Melodia et rhetorica:
The Devotional-Song Repertory of Hildegard of Bingen

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Thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Faculty of Music
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Declaration

The University of Melbourne
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To Whom It May Concern:
This is to certify that the thesis entitled Melodia et Rhetorica: The Devotional-Song
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Abstract

A central focus of this thesis is the word-music relationship in the devotional-song repertory of Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179). Surrounding this focus is an examination of aspects of her life and work that relate to the production of her seventy-seven monophonic songs. This examination commences with a review of biographical sources, collation and discussion of parchment sources of her music, and identification of her music scribes. The theme of Hildegard’s music scribes is then developed, including their influence upon the liturgical genres in which her songs are cast and the melodic behaviour of her music. It is argued that, as a result of the rendering of her melodies on the medieval gamut, the surviving sources of her songs represent corruptions of orally produced chant.

The word-music relationship in Hildegard’s songs is then introduced. Her views on the role of music and her own role as monastic preacher form the basis of an examination of the relationship between rhetoric and her songs. This examination draws on contemporary modes of rhetorical criticism, and an approach which treats her songs as musically articulated rhetorical discourse is developed. A selection of her songs is then examined through this approach, and particular attention is given to songs which preserve unusual melodic behaviours. It is argued that her songs represent iubilatio responses to both the grammatical and rhetorical syntagms of her song texts, and melodic characteristics which suggest traces of her pre-redacted melodies are identified.

As a codicil to this study, a critique of ‘new’ and ‘unusual’ monastic practices in Germany by Anselm of Havelberg (c.1100–1158) forms a point of departure for discussion of a small number of surviving songs which surrounded the production of Hildegard’s music – the five monophonic songs comprising the Epistalamia to the Speculum virginum (c.1140), and a twelfth-century canticle setting emanating from the monastic home of her music scribes. This examination points towards a tradition of ‘new’ and ‘unusual’ musical practices in Southern Germany during the twelfth century and provides one possible context for Hildegard’s devotional-song repertory.
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Prefatory Notes

The following abbreviations are used throughout the text:

AH: Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi
CCCM: Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeuali
CSM: Corpus Scriptorum de Musica
JAMS: Journal of the American Musicological Society
MD: Musica Disciplina
MQ: The Musical Quarterly
NCE: New Catholic Encyclopedia
NG: The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians
PalMus: Paléographie Musicale: Les pincipaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallician

Musical Nomenclature
Notes are rendered in the text according to the Guidonian system with middle c as ‘C’:

Transcriptions
All transcriptions are by the author. As neumes are indicated in transcriptions, the pressus is transcribed as a single note.

Translations
All unacknowledged translations are by the author.
Introduction

DEINDE VIDI lucidissimum aeren, in quo audiui in omnibus praedictis significatiunibus mirabilis modo diversum genus musicorum in laudibus ciusum supernorum gaudiorum in via ueritatis fortiier perseverantium . . . Then I saw the most lucid air, in which I heard in everything a diverse kind of music proclaiming meanings in a wonderful way in the praises of the joys of the citizens above, persevering strongly in the way of truth.¹

Scivias III:13:1 (1141-1151)
Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179)

In the *Protestificatio* to Hildegard's earliest documented writings, the *Scivias*, she described receiving a powerful vision in which God commanded her to write down what she saw and heard.² As part of this visionary experience, she claimed to have heard a *diversum genus musicorum* which announced meanings [*significationes*] of 'the praises' of the rejoicing of supernal citizens, as recorded in the final book of the *Scivias*. A substantial body of written works is accredited to her, including theological treatises, writings on medicine and natural history, lives of saints, sermons and a sizeable corpus of epistles. She also 'brought forth' a large corpus of monophonic song comprising seventy-seven notated songs and a notated liturgical drama, the *Ordo virtutum*. This collection is known as the *Symphonia harmoniae caelestium revelationum* [*Symphony of the harmony of celestial revelations*], in accordance with her description of 'labouring' over her visionary experiences as given in the *Incipit* to her second theological treatise, the *Liber vitae meritorum* (1155-1163). Her secretary and biographers, however, came to refer to her songs as *canthus cum melodia* or 'song with melody'.³ As the title of this thesis suggests, this study of Hildegard's *canthus cum melodia* takes as its central focus a conception of her *canthus* as a set of rhetorical meanings and her *melodiae* as their articulations.

Examining the significance and locus of rhetoric in Hildegard's milieu means moving away from a view of Hildegard as simply 'composer of plainchant'. She was also a visionary, an exorcist and herbalist, a theologian, correspondent, spiritual adviser, preacher and *magistra* of a community of nuns. Her music formed part of a wider conception of 'bringing forth' to humans which she claimed was inspired by God. Above all, she was Benedictine nun. This meant that she was subject to a monastic code, the Benedictine Rule, on which she wrote a commentary, and that she spent her life seeking – and encouraging others to seek – union with God. Singing praise to God was one of many ways medieval monastics worked towards attaining this union. Her songs, like the *Opus dei*, helped further a divine union between God and humans.

² Hildegardis, *Scivias, 'Protestificatio'*, p.3.
Her role as monastic preacher has particular significance for an understanding of the relationship between rhetoric and Hildegard's *cantus cum melodia*. She undertook four preaching tours during the last twenty years of her life. Three of her itineraries included the locations of cults of saints to whom she dedicated songs. During her first preaching tour (1158-1159) of Franconia (including Bamberg, Ebrach, Kitzingen, Wertheim and Würzburg), she visited Mainz, the home of the eighth-century bishop St Boniface, to whom she dedicated a song. During her second preaching tour (c.1160) of Lotharingia (including Krausfeld and Metz), Hildegard visited Trier on the Mosel river, probably seeing the monasteries of St Eucharius/St Matthias and St Maximus. She dedicated songs to all three saints. During her third preaching tour (c.1161-1163) of Saxony (including Andernach, Boppard, Liege, Siegburg and Werden), she sojourned in Cologne, a centre of the cult of St Ursula to whom she dedicated thirteen songs. Her final preaching tour (c.1170-1171) was of Swabia (including Hirsau, Hördt, Kirchheim, Maulbronn and Zwiefalten).

***

This study of rhetoric and melody in Hildegard's songs commences with a revisiting of her early life in view of her role as Benedictine nun who 'brought forth' *cantus cum melodia*. In c.1175, her first biographer, Godfrey of Disibodenberg, was installed as provost and secretary at Hildegard's second home, at Rupertsberg on the delta of the Nahe and Rhine rivers in modern Rheinland Pfalz. While there, he began to write her *Vita*, but he died in 1176 before completing his task. In 1177, a friend of Hildegard's, the monk Guibert of Gembloux, fulfilled the position at Rupertsberg previously occupied by Godfrey and also began an incomplete *Vita*, but another monk, Theodoric, was commissioned to complete the second and third books of Godfrey's *Vita*. In her biography of Hildegard, Sabina Flanagan points out that, even though Godfrey's position as provost presented him with the opportunity to question Hildegard about her early life, 'much information which might be considered important or even essential by a modern reader is missing from the *Vita*'. In particular, information about Hildegard's early life and education is sketchy.

Although few details about Hildegard's early life are given in Godfrey's and Theodoric's *Vita*, it is known that she was born in 1098 to a noble family in Bemersheim on the German Rhineland. She was one of ten children, a 'tithe' (tenth), and was offered to the religious life by her parents. She was officially enclosed 1 November 1112 in an anchorage attached to the Benedictine monastery at Disibodenberg situated on the delta of the Glen.

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5 *Delaney, Dictionary of Saints*, p.565.
and Nahe rivers South-West of Bingen. It appears that she was also professed by Bishop Otto of Bamberg as a Benedictine nun on this same day. Another local noble female, Jutta of Spanheim (1092-1136), was also enclosed and professed on this day, and she was entrusted with the education of the young Hildegard. After Jutta's death in 1136, Hildegard ascended to the station of magistra to an ever increasing community of nuns at Disibodenberg.

Hildegard’s biographers go to great lengths to clarify her lack of proficiency in the scholarly arts, despite the survival of a large corpus of both writings and songs. Here, Hugh Feiss points out that, while ‘avowals of incompetence are common in twelfth-century authors’, her continued denial of a ‘human source’ for her output was in keeping with her insistence upon divine ascription of her works. Her claim of visionary inspiration suggests a mode of musical production which was ‘passive’, but her life as a nun who practiced the Opus dei also involved the ‘active’ role of singer, or cantrix. The task of reconciling her ‘passive’ role in producing song with her ‘active’ role in the performance of chant is reflected in the task of reconciling her biographers’ claims of her scholarly ineptitude and claims of visionary inspiration with her ability to produce such a large corpus of songs. Here, the version of Hildegard’s life by Godfrey and Theoderic is read as a reflection of a hagiographical agenda, and the ways in which the production of song might fit in with the limited references these biographers made about what she did learn in her early years with Jutta are assessed.

More is known about the events in Hildegard’s life which occurred after 1141, the year she was commanded by God to document the visions she claimed to have experienced since early childhood:

And behold! In the forty-third year of my earthly course, as I was gazing with great fear and trembling attention at a heavenly vision, I saw a great splendor in which resounded a voice from heaven, saying to me, “O fragile human, ashes of ashes, and filth of filth! Say and write what you see and hear. But since you are timid in speaking, and simple in expounding, and untaught in writing, speak and write these things not by a human mouth, and not by the understanding of human invention, and not by the requirements of human composition, but as you see and hear them on high in the heavenly places in the wonders of God. Explain these things in such a way that the hearer, receiving the words of his instructor, may expound them in those words, according to that will, vision and instruction”.

---

10 Silvas, Jutta & Hildegard, p.54.
In the same year she received this vision, she engaged a secretary, a monk from Disibodenberg named Volmar, of about her own age. He undertook the task of helping her write down what she saw and heard, a task in which he persisted in until his death in 1173.

After Volmar was engaged as secretary, an image of Hildegard as a prophetic figure came to be circulated through a network of ecclesiastical officials. The then abbot of Disibodenberg, Kuno (†1155), was made aware of Hildegard’s visionary ability through Volmar.¹³ Kuno sought the council of his Archbishop, Henry I of Mainz, who also performed the consecration ceremony for the Church at Disibodenberg in 1143.¹⁴ In 1146–47, Hildegard wrote to Bernard of Clairvaux (1098–1153) for spiritual guidance on her troubling vision, and he advised her to ‘eagerly respond to it with a feeling of complete humility and devotion’ [toto et humilitatis et devotionis affectu studēas respondere].¹⁵ The Pontiff, Eugene III (1145–53) – Bernard’s ‘protege’ – held a synod in Trier November 1147–February 1148 and while there was informed of Hildegard’s visionary experiences through Archbishop Henry.¹⁶ Eugene sent several ‘qualified’ men from his council to Disibodenberg to investigate Hildegard’s claims.¹⁷ A selection of her visions later included in the Scivias was presented to Eugene at the Synod, whence he issued pontifical support for her documentary project.¹⁸ After the Synod, the Pope and his council in Trier journeyed directly to Rheimes (France) in Lent 1148.¹⁹ In one of two surviving letters Parisian magister of theology Odo of Soissons wrote to Hildegard 1148–1149, he asked for her visionary guidance on the matter under discussion in Rheimes.²⁰ With Odo’s letter, recognition of Hildegard’s visionary ability had come full circle, from Disibodenberg to the Pope and back to Disibodenberg through an independent party. Her Scivias was completed by 1151, and a flood of written works, letters, sermons and songs was subsequently produced.

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Following the assessment of Hildegard’s early education in chapter 1, the manuscript sources of her songs are collated and assessed. There are two cyclic sources of her songs: Dendermonde St.-Pieters & Paulusabdji MS. Codex 9 (c.1175), which includes a cycle of 57 songs, and the Riesenkdex, Wiesbaden Landesbibliothek Hs. 2 (c.1179), which contains two song cycles comprising 75 songs and the Ordo virtutum. It is in relation to these two sources that some confusion appears to have arisen about Hildegard’s songs. This confusion arguably emanates from the assumed title of her cycle of songs, Symphonia harmoniae caelestium revelationum.

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²⁰ ‘Odo Suetionensis ad Hildegardem’, Epistolarium, p.102.
In the *Incipit* to the *Liber vitae meritorum*, Hildegard claimed to have been shown a *Symphonia harmoniae caelestium revelationum* over which she laboured for five years. This description of musical visionary experience was equated with an extant 'work' by Hildegard scholars Marianna Schrader and Adelgundis Führkötter – the cycle of songs represented by Dendermonde 9 and the Riesenkokdex – hence the popular title of Hildegard's song cycle, *Symphonia harmoniae caelestium revelationum*. This designation carries with it the implication that the redaction of Hildegard's songs with neumes was completed within the five years specified in the *Liber vite meritorum*, or by 1158. Even those who accept the designation have not been entirely convinced by the implications. Sabina Flanagan argued that 'to confine her musical activity to her youth and middle age is somewhat arbitrary and surely unlikely for one who attributed such a high place to music'. Barbara Newman concurs with Flanagan by acknowledging that Hildegard's cycle had a longer genesis than previously assumed (from Schrader and Führkötter's designation). The review of the sources in this study includes reconsideration of the early references to Hildegard's musical experiences, including her labouring for five years over a *symphonia harmoniae caelestium revelationum*.

In c.1150, Hildegard and her nuns moved from Disibodenberg to the new monastery at Rupertsberg. She also founded a second daughter house c.1165 at Ebingen across the Rhine from Rupertsberg. It is in connection with Rupertsberg that the documentation of Hildegard's songs is encountered. The role of her scribes in the redaction of her written works has received much attention. Similar consideration is given here to the role of scribes, only in relation to the redaction of melody. Her songs were initially redacted without neumes, and it appears that the neumed sources of her songs were the product of collaboration between herself and scribes beginning in 1174. The hands in the cyclic sources suggest that these scribes emanate from the Trier abbey of St Eucharius, members from which were at Rupertsberg during 1174. The lack of neumed sources prior to the arrival of these monks at Rupertsberg gives rise to the question of their role and influence in the documentation of her *melodiae*.

In the cyclic sources, liturgical genres – mainly antiphon, responsory, sequence and hymn – are assigned to songs. These assignments appear to have lead to a second point of confusion about Hildegard's songs – it is assumed that Hildegard's songs were composed

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as antiphons, responsories, sequences and hymns. This issue is initially addressed at the end of the chapter 1, where the way in which the cyclic sources are arranged is elucidated. These arrangements are presented not only by way of introduction to the songs themselves, but also in order to investigate the ways in which the ‘praises of the joys of celestial citizens’ represented in her songs are organised in view of their assigned liturgical genres.

In the second chapter, the theme of the relationship between Hildegard’s songs and the liturgy is explored further. Stylistic distinctions between the liturgical genres of Hildegard’s songs are difficult to code and are arguably superficial. In putting forward possible reasons for the lack of coherence between songs of like liturgical genre, the significance of the liturgy in the production of songs by this medieval nun is assessed, and the liturgical genres of her songs are described in light of their redactional context.

Consideration is then given to the theme of redaction by St Eucharius scribes, including the melodic behaviour of Hildegard’s songs, the way in which her melodies have been preserved and possible distortions to her melodies through redaction. Two scholars have previously produced studies which deal in depth with the question of the melodic behaviour of her music. The earliest of these is German scholar Ludwig Bronarski’s Die Lieder der Heiligen Hildegard (1922). Influenced by the theory of centonised chant expounded by Peter Wagner and others, and published under Wagner’s auspice, Bronarski’s study includes a rigorous application of centonisation theory. Here, Bronarski succeeded in obscuring any trace of structural coherence in Hildegard’s songs. His chief contribution to the literature is a demonstration that her chant is very different to Gregorian chant:

Die Melodik der hl. Hildegard ist häufig unnüsig, unnatürlich, verschoren, manchmal sogar bizzarr… Die melodiscben Linien des gregorianischen Chorals sind sanfter und runder, diejenigen der Hildegard’schen Lieder dagegen eckig und spitz.

The melodic [style] of St Hildegard is often restless, unnatural, muddled, sometimes even bizarre… The melodic lines of the Gregorian Chorals are more gentle and rounded, against those jerky and pointed Hildegardian songs.

It took the best part of seventy years for someone to rebuff Bronarski’s thesis that Hildegard was the erratic weave of bizarre bits of melody, even though Leo Treitler successfully denounced canonisation theory sometime earlier in his study ‘Centonate’ Chant: Übles Flickwerk or E pluribus unus?’ (1975). American scholar Marianne Richert Pfau argued convincingly against Hildegard’s erratic weavings in her doctoral thesis ‘Hildegard von Bingen’s “Symphonia Armonie Celestium Revelationum”: An analysis of musical process, modality, and text-music relations’ (1990), as a preface to developing her

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method of assessing Hildegard's songs as structurally coherent musical 'processes'. Her efforts helped open new channels of investigation into Hildegard's songs.

Her thesis also elucidates the relationship between mode and melodic behaviour in Hildegard's songs. This same topic is treated here as part of an examination of the influence of Hildegard's scribes on her melodic behaviour. In the Gregorian chant repertory, the question of melodic behaviour is linked to the question of mode, but, as Hendrik van der Werf reminds us, the degree of agreement between mode and melodic behaviour in the Gregorian repertory represents a virtue of the modal classification system, not creative impetus. The cyclic sources of Hildegard's songs reflect the distinction between the way a melody is classified and the creative impetus the melodies represent. Here, the relationship between melodic behaviour and mode is elucidated as a function of the relationship between Hildegard as a monastic singer and her scribes as trained *musici* fluent in music theory. The way this relationship transpired as represented by the cyclic sources suggests that not only were Hildegard's songs orally produced, but the modal characteristics of her songs as we know them were also influenced by her scribes.

In chapter 3, the relationship between *cantus* and *melodia* in Hildegard's songs is introduced. A traditional focus for word-music relations in medieval song is the aspects of a text which invite comparison with a setting, typically the 'phonetic', including rhyme, rhythm and metre. Hildegard's *cantus* are prose and each *cantus* is grammatically distinct. The independent grammatical structures of her songs have lent themselves to a view of structural amorphism in her *cantus*; the lack of obvious syntactical manipulation therein has been used as an important measure of demarcation between her *cantus* and other medieval lyrics; and her melodic behaviour is regarded as distinct from contemporary melodic behaviours, especially those set to texts with obvious 'phonetic' aspects. Hildegard's *cantus* invites consideration of a very different set of aspects to the 'phonetic' — the meanings of her words. Here, Pfau has highlighted an important aspect of the word-music relationship in Hildegard's songs: the melodic clarification of meaning through melody:

The many eccentric and often difficult images in [Hildegard's] texts frequently compete with each other for the attention of the reader. The musical setting not only accentuates elements of formal order, thus clarifying the formal framework of the poetry, but it can bestow different weights upon

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32 E.g. '[Hildegard's songs] resembles poetry in its density and musicality, but with no semblance of meter or regular form'; Newman, introduction, *Symphonia*, pp.32–33.

33 E.g. 'In its forms and melodies, as in its poetic techniques, this "symphony of the harmony of heavenly revelations" . . . stands apart from all other religious lyric, Latin or vernacular'; Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric* (Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1996), p.75.

34 E.g. 'When all is said and done, Hildegard the musician will, I am convinced, still be seen as a great individual. Indeed, an individualist — some would say, an obstinate eccentric'; Stevens, 'Musical Individuality', p.187.
the words, and emphasize some while decreasing the relative importance of others. This technique often counterbalances the overabundance of images in the poetry. The musical setting also affords the composer the opportunity to refer from one word to another by way of melodic associations. It thus helps to group those text segments that conceptually or syntactically belong together, but whose actual occurrence in the poem is far apart.\textsuperscript{35}

For musicologists, 'meaning' as a musical influence has often meant the importance of individual words. John Stevens has concluded that the 'concept of "important" words is foreign to chant.'\textsuperscript{36} In some circles, this conclusion represents cantorial apathy towards the meaning of texts. In this study, however, this conclusion represents suspicion towards the idea that a modern assessment of important words in song translates into a preordained compositional strategy. In Bronarski's identification of 'word-painting' in Hildegard's songs, for example, he assigns literal and highly specific meanings to words: her melodies 'bloom' over \textit{flos}, 'spring' over \textit{saliens} and soar to the heavens over \textit{qu'am una in altum volat}.\textsuperscript{37} These important words are surrounded by otherwise unimportant words, and the isolated melodies which highlight these words are surrounded by otherwise detached musical settings. Identification of these 'painted words' with a preordained compositional strategy, as in the instances of important-word 'painting' observable in Gregorian chant, produces an 'undifferentiated, universalised' interpretation of a musical text at the expense of cultural and historical influences and significances.

Janet Martin's assessment of Hildegard's song \textit{O ecclesia} provides one example of how meaning can be absorbed as an influence on Hildegard's \textit{melodiae} in light of a persuasive, historical reading of the meaning of the text.\textsuperscript{38} Here, Martin draws attention to the close association of Hildegard's metaphorical language with her biblical and historical context. This reading also takes into consideration that Hildegard's \textit{cantus cum melodia} was brought forth in the service of Christian devotion.

Early Christian commentary on music in devotion expounds a function of music as in service of the meaning of the 'words performed with it'. This is, for example, suggested in the justification of music by St Augustine (354–430). This followed his struggle with the problem of dissociating holy words from the melodies to which they are sung:

\begin{quote}
\begin{tabular}{p{0.5\textwidth}p{0.5\textwidth}}
et nunc ipsum cum mover non cantu sed res quae cantantur, cum liquida voce et convenientissima modulatione cantantur, magnam instituti busus utilitatem munus agnoscere.\end{tabular}
\end{quote}

and now I am moved not by the singing but by the things that are sung, when they are sung with a clear voice and correct modulation, and once again I recognize the great utility of this institution.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{35} Pfau, \textit{Hildegard's Symphonia}, p.250.
\textsuperscript{37} Bronarski, \textit{Die Lieder}, pp.102–103.
\textsuperscript{38} Janet Martin & Greta Mary Hair, \textit{O Ecclesia: The Text and Music of Hildegard of Bingen's Sequence for St. Ursula}, \textit{Tijme} 30 (1986), pp.3–62. Martin's analysis is followed by a structural analysis of the setting by Greta Mary Hair.
The modern notion that medieval composers of chant were 'wholly apathetic' towards the meaning of the texts they set overlooks an influence (the meaning of words) that was otherwise available. As Ritva Jonsson and Leo Treitler point out, 'one should think twice about the proposition that anyone singing words with ritual significance will be unconcerned about the way that his [or her] song articulates the meaning of those words.' In Hildegard's case, it not simply a question of pointing out the availability of meaning as a cultural influence or distancing her songs from important words. It is also recognition of the high premium she gave to the ability of music to clarify meaning and elucidate meaning to those who sang and heard it.

A central question of this study is posed in chapter 3 - 'How do Hildegard's melodies "encompass" the meaning of the words to which they are set?' The first task here is to relate Hildegard's role as monastic preacher with her role as monastic singer. The role of the preacher, or rhetorician, and singer, or cantrix, merge - through comparison of the 'aims' of rhetoric and the 'aims' of devotional song. The priorities of rhetoric and devotional song are found to be as one and the same.

The relationship between rhetoric and Hildegard's songs is then explored. It begins with an overview of rhetoric in the medieval West, and a critique of rhetorical criticism, the traditional mode of enquiry for elucidating the rhetoric of medieval discourse. This shows Hildegard not to be part of the rhetorical tradition represented by traditional rhetorical criticism - she was the product of an intellectual climate which valued spiritual authority over the oratorical authority of the speaker. As a preacher who was not educated in the scholarly arts, including the art of rhetoric, her rhetoric is assessed independently of codified modes of rhetorical exchange.

A distancing of rhetorical texts from the dominant codifications of rhetoric is a characteristic of 'new rhetorical criticism'. A model of new rhetorical criticism is adopted for the elucidation of the ways in which Hildegard's melodiae encompass the meaning of her cantus. This model is based on that expounded by the Bible and Culture Collective in their investigation of the rhetoric of 1 Corinthians ('Rhetorical Criticism', Rhetoric and the Postmodern Bible, 1995). The cantus of Hildegard's songs represent expressions of God's Word by a monastic preacher, and their melodiae represent articulations of these expressions. The idea of tracing rhetoric in Hildegard's devotional songs does not challenge traditional conceptions of the function of devotional songs, but rather provides a focus for what can be inferred from a rhetorical meaning of the cantus within the devotional context of her songs.

A new rhetorical critique of Hildegard's songs follows in chapter 4. Due to size of the repertory, eighteen of her seventy-seven songs have been selected, but an attempt has

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been made to represent the variety of liturgical genres, melodic behaviours and range of subjects to whom she dedicated songs. In elucidating the ways in which her melodiea encompass the rhetorical meanings of the words to which they are set, two sets of word-music relations are described: the relationships between cantus and melodia and relationships between songs, particularly those which are distinct in terms of mode, liturgical genre and grammatical structure.

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The intellectual climate in which Hildegard produced her cantus cum melodia is paralleled in other twelfth-century German monastic communities. In 1143, a German canon, Anselm of Havelberg, commented on the perceived state of the practice of psalmody in Germany. In the final chapter, his commentary provides a point of departure for an examination of the relationship between Hildegard's songs and the practice of 'bringing forth' and documenting song represented in a close contemporary repertory, the Epithalamia codicil to the Speculum virginum. The relationship between Hildegard and St Eucharius is also further developed through a setting of Song of Songs verses 2:2-6 in Trier, Priesterseminar Hs 107, which was copied at St Eucharius during the twelfth century. Since beginning work on the Epithalamia and the setting of Song of Songs verses 2:2-6 in Trier 107 in relation to this study, both subjects have formed the basis of independent studies. Information included in both studies is collated for the purpose of elucidating a musical context for the production of Hildegard's songs.

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Amid claims that Hildegard was an idiosyncratic musical 'genius', it is easy to forget that her role as composer of plainchant was only one of many she fulfilled in her life time. The different ways we describe her songs can mean the difference between perpetuating the myth that her music is the product of culturally isolated genius and presenting her music as a product of a medieval monastic (among other things), who, like other medieval monastics, produced song. The interpretations offered here are directed towards dismantling the 'unqualified genius' myth and conveying a sense of the significance of song to Hildegard and her milieu.

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Chapter 1

The Celestial Hierarchy

Hildegard and Her Biographers

The earliest known reference to Hildegard's revelations through divine inspiration is the Prostesificatio to her Scivias (1141-1151). Here, Hildegard describes how she was 'inflamed' by a 'fiery light of exceeding brilliance' which enabled her to interpret Scripture, even through she was ignorant of the grammar ('division of syllables', 'cases' and 'tenses') and interpretive skills necessary for this task:

\textit{Factum est in millesimo centesimo quadragesimo primo Filii Dei Jesu Christi incarnationis anno, cum quadraginta duorum annorum septemque mensium essent, maximeque consaniae ignis lumen aperito celo ueniens totum cerebrum meum transfu-\textit{dit} et totum cor totumque pectus meum velut flamma non tamens ardens sed calens ita inflammans, ut sol sem aliquam calicacit super quam radios suis ponit. Et repente intellectum expositionis libros, uidelice psalterii, evangelii et aliorum catholicorum tam ueteris quam noui Testamenti voluminum sapicbam, non autem interpretationem uerborum textus coram nec divisionem syllabarum nec cognitionem casum aut temporalum habebam.}

It happened that, in the eleven hundred and forty-first year of the Incarnation of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, when I was forty-two years and seven months old, Heaven was opened and a fiery light of exceeding brilliance came and permeated my whole brain, and inflamed my whole heart and my whole breast, not like a burning but like a warming flame, as the sun warms anything its rays touch. And immediately I knew the meaning of the exposition of the Scriptures, namely the Psalter, the Gospel and the other catholic volumes of both the Old and the New Testaments, though I did not have the interpretation of the words of their texts or the division of the syllables or the knowledge of cases or tenses.¹

Grammar and interpretation encompass the primary areas of study associated with the \textit{ars grammatica} in which medieval interpreters of Scriptures were expected to be fluent.²

In the Prostesificatio to the Scivias, Hildegard emphasised her divinely inspired ability to interpret Scripture while denying a basic scholarly expectation – a knowledge of syllable division, cases and tenses.

An account of Hildegard's early life at Disibodenberg was recorded by her first biographer, Godfrey of Disibodenberg, in 1175. He focuses upon her ability to bring forth words and song without knowledge of either the art of letters or the musical arts:

¹ Hildegardis, Scivias, 'Prostesificatio', pp.3-4; trans. Hart & Bishop, p.59.
Hildegard had already described her own ignorance through reference to what she did not know – syllabification, cases and tenses. Godfrey’s record of her lack of education represents an amplification of this claim: through description of the *ars litterariæ*, he describes her ignorance not only of the *ars grammatica* but also of the arts learnt once a student had gained proficiency in the Latin language, such as *rhetorica* and the mathematical disciplines comprising the *quadrivium*. A comparable interpretation for the *musica artis* he describes would be an understanding of song derived from instruction in the theoretical precepts which inform the art of correct singing – an understanding Godfrey claims she did not possess. Godfrey’s lack of reference to her interpretive abilities in this passage is off-set by his citation of the above passage from the *Seivias* near the opening of the *Vita*.

In the second book of the *Vita* from 1176, Hildegard’s second biographer, Theoderic of Echternach, combines both her testimony of fiery inspiration and Godfrey’s claim of her lack training in the arts of grammar and music. Theoderic describes how a remarkable vision enabled Hildegard to overcome a scant knowledge of *litteræ* and yet not only understand but also expound the writings of the Old and New Testaments. The enabling powers of this vision was such that she also overcame her ignorance of *cantus* and *neuma* to sing and ‘put forth’ *cantus cum melodia*:

In the same vision, I understood the writings of the Prophets, Evangelists, and other saints [and] certain philosophers, without any human teaching, and so I expounded some of them since I had hardly any knowledge of letters, just as the untaught woman instructed me. But I put forth and sang song with melody in praise of God and Saints without the instruction of any human being, since I had never learnt any neumes or song.
In this passage, *littera* suggests letter of the alphabet and *neuma* denotes both the 'musical syllables' comprising melody and the notation used to describe 'musical syllables'. In curricula of the period, *grammatica* originated with the letter and culminated in the understanding and interpretation of texts. By the same token, *musica* begins here with the *neuma*, or the musical syllable, and is complete upon (correct) singing and the production of *cantus cum melodia*. Together, the words *littera* and *neuma* represent the most basic components of their respective arts: *littera* for *grammatica* and *neuma* for *musica*. Hildegard's biographers not only perpetuate her initial claim to ignorance of scholarship and make clear the notion that she was barely literate in music or grammar, but they also place increasing emphasis upon her accomplishments through amplification and clarification of what she did not know. Theoderic moves well beyond Hildegard's ignorance of syllables, cases and tenses, and Godfrey's denial of her being trained in the arts of grammar and music, to a denial of her knowing even the most basic aspects of these arts — letters and neumes. The combination of her divine inspiration and lack of knowledge of *littera* and *neuma* leads to an unequivocal denial of formal training in any aspect of the *ars litterae* or *musicae*.

Descriptions of ignorance combined with claims of divinely inspired interpretive ability are not without precedent. In the *De Doctrina Christiana*, St. Augustine takes issue with claims of visionary inspiration by warning against the fallacy of ascribing more to God than is His due. He argues that even the most gifted interpreters were subject to some form of basic human instruction:

*Iam vero corum qui divino munere excitant et sine talibus preceptis, qualia nunc tradere instituti, se sanctos libros intellegere atque tractare gloriantur et propter me superflua veluisse scribere existimant, sic est leniendra commotio ut quamvis magno die denuo iure lactentur recordentur se tamen per homines dixisse vel litteras... Certe enim quantam cum Christianis nobis res est qui se scripturis sanctas sine due homine nose gaudent et, si iba est, vero et non mediocri gaudent bono, concedant neesse est unum quemque nostrum et ab inuenite puenteri consuetudine audiendo linguum suam dixisse et aliam aliquam vel graces vel hebraeam vel quambilbet ceterarum aut similiter audiendo aut per hominem preceptorem accipisse.*

Now for those who exult in their divine gift and boast that they understand and interpret the sacred books without rules of the kind that I now plan to give, and so consider superfluous what I have chosen to say. Their elation must be checked by the recollection that although they have a perfect right to rejoice in their great gift from God they nevertheless learned even the alphabet with human help... My argument is with Christians who congratulate themselves on a knowledge of the holy scriptures gained without any human guidance and who — if their claim is valid — thus enjoy a real and substantial blessing. But they must admit that each one of us learnt our native language by habitually hearing it spoken from the very beginnings of childhood, and acquired others — Greek, Hebrew, or whatever — either by hearing them in the same way or by learning them from a human teacher.

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6 The word *nota* was commonly used to denote 'notational sign', although the word *neuma* came to denote notational sign during the eleventh century. See Michel Hugo, 'Les Noms des neumes et leur origine', *Études gregoriennes* 1 (1954), p.53; and David Hilley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p.346.


Of the three passages which describe Hildegard's divine gifts, only in the passage from the *Scivias* – with its description of 'fiery light of exceeding brilliance' – does Hildegard 'congratulate' herself for acquiring knowledge without any form of human help. Hildegard's visionary claims were initially pronounced 'valid' by Pope Eugene III in 1148 after he viewed parts of the *Scivias* at the synod in Trier, and it is perhaps not coincidental that she enjoys an unqualified 'real and substantial blessing' in the *Protestatio* to that work. Hildegard's biographers' elaborations, on the other hand, reflect Augustine's arguments concerning instruction and learning. Both biographers describe a basic 'human help': 'just as the untaught woman instructed me' and 'Jutta, the pious woman dedicated to God'. Hildegard is given a basic early education by a devout and simple educator, something which does not diminish God's inspiration in her seeing, hearing, interpreting and bringing forth. This effects a balance between divine and human sources for her writings and songs. Admission of a formal education would undermine the integrity of her status as visionary; denial of any sort of education would otherwise attract the sort of suspicion expressed by Augustine. In this respect, Hildegard and her biographers had a common agenda: to record the ability of a human to interpret, write, sing and bring forth song without distraction from the divine inspiration ascribed to her abilities.

Hildegard and the *Indocta mulier*

The only other references to what Hildegard knew pertain directly to religious instruction. This, rather than the liberal arts, provides an insight into Hildegard's early musical education. Hildegard's written output represents the work of a woman who possessed a vast knowledge of spiritual lore. She appears to have been well read in Scripture and the works of the Church Fathers, which the Benedictine rule cites as prescribed reading for Vigils. Her first home, the monastery at Disibodenberg, was an important centre of book production during the twelfth century, and there is the potential for her to have been exposed to a very wide range of didactic texts.

Hildegard's early education began with her preparation for life as a Benedictine nun. A typical early education for a male monastic during this era included reading from the Psalter, singing and Latin grammar. The first two elements of this curriculum are given in Godfrey's passage from Book I of the *Vita*: she was 'trained... carefully in the garment of

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10 *Codices autem legendar in vigilis divinæ auctoritatis tam vetinis testamenti quam novi, sed et expositiones eorum, quae a nominatis et orthodoxis cathedræ patris sacratos sumi* [The books of divine authority, as well as the Old and as of the New Testaments shall be read at Vigils, as also the commentaries on them which have been made by renowned and orthodox Catholic Fathers], Benedict, *The Rule of Benedict: A Guide to Christian Living*, trans. Monks of Glenstal Abbey, ed., notes, George Holz herr (Dublin: Four Courts, 1994), p.118; trans. Monks of Glenstal Abbey, p. 117.


12 Lynn Thorndike, 'Elementary and Secondary Education in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 15 (1940), p.402.
humility and innocence [humilitatis et innocentie uelis]: instructing her in the songs of David, she showed her how to jubilate on the ten-stringed psaltery. The garment of humility and innocence described by Godfrey can be associated with both the habit worn by the nuns and what the habit represented, such as the twelve steps of humility taken towards a perfect love of God outlined in the Benedictine Rule. Godfrey’s reference to the ten-stringed psaltery is also probably allusionary; in Hildegard’s commentary on Psalm 150:3-5 from her Scivias for example, each instrument of the prophet David is described as a tool for God’s work, part of the inner being which works towards a perfect love of God:

Laudate eum in sono tubae; laudate eum in psalterio et cithara. Laudate eum in tympano et choro; laudate eum in chordis et organo. "Praise Him with the sound of trumpets; praise Him with psaltery and harp. Praise Him with cymbals and dance; praise Him with stringed instruments and flute. Praise Him on high-sounding cymbals; praise Him on cymbals of joy; let every spirit praise the Lord” [Psalm 150:3-5]. This is to say: You know, adore and love God with simple mind and pure devotion. Praise Him, then, with the sound of trumpets, which is to say by the use of the reason . . . And praise Him on the psaltery of deep devotion, and the honey-toned harp. For when the trumpet sounds the psaltery follows, and when the psaltery sounds the harp follows . . . .

Hildegard and her biographers were candid about what she did not know, but they offered very little in terms of what she did know. Their reticence effects a balance between her divine visionary experience and the human help she received in religious instruction. In the Protestificatio to the Scivias and in the Vita, Hildegard’s ignorance is described through reference to the established arts, and summaries of what a scholar might otherwise be required to understand, expound and sing are included with varying amounts of detail. Knowledge acquired through formal study of the liberal arts is prescribed in these passages as the norm, and claims of her ignorance emphasise a lack of the skills assumed for those who operate within this norm. What little is described of what she knew comprises spiritual knowledge that falls outside of this norm. This knowledge is given as counterparts to litteratoria and musica – the Psalter and jubilatio.

The Protestificatio to the Scivias and Godfrey’s Vita refer to Hildegard’s teacher, an indocta mulier called Jutta of Spanheim (1092-1136). The Life of Jutta describes how she was the daughter of ‘most illustrious Bavarian stock’, whose father, Stephen of Spanheim, died when she was only three. Shortly before the age of thirteen, she was struck down by a serious illness, and vowed to God to enter the holy life should she recover. When she did recover, her suitability for matrimony was obvious to those around her, and in keeping her

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13Benedict, Rule of Benedict, pp.91-98.
vow she sought the protection of Ruthard, Archbishop of Mainz. She remained on her family estate and was schooled for three years by an elderly widow, Uda of Göllheim, who was ‘living in the habit of holy religion’. After the death of her mother, she arranged to move to Disibodenberg.\(^{15}\) She entered the anchorage there at age 20, or in 1112, with Hildegard, who was fourteen, and another young woman who was also called Jutta.\(^{16}\)

**The Psalter**

Although a member of the local nobility, Jutta’s economic status did not guarantee her an education equal to that assumed for males of the same age. The skills acquired in early education allowed youths to pursue scholarship in higher verbal and mathematical arts, but even in noble families, fewer females went on to pursue advanced scholarship.\(^{17}\) Accordingly, the *Life of Jutta* describes how Jutta and Uda would devote themselves to prayer, vigils and fasting, and how, under Uda, Jutta advanced ‘from virtue to virtue’. The *Life of Jutta* also recounts how she ‘taught ungrudgingly’ what she had learnt through the Holy Spirit.\(^{18}\) Accordingly, Godfrey and Theoderic list her teaching qualifications as piety, devotion and a knowledge of the Psalter – attributes which reinforce her suitability as a religious mentor.

The Psalter was a standard text for the tuition of females with access to education during the medieval era. Here, Alcuin Blamires argues that, during the Middle Ages, ‘the only part of the Bible which was exempted from clerical monopoly, and perhaps considered particularly suitable for woman, was the Psalms’.\(^{19}\) As the basis of the *Opus dei*, a knowledge of the Psalter also constituted a minimum requirement for the participation of a female in the act of communal worship within a monastic environment. Reading, understanding, memorising and singing all 150 psalms could occupy a female for many years, and in Jutta’s case apparently did. According to the *Life of Jutta*, recitation of the entire Psalter, along with other prayers, was a daily practice for her, and she sometimes recited it two or three times.\(^{20}\) The attributes given her in the *Life of Jutta* and the teaching qualifications given her by Hildegard’s biographers represent a significant influence upon Hildegard’s early education.

**Inbiliatio**

With respect to music as part of Hildegard’s spiritual development, Godfrey’s use of the verb *inbiliare* is significant. The word *inbiliatio* is familiar as the description given to melismata that express the ‘joy of the inner being’ in Alleluia chants. This concept of non-


\(^{16}\) Silvas, *Jutta & Hildegard*, p.54.


\(^{18}\) ‘Life of Jutta’, p.73.

\(^{19}\) Blamires, ‘The Limits of Bible Study’, p.3.

\(^{20}\) ‘Life of Jutta’, p.72.
verbal articulations of joy can be traced back, again, to Augustine, who spoke of it in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. In his commentary on Psalm 99, to *iubilare* is to articulate the sound of delight *laetitia* without words:

Qui jubilat, non verba dicit, sed sonus quidam est laetitia sine verbis: vox est enim animi diffusa laetitia, quantum potest, expressit affectum, non sensum comprehendit. Gaudeo homo in exsultatione sua, ex verbis quibusdam que non possunt dici et intelligi, erumpit in voce quamdam exsultatione sine verbis . . .

Whoever jubilates, speaks not words, but it is a certain sound of delight without words; the utterance is indeed the joy of the spirit spread out insofar as it able, expressing feeling, not comprehending sense. The man rejoicing in his exultation, from certain words which are not able to be spoken and understood, bursts forth in a certain voice from exultation without words.21

A generation before Hildegard, Honorius Augustodunensis (c.1070–c.1139) expounded the concept of *iubilatio* in his *Gemma animae*. Honorius was an English canon who c.1109 moved to Germany and took up residence at the *Alte Kapelle* in Regensburg. The *Gemma animae*, which was probably begun in England and completed in Regensburg, comprises commentaries on aspects of the liturgy, including descriptions of liturgical practice, written for a German audience.22 In a passage from Book III of this four-book work, Honorius states that neumes, which are taken here to denote ‘musical syllables’, are ‘jubilated’. He also says that, because of this, *iubilatio* is sung through ‘a’, which denotes the first letter learnt by humans, but which could also refer to the note ‘a’. Either way, Honorius clearly states that *iubilatio* is the expression of joy through singing:

*Neumann autem jubilatio est harum renum signification, quia ineffabili bus fabrica mundi per verbum Dei creatur. Ideo in fabrica mundi neuma jubilatur. Ideo vero per a cantatur, quia prima vox nascentis hominis a predicatur.*

The jubilation of neumes, however, is the meaning of these things [neumes], because the structure of the world is created in an unutterable way through the Word of God. Therefore a neume is jubilated in the structure of the world. On that account, it is, in truth, sung through ‘a’, because the first utterance of a human being that is born is proclaimed as an ‘a’.23

In Honorius’ account of liturgical practice on the feast of St. John the Evangelist from the same book, he implies that to *neumann iubilare* is to extemporise neumes, or musical syllables. This reference complements the notion of *iubilatio* as the extemporisation of melody. In particular, Honorius identifies the meaning of a word, *intellectus*, as the impetus for extemporisation:

*Quidam neumann super intellectus jubilant, quia sanctus Joannes per spiritum intellectus de ineffabili verbo Deo scripserat.*

Certain people jubilate a neume over ‘understanding’, because Saint John had written through the spirit of understanding about the unutterable Word of God.24

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The idea of *iubilatio* as both an 'expression of joy without understanding' and as musical extemporisation (which in Honorius' experience highlights the meaning of the word *intellectus*) provides one setting for Hildegard's bringing forth of *cantus cum melodia*. She and her biographers insisted that she 'brought forth and sang songs' without instruction. Here, the word *neuma* is related to a theoretical understanding of music. According to Honorius' descriptions, however, *iubilatio* represents extemporised melody in response to meaning in praise of God. *Neumae* are a substance of extemporised melody. This can be pitted against the role of *iubilatio* in her early education. Hildegard's singing assimilated what music surrounded her, e.g. liturgical chant. Jutta is portrayed by Hildegard and her biographers as having an active role in this assimilation. The description in the *Vita* suggests that Jutta taught Hildegard *iubilatio*, or the extemporisation of melody, without a theoretically informed knowledge of *neumae* during their years together at Disibodenberg.

By emphasising Jutta's role as Hildegard's instructor, her biographers distance Hildegard from the document as the source of learning, and steer her towards the influence of other channels – hearing, listening and retaining in the memory – in her early education. Accordingly, while every monk and nun sang the *Opus dei*, not all monastics were trained in Latin or were familiar with the theoretical art of 'correct singing'. As Christopher Page has surmised, proficiency in the art of singing assumed a wide range of learnt attributes. Practical *ars musica* treatises from the period prescribe similar curricula, including knowledge of the divisions of the monochord, the intervals of music, *musica fista*, and the finals, tenors and ranges of the modes; an ability to designate mode correctly and connect psalms with their antiphons; and how to compose in accordance with the precepts governing Gregorian chant.²⁵ It would not be unusual to find varying levels of musical competence among members of a single monastic community – there were those who knew all or some of the theoretical precepts which informed the art of correct singing as well as those who knew few or none at all.²⁶

Hildegard, for whom a lack of skill in the language needed to study the *ars musica* is emphasised in her *Vita*, is allied with 'those who knew little to none'. These two groups are not discrete, however. As Page also points out, all monks, including those well versed in the *ars musicae* were *cantors* (and all nuns *cantrices*). Descriptions of Hildegard's early education emphasise the spiritual preparation of the young female intended for a monastic life, and she was equipped with the basics for functioning within a monastic society as an effective member of God's army as *cantrix*.

²⁶Page refers to the trained musician as *musicus* and the uninformed musician as *cantor*. See Page, *Musica and cantor*, p.78.
The Sources

The testimony of Hildegard and her biographers represents her as a divinely inspired cantatrix. This testimony also promotes the idea that she was ill-equipped to document her own music. Nonetheless, Hildegard's devotional songs are preserved with neumes in four extant parchment sources prepared during the twelfth century. Of these, two - Dendermonde, St. Pieters & Paulus abbey, Codex 9 (c.1175) and Wiesbaden Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. 2 (the 'Riesenkodex' - c.1179) - preserve Hildegard's songs in cycles and together comprise her entire devotional-song collection. There was also a third twelfth-century (possibly Rupertsberg) cyclic source of Hildegard's songs,† Vienna, Imperial Library 721, which disappeared from Vienna c.1800. There are two secondary twelfth-century sources with neumes - Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek cod. theol. 4°253 (fol. 40v) (c.1165) and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 1016 (fols 117v-118v) (c.1180).27

Prior to the 1170s, Hildegard's songs were redacted as unneumed cantus. Collections of her songs with settings in the cyclic sources are located without neumes among epistolary and other didactic writings in eight twelfth-century manuscripts. The preservation of these songs without neumes, liturgical functions, psalm cadences or doxologies is in keeping with her lack of knowledge of neuma.

Hildegard's earliest known songs are preserved in her Sávias (1141–1151), of which there are nine extant sources including the Riesenkodex (fols 132v-133v) and two others redacted at the Rupertsberg scriptorium during the twelfth century († Wiesbaden Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs 1 (1165/1170) and Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 311 (c.1179)).28 Book III;13:1–7 of the Sávias includes a truncated, unneumed version of Hildegard's liturgical play, the Ordo virtutum, prefaced by seven pairs of unneumed symphoniae to seven celestial personages, the virgin, angels, patriarchs and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins [symphonia de sancta Maria . . . de novem ordinibus supernorum spirituum . . . de patriarchis et prophetis . . . de apostolis . . . de martyrribus . . . de confessorisibus . . . de virginibus].29 These seven symphoniae were later cast as antiphon and responsory pairs in the cyclic sources.

Parts of the Sávias were presented to Pope Eugene III and delegates at the synod in Trier, held between November 1147 and February 1148.30 After this synod, the Pope and his delegates journeyed to Rheimes, where the theologian Gilbert de la Porée recanted

27 There are also two late fifteenth/early sixteenth-century sources of neumed cantus by Hildegard: London, British Museum, Cod. Add. 15102, which includes a copy of the Ordo virtutum taken from the Riesenkodex in 1487 at St. Jacob's Abbey in Würzburg, and St. Gall. Stiftsbibliothek 546 (1507–1514), which includes Hildegard's alleluia verse O viga mediatric.
his so-called heretical position on the paternity of Christ. At this time, a Parisian master of theology and later cardinal, Odo of Soissons, wrote to Hildegarq asking her opinion about Gilbert’s position. He also mentions that he had heard (presumably from delegates who had been in Trier) that she was ‘revealing much through Scripture’ and bringing forth modos novi carminis, or ‘types of new song’. These types of new song could refer to the two types of song Hildegarq spoke of in the final vision of Scivias Book III. Here, she speaks of songs which praise the citizens of heaven and those which lament humans who stray from God. This reference also indicates that the delegates in Trier had been witness to her brining forth types of new song, either by word of mouth, through Hildegarq’s reference to hearing melody in symphony in the Prostesitatio to the Scivias, through the delegates who journeyed to Disibodenberg, or perhaps even by viewing Scivias III; 13:

Dictum quod elevata in celestibus multa videas et multa per scripturam proferas, atque modos novi carminis edas, cum milii hominum dedicatis . . . Nos autem, quamuis a te longe positi simus, fiduciam in te habentes guadem a te petimus, silet, quoniam plurimi contendunt quod paternitas et divinitas Deus non sit, quid inde in celestibus sentias nobis exponere et transmittere non differas.

It is being said that you may see much raised in heaven and you may reveal much through the Scriptures and what is more you may bring forth types of new song, although you may have studied nothing of these . . . However much we may have been placed at a distance from you, we have confidence in you, of course we ask because they maintain at highest value that the paternity and divinity of God may not be; thereupon may you, in celestial thoughts, not delay by showing and transmitting to us.

The Incipit to Hildegarq’s second theological treatise, Liber vitae meritorum (1158–1163), describes how, after 1150, Hildegarq had been shown subtiletes diuersarum naturarum creaturarum, symphonia harmonia caelestium revelationum and ignotam que linguam et litteras:

ET FACTVM EST in nono anno postquam uera uisio uerar uisiones, in quibus per deccennium in-sudaeram, mihi simplis homini manifestauerat; qui primus annus fact, postquam ea eadem uisio subtiletes diuersarum naturarum creaturarum ac responsa et ad-monitiones tam minores quam maiorum plurima-rum personarum, et symphoniam harmonie celestium revelationum, ignotam linguam et litteras cum quibusdam alitis expositionibus, in quibus post predic-tae uisiones multa infinitate multoque labore corporis gnauata per octo annos duraueram, mihi ad explanandum ostenderat; cum sexaginta annorum esset, forte tem et mirabilem uisionem uidi, in qua etiam per quinquennium laborau.

The following happened in the ninth year after a true vision had shown me, a simple person, the true visions which I had previously laboured over for ten years. This was the first year after that vision had shown me the [subtlety] of the various natural creatures with responses and warnings for greater and lesser people. It had also shown me the symphony of the harmony of celestial revelations, and an unknown language with letters with certain other explanations. I had been physically sick and weighed down with a lot of work for nine years after the true vision had shown me these things so that I might explain them. When I was sixty years old, I saw another strong and wonderful vision which I laboured over for five years.

31 Constant Mews has informed me that Gilbert’s perceived ‘heresy’ was in fact a scholarly argument – Gilbert recognised that there was a grammatical distinction to be made between the noun ‘father’, and the verb ‘to father’. Because the Father and the divinely Fathered were inseparable, Gilbert’s argument was met with ill favour by Pope Eugene, who summoned Gilbert to Rheims to explain himself.
The *subtilitates diversarum naturarum creaturarum* are thought to refer to her two medical treatises, the *Physica* (Book of Simple Medicine) and *Causae et curae* (Book of Compound Medicine), and her description of *ignotam que linguam et litteras* came to be equated with her *Lingua ignota, Litterae ignotae* (Unknown Language, Unknown Writing), a collection of twenty-five characters with Latin equivalents which are used for didactic writings. An example of this unknown language is the antiphon *O orchis ecclesia*, which includes five 'unknown' words. Latin equivalents of these words are given in the unneumed versions of this song in the Stuttgart source and the Riesen Kodex.

As implied in the *incipit* to the *Liber vitae meritorum*, Hildegard continued to bring forth *symphoniae* after labouring for ten years (1141-1151) over the 'true vision', or after the completion of the *Scivias*. Accordingly, a group of songs appeared at this time in a letter addressed to the Disibodenberg monks. In c.1151, the Disibodenberg Abbot, Kuno, requested Hildegard to document any visionary experiences associated with the patron of her former home. Her response included three unneumed songs devoted to St Disibod – two lengthy verses and a versified song without liturgical indications, and these were later cast as an antiphon, a responsory and sequence in the cyclic sources. The earliest known manuscript copy of this collection, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 881 (fols 42v-43v), was probably compiled at Rupertsberg c.1170.

A third unneumed collection, this time of nine Marian songs, is included in the Stuttgart source on fols 53r-54v. The texts to two other unneumed songs, one devoted to God the Father and another to Ecclesia, appear on fol. 28v, prefaced by the word *cantus*. These songs are included in a collection of twenty-six unneumed songs in the codicil to Hildegard’s *Vita Sancti Ruperti* preserved in the Riesen Kodex (fols 404v-407v) and a manuscript compiled at Rommersdorf in the thirteenth century, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 963 (fols 154r-158v). None of these unneumed songs is given a liturgical indication. By completion of the Riesen Kodex c.1179, forty-two of Hildegard's seventy-seven songs had been redacted as unneumed prose among letters and other didactic writings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c.1160-1170/after 1175</td>
<td>Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek theol. et phil. 40253</td>
<td>Rupertsberg &amp; Zwiefalten</td>
<td>1 unneumed song 12 song texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1165</td>
<td>†Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs 1</td>
<td>Rupertsberg</td>
<td>14 song texts (= Scivias)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1170</td>
<td>Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 881</td>
<td>Rupertsberg?</td>
<td>3 song texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1175</td>
<td>Dendermonde</td>
<td>Rupertsberg</td>
<td>55 unneumed songs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34 Hildegardis ad Canonem Abbatis**, Epistolarium, p.162.
35 Newman, 'Appendix: The Symphonia and the "Epilogue to the Life of Saint Rupert"', in Hildegard, Symphonia, pp.68–73.
### The Twelfth-Century Neumed Sources

The Riesenkkodex

Wiesbaden Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. 2, or the Riesenkkodex, is the most comprehensive source not only of Hildegard’s songs but also of her written opus. Among the written works included in the Riesenkkodex are her three theological treatises, the *Scivias*, the *Liber vitae meritorum* and the *Liber divinorum operum* (1163–1174). Her songs and *Ordo virtutum* are preserved on separate fascicles at the end of the manuscript. This source includes 75 of Hildegard’s 77 songs and is the only surviving twelfth-century neumed source of her *Ordo virtutum*. Twenty songs with neumes are also exclusive to the Riesenkkodex:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Folios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Scivias</em></td>
<td>1r–135r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Liber vitae meritorum</em></td>
<td>135r–201v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Liber divinorum operum</em> &amp; Epilogue</td>
<td>202r–308r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistola ad prelates Moguntinius</td>
<td>308r–317r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vita</em></td>
<td>317r–327r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistolae</td>
<td>328r–343r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Expositio evangelionem</em></td>
<td>434r–461r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lingua ignota</em></td>
<td>461r–464r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Litterae ignotae</em></td>
<td>464r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litterae quas Villareses fratres post obitum Hildegardis ad nos miserunt</td>
<td>464r–465r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contus sum melodia &amp; <em>Ordo virtutum</em></td>
<td>466r–481r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Riesen kodex was prepared at Hildegard’s abbey at Rupertsberg and has survived intact. Apart from a brief sojourn in 1487 in Würzburg, where parts were copied (London, British Library, Cod. Add. 15102), the manuscript remained at the Rupertsberg abbey until 1631. The abbey was destroyed during Swedish invasion of Germany in the Thirty Years War (1618–48), and the manuscript was moved to Eibingen. Upon the closure of the Eibingen abbey in the nineteenth century, the Riesen kodex was relocated to Wiesbaden. 36 The Riesen kodex was thought to have been compiled between c.1180–1190 – this coincides with Theodor’s contribution to Hildegard’s Vita, which is included in this manuscript – and prepared in anticipation of Hildegard’s canonisation. 37 Albert Derolez has anedated the completion of the Riesen kodex to before 1179, based on codicological evidence pointing to the improbability of the entire manuscript having been prepared after Hildegard’s death. 38 As folios 466-481 are preserved on separate fascicles to the written works, redaction of the songs in the Riesen kodex could also have taken place before 1179.

**Dendermonde 9**

Dendermonde, St. Pieters & Paulus abbey, Codex 9 includes 57 neumed songs, with two single-verse songs, O frondens virga and Laus trinitati, not found in the Riesen kodex. The Dendermonde songs are also preserved on separate fascicles to preceding written works, including Hildegard’s Liber vitae meritorum and the Liber vianum Dei by her disciple and fellow visionary Elizabeth of Schönau (1124–1164). 39

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Folios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liber vitae meritorum</td>
<td>1r–121v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liber vianum Dei</td>
<td>121r–152v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantus cum melodia</td>
<td>153r–170v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous 13th-century dialogue (between a priest and the devil)</td>
<td>170v–173v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This manuscript was copied at Rupertsberg. Its terminus ad quem, c.1175, is based on an expression of gratitude for the manuscript included in a letter written c.1176 to Hildegard from the Cistercian community in Villers (Belgium). 40 The manuscript was removed to the Cistercian abbey in Gembloux c.1200. During the 17th century, it was housed at the Cistercian abbey in Affligem. The Affligem monks were expelled during the French revolution, and the community was reestablished at Dendermonde in 1837. 41

36 Schrader & Führkötter, Die Echtheit, pp.155–156.
37 Schrader & Führkötter, Die Echtheit, p.154.
38 Derolez & Dronke, introduction, LDO, pp.XCVII–CII.
39 Schrader & Führkötter, Die Echtheit, p.50.
41 Schrader & Führkötter, Die Echtheit, p.49.
The Dendermonde codex has not survived intact. The songs are preserved on three *quaternions*, two of which are incomplete, and these are now separated from the preceding 152 folios. There are two missing folios – between fols 155v and 156r and between fols 164v and 165r. The missing folio between 155v-156r affects two songs: the hymn *Ave generosa*, which breaks off on fol. 155v during the final verse, and the sequence *O virga ac diadema*, which enters at the top of folio 156r midway through the fourth verse. With the ratio between the Riesenkokedex and Dendermonde staves as one Riesenkokedex stave to 0.6 of a Dendermonde stave, eight lines of the missing folio were occupied by *Ave generosa* and *O virga ac diadema*. These two songs were accompanied by a further sixteen lines of music. The missing songs were probably the Marian songs *O viridissima virga* and *O virga mediatrix* (= 16 lines). These two songs appear together without neumes in other manuscripts, and all four songs appear together in the Riesenkokedex. The missing folio between 164v and 165r included Hildegarde’s sequence *O Jerusalem*, which breaks off at the end of the third verse on folio 164v. The number of songs originally included in the Dendermonde 9 cycle can be tentatively revised to 59.

Stuttgart 4º253

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek cod. theol. 4º253 is the earliest extant source of Hildegarde’s writings known to have been copied, at least in part, at the Rupertsberg scriptorium. Sections of the manuscript were also copied at the cloister in Zwie falten, which Hildegarde visited c.1170. The manuscript remained at Zwieifalten until the cloister was secularised c.1810, and the manuscript was subsequently moved to the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart. Included in this manuscript are works by Bernard of Clairvaux and Isidore of Seville and a collection of Hildegarde’s epistles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Folios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Commentaria in Sententias</em> (anonymous)</td>
<td>1v-20vb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sermo</em> V by Ivo Carnotensis</td>
<td>20vb-26va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Epistolae</em> by Hildegarde</td>
<td>27r-40f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O vos imitatores</em></td>
<td>40v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Epistolae cont</em></td>
<td>41r-59v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De gratia et libero arbitrio</em> by Bernard of Clairvaux</td>
<td>60r-75f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Epistolae cont</em></td>
<td>75r-76v/76r-93v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De eclesiasticis officiis</em> by Isidore of Seville</td>
<td>94r-101v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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43Schrader & Führkötter, *Die Editheth*, p 64.

This manuscript also includes one neumed song preserved in Dendermonde 9 and the Riesenpodex, O vos imitatores, on fol. 407 (the final folio of a ternion). This responsory is redacted with response repeat but without doxology or rubrication. The Stuttgart codex was completed by c.1170, but the song is a palimpsest – the surface is waxed and resembles the binding parchment which includes traces of text and neumes. Comparison with Vienna 1016 indicates that O vos imitatores was copied into the manuscript after 1175.

Vienna 1016

Folios 117v-118r of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 1016 includes two songs with neumes, Hildegard’s Kyrie and her alleluia verse O vinga mediatrix. Folios 1 to 116 of this manuscript emanate from the Benedictine cloister of St. Maria in Romensdorf, as inscribed on the opening folio (Liber ecles[ie s]anct[e] Marie virginis [n] Romerstorphl), and include an early thirteenth-century copy of Hildegard’s Liber vitae meritorum. The two neumed songs in this source are preserved on an unevenly cut, poorly preserved ternion (fols 116v-121v) with the inscription fragmentum Epistolani S. Hildegard. The two unrubricated songs, the Kyrie setting and alleluia verse, are preserved with Hildegard’s lingua ignota [hidden language] alphabet. The alphabet, which follows the Kyrie and alleluia verse (folio 118v), is written on three staves at the top of folio 119r, and it is followed by a repetition of the initial Kyrie verse, which is also included on the third staff:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Folios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liber vitae meritorum</td>
<td>1-108v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsiones (to 38 questions)</td>
<td>108v-115v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistola, songs &amp; Lingua ignota</td>
<td>116v-121v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This fragment was copied at Rupertsberg, and possibly Zwiefalten, probably c.1179 and inserted into the back of the manuscript. The only other dedication in this manuscript is to the Bibliotheca Palat. Vindobonesi, or the present Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. According to a description at the rear of the manuscript, it was shelf marked in March 1915, although the presence of this manuscript in Vienna has been traced back to at least 1576.

Relationship between the Twelfth-Century Sources

Scribal Hands

It has been argued that the cyclic sources of Hildegard’s music were copied by separate text and music scribes, and these two scribes copied both sources. The text-hands in these two sources are very similar, but there are significant differences between them. Apart from a more restrained use of hyphenation in the Riesenpodex, the Dendermonde text hand uses a ct ligature and two hyphenated forms (-orum and -us) which do

45Van Poucke, introduction, Symphonia harmonie celestium revelationum, p.11.
not appear in the Riesenkodex song cycle. Albert Derolez has concluded that these individual uses represent different hands.\textsuperscript{46} This probably means that two different text scribes redacted Hildegard’s songs in the cyclic sources.

The assumption that the text and neumes were copied by different scribes reflects music redaction practices of later periods. This practice was less common during the twelfth century, however. Peter Van Pouke states in his introduction to the Dendermonde 9 facsimile that the text and neume hands in that manuscript are distinct because of differences between the clefs and the letters ‘c’ and ‘f’ in the text.\textsuperscript{47} Comparison of clefs and letters on the opening folios of Dendermonde 9 support this assumption – the main difference between the text and the clefs is that c-clefs are initially slanted to the right whereas the letter ‘c’ in the text is vertical. Further into the manuscript, however, c-clefs are written vertically, and these are indistinguishable from the text ‘c’s. The top of the letter ‘f’ in the text is more elaborate than f-clefs, but the occasional, less elaborate ‘f’ in the text is also indistinguishable from the ‘f’ used for this clef.

There are several other similarities between the text and neume hands in Dendermonde 9: the b\textsuperscript{b} is written in a similar hand to the text-letter ‘b’; the text of the psalm cadences (euouae) is written in the same hand as the text; text corrections, which were probably inserted at the same time as the neumes, are in a similar hand to the text; a sign used for the cephalicus is the same as the hyphenated form of the syllable us in the text; and the cap on a sign used to separate the widowed ends of songs which spill onto the stave below is the same as the pressus. Schrader and Führkötter have noted that this Dendermonde hand is similar to that used for the rubrication in both cyclic sources.\textsuperscript{48} The ct ligature appears in the rubrication on the bottom of fol. 164\textsuperscript{7} in Dendermonde 9 (De sancto Ruperto confessore, antifana) and this suggests that a single scribe was responsible for text, neumes and rubrication in Dendermonde 9.

The similarity in text hands between the Riesenkodex and Dendermonde 9 also applies to the neumes, of which a common vocabulary is used in both sources. The Riesenkodex song texts are in the same hand as the neumes, with the same hand for psalm cadences and for the b\textsuperscript{b} and c-/F-clefs and the letters ‘c’ and ‘f’ in the text. The two hyphenation signs not found in the Riesenkodex text but included in Dendermonde 9 are used in the Riesenkodex rubrication, which indicates that the Dendermonde 9 scribe was also a Riesenkodex illuminator. The rubric ‘victoria’ on fol. 478\textsuperscript{9}, however, is the only example of a ct syllable in the rubrication of the Riesenkodex songs, and the ct ligature is not used. This section may have been illuminated by the second scribe. Van Pouke’s hypothesis that two scribes were responsible for the redaction of

\textsuperscript{46} Derolez & Dronke, introduction, LDO, pp.LXXXVIII.
\textsuperscript{47} Van Pouke, introduction, Symphonia harmoniae cælestium revelationum, p.11.
\textsuperscript{48} Schrader and Führkötter, Die Eichheit, p.157.
Hildegard's songs in the cyclic sources can therefore be sustained, only it appears that each scribe copied texts, neumes and rubrication. The text hands in the minor sources are the same, and this hand differs to those in the cyclic sources. The minor sources include a hyphenated form of the letter 'r' (or = 'or') found in other Rupertsberg sources but not in the song cycles. A comparison of neume shapes, angles, vocabulary and clef hand in the minor sources again suggests that the text hand and the neume hand are the same. The neumed song hand of Vienna 1016 is the principal scribe of the Vienna fragment, but this hand is only found in the Stuttgart source on folio 40r. This indicates that the Stuttgart song is contemporaneous with the Vienna fragment.

From cantus to cantus cum melodia

The change from redaction of Hildegard's songs as unneumed verses to their redaction as liturgical song took place during the 1170s. It has been traditionally assumed that Hildegard's songs were neumed by 1170, due to the Stuttgart source (and in some circles Odo of Soissons' letter from 1148), but it appears that the neumes in the Stuttgart source and Vienna 1016 post-date, not pre-date, the cyclic sources.

The scriptorial practices of Hildegard's nuns are described in a letter to Bovo, a Gembloux monk, by fellow monk Guibert of Gembloux, who in 1177 was appointed as Hildegard's secretary and provost to the nuns at Rupertsberg. In his letter, Guibert details the observances of the Rupertsberg nuns, which included sitting in silence and 'reading', 'copying books' and 'learning songs'. Stuttgart 4²253 and Vienna 1016 represent products of these observances:

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Est istic miram virtutem concertationem intueri, dum et mater filias tanta dilectione amplectitur, et filiae matris tanta reverentia subjiciuntur, ut in hoc studio, [an] mater filias, aut filiae matrem superent, vix discriminatur; ipsaque sacrae Dei fomulae tam soleri et Deum devotione et se ipsas sui custodia, et alteratas honore et obedientia concorditer colunt, ut vere in eis auxilio Christi fragilis sexus et se ipsam et mundum et Diabolum in juxta spectaculo facerentur. Nam memores Domini invitantis: Vacate et videte, quoniam ego sum Deus, iniquitatem ab opere foris, in clausuro descreverunt silentio sedentario, lectio et dissertatio sunt studia; et obedientes Apostoli dixerunt: Qui non laborat, non maneat, privatis debus, per officinas competentis, vel scribendi libros, vel lectionis stolis, vel alii operibus manusim intendunt.

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There is in this place a marvellous contest in the virtues to be seen, where the mother embraces her daughters with such affection, and the daughters submit themselves to their mother with such reverence that it is hard to decide whether the mother surpasses the daughters in this eagerness or the daughters their mother. With one accord these holy handmaids of God so cultivate God through lively devotion and themselves by self-command and one another with honour and obedience, that in them you can literally behold the delightful spectacle of the weaker sex triumphing with Christ's help over itself, the world, and the devil. For, mindful of the Lord's invitation; Desist and see that I am God (Ps. 45:11) they refrain from work on holidays, and sit in composed silence in the cloister applying themselves to holy reading and to learning the chant. On ordinary days they obey the Apostle who says Whoever will not work shall not eat (2 Thess. 3:10), and apply themselves in well-fitted workshops to the writing of books, the weaving of robes or other manual crafts.49

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The Kyrie, which is preserved in both the Riesenkodex and Vienna 1016, is a contrafactum of a section of Hildegard's responson O lucidissima apostolorum (Example 1–1). This indicates that the Vienna Kyrie post-dates Dendermonde 9, the earliest source of the responson. It is also possible that the Vienna Kyrie was copied from the Riesenkodex. An indication of this is that, in the Riesenkodex, an E–F podatus over 'Christe eleison' is corrected to D–F with a 'D' clef sign. In Vienna 1016, the E–F podatus is notated and the 'D' clef is included; the clef is aligned not with the podatus but with the preceding note D, the pitch of which is clear without the clef. The note C which follows is placed underneath the podatus. In both the Riesenkodex and Vienna 1016, the second 'Kyrie' (not shown in Example 1–1) is repeated with a section added at the end. In Vienna 1016, this second 'Kyrie' is repeated a second time after the Lingua ignota.

In the typographically impeccable Riesenkodex, the Kyrie occupies nine otherwise blank staves on fol. 472vb (as preserved, three blank staves surround the Kyrie – one above, two below). One reason for the adoption of the responsoy melody for a setting of the lesser litany might have been to fill in this space. Another, which is explained below, concerns the conceptual hierarchy which governs the arrangement of songs in the cyclic sources. In Vienna 1016, the only common office chants in Hildegard's collection – the alleluia, the only other surviving twelfth-century source of which is the Riesenkodex, and Kyrie – are preserved together.

The earliest sources to describe Hildegard's melodies date from 1174, shortly before redaction of Dendermonde 9 took place. Prior to 1174, Hildegard spoke of diversum genus musicae and symphonia, but not melodiae. Before the death in late 1173/early 1174 of Hildegard's secretary, Volmar of Disibodenberg, he wrote to her praising her gift for interpreting God's Word, and in this letter he describes her music as the vox inauditae melodiae [the voice of unheard of melodies]. This description is followed by Theoderic's account of her early education under Jutta from her Vita. Here, he cites Hildegard's description of how she composed cantus cum melodia, or a song (about a 'religious subject') with melody. These references suggest that Hildegard had sung and brought forth song since her early days with Jutta at Disibodenberg, but neither herself or her correspondents make mention of her melodiae prior to the time of their redaction. The only pre-1175 mention of her melodiae comes from Volmar, who describes them as inaudita melodiae. The first appearances of the word melodia in connection with her songs after 1174 reflects the change from cantus to cantus cum melodia in redaction.

50 Volmarus propositus sancti Roberti dilecta matris suae Hr, Hildegardis, Opera, p.346. 51 Vita II.2, p.24.
Example 1-1: from *O lucidissima apostolorum/Kyrie*—(1) Dendermonde 9 fol. 161⁴, (2) Riesenkdex fol. 469⁵, (3) Riesenkdex fol. 472⁶ & (4) Vienna 1016, fol. 118⁶.
Example 1-1 cont.

Hildegard and St Eucharius

The earliest redaction of Hildegard’s music took place in 1174. At the time of Volmar’s death, Hildegard was engaged in the redaction of her Liber divinorum operum, which she had begun in 1170. While the abbot of Disibodenberg procrastinated for most of 1174 upon Volmar’s replacement, several amanuenses came to Rupertsberg to assist her complete her book. These included Hildegard’s nephew, Wezelin, then provost at St. Andrews in Cologne, and several monks from St. Eucharius in Trier, who were sent to Rupertsberg by their abbot, Ludwig, at Hildegard’s request. In late 1174/early 1175, a replacement secretary, Hildegard’s biographer Godfrey, was sent from Disibodenberg to Rupertsberg, but he died in 1176. Godfrey was succeeded by Guibert of Gembloux, who was in residence at Rupertsberg between 1177 and 1180.

52 Derolez & Dronke, introduction, LDO, p.XCII.
During Hildegard's lifetime, a spiritual confraternity was promoted between Rupertsberg and St Eucharius, both of which were reformed Benedictine houses. This confraternity was based on similarities between the spiritual and intellectual profiles of the two communities. According to Louise van Acker's dating of Hildegard's correspondence, the earliest known epistolary exchange between St Eucharius and Hildegard could have taken place c.1148, or soon after the Synod of Trier, where extracts from the Scivias were read and papal sanction was given to her work. During the following three decades, she corresponded with various members of the St Eucharius community including the abbots Bertulf (abbot from 1136 to 1162), Gerwin (1162–68?) and Ludwig (1168–88), the congregation of monks as well as individual monks. It also appears that her work was read at St Eucharius as early as the 1150s, as suggested by a letter written c.1155 in which the St Eucharius monks express their delight in her Scivias:

De cetero induh rantem cognoscas quia in litteris tuis, sollicit in libro Scivias, delectat sumus situt in omnibus divitis. Of the rest you may undoubtedly recognise because we have been delighted in your letters, [and] certainly in the book the Scivias, just as in all rich offerings.

During the period in which Hildegard was without an official secretary, she sent the then only copy of her Liber divinorum operum, which was redacted from 1170-1174, to St Eucharius for editing. This transaction, which Hildegard undertook reluctantly, is described in a letter to Ludwig. The copy referred to in this letter is now housed in Ghent (University Library MS 241).

Et quia per summam indicem adiutor meus ablatus est, ideo scripturam nostram tibi modo committo, suppliciter rogando quod eam ceste senes ac diligenter corrigendo propicias, ut etiam nomen tuum in libro sibi scribas . . . And because through the Supreme Judge my helper [i.e. Volmar] is removed, I therefore commit our composition [i.e. the Liber divinorum operum] only to you, humbly begging that you watch over it cautiously, and amending it you exercise foresight carefully – so that your name may be written down in the book of life . . .

It may be assumed that the Capitula to the Liber divinorum operum in Ghent 241 was prepared at St Eucharius; the Capitula was compiled after completion of copying at Rupertsberg, and it is written on separate fascicles to the Rupertsberg text. The Capitula hand is otherwise found in numerous manuscripts prepared at Rupertsberg during the 1170s, including three copies of the Liber vitae meritorum, among which is Trier, Priesterseminar Bibliothek Hs 68, which was prepared for the St Eucharius abbey.

54 Bertulfus Abbas ad Hildegardem / 'Hildegardis ad Bertulfum abbatem', Epistolarium, pp.466–468.
55 Congregatio Monachorum ad Hildegardem', Epistolarium, p.480.
56 Deolez & Drönke, introduction, LDO, p.LXXXIX.
57 Deolez & Drönke, introduction, LDO, pp.477.
58 Drönke & Deolez, introduction, LDO, pp.LXXXVIII–LXXIX.
59 Drönke & Deolez, introduction, LDO, p.LXXXVIII.
Significantly, the text, rubrication and neumes in the Dendermonde 9 copy of Hildegard's song cycle are in the same hand. The hand responsible for the Riesenködex copy of Hildegard's song cycle is also found in the Trier 68 copy of the Liber vitae meritorum.\(^6\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Dendermonde song hand</th>
<th>Riesenködex song hand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berlin, Preußische Staatsbibliothek MS Theol. lat. fol. 727 (Liber vitae meritorum)</td>
<td>105(^v)-116(^v)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dendermonde 9 (Liber vitae meritorum; cantus cum melodia)</td>
<td>1-70(^v); 153(^v)-170(^v)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghent 241 (Capitula (pp.2-26))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riesenködex rubrication?</td>
<td>24-48(^vb); 46(^vb); 466(^ra)-481(^vb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trier 68 (Liber vitae meritorum)</td>
<td>1(^v)-35(^v)</td>
<td>35(^v), 116(^v), 119(^v)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These two music hands represent part of a team of scribes who were active at Rupertsberg during the 1170s. The Dendermonde 9 scribe emanated from St Eucharius in Trier, and the similarity between this and the Riesenködex hand suggests that both music scribes were from the same scriptorium. It appears that, beginning in 1174, two St Eucharius monks collaborated with Hildegard to 'get her songs written down'.

The Cyclic Sources and the Redactive Process

In undertaking the redaction of Hildegard's songs, the scribes provided what was 'lacking' from previous documentations: neumes, liturgical genres, rubrication, psalm cadences and doxologies. The redaction of neumed song with liturgical indications in the two cyclic sources proceeded through several stages including preparation of parchment, imposition and the ruling of each folio for the addition of text, neumes, rubrication and psalm cadences. This indicates that the St Eucharius scribes were amanuenses skilled in manuscript preparation, the Latin language, as well as music theory and notation.

There is a marked difference in parchment size between the Riesenködex and Dendermonde 9. This discrepancy supports the assumption that the Riesenködex was prepared for presentation in anticipation of Hildegard's canonisation and that the Dendermonde source was prepared for devotional use at Villiers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Riesenködex</th>
<th>481 folios (59 fascicles)</th>
<th>46x28cm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dendermonde 9</td>
<td>173 folios (three quaternions)</td>
<td>29x20cm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the cyclic sources, songs are arranged according to the subjects to which they are dedicated, but a different imposition scheme is used in each of the two sources; this reflects the two different scribes responsible for each. The Dendermonde source is organ-

\(^6\)Dronke & Derolez, introduction, LDO, pp.LXXXVIII-LXXXIX.
ised into four sections of related subjects (the Father and Virgin, the Holy Spirit and the
Trinity, heavenly citizens — including the ‘apostle’ St Disibod — and laudable humans in-
cluding St Rupert). Each section begin on a new folio with rubrication for the first sub-
ject in each group given on the final stave of the folio preceding:

| 1 | Folios 153r-156v | Father and Virgin
  |               | (De spiritual sanctity — end fol. 156r) |
|---|-----------------|------------------------------------------|
| 2 | 157r-158v      | Holy Spirit
  |               | Charity
  |               | Trinity
  |               | Holy spirit
  |               | (De angelis— end fol. 158r) |
| 3 | 159r-164v      | Angels
  |               | Patriarchs
  |               | Apostles
  |               | St John
  |               | St Disibod
  |               | Martyrs
  |               | Confessors
  |               | (De sancto Rupertio confessor — end fol. 164v) |
| 4 | 165r-170v      | St Rupert
  |               | Virgins
  |               | Widows
  |               | Innocents
  |               | St Ursula
  |               | Ecclesia |

The Riesenködex has a very different scheme, comprising two, separate cycles. The
first cycle, fols 466r-472v, comprises responsories and antiphons, and the second cycle,
fols 473r-478v, includes versified songs. The *Odo virtutum* appears on fols 478va-481v.
The Riesenködex crosses folios between all subject groups, with only the two cycles,
the *Odo virtutum*, St John the Evangelist in the first cycle, and St Rupert in the second
cycle, beginning on a separate folio or at the top of a column:

| 1 | Folios 466r-472v | Father, Wisdom, Son
  |               | Holy Spirit
  |               | Virgin
  |               | Angels
  |               | Patriarchs & Prophets
  |               | Apostles
  |               | *St John the Evangelist
  |               | Martyrs
  |               | Confessors
  |               | St Disibod
  |               | St Rupert
  |               | Virgins
  |               | St Ursula
  |               | Ecclesia
  |               | Kyrie |
| 2 | 473r-478va     | Holy Spirit
  |               | Virgin
  |               | St Matthias
  |               | St Boniface
  |               | St Disibod
  |               | St Eucharius
  |               | St Maximin
  |               | *St Rupert
  |               | St Ursula
  |               | Virgins
  |               | Widows |
| 3 | 478vb-481vb   | *Odo virtutum* |

Entries in both sources were made in the same order: texts, neumes, rubrication and
psalm cadences. It is clear in the Riesenködex that texts were inserted before the neumes
as the neumes for one song, *O crux sanguinis*, are incomplete but its text is given in full.
In Dendermonde 9, neumes were initially outlined above the text with red dots, which indicate the presence of the text prior to the addition of neumes. The neumes were inserted before rubrication – in Dendermonde 9, drop capitals at the beginning of songs are spaced around neumes and not vice versa, and, in the Riesen­kodex, drop capitals obscure neumes in several places. The system governing the addition of rubrics is the same in both sources. Rubricated initials indicating the liturgical genres of songs (e.g. a[nitphona]) are positioned in both sources before the drop capital. The full rubric and/or subject is given on the right-hand side of the folio before the songs, but only where room was available for the entry.

Psalm cadences were the last entries to be made, and they only appear where there is room after neumes and rubrication. Without the neumes or rubrics, the scribe may not have otherwise known what cadence to include or if a cadence was required. In Dendermonde 9, cadences usually appear before the song – this represents the position of the cadence in performance (i.e. antiphon–psalm–psalm cadence–antiphon) – and are placed either on the line above or on the fore-edge (this is not the case on fol. 157v or 167v where cadences appear after the songs they accompany). They also appear on the same line as the song if the previous song is widowed on the right-hand side (i.e. the end has spilled over from the line above). In the Riesen­kodex, psalm cadences appear on fols 470v–472v only and accompany antiphons devoted to St. Disibod, St. Rupert and St. Ursula. These are placed before or after antiphons, either beside or above rubrication. Psalm cadences do not appear in the margins of this manuscript.

The red dots under the neumes in Dendermonde 9 represent the position of notes on the stave prior to neumatic grouping. They also indicate that the Dendermonde manuscript could have been compiled without a neumed exemplar. Another indication of the lack of a neumed exemplar for this manuscript is the significant number of instances where neumes are crammed together above the text, something which is less common in the Riesen­kodex. The text spacings between the two cyclic sources are similar, but the Riesen­kodex was not copied from Dendermonde 9, which was in Villiers when the Riesen­kodex was being prepared. The third, now lost twelfth-century cycle of Hildegard’s songs has the same contents as the Riesen­kodex cycle and could have been an intermediary source between the Dendermonde 9 and the Riesen­kodex.

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61 I wish to extend my gratitude to John Stinson (LaTrobe University, Melbourne) for pointing this out to me.
62 The antiphons without psalm cadences in Dendermonde 9 are Laus tennitis (157v), Gloriosissimi (159r), O spectabilis viri (159r), O minum admirandum (162r), O noster sanguinis (167v), O vigo ecclesia (170r) and Nunc gaudeant (170v+).
63 The antiphons with psalm cadences in the Riesen­kodex are O minum admirandum, O felix apparicio, O beatis­issime Rupen­te and Quia feliz puter­cia. They are also given for the set of eight Ursuline antiphons, although neumes are given for only the first two of these.
The Celestial Hierarchy

Prior to imposition, a decision was made to follow the convention of previous un-neumed collections and redact Hildegard's songs according to their subject matter. The St Eucharius scribes also incorporated a secondary principle of organisation, the liturgical genres of her songs. The Dendermonde 9 cycle was prepared as a gift, and this cycle, presumably the first to be redacted with neumes, descends through the celestial hierarchy from God the Father to ecclesia. In this respect, Dendermonde 9 is similar to Abelard's hymn collection, the Hymnarius Paracitensis (1131-1136?), which was a gift for Heloise at the Paracletes monastery and intended for formal worship. The third book of the Hymnarius is also organised according to subject.

The subjects of Hildegard's cycle are divisible into three groups. There are songs which recall the creation of the world and the redemption. Songs in this group are addressed to God the Father, Wisdom, Divinity, Christ, the Virgin, the Holy Spirit, Charity and the Trinity. There are songs devoted to divine assemblies who collectively attend toward God. These assemblies are represented in the Scivias by angels, or 'the nine orders of heavenly spirits'; prophets, who speak through divine inspiration, and patriarchs, the 'roots' of the Church; apostles, who are Christ's chosen disciples; martyrs, who die for their faith; confessors, whose faith is testified through divine holiness; and virgins, who renounce marriage to live in chastity with God. In the cyclic sources, there are also widows who do not remarry and live in communion with God; the Holy Innocents, who were slain by Herod in his quest to destroy the child Jesus; and ecclesia, Christ's corporate body.

The third group comprises songs addressed to individual saints including St John the Evangelist, the apostle recognised as the author of the fourth gospel, the Book of Revelations and the epistles of St John; St Disibod, the seventh-century Irish bishop and founder of Disibodenberg; St Rupert, patron saint of Rupertsberg and the son of St Bertha who, accompanied by her son, renounced her wealth and founded hospices in Germany during the ninth century; St Ursula, the fifth-century British princess who was martyred with 11,000 virgins in Cologne (the number of virgins is thought to have been the result of a documentation error); St Boniface (c.680-775), the Anglo-Saxon missionary, bishop of Mainz and 'apostle of Germany'; St Matthias, the apostle who replaced Judas Iscariot and the second patron of the St Eucharius monastery in Trier; St Eucharius, the first bishop of Trier; and St Maximinus, a fourth-century bishop of Trier and the patron of St Maximinus in Trier.

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65 Abelard's collection was addressed to Heloise, who was abbess at the Paraclete at this time. Constant Mews, 'Peter Abelard', Authors of the Middle Ages 5:1, ed. Patrick J. Geary (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), pp.78-79; Lorenz Weinhäusl, 'Peter Abelard as Musician—I', MQ 55 (1969), pp.295-312.

66 Michi, L, 'Angeli, Theology of', NCE, vol. 1, p.311. These 9 orders are recollected in Hildegard's responsory O vos angeli.

67 Delaney, Dictionary of Saints, p.104.
The order of the unnumbed songs in Scivias, Book III, Vision 13 can be thought of as the foundation of Hildegard’s later cycles as the Scivias arrangement of songs is maintained in both cyclic sources. Hildegard elucidates her celestial hierarchy in the Scivias Book III, 4:8-11. Those who preceded Christ – the Virgin, the angels, patriarchs and prophets – are placed above those who follow the proclamation of the Word on earth through the Incarnation, beginning with the apostles:

*Et in eodem splendor eum in te magnum latitudinem se diffundente conspexit apostolos, martyres, confessores et virgines atque alios plurimos sanctos in magnitude gaudio deambulantes: quia in perspicuo lumen, dum Filius meus fuit praecordius et dilatans hunc veritatis, facti sunt apostoli annuntiatores veri luminis, et martyres robusti milites sanguinem suum fideliter fundentes, et confessores officiales post Filium meum, ac virgines supernum germen sequentes, atque alii electi mei laetantes in fonte lactis et in fonte salubris, dum Spiritus sanctus ecce perfundit, ut sint flagrantes et manantes de virtute in virtutem.*

*And in the radiance, which is so widely diffused, you see apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins and many other saints, walking in great joy. For in the clear light in which My Son preached and spread the truth there have grown up apostles who announce that true light, and martyrs who faithfully shed their blood like strong soldiers, and confessors who officiate after My Son, and virgins who follow the Supernal Branch, and all My other elect, who rejoice in the fountain of happiness and the font of salvation, baptized by the Holy Spirit and ardently going from virtue to virtue.*

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The Riesenknodex includes two cycles of songs – one of antiphons and responsories, and the other of sequences and hymns. Hildegard’s concept of the celestial hierarchy from the Scivias is replicated in the three cycles as given below (arrangements which differ between cycles are indicated with asterisks).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scivias</th>
<th>Dendemone 9</th>
<th>Riesenknodex Cycle 1</th>
<th>Riesenknodex Cycle 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>God the Father</td>
<td>*the Virgin the Holy Spirit, Charity, Trinity</td>
<td>the Holy Spirit, Charity *the Virgin</td>
<td>the Holy Spirit *the Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*the Virgin</td>
<td>angels patriarchs &amp; prophets apostles</td>
<td>angels patriarchs &amp; prophets apostles</td>
<td>St Mathias, St Boniface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angels patriarchs &amp; prophets apostles</td>
<td>St John the Evangelist *St Disibod martyrs confessors</td>
<td>St John the Evangelist martyrs confessors *St Disibod</td>
<td>*St Disibod St Eucharius, St Maximus St Rupert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>martyrs confessors</td>
<td>St Rupert</td>
<td>St Rupert</td>
<td>St Rupert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*virgins</td>
<td>*virgins *widows *Holy Innocents St Ursula</td>
<td>*virgins St Ursula *Holy Innocents</td>
<td>St Ursula *virgins *widows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ecclesia</td>
<td>ecclesia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Additions within Hildegard's celestial hierarchy include St John the Evangelist, St Disibod and St Rupert. Songs devoted to Saint Ursula, widows, Holy Innocents and ecclesia follow, and songs devoted to the members of the Trinity (God, Christ and the Holy Spirit) are placed with the Virgin at the opening. The second Riesen Kodex cycle, which lacks versified songs devoted to most divine assemblages, has a similar conceptual order to the first Riesen Kodex cycle (with the Holy Spirit placed above the Virgin). The Kyrie on fol. 472v of the Riesen Kodex fulfils an important theological function as representative of the Father and Son ('Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy') in the absence of versed songs devoted to either subject on folio 473r. This lack of versified song devoted to God the Father or Son at the opening of the second cycle suggests a theological reason for the Kyrie contrafactum. The Virgin is placed above the Holy Spirit in Dendermonde 9, which reflects Hildegard's descriptions of the Virgin as the means by which Christ was delivered to the world to fulfil the prophecy before the coming of the Holy Spirit.69 The 'normative' position of the Virgin below the Trinity is given in the Riesen Kodex.

The category of saint describes those who, after earthly displays of divine holiness, claim station as venerable entities among God's elect. They are traditionally of two types: martyrs and confessors, and songs devoted to these two subjects provide points of reference for the placement in the cycles of the eight saints to whom Hildegard dedicated songs. St Disibod is positioned after St John the Evangelist and before martyrs in Dendermonde 9; the founder of Disibodenberg, who was not martyred, is thereby exalted to the realm of the apostles.70 In the Riesen Kodex, St Disibod is paired with St Rupert and placed among the confessors. Of the four saints of particular significance to communities outside of Bingen, two, St Matthias and St Boniface, are grouped together among the apostles, St Disibod and St Rupert appear below these songs, and songs devoted to two others, St Eucharius and St Maximus, are placed between St Disibod and St Rupert. The Holy Innocents appear before St Ursula in Dendermonde 9 which, Barbara Newman argues, suggests a connection between the innocent virgins and widows and the slain Holy Innocents and St Ursula.71 In the Riesen Kodex, the virgins appear before the virgin St Ursula, and the Holy Innocents follow. St Ursula is placed among the individual saints in the second cycle of the Riesen Kodex, and virgins and widows follow.

Hildegard's Celestial Hierarchy and the Liturgy

In both cyclic sources, songs within each subject group are organised with songs of like liturgical genre placed together. Versified songs follow antiphons and responsories within each subject group in Dendermonde 9, and the separate cycles of antiphons/responso-

69 Newman, introduction, Symphonia, p.58.
70 Newman, introduction, Symphonia, p.58.
71 Newman, introduction, Symphonia, p.58.
ries and the versified songs in the Riesen Kodex represent an extension of this principle (the different placement of songs between the two sources are indicated by asterisks, and songs from the second cycle in the Riesen Kodex are also indicated):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Riesen Kodex</th>
<th>Dendemonde 9</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Liturgical Genre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O vis eternitatis</td>
<td>O magne pater</td>
<td>God the Father</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O magne pater</td>
<td>O etene deus</td>
<td>God the Father</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O etene deus</td>
<td>O viriis sapientie</td>
<td>Divine Wisdom</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O quam mirebilis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O pastor animarum</td>
<td></td>
<td>Christ</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O cror sanguinis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie eleison (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Father &amp; Son</td>
<td>Kyrie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ave Maria</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O clarissima mater</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O splendidissima gemma</td>
<td>O splendidissima gemna</td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O tu illustata</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunc (= Hodie) operuit</td>
<td>Hodie operuit</td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quia ergo femina</td>
<td>Quia ergo femina</td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cum processit</td>
<td>Cum processit</td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cum erubuerint</td>
<td>Cum erubuerint</td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O fonsens vinga</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O quam magnum</td>
<td>O quam magnum</td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ave Maria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O clarissima mater</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ave genera (incomplete)</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>hymn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O viridissima vinga?</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O vinga mediatrix ?</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>alleluia verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O vinga ac diadema (Incomplete)</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O tu suavissima</td>
<td>O tu suavissima</td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O quam preciosa</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Virgin</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O vinga mediatrix (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O vinga ac diadema (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O viridissima vinga (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ave genera (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritus sanctus</td>
<td>Spiritus sanctus</td>
<td>the Holy Spirit</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karitas habundat</td>
<td>Karitas habundat</td>
<td>Charity</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexis trinitati</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Trinity</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O ignis spiritus</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Holy Spirit</td>
<td>hymn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O ignis spiritus</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Holy Spirit</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O ignis spiritus (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*O ignis spiritus (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The different orders of songs in each cycle place different emphases on the hierarchy contained therein. The responsory *O vis eternitatis* opens the Riesenkolodex cycle, which upsets the normative order of antiphons-responsories in this manuscript. The subject of this responsory, *aeternitatis*, is described in Boethius' *Consolations* as a marvel which 'nobilis naturam pariter divinam scientiamque pateficit' [makes plain to us both the divine nature and the divine knowledge]. Here, the *vis eternitatis* represents a point of departure for comprehension of the *divina scientia* embodied in the Riesenkolodex cycle. In the *Scivias*, God the Father is described as the *infinitum verbum* who is inseparable from *aeternitatis*. Two songs devoted to God the Father follow the responsory, while inseparable aspects of the divine deity, Wisdom and Divinity, are described in two further antiphons, *O virtus sapientie* and *O quam mirabilis est*. The penultimate verse of *O quam mirabilis est* ('Nam cum dei inspexit faciem hominis quem formavit omnia opera sua in eadem forma hominis integra aspectit' [For when God inspected the face of the man which He formed, He beheld all his works made whole in the same human form]) links the divine deity and His earthly form, which is described in the final two antiphons of this group, *O pastor animarum* and *O cror sanguinis*.

The lack of direct reference to Christ's death in the two songs devoted to God the Father in Dendermonde 9 accedes to the historical position of the Virgin between God the Father and the Holy Spirit in that manuscript. If songs devoted to the Virgin were placed directly after *O cror sanguinis* (which describes Christ's crucifixion) in the Riesenkolodex, the lineage of Father-Mother-Son-Holy Spirit, would be disrupted – the Virgin (the vessel through which the Word becomes man) would precede the crucifixion.

The order of Marian songs varies at several other points between the two sources, but again the orders reflect cognate aspects of this subject. In the Riesenkolodex, antiphons and responsories are grouped together, but in Dendermonde 9, two responsories appear before the antiphon *O splendidissima gemma*, and the responsory *O tu suavissima* appears after the sequence *O virga ac diadema. O splendidissima gemma* and *O tu suavissima* are paired together in the *Scivias* Book III; 13:1. The position of *O splendidissima* as the initial Marian song in the Riesenkolodex, and the position of *O tu suavissima* as the final Marian song in Dendermonde 9, suggests that the Marian songs were arranged so that one of these two songs began or completed this portion of the cycle.

The Virgin is addressed as the *auctrix vite* [author of life] in the first responsory in Dendermonde 9, and the *mater sancte medicine* [mother of sacred healing] in the second. The treatment of the Virgin as the healing mother of Christ who conquered death by giving birth to the Saviour is juxtaposed with the antipodal Eve, who cast humankind into sin when the devil convinced her to eat from the tree of human knowledge. This antithetical

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relationship between the Virgin and Eve is suggested in six of the seven antiphons which follow in Dendermonde 9: O splendidissima gemma, Hodie aperuit, Quia ergo femina, Cum processit, Cum erubuerint and O quam magnum miraculum. It is also suggested in O tu illustrata which is the second song in the Riesenkodek Marian collection.

Two songs celebrate the Virgin without direct reference to Eve: Ave generosa and O quam preciosa. In Dendermonde 9, Ave generosa is placed immediately after the seven antiphons. In the Riesenkodek, O quam preciosa is the final Marian song in the first cycle and Ave generosa is the final song in the second. A complementary set of themes is suggested by description of the Virgin as virga (branch – of the tree of Jesse), which alludes to Mary's position in the lineage from Jesse to the Incarnation as described in Isaiah 11:1-2. The five songs in which the Virgin is addressed as virga are located at the end of the Dendermonde Marian collection, with the exception of O frondens virga, which is the penultimate antiphon in this manuscript. The virga songs are again grouped together in the second cycle of the Riesenkodek.

The group of songs devoted to divine assemblages corresponds both in number and order between the cyclic sources, with the exception of two ecclesia songs which are preserved with neumes in the Riesenkodek only. The antiphon–responsory pairs dedicated to angels, patriarchs & prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins are found in the same order in the Sixtus, with the exception of O vos imitatores and O successores, which appear in the reverse order in the cycles. This represents a return to the normative order of songs (responsory–antiphon) in the cyclic sources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Riesenkodek</th>
<th>Dendermonde</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Liturgical Genre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O gloriosissimi</td>
<td>O gloriosissimi</td>
<td>angels</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O vos angeli</td>
<td>O vos angeli</td>
<td>angels</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O spectabilis vini</td>
<td>O spectabilis vini</td>
<td>patriarchs &amp; prophets</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O vos felices</td>
<td>O vos felices</td>
<td>patriarchs &amp; prophets</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O othoer milie</td>
<td>O othoer milie</td>
<td>apostles</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O lucidissima apostolorum</td>
<td>O lucidissima apostolorum</td>
<td>apostles</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O victoriosissimi triumphatores</td>
<td>O victoriosissimi triumphatores</td>
<td>martyrs</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vos flores rasonum</td>
<td>Vos flores rasonum</td>
<td>martyrs</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O vos imitatores</td>
<td>O vos imitatores</td>
<td>confessors</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O successores</td>
<td>O successores</td>
<td>confessors</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O pulere facies</td>
<td>O pulere facies</td>
<td>virgins</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O nobilissima viriditas</td>
<td>O nobilissima viriditas</td>
<td>virgins</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O dulcisissime amator (2nd cycle)</td>
<td>O dulcisissime amator</td>
<td>virgins</td>
<td>symphonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O pater omnium (2nd cycle)</td>
<td>O pater omnium</td>
<td>virgins</td>
<td>symphonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rex noster promptus</td>
<td>Rex noster promptus</td>
<td>virgins</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O virgo ecclesia</td>
<td>O virgo ecclesia</td>
<td>ecclesia</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunc gaudeant</td>
<td>Nunc gaudeant</td>
<td>ecclesia</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O orchis ecclesia</td>
<td></td>
<td>ecclesia</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O choruscans</td>
<td></td>
<td>ecclesia</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The greatest number of songs is addressed to individual saints. Included with neumes in the Riesen Kodex only are songs devoted to St Disibod, St Rupert and saints significant to communities outside of Bingen. The five songs devoted to St Matthias, Boniface, St Maximinus and St Eucharius are preserved in the second Riesen Kodex cycle, even though a responsory and antiphon are included among them. The juxtaposition of St Disibod, who was patron of Hildegard’s first monastic home, with St Eucharius, the patron of her scribes, recalls the confraternity between the Trier and Bingen communities. The order of Ursuline songs varies between the two sources with the placement of the responsory *Favus distillans* between two antiphons in Dendermonde 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Riesen Kodex</th>
<th>Dendermonde</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Liturgical Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O spectum columne</td>
<td>O spectum columne</td>
<td>St John the evangelist</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O duls elecete</td>
<td>O duls elecete</td>
<td>St John the evangelist</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O minum adminandum</td>
<td>O minum adminandum</td>
<td>St Disibod</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O viriditas digit dei</td>
<td>O viriditas digit dei</td>
<td>St Disibod</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O felix anima</td>
<td>St Disibod</td>
<td>responsory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O beata infantia</td>
<td>St Disibod</td>
<td>responsory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O presul vere (2nd cycle)</td>
<td>O presul vere</td>
<td>St Disibod</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O felix apparicio</td>
<td>O felix apparicio</td>
<td>St Rupert</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O beatissime rupere</td>
<td>O beatissime rupere</td>
<td>St Rupert</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quia felix puercia</td>
<td>St Rupert</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O ierusalem (2nd cycle)</td>
<td>O ierusalem (incomplete)</td>
<td>St Rupert</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Favus distillans</em></td>
<td>St Ursula</td>
<td>responsory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiriui sancto</td>
<td>Spiriui sancto</td>
<td>St Ursula</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O rubor sacriminis</td>
<td>O rubor sacriminis</td>
<td>St Ursula</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Favus distillans</em></td>
<td>St Ursula</td>
<td>antiphons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studium divinitias Unde quo cum que De patria etiam Deus enim in prima Aer enim volat Et ideo puelle iste Deus enim reor Sed diabolus</td>
<td>Studium divinitias Unde quo cum que De patria etiam Deus enim in prima Aer enim volat Et ideo puelle iste Deus enim reor Sed diabolus</td>
<td>St Ursula</td>
<td>antiphons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>St Maximus sanctus</em> (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>St Mathias</td>
<td>hymn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Bonifaci (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>St Boniface</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Euchari columba (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>St Euchari</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Euchari in leta via (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>St Euchari</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columba aspectit (2nd cycle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>St Maximus</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O ecclesia (2nd cycle)</td>
<td>O ecclesia</td>
<td>St Ursula</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cum vox sanguinis (2nd cycle)</td>
<td>Cum vox sanguinis</td>
<td>St Ursula</td>
<td>hymn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74 *O rubor sacriminis* is positioned on the last three lines of folio 167 of Dendermonde 9; *Favus distillans* begins on the top stave of 167⁷⁴.
In redacting Hildegard's songs, the St Eucharius scribes took into consideration both Hildegard's celestial hierarchy established in the Scivias (and other unneurned redactions) and the liturgical genres of her songs. In the cycles, both aspects of devotion — Hildegard's conception of the celestial hierarchy and the liturgical potential of her songs — are represented through an ordering of songs which proceeds according to subject group, and, within these groups, their liturgical genre.

◊ ◊ ◊
Chapter 2

Hildegard and the Amanuenses

Throughout Hildegard’s life, she was dependent upon scribes for the redaction of her writings, in particular, to assist in rendering verbatim what was revealed to her by God. This dependence reflects her lack of formal training in the art of letters. It also continued throughout her life, even though she did learn to write at some stage, probably under Volmar. Nonetheless, scribes, whether Volmar, her other secretaries or visiting scribes, were engaged to edit and correct her writings. They represent an important influence upon her writings, including her cantus.

Hildegard’s dependence upon scribes for the redaction of her writings is reflected in the admissions she made towards the end of her life concerning the role of her scribes in correcting her Latin. At the end of the Sävias, she states that changing what has been revealed to her was in violation God:

*Sed si quis haec verba digiti Dei tenere absconderit et ea per rationem suam minuerit aut in alienum hominem alius humani consensu causas abduserit et tia deriserit, ille reprobatus sit. Et digitus Dei contenti illum.*

But whoever rashly conceals those words written by the finger of God, madly abridging them, or for any human reason taking them to a strange place and scoffing at them, let him be reprobated; and the finger of God shall crush him.\(^1\)

At the end of part three of Liber divinorum operum written over 20 years later, however, she gives a similar warning but acknowledges the role of scribes in the redaction of her writings – in particular, the need for them to edit her ‘simple’ Latin:

*Vnde nullus hominum tan audax sit, ut verba eius scriptura aliquid augendo apponat vel minusque auferat, ne de libro utile et de omni beatitudine qui sub sole est deletur; nisi propter evincutionem litterarum aut dictionum, quae per inspirationem Spiritus Sancti simpliciter prolata sunt, fiat. Qui autem alter presumpserit, in Spiritum Sanctum peccat. Vnde nec hic neque in futuro seculo illi remittetur.*

Therefore, let no one be so rash as to alter in any way the content of this book – either by adding to it or by diminishing it by omissions – lest such a person be blotted out of the book of life and out of all good fortune under the sun! There is but one exception to this rule – the editing of words or sentences that have been put down too simply under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. But anyone who presumes to make changes for other reasons will sin against the Holy Spirit and will not be forgiven in this world or the next.\(^2\)

Her lack of formal training, as well as her familiarity with the Psalter, is reflected in her cantus. Hildegard’s cantus are prose, and her vocabulary and grammar reflect the influence of Scripture, especially the Psalter and the Song of Songs. Her cantus lack the regularity – rhyme, syllable count and meter – typically associated with the twelfth-cen-

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tury lyric. This lack of regular activity at what Treitler has called the ‘phonetic level of language’ is to the extent that candidly non–medieval terms have been employed to describe her cantus – for example Barbara Newman calls her cantus ‘Kunstprosa, a highly wrought figurative language that resembles poetry in its density and musicality, yet with no semblance of meter or regular form’.³

Hildegard’s comparatively ‘regular’ antiphon O eterno deus is a case in point. This single verse is divisible into a series of phrases which begin with either interjection, adverb, relative conjunction, relative pronoun or preposition. Distributed as phrase units, the antiphon includes a dispondaicus at the end of two clauses but otherwise lacks a regular rhyme scheme and a consistent number of syllables per phrase:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Syllables per phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O eterno deus</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunc tibi placet</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ut in amore illo areas</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ut membra illa simus</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quae fecisti in eodem amore</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum filium tuum genuisti</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in prima aurora</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ante omnem creaturam (= dispondaicus)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et inspice necessitatem hanc</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quae super nos cadit</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et absolve eam a nobis</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>propter filium tuum</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et perdue nos</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in leticiam salutis (= dispondaicus)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lack of regularity at the ‘phonetic level’ in this song recalls the range of ‘phonetic’ influences to which Hildegard’s Latin was subject. One influence is suggested in Book II of the Vita, in which Theodoric describes how Vollmar undertook the documentation of her works and the correction of her faulty grammar:

_Magnus est etiam illud et admiratione dignum, quod ea, que in spiritu auduit uel uidit, eodem sensu et eisdem serbis circumspicat et una sola fidei uiro sym-\_mista contenta, qui ad evidentiam grammaticae artis, quam ipsa neces-\_sabat, causis, temporum et genera quidem disponere, sed ad sensum uel intellectum eorum nichil omnino addere presumebat uel demere._

How great a thing it is and worthy of admiration that whatever she saw or heard in spirit, with the same sense and in the same words, and with a careful and pure mind, she wrote down in her own hand, or orally dictated their content to one faithful male collaborator [i.e. Vollmar], who then rendered their cases, tenses and conjugations according to the exactness of the grammatical art which she did not know while he presumed neither to add nor subtract any thing at all their sense or meaning.⁴

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⁴ *Vita* II:1 p.20; trans. Silvas, pp.155–156.
Volmar edited Hildegard's writings in line with her concession to scribes at the end of the Liber divinorum operum – correcting faulty grammar while maintaining the 'meaning and the sense' of words. This meant that the phonetic attributes of her words was a contingency of the 'meaning and sense' of what her words expressed. A similar influence upon the phonetic aspects of Hildegard's cantus was her native tongue. This is experienced directly in her sequence O ecclesia, where Latin fails to convey the horror of the speakers at the beginning of the ninth verse, and the vernacular ('Wach' [expletive]) becomes the momentary mode of expression. Accordingly, there is a less than systematic highlighting of text accents and vowel qualities through melody in her songs. Unlike many of her contemporaries, she lacked a wide vocabulary, the ability to manipulate syntax and was dependent upon scribes for redaction – both of words and music.

Hildegard and the Liturgy

A prevailing influence on Hildegard's songs was the liturgy itself. Prior to 1174, her cantus were redacted without liturgical genre or indications of what is implied by genre (i.e. liturgical form and function). Only the parameters – i.e. the beginnings and ends – of unneumed cantus are indicated by the same capitalisation as in the cyclic sources. The liturgy has been set up as a compositional aim for Hildegard, with the implication that, through production of liturgical song, she somehow rivalled Gregory the Great's assumed feat in bringing forth enormous amounts of chant. Another way to sort through the relationship of Hildegard's songs with the liturgy is to look at the liturgy as a way of life which was an important influence on her songs.

The two scribes who redacted Hildegard's music preserved her songs within the principal genres of proper chants: antiphons, responsories, sequences and hymns. Even without these genres, Hildegard's songs reflect the main forms of liturgical chant: respond and verse – initially single- or multiple-clause songs rendered in the cyclic sources as responsory or antiphon (+ psalm cadence); and versified songs set to paired or through-composed melodies – rendered as hymns, sequences and symphoniae. This suggests that, for all her unlearned iubilatio and prose, her cantus cum melodia betray the strong influence of the chant she herself sang during official liturgical services.

Hildegard's songs appear to have been integrated into the liturgical life at Rupertsberg. A record of the public performance of Hildegard's songs is preserved in a letter

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5 While the degree to which external influences impinged upon Hildegard's pronunciation of the Latin language is well beyond the scope of this study, it should be noted that Latin articulation as practised by Hildegard is not wholly standardisable against the accentuation norms in Classical Latin. Mason Hammond, for example, notes that 'regional differences of pronunciation arose under the influence of the various vernacular tongues'; Mason Hammond, Latin: a Historical and Linguistic Handbook (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: Harvard University P, 1976), p.240. Hildegard’s apparent inexactness with the Latin language suggests that if there were a conscious attempt to highlight ‘phonetic’ elements (e.g. text accents) in her melodic deliveries, it was done either infrequently or frequent errors were made in the process.

6 Newman, introduction, Symphoniae, p.12.
Guibert of Gembloux wrote to Hildegard c.1175, in which he acknowledged the performance in public with instruments of her *prosa* [prose] in praise of God and Saints.\(^7\) The word *prosa* recalls the prose style of her *cantus* as well as the processional hymns with refrains and sequences that replaced hymns on some feast days.

Guibert was privy to both private devotion at Rupertsberg as well as the first known redaction of her melodies, more specifically their redaction as liturgical chant. He gauged these through his association with Rupertsberg and from his role as intermediary between Hildegard and the recipients of Dendermonde 9, the monks at the Cistercian abbey in Villers.\(^8\) Guibert spoke of both the public and private realms in his letters. Guibert's familiarity with the Dendermonde codex otherwise explains why his is the only extant reference to the public performance of Hildegard's songs.

Apart from Guibert's correspondence, the only other surviving record of the performance of Hildegard's songs at Rupertsberg is an account sworn to by the Rupertsberg 'custodian and cellarer'. According to the Benedictine rule, the custodian–cellarer of a monastery was wise, mature, sober, and a moderate eater (among other things).\(^9\) In the *Acta Inquisitionis*, a work prepared c.1200 in view of Hildegard's canonisation, this presumably reliable source recalls her in a visionary trance singing her song *O virga ac diadema* whilst wandering the halls at Rupertsberg:

> et cum sequentiam instinet Spiritus sancti, quae sic inipit: *O VIRGA AC DIADEMA* per claustrum ambulando decantabat. Cui concordat custodisse et cellerarii jurat.

and with the sequence, by instigation of the Holy Spirit, she would sing repeatedly beginning: *O virga ac diadema* while walking through the cloister. To this the custodian and cellarer swears.\(^10\)

The public (and private) use of Hildegard's songs is represented by their subjects. Her songs are dedicated to subjects with established or localised feast days, with the exception of the song *O pater omnium*, which is devoted to widows. She devoted seven songs to God the Father (including Christ, Wisdom and Divinity) who was celebrated during the nativity, the circumcision, the epiphany, resurrection (Easter), ascension, Corpus Christi and transfiguration. A further fifteen songs are devoted to the Virgin, who was also celebrated on multiple feast days, including the conception, nativity, presentation, annunciation, visitation, purification, compassion and assumption. The Holy Spirit, to whom she devoted five songs, was celebrated at Pentecost (50 days after Easter).

She devoted a further nineteen songs to collective subjects which were celebrated locally during the medieval era, including angels, of which Bernard of Clairvaux was a

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\(^7\) *Inde est quod ad communem hominum consolationem ab illa interni concursus melodie ingrediens, dulces in voceum etiam sono modos, quos in spirituali harmonia disici et retinet, memor Dei, et in reliquis cogitationum huicamodi ilium festum agens, sequi resulando delectatur, eosdemque modulos communi humano musicae instrumento gratue, pro et in loxoni Dei et Sanctorum honorum compositis, in Ecclesia publicae decantari fascit.* 'Hildegardi Guibertius Gemblacensii', Hildegardis, *Operationis*, pp.385–386.


\(^10\) *Acta Inquisitionis: De Vagiulibis et Ministribus Sanctae Hildegardis*, PL 197, col.133.
prominent exponent, patriarchs & prophets, apostles, martyrs and confessors. She devoted three songs to virgins, one to Holy Innocents (December 28), four to Christ’s Corporate body for the celebration De dedicatione ecclesiae, and one to the Trinity; although a separate feast day for the Trinity was not sanctioned by the Roman Pope until 1331. She also ‘brought forth’ twenty-nine songs in devotion of individual saints including John the Evangelist (December 27), St Matthias (14 May), St Rupert (15 May?), St Maximus (29 May), St Boniface (5 June), St Disibod (8 September), St Ursula (21 October) and St Eucharius (9 December).

Antiphons

Between the two cyclic sources, forty-three of Hildegard’s seventy-seven songs can be classed as antiphons. The older cycle, Dendermonde 9, preserves thirty-two antiphons – including two, O frondens virga and Laus trinitati, not found in the Riesenkdex. Twenty-five antiphons are rubricated antifana (a., ant., antifana) in this source, and, of the remaining seven, three are assigned psalm cadences and two are rubricated as antiphons in the Riesenkdex. Similarly, in the Riesenkdex all but seven of the forty-one antiphons therein are rubricated as antiphons; of these seven, one includes a psalm cadence and another is rubricated as an antiphon in Dendermonde 9. Two antiphons conclude with an alleluia, which is included in both sources for the antiphon Nunc gaudeant, and in the Riesenkdex for the antiphon O beatissime Ruperte.

Hildegard’s antiphons vary in style, length and maneria (modal group). Some are very lengthy while others are relatively short. Some antiphons are highly melismatic while she gave others less florid (i.e. more neumatic) settings. Her shorter antiphons reflect the ‘large scale’ antiphons of the Marian antiphon repertory, Salve regina, Alma Redemptoris mater, Ave regina coelorum and Regina coeli. These four antiphons were sung at Compline in the Franciscan liturgy in Metz from 1249, although Salve regina was incorporated into the Cistercian liturgy from 1218. The protus-D setting of Salve regina (Example 2-1) probably dates from the eleventh century, and, in 1135, Peter the Venerable described its use as a processional chant. The protus-D setting of Salve regina includes traits that can be compared to the Hildegard repertory – phrasing according to the grammar of the text, extension of melody beyond modal boundaries and repetition of melodic components. The following version of this melody is taken from the Worcester Cathedral Antiphonal (13th century):

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11 Honorius Augustodunensis, De dedicatione ecclesiae, Gemma animae I:150, col.590.
13 In Dendermonde 9, antiphons without genre indications are: Spiritus sanctus, Karitas habundat, O glorioisissimi, O spectabiles viri, O vos initiatores, O minum admirandum, O pulere facies, O virge ecclesiae et Nunc gaudeant.
14 In the Riesenkdex, antiphons without genre indications are: O dulcis electo, O virge ecclesiae, Nunc gaudeant, O orich ecclesiae, O lautarizans lux stellarum and O bonifaci.
Example 2-1: *Salve regina* – Worcester Cathedral Cod. F. 160 pp.352-353

The stylistic elements in Hildegard’s antiphons not found in *Salve regina* are also typical of her songs. A comparison here is Hildegard’s protus-D antiphon *O frondens virga* which includes the same range (Example 2-2). This antiphon comprises frequent melodic movement to the tetrachord beginning on the 5th degree above the final (a-b-c-d), a stable relationship between the final and its 5th degree (the note a) is established, and there is repetition and elaboration of melodic progressions without exact repetition of sequences of notes:
Example 2-2: O frondens virga – Dendermonde 9 fol. 155v

Antiphons are traditionally associated with psalmody, and performance in conjunction with psalms is represented between the two cyclic sources for twenty-nine of Hildegard’s antiphons – but a related psalm is not indicated. The other thirteen antiphons further reflect the ‘large scale’ Marian antiphons insofar as they were not performed psalmically. One prominent use of the four Marian antiphons was at the end of Vespers and Compline where they were prefaced by a versicle and collect. The modern description of an antiphon used in this way is *Votive* antiphon. This term has also been applied to Hildegard’s antiphons even though the cyclic sources lack reference to versicles or collects. Rather, the use of the word *Votive* in connection with Hildegard’s antiphons has the connotation of ‘in addition to the regular liturgy’.

One aspect of Hildegard's antiphon repertory is that twenty-eight antiphons begin with a vocative address (e.g. O eterno deus). This vocative opening can be compared to the vocative openings in the repertory of six-phrase Magnificat ‘O’ antiphons which were sung to a single authentic deuterus-E setting at Vespers during Advent between December 19 and 23.\(^1\) The opening of the first ‘O’ antiphon, O sapientia, is mirrored in the title of Hildegard's antiphon O virtus sapientiae, and the first word of the Magnificat ‘Hodie’ antiphons is reflected in Hildegard's antiphon Nunc aperuit, which opens Hodie aperuit in Dendermonde 9.

One of Hildegard's antiphons, the Marian song O tu illustrata, includes a second clause rubricated versus, which may have indicated performance of the verse by a soloist. The most immediate comparison for O tu illustrata comes from Hildegard's responsories. This antiphon has the same form as her responsories but without response repeat and doxology. These are also not indicated for three responsories – O lucidissima, O nobilissima and O eucharit Columba – but here the two verses represent a respond and verse, which is rubricated n.

Hildegard's group of eight Ursuline antiphons are among the shortest antiphons in the repertory and none is an ‘O’ antiphon.\(^2\) The first, Studium divinitatis, is rubricated In matris[utinis] Laudibus [In early morning praises] in the Dendermonde codex and Laudes in the Riesen kodex. This rubrication readily associates these eight antiphons with Lauds on the feast day of St Ursula. Both manuscripts, however, preserve a second rubric, In Evangelium (i.e. Gospel reading), between the sixth and seventh antiphons, and the same rubric precedes Hildegard's Ursuline antiphon O rubor sanguinis. This inclusion of a Gospel reading, and perhaps antiphon, reflects the Matutinis laudibus described by Honorius Augustoduensis in his survey of liturgical practices in the Gemma animae. Here, Matutinis laudibus is listed among the annual feasts as a separate celebration (De solemnitatis totius anni). This suggests that Hildegard's Ursuline Matutinis laudibus was sung early in the morning of the feast day of St Ursula:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Diende Ecclesia quasi choream ducit, dum Sponsos}\nonumber \\
\text{suo ac Liberatori suo canicata in matutinis laudibus}\nonumber \\
\text{conciit. In missa quaee sequitur, laus pastorum celebratur, qua inventus Dominus ab eis laudatur. In}\nonumber \\
\text{tertia missa, qua tertia hora cantatur, eius nativitas}\nonumber \\
\text{a patre solemnizatur. Unde et evangelium In principio ad hanc recitatur.}\nonumber 
\end{align*}\]

Thereafter the Church leads as if a chorus while their bridegroom and their liberator sing a song in chorus in early morning praises. In the mass which follows, praise of the pastor is celebrated, from which God's discovery is praised. In the third mass, which is sung during the third hour, this nativity from the Father is solemnised. Then the Gospel 'In the beginning' is recited.\(^3\)


\(^{2}\)These eight antiphons are: Studium divinitatis, Unde quaeeque, De patria etiam, Deus enim in prima, Aer enim volat, Et intro puelle lites, Deus enim rerem et Sed diabolus.

\(^{3}\)Honorius, \textit{De matutinis laudibus}, \textit{Gemma animae} III:11, col.646.
Hildegard’s antiphons (like the antiphon repertory itself) lack a set form — each has an individual grammatical arrangement, length and setting. There is also a range of possible uses for her antiphons, both as part of the liturgy and peripheral to it. The five unrubricated antiphons without psalm cadences can be recognised as antiphons through the typography of the cyclic sources — antiphons are redacted as single verses with capitalisation at the beginning of the antiphon only, irrespective of the length and number of independent clauses therein, with the exception of O tu illustrata. This is also the case in the cantus or prose redactions of her songs. The principal ‘formal’ features of her antiphons are also redactional features: the single capital at the opening of the antiphon and, in the cyclic sources, the rubric antiphona and/or the addition of psalm cadences.

**Responsories**

There are eighteen responsories preserved between the two cyclic sources, and these are all included in the Riesenködex, while fifteen are preserved in Dendermonde 9. In Dendermonde 9, all but two ‘responsories’, O vos felices and Rex noster promptus, are rubricated responsorium (r. respons). In the Riesenködex, Rex noster promptus and two other responsories not included in Dendermonde 9 (O vis eternitatis and O eucharis columba) are also unrubricated. A responsory comprises a respond and verse, and this is the form of Hildegard’s responsories O lucidissima apostolorum, O nobilissima viriditas (both of which are preserved in the two cyclic sources) and O eucharis columba (which is included in the Riesenködex only). The other fifteen responsories take the form of the large repertory of ‘great’ responsories. In its simplest form, the ‘great’ responsory proceeds respond — verse — respond, and these were sung with the lesser doxology after each of the three nocturnes during Matins. Nine of Hildegard’s responsories take on the extended responsory form with doxology: respond — verse — respond — lesser doxology (Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto) — respond. As with the ‘great responsories’, only the final phrase or clause of the respond is repeated.

The unrubricated responsory Rex noster promptus (Example 2-3) illustrates the conventional form of Hildegard’s responsories. In all responsories, the respond is longer than the verse, and the verse is given a less ornate (usually neumatic) setting. Where included, the repetition of the respond proceeds from the final phrase (here ‘sed nubes super eundem sanguinem plangunt’), and the lesser doxology repeats the verse melody with several phrases omitted to counter the unequal number of syllables between the verse and doxology. The three forms of Hildegard’s responsories indicate that they were suitable for Matins as well as other liturgical celebrations requiring one or more respond and verse.
Example 2-3: Rex noster promptus – Dendermonde 9 fols 166v–167v

One responsory, *O tu suavissima virga* (Example 2-4), includes an extended doxology in both sources (*Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto, sicut erat in principio*). This extended doxology, which is given in both sources, can be linked to both the typography of Dendermonde 9 and the length of the second verse of this song. *O tu suavissima virga* is the only responsory to finish at the end of a half folio in Dendermonde 9, and extension of
the lesser doxology represents scribal preference for filling empty staves (the twice transcribed doxology for Spiritui santo in the Riesenkodex represents a similar typographical concern). The verse setting of O tu suavissima virga is also longer than other responsory verses and by way of comparison relatively melismatic. Here, the verse melody is repeated in full over the extended doxology:

Example 2-4: O tu suavissima virga, verse & doxology – Dendermonde 9 fol. 156v
Like Hildegard's antiphons, each responsory has a distinct grammatical arrangement and length. In terms of melodic style, the responsories are also indistinguishable from the antiphons. The 'responsory' *O vos felices* is a case in point. This song is rubricated *antiphona* in Dendermonde 9 but the respond repeat is indicated, and, in the Riesenkodex, it is rubricated *responsorium* but the respond repeat is not indicated. It is also worth noting that the basic form of the responsory (respond – verse – respond) is not restricted to the responsory genre. An example of a versicle respond is found in the *Ordo virtutum*, where the verse *O dulcissima bellatrix* is initially sung by the virtues in response to humility, but later virtues repeat this respond after singing in concord with victory.

Hildegard's responsories represent a development of respond-verse-respond (doxology-respond) from a multiple-clause song, and this progression, from respond – verse – respond to respond – verse – respond – doxology, can be seen between the cyclic sources. The four doxologies in Dendermonde 9 are replicated in the Riesenkodex, and one responsory without doxology in Dendermonde 9, *Spiritui sancto*, is assigned one (which is repeated) in the Riesen kodex. In this respect, Hildegard's responsories could be thought of as a casting of the respond-verse-respond for the purpose of liturgical use at Matins.

One other significant difference between antiphons and responsories is the shorter and less ornate verse or second clause in responsories. A survey of her multi-clause antiphons reveals that most second clauses either end with a melisma or are as long or longer than the first clause, two factors which might have influenced their redaction as antiphons rather than as respond and verse. In order to illustrate the resemblance of melodic and prose styles between the antiphon and responsory forms in this repertory (i.e. the multi-clause versicle and respond-verse), one exception to the above criteria, the antiphon *O quam mirabilis est*, is given here in responsory form (Example 2–5).

Example 2–5 (Opposite): *O quam mirabilis est* cast as a responsory – Riesenkodex 466th–466va
**Kyrie**

The During the medieval era, the *Kyrie*, was located between the Introit and Gloria in the mass, but it was also sung in the eight office hours with the *pater noster*. Comparison with the responsory *O lucidissima apostolorum* indicates that Hildegard’s *Kyrie* is a *contrafactum*. As a responsory melody, the *Kyrie* is stylistically the same as Hildegard’s responsories and antiphons.

**Alleluia Verse**

There is one alleluia verse, *O virga mediatrix*, included in this repertory. The form of this alleluia verse, alleluia + verse, reflects the form of the large corpus of alleluia verses produced during the medieval era. In the mass, the alleluia was either followed by a verse then repeated, or followed by a sequence with a similar theme. Like the *Kyrie*, the alleluia was sung during office hours, after the *Gloria patri* except during the penitential season (i.e. Septuagesima to Easter) – as Honorius observed in the *Gemma animae*, for solemn ceremonies ‘[a]d missam defunctorum *Gloria Patri et Alleluia, quod letitiam designat, non cantatur*’ [the *Gloria patri* and alleluia, which signify joy, are not sung]. In the Riesenkodex, the alleluia is paired with the Marian sequence *O virga ac diadema*, which suggests its suitability for mass, but on folio 407 of the Riesenkodex, where this song is included in the codicil to Hildegard’s *Vita Sanctae Ruperti*, there is no alleluia. The opening of the alleluia setting is based on the verse, but verse and alleluia settings differ after the 4th neume. This suggests that the setting of the word ‘alleluia’ does not represent the *contrafactum* handiwork of Hildegard’s scribes.

**Sequences**

As a liturgical genre, the sequence was sung at mass between the Alleluia and the Gospel from the ninth century and performed throughout the liturgical year with the exception of penitential season. As a form, many sequences have paired verses (with an equal syllable count between pairs) and in many examples rhyming couplets. Hildegard’s eight sequences reflect less common types of sequence composed during the middle ages, such as the ‘Italian’ sequence. There is no regularity in syllable count between Hildegard’s sequence verses, but most sequences adhere to the paired verse form, only departing from it towards the ends of songs. Exceptions to this include *O Jerusalem*, in which there are two repetitions of a verse melody and repetition of a verse melody after a non-

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repeated verse. One sequence, *O ecclesia*, lacks repetition between all verses. The forms of Hildegard’s sequences are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Verse Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>O ignis spiritus</em></td>
<td>1a–1b–2a–2b–3a–3b–4a–4b–5–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O virga ac diadema</em></td>
<td>1a–1b–2a–2b–3a–3b–4a–4b–5a–5b–6a–6b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O presul vere</em></td>
<td>1a–1b–2a–2b–3a–3b–4a–4b–5a–5b–6a–6b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O eucharis in leta via</em></td>
<td>1a–1b–2a–2b–3a–3b–4a–4b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Columba aspetit</em></td>
<td>1a–1b–2a–2b–3a–3b–4a–4b–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O Jerusalem</em></td>
<td>1a–1b–1c–2a–2b–3a–3b–4a–4b–5–6–7a–7b–8–9–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O ecclesia</em></td>
<td>1–2–3–4–5–6–7–8–9–10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The five sequences included in Dendermonde 9 are rubricated *sequentia* (seqn, sequentia – this is assumed for the sequence *O virga ac diadema*, the opening verses of which are missing from this source). Of the two sequences added to the Riesenkodex, one, *Columba aspetit*, is rubricated *sequentia*, but the other, *O eucharis in leta via*, is unrubricated – its modern classification as sequence is based on the consistency of paired verses therein.

Hildegard’s sequences highlight a distinction between liturgical function and form in her songs. As a genre, sequences were used as substitutes for office hymns from the ninth century, and as a form there were numerous varieties, including the through-composed sequence of which her sequence *O ecclesia* is an example. This distinction between function and form is further suggested by the lack of rubrication for *O eucharis in leta via* and two other sequences (*O Jerusalem* and *O ecclesia*) in the Riesenkodex. These indicate that Hildegard’s ‘sequences’ could also have functioned as hymns, as suggested by Guibert in his letter to her c.1175.

**Hymns**

Hildegard composed four hymns, three of which are preserved in Dendermonde 9. These three hymns are rubricated *ymnus* (*ymn, ymnus*) in both sources and are through-composed, resembling the form of the sequence *O ecclesia*. In this respect, her hymns also resemble many of the hymns sung during the medieval era. Unlike a great many traditional hymns, however, Hildegard’s lack the metrical regularity characteristic of the genre. The fourth hymn, *Mathias sanctus*, is preserved in the Riesenkodex only, where it is rubricated *ymnus* and has a similar form to several of her sequences (1a–1b–2a–2b–3a–3b–4a–4b–5). This also reflects the use of sequences (or the sequence form) as office hymns. A hymn was usually sung during each office hour, which included proper hymns for sanctoral celebrations. Two hymns, one to St Matthias and the other to St Ursula, are suitable for this use.

Aside from the rubrication, the defining characteristic of Hildegard’s hymns is the presence of an amen setting at the end of each. The amen melodies are not *contrafacta* from the hymns they accompany, and this suggests that they do not represent retellings of melodies as undertaken by her scribes for doxologies and the *Kyrie*. The text-only copies in the
Riesenkode and Vienna 963 of two hymns, *Ave generosa* and *O ignee spiritus*, do not include
amens, and this represents the later use of versed songs as either sequence or hymn, with
hymns given an amen at the end. Musically, there is nothing to distinguish Hildegarf's hymns
from her sequences except the repetition of melodies in the latter. Even here, the two genres
cross forms, with one hymn in 'sequence' form and one sequence in 'hymn' form.

Stylistically, the sequences and hymns are similar to the responsories and antiphons,
the only difference being the less florid settings given to the versified songs. A compar-
isom here is the eighty-seven, predominantly neumatic verses of the *Ondo virtutum* which
were performed sequentially. The similarity in style between all four genres is represent-
ed by the following examples (Example 2-6). The first is the final verse from the hymn
*Mathias sanctus*, the second is the first verse of her sequence *Columbia aspexit*, the third
is from the verse of her responsory *O clarissima mater*, and the fourth is taken from her
antiphon *O quam mirabilis est*:

Example 2-6: from (1) *Mathias sanctus* – Riesenkode fol. 475r; (2) *Columbia aspexit* – Riesenkode
fol. 476va; *O clarissima mater* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 154r; & *O quam mirabilis est* – Riesenkode fol. 466va.

**Symphoniae**

Hildegarf's repertory also includes three other versified, through-composed songs which,
musically, resemble her sequences/hymns but lack verse repetitions and amens. One song,
*O viridissima viga*, is unrubricated, but the other two are rubricated *symphonia*. Their genre,
*symphonia*, is the description Hildegarf gave to her fourteen *Sevias* songs which were later
cast as antiphon–responsory pairs in the cyclic sources. The two versified *symphoniae* are
paired in both cyclic sources and are devoted to the two types of members of Hildegarf's
congregation, virgins (represented by the song *O dulissime amator*) and widows (represented by the song *O pater omnium*). Of all Hildegard's songs, only one, *O pater omnium*, is dedicated to a subject without a recognised feast day. Without a liturgical function in the mass or office, a liturgical genre for *O pater omnium* serves no purpose, and the genre reverts to the initial description of Hildegard's songs – *symphonia* – for this song and its pair *O dulissime amator*.

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The practical use of Hildegard's songs in the liturgy is represented by rubrication in the cyclic sources, even though it is clear that the songs loosely reflect the forms of liturgical chant. In this respect, the casting of her songs as chant genres represents not only the influence of liturgical chant and the integration of her songs into the liturgy, but also the priorities of the scribes who redacted the songs cycles in the 1170s. By assigning liturgical genres, the scribes 'legitimised' her songs in terms of their liturgical potential. They did this by assigning what was lacking in previous redactions – a position of melodies on the gamut, psalm cadences, doxologies and rubricated genres – elements necessary for their recognition as chants that could be used in liturgical services. In this context, Guibert's reference to Hildegard's songs as *proses* represents confirmation of this legitimisation.

Theory and Practice

During the process of redacting Hildegard's songs, the St Eucharius scribes 'legitimised' Hildegard's melodies by presenting them in a recognised form – as liturgical chant. In the cyclic sources, the range of the gamut is adhered to, the *maneriae* of antiphons are indicated by psalm cadences, b⁵ is used to soften tritones and the lesser doxology is inflected for responsorios – all traits of the learned music scribe. In this respect, the cyclic sources represent the work of amanuenses who had the scholarly knowledge of music Hildegard is portrayed by her biographers as having lacked. One implication of the collaboration between Hildegard the *cantrix* and the amanuenses who redacted her songs is that the written versions of the songs potentially represent a codification of chants composed under non-theoretical musical conditions. It is important to establish whether or not distinctions can be made between the songs as 'brought forth' by Hildegard in the oral sphere and their redacted forms. For if distinctions do exist, there is the question of what impact Hildegard's scribes had upon her *melodiae*.

A fundamental aspect of chant melodies is their modal designation, and this provides a convenient starting point for tracing any distinction between the oral and written in Hildegard's songs. It should be stated at the outset that modal designation of many of her songs is a vexed issue. Alongside her 'famous' wide ranges, there is extensive use of the notes a, b, c and C as finals as well as the four regular finals. The difficulty in assigning mode to many of Hildegard's songs – on account of these wide ranges and multiple finals – led Marianne Richert Pfau to conclude that 'modal assignment was not of particular
concern either for Hildegard or for the redactors of [her songs]. The reedition of songs with wide ranges and multiple finals would appear to support Pfar's conclusion.

The use of three (a, b and c) of Hildegard's four finals is readily associated with theoretical writings surrounding the twelfth-century Cistercian reform movement which had as principal exponent Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), from whom Hildegard sought advice about her visions in 1146-1147. The reworking of Mass and Office chants was high on the Cistercian reform agenda, and revisions to the Cistercian archetypal antiphony were conciliated by c.1147, the same era in which Hildegard first documented the texts of her diversum genus musicæ in the Scivias. The revised antiphony was accompanied by an Epistle by Saint Bernard and an anonymous Praefatio based on Guy D'eu's Regula de arte musica (c.1131), which offers theoretical bases for the revisions.

The lack of uniformity in liturgical practice between Cistercian houses and the assumed freedom with which chant was sung were important influences on the Cistercian reform movement, and central to the movement was an attempt to unify monastic code and practice between houses, with an emphasis on curtailing the erroneous habits of cantors. Cistercian chant specialist Chrysogonus Waddell points out that one direct consequence of the reform movement was the 'drastic alteration' of Cistercian chant, and he argues that a systematic reworking of melodies originally composed or copied according to precepts other than those recommended in theory took place. In other words, Cistercian melodies represent chants reworked in order to fit into a discrete modal system.

In the process of reiterating traditional rules governing the classification of chants, the author of the Praefatio cites errors being made by cantors and scribes - errors that apparently occurred on account of the discrepancies between the melodies and the system used to represent them. The Praefatio functioned as a practical guide to chant classification, and its author's objections to unsound practices give an indication of what occurs when these discrepancies are not resolved, as might be the case in Hildegard's songs.

The Praefatio recommends a 'standard' means of classifying chants, that is, according to the arrangement of tones and semitones around the final and the range of the chant. According to this system, a chant is first aligned with one of the four maneriae, or modal groups - protus, deuterus, tritus, tetrardus - with the finals D, E, F and G respectively. Each manerium has two ambiti, or ranges, and mode is determined from the position of notes in

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27 Pfar, Hildegard's Symphonia, p.133.
28 'Hildesgrad ad Bernardum Abbatem Clarvallonem', Epistolariurn, pp.3-6.
31 Bernard's chant reform had been chiefly the work of "Hyperlogicians", who systematically mutilated traditional melodies in virtue of artificial theories in profound contradiction with the true nature of the chant.' Waddell, 'Origin and Early Evolution', p.208.
relation to the final as either of low range (plagal) or high range (authentic). The Cistercians admitted a second final, or *affinalis*, for three of the four *maneriae* – protus-a, deuterus-b and tritus-c (the alternate tetrardus-g final (i.e. d) was interpreted as protus). Theyr adoption is premised upon chants maintaining correct association with one of the four *maneriae* despite being transposed to an alternative location on the gamut. These alternative locations were also interpreted as high (a, b, c) or low (D, E, F and G), and they were introduced as an aid to preserving the integrity of the gamut. *Affinales* assisted in the avoidance of notes and intervals that did not exist (e.g. b⁷-c-d-e⁷) through transposition of passages or entire chants to locations where the intervals did exist (F-G-a-b⁷).

Two factors in particular are singled out in the *Praefatio* as hindering modal designation: 'faulty' arrangements of tones and semitones around a final and excessive or 'mixed' ranges – the two factors which obscure mode in Hildegard's songs. The first, faulty tone-semitone arrangement, was primarily a product of the b⁷, which was introduced as a means to soften the tritone between F-f and b. In the *Praefatio*, several measures are recommended to ensure that it does not interfere with modal designation – b⁷ is written only when necessary, promptly forgotten after use and ignored in modal assignment:

In *Praefatio*, Epistola S. Bernardi, pp.45–46.

In Hildegard’s songs, b⁷ almost always appears in proximity to the notes F-f, which indicates an adherence to the principle which allowed for inclusion of b⁷ on the gamut, but it is used liberally insofar as tritones are softened irrespective of *manerium*. As a result, tetrardus-G chants with b⁷ might be misinterpreted as protus, or protus-a chants with b⁷ could be misidentified as deuterus. Nonetheless, it appears that some effort was made to minimise modal misinterpretation in Hildegard's songs. In Dendermonde 9, there is a conspicuous absence of the b⁷ at the ends of melodic phrases – points in the melody that might define mode – which suggests a concern for maintaining the integrity of a given *manerium*.

The shortcomings of the classification system are a far more pressing problem with respect to modal designation in Hildegard's songs. Melodic ranges frequently cross plagal and authentic boundaries — the sort of range crossing that is rebuffed in the Praefatio:

Plene igitur insaniunt qui plagalem elevare per diapason, et asentum per diapente vel diatesseron deponere praesumunt. Ut quid enim fieri vel habentur huiusmodi cantus, graves quidem ad notandum, graviores ad cantandum lineae variantes, asterias cruciantes, cautelatam habentes progressionem, nunc ascendentem usque ad caelos, nunc descendentes usque ad abyssos?

Clearly therefore, they are out of their minds who dare to raise a plagal through an octave, or to lower an authentic a fifth or fourth. To what purpose are such chants composed or kept in use, too low for notation, lower still for singing, causing a change of clef lines, torturing the vocal chords, having an endless range, ascending at one time to the skies, and descending at another down to the abyss.34

Most of Hildegard's songs have a range of an octave and a 4th or 5th, several songs traverse two octaves and one song, O vos angeli (Example 2-7), traverses the entire medieval gamut (G¹ to d¹).

Example 2-7: from O vos angeli — Dendermonde 9 fol. 159°

Twenty-five of Hildegard's songs have either a high or low tessitura throughout, but their classification as plagal or authentic is occasionally made difficult by ranges which exceed theoretical recommendations. The antiphon Studium divinitas (Example 2–8) has an octave range between C and c around the final E. A plagal range is suggested by a low tessitura, but frequent ascents to the 5th and 6th degrees above the final are more readily associated with an authentic range.

Although five-lined staves in the cyclic sources and frequent clef changes within songs accommodate these wide ranges without excessive use of ledger lines, the crossing of modal ranges still renders modal classification an unproductive exercise for much of the repertory. Comparison with the Cistercian Praefatio here indicates that descriptions of conditions that obscure modal designation in Cistercian chants are comparable to those which hinder modal designation in Hildegard's songs.

Example 2-8: Studium divinitas – Dendermonde fol. 167r

There are other typographical/redactional elements which ‘exceed’ theoretical recommendations. The range of the garnut is itself exceeded (by a 2nd above the note d') in one song, O choniscans lux stellarnum, which is preserved with neumes in the Riesenkodex only, and in the first verse of the responsory O quam preciosa (Example 2-9), which begins and ends on the final, D, a flat sign is indicated over the first syllable of ‘habet’ on the E line of the stave. Although this flat might represent a hexachordal indication, it is also represents a way to avoid juxtaposed tritones within a single neume. Here, the avoidance of a tritone between the notes F and b creates a second tritone between b$^b$ and E. As this precise sequence of notes (ascent of a 4th and decent of a 5th) does not occur elsewhere in the repertory as a single neume, the E$^b$ represents a convenient solution to an otherwise insoluble problem:

Example 2-9: opening of O quam preciosa – Riesenkodex fol. 468rb
While range and use of *ficta* suggest that modal assignment was not an obvious redactional concern *per se*, the use of psalm cadences in the cyclic sources indicates that the scribes linked antiphons to a given *maneria*. The notion that multiple finals were introduced into the cyclic sources to avoid foreign notes was rejected by Pfau, who argues that because 'each modality has its own distinct set of characteristics', the use of the notes a, b and c as finals should not be 'regarded as arbitrary transpositions'. Nonetheless, transposition is certainly an issue worth considering here. For Hildegard’s antiphons with psalm cadences, the reciting tone appears at the beginning of each cadence and a transition to the final or 4th degree is effected at the cadence end, with the exception of the only tetradus G-cadence. The psalm cadences connected with each final are given below with the standard reciting tones for each *maneria* and descriptions of the cadences given in relation to the standard final for each *maneria*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Maneria</em></th>
<th>Reciting tones</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Psalm Cadence</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protus</td>
<td>a f</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>a-s-a-G-G-F-G-a-G-a, F-F-F-C-D-D</td>
<td>authentic reciting tone – final, plagal reciting tone – final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>F-F-F-C-D-D, a-a-a-G-G-F-G-a-G, e-e-e-d-d-c-d-d-c-d</td>
<td>plagal reciting tone – final, authentic reciting tone – 4th degree, 2nd degree-fatal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b (i.e. c) G (i.e. a)</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>a-G-a-c-G-F-E</td>
<td>deuterus plagal reciting tone – final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tritus</td>
<td>c a</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>a-a-a-G-G-F-F</td>
<td>plagal reciting tone – final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetradus</td>
<td>d b (i.e. c)</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>F-F-E-F-E-D-G (= c-c-b-c-b-a-G)</td>
<td>2nd degree – plagal reciting tone (= plagal reciting tone – fatal?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As *affinales* were sanctioned as a means to re-position/eliminate notes foreign to the gamut, the designation of psalm cadences for antiphons which use the notes a and c as finals indicates that use of these notes at least represents a concern for this avoidance. Moreover, even without psalm cadences all but three songs (*O tu illustrata*, *O dulcissime amator* and *Vos flures* ) can be identified as one of protus (D/a), deuterus (E/b) tritus (F/c) and tetradus (G).

The St Eucharius scribes made liberal use of available codificatory devices, including multiple finals, to render Hildegard’s songs on the gamut. Yet even with these devices, the melodies far from conform to the theoretical ideals expounded by a Cistercian theorist confronted with similar redactional problems. As Cistercian chants represent composition according to precepts other than those expounded in theory, the similarity between the problems addressed by the anonymous Cistercian theorist and the problems encountered in Hildegard’s songs suggests that discrepancies probably exist between Hildegard’s chants as she sang them and the written versions redacted by the St Eucharius scribes.

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35 The function of psalm cadences as denoting *maneria* is also suggested in the twelfth century ‘Lucca Antiphoner’ (Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare 601) from St. Peter’s in Pozzuoli, South-West Italy – Antiphonaire Monastique Xff Siles: Codex 601 de la Bibliotherque Capitulaire de Luccae, PalMus 9 (Berne: Herbert Long, 1974); Willi Apel, Gregorian Chant (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University P., 1990), p.167.

36 Pfau, *Hildegard of Bingen*, p.133.
The decisions the scribes made during the redactive process represent the theoretical training that moulded their understanding of music. The modal ambiguity in Hildegard’s songs represents the singing of a *cantrix* untrained in modal theory. With distinctions to be made between Hildegard’s melodic characteristics and the system used to represent them, there is a question mark over what impact Hildegard’s scribes had upon her oral *melodiae*.

**Melodic Behaviour**

The alignment of musical phrases with syntactical ones is the most consistent aspect of the relationship between setting and the ‘phonetic level of language’ in Hildegard’s songs. Even this consistent aspect of the word-music relationship is compromised by what Hildegard (as opposed to we) interpreted as a grammatical break. Her imperfect knowledge of Latin grammar appears to have influenced the points in the text that delineate musical phrases. For example, in *O quam preciosa* (Example 2-10) Hildegard’s preference for initiating phrases with relative pronouns results in the pronoun *huius* initiating a new phrase of melody where it concludes a grammatical phrase:

![Musical notation](image)

**Example 2-10: opening of *O quam preciosa* – Riesen Kodex fol. 468rb**

Despite the infrequent inconsistencies, grammatical and melodic alignment provides a guide to melodic behaviour in this repertory. The position of notes at grammatically significant points in the text combined with repetition of notes at these points give an indication of the relationships between notes. The antiphon *O pastor animarum*

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37 Bronarski cites three instances of discontinuity between textual and musical phrases, but all three of these examples have been incorrectly transcribed. Bronarski, *Lieder*, p.104.

38 Van der Werf, *Emergence of Gregorian Chant*, p.43.
(Example 2-11) is a typical example of how phrasing works when Hildegard and the modern interpreter agree on grammatical breaks. Phrases end either with the final, D, or its 5th degree (the note a), and the 4th degree below the final and above the 5th degree (A and d) delineate the range of the antiphon:

Example 2-11: O pastor animarum – Riesenkodex fol. 466²a

As in O pastor animarum, the notes most frequently located at the end of phrases and clauses in Hildegard's songs are the final (C, D, E, F, G, a, b or c) or its 5th degree. The 5th degree combined with the 4th degree forms a hierarchy of consonant intervals above and below a given final. These consonants are described in theory as the diapente (5th), diatessaron (4th) and diapason (8va). The type of melodic behaviour produced by movement from the final to the diapente and from there to the diapason above the final pervades Hildegard's songs. It takes the guise of a song's dominant melodic structure, as in O pastor animarum, or as a progression within a song. As a progression, it is found on every final and within every liturgical genre (Example 2-12):

While many melodies adhere to this final-diapente-diapason paradigm, there is a significant number of songs which proceed in a very different way to this. To understand both this paradigm and melodies which behave differently to it as products of scribal influence, it is important to consider the types of influences that might have come to bear upon the scribes who redacted Hildegard’s melodies.
The Prologus in Tonarium of Berno of Rheichenau

According to Petrus Becker’s catalogue of works once belonging to the St Eucharius abbey, the only music treatise known to have been copied there during the twelfth century is the Prologus in tonarium of Berno of Reichenau (Trier, Stadtbibliothek Ms. 1897/18 (Cat. 596)). In the Prologus, Berno mainly expounds ‘older rules’, including borrowings from Hucbald and the Enchiriadis treatises. He makes several recommendations, however, which are less conventional and in view of the cyclic sources quite revealing. In particular, Berno makes a number of allowances for the location and designation of problematic chants.

As a preface to a tonary, the Prologus is concerned with the modal identification of chants, and his recommendations were instituted for this purpose. The question of the modal designation of chants also faced Hildegar’s scribes, the difference being that the chants to be designated at Rupertsberg probably did not yet exist on parchment. As with other German writers, such as William of Hirsaue and Hermann Contractus, Berno’s theory of modes is based on Boethian species of three tetrachords and four pentachords, and these are combined to produce seven species of tropes (octaves). These species are identified as protus, deuterus, tritus and/or tetrardus, and the diapason surrounding the final determines whether a species is plagal or authentic, thereby producing eight modes:

Example 2-13: Berno’s species of tetrachord and pentachord

With this construction of the modes, protus and deuterus maneriae comprise related species of tetrachord and pentachord, but tritus and tetrardus are a mixture of species: tritus combines a ‘tritus’ pentachord and ‘tetrardus’ tetrachord, although Berno defines both as third species, and tetrardus combines a ‘tetrardus’ pentachord with a ‘protus’

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tetrachord. The species of tetrachord and pentachord associated with each maneria can be identified in Hildegard’s songs, but, as in O pastor animarum, pentachords and tetrachords are not restricted to those identified with the maneria in which each song is set:

Example 2-14: species of pentachords and tetrachords in O pastor animarum – Riesenködix fol. 466va

These species do, however, lend themselves to the elaboration of ‘affinities’ or related locations for chants (or part thereof) on the gamut. With the assistance of B, Bermo identified two ‘inflections’ for each final: the sociales (diapente) and comparés (diatessaron) and theorised that each of the finals D, E, F, and G had two alternative locations on the gamut:

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41 'Primi constat ex prima specie diapente et ex prima specie diatessaron superius... Subjugalis vero ejus constat ex eadem specie diapente, et ex eadem specie diatessaron inferius... Deuterus constat ex secunda specie diapente et secunda specie diatessaron superius... Subjugalis ejus ex eadem specie diapente, et ex eadem specie diatessaron inferius... Tertius authentius, qui est tonus quintus, constat ex tercia specie diapente et tercia specie diatessaron superius. Tetrandus authenticus constat ex quarta specie diapente et ex forma princeps diatessaron superius modo dico. Subjugalis ejus ex eadem specie diapente, et ex prima specie diatessaron inferius.' Bermo, Prolegomena in Tonarium, ed. Martin Gerbert, PL 142, col.1106.
Notandum vero est quod quinto semper loco superioribus cum inferioribus finalibus quaedam tali concordia est, ut aliquo melin in eis quasi regulariter inventiamur finire... Fit etiam miro quodam modo ut finales non solu in quintis, ut diximus, regionibus suas habentes soles, venem etiam in quartis superioribus locis sibi inventari componere... Amplius autem, quod omnis tropus, sive ille authenticus sit, sive plagus, si quarto a finali loco diligentius introducatur, mina ac divina quaedam concordia inventatur... in eodem veluti in finali regulariter destinere: adeo ut plerique meli ab ipsis finalibus seu dextera levaque opta incepta minus convenient propier semitoniam, quam desunt per loca; a superioribus vero inchoata absque ullius soni diminuzione decurrent modesta, finiantque in socialibus honeste.

It should be noticed that there exists such a concordance between the lower finals and those a fifth above them that certain melodies are found to close on the latter as if they were regular finals... In a miraculous way it happens that the [basic] finals have associates not only at the upper fifth, as we have said, but also comparable ones at the upper fourth... Indeed, each mode, whether authentic or plagal, is found to recur in a miraculous and divine concordance if considered a fourth from its location... in such a manner that a good number of melodies, if begun on their [proper] final – or, as the case may be, at some other tone above or below it – do not come out well because of the lack of semitones; If, however, they are begun at the higher level, then they continue smoothly without detriment to any pitch and close quite properly on the associated final.42

Example 2-15: final-diatessaron/diapente concords

With a consistency of intervals between the final, diapente and diatessaron, melodies maintain an established modal identity at alternative locations on the gamut. These alternative inflections allow entire chants or parts thereof to depart from the normative final while still being not only adequately located on the gamut but also associated with a given maneria. It is perhaps these relations which most readily reflect the use of finals in the cyclic sources.

Protus

Hildegard’s songs which take the notes D and a as final represent the most stable chants in the repertory insofar as there is a consistent tonal relationship between the final and surrounding diapentes. These D- and a-final songs also exhibit similar melodic structures, which Pfau confirmed through comparing the tonal ‘backgrounds’ to Hildegard’s D- and a-final songs. For Pfau, the main difference between the D-final and a-final modalities is the more ‘liberal’ use of b\(^b\) in the a-final songs.\(^{43}\) This liberalness can also be understood as a consequence of the typical a-final descending melodic progression from the diapason: a’-f-d-b\(^b\)-G, whereas D-final chants typically descend d-c-a. This produces a melodic condition for the relocation of chants from D to a – if left on D, the typical descending progression would be d-b\(^b\)-G-E-C with a tritone between b\(^b\) and E.

The inclusion of the b\(^b\) in protus-a songs also results in the deuterus trope species. Pfau argues that the b\(^b\) creates a separate modality through the ‘shifting modal associations’ between protus and deuterus.\(^{44}\) These ‘shifting modal associations’ also suggest that a-final songs can be identified as transposed protus or deuterus, and this is exactly what is represented by the psalm cadences. The a-final songs take three cadences, the protus and deuterus plagal cadences, and one which opens with the protus authentic reciting tone and ends on the diatessaron. This is transposed to begin on the diapente above the note a (the note e) for the protus-a antiphon *Spiritus sanctus vivificans vita*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protus</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>protus authentic reciting tone – final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>a-a-a-G-G-F-G-a-G-a</td>
<td>protus plagal reciting tone – final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F-F-F-C-D-D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>F-F-F-C-D-D</td>
<td>protus plagal reciting tone – final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c-c-c-d-d-c-d-e-d</td>
<td>deuterus final – protus final?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Or protus authentic reciting tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>transposed at the diapente – final?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-a-a-G-G-F-G-a-G</td>
<td>protus authentic reciting tone – diatessaron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-G-a-c-G-F-E</td>
<td>deuterus plagal reciting tone – final</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second of Berno’s inflections, the diatessaron is also represented for the protus manneria. The inflection is not found for protus-D, but the theoretical existence of the diatessaron inflection is extended to encompass the protus-a final. This is represented in the song *O tu illustrata* (Example 2-16), which opens with the note a as final. If the ‘inflected’ phrase is transposed to this final, an f\(^a\) is produced:

\(^{43}\) Pfau, *Hildegard’s Symphonia*, p.175.

\(^{44}\) Pfau, *Hildegard’s Symphonia*, p.187.
Example 2-16: from *O tu illustrata* – Riesenkodex fol. 467va

The final-diatessaron relationship takes another guise in this repertory. While the final-diapente structure exemplified by *O pastor animarum* is normative in Hildegard's songs, the diatessaron is also emphasised in protus melodic structures. In *O pastor animarum* for example, movement to the final proceeds via the note G (Example 2-17).

Example 2-17: *O pastor animarum* – Riesenkodex fol. 466va
The final-diattessaron relationship is also emphasised at the openings of three protus-a songs, *O magne pater*, *O tu suavissima virga* and *O boniface* (Example 2-18)

Example 2-18: from (1) *O magne pater* – Dendermode 9 fol. 153⁵, (2) *O tu suavissima virga* – Riesenkodex fol. 468⁶, & (3) *O boniface* – Riesenkodex fol. 475⁷

In the protus *maneria*, the final-diapente and final-diattessaron relationship takes two forms: as an inflection, which includes an inflection at the diapente for protus-a songs, and as two melodic parameters, or notes which are in a concordant relationship with the final and are emphasised within melodic structures.

Deuterus

Deuterus is the most common *maneria* in the repertory, but, as is arguably the case in Gregorian chant,⁴⁵ it is also the *maneria* in which most of Hildegard’s irregular melodic behaviour is cast. Although the final-diapente-diattessaron paradigm can be identified in most of Hildegard’s deuterus songs, the final is not always the note with a tonal relationship to a prevailing diapente-diattessaron structure.

Here, Berno’s two inflections, the diapente and diattessaron, encompass entire chants. The deuterus—a final is suggested through use of b⁵, as well as in transposed passages, such as the final verses of the *symphonia O dulcisime amator* in Dendermonde 9, which are redacted on the final, the note E, in the Riesenkodex (Example 2-19):

⁴⁵ Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, p.142.
Example 2-19: from *O dulcissime amator* – (D) Dendermonde 9 fol. 166r & (R) Riesenkodex fol. 478rb-va.

The note b is used as a final in one song, the responsory *O viriditas digiti dei*, in which the melody moves to the diapente and diapason above the note E (Example 2-20):

Example 2-20: opening of *O viriditas digiti dei* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 162r
As with the protus *maneria*, there is both a final-diapente relationship and a final-diatessaron one. In deuterus-E songs, the latter is often outlined at the opening before a final-diapente relationship is established, as in the antiphon *O pulche facies* (Example 2-21):

![Music notation image]

*Example 2-21: Opening of O pulche facies – Dendermonde 9 fol. 165v*

This final-diatessaron relationship is extended in the antiphon *O mirum admirandum* to include the lower pentachord A-B-C-D-E. This places the note E at the centre of a diapente-final-diatessaron structure (compare final-diapente-diapason) producing the prescribed deuterus-plagal range. It also produces the same melodic behaviour as a-final songs rendered at the lower diapason (Example 2-22):

![Music notation image]

*Example 2-22: from O mirum ad mirandum – Dendermonde 9 fol. 162v*
There are several deuterus songs which exhibit relations that fall outside of the diapente and diatessaron inflections identified by Berno. These songs elaborate the diatessaron-diapente structure, but the hierarchy is based on a combination of non-deuterus cofinals/centres. One example of this is the antiphon O gloriosissimi (Example 2–23), which begins and ends on the final, the note E. The setting opens in a similar way to the antiphon Studium divinitatis (Example 2–8) – within the diapason from C to c – and a plagal–deuterus range is established at 'cum misica'. An authentic deuterus–E range is established concurrent with a final–diapente–diatessaron progression over 'o quam gloriosa' and this is juxtaposed with the plagal range established near the opening. The setting then descends to a cofinal, the subfinal (the note D), and proceeds as a typical Hildegard protus–D chant (Example 2–23).

One factor in this relationship between protus and deuterus is that the trope species associated with both maneriae include a tone and semitone (= minor 3rd) above the final and two tones at the centre. In the final–diapente–diapason song structures, a third above the diapason and the tetrachord below the final are commonly found. The intervallic similarity between these parameters – final–diatessaron, final–diapente and lower and upper 3rds of the same quality – facilitates a lowered inflection from deuterus to protus (Example 2–24).⁴⁶

Example 2–24: protus & deuterus species

Example 2–23 (Opposite): O gloriosissimi lux vivens – Dendermonde fol. 159f

⁴⁶Apel, Gregorian Chant, p. 172.
O Gloriae SS. mi lux vemens angelii,
qui in fra diversum
divinos oculos
cum mistica obscuritate
omnis creas
aspiritis in ardensibus desideris,
unde numquam potestis sacri;
a numquam gloriaosa gaudia
gl. la vestra habet formam,
que in vobis est intacta
ab omni perpevere,
quo primum
or tum est
in vestro sacro.
perditionem angelorum, qui voluerunt praesens latens pinaculum dei, unde ipsius torquosus dixerunt in nuncium, sed ipsius instumenta catus consiliando facere digitii deleissent.
A second set of relations in deuterus–E songs are elaborated at the third. As in Gregorian chant, one prominent relation occurs between E and C. An example of this is Hildegard's antiphon *O speculum columbe*, which preserves the note E as final in both cyclic sources, but the melody revolves around the note C and its diapente and the notes F and G delimit the range of the song (Example 2-25):

![Musical notation](image)

Example 2-25: opening of *O speculum Columbe* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 161v

The deuterus *maneria* includes the same diapente/diatessaron relations as the protus *maneria*. In many deuterus chants however, the expected final-diapente-diatessaron structure is replaced by the same structure elaborated through cofinals. Despite this, the same psalm cadence is assigned to deuterus antiphons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deuterus</th>
<th>b (i.e. c)</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>a-G-a-c-G-F-E</th>
<th>deuterus plagal reciting tone – final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G (i.e. a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tritus & Tetrardus

According to Berno’s system, the tritus and tetrardus *maneriae* are ‘impure’ trope constructions, i.e. they comprise tetrachords and pentachords that begin on different notes (e.g. F-G-c-b-c + G-a-b-c = tritus) and are a mixture of species (species 4 G-a-b-c-d + species 1 D-E-F-G = tetrardus). The lack of clearly defined tonal boundaries implied by the species reflects the lack of clear distinctions between these two *maneriae* in Hildegard’s songs. There is only one chant which takes F as final, the *Kyrie*, but this is a *contrafactum* of a chant initially assigned the note G as final (the responsory *O lucidissima apostolorum* – Example 2-26).
Example 2-26: (1) *O lucidissima* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 161r; (2) Kyrie – Riesen Kodex fol. 472vb
This lack of distinction is particularly evident in the *Ordo virtutum*, which includes one verse with the note G as final but the corresponding verse begins on the note F (no. 30), and one verse with the note F as final but the corresponding verse opens on the note G (no. 56) (Example 2-27):

Example 2-27: antiphons 30 and 56 from the *Ordo virtutum* – Riesenkodex fols 479va & 480va

Aside from the *Kyrie*, all tritus songs are redacted with the note c as final. One precursor for this is the 12th-century Cistercian theoretical writings. In the *Regula de musica*, Guy D’eu argues that tritus chants with three tones above the final (F-G-a-b) are best redacted on F and chants with two tones and a semitone are to best redacted on c.47

In the *Praefatio*, this argument is given as rule for the redaction of tritus chants:

> Porro omnes canes tertiae maneriae, id est quinti et sexti toni, termines in F vel in C; F maiori parti autentorum, C vero omnibus fer plagalibus attribuens.  

Next you should end all chants of the third maneria, that is, the fifth and sixth modes, on F and [c], assigning F to the greater part of the authentics, but [c] to almost all the plagals.48

The principle behind this assignment of authentic tritus chants on F and plagal tritus chants on c is facilitation of tritone avoidance through transposition, a principle expounded by Guido and John of Affligem, as well as implied in Berno’s two inflections for tritus-F. The mixture of plagal and authentic ranges in Hildegard’s c-final songs provides a condition for redaction with the note c as final – the note c facilitates avoidance of the tritone between the final and diatessaron, or movement above the final associated

with the authentic range, as well as allowing for avoidance of the tritone between the diatessaron and subfinal, or movement below the final associated with the plagal range.⁴⁹

Apart from the responsory *O lucidissima apostolorum* and its antiphon pair *O hoors milicie*, both of which include phases on tritus-F/c and tetrardus-G (see chapter 4), the tritus and tetrardus songs exhibit a tonal relationship between the final and surrounding diapentes. The authentic range above the final in the *Kyrie* contrasts to the two regular tetrardus-G songs, *O viridissima vinga* and *O Ierusalem*, which are redacted within a predominantly plagal range without the diapason above the final. The authentic tritus range is elaborated in the hymn *Mathias sanctus* (Example 2-28), but here the opening verses are set within the plagal range with a tonal relationship between the note F and its diapente, producing tritus-F authentic range with c as cofinal. From the end of the verses 2a and 2b, the same melodic structure is rendered within the authentic range, and the final has a tonal relationship with its diapente:

Example 2-28: from *Mathias sanctus* – Riesenködek fol. 474²a

Berno gives two inflections for tetrardus-G, even though tetrardus-D is same as protus-D, but the inflection at the diapente is not represented in this repertory. On the other hand, the tetrardus diatessaron inflection is implied by the use of the note C as final in the responsory *Vos florens rosarum* (Example 2-29). As in the deuterus songs which include a tonal relationship between the note C and its diapente, the note-C as final is clearly distinguished from its upper c-final counterparts by the absence of b♭.

Example 2-29: *Vos florens rosarum* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 163v

As with protus–a songs, songs which take the note c as final form species associated with two *maneriae*. With the b⁷, c-final songs comprise the tetrardus *tropo*, and with b-natural they comprise the tritus *tropo*. With continuous emphases on the diapente and diatessaron in c-final songs, the *maneria* can be unclear:

Example 2-30: opening of *Ave Maria & Hodie aperuit* – Dendermonde 9 fols 153v & 154v

The only c-final antiphon with a psalm cadence, *Hodie aperuit* in Dendermonde 9, is identified as tritus, and a transposed tetrardus cadence is assigned the modally ambiguous tetrardus–G antiphon  *O choos milicæ*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tritus</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>a-a-F-G-a-G-F-F</th>
<th>tritus-plagal reciting tone – final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tetrardus</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>b (i.e. c)</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>F-F-E-F-E-D-C-C</td>
<td>diatessaron – final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(= c-c-b-c-b-a-G?)</td>
<td>(= plagal reciting tone – final?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Trope Species

In addressing the issue of what factors influenced the redaction of Hildegard’s songs, a convenient possibility is that modal designation prior to redaction proceeded in deference to the series of tones and semitones surrounding finals. Without b⁵, the arrangement of tones and semitones within a trope differs between the two finals associated with each maneria. Perceivability of these different intervals would account for the high degree of uniformity in the assignment of finals between the two cyclic sources.

For trope species to have been the basis of designation of not only maneria but also of low (D, E, F, G) or ‘high’ inflections (a, b, c/C) in Hildegard’s songs assumes that the songs as Hildegard sang them included the same intervals as the intervals represented on parchment – she would have articulated the seven discrete tropes. The influence of liturgical forms in her unmeasured songs, and the existence of the twelfth-century Disibodenberg Antiphoner (Engelberg Hs. 103), suggest her exposure to traditional liturgical chant – as well as the possibility of consistent intervals between Hildegard’s preredacted songs and what is preserved on parchment. This hypothesis also lends itself to the idea of separate modalities for all finals in Hildegard’s songs, an idea expounded by Pfau.⁵⁰

Redaction according to trope species also assumes that there is much ‘scribal error’ in Hildegard’s cyclic sources. While scribal error cannot be simply dismissed of its own accord, there are several small thorns in the side of the trope hypothesis. Firstly, the symphonia O dulcissime amator ends on E in the Riesenködex but several verses are transposed to protus-a in Dendermonde 9; the antiphon O mirum admirandum includes a similar transposition. This demonstrates that the note a is an inflection of both protus-D and deuterus-E, not an independent mode as Pfau describes it. Secondly, there are several songs which mix maneriae. An extreme example of this is the antiphon O tu illustrata, which exhibits ‘final’–diapente relations on protus, deuterus and tetrardus finals and cannot be assigned a maneria (see chapter 4). There is the use of E where C was a possibility as a final in several songs. Finally, at the opening of the seventh verse of O dulcissime amator, the same passage proceeds with two different sets of intervals between the two sources (Example 2-31). It could be argued that this, and the above redactions, would not have occurred were stable trope species sung by Hildegard.

⁵⁰Pfau, Hildegard’s Symphonia, pp.175 & 204.
Example 2-31: from O dulcisime amator – (1) Dendermonde 9 fol. 168v & (2) Riesenkodex fol. 478th

Berno’s exposition on the modes provides one possible influence upon redaction of Hildegard’s songs, and his two inflections for each final does assist with an understanding of the range of finals and diapente/diatessaron associations in her songs. Tonal relationships which are found in her songs but not described by Berno concern all maneriae, including tetrardus-C and protus-D inflections in deuterus-E songs, and tritus-F and protus-a inflections in tetrardus-G songs. These and other anomalous melodic behaviours in her songs suggest influences beyond theoretical principles associated with modal assignment. At the very least, these behaviours indicate that other redactional influences aside from trope species should be considered.

Melodic Characteristics
One consideration for Hildegard’s scribes may have been the melodic characteristics of her songs. While chants of varying maneriae end in a similar manner, there is significantly less in common between song incipits of varying maneriae. Taking the Ordo virtutum into consideration here, most songs cast in the most represented maneria, deuterus, begin in a similar way, within a narrow range and with steps surrounding the final:
Example 2-32: opening of
(1) *O vis eternitae* – Riesenkdex fol. 466²⁶;
(2) *Cum processit* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 155²;
(3) *Cum erubuerint* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 155⁵;
(4) *O quam magnum miraculum* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 155⁵;
(5) *O gloriosissimi* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 159⁵;
(6) *O vos angel* – Dendermonde fol. 159⁵;
(7) *O spectabiles viri* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 159⁵;
(8) *O vos felicis* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 160⁵;
(9) *O victoriosissimi* – Dendermonde 9 163⁵;
(10) *O mirum ad mirandum* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 162⁵;
(11) *O felix apparicio* – Dendermonde 9 164⁵;
(12) *Studium divinitatis* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 167⁵;
(13) *Aer enim volat* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 168⁵;
(14) *Rex noster promptus* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 166⁵;
(15) *O virgo ecclesia* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 170⁵;
(16) *O orzechis ecclesia* – Riesenkdex 472³⁷;
(17) *O virga mediatrix* – Riesenkdex fol. 473³⁷.

The deuterusb responsory *O viriditas digitii dei* (Example 2-33) differs from its deuterus-
E counterparts. It opens with a descent of a third and this is not found at the opening of
deuterus E songs. This opening descent is followed by step-wise movement around the final:
Example 2-33: Opening of *O viriditas digit dei* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 162v

The St Eucharius scribes were probably faced with the problem of having to decide upon a *maneria* and final before redaction of a song could commence. One feature of the deuterus *maneria* is that only one note in relation to the final is needed to define it, a semitone above the final. For songs which open within a narrow range and with stepwise movement, deuterus-E would be an obvious choice for expeditious establishment of a *maneria* and final – two things necessary for redaction of the rest of a song. This provides one possible explanation for the designation of *O speculum columbe* (Example 2-34) as deuterus despite its tetrardus overtones. The antiphon opens with stepwise movement around the final:

Example 2-34: *O speculum columbe* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 161v

Protus-D chants almost always begin with a diapente leap, and all but three protus-a songs begin the same way. This suggests an association between diapente leaps and protus assignment. This association, combined with the narrow movement associated with the openings of deuterus-E songs, provides another possibility for the otherwise Gregorian-chant influenced final-subfinal relationship in some of Hildegard’s deuterus-E songs. In *O gloriosissimi* (Example 2-35), the protus-D phrases are initiated by a ‘protus’ leap from D to a, but the opening of the song is typically deuterus:

Example 2-35 (Next Page): *O gloriosissimi* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 159v
O Gloriosissimi lux vivens angelii,
qui in fra divinitatem
divinos ocularos
cum mistica obscuritate
ommnis creaturae
arbitatis in ardentibus desideris,
unde nunc quam pestitis saeculari;
o quam gloriosa gaudia
illa vestra habet formam,
que in voce est intacta
ab omniparo operare,
quod primum
ornatum est
in vestro socio.
Example 2-35 cont.

This phenomenon is duplicated in other chants, such as the opening phrases of *O splendidissima gemma* which elaborates a final-subfinal-reciting tone structure after a typically deuterus opening (Example 2-36):

Example 2-36: Opening of *O splendidissima gemma* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 154r
In terms of the order of tones and semitones, there is little to distinguish tetrardus chants from tetrardus chants, and in Hildegard's songs both tetrardus-C and tetrardus-G songs are characterised by 3rd/4th below and 4th/5th above the final at the opening, or quasi-plagal ranges around the final. The difference between these two *maneriae* comes with the association between narrow ranges (rendered as plagal tetrardus-G) and wide ranges (rendered as tetrardus-c, tetrardus-C) (Example 2-37).


The tetrardus/tetrardus maneriae also intersect with protus-a. An example of this is the sequence *O presul vere*, in which an opening 'protus' leap is surrounded by 'tritus' thirds. After being assigned to protus-a at the opening, the sequence is otherwise redacted with the note c as final (Example 2-38).

Example 2-38: from *O presul vere* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 162v.

These associations between opening melodic characteristics and *maneriae* assist in an understanding of the anomalous melodic movement in this repertory, but they do not adequately account for the placement on the gamut of all songs, particularly deuterus-E melodies which open with diapente leaps.
Tertial Relations

Another aspect of Hildegard’s melodies that can be considered here as a redactional influence is the tertial relations implied in the notation. Tertial relations are an aspect of chant melodies not elucidated in medieval music theory. The tertial relations in Gregorian chant have, however, been examined by Van der Werf, whose survey of dialects of chants led to his hypothesis that structural discrepancies between chant dialects can be linked to a change from quartal to tertial structures and/or vice versa. What this theory offers in relation to Hildegard is an account of chant derivation which operates outside of the modal norms prescribed by theorists, as well as an account of the relationship between quartal/tertial structures and the modal paradigm.

The tetrachord and pentachord structures which dominate Hildegard’s songs often obscure the tertial structures that underpin her melodies, but they are readily accessed through the notation. Firstly, it is important to first consider what is implied by the system of signs used to represent Hildegard’s songs. One way of describing the Rupertsberg/St Eucharius system is to treat it as symbolic. Borrowing C. S. Pierce’s definition, ‘a symbol is a sign which refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of a law, usually an association of general ideas’. A musical notation system can be said to symbolically represent sound on parchment and the use of notae or signs.

Neumae as 'musical syllables' describe discrete groups of notes depicted by notae. A neume indicates the direction and grouping of notes as separate from other notes, while the distance between the notes in each neume is provided by Guido of Arezzo’s staff. The stave is also symbolic – the distance between notes and their nomenclature are again based on convention. The gamut itself is symbolic – it is based on a discretionary system of monochordal divisions ‘invented’ by Pythagoras. The notation used to describe Hildegard’s music can be thought of as a system of representation based on the types of conventions and discretionary music theory that influenced the St Eucharius scribes. Aspects that are not elucidated in conjunction with this system of representation include tertial relations.

Although the combinations of signs in the cyclic sources comprise notae common to other contemporary systems, not all combinations in the cyclic sources are found in a single contemporary source. More than one way of describing a neume is repeatedly encountered in the cyclic sources – both between sources and within the same source (e.g. in sequences with paired verses). For example, five descending notes can be described by a five-note climacus, or a clavis and three subpunctae. The select descriptions of a common neume can be associated with scribal convention, but in view of the discrepancies between the written and oral in Hildegard’s songs, the groupings of notes suggested by ar-

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51 Van der Werf, Emergence of Gregorian Chant, pp. 109-132.
53 John, ‘De Musica’, p.147.
54 Guido, ‘Micrologus’, pp.82-83.
ticulations might also have been an influence. Of particular interest here is that there are two signs for each of the *quilibus* and liquescent *pressus*; these signs describe the same notes. A small *punctum* usually precedes a *quilibus* but the small *punctum* is also written below the *quilibus*. This change in sign represents a change in which note the *quilibus* emphasises. The quality of note most consistently emphasised in this way is a note not in a tertial relationship with the final. A similar tertial relationship is evidenced by the liquescent *pressus*, of which there are two forms, *pressus* + stroke and *pressus* + ‘hook’. These two forms corroborate a relationship between the series of thirds preceding and following the *pressus*. One explanation for the use of two signs is that when the pressed note is part of the sequence of thirds which surround it, a stroke is attached; if the sequence of thirds is the same quality as the lower of the two notes, a hook is attached (Example 2-39).

Example 2-39: from
(1) *O frondes virga* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 153⁴;
(2) *O magne pater* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 153⁴;
(3) *O eterna deus* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 153⁴;
(4) *O viriditas digitii dei* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 162⁴;
(5) *Kyrie* – Riesenkodex fol. 466⁴b;
(6) *Ave Maria* – Dendermonde 9 fol.153⁴;
(7) *O Ierusalem* – Dendermonde 9 – fol. 164⁴;
(8) *Vos florens rosarum* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 163⁴.

An unusual example of this is the liquescent *pressus* on the last stave of folio 154⁴ of Dendermonde 9, where the notes a-G are notated with a hook and the notes a-E with a stroke in the same neume. One explanation for this is the tertial relations between surrounding notes – c-a-F-a-D. The stroke has been added to the hook, which suggests a
deemphasis of the hooked note G, and the stroke descends to E which preserves the tereial quality (G-E) of the liquecent note (Example 2-40)

Example 2-40: from *Cum processit* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 154v

These alterations of signs concurrent with shifting relationships between the notes described and surrounding thirds suggest that tereial relationships underscore a hierarchy of diapentes and diatessaron in Hildegard’s songs. As a potential redactive influence, there is a difference between the cycle of thirds associated with each *maneria*. Tritus/tetardus-c songs typically have the same sequences of thirds for ascending and descending movements. Deuterus and tetardus songs have a different descending sequence, and protus chants include both sequences (Example 2-41):

Example 2-41: from
(1) Karitas habundat (protus-D) – Dendermonde 9 fol. 157v;
(2) Spiritus sanctus vivificans vita (protus-a) – Dendermonde 9 fol. 157v;
(3) O etene deus (deutemus-E) – Dendermonde 9 fol. 153v;
(4) O clarissima mater (tritius-c) – Dendermonde 9 fol. 153v;
(5) O Ierusalem (tetardus-G) – Dendermonde 9 fol. 164v
One hypothesis is that, in placing a song on the gamut, the scribes thought it necessary to not only identify songs with a given *maneria*, but also preserve oral melodic characteristics, perhaps even ones that associated a melody with a given *maneria* in the first place. This possibility would account for the tertial relations in Hildegard's songs, although the mixture of diapente and diatessarons tends to obscure direct relationships between tertial structures and *maneriae*. Rather, it might be proposed that a combination of factors entered into placement of her songs on the gamut. Discernible intervals, the characteristics of melodic openings, and the tertial structures implied by the neumes are three of a number of redactional possibilities.

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The locations of Hildegard's songs on the gamut are the result of several historical occurrences including the improvisation of melodies (*as iubilatio*), a composer incapable of writing down her own melodies, and the presence at Rupertsberg of scribes capable of redacting her songs. The scribes charged with locating her songs on the gamut were moderately successful at avoiding notes foreign to the gamut and identifying songs with a *maneria*. There are, however, several 'ubiquitous' aspects of Hildegard's songs which can be drawn from the system the scribes used to represent them, the most prominent being the alignment of finals or alternative/related centres with the ends of grammatical phrases and the commonality of diatessaron, diapente and diapason relations between songs, even though finals and other tonal centres were most likely regulated through their documentation.

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Chapter 3

Cantus cum melodia and Rhetoric

The Word-Music Relationship

In medieval curricula, the study of words encompassed three dominant disciplines: the phonetic aspect of words represented by litterae (e.g. syllable division, rhyme, accentuation), the syntax of words encompassed by grammatica (e.g. cases, tenses, conjugations) and the signification of words, represented by interpretation (with an emphasis on Scriptural exegesis), rhetoric and dialectics. These three aspects of words in medieval curricula reflect the aspects of words usually considered in word-music relationships in medieval song. With an emphasis on transparency and regularity in word-music relationships, regular phonetic activity is an established basis for the examination of musical settings. This is one reason for the 'poetic individuality' of Hildegard's songs — the irregular phonetic activity in her prose and its irregular emphasis in her musical settings.

In the Protestatio to the Scivias, and in her Vita, Hildegard is portrayed as lacking the phonetic and syntactic groundings assumed for interpreters of Scripture. The biographical emphasis on her divine 'gifts' is nonetheless met by a large corpus of written works, including sermons — which were associated with the discipline of rhetoric during the middle ages. There is also the alignment of syntax and musical phrases in her songs. The setting of the prose of O eterne deus, for example, closely follows the phrasing of the text, and phrases pause at conjunctions, prepositions and adverbs — obvious textual demarcations for the less-than-learned Latin practitioner (Example 3-1). This alignment of musical and grammatical phrases effects a relationship between musical and 'linguistic' syntags, although as the example of O quam preciosa (Example 2-10) suggests, this is not always the case in Hildegard's songs.

The practice of aligning grammatical and musical syntags is expounded in De musica (c.1100) by John of Afflighem, who recommended that each musical phrase pauses on the final, fourth note or fifth note above the final as musical punctuation. In this way, John systematised the practice of aligning grammatical and musical syntags in song:

cum cantus in quarta vel quinta a finali voce per suspensionem pausat, colon est; cum in medio ad finalem reducius, comma est; cum in fine ad finalem perveniit periodus est.

when a chant makes a pause by dwelling on the fourth or fifth note above the final, there is a colon; when in mid-course it returns to the final, there is a comma; when it arrives at the final at the end, there is a period.

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1 Reynolds, Medieval Reading, pp.17-28.
Example 3-1: O etene deus – Dendermonde 9 fol. 153\textsuperscript{v}

In his 1924 study of the word-music relationship, Ludwig Bronanski adopted John's tripartite classification of grammatical breaks into 'colons', 'commas' and 'periods' to codify the melodic punctuation of Hildegard's songs, but, perhaps unsurprisingly, he found much inconsistency between the quality of syntax and the quality of note which appears at her phrase ends. As the text structure of each song comprises an individual grammatical arrangement, Hildegard's settings are in response to a specific series of grammatical events, something which she or her scribes did not regulate according to John's prescriptions. The word-music relationship in Hildegard's songs nonetheless represents a 'correspondence' between the syntax of words and the 'syntax' of melody.

This correspondence highlights the syntactical and significative divisions of words through melody, albeit with irregular qualities of punctuation and not all standard grammatical divisions acknowledged in the settings.

The correspondence of syntactical and significative divisions between words and melody is alluded to in the *Scivias*, in which Hildegard described how a vision commanded her to write down, or render with grammatical syntax, what she saw and heard, including *diversum genus musicorum*, that expounded the meanings of her visions. In this conception of *diversum genus musicorum*, music is a mode of expression of God’s Word, the vehicle through which the Word is communicated, whether it articulates language or, in the absence of language, *iubilatio*. It is implied in Hildegard’s conception of *diversum genus musicorum* that, when articulated with language, music ‘encompasses’ the meaning of the words to which it is set.

**Music and Meaning in Practical Music Theory**

The way in which music encompasses the meaning of the words to which it is set was not emphasised in medieval practical music theory. Theorists who did consider the word-music relationship in chant, including John and Guido of Arezzo, described music as a manifestation of celestial harmony – the heavenly orders elucidated in Greek philosophy and introduced to the West through Boethius. Words were made manifest on earth through the prophets, Christ and ‘other wise men’, but music was manifested in nature and revealed to humans as *musica naturalis*, as described by Regino of Prüm in the *Epistola de harmonica institutione* (c.900):

*Naturalis itaque musica est quae nullo instrumento music, nullo tactu digitorum, nullo humano impulso aut tactu resonat, sed divinitus aspirata sola natura docente dulces modulator modos: quae fit aut in caeli motu, aut in humana voce.*

Natural music is that which is made by no instrument nor by the touch of fingers, nor by any touch or instigation of man: it is modulated by nature alone under divine inspiration teaching the sweet modes, such as there is in the motion of the sky or in the human voice.

Guido’s practical treatise, the *Micrologus*, was intended for the edification of young boys in the art of correctly redacting and articulating the words of chants, and in chapter 15, he describes practical, or ‘human’, precepts for the word-music relationship. Here, music and words are parallel entities, as represented by Guido’s assessment of the common elements which govern both. Words have letters, syllables, ‘parts’ and feet and lines, and music has parallel constituents, phthongi, ‘syllables’, neumes and ‘distinctions’.

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7 Guido, *Micrologus*, p.57.
Igitur quemadmodum in metris sunt litterae et syllabae, partes et pedes ac versus, ita in harmonia sunt phthongi, id est soni, quorum unus, duo vel tres apianus in syllabas; ipsaque solae vel duplicatae neunam, id est partem constitutunt cantilenae; et part una vel plures distinctionem faciunt, id est congnuum respirationis locum. De quibus illud est notandum quod tota part compresse et notanda et expressenda est, syllaba vero compressius.

Having drawn a parallel between the phonetic and syntactical aspects of words and music, Guido admits the third aspect of words, signification, to the word–music relationship, albeit as effectus. Here, the ‘effect’ of the text, or the impression that can be derived from an interpretation of the meaning of the words as either ‘sad’ or ‘cheerful’, is equated with the ‘effect’ of the musical articulation:

Item ut rem um eventus sic cantionis imitetur effectus, ut in tristibus rebus graves sint neunae, in tranquilibus locudae, in prosperis exultantes et reliqua.

Let the effect of the song express what is going on in the text, so that for sad things the neumes are grave, for serene ones they are cheerful, and for auspicious texts exultant, and so forth.

In chapter 17, Guido alludes to the speculative concept upon which this parallel between words and music is founded – the quasi symphonia of language which is duplicated in music. Words represent a manifestation of a ‘certain harmony of language’, with music as a corresponding manifestation – both grammar and music are manifestations of a divine symphony.

Thus, in verse we often see such concordant and mutually congruous lines that you wonder, as it were, at a certain harmony of language. And if music be added to this, with a similar interrelationship, you will be doubly charmed by a twofold melody.

In this speculative relationship between words and music, music is arguably a contingency of words, that is, the parallel phonetic aspects, syntax and effectus of words and music emanate from the properties of words, not music. In this respect, music is raised to the same level as the words it articulates, and by implication words and music represent two manifestations of a common source – divine symphony. This means that, in the speculative realm, the ‘significance’ of words and music are the same. As John Stevens argues:

The concept of armonia, harmoniousness, could certainly be said to be one of ‘significant sound’; but the significance of the words and the significance of the music are the same – they both manifest musica, ‘realise’ its truth in sounds.

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10 Stevens, Words and Music, p.381.
12 Stevens, Words and Music, p.385.
In Guido’s practical music treatise, the word-music relationship remains embedded in the speculative realm and is delimited by what speculative, rather than practical, parallels can be drawn. The significance of words is admitted to Guido’s scheme as effectus, but this is allowed through parallel ‘effects’ in the substance (e.g. the neumes) of music. Music is able to express the effect of a text, and joy in the absence of words, but, in this practical application of speculative music philosophy, the relationship between music and words does not move beyond effectus. There is no further elaboration on ways in which music encompasses the meaning of the words to which it is set.

Hildegard and the Theology of Music

Hildegard’s familiarity with the theology of music (as opposed to music theory) is represented in her early writings. In the Scivias Book III;13:12, for example, Hildegard allegorised caelestia harmonia to describe the relationship between the divine orders and humanity. Caelestia harmonia announces divinity (who brought forth the Word), the Word is ‘the body’ (e.g. the body of Christ/Christ’s corporate body, the Church), and the symphony manifests the spirit:

Sic et verbum corpus designat, symphonia vero spiritum manifestat: quoniam et caelestis harmonia diuinitatem denuntiat et verbum humanitatem Fili Dei propalat.

And so the Word designates the body, the symphony indeed manifests the spirit: because celestial harmony also announces divinity and the Word spreads the humanity of the Son of God.

Hildegard’s thoughts on the more practical side of music are elucidated in a letter written 1178 to prelates in Mainz. Here, Hildegard elaborates the way music encompasses the meaning of the words to which it is set beyond effectus as a spiritual concern. In the absence of their Archbishop, the Mainz prelates ordered Hildegard to remove the body of an excommunicate nobleman from the cemetery at Rupertsberg. When she refused, arguing that the nobleman had been united with God at the time of death, the Mainz prelates imposed an interdict which forbade her and her nuns to partake in the Eucharist and sing praise to God until the body was exhumed. In 1178, she wrote a letter to the prelates in an effort to persuade them to retract the interdict, and here Hildegard expounds the role — and defends the importance — of music in monastic life. In her rendering of speculative music theology, the ways in which music encompasses the meaning of words are through the celestial harmony rationalised by humans. This celestial harmony externalises not only the joy of the inner being — an effectus of celestial harmony — but it also predisposes the inner being for comprehension of sensus verborum, what words mean beyond their effectus.

Hildegard begins her letter by arguing that, by reading the office in a low voice, she and her nuns have been celebrating incorrectly. She describes the correct celebration of praise

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13 For a discussion of Hildegard and the concept of harmonia see Pfau, Hildegard’s Symphonia, pp.31–41.
14 Hildegardis, Scivias III; 13:12, p.631.
with reference to Psalm 150:3-6—‘with the sound of trumpet, with psaltery and harp’. Instruments, like singing and *isubilatio*, represent the outward expressions of inner joy. The rest of this letter elaborates why singing is essential to the correct celebration of God:

Further, I saw in my vision also that by obeying you we have been celebrating the divine office incorrectly, for from the time of your restriction up to the present, we have ceased to sing the divine office, merely reading it instead. And I heard a voice coming from the Living Light concerning the various kinds of praises, about which David speaks in the psalm: “Praise Him with the sound of trumpet; praise Him with psaltery and harp,” and so forth up to this point: “Let every spirit praise the Lord” [Ps 150:3,6]. These words use outward, visible things to teach us about inward things. Thus the material composition and the quality of these instruments instruct us how we ought to give form to the praise of the Creator and turn all the convictions of our inner being to the same.16

Hildegard begins her rebuttal against the prelates by describing the heavenly voice heard in paradise which was lost to humans when Adam was expelled from the Garden of Eden. His banishment entailed the loss of the heavenly voice to humans:

Similitudinem ergo vocis angelicæ, quam in paradiso habebat, Adam perdidit, et in scientia quæ ante pecatum pretiosus erat, ita obdormivit, sicut homo a somno uigilans de his, quæ in somnis uident.

But Adam lost that angelic voice which he had in paradise, for he fell asleep to that knowledge which he possessed before his sin, just as a person on waking up only dimly remembers what he had seen in his dreams.17

For Hildegard, music is this ‘lost voice of paradise’ forsaken by Adam, because before the Fall, ‘his voice had the sweetness of all musical harmony’. Hildegard recounts how ‘eager and wise’ humans imitated the holy prophets so that ‘they might be able to produce *organum* for the delight of their souls’, and how they ‘accompanied their singing with instruments played with the flexing of the fingers’, which recalls ‘Adam, who was formed by God’s finger, which is the Holy Spirit’.18 She then argues that divine harmony is so powerful that, had Adam not sinned, ‘the weakness of mortal man would not have been able to endure the power and the resonance’ of the divine voice.19 She details how music predisposes the inner being for comprehension of the *sensus verbum*: the soul is ‘symphonic’ (‘symphonialis est anima’); it can reproduce on earth the heavenly voice through praise, and through it the ‘law’ of the prophets can be fulfilled because the soul will be returned to paradise through praise:

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18 Quis, uindicet sanctas prophetas, studiato et sapientes imitati, humana et ipsi ante nonnulla organorum genera invenerunt, ut secundum delectationem anime cantare possint’. ‘Hildegardis ad Praelatos’, p.64.
19 ‘et quæ cantabant, in lexibus digitorum, que flexionibus inclinata, adaptatae sunt et recolentes Adam digitum Dei, qui Spiritus Sanctus est, formatur’. ‘Hildegardis ad Praelatos’, p.64.
20 ‘et si in statu quo formatur fuerunt perspicuum, infirmitas mortalis hominis virtutem et soave unam societatem usque illius nullatenus ferre possit’. ‘Hildegardis ad Praelatos’, p.64.
Et quoniam interdum in auditu alicuius cantionis homo sepe suspiret et gemit, naturam celestis harmonie recolens, propheta, subtiliter profundam spiritus naturam considerans, et scientia symphonialis est anima, sortatur in psalmo ut confiteamur Domino in cithara, et in psalterio decem chordam psal- mus eis, citharam, quae inferior sonat, ad disciplinam corporis, psalterium, quod de superiorius somum reddit, ad intentionem spiritus, decem chordas ad comple- tionem legis referri cupiunt.

And because sometimes a person sighs and groans at the sound of singing, remembering, as it were, the nature of celestial harmony, the prophet, aware that the soul is symphonic and thoughtfully reflecting on the profound nature of the spirit, urges us in the psalm [cf Ps 32.2, 91.4] to confess to the Lord with the harp and to sing a psalm to Him with the ten-stringed psaltery. His meaning is that the harp, which is plucked from below, relates to the discipline of the body; the psaltery, which is plucked from above, pertains to the exertion of the spirit; the ten chords, to the fulfillment of the law.21

The way in which music expresses the meaning of words here is through an understanding of music as the means by which the soul is made devout – music conveys the ‘meaning of words’ [sensus verborum] in a way that these words can be comprehended as the prophets intended. The idea that the ‘devotion of listeners’ can be ‘kindled’ by the beauty of sung praise is recalled in the Confessions X: 33, where Augustine states that:

I may feel that when these holy words themselves are well sung, our minds are stirred up more fervently and more religiously into a flame of devotion than if they are not so well sung.22

Here, music is the articulation of meanings – musical expression of these meanings imitates the prophets so that humans can understand the significance of the words they sing and hear. The song is an expression of spiritual meaning, and it is the musical articulation of this meaning that makes the meaning known:

et ad hac quoque ipsi provocarentur, idem sancti prophete, eodem spiritus quem accipiant eoci, non solum psalmos et cantica, quae ad ascendentiam audi- entium devotionem cantantur, sed et instrumenta musica artis diversa, quibus omn multiplicibus sonis preferrentur, hoc respectu composuerunt, ut tam ex formis vel qualitatis omnium instrumentorum quam ex sensu verborum, que in eis cantatur, audientes, ut predictum est, per exteriora admoniti et exercitati, de interioribus endirentur.

And so the holy prophets, inspired by the Spirit which they had received, were called for this purpose: not only to compose psalms and canticles (by which the hearts of listeners would be inflamed) but also to construct various kinds of musical instruments to enhance these songs of praise with melodic strains. Thereby, both the form and quality of the instruments, as well as through the meaning of the words which accompany them, those who hear might be taught, as we said above, about inward things, since they have been admonished and aroused by outward things.23

Other accounts of Hildegard’s musical experiences describe a similar conception of music. In the Scivias, she describes diversum genus musice which explained the meanings of what was revealed to her. In the Liber vitae meritorum, she spoke of a symphoniae harmoniae caelestium revelationum, which embodies a conception of music as essential to praise. Caelestia harmonia denotes the voice of paradise lost to the world after Adam’s expulsion from the Garden of Eden, and because the soul is symphonic, it is able to reproduce the once lost heavenly voice on earth through praise. Hildegard’s symphonia harmonie caelestium revelationum represents a concert of the heavenly voice of praise unveiled (revelationum – from revelatio [to unveil]). The relationship between the symphonia which manifests the spirit and her songs is expounded by Theoderic in her Vita, who claimed that Hildegard brought forth cantus cum melodie in symphonia, or in reproduction of the voice of heavenly praise. The way in music encompasses the meaning of words in Hildegard’s songs is through alignment of musical and grammatical syntagms and the use of music as a means by which meaning is put across.

Interpretation and Setting
Music as the means by which the soul is made devout through conveying the sensus verborum so that meaning can be understood had a counterpart in the spoken art of rhetoric. In Augustine’s description of this spoken art in De Doctrina Christiana (396-426), for example, the ‘soul is made devout’ through speaking – ‘winning over the antagonistic’ and ‘rousing’ the apathetic, and the sense of words are made clear by clarifying matters for ‘those not conversant’:

Debet igitur divinarum scripturarum tractator et doctor, defendens rectae fidei ac debellator erroris, et bona docere et mala deducere atque in hoc opere sermonis colligere aversos, remissos erigere, nescientibus quid agitur quid expectaret debenter intimare.

So the interpreter and teacher of the divine scriptures, the defender of the true faith and vanquisher of error, must communicate what is good and eradicate what is bad, and in the same process of speaking must win over the antagonistic, rouse the apathetic, and make clear to those who are not conversant with the matter under discussion what they should expect.

The spoken and the musical aims of the preacher come together in Hildegard’s songs. Hildegard undertook four preaching tours c.1160-1170, and since 1148 had ‘preached’ the meaning of Scripture to her many correspondents. Here, a cantus is a clarification of a matter about a devotional subject, and its melodia is a means by which the soul is made willing to receive the meaning of the cantus as well as an articulative clarification of that meaning.

Hildegard’s panegyric on Wisdom in her antiphon O virtus sapientie is an example of how the aims of the preacher and cantrix are joined. She describes how Wisdom

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24 Quis vero non misitur, quod cantum dulcisissime melodie minabili protulit symphonia et litteras prius non visascum lingua eddit antea inaudita; Vita 111, p.20.
embraces all things through her three wings — one which flies on high, one which 'distils' on the earth and a third which 'flies everywhere'. At the end of the antiphon, Wisdom is praised in accordance with her divine station:

O virtus sapientie que circuiens circuisti comprehendendo omnia in una via que habet vitam tres alas habens quam una in altum volat et altera de terra sudat et tertia undique volat laus tibi sit sicut te deecet o sapientia.

O excellence of Wisdom who circled circling embracing all things in one way which has life; having three wings of which one flies on high and the second distils from the earth and the third flies everywhere; praise be to you as befits you O Wisdom. 26

The musical setting (Example 3-2) is redacted as a deuterus-E chant, and each phrase of the cantus ends with either the final or its diapente in the setting. The melismatic intonation on 'O' precedes a final-diapente-diapason-diapente-final structure which dominates most of the setting. This structure is incomplete at two points: at 'que circuiens circuisti' and 'laus tibi sit sicut te deecet', and is interrupted at 'tres alas habens':

Example 3-2: O virtus sapientie — Riesen Kodex, fol. 466rb

26 Riesen Kodex, fol. 466rb.
The images of Wisdom as ‘circling’, ‘comprehending all things’ and flying ‘on high’, ‘on earth’ and ‘everywhere’ in this text gloss biblical portrayals of Wisdom, such as that in Ecclesiasticus 24: 8-9, where Wisdom proclaims: 27

_ gyrum caeli circumi sola et in profundum abyssi penetravi et in fluctibus maris ambulavi; et in omni terra steti et in omni populo._

I alone have compassed the circuit of heaven, and have penetrated into the bottom of the deep, and have walked in the waves of the sea, And have stood in all the earth, and in every people. 27

A central phrase of this antiphon, ‘quarum una in altum volat’, and the two predicative phrases which follow are not, however, paralleled in Scripture. A possible interpretation for this section of text is that Wisdom’s three wings represent the Trinity — the Father ‘flies on high’, the Son ‘toils from the earth’ and the Holy Spirit ‘flies everywhere’. This metaphor suggests that the excellence of Wisdom emanates from her role as a divine luminary not only for God the Father, but also for the other two members of the Trinity.

The setting of the first clause comprises a continuous melodic line which passes several times on the note b. This note functions as a cofinal over ‘tres alas habens’, and in the middle clause, each grammatical phrase pauses on this note, with the exception of the phrase ‘et altera de terra sudat’. The phrase over ‘quarum una in altum volat’ includes the highest pitch of the antiphon, the note g, over a phrase which is interpreted here as alluding to the realm of God the Father — the highest realm represented in this song, in both a doctrinal and musical sense. The second phrase of this clause, ‘et altera de terra sudat’, alludes to the realm of the Son; the melody over this phrase does not rise above c and cadences on the final. The third phrase, which alludes to Wisdom’s third wing, opens with a diapente leap from the final, the same leap which initiates the antiphon. This ‘opening’ and the lack of resolution at ‘undique volat’ articulates the unceasing presence of the Holy Spirit. The setting of the final clause of text is initiated on the diapente, but, despite ascending toward the diapason on ‘sit’, the melody does not rise to e as in other phrases of the antiphon. The musical contrast between the opening and closing phrases articulates a conceptual contrast between the unqualified ‘virtus sapientie’ at the opening and Wisdom as a praiseworthy emblem of the Trinity at the end.

In _O virtus sapientie_, textual syntax is not wholly separable from the interpretation of that syntax as the _sensus verborum_. Nor is the articulation wholly separable from the meaning of the words it accompanies. The setting of this song encompasses a meaning through articulation of a modern interpretation which proceeds within certain constraints, in this case Scripture. It also comprises a regular melodic structure, which facilitates comparison between registers and climactic points in the text, such as Wisdom’s first wing, which ‘flies on high’, and points of repose, such as Hildegard’s initial statement that Wisdom has three wings (‘tres alas habens’). What is represented here is an articulation of words which follows both the division of clauses and the themes each clause describes.

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Hildegard's position on music concurs with the most transparent and regular aspects of her expressions of celestial harmony — the meaning expressed in her cantus. While grammatica concerns the phonetic, syntactