sentence and bond of excommunication." Letter 352, *Letters* vol. 3, 145.

when the spiritual leaders of the *correct faith* pass *incorrect* sentences? With confidence she realized that the best way to secure salvation for her community was to distance them as far from the Devil in Mainz as possible.

In the Grasp of the Devil

The task of achieving the break seemed impossible, especially in light of her past relationship with her parent community, the monastery of Disibodenberg. She had already removed her community to Rupertsberg, but only through the intervention of Heinrich of Mainz. After the move, Hildegard rarely related praise for either its abbots, Kuno and later Helengerus (1155-79) or the monks. When she returned to Disibodenberg in 1155 to negotiate over property rights, she remarked:

...a mob of some of your monks rose up and gnashed their teeth at me, as if I were a bird of gloom or a horrid beast, and they bend their bows against me in order to drive me away. But I know for a fact that God moved me from that place for His own inscrutable purposes, for my soul was so agitated by His words and miracles that I believe I would have died before my time if I had remained there.⁵⁴

If papal schism was the undercurrent of imperial politics, the unresolved issue of property rights between Disibodenberg and the Rupertsberg was a defining issue on the local stage. Disibodenberg always exerted its right as parent community often siding with their own interests rather than, in Hildegard's view, God's. Nowhere was this more troubling than with the death of Volmar, Hildegard's longtime friend, confidant, and secretary. When he died in 1173, another battle for political jurisdiction over the Rupertsberg ensued.

⁵⁴ Letter 75, *Letters* vol 1, 162-63.

Hildegard and her community elected their own replacement for Volmar, but Helengerus denied their choice. Hildegard then wrote to Alexander III, still at battle with Frederick, rather than the Archbishop of Mainz for assistance:

*Now O gentlest father...We are in great distress because the abbot of Mount St. Disibod and his brothers have taken away our privileges and the right of election which we have always had, rights which we have been ever careful to retain. For if they will not grant us reverential and religious men, such as we seek, spiritual religion will be totally destroyed among us. Therefore, my lord, for God's sake, help us, so that we may retain the man we have elected to that office. Or, if not, let us seek out and receive others, where we can, who will look after us in accordance with the will of God and our own needs.*⁵⁵

The importance Volmar played in Hildegard's writing has been well documented throughout the years. His role within the administration of the Rupertsberg however has often been inadequately addressed. As a community for women, the Rupertsberg fell under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Disibodenberg. The abbot entrusted his authority to a *prepositus*, a monk who oversaw the administrative and spiritual needs of the community. Volmar thus served this role as the abbot's representative. He was therefore, in the eyes of the church and the archdiocese, Hildegard's superior at the Rupertsberg. Given Hildegard's distrust of the monks of Disibodenberg, this was certainly a major concern. As long as the abbot of Disibodenberg determined the *prepositus*, she may have felt her community was within the clutches of the Devil himself.⁵⁶ Hope was on the horizon.

⁵⁵ Letter 10, *Letters* vol 1, 45-45.

⁵⁶ Because the Rupertsberg was affiliated with Disibodenberg, Hildegard was never recognized as abbess. The title most appropriate for her role was *magistra* of the religious house. Constant J. Mews, "Hildegard and the Schools." In *Hildegard of Bingen and the Context of her Thought and Art*, eds. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London: Warburg Institute, 1998). 95.

It was perhaps through *seeking out and receiving others* that a Guibert de Gembloux, a Benedictine monk with Cistercian sympathies came to the attention of Hildegard. As Hildegard never names her initial choice for Volmar's successor in her correspondence with Alexander III, it is possible that he may have been it.⁵⁷ At any rate, by the time he became *prepositus* in 1177, Volmar and Hildegard's Cistercian plan was already underway.

⁵⁷ In the intervening years between Volmar's death in 1173 and Guibert's term in 1177, the Pope selected Gottfried who served until his death in 1176. It was Gottfried however who began Hildegard's *Vita*. *Letters* vol 1, 45.

CHAPTER 3: The Cistercian Plan

*Although now, sweet mother, we are privileged to see you every day with fleshly eyes and hear you with fleshly ears...we still have no doubt that at some time, as it pleases God, you will be taken away from us...When that time comes, our grief and woe will surpass the joy we now feel. Who will provide fresh interpretations of the Scriptures? Who then will utter songs never heard before and give voice to that unheard language? Who will deliver new and unheard-of sermons on feast days?...We know that God's grace has bestowed these capacities upon you along with a sweet and humble character and a heart that pours out maternal affection on all around you.*⁵⁸ - Volmar to Hildegard (ca. 1170)

Acknowledging Hildegard's mortality, Volmar and Hildegard set forth on a plan in the last decade of her life to secure proper care for the souls in her community. She grew increasingly concerned with the spiritual misguidance of the priests of the Church and the abbots of Disibodenberg.⁵⁹ Therefore in order to secure her community's salvation from the Devil who had infiltrated the governing powers, she resolved to detach herself from their jurisdiction completely. At the same time, she turned her efforts to engage those communities who shared a common practice for spiritual salvation. Most often it was to those communities dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and judging from the **Appendix A**, especially those of Cistercian and Premonstratensian practice.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Letter 195, *Letters* vol. 2, 168-169.

⁵⁹ Kathryn Kerby-Fulton notes that in these later years, Hildegard reserved her greatest praise, or rather fewest criticisms for the Cistercian order. Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer," in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 80-81.

⁶⁰ The Premonstratensians (aka Norbertines) were founded in 1120 by St. Norbert as a community of canons bound only by the virtue of *caritas*. Norbert himself had ties with Bernard of Clairvaux and similarities between the early Cistercians and Premonstratensians gave them the nickname, "White Canons". *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume VII, 1911, s.v. "Premonstratensian Canons" by F.M. Geudens; available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12387b.htm>, Internet, accessed 2005 November 23.

In a letter dated after 1170 she addressed her congregation to inform them of a recent meeting with the brothers of their parent community. Here she presented a petition requesting:

*...that our monastery, as well as the alms accruing therefrom, be free and clear from their jurisdiction, for the sake of the salvation of our souls and our concern for the strict observance of the Rule.*⁶¹

Her speech indicates that in order for Hildegard to ensure the care and feeding of her nun's souls, they must first be freed from the {corrupted} jurisdiction of Disibodenberg. Her concern for the strict observance of the Rule [of St. Benedict] is an indication that the Rupertsberg and Disibodenberg had maintained separate liturgies. This provides a tantalizing clue that after 1170, Hildegard, if not actually adopting Cistercian practice, was at least in agreement with them concerning strict observance of the Rule of St. Benedict.⁶² She goes on:

They granted me this freedom and even promised me a written charter. Everyone—from the highest to the lowest—who saw, heard, and perceived these things displayed the greatest benevolence regarding these matters so that they were confirmed in writing, in accordance with God's will.

The main problem here is that while she reports that they granted this freedom, it never came to fruition. Upon her death, her monastery reverted back to the control of Disibodenberg, erasing her attempt at reform.

⁶¹ Letter 195r, *Letters* vol. 2, 170.

⁶² "Religious orders all have to acknowledge the authority of the local bishop...but all entitled to develop their own liturgy..." email correspondence with Constant Mews on 4 April 2007.

Enacting the Plan

Hildegard's impact as theological exegete and confidant found their greatest audience in abbots, abbesses, magistrae, monks, nuns, and bishops from other diocese.⁶³ Lay people and pilgrims regarded her as an inspired visionary and spread her fame throughout Christendom. Nevertheless, as noted at the opening of this chapter, she was often contradicted by her local authorities who treated her "...from afar and with a wary respect, never as someone enjoying a papal sanction."⁶⁴ So how was she to be certain that whatever community she entrusted would not take advantage of her convent? The last thing she wanted was to repeat the same history of problems she had with Disibodenberg.

Two important works dated around or after 1170 provide clues as to how Hildegard conducted her efforts. One is the 'clarification' of her visions as recorded in her last treatise, the *Liber diuinorum operum* (1163-1173). The other is the alleged 'forgery' of letters to create, in John van Engen's words, a "myth of authorization."

Liber diuinorum operum

The *Liber diuinorum operum* (LDO) will only be briefly addressed in this thesis but there are a few notable features which must be mentioned. First, the figure of personified *Caritas* plays a more crucial role in than in her previous works.⁶⁵

I am Caritas, the radiance of the living God. Sapientia achieved her handiwork together with me. Humility, who took root in the living fountain,

⁶³ John van Engen, "Letters and the Public Persona of Hildegard of Bingen," in *Hildegard von Bingen in Ihrem historischen Umfeld*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Mainz, 2000), 399.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 391.

⁶⁵ For a detailed discussion on the LDO see Constant Mews, "Religious Thinker: 'A Frail Human Being' on Fiery Life," in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley : University of California Press 1998), 52-69.

was my helper, and Peace adheres to her.⁶⁶ Through the radiance that I am, the living light of the blessed angels shines...

In the illustration accompanying this vision, *Caritas* has replaced *Ecclesia*, shown previously in *Scivias* (1141-1151), as the triumphant force of salvation over the serpent. In Hildegard's visionary expression, this is symbolic of her eroded confidence in the lax clergy who have corrupted Church. As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is the clergy who are guilty of indulging their will rather than obedience to God.

The prominent placement of *Caritas* in the *LDO* can be viewed perhaps as merely a trivial inclusion suggesting her attention to various Cistercian authors and practices.⁶⁷ Even more fascinating however is that Hildegard's "...cosmological speech ("Ego summa et ignea uis") discloses clear debts to Cicero's *De natura deorum*, Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones*, *Ecclesiasticus*, Ambrose's *De Abraham*, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, the hermetic treatise *Asclepius*, and the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister..."⁶⁸ In considering the works from these accepted pagan and early Christian authors, Hildegard was following the Cistercian practice of including only those works and practices known to St. Benedict.⁶⁹ Moreover, by not citing those sources, she remained true to her authoritative identity through revealed exegesis.

The replacement of *Ecclesia* with *Caritas* is not the only significant change found in the *LDO*. When describing the discrepancies between the egg-shaped vision of the

⁶⁶ Book 3 Vision 3:II Hildegard of Bingen, *LDO* translated by Peter Dronke forward p. LXXIII; "...Ego caritas uiuentis Dei claritas sum, et sapientia mecum opus suum operata est; atque humilitas, que in uiuo fonte radicaui adjutrix mea extitit, ipsique pax adhaeret. Et per claritatem que ego sum uiuens lux beatorum angelorum fulminat;..." *LDO*, 3.3.2, 397.

⁶⁷ A suggestion for future study find writings by lesser known Cistercian authors of the Rhineland.

⁶⁸ Peter Dronke worked out the apparatus for Hildegard's probable sources by which he determined these authors. Barbara Newman, review of "Hildegardis Bingensis, Liber diuinorum operum," ed. A. Derolez and P. Dronke, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 92. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996) in *Speculum* Vol. 75, No. 2 (Apr. 2000): 479.

⁶⁹ Or presumed to be known by him if their source emanated from Monte Cassino.

cosmos in *Scivias* versus the wheel-shape in *LDO*, she explains that "...the shape of the world exists everlastingly in the knowledge of [true Caritas] which is God..."⁷⁰ The discrepancy exists because neither egg nor wheel provide a satisfactory analogy. The egg was used in *Scivias* to reveal the distinct elements which make up the world. The wheel is better suited for describing both the circumference and right measurement of those same elements. Hildegard then concludes that a ball is yet a better analogy.⁷¹

Sabina Flanigan, in noting these clarifications points out that Hildegard compared her works prior to the *LDO* to those of the Old Testament Prophets. Their works were but shadows of true meaning that were not fully revealed until after the Incarnation.

But reason gives utterance and the sound is like thought and the work like a deed.
And from this shadow the book *Scivias* came forth by means of a woman who was herself a shadow of health and strength, lacking such forces.⁷²

Thus might Hildegard's chants be considered. The earlier chants, characterized by excessive ambitus are shadows of her later, reserved chants. For a culture interpreting divine *auctoritas*, both chants and vision indicate the imperfections of a frail human vessel attempting to translate the divine into the earthly realm.

Sanctioning Authority: The Myth of Authorization

There exists an impressive collection of some 390 letters written by and to Hildegard. While some of her letters seem rather formulaic and mundane, others can be viewed as

⁷⁰ PL 197, 755c.

⁷¹ " Sed quod supradictum instrumentum in prioribus uisionibus tuis in figura oui denotatum est hoc ostendit, quod distinctio elementorum in eadem similitudine solummodo significatur, quoniam mundo elementis distincto discretiua forma oui similitudini distinctionis ipsius, qua elementis distinctus est, aliquantum assimilatur; hic autem in rota circuitio et recta mensura eorumdem elementorum tantum ostenditur, cum neutrum ipsorum similitudinem figurae mundi per omnia teneat, quoniam illa undique integra, rotunda, et uolubili existente globus aliquis qui integer et uolubilis existit, formam ipsius in omni parte potius imitatur." *LDO*, 1.2.3, 66.

⁷² *LDO* 2.8. quoted in Sabina Flanigan, *Hildegard of Bingen: A Visionary Life*. (London: Routledge, 1989; reprint, New York: Routledge, 1993), 154-153.

sermons directly inspired by the “Living Light.” As already demonstrated, it is the letters which provide some of the most valuable insight into her theology, political views and liturgical practice. More importantly, Hildegard’s letters played their greatest role in establishing her authority.

In the 12th century, a collection of correspondence helped to establish one’s reputation in the cultural and political realms. The inclusion of such notable addressees as, Bernard of Clairvaux, Pope Eugenius III, Pope Adrian IV, Alexander III, and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa certainly indicate Hildegard’s significance (as they are still cited today). From these addressees, no two letters have been more important than her letter of papal sanction by Eugenius III and her one and only letter from the Cistercian abbot, St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Traditionally, it has been the correspondence with Bernard which provides the first surviving account through which Hildegard’s visionary abilities were recognized.⁷³

As related in the *Vita Hildegardis*, Hildegard wrote to Bernard of Clairvaux asking his opinion as to whether she should conceal her visions or reveal them. Bernard encouraged her to write and even supported her cause before Pope Eugenius III who sanctioned her work at the Synod of Trier 1147/48.⁷⁴

Few scholars today have worked with the actual letters, working instead from the convenience of compiled editions with an estimated chronological dating method, most recently accomplished by Lievin van Acker.⁷⁵ The reason for this is that no original

⁷³ Anna Somfai, “Hildegard of Bingen: The Power of Vision and the Vision of Power,” in *Issues in Medieval Philosophy* ed. Nancy van Deusen (Ottawa : The Institute of Medieval Music, 2001), 100.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁷⁵ Hildegard of Bingen, *Hildegardis Bingensis epistolarium* vol 1, ed. with introduction in German by Lievin van Acker; *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 91 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

letter nor copybook are known to exist. Instead modern editions must rely upon three contemporaneous manuscripts such as the copies recorded in the Riesencodex.

John van Engen asserts that Volmar not only tampered with the ordering of letters in the *Liber epistolarum*, but also forged the letter of papal sanction by Pope Eugenius III. That is, the letter expressing that she give utterance to what she saw in vision. Van Engen cites only two known sources for the papal endorsement, which, based on corroborating evidence, date from about 1170.⁷⁶ Furthermore he acknowledges that no official endorsement exists in the records and letters of the popes, archbishops, or Bernard himself.⁷⁷ This instance supports the notion that a “myth of authorization” was created to support her visions.⁷⁸ I assert that the explicit purpose of the spurious Eugenius letter was to serve as a pedigree of *auctoritas*. It was a certificate sanctioning the content of the bound codices she sent out to secure a new “mother” institution for her community.

Even without the aid of the spurious letters, there is certainly enough clear evidence that the Cistercians already respected Hildegard’s spiritual authority. In a letter dated sometime before 1170, an anonymous Cistercian community wrote in praise to Hildegard requesting her divine insight on ways they might improve their community.

To Hildegard, worthy of all honor, lady to be embraced with the arms of sincere love...we venerate you as spiritually superior to us, and we hope that you will be our mediator with Christ like a beloved mother. Because we have heard of the good reputation of your holy calling and your faithful

⁷⁶ The three sources are the letter in the *Liber epistolarum*, *Vita Hildegardis*, and Hildegard’s “autohagiography” also dated around 1170. If such an endorsement were made by Eugenius III or Bernard it would have almost certainly been included in the *Protestificatio* that prefaced the *Scivias* in 1151. John van Engen, “Letters and the Public Persona of Hildegard of Bingen,” in *Hildegard von Bingen in Ihrem historischen Umfeld*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Mainz, 2000), 385.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 390.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 375-418.

administration of your convent in God, we offer the obedience of prayer for your steadfastness and our service to God for your salvation...we beseech you, merciful lady, not to hesitate to disclose to us what God has revealed to you about that which is displeasing to you (or, I should say, to the eyes of God)...⁷⁹

The question of whether or not these Cistercian communities found her chant as *spiritually superior* and used it within their liturgy is more difficult to discern.

The Cistercian community which seemed a likely candidate and, recounting from Constant Mews comment in the introduction of this paper, the one which may indeed have been adding local practices, against the recommendations of the General Chapter, is the community in Villers-la-ville, or as Hildegard addressed them, the *fili charitatis*.⁸⁰

The Press-kit of Authority: The Dendermonde Codex

In a letter to the community of the Rupertsberg, in which Guibert de Gembloux asks for news on whether or not the rumors of Hildegard's death are true, he writes:

With all the affectionate veneration due you, we have received the Book of Life's Rewards, which your holy mother wrote and which you sent, out of your love for us. We consider it worthy of the greatest admiration. The brothers at Villers first feasted well on its marvelous doctrine at their table, and now we too are taking delectable sips from reading the collection.⁸¹

In this passage, Guibert provides us with evidence that the Cistercian brothers at Villers were using Hildegard's works. The problem is that he only addresses the reading of the *Liber vitae meritorum* and not the singing of the *cantus*. If the *cantus cum melodia*

⁷⁹ Letter 276, *Letters* Vol. 3, 71.

⁸⁰ "Analecta S. Hildegardis", *Analecta sacra* vol. 8, ed. Jean-Baptiste Pitra (Monte Cassino, 1882). 399.

⁸¹ Guibert's last line in this passage however, raises the question, *who does he mean by "we too."* Did he mean that through multiple readings the monks at Villers were taking "delectable sips" or was it that he had already taken the manuscript to Gembloux?. Hildegard, *Letters* vol. 2, 46; In Pitra, the text reads, "...*Librum meritorum vitae* ab ipsa sancta matre nostra editum, a charitate vestra nobis transmissum, debitae venerationis affectu suscepimus; summa ammiratione dignum ducimus, cujus mirifica doctrina et Villareses primo ad mensam suam optime saginati sunt, et nos modo ad lectionem collationum delectabiliter potamur." Pitra, 397.

were initially bound with the rest of the *LVM*, it could be inferred that they were supplementing their own antiphonal with Hildegard's chant. It is also worth mentioning that the *LVM* and the *Cantus* may once have been sent as separate manuscripts and only later bound at Villers. If this were the case, the book mentioned in the introduction which they were "...reading zealously and embracing...affectionately..." might have meant the *Cantus* or some other book, such as the *LDO*.⁸² I contend that both refer to the *LVM* as one letter is addressed to Hildegard and the second to the Rupertsberg community on the belief that Hildegard was dead.

What is known of the poorly documented history of the deteriorating Dendermonde Codex Ms. 9 is that on f.173v there is, in a late twelfth century hand, an owner's mark: 'Lib[er] s[an]c[t]e Mar[ie de] Villari' *Book of Saint Mary's of Villers*.⁸³ Judging from the letters discussed in more detail below, it dates from around 1175. It is possible that it was intended as a gift on the canonization of Bernard of Clairvaux (January 18, 1174), by whom the Villers community was founded.⁸⁴ The codex had been cut and rebound in the eighteenth century and in the process folios have been lost. The contents as it appears today are:

1. ff. 1-121v - *Liber Vitae Meritorum S. Hildegardis* in two parts: ff. 1-70v is part I; ff. 71-121v is part II.⁸⁵

⁸² Letter 107, *Letters* Vol. 2, 42-43.

⁸³ Hildegard of Bingen. *Symphonia Harmoniae Caelestium Revelationum*. Dendermonde St.-Pieters & Paulusabdij Ms. Cod. 9. Introduction by Peter van Poucke (Peer, 1991), 10.

⁸⁴ Villers-la-ville, Cistercien abbey founded in 1146 as a daughter house to Clairvaux by Saint Bernard. Formerly Diocese of Liege, today diocese of Namur commune of Tilly Arrondissement of Nivelles, Brabant On the river Thyle. Laurent H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topobibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 2 vol. Mâcon, 1939.

⁸⁵ A note which deserves attention for future study along this path is the structural and content emulation of Bernard's *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* in Hildegard's *Liber Vitae Meritorum* and to some extent the *38 Responsiones super questiones. De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, LTR 3.13-42. in G.R. Evans. *Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Oxford University Press, 2000). 92-93.

2. ff. 121-152v - *Liber Viarum Dei S. Elisabeth de Schoenau*
3. ff. 153-170v - *Cantus cum melodia*
4. ff. 170-173v is a title less dialogue between a priest and a devil.

The missing folios have been the subject of speculation for many years. It is reasonable to assume that the folios between f.155-156 and f.164-165 once contained music from the *cantus cum melodia*, but there is the matter of the eight (8) lacunae before the *cantus*. It does seem logical that the chants dedicated to the Father and Son were contained on part of the missing quire. Some, like Peter Dronke have suggested that it may have included the *Ordo Uirtutum*, Hildegard's liturgical drama. I propose yet another hypothesis, that the missing folios may have included Hildegard's endorsement of *auctoritas*, that is Volmar's "forged" letter from Eugenius III. For evidence of this, I look to the contents of a manuscript sent to the Premonstratensian community of St. Mary's at Romerstorph.

Wa Wien, Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 1016

In Wa, Folios 1-115 are written in a 13th century hand; the remaining folios date from the late 12th century, which might indicate that the 13th century folios are replacements for an original 12th century manuscript. The contents are:

1. ff. 1-108v - *Liber Vitae Meritorum S. Hildegardis*
2. ff. 108v-115v - *Responsiones super questiones*
3. ff. 116-118r - fragments of Letters⁸⁶

⁸⁶ A fragment of the *Kyrie* appears in the margins on f. 117v notated without staff. If these 12th century folios originated from the Rupertsberg, it may be an indication of an intermediary stage in the transmission of Hildegard's chant, accounted then for the minor discrepancies between the more complete manuscripts of R and D.

4. f. 118v – contains musical notation of the *Kyrie*, and *Alleluia O Virga mediatrix*
5. f. 119r contains the *Litterae ignota* followed by a single musical line of *Kyrie eleison*
6. ff. 119v-121v contain more fragments of Letters.

Using these contents for comparison, I contend that the initial Dendermonde codex included a copy of the Bernardine correspondence and the ‘forged’ Eugenius III letter. The lacunae most likely included the *Litterae ignota* as well. To note, in Wa, the *Litterae ignotae* appear on the very same folio as the copy of the Bernard letter.⁸⁷ In the Riesencodex (R), the final letter from the brothers of Villers is recorded beneath the *Litterae ignota*, far removed from the other correspondence and also the last entry prior to the chants.⁸⁸

The *Responsiones super questiones* are Hildegard’s solutions to the thirty-eight questions asked by Guibert and the monks of Villers. Of the twenty earliest sources listed by van Acker, Wa is the only one, outside of R, which contains the *Responsiones*. It seems that one would expect to find them in D not Wa. The requests for the *Responsiones* however, appear in the same letters as those thanking Hildegard for the book. It is safe to conclude that they would have come at a latter date. Furthermore, this evidence suggests that D was bound at the Rupertsberg.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ The *Litterae ignotae* are written over a series of 4-line staves. Recorded beneath is the last repeat of Hildegard’s *Kyrie*, followed by the remainder of a letter then the beginning of the letter sent to Bernard. Wa fol. 119r.

⁸⁸ Riesencodex, folios 464va-465ra.

⁸⁹ This was a common theme throughout the correspondence from both Guibert and the brothers of Villers. It seems they never received all of the solutions, only perhaps after Guibert became Hildegard’s secretary might they have received them. 102-109r, *Letters* vol II, 16-49.

The history of the *Responsiones* leads into one of the most intriguing pieces of the Cistercian/Guibert puzzle. The questions were initiated by Guibert around 1175 where he mentions reading her works while at Gembloux. It is most intriguing that up until Guibert's first visit to Hildegard, he is still residing at Gembloux and makes no mention of Villers. In fact it is not until after his visit with Hildegard that they enter into his correspondence, writing in 1176:

*When I returned from my visit with you last autumn, blessed lady, before returning to the chamber of my mother, that is, the church at Gembloux, I turned aside to the abbey at Villers to visit my most reverend brothers and masters. In the presence of the abbot and those brothers, I read and reread that letter I had received from you through the agency of Lord Siger. I added also that information which, from your God-given wisdom, you imparted to me during my brief stay with you...When they had heard all these things, their spirits were enkindled with such great ardor of learning from you that they unanimously formulated the appended questions for you to resolve for them...*⁹⁰

It is perhaps that the *Responsiones* were intended as a method of testing Hildegard's *auctoritas*. They are questions that a prospective candidate for the positions of *prepositus* might ask. It may also suggest that, Guibert had been an "outside candidate" to fill Volmar's vacancy. Nevertheless, Hildegard's delay in providing answers to their request could be as simple as the infirmity she states,

*I looked to the True Light, and as far as I could through the grace of God, I labored on the answers to your questions. But I have not yet completed the writing I began because of the press of my affairs and because of the great infirmity that I have suffered for a long time by the will of God. I have answered only fourteen of those questions so far, but, to the best of my ability through the grace of God, I will gladly work on the others.*⁹¹

Considering how much both Guibert and Villers seem to pester her for the solutions, it is worth noting that her tone remains earnest, not admonishing as so often her letters

⁹⁰ Letter 105, *Letters* Vol. 2, 34.

⁹¹ Letter 109r, *Letters* Vol. 2, 49.

relate. This is perhaps another indication that she did not want to drive away prospective candidates.

One wonders what else Hildegard and Guibert may have discussed. It is plausible that Guibert, after learning of her Cistercian plan, was asked if he knew any likely candidates for a Cistercian mother house. As for his own position as prepositus, he would need permission from his own abbot at Gembloux, who apparently visited Hildegard in 1176 on his way back from St. Quirin.⁹²

Regardless, shortly after the events exchanged in their correspondence, Guibert became prepositus of the Rupertsberg. As a Benedictine he satisfied the requirement as abbatial representative of Disibodenberg, while his Cistercian sympathies enabled him to minister Cistercian practices to Hildegard and her community.

⁹² Letter 105, *Letters* Vol. 2, 36.

CHAPTER 4: Daily Worship

Understanding Hildegard's chants and the original Cistercian chants is dependent upon our perception of the liturgy as it stood during her lifetime. This section includes an overview of the musical works which contribute to the daily celebration of the Divine Office.

The Divine Office - Monastic cursus

Life in a medieval monastery centered upon the celebration of the Divine Office. The Divine Office was a daily ritual divided into "hours" in which all 150 Psalms were chanted each week. Seven times a day the members gathered in communal prayer, reading from the Bible and singing praises to God. While it is not necessary to provide a overview of the entire office here, the hours known as Matins (alternately the Night Office or Vigils) which began the day at 2:00 a.m, along with Lauds (5:30 a.m) and Vespers (5:30 p.m.), must be noted as they are the most musically elaborate.⁹³ It was in these hours that the chant types known as *antiphons* and *responsories* were chanted.⁹⁴

These chants of the Divine Office were collected in an *antiphonal* which, because of the large number of chants it contained for the entire liturgical calendar, was usually divided into two books, the *temporale* and the *sanctorale*. Although there is variance in extant sources, the general distinction is that the *temporale* consisted of those days from

⁹³ For a more complete description of the Divine Office including detailed differences between Feast and Ferial days as well as monastic (described here) and secular cursus, see Lila Collamore, "Prelude: Charting the Divine Office," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford, 2000), 3-11.

⁹⁴ Psalm antiphons and *short responsories* are also used during the aptly named "Little Hours" of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None. Collamore, 8; R.J. Hesbert established the field of modern research into medieval chant repertoire with the publication of the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (CAO). The cataloging system he devised is now widely used via online databases indexing chants found in manuscripts such as CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/index.html>.

Advent through the summer Sundays.⁹⁵ The sanctorale consisted of the feast days for the saints beginning with Andrew (30 November) and ending with Saturninus (29 November). Additionally, chants for the Common of saints, Office of the Dead and Little Office of the Virgin, were usually added to the sanctorale.⁹⁶

The antiphonal however is not the only book of chant repertoire required to celebrate the Divine Office. Also required were the *Psalter*, which contained the *Book of Psalms* and the *hymnal*. It is the authenticity of the chants used in the antiphonal and hymnal which was the focus of the Cistercian liturgical reform.

Antiphons and Responsories of Matins

Antiphons make up the majority of medieval chant. There are however many types of antiphons but the following are worth mentioning. Psalm antiphons are typically short melodic works which “bookend” the recitation of psalms. Their prose texts are often drawn from those Psalms or other parts of the Bible to set the proper occasion for the particular feast or ferial day. There are also more elaborate antiphons which seem stand alone from the psalms. The most common of these are the Invitatory Antiphons chanted at the start of Matins, and the ornate Processional and Votive Antiphons.⁹⁷ Of the three antiphons for this study, Barbara Newman has classified *Spiritus Sanctus uiuificans* and *Karitas habundat* as psalm antiphons and *Laus trinitati* as a votive

⁹⁵ Accounting for the wide variance, Hiley notes that the emendations found in the chant-books, were subject to the opinions of the monk in charge of the liturgy. To him fell the responsibility in clarifying how chant was to be performed, taking into account notions of tonality, intervallic relationships, rhythmic treatment, etc. which chants to perform and at times to introduce original ones. David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 608.

⁹⁶ Christopher Page’s article outlines the differences in the medieval usage of the terms *cantor* and *musicus* between 700 and 1000 CE. Essentially, a *cantor* is a singer of chant whereas a *musicus* is a *cantor* who has studied the theory of chant. It was the duty of the *musicus* to maintain the liturgical books for his community. Christopher Page, “Musicus and Cantor,” in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton (Berkeley : University of California Press 1992), 77.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 88-108.

antiphon.⁹⁸ Responsories are the long and ornate chants associated with the three nocturns of Matins. As their name suggests, they involve a call and response, alternating between the text of the respond and individual versicles and concludes with a chanting of the lesser doxology, i.e. *Gloria Patri*.

The general practice of Matins during major feast days and Sundays was divided into three distinct parts. The first part is the opening which always contained the versicle *Deus in adiutorium*, an invitatory antiphon to be chanted with Psalm 94, and a hymn. The second part consisted of three nocturns. The first two nocturns consisted of six (6) antiphons and psalms followed by a versicle then four (4) lessons with responsories. The third nocturn consisted of 3 antiphons plus three canticles, a versicle then four (4) lessons with responsories. The third part is the closing section. It began with the *Te deum* followed by a Gospel reading the *Te decet laus* a collect reading and the three versicles *Dominus vobiscum*, *Benedicamus domino*, and *Fidelum animae*.⁹⁹

As Matins is a lengthy service, many communities took to abbreviating portions during the summer season, leaving more daylight hours for the necessary work of the community. This was accomplished by shortening the first nocturn, sometimes replacing it all together with a chapter reading from Scripture and reciting only part of the psalm with the antiphons.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Newman, *Symphonia*, 279-280.

⁹⁹ To view a table of the monastic cursus in matins see Collamore, *Divine Office*, 6.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

The Cistercian Liturgical Reform

The relationship between Hildegard's cantus with that of the Cistercian liturgy has often been dismissed as implausible. Critics assert that her music was much too florid and theoretically unregulated for the Cistercian spiritual aesthetic. Rarely does this criticism acknowledge the liturgical reform within the Cistercian community *during* Hildegard's lifetime.

Support for such criticism originates from encyclopedic references which cite the *Tonale* of St. Bernard (ca. 1147), a work which indicates the unique theory used to correct problems of the first attempt at the Cistercian liturgical reform. A perusal of existing Cistercian antiphonals from the third quarter of the 12th century reveals that within their communities, practice and theory did not always coincide.

As a measure of control, new statutes were continually added to enforce or clarify what constituted Cistercian practice. Among the numerous reports in the *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, many were in the form of reprimands for severe misbehavior of monks or abbots who became lax in their duty of enforcement.¹⁰¹

In the case of liturgy, the General Chapter of 1199 forbade rhythmic poetry by Cistercian monks.¹⁰² Citing examples beginning as early as 1138 and continuing well into the 13th century, Paden suggests that the prohibition against *rythmos* was not intended to forbid all poetry, but rather certain types, namely vernacular and secular

¹⁰¹ SC, Canivez, 1 (Louvain, 1933).

¹⁰² "Monachi qui rythmos fecerint, ad domos alias mittantur non redituri nisi per generale Capitulum" (Let any monks who make [rhythms / poems] be sent to other houses not to return unless through [permission of] the general Chapter. *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. Josephus-Maria Canivez, 1 (Louvain, 1933), 232, item I199:1. quoted in William D. Paden, jr. "De Monachis Rhythmos Facientibus: Hélinant de Froidmont, Bertran de Born, and the Cistercian General Chapter of 1199," *Speculum* 55 (1980), 669-685.

poetry of a polemical nature, as well as vernacular translations of the *Song of Songs*.¹⁰³

Another statute dating from 1217 directed “...the abbots of Neath and Flaxley to reform the custom of part-singing in choir which was in use at Dore and Tintern.”¹⁰⁴ It is not until the mid-13th century that a widespread common practice appears among the communities.

Development of the Cistercian Liturgy

During Hildegard’s lifetime, there were four main stages of development in the Cistercian liturgy:

- 1) Molesme Liturgy (1098-ca1119) - that is the Benedictine liturgy taken when the first Cistercians set out from Molesme to Citeaux in 1098.
- 2) First Cistercian Liturgical Reform (RI) (ca1112-1132?) adopted during the abbacy of Stephen Harding who sought the undisputed authority of Ambrosian Hymns from Milan and “Gregorian” Chant from the Metz Antiphonal.¹⁰⁵
- 3) Second Cistercian Liturgical Reform (RII) (ca1132?-1147) – Bernard of Clairvaux, Guido d’Eu and Richard of Vauclair developed the Cistercian theory to correct the errors of RI. They also added chants and Feasts to the liturgy.
- 4) Minor Reform and Compilation of the Mother Liturgy (ca. 1174-1190) – *Dijon, Bibliotheque Municipale 114*. This was intended to be the Master copy against which all Cistercian communities could be compared. Unfortunately the hymnal, gradual, and antiphonal have been missing since

¹⁰³ While both the logic and evidence of his argument are well supported, the ambiguity of the term *rythmos*, especially without supporting comment within the statute, could imply an underlying Cistercian aesthetic favoring *through-composed* chant over *strophic*. What is revealing in the course of Paden’s argument, is that he demonstrates that twelfth century Cistercian monks did not limit themselves to liturgical composition. Since many, like Hildegard’s own community, came from aristocratic families they continued the vernacular tradition of the troubadours and trouveres.

¹⁰⁴ A. Hamilton Thompson review of *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*. Edited by D. Josephus M. Canivez, Ord. Cist. Ref. Tomus I. Ab anno 1116 ad annum 1220. (Bibliotheque de la Revue d’hist.eccl. fasc. 9.) (Louvain : Bureaux de la Revue, 1933) in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 49, No. 194. (Apr., 1934), 327.

¹⁰⁵ Waddell designates RI and RII as sigla for the First and Second Recension of liturgical books. Chysogonus Waddell, *The Twelfth Century Cistercian Hymnal*, Cistercian Liturgy Series volume I, (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1984), 7.

the 16th century.¹⁰⁶ (N.B. This timeframe coincides with the dates that both the Dendermonde and Riesencodex were compiled, and more importantly the date when D was sent to the Cistercian Abbey in Villers.)

For the purpose of this study, a somewhat detail background in RI and RII needs to be addressed.

The First Recension Liturgy - Ambrosian Hymns and the Metz Antiphonal

As the Cistercian movement began with the intention to do away with the excesses associated with the Cluniac Benedictines in order to follow a strict observation of the Rule of St. Benedict. It makes sense, in light of the above complexities, that the chanting of the Divine Office, an essential ritual of cenobiotic life, was also subject to reform.

By the end of the 11th century, the continuous evolution in liturgical practices and added Feasts had for the Cistercians a negative impact upon their commitment to *caritas*. The hours of the Divine Office became more elaborate and encroached upon other facets of monastic life. This became a source of frustration among the early Cistercians which they attempted to resolve by finding a reliable, *authentic* source to follow.¹⁰⁷

Their belief was that in order to strictly follow the Rule of St. Benedict as Benedict himself had practiced it, they needed be able to chant like him too. To accomplish this they needed to eliminate as much of the previous 600 years of liturgical emendations as

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 17.

¹⁰⁷ Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, translated by Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 117-119.

possible, limiting chants only to those which could have been known by Benedict or Pope Gregory I.¹⁰⁸

An example of their strict observance is found in the reform of the Cistercian hymnal. There are four references in the Rule of St. Benedict equating the terms *hymn* with *Ambrosianum*. The reformers surmised that this meant the hymns composed by St. Ambrose and necessarily sent a delegation to Milan to collect them. They returned with thirty-four texts and nineteen melodies most of which were unfamiliar to them.¹⁰⁹ The need for supplemental hymns was apparent.

Likewise as Metz was at that time considered host to the most authentic practice of Gregorian chant, they sent delegations there to copy its antiphonals and graduals. What they found in Metz however was chant full of errors, often with texts which made no sense and melodies which seemed wander.¹¹⁰ Stephen Harding however held to the belief that this chant was nevertheless undisputed authority. For him, "...*auctoritas* [authority] cannot be wrong even if its functioning eludes human reason."¹¹¹

Citing Deficiencies in RI – Transition to RII

Peter Abelard provides a lengthy account regarding the deficiencies of the early Cistercian Liturgy. Incensed by Bernard's criticism of his own textual variations used

¹⁰⁸ Waddell writes that in an effort to return to liturgical authenticity, Stephen Harding, the third Abbot of Citeaux (1108-34) forbade his successors from using any hymns not composed by St Ambrose because they would not have been known to St Benedict. At this time, Gregory I was still believed to be the author of Gregorian chant. Waddell, *Cistercian Hymnal* Vol. 1, 69.

¹⁰⁹ David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 611.

¹¹⁰ Chysogonus Waddell, "Origin and Early Evolution of Cistercian Antiphony," in *The Cistercian Spirit: A Symposium in Memory of Thomas Merton*, ed. M. Basil Pennington (Washington, D.C.: Cistercian Publications, 1973), 202-207.

¹¹¹ Claire Maitre, "Authority and Reason in the Cistercian Theory of Music," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 29 (1994), 200.

in the liturgy at the Paraclete, Abelard defends his position then follows with an attack upon the absurdity of the Cistercian Hymnal.¹¹²

Some notable deficiencies were that RI lacked a hymn for the Holy Innocents; instead a hymn on December 28 was dedicated to several martyrs. The Evangelists also lacked a hymn. “As for “holy women”, Abelard’s reference surely includes the holiest of them all, the Magdalene, who was, indeed, neither virgin nor martyr. In the earliest RI witnesses, her hymn is, irony of ironies, the common hymn for virgins; though at a later date – perhaps closer to the date of the redaction of R II – a cento-hymn was pieced together for her from the R I Palm Sunday hymn.”¹¹³

One other important point must be made. The liturgical practice at the Paraclete had been based upon the Cistercian liturgy of RI. Waddell surmises that its lack of appropriate hymns is perhaps the same reason Abelard wrote his own collection of hymns for the Paraclete.¹¹⁴ As will be shown, a number of Hildegard’s existing chants also serve to fill “gaps” in the early Cistercian liturgy, such as in this case, the Holy Innocents. It might thus be assumed that she was at the very least familiar with Cistercian practice if not practicing it in her own community.

The Second Recension Liturgy – Corrections and Theory

Abelard’s criticism did not fall on deaf ears. The deficiencies he cited were no doubt understood by the Cistercians for sometime. In the early 1130s, Bernard of Clairvaux, assisted by Guido d’Eu and Richard of Vauclair developed a Cistercian theory to

¹¹² Bernard visited Heloise at the Paraclete sometime around 1132 and was apparently disturbed by the words, “supersubstantial bread” in place of “daily bread” in the Lord’s Prayer sung at Lauds and Vespers. The famous letter by Abelard is commonly known as *Letter 10*. Waddell, *Cistercian Hymnal* Vol. 1, 65.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

correct the errors of RI. To undertake this task, however they needed to reconsider just what authority was.

The view of authority as understood by the RII reformers seems as a reversal to Stephen Harding. The RII reformers believed that the errors in the Metz antiphonal were the result of human corruption and therefore the liturgy needed to be corrected through *ratio* [reason]. In Maitre's words, "...authority itself is corrupted by human activity, and thus everything must be reconstructed, beginning with a revelation of divine order in its application to music."¹¹⁵ Jamie Younkin elaborates on Bernard's particular kind of *ratio* which is "...not merely reason gained through human logic, but reason gained from divine insight through silent communion with God. Truth discovered by this type of reason, which is possible without the aid of tradition or ancient sources, is more reliable...because it is divinely inspired in a direct first-hand fashion. It does not conform to the logic taught by fallible men but is seen to be in complete accord with nature, the untouched perfection of God himself."¹¹⁶ In any event, the result was an *a priori* notion of what constituted authentic chant.

In order to be authentic, Gregorian chant and Ambrosian hymns must conform to these basic rules:¹¹⁷

* Modal Unity – chant melodies were modified so that they remained within a single mode and not modulate...

¹¹⁵ Claire Maitre, "Authority and Reason in the Cistercian Theory of Music," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 29 (1994), 200.

¹¹⁶ After analysis of the 12th century Cistercian responsories, Younkin concludes that the rules guiding Cistercian chant were probably intended for the celebration of the Mass as they seemed to have had little impact on the Divine Office. Jamie A. Younkin, "Aspects of the Twelfth-Century Cistercian Chant Reform as seen in the Responsories for the Night Office" (M.M. Thesis, Florida State University, Spring 2001), 58.

¹¹⁷ This is an over simplification of the theory, but it suffices for the purposes of this study. Waddell, *Cistercian Hymnal*, Vol. 1, 74; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 610.

* Avoidance of B-flat in notation – the solution was often to transpose the chant so that the semi-tone interval of A to B-flat, became E to F

* Restricted Range - Chants edited were not to extend beyond a 10 note range and there was to be no mixing of plagal and authentic modes within the chant.

* Repetition of words and music to be avoided

* Reduction of Long melismas or rather anything which distracted from the text.

These new rules were described in both the *Tonale Sancti Bernardi* and the *Regulae de Arte Musica*, both of which are now considered to be the work of Guido d'Eu.¹¹⁸

In addition to correcting the RI Liturgy, Bernard and his team added newly composed chants and Feasts to the liturgy. These new Feasts included a complete office for the evangelists and a proper for Mary Magdalene. The new chants for the Virgin Mary were modeled on texts from the *Song of Songs*, a favorite subject of Bernard.

Bearing in mind that Cistercian music theory was developed as a method to restore *pre-existing* chant found in the Metz Antiphonal and the Ambrosian Hymnal, it is not easy to identify if they applied this theory to *newly composed* chants. In the new chants only the rule of restricted range appears to be consistently heeded. Before proceeding to a closer examination of these theoretical principles, it is important to expound on the need for the expansion of chant repertoire as it relates to the Rule of St. Benedict, and

¹¹⁸ A word of observation, the relative lack of existing 12th century sources containing these treatises leads one to wonder how well known the rules may have been. In the case of the comparative Cistercian antiphonal used for this study, only a portion of the *Tonale* (beginning with the incipit *Discipulus*) appears to have been purposefully included. It addresses only what the modes are, making no mention of these new rules. Maitre, *Authority and Reason*, 200; Sarah Fuller, "An anonymous Treatise Dictus De Sancto Martiale: A New Source for Cistercian Music Theory." *Musica Disciplina* Vol. 31, (1977), 8.

expose other clues into the argument of a Cistercian liturgical practice at the Rupertsberg.

Hypothesis of Hildegard's Cistercian Liturgy

Although Hildegard's *cantus cum melodia* represent a collection of chants composed for a variety of purposes over a thirty year span, the comparative analysis will proceed within the context of the Cistercian liturgical reform of the Divine Office.¹¹⁹ The reason is that the detailed theory regarding the composition (and correction) of liturgical chant would most likely have been used as a measure of authenticity by the Cistercian brothers of Villers.

I suggest two hypotheses on the liturgical chant argument that must be considered. First, the selection of chants included within the Dendermonde and the Riesencodex might reflect the Feast offices which were added to the Cistercian liturgy during her life at the Rupertsberg. The records of the *Statuta Capitulorum* for this period are scant. In fact between 1150 and 1179, the critical years for this study, no known record exists for eleven of those years. Moreover, the years 1165, 1167, and 1168 contain only letters. The result is a continuous gap of statutes for the years 1162 through 1172.¹²⁰

What are present in the statutes are the addition of Marian chants in the 1150s, and the Office of the Trinity to the liturgy which was adopted by the General Chapter of

¹¹⁹ For instance, despite the liturgical themes and rubrication of her chants, it is not clear that they were all intended for the Mass or Divine Office. It has been suggested that some of the chants may have been intended for Processionals, or chanted within her sermons. It is also probable that Hildegard composed many more chants which are no longer extant. John Stevens, "The Musical Individuality of Hildegard's Songs: A Liturgical Shadowland." in *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of Her Life and Thought*, ed. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (Warburg Institute 1998), 163-188.

¹²⁰ The missing records are for the years: 1179, 1178, 1176, 1172, 1171, 1169, 1166, 1164, 1163, 1162, and 1155. *SC*.

1175.¹²¹ Although no statute exists regarding the Feast of St. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgin Martyrs, newly composed Cistercian chants for the Feast are included by the 1174, as indicated by the antiphonal referenced for this study. It is therefore likely that the Feast was officially adopted in the late 1150s to early 1160s.

Comparing these inclusions to Hildegard's output, it is noted that only her sixteen existing chants to Mary are rubricated as a Feast. Her collective chants to Ursula and the 11,000 Virgin Martyrs comprise the next highest number with nine and finally chants dedicated to the Trinity comprise the third highest.¹²²

A second point is that for many of the Feast offices, Hildegard provides only a responsory and an antiphon. This I assert is due to her strict observation of the Rule which as Younkin noted, "...explicitly prescribes four lessons and responsories per nocturn on all Sundays without exception."¹²³ Practice among Benedictine houses had grown lax and typically chanted only three. By the time of the Cistercian reform, it had become common practice in both secular and monastic use that Matins consisted of three (3) nocturns with three (3) responsories, even on Sundays. This practice is reflected in comparison between Cistercian and Benedictine antiphonals from the second half of the twelfth century.

¹²¹ Many of the chants indicated pertain to the Mass. *SC*, 47-49; Fourteen of the Marian antiphons based on the *Song of Songs* originated from abbey of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon. The responsories chosen for this study however are believed to be RII originals. Chysogonus Waddell. "Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Sweet Singer of Israel: The Textual Reform of the Primitive Cistercian Breviary," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38.4 (2003) : 445; Waddell, *Cistercian Hymnal* Vol. 1, 83.

¹²² Fassler suggests that the Ursula chants date from sometime after 1156 as interest in the cult was revived after the supposed discovery of the relics outside Cologne in the mid-twelfth century. Margot Fassler, "Music for the Love Feast: Hildegard of Bingen and the Song of Songs," in *Women's Voices across Musical Worlds*, ed. Jane A Bernstein (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003), 99.

¹²³ Younkin, 20.

In order to return to the original number of four Responsories, Cistercians introduced newly composed chants, as mentioned previously in this discussion. One such instance is the responsory, *Sancte dei pretiose* CAO7575 [Appendix N] for the Feast of St. Stephen. It is the third responsory for the third nocturn in Utrecht NL-Uu 406, but in the Cistercian antiphonal F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412, it was moved to the fourth responsory of the third nocturn with an original Cistercian responsory, *Preciosus athleta domini* [Appendix M] in its place. It should be noted that the Cistercian reformers not only retained the same *Gloria Patri*, but actually used adapted its melody to the new versicle for the chant. I will return to these responsories later in this study.

As it seems unlikely that a completely new antiphonal would have been produced each time a new office or supplemental antiphon was added, these new liturgical items were probably collected separately. Hildegard thus may have been compelled to compose for these offices in order to supplement the Rupertsberg liturgy until a new antiphonal was produced.

CHAPTER 5: Cistercian Theory in Practice

By the mid-12th century, the RII Cistercian theorists invented a system which would help them restore their liturgy to its *authentic* “Gregorian” state. Evidence from manuscripts dating from the second half of the 12th-century demonstrate that this practice was not always heeded especially in regard to new chants composed by the RII reformers themselves.

To review:

- * Modal Unity – chant melodies were modified so that they remained within a single mode and not modulate
- * Restricted Range - Chants edited were not to extend beyond a 10 note range and there was to be no mixing of plagal and authentic modes within the chant.
- * Avoidance of B-flat in notation – the solution was often to transpose the chant so that the semi-tone interval of A to B-flat, became E to F
- * Repetition of words and music to be avoided
- * Reduction of Long melismas or rather anything which distracted from the text.

Modal Unity and Restricted Range

As stated in the previous chapter, restricted range is the only practice which appears to have been consistently heeded by the RII theorists. This was evidently partially due to the convenience of sight reading especially where, as in the case of the manuscript used in this study, only the F and C lines are inked.

The rules regarding modal unity and restricted range are inextricably linked in the Cistercian concept of *maneria*. *Maneria* corresponds to the older classification of

modes in Western chant: *protus*, *deuterus*, *tritus*, and *tetrardus*. At the core of each maneria is the *compositio*, which corresponds to the modal octave.

Maneria is further defined "...by the disposition of the notes of the scale used below (despositio) and above (elevatio) the final note."¹²⁴ The *elevatio* consists of the tone and one half or two tones which lie above the final. The *despositio* is the tone or half tone which lies below the final. Combined with the complete octave of the *compositio*, eleven distinct pitches are available per authentic mode.¹²⁵

Each of the four maneria consists of two modes, authentic and plagal. Further each maneria has two finals, for instance in Protus, D is the final for the authentic mode and A is the final for plagal. A guiding principle of plagal modes is the role of the *mediatrix*. In the protus plagal mode, D becomes the mediatrix, with its *despositio* three tones below and its *elevatio* four tones above, thus indicating A as the final. The RII reformers seem to indicate that plagal modes were not to extend beyond the octave. There was to be no co-mingling of authentic and plagal modes.

In describing maneriae, I have devised both a shorthand numerical indicator and a more specific modal indicator using letter names. For instance a chant which uses the maximum *despositio*, *compositio*, and *elevatio* will be indicated numerically: (1) 8 (2), where the left hand number is despositio and "8" signifies the full octave of the compositio. To indicate mode, *despositio* and *elevatio* are designated by their maximum letter name whereas the *compositio* designates the apparent final and co-final of the mode, unless co-final is unclear in which case the final and its octave will be

¹²⁴ Maitre, 204.

¹²⁵ N.B. *elevatio* and *despositio* do not refer to their placement within the "octave." They refer to their intervallic relationship to the final. My shorthand notation however is used to reflect what appears to be Hildegard's usage which seems to reflect an octave interpretation.

given. For instance, protus D with maximum *despositio* and *elevatio* is designated: (C) D-a (f). Refer to Figure 5-1 for a scalar rendering of all *maneriae*.

Figure 5-1
Cistercian *maneria*

Protus - 1st *maneria* (finals: A & D / despositio: Tone / elevatio: tone + half)

Deuterus - 2nd *maneria* (finals: E & B / despositio: Tone / elevatio: half + tone)

Tritus - 3rd *maneria* (finals: F & C / despositio: half / elevatio: tone + tone)

Tetrardus - 4th *maneria* (final: G / despositio: tone / elevatio: tone + tone)

One peculiarity that stands out in Cistercian chant is the recognition of C as a final. This was not recognized in the standardized system of church modes used in other liturgical practices.¹²⁶ It is however commonly found in altered Cistercian chant and no fewer than eight are found in the chant repertoire of the Dendermonde Codex.

¹²⁶ Mode 6 aka Hypolydian retains F as the final with A as the tenor.

Moreover both the Cistercians and Hildegard maintain that B is the co-final of mode 3 rather than C.

Cistercians also allowed for transposition of authentic mode to the co-final, that is authentic *tritus* (aka mode 5) could begin on C applying the rules of authentic mode *maneria*, for instance (B) C-G (e). The most common reason for transposition was to avoid B-flat in the notation.

Avoidance of B-flat

The solution was often to transpose the chant so that the semi-tone interval of A to B-flat, became E to F. In the Dendermonde codex, there are twenty-nine chants which correspond with this rule. In the new Cistercian chants however there are still examples where this rule was not followed.

Figure 5-2



This responsory for the Common of One Virgin appears to break two rules of the RII reform. One is the inclusion of *b-flat*; the other is the mingling of modes. Regardless, the inclusion of the *b-flat* follows the common practice of avoiding the tritone with *F* as well as serving as an “upper neighbor” to the *a*.

The charge of co-mingling modes is a little more difficult to explain. The responsory is built in mode 8 where *G* and *D* serve as finals. This section, designated as R2, is the repeated “refrain” chanted after each verse. The section begins by intoning the cofinals, but then extends up to *a* on the syllable “-ru-.” Here the ambiguity of

mode sets in. While the upper *b-flat* would tend to indicate *a* as the final, it becomes clear that its purpose is to avoid the tritone with *F*, which itself is serving as the lower neighbor designating *G* as the true final. This is confirmed by the upper neighbor of *a* prior to the final syllable “–rit.” The remaining section clarifies mode 8 with the introduction of the *b-natural*. As will be shown in the following chapter, this is not unlike the way Hildegard addresses these compositional issues.

Repetition and Reduction

Concerning the repetition of words and music, the Cistercian reformers often used the same or similar melodies for both verse and *Gloria Patri* within the same responsory. Refer to the appendix *Filie iherusalem nuntiate* [Appendix L] and *Preciosus athleta domini* [Appendix M]. Waddell explains that in the earliest versions of the Cistercian Offices, “...the same verse was sometimes repeated several times, but for some reason the Cistercians were unwilling to tolerate this repetition. Accordingly they substituted for the repetitions new verses, verses usually taken from the sources at their disposal but sometimes created by themselves.”¹²⁷

It is the reduction of long melismas or more specifically anything which distracted from the text that is the charge most often levied against Hildegard. This belief apparently has its root in a letter from Bernard to the Victorines of Montier-Ramey:

If there is singing the melody should be grave and not flippant or uncouth. It should be sweet and not frivolous; it should both enchant the ears and move the heart; it should lighten sad hearts and soften angry passions; and it should never obscure but enhance the sense of the words. Not a little spiritual profit is lost when the minds are distracted from the sense of the

¹²⁷ Chysogonus Waddell. “Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Sweet Singer of Israel: The Textual Reform of the Primitive Cistercian Breviary,” *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38.4 (2003) : 446.

words by frivolity of the melody, when more is conveyed by the modulations of the voice than by the variations of the meaning.¹²⁸

Long melismatic passages (*jubilatio*) were typically placed at toward the end of the Alleluia Mass chants where they serve to “...represent the music of the angelic hosts.”¹²⁹

The problem with a definition such as this is its subjectivity. For instance how are the words enhanced in the following?

Figure 5-3

F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 - fol. 91v *Filie iherusalem nuntiate* (excerpt)

R² Qui - - - a

a - mo - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - re

Elision between *Quia amore* notwithstanding, what enhancing purpose is there in melismatic application to such a word as *quia*? The treatment of *amore* is more in lines with what one might expect, especially in a responsory which, considering its subject matter and text drawn from the Song of Songs, may indeed have been written by Bernard of Clairvaux himself.

Responsory for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary

R: *Filie iherusalem nuntiate dilecto quia amore langueo* [Songs 5:8]

V: *Osculetur me osculo oris sui* [Songs 1:1]

¹²⁸ The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, ep. 430.

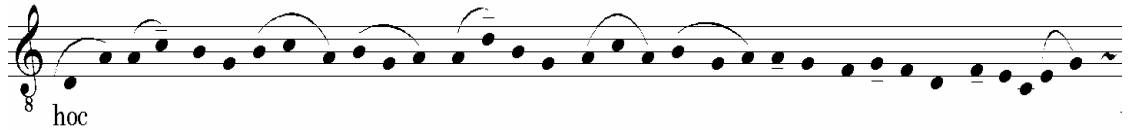
¹²⁹ Margot Fassler, “Composer and Dramatist: Melodious Singing and the Freshness of Remorse,” in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 154.

R: Daughters of Jerusalem tell my beloved because I languish in his love.
V: Let me be kissed with the kiss of his mouth.

The Cistercian responsory for St. Stephen has an even more remarkable example, a 34 note melisma on the word “hoc.”

Figure 5-4

F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 – fol.4r-v – *Preciosus athleta domini*



This too is longer and indeed less than “enhancing” in what we tend to find with Hildegard.

It has been demonstrated that a significant amount of subjectivity in what constituted authentic was used by the RII reformers in composing their own chants. It is plausible then that to her many Cistercian contemporaries who did indeed respect her spiritual authority, Hildegard’s chant was acceptable on the merits of its divinely inspired content alone. The Cistercian preference for divine knowledge over the limits of temporal reason would preclude any contradictions between her chant and the theories of liturgical reform. This position is echoed by Chrysogonus Waddell who comments on the manner conducted by Bernard’s team when editing the Ambrosian hymn-texts, “One simply does not “correct” a doctor of the Church such as Ambrose. To do so would be the equivalent of correcting the Holy Spirit, whose mouthpiece and amanuensis Ambrose was.”¹³⁰

What follows is the application of their theory to Hildegard’s repertoire.

¹³⁰ Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Twelfth Century Cistercian Hymnal*, Cistercian Liturgy Series volume I, (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1984), 91

Cistercian Theory Applied to Hildegard

As noted in the previous chapter, the only significant argument that can be made against Hildegard's "Cistercianity" is that in a number of her chants, the ambitus falls outside of the acceptable range of Cistercian.¹³¹ This could be due to the fact, noting the aforementioned partial *Tonale Sancti Bernardi*, that the rule regarding maximum range was not known to her.

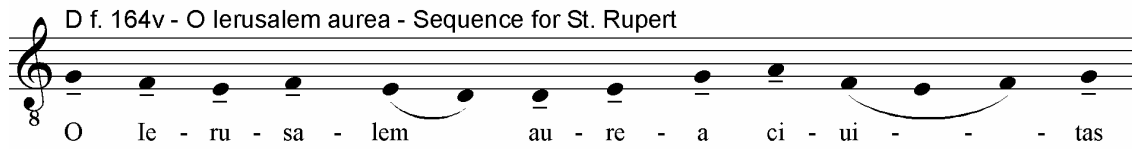
Even so, what is found in many of those chants which extend beyond the prescribed *maneria* is that only once do they tend to extend beyond the *elevatio*. In such cases it is usually extended to the *final* at its peak and usually for the purpose of textual enhancement. When it extends below the normal *despositio*, it extends to the cofinal and then usually placed in a weak position (i.e. on a punctum at the end of *climacus*) apparently serving as to clarify the *final* and thereby modality.

Still other chants remain within the acceptable range of the *maneria* by eliminating the *despositio* but then making up for the difference by adding the subtracted tone or half tone to the top.

This is the case with St. Rupert Sequence, *O ierusalem aurea* which appears only partially in Dendermonde.

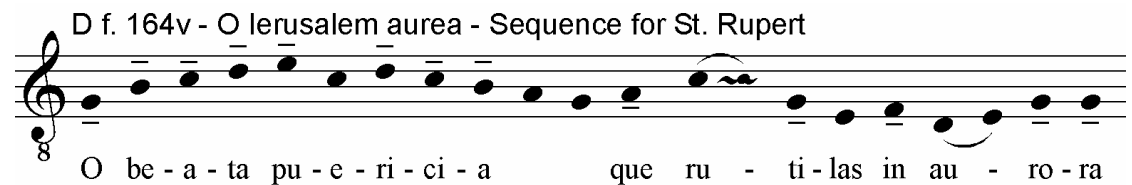
¹³¹ In reference to the chants composed for Ursula, Fassler remarks that Hildegard wrote for the normative tessitura of the female voice, "...putting her notes in a range that only women could comfortably sing, especially young women." I do not agree with this comment. First, unlike modern equal temperament, we have no way of knowing at what frequency Hildegard's modes vibrated. Secondly, if she is referring to the chants written with the final C, then we would necessarily assume that the Cistercian chants with the same final were meant for women. Finally, if typical modern performances of early music have taught us anything, it is that the range of the male singing voice, especially with the inclusion of falsetto, is wider than a woman's. Margot Fassler, "Music for the Love Feast: Hildegard of Bingen and the Song of Songs," in *Women's Voices across Musical Worlds*, ed. Jane A Bernstein (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003), 105.

Figure 5-5



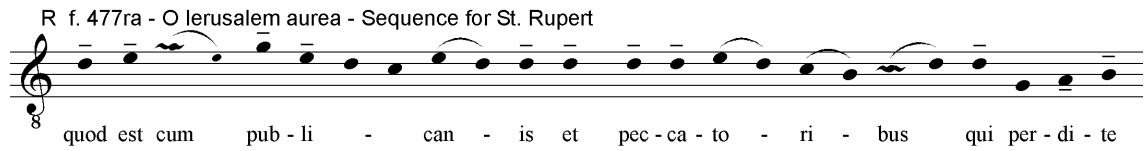
As I have classified it, this sequence appears to be composed in a plagal mode of *tetrardus*. That is *G* as the final and *D* as co-final. The tonal space is defined by descending motion of *G* to *D*. In fact the first three stanzas of this sequence are set within a 5 note ambitus, exploring the narrow range between *G* and *D*, with *a* serving as an upper neighbor to *G*. It is only at the beginning of the second verse that the upper *diapente* is explored (with *e* serving to define *d*)

Figure 5-6



Finally after establishing solid plagal mode for the first six verses, it is in the seventh verse where she seems to break into the authentic. This occurrence is the one and only time in this sequence where the chant extends to the upper *final g*. This is found in the last versicle on the word *cum* “...quod est *cum* publicanis et peccatoribus...” which itself is nested between a thought framed within a *d* tonal space and therefore remains plagal in character.

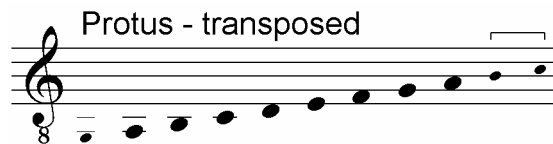
Figure 5-7



This sequence serves as an example of Hildegard’s “modulation and tonicization.” As mentioned earlier, there are times when Hildegard’s chants extend down a *perfect 4th*. In this, Hildegard tends break the Cistercian rules by blurring the distinction between authentic and plagal modes, most often by applying *despositio* to the plagal final of the same *maneria*.

For instance, protus *plagal* on *A* becomes *authentic* (lack of raised 6th notwithstanding)

Figure 5-8



But this is usually then added to its co-final with protus authentic on *D*. Allowing her a total range from *f* to *f*. There are other instances too, which will be shown later in *Karitas habundat*, in which Hildegard seems to “tonicize” from another mode, again in keeping with Bernard’s subjective position, to enhance the meaning of the text.

Applying Cistercian Maneria to Hildegard

Indicating her belief that Hildegard did not set out to compose a song cycle and that it is virtually impossible to determine “...conclusive dating of any individual piece,” Barbara Newman presents a possible division of Hildegard’s chant into three periods. The earliest layer of Hildegard’s work, she surmises, consist of the *Ordo Virtutem* and

fourteen (14) texts in honor of the celestial hierarchy, 12 of which are set to melody. She establishes the middle layer as including twenty-six (26) texts (aka the Miscellany) which appear elsewhere within the Riesencodex interspersed with the aforementioned fourteen. These include most of the Marian chants as well as a hymn and sequence to the Holy Spirit.¹³² The final layer consists of the remaining thirty-plus works which include those dedicated to various local saints.¹³³

Although I am not completely in agreement as to the possibility of dating of the twenty-six texts of the miscellany absolutely, her conclusions are in great part supported when analyzing her melodies. Based upon the research in this study, I have expanded Newman's division into four layers of development.

Early Chants (-1150)

That Odo of Soissons wrote to her sometime around 1148-49, just as Bernard of Clairvaux was beginning the second recension of the liturgy. This first layer of 12 chants in [appendix early chants] represents compositions prior to her move to Rupertsberg in 1150.¹³⁴

The Symphonia (1151-58)

The *Miscellany* is an approximation of those chants which indicate the *Symphonia* she wrote between 1151 and 1158.¹³⁵ Hildegard may have broken with the Hirsau liturgy practiced at Disibodenberg at the time of her move and adopted a version of the Cistercian liturgy. Daily practice of these chants may have had a subconscious effect on her compositional output.

¹³² As I suggested earlier, given their rubrication as Feast in the Dendermonde Codex, the Marian chants might not have been part of the *Symphonia* either, but rather intended to account for the addition of chants to the Marian offices into the Cistercian Liturgy in the 1150s. *SC*, 47; Chysogonus Waddell. "Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Sweet Singer of Israel: The Textual Reform of the Primitive Cistercian Breviary," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38.4 (2003) : 445.

¹³³ Hildegard of Bingen. *Symphonia: A Critical Edition of the Symphonia Armonie Celestium Revelationum*, with an introduction, translations, and commentary by Barbara Newman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 9-10.

¹³⁴ Odo remarks to Hildegard that, "...you bring forth the melody of a new song, although you have studied nothing of such things." Letter 40, *Letters* Vol I p.110

¹³⁵ Hildegard mentions in the *Liber Vitae Meritorum* that she composed the *Symphonia* between 1151 and 1158.

Office Chants and Commissions (ca1150-1170)

These include the Marian and Ursuline chants. It is also assumed that during this time she wrote chants for other communities, including the Disibod office chants for her parent community at Disibodenberg.

The Cistercian Chants (after 1170)

This is the time I suggest when Hildegard and Volmar undertook their Cistercian plan and perhaps knowingly applied *maneria* in new compositions.

In order to narrow down the dates of when the chants may have been composed, I cross referenced the texts which appear in *Scivias* and the Miscellany and then applied the theory of Cistercian *maneria* to each chant found, or assumed to have once been, in the Dendermonde Codex. [Appendix C]. Considering the melody only, fourteen (14) of Hildegard's chants adhere to strict application of Cistercian *maneria*:

Table 5-1: Chants which meet Cistercian criteria

Incipit	Dedication	Genre	Final	Maneria	Adjusted
<i>O uis eternitatis</i> (M) ¹³⁶	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Responsory</i>	<i>E</i>	(D) E- b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
<i>O uirtus Sapientie</i>	<i>Wisdom</i>	<i>Antiphon</i>	<i>E</i>	(D) E- b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
<i>O cruor sanguinis</i> (M)	<i>Christ</i>	<i>Antiphon</i>	<i>D</i>	(C) D - a (d)	(1) 8
O eterne deus	God	Antiphon	E	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
<i>O Uirga Mediatrix</i> (M)	<i>Mary</i>	<i>Alleluia</i>	<i>E</i>	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
Spiritus sanctus uiuificans	Holy Spirit	Antiphon	A	(G) a - e (a')	(1) 8
Laus trinitati *	Trinity	Antiphon	E	(D) E - b (e)	(1) 8
O uiriditas digiti dei	Disibod	Responsory	B	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
O felix apparicio (M)	Rupert	Antiphon	E	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
{S} ¹³⁷ O pulch[r]e facies (M)	De uirginibus	Antiphon	E	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
O rubor sanguinis	Ursula	Antiphon	D	(C) D - a (f)	(1) 8 (2)
Unde quocumque	Ursula	Antiphon	A	(G) a - e (a')	(1) 8
Aer enim uolat	Ursula	Antiphon	E	(D) E - b (e)	(1) 8
O uirgo ecclesia	In dedicatione ecclesie	Antiphon	E	(D) E - a (e)	(1) 8

Conversely there are nine chants which absolutely do not meet Cistercian criteria:

¹³⁶ (M) designates the text appears in the Miscellany

¹³⁷ {S} designates the text appears in *Scivias*

Table 5-2 : Chants which do not meet Cistercian criteria

Folio	Incipit	Dedicatio n	Genre	Final	Maneria	Adjusted
f.159r	{S} O gloriosissimi lux	Living Light	Ant	E **	(I, D) E – b (g)	(6) 8 (2)
f. 159r- 159v	{S} O vos angeli	Angels	Res	E **	(C, D) E – b (d')	(2) 8 (7)
f. 159v- f.160r	{S} O spectabiles viri	Patriarchs	Ant	E **	(B, D) E – e (g, a')	(3) 8 (3)
f. 160v- 161r	{S} O choors [cohors] militie	Apostles	Ant	G **	(D) G – d (c'')	(3) 8 (3)
f.163v	{S} Vos flores rosarum	Martyrs	Res	C *	(A) C – G (d, g)	(2) 8 (1, 5)
f. 163v- 164r	{S} O vos imitatores	Confessors	Res	C *	(F,A) C – G (c)	(4,2) 8 (2,1) 8 (2)
f.165r- 165v	{S} O nobilissima uiriditas	Virgins	Res	C	(F,G) c – c' (d')	(4,2) 8 (1)
f.165v- 166r	O dulcissime amator (M)	Virgins	Sim	E	(A,C,D) E – a (g, a')	(3) 8 (2,3)
f.168v- 169r	O ecclesia oculi	Ursula?	Seq	A	(F,G) a – e (a', c')	(2) 8 (2)

Although this is not a perfect system, as it is based in the measurement of *ambitus*, it does demonstrate a general trend. When compared to the pre-Rupertsberg chants [Appendix F], seven (7) out of the original twelve (12) fall outside the practice of accepted Cistercian *maneria*. These seven chants account for the majority of the nine (9) chants total which absolutely do not meet Cistercian *maneria*. Of the remaining two, *O dulcissime amator*, which is represented in the Miscellany, may have been composed early on in the *Symphonia*. *O ecclesia oculi*, the sequence for St. Ursula, represents the only chant which is not otherwise accounted for as either a pre-Rupertsberg or Miscellany chant. It is included in this list by the occasional excursion down to *F*.

Conversely there of the chants which do meet absolute criteria of which only one, the psalm antiphon for the virgins, *O pulchre facies* was composed prior to the move to Rupertsberg. The instance of a few miscellany pieces further tends to support that

Hildegard's adopted a more refined aesthetic after her move from Disibodenberg which I propose was influenced by the adoption of the Cistercian liturgy in 1150.

One other important note which concludes this basic overview, By taking into account those chants which either drop down to the *final* (a la plagal mode) either once (which occurs frequently) or by temporarily displacing the *mediatrix* as *final*, the number of acceptable chants escalates from fourteen (14) to fifty-two (52). Finally adding in those chants which remain within the 11 note maximum ambitus, the total number of acceptable chants appearing in the Dendermonde codex is fifty-six (56) out of sixty-five (65).

An important distinction which must not go unmentioned is the representation of chant genres. Considering only those chants which may have been intended for the Divine Office, the earliest layer is represented by three (3) antiphons and four (4) responsories. The chants which meet Cistercian criteria weigh heavily on the side of antiphon (eleven) compared to responsory (two). This in itself coincides with the generalizations of the chant genres. Psalm antiphons tend to be brief for the purpose of preparing the reciting tone of the Psalm, whereas responsories and votive antiphons tend to be melodically elaborate. While Hildegard's performance intention for all of her *cantus cum melodia* eludes scholars, it does seem clear that the antiphons to Ursula were intended as psalm antiphons for the Divine Office. Of the remaining and indeed all of the chants, it is crucial to consider the poetic and melodic units prior to determining liturgical or extra-liturgical use and influence.

For this purpose I will focus on the three antiphons to the Holy Spirit which demonstrate some of the most striking parallels with Cistercian practices.

CHAPTER 6: The Cistercian Chants to the Holy Spirit

Perhaps no aspect of Divinity is more important to Hildegard as the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is after all the source of her authority, but if the extant examples of Hildegard's chant are any indication, it appears, through the course of this study, that only two works the hymn, *O ignee spirite laus*, and sequence *O ignis spiritus paracliti*, were written prior to her Cistercian plan.

The three chants to the Holy Spirit *Spiritus sanctus uiuificans*, *Karitas habundat*, and *Laus trinitati* appear on folio 157r in the Dendermonde codex. Their presentation in the manuscript is not without problems. To begin, the rubric *De sp[irit]u s[an]c[t]o* appears at the bottom of f.156v indicating that, at least, *Spiritus sanctus uiuificans* is intended for the Holy Spirit. The next major rubric *De spiritu sa[n]c[t]o YMNUS* at the bottom of f. 157r indicates the hymn to the Holy Spirit *O ignee spirite laus*.

Missing are rubrics indicating the genre of chant for *Spiritus sanctus uiuificans* and *Karitas habundat* but both include their own EUOUAE. On the other hand both are indicated as antiphons in the Riesencodex but lack the EUOUAE.¹³⁸ The inclusion of the EUOUAE lends credence to the belief that these were intended as Psalm antiphons. Further inconsistencies between the versions of *Karitas habundat* should also be noted. Aside from the lack of the initial [K], Dendermonde begins in mode 1 but ends on *E*. The version in the Riesencodex remains on *D*. While the Riesencodex version seems in better agreement with Cistercian aesthetics, it must be noted that it was not unusual for Psalm antiphons to end on a tone away from the final. The final would be sounded at the intonation of the Psalm itself.

¹³⁸ R, folio 466va.

I propose yet another possibility in verifying the Dendermonde version as the authentic. To do so requires a look at the chant which follows *Karitas habundat*. In the Reiscodex, *Karitas habundat* is the final of two antiphons which are recorded for the Holy Spirit. It is followed by the psalm antiphon for St. Mary, *O splendidissima gemma*. The hymn and sequence to the Holy Spirit appear elsewhere in R on f. 473r-v, as the first of the Mass chants after the *Kyrie* on f. 472v. The third antiphon to the Holy Spirit, *Laus trinitati* (mode 3), appears nowhere in R. In fact, Dendermonde is the only source for this antiphon, which appears without EUOUAE which is presumably the reason why Newman indicates this as a votive antiphon.¹³⁹ Lyrically and melodically however *Laus trinitati* seems no more a votive antiphon than the preceding antiphons to the Holy Spirit. Newman goes on describing this as, “one of the composer’s least effective lyrics, redundant and grammatically awkward. Its themes are more successfully treated in ‘O gloriosissimi lux vivens angeli.’” Taken as a stand alone antiphon, one could hardly disagree, but considered as the third part of an “antiphonal trinity,” as I propose, its necessary inclusion rounds out the themes of the two preceding antiphons in lyric, mode and melodic structure.

Textual relationships

The peculiar textual relationship between *Spiritus sanctus uiuificans* and *Laus trinitati* is displayed in Hildegard’s use of verb and participle.

Spiritus sanctus uiuificans (D - f.157r)

Spiritus sanctus uiuificans uita mouens omnia et radix est in omni creatura
ac omnia de inmundicia abluit

*Holy Spirit quickening life, moving all things, the root in the whole
creation; has washed the impurities away from all things*

¹³⁹ Symphonia, 280.

Tergens crimina ac ungit uulnera
Wiping clean the offenses, [the Spirit] anoints the wounds

et sic est fulgens ac laudabilis uita suscitans et resuscitans omnia.
And thus there is gleaming and praiseworthy life, erecting and resurrecting all things.

Laus trinitati (D - f.157r)

Laus trinitati que sonus et uita ac creatrix omnium in uita ipsorum est¹⁴⁰
Praise be to the trinity which is sound and life and is the creator of all the things of life itself.

Que laus angelice turbe et mirus splendor archanorum
[The trinity] is the praise of the angelic host and the wonderful splendor of [sacred] secrets

que hominibus ignota sunt, est et que in omnibus uita est.
which humankind overlooks, what [the trinity] is, that is, the life in all things.

Where *Spiritus Sanctus uiuificans* describes the Spirit as a continually creating force, note no fewer than six present participles to describe Spirit / Life, *Laus Trinitati* describes the Trinity as an object for veneration. In the first, Divinity is a “doing”; in the last, it is an “thing.” The perspective is echoed in the *LDO*, “Whereas in *Scivias*, Hildegard's prime concern was with *Ecclesia* and the type of life which Christians should follow, in *Divine Works* she relates the life that underpins both creation and the human person to the logos or reason that became incarnate in Christ, and provides the normative life to which humanity has to return.”¹⁴¹ When viewed in this light, the

¹⁴⁰ *Creatrix* is in the feminine form in order to agree with the grammatical case of *trinitati*. Refer to antiphon *Benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix* CAO c1707 - CURSUS <http://cursus.uea.ac.uk/ed/c1707>

¹⁴¹ Constant J. Mews, *Process Thought, Hildegard Of Bingen And Theological Tradition*, Available at http://concrecence.org/ajpt_papers/vol01/01_mews.htm, Internet, accessed 2007, March 30.

themes expressed in these chants serve as “bookends” (or antiphons for the antiphon) for *Karitas habundat*.¹⁴²

Karitas habundat (D - f.157r)

(K)aritas habundat in omnia de imis excellentissima super sidera atque
Caritas abounds in all things from the depths to above the most excellent stars, and

amantissima in omnia quia summo regi osculum pacis dedit.
Most loving in all things because to the high king she has given the kiss of peace.

The text reflects *caritas* who abounds in both microcosm and macrocosm, binding together the Heavens and the Earth, the Divine with the Humanity. It therefore agrees thematically with the vision of *Caritas* in the *LDO* and with the themes of *Spiritus sanctus uiuificans*.

Other textual relationships between these three chants should be addressed. In *Laus trinitati*, the “sonus et vita” to the expression of the Spirit received by the Kiss of Peace in sound, or musical praise. It thus is a continuation of *Karitas habundat*. One might consider “ignota” as a play on words meaning without note or without “music.” This is a common theme throughout Hildegard’s life and referenced in her letter to the prelates of Mainz. It stands opposed to those in the know with “sonus.”¹⁴³ The unknowable mysteries are that to which Hildegard, like John the Evangelist, is a visionary through

¹⁴² Neither *Sanctus spiritus uiuificans* nor *Karitas habundant* are marked as antiphons in D, both however are followed by EUOUE. Further in R, the EUOUE psalm cadence does not appear with *Sanctus spiritus uiuificans*. This might provide indication for either its Responsory origins or its extra-liturgical function.

¹⁴³ In her extensive help of my translation of *Laus trinitati*, Dr. Diane C.W. Anderson made the following additions, “Your idea about *ignota* is not so far-fetched. She would not be ignoring the origin of ignosco, but actually using it -- the word for notes comes from the same root as ignosco (refer to the Latin not Greek although they are closely related)...Look up ignosco and nosco -- notice that nosco means primarily to recognize, to come to know' then in the perfect tense it means to have recognized and therefore to know; in other words, the perfect is used as if it were a present, we translate it as a present usually. nota = things that have been recognized therefore are known.”

by virtue of virginity. *Laus trinitati* also shows Hildegard the Evangelist who chastises those of humanity who neglect the miraculous splendor of creation. In this case she refers back to *Spiritus sanctus uiuificans*, the source of the Kiss of Peace with the text “vita ac creatrix omnium.”

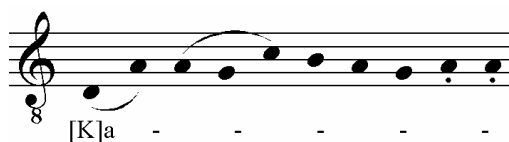
The spiritual understanding expressed in these antiphons and its Cistercian influence are made clear in the compositional strategy of the middle (binding) antiphon.

Melodic Themes

Both *Spiritus sanctus uiuificans* and *Laus trinitati* meet virtually all of the accepted rules of RII chant theory. In those instances where *Spiritus sanctus uiuificans* appears to break the rules, it in no way deviates from the practice of the new RII chants demonstrated earlier.

When describing the music of *Karitas habundat*, Marianne Richert Pfau notes the opening motif outlining the interval of a 7th which she mentions as being "unusual" (implying perhaps Hildegard's originality?)¹⁴⁴

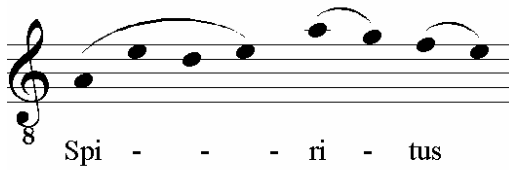
Figure 6-1



The unusual trait however is not that the motif outlines a 7th from *D-c*, but rather because Hildegard’s chant is generally known to outline an octave, as indicated in the opening motif in *Spiritus sanctus uiuificans*

¹⁴⁴ Hildegard of Bingen, *Symphonia vol. 3: The Holy Spirit*, edited by Marianne Richert Pfau with translations by Barbara Newman (Bryn Mawr: Hildegard Publishing Company, [1997]).

Figure 6-2



The 7th motif however has already been shown earlier in this study as it is taken from the *Gloria Patri* CAO9000 which served as the basis for versicles in the new RII Responsories for the Feast of St. Stephen.

Figure 6-3

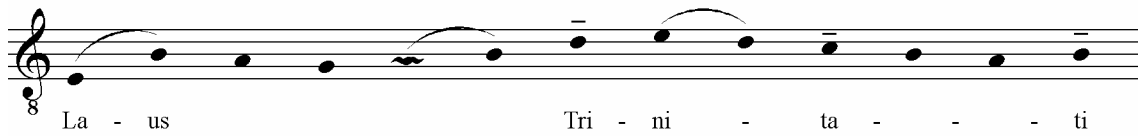


Note that the 7th is outlined with the c occurring mid-word in *iudei*. The Cistercians did not seem to find any problem with this melody when they wrote text to a new responsory. The *b-flat* in this Cistercian responsory places emphasis on Stephanum, the object due veneration at this Feast. Willi Apel states that in chants of Mode 1, when B natural and B-flat occur in the same chant, B-flat usually occurs as a peak tone (a-b-a) or in tritone position (f-b).¹⁴⁵ By peak tone, it is construed as an upper neighbor, not as the goal.

With this in mind, the opening of *Laus trinitati*, like *Karitas habundat* outlines the 7th motive from *E* to *d* before settling on *b*.

¹⁴⁵ Apel p. 156

Figure 6-4



Here, the peak tone e serves to emphasis *trinitati*, also the object due veneration.

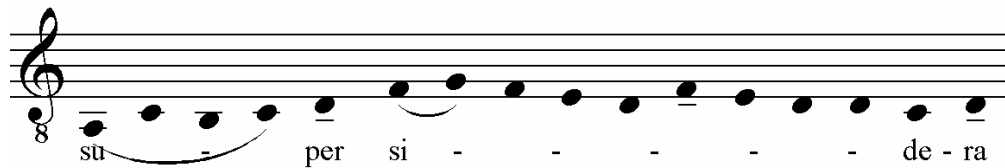
While the germ motive from CAO9000 was used both by Hildegard as well as the RII reformers, suggests that the Cistercians would have found little wrong or out of place with *Karitas habundat* on melodic grounds. That is except for the aside temporary extension into the lower ambitus. This excursion however follows Bernard's instruction that the music is should enhance the text. With Hildegard, the music certainly does. Recalling the *LDO* theme that life underpins creation and the human person, *caritas* binds together the micro and macrocosms. She achieves this by emphasizing the word *super* [above] to the lowest four notes of the chant.

Figure 6-5



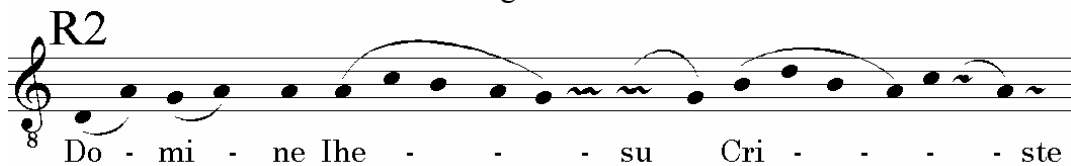
When viewed in context, the binding influence behind the entire melody appears as a transposition of the opening motif, outlining the 7th between *A* and *G* before resting on the Final *D*.

Figure 6-6



Clearly by enhancing the text she is also guilty of mixing modes. But there is a shared example of modal mixture between Hildegard and the Cistercians. In the Cistercian responsory, the introduction of the octave *d* stands to emphasize *criste*, with a clear triadic outline of *G-b-d* before settling back to *a*.

Figure 6-7



Hildegard demonstrates a similar emphasis by enhancing *regi*, the king who is Christ the bridegroom. The modal mixture occurs on the descent and carries through the ‘Bernardine’ *Song of Songs* reference on *osculum pacis*.

Figure 6-8¹⁴⁶



This *Kiss of Peace* is likened to the breath of the Holy Spirit granted divine revelation.

The incident of modal mixture is not limited to this antiphon. In her description of *Ordo Virtutum*, Margot Fassler notes what appears to be Hildegard’s use of modality

¹⁴⁶ B-flat is indicated before the *pes* on the syllable *sum-*. A new system begins with the second syllable, *-mo* and there exists no B-flat. B-flat might be implied as a matter of avoiding the tritone with *f*. The *f* does not appear in strong position but rather as a lower neighbor to *g* within the word-idea *osculum pacis* or “kiss of peace.” This bears out in both accent rules in Latin as well as interpretation based upon placement of the *virga*, which stresses *d’ – b – g – a*.

“...to underscore both continuity and change in the dramatic action.” In her cited example, the patriarchs and prophets chant in a D tonality when interacting with the Virtues but then modulates to a “...lamenting E sound on the prophets’ second speech.”¹⁴⁷ If this is evidence of a conscious compositional process at work, so to it might be understood that the final of *E* in a piece otherwise built in *D* could indicate the transformation of divine understanding. The result provides a direct lead into the Divine theme expressed in the *E* antiphon *Laus trinitati*.

Regarding St. Stephen

Although St. Stephen is regarded as perhaps the most important martyr in the Christian faith, it is possible that Hildegard may have had the Stephen responsories in mind especially in regard to the Caritas germ motive. In this way she was equating Stephen’s position as the protomartyr with Caritas as the *prime mover* to salvation.

References to St. Stephen are noticeably absent in her correspondence but knowing Hildegard’s penchant for drawing upon ideas and words, there is perhaps an intentional relationship between Stephen the protomartyr and Caritas. Stephen whose name derives from the Greek, (*stephanos*, ‘crown’) is considered the first martyr and deacon of the Church.¹⁴⁸ His feast day is December 26, which places the melody within the same part of the liturgical cycle as the Offices of St. John the Evangelist and the Holy Innocents, Hildegard’s other favorite themes.

¹⁴⁷ Margot Fassler, “Composer and Dramatist: Melodious Singing and the Freshness of Remorse,” in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 175.

¹⁴⁸ It is worth mentioning that Stephen was the patron saint of headaches, an ailment of which we know Hildegard suffered. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/christianity/saints/stephen.shtml>

In Acts, Stephen is referred to as one of the seven men of good reputation who were full of the Spirit [spiritus] and wisdom [sapientia] [Acts 6:3]. The next verse echoes Hildegard's own life as both nun and evangelist giving herself continually to prayer and ministry of the word [Acts 6:4]. Stephen like Hildegard did great deeds and signs among the people [Act 6:8], and most importantly the people were not able to resist the wisdom and Spirit of which she spoke. [Acts 6:10]

In this view, the interrelationship between *spiritus*, *sapientia* and *caritas* should be noted. In her dissertation, Pfau compared the text of the chants *Karitas habundat* and *O uirtus sapientie* with themes in the LDO, suggesting that all were composed around the same time.¹⁴⁹

Further, the use of melodic material from the Feast of St. Stephen might be an allusion to the auctoritas of Stephen Harding who did not change the chant even if it did seem to make no sense. It might also be allusion to the image of Caritas with the bearded figure situated as a "crown" upon her head. This is of course is merely speculative.

The relationship between Caritas and knowledge is reflected in the works of the "other" early 12th century Cistercian author, William of Saint Theiry. McGinn notes that in William's *Expositio on the Song of Songs*, the relationship "...in the contemplation of God where love is chiefly operative, reason passes into love and is transformed into a certain spiritual and diving understanding which transcends and absorbs all reason."¹⁵⁰

The melody, representing the wisdom and spirit of Stephen is united with a new text on *Karitas* and further expounded in *Laus trinitati*.

¹⁴⁹ Pfau, 17-19. N.B. that *O uirtus sapientie* and *Laus trinitati* share the same modality [Appendix D].

¹⁵⁰ Bernard McGinn, "Love, Knowledge, and Mystical Union in Western Christianity: Twelfth through Sixteenth Centuries," *Church History*, Vol. 56, No.1 (Mar., 1987) : 7-24.

Final Note On the Three Antiphons

By focusing on the three (3) antiphons dedicated to the Holy Spirit, Caritas, and the Trinity (*Spiritus sanctus uiuificans, Karitas habundat, Laus trinitati*), it is shown that the melodies of Hildegard's later chants are characterized with restraint and all fall within the acceptable practices of late 12th century Cistercian music. Moreover, it has been shown that many of the motifs used in Hildegard's chant, *Karitas habundat*, may have in fact been borrowed from the Cistercian Responsory for the Feast of St. Stephen, *Preciosus athleta domini*, which is found in F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 a late 12th century Cistercian antiphonal of Milanese provenance.

Equally important is that it demonstrates that *Laus trinitati* is not a stand alone antiphon. It was only the neglect of the compilers of R who failed to include it and altered the final of *Karitas habundat*. As I tend to view Hildegard as primarily an evangelist, it seems to me that her meaning of *ignota* is one of conscious neglect by humankind (in this case possible reference to the prelates of Mainz), rather than, as Barbara Newman has translated, "unknown" to humankind which implies a hidden, unknowable secret. Still if it is translated as "overlooked" (my other choice) it would imply that the secrets are out there for anyone to find if they accept *Caritas*, reiterating the advice she gave to that excommunicated man,

*Therefore, let each of the faithful flee in solicitude of soul to his own spiritual teacher to learn what he should do, in the correct faith, because the souls of the subordinates should always be ruled by the teaching of their spiritual leaders. ...Yet the priest, who has the power of binding and loosing among men, should be exceedingly careful lest he be accused by the Highest Judge of destroying his brother by excommunicating him unjustly*¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Letter 352, *Letters* vol. 3,145.

CONCLUSION

Past scholarship in Hildegard's chant repertoire has been hindered by the assumption that the collection of chant with melody (*cantus cum melodia*), traditionally referred to as the *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum*, were composed during one period of her life. This myth has its roots in the introduction of Hildegard's *Liber vitae meritorum* where she states that she composed the *Symphonia* between the years 1150 and 1158.

Analyses of her chant were limited as scholars focused only on Hildegard's biographical details and treatises up to that point in her life and applying it to her whole life.¹⁵² This has led to a distorted view of Hildegard which considers the originality of her musical works as a consequence of isolated seclusion written in gendered language of a woman's perspective intended solely for her nuns.¹⁵³ As this view disregards the well-traveled and connected composer she was, it never allowed for a comparative analysis within the context of contemporary Cistercian practice and reform. The case for a Cistercian Hildegard, or Hildegard in transition between Benedictine Hirsau reform and Cistercian practice had largely been dismissed on the basis of those few early chants which do indeed fall outside their normative guidelines. The dismissal was not based on any serious attempt at comparative study.

In recent years, as Hildegard's correspondence has become more readily available to scholars, it is now acknowledged that her compositional life extended as early as the 1140s and continued throughout her life. In addition to the correspondence, the collected body of Hildegard's visionary treatises and musical works shows a

¹⁵² These biographical details are usually drawn from the *Vita Hildegardis* and *Scivias*.

¹⁵³ It is akin to using all of Ronald Reagan's films and politics up until 1945 then applying those ideals to his policies as Governor and President without considering his changing views and reaction to world history between 1945 and 1989.

community amid liturgical transition. Much evidence has been uncovered regarding her relationship with Cistercian officials and brothers, a number of whom had requested her books and treatises. The requests from the monks of Villers notwithstanding, these documents include a lengthy letter, using full Bernardine *Song of Songs* and *Caritas* imagery, recorded in the General Chapter of 1153, Hildegard, chastised the Cistercians for abandoning their ideals; a Cistercian prior who wrote in 1169 requesting a treatise inspired by the Holy Spirit to deal with the unruly *conversi*; and Eberhard former abbot of Eberbach, now abbot of St. Anastasius in Rome who, sometime between 1166 and 1173, requested a copy of her book.¹⁵⁴

In considering the poor relationship maintained between Hildegard and her parent monastery as well as her own desire to follow strict observation of the Rule of St. Benedict, it can no longer be assumed that the Hirsau liturgy practiced at Disibodenberg was in service at the Rupertsberg. It is more likely that liturgical books from nearby Cistercian communities such as Eberbach were gifted to this fledgling women's community. Support for this claim is summarized below.

As the Cistercian General Chapter began adding new chants to feasts and processions between the years 1150 and 1175, (such as those to Mary, Ursula and the 11,000 Virgin Martyrs, and the Trinity) deficiencies in Hildegard's antiphoner needed to be remedied. This is represented in both the Dendermonde codex and Riesencodex as the three subjects for which Hildegard wrote the largest number of chants including one which is clearly rubricated as a Feast. Of the remaining subjects, many include only one antiphon and one responsory. This coincides with the single Cistercian chants

¹⁵⁴ SC, 53-56; Letter 84, *Letters* vol. I, 181-182; St. Anastasius was the monastery where Pope Eugenius III had served as Abbot. Letter 190, *Letters* vol. II, 155-154.

added to the Divine Office hour of Matins where the number of responsories on feast days and Sundays were increased from three to four as prescribed in the Rule of St. Benedict.

Concerning the chants themselves, through crossreference of text and ambitus, a clear demarcation is noted between the chants composed prior to her move to Ruperstberg and those afterward. Moreover the peculiar modality (for example *b* rather than *c* as cofinal in mode 3) demonstrated in Hildegard's compositions is shared with the theory and practice of chants composed by the second recension Cistercian reformers. In particular *Karitas habundat* contains striking similarities in compositional strategy and source motifs to Bernard's chant *Filie iherusalem nuntiate*. Textual imagery from the Song of Songs also abound in both the new Cistercian chants as well as nearly one third of Hildegard's chant.

It remains unclear as to how many of Hildegard's chants were to be used in the liturgy of the Divine Office and the Mass. It is probable that many were intended for extra-liturgical functions such as Processionals or as Barbara Newman has suggested, within sermons. It is clear however, in light of the authority of divine revelation, there were no Cistercian objections to her other work, so why would they choose to reject her music?

Taken as a whole, it is no longer an easy task to dismiss Cistercian interest in or influence upon Hildegard. The records are clear that Hildegard was never considered a Cistercian nun, but evidence from her own writings and from this study suggest that she did adopt Cistercian practice and was preparing her community for a complete Cistercian transition at the time of her death. Although her reform failed in the short term, she may have laid the groundwork for what was to transpire in the next century.

Nearly 80 years after her death, Hildegard's parent community, Disibodenberg became Cistercian.

Final Thoughts for Further Study

This study has been intended as a prolegomenon for further research into the influence of Cistercian liturgical practice on Hildegard as well as other women's communities in general in the Twelfth-century Rhineland. There are still many avenues left to explore and her relationship with non-Cistercian orders and communities in Trier and Ghent must not be neglected. There are still some issues which require further examination.

Although Hildegard's chant does not appear to have affected the compositions of liturgical office chants composed in the years after her death, the hierarchical layout of the Dendermonde Codex indeed may have provided an important contribution to succeeding generations in lay societies such as the Beguines as well as in the devotional genre known as the *Book of Hours*.¹⁵⁵

The life of Hildegard's last prepositus, Guibert de Gembloux deserves attention for future study. His relationship with the monks of Villers and his later appointment as abbot of Gembloux provide hints into the history of the Dendermonde codex. It is worth mentioning here that the once great library at Gembloux, in which Guibert was trained, had been destroyed by fire twice during his lifetime. It is probable to assume that as an ambitious monk who wanted to restore his own abbey to its previous glory, it

¹⁵⁵ In the Book of Hours the Trinity usually follows the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, just as it does in the Dendermonde Codex. By the fourteenth century, the placement of the Trinity after the songs to Mary became common in the many examples of Book of Hours which appear in the Low Countries and France. Psalters and Book of Hours have a tradition reaching as far back as the 8th century. By the thirteenth century The Book of Hours for the Little Office of the Virgin Mary took on a life with lay societies. Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York : George Braziller, Inc, 1998), 23.

may have been he who brought the Dendermonde Codex to Gembloux by the early 13th century. After Gembloux the codex moved to Affligem where it remained until the monks were expelled from that abbey during the French Revolution. That abbey was later installed at Dendermonde in 1837 where the codex still remains.¹⁵⁶ Research along these lines should uncover other possible manuscripts that had once belonged to Villers, providing insight into the life and thought of late 12th-century Cistercian practice in Belgium and the Rhineland.

¹⁵⁶ D, 10.

Appendix A: Manuscripts

Manuscript	Date (cent.)	Cantus	Liber Vita Meritorum	38 Resp.	Bernard	1st Possession
D – Cod 9	Ca. 1175	53 chants (missing folios)	Yes	-		S. Marie de Villaris Cistercian
R Hs.2	1177-80	75 chants	Yes	Yes	Letter	
Z - Stuttgart	3rd qtr 12th		-	-	<i>De gratia et libero arbitrio</i> – Letter	
Wa Hs.1016	13 th and late 12 th	2 chants (Kyrie & Alleluia)	Yes – 13 th cent.	Yes 13th	Letter	
Mu – Berlin	2nd half 12th					S. Marie de Maceriis – Cistercian
Wr – Cod 963	mid 13th					S. Marie virginis in Rumerstorph
B – cod 40 674	Ca.1200					S. Marie in Pfalzel by Trier
Ma – Cod. Lat 22.253	12th				Vita Bernardi Visions of Elizabeth of Schonau Correspondence with Elizabeth	

Appendix C: Dendermonde Codex

Folio	Incipit	Genre	Final	Maneria	Adjusted	C	P	M
Lacuna	<i>O vis eternitatis</i> (M)	Res	E	(D) E- b (g)	(1) 8 (2)	1		
Lacuna	<i>O virtus Sapientie</i>	Ant	E	(D) E- b (g)	(1) 8 (2)	1		
Lacuna	<i>O quam mirabilis</i>	Ant	C	(G) c - c'	(3) 8		1	
Lacuna	<i>O pastor animarum</i> (M)	Ant	D	(A) D - a (d)	(3) 8		1	
Lacuna	<i>O cruor sanguinis</i> (M)	Ant	D?	(C) D - a (d)	(1) 8	1		
F 153r	O magne pater (M)	Ant	A	(E) a - a'	(3) 8		1	
F 153r	O eterne deus	Ant	E	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)	1		
F 153r-153v	Ave Maria O auctrix vite (M)	Res	C	(G) c - c'	(3) 8		1	
f.153v-154r	O Clarissima Mater (M)	Res	C *	(G,a) c - c' (d')	(3) 8 (1)		1	
f.154r-f.154v	{S} O splendidissima gemma	Ant	E	(B) E-b (e) E-a, D-a	(3) 8		1	
f.154v	Hodie aperuit (M)	Ant	C	(G) c - c' (d')	(3) 8 (1)		1	
f. 154v	Quia ergo femina (M)	Ant	E	(B, D) E - b (e)	(3) 8		1	
f.154v	Cum processit factura	Ant	E	(C) E - b (d)	(2) 7		1	
f.155r	Cum erubuerint	Ant	E *	(B) E - b (g)	(3) 8 (2)		1	
f. 155r	O frondens virga * (M)	Ant	D	(A) D - a (d)	(3) 8		1	
f. 155r-f. 155v	O Quam magnum miraculum (M)	Ant	E *	(B, D) E - e (g)	(3) 8 (2)		1	
f. 155v	Aue generosa gloriosa (partial) (M)	hymn	G(a)*	(E, G) a - e (c')	(3, 1) 8 (2)		1	
1 lacuna								
Lacuna	<i>O uirga Mediatrix</i> (M)	All	E	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)	1		
Lacuna	<i>O Uirdissima virga</i> (M)	song	G	(D) G - d (f)	(3) 7			1
f. 156r-156v	O Uirga ac diadema (partial)	seq (res?)	A *	(D, G) a - e (a')	(3) 8		1	
f.156v	{S} O tu suauissima	res?	A *	(E, G) a - a' (c')	(3) 8 (2)		1	
f. 156v	[Rubric written on text line]							
f. 157r	Spiritus sanctus uiuificans	Ant	A	(G) a - e (a')	(1) 8	1		
f. 157r	(K)aritas habundat	Ant	A	(A, C) D - a (d)	(3) 8		1	
f. 157r	Laus trinitati que *	Ant	E	(D) E - b (e)	(1) 8	1		
f. 157r	[12 th staff is blank rubric written beneath]							
f. 157v-158r	O ignee spirite laus (M)	hymn	D	(A) D - a (d)	(3, 1) 8		1	
f. 158r-158v	O ignis spiritus paracliti (M)	Seq	A	(E, G) a- e (a)	(3, 1) 8		1	
f.159r	{S}O gloriosissimi lux	Ant	E **	(I, D)E-b (g')	(6) 8 (2)			
f. 159r-159v	{S} O vos angeli	Res	E **	(C,D) E - b (d')	(2) 8 (7)			
f. 159v-f.160r	{S} O spectabiles viri	Ant	E **	(B, D) E - e (g, a')	(3) 8 (3)			

Folio	Incipit	Genre	Final	Maneria	Adjusted	C	P	M
f.160r-160v	{S} O uos felices radices	Res	E *	(A,B,D) E – b (g)	(3) 8 (2)		1	
f. 160v-161r	{S} O choors [cohors] militie	Ant	G **	(D) G – d (c'')	(3) 8 (3)			
f.161r-161v	{S} O lucidissima apostolo	Res	G *	(D, F) G – g (b)	(3) 8 (2)		1	
f. 161v	O speculum columbe	Ant	E /C	(Γ,D)E – a (c)	(6/5) 6			1
f. 161v-162r	O dulcis electe	Res	E /C	(A) E - (c)	(3) 6		1	
f.162r	{D} O mirum admirandum	Ant	E	(A) E – b (c, d)	(3) 6, 7		1	
f.162r-162v	{D} O uiriditas digiti dei	Res	B	(D) E – b (g)	(1) 8 (2)	1		
f.162v-163r	{D} O presul uere ciuitatis	Seq	C	(E, G) a – a'(c')	(3) 8 (2)		1	
f.163r-163v	{S} O uictoriosissimi triumphatores	Ant	E	(B,D) E – b (g)	(3) 8 (2)		1	
f.163v	{S} Uos flores rosarum	Res	C *	(A) C – G (d, g)	(2) 8 (1, 5)			
f. 163v-164r	{S} O uos imitatores	Res	C *	(F,A) C – G (c)	(4,2) 8 (2,1) 8 (2)			
f. 164r	{S} O successores	Ant	D *	(A, C)D – a (d, f)	(3) 8 (2)		1	
f.164v	O felix apparicio (M)	Ant	E	(D) E – b (g)	(1) 8 (2)	1		
f.164v	O beatissime ruperte (M)	Ant	D	(A, C) D – d (f)	(3, 1) 8 (2)		1	
f.164v	O ierusalem aurea (partial) (M)	Seq	G *	(D, f) G – d (f, g)	(3) 8		1	
lacuna	<i>Quia felix puericia</i>	Ant	E	(C, D) E – b (e)	(2,1) 8		1	
f.165r	{S} O pulche [pulcre] facies	Ant	E	(D) E – b (g)	(1) 8 (2)	1		
f.165r-165v	{S} O nobilissima uiriditas	Res	C	(F,G) c – c' (d')	(4,2) 8 (1)			
f.165v-166r	O dulcissime amator (M)	Sim	E	(A,C,D)E – a(g,a')	(3) 8 (2,3)			
f.166r-166v	O pater omnium (M)	Sim	E	(Γ,A,C,D) E – a (c)	(5) 6			1
f.166v-167r	Rex noster promptus	Res	E	(C, D) E – b (e)	(2) 8		1	
f.167r	Spiritui Sancto	Res	A	(E, G) a – e (a)	(3) 8		1	
f.167r	O rubor sanguinis	Ant	D	(C) D – a (f)	(1) 8 (2)	1		
f.167v	Fauus distillans	Res	A *	(D,E) a – e (a')	(4,3) 8		1	
f.167v	Studium diuinutatis	Ant	E	(C,D) e – a (c)	(2) 6			1

Folio	Incipit	Genre	Final	Maneria	Adj.	C	P	M
f.167v	Unde quocumque	Ant	A	(G) a – e (a')	(1) 8	1		
f.168r	De patria etiam earum	Ant	D	(A,C) D – a (d)	(3) 8		1	
f.168r	Deus enim in prima	Ant	E	(C, D) E – b (e)	(2) 8		1	
f.168r	Aer enim uolat	Ant	E	(D) E – b (e)	(1) 8	1		
f.168r	Et ideo puella iste	Ant	A	(E) a – e (a')	(3) 8		1	
f.168r	Deus enim rorem	Ant	E	(C, D) E – b (e)	(2) 8		1	
f.168r- 168v	Sed diabolus in inuidia	Ant	D	(A,C) D – a (d)	(3) 8		1	
f.168v- 169r	O ecclesia oculi	Seq	A	(F,G) a e (a', c')	(2) 8 (2)			
f.169r- 170r	Cum uox sanguinis	hymn	A	(E, G) a – e (a')	(3) 8		1	
f.170r	O uirgo ecclesia (M)	Ant	E	(D) E – a (e)	(1) 8	1		
f.170r- 170v	Nunc gaudeant	Ant	C	(G-Bb) C – G (c)	(3) 8		1	
TOTAL						14	3 8	4

Appendix D: Chants which meet strict Cistercian *maneria* according to *Regula*

Folio	Incipit	Dedication	Genre	Final	Maneria	Adjusted
<i>lacuna</i>	<i>O vis eternitatis</i> (M)	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Res</i>	<i>E</i>	(D) E- b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
<i>lacuna</i>	<i>O virtus Sapientie</i>	<i>Wisdom</i>	<i>Ant</i>	<i>E</i>	(D) E- b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
<i>lacuna</i>	<i>O cruor sanguinis</i> (M)	<i>Christ</i>	<i>Ant</i>	<i>D?</i>	(C) D - a (d)	(1) 8
F 153r	O eterne deus	God	Ant	e	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
<i>lacuna</i>	<i>O Virga Mediatrix</i> (M)	<i>Mary</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>E</i>	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
f. 157r	Spiritus sanctus uiuificans	Holy Spirit	Ant	A	(G) a - e (a')	(1) 8
f. 157r	Laus trinitati que *	Trinity	Ant	E	(D) E - b (e)	(1) 8
f.162r- 162v	O uiriditas digiti dei	Disibod	Res	B	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
f.164v	O felix apparicio (M)	Rupert	Ant	E	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
f.165r	{S}O pulch[r]e facies (M)	De uirginibus	Ant	E	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
f.167r	O rubor sanguinis	Ursula	Ant	D	(C) D - a (f)	(1) 8 (2)
f.167v	Unde quocumque	Ursula	Ant	A	(G) a - e (a')	(1) 8
f.168r	Aer enim uolat	Ursula	Ant	E	(D) E - b (e)	(1) 8
f.170r	O uirgo ecclesia	In dedicatione ecclesie	Ant	E	(D) E - a (e)	(1) 8

Appendix E: Chants which do not meet Cistercian criteria

Folio	Incipit	Dedication	Genre	Final	Maneria	Adjusted
f.159r	{S} O gloriosissimi lux	Living Light	Ant	E **	(I, D) E – b (g)	(6) 8 (2)
f. 159r-159v	{S} O vos angeli	Angels	Res	E **	(C, D) E – b (d')	(2) 8 (7)
f. 159v-f.160r	{S} O spectabiles viri	Patriarchs	Ant	E **	(B, D) E – e (g, a')	(3) 8 (3)
f. 160v-161r	{S} O choors [cohors] militie	Apostles	Ant	G **	(D) G – d (c'')	(3) 8 (3)
f.163v	{S} Vos flores rosarum	Martyrs	Res	C *	(A) C – G (d, g)	(2) 8 (1, 5)
f. 163v-164r	{S} O vos imitatores	Confessors	Res	C *	(F,A) C – G (c)	(4,2) 8 (2,1) 8 (2)
f.165r-165v	{S} O nobilissima uiriditas	Virgins	Res	C	(F,G) c – c' (d')	(4,2) 8 (1)
f.165v-166r	O dulcissime amator (M)	Virgins	Sim	E	(A,C,D) E – a (g, a')	(3) 8 (2,3)
f.168v-169r	O ecclesia oculi	Ursula?	Seq	A	(F,G) a – e (a', c')	(2) 8 (2)

Appendix F: Pre-Rupertsberg Chants

Folio	Incipit	Dedication	Genre	Final	Maneria	Adjusted
f.154r- f.154v	{S} O splendidissima gemma	Mary	Ant	E	(B) E-b (e)	(3) 8
f.156v	{S} O tu suauiissima	Mary	Res	A *	(E,G)a-a' (c')	(3) 8 (2)
f.159r	{S} O gloriosissimi lux	Living Light	Ant	E **	(I, D)E-b (g')	(6) 8 (2)
f. 159r- 159v	{S} O uos angeli	Angels	Res	E **	(C,D) E - b (d')	(2) 8 (7)
f. 159v- f.160r	{S} O spectabiles uiri	Patriarchs	Ant	E **	(B, D) E - e (g, a')	(3) 8 (3)
f.160r- 160v	{S} O uos felices radices	Patriarchs	Res	E *	(A,B,D) E - b (g)	(3) 8 (2)
f. 160v- 161r	{S} O choors [cohors] militie	Apostles	Ant	G **	(D) G - d (c')	(3) 8 (3)
f.161r- 161v	{S} O lucidissima apostolo	Apostles	Res	G *	(D, F) G - g (b)	(3) 8 (2)
f.163r- 163v	{S} O uictoriosissimi triumphatores	Martyrs	Ant	E	(B,D) E - b (g)	(3) 8 (2)
f.163v	{S} Vos flores rosarum	Martyrs	Res	C *	(A) C - G (d, g)	(2) 8(1, 5)
f. 163v- 164r	{S} O vos imitatores	Confessors	Res	C *	(F,A) C - G (c)	(4,2) 8
f. 164r	{S} O successores	Confessors	Ant	D *	(A, C) D - a (d, f)	(3) 8 (2)
f.165r	{S} O pulch[r]e facies	Virgins	Ant	E	(D) E - b (g)	(1) 8 (2)
f.165r- 165v	{S} O nobilissima uiriditas	Virgins	Res	C	(F,G) c - c' (d')	(4,2) 8 (1)

{S} – Indicates the Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum

(M) – Indicates miscellany

{D} – Indicates chants sent to Kuno at Disibodenberg ca. 1155.



































DENDERMONDE Ms. Cod. 9

Rubrics:

A – antiphon

R – responsory

Appendix G: Transcription Key

Sign ¹⁵⁷	Description	D Ms.9	Wa Hs. 1016	NL-Uu 406	F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412	Notation
Virga	A ubiquitous sign in 1412 generally occurs where one might expect a virga.					
Punctum						
Orsicus						
pes podatus¹⁵⁸						
Epiphonus						
Clivis – Flexa						
pes flexus (torculus)						
pes flexus + repercussion						
Flexa resupina porrectus						

¹⁵⁷ Although the term “neumes” has long been used when discussing individual symbols in early medieval notation, Hiley prefers the term “signs” as neuma actually refers to a melodic phrase. Hiley p. 341.

¹⁵⁸ Apel p. 100

Sign	Description	D	Wa	NL-Uu 406	F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412	Notation
Climacus						
climacus + orsicus						
Scandicus						
Scandicus (long foot)						
Apostropha	Repercussive neumes ¹⁵⁹					
Bistropha	Not necessarily performed staccato					
Tristropha						
Bistrophs + orsica						

¹⁵⁹ Apel, 106-107.

Liquiscent neumes						
Sign	Description	D	Wa	NL-Uu 406	F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412	Notation
Cephalicus						
Epiphonus liquiscent podatus						
Pes liquiscens (pinnosa) torculus liquiscent						
pes flexus liquiscens						
Virga strata or pressus liquescens						
Virga strata or pressus					virga strata (ger)	
pressus + pes pressus maior	The sign in MS 1412 corresponds with Laon notation.				pressus maior (ger)	

Sign	Description	D	Wa	NL-Uu 406	F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412	Notation
Quilisma prepuncto ¹⁶⁰						
Quilisma	“...most transcriptions...it is used for the middle note in an ascending-third formation” – ¹⁶¹			 with punctum		
quilisma + orsicus						
pes quassus – quilisma						
Flexa resupina and pressus (subpunctis)						
flexa resupina and pressus liquescens						

¹⁶⁰ The *quilisma prepuncto* seems not unlike the *salicus* in St. Gall and Laon notation. The *salicus* is a three note ascending figure where the middle note is an orsicus. Referring to Cardine (1968), the *salicus* was believed to have primarily a rhythmic function. Also of significance is the difference in tonal placement between the *orsicus* element in the *salicus*, where it tends to lie on the notes, *f* and *c*. The *quilisma* is usually placed on *E* and *b*. Hiley, 360.

¹⁶¹ Seems to derive from Greek *kylisma* (‘rolling’) “It has been suggested that the *quilisma* might involve a portamento delivery, or one with semitone steps filling in the larger intervals, or a gruppetto ornament.” Hiley, 358.

Appendix H

Spiritus sanctus uiuificans

Antiphon for the Holy Spirit
Dendermonde Codex Ms. 9 Fol. 157r

Hildegard von Bingen

Spi - - - ri - tus san - - - ctus ui - ui - fi - cans ui - ta
mo - - - uens- - - -om - - - ni - - - - - a -
et ra - dix est in om - ni cre - a - tu - - - ra
ac om - ni - - - a de in - mun - di - ci - a ab - lu - it - - -
30 ter - - - gens cri - mi - na ac un - git uul - ne - ra
et sic est ful - - - gens ac lau - da - bi - lis ui - ta
44 sus - ci - tans et re - sus - ci - tans o - - - m - ni a.
e - v - o - - - v - - - a - - - e.

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Appendix I

Karitas habundat

Antiphon for Holy Spirit
Dendermonde Codex Ms. 9 Fol. 157r

Hildegard von Bingen

a motif b motif

8 [K]a - ri - tas

2 c motif

8 hab - un - dat in *Gliss.* om - ni - a

d motif c cadential motif

8 de - im - is ex - cel - len - tis - si - ma

a motif transposed

8 su - per si - de - ra at - que

8 a - man - tis - si - ma in om - ni - a

8 qui - a sum - mo re - gi os - cu - lum pa - cis

8 de - dit.

8 e - v o v a e.

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Appendix J

Laus Trinitati

Antiphon for the Holy Spirit
D fol.157r

Hildegard von Bingen

La - us Tri - ni - ta - - - ti
que so nus et vi ta
ac cre - a - trix om - ni - um in vi - ta i - pso - rum - est
Et que laus an - - ge - li - ce tur - - - be
et mi - rus splen - dor ar - cha - no - rum que ho - mi - ni - bus
ig - no - ta sunt est et que in om - ni - bus
ui - - - - - ta est.

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Appendix K

Laus Trinitati

Antiphon for the Holy Spirit
Mode 1 transposition

Hildegard von Bingen

La - us Tri - ni - ta - - - ti
que so nus et vi ta
ac cre - a - trix om - ni - um in vi - ta i - pso - rum - est
Et que laus an - - ge - li - ce tur - - - be
et mi - rus splen - dor ar - cha - no - rum que ho - mi - ni - bus
ig - no - ta sunt est et que in om - ni - bus
ui - - - - - ta est.

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Appendix L

Filie iherusalem nuntiate

Cistercian Responsory for the Assumption of Mary
F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 - fol. 91v

form: R-R2 - V - R2 - G - R2

The musical score is written in G-clef, 8/8 time, and consists of several staves. The lyrics are: "Fi - li - - - e ihe - ru - sa - lem nun - ti - - - - te di - lec - - - to Qui - - - a a - mo - - - - re lan - gue o Quia Os - cu - le - tur me os - cu - lo o - - - ris su - i Quia Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o et spi - ri - - - tu - i sanc - to". The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and a fermata over the final note. A '3' above the second staff indicates a triplet. A 'b' above the final note indicates a flat.

R1
Fi - li - - - e ihe - ru - sa - lem
nun - ti - - - - te di - lec - - - to

R2
Qui - - - a
a - mo - - - - re
lan - gue o Quia
V
Os - cu - le - tur me os - cu - lo
o - - - ris su - i Quia
Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o et spi - ri - - - tu - i sanc - to

Transcription K.C McGuire for Grianeala Publishing 2007

Appendix M
Preciosus athleta domini

Cistercian Responsory for St. Stephen
F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 - Ff. 4r-v

form: R-R2 - V - R2 - G - R2

R

Pre - ci - o - sus ath - le - ta - do - mi - ni - Ste - pha - nus

po - si - tis ge - ni - bus o - ra - uit di - cens - cens

R2

Do - mi - ne Ihe - su Cri - ste ne sta - tu - as il - lis

hoc pec ca - tum

V

La - pi - da - bant iu - de - i Steph - a - num at il - le o - ra - bāt di - cens
Domine

G

Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o et spi - ri - tu i sanc - to
Domine

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Appendix N

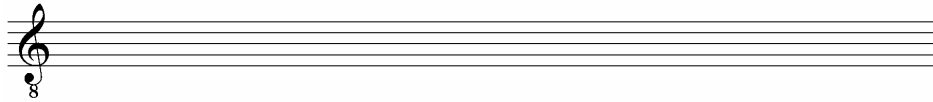
Sancte dei pretiose

excerpts from Responory for St. Stephen



NL-Uu 406 f. Sancte dei pretiose

Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o et spi - ri - tu - i san - cto



F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 fol.5r - Sancte dei pretiose (excerpt)

uir - tu - te ca - ri - ta - - - tis

NL-Uu 406 fol.27r - Sancte dei pretiose (excerpt)

uir - tu - - - te ca - ri - ta - - - tis

ABBREVIATIONS

CAO	Corpus Antiphonarium Officii
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum , Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnholti
Cottineau	Cottineau, L H, <i>Répertoire topobibliographique des abbayes et prieurés</i> , 2 vol. Mâcon, 1939, tome 3 1970.
Epistle	Hildegard of Bingen. <i>Hildegardis Bingensis epistolarium</i> volume I. ed. with introduction in German by Levin van Acker. <i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> , 91. Turnhout: Brepols, 1991.
<i>LDO</i>	<i>Liber Diuinorum Operum</i>
Letters	Hildegard von Bingen. <i>Letters of Hildegard of Bingen volume I</i> . Translated and edited by Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman. Oxford University Press, 1997.
	Hildegard von Bingen. <i>Letters of Hildegard of Bingen volume II</i> . Translated and edited by Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman. Oxford University Press, 1998.
	Hildegard von Bingen. <i>Letters of Hildegard of Bingen volume III</i> . Translated and edited by Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman. Oxford University Press, 2004.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PL	Patrologica Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris
Pitra	J.B. Pitra, <i>Analecta Sanctae Hildegardis</i> (Analecta Sacra VIII), Montecassino, 1882
SC	<i>Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis</i> , ed. Josephus-Maria Canivez, Louvain, 1933
<i>Symphonia</i>	Hildegard of Bingen. <i>Symphonia: A Critical Edition of the Symphonia Armonie Celestium Revelationum</i> . 2 nd ed. with an introduction, translations, and commentary by Barbara Newman. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.
<i>Vita</i>	<i>Vita Hildegardis</i> as recorded in PL 197

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- NL-Uu 406 Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 406 (3.J.7) Late 12th century manuscript, facsimile reproduction in black and *Introduction by Ike de Loos, Index by Charles Downey, Edited by Ruth Steiner.*
- D Dendermonde, St.-Pieters & Paulusabdij, Ms. Cod. 9. Hildegard of Bingen. *Symphonia Harmoniae Caelestium Revelationum.* Introduction by Peter van Poucke, Peer, 1991
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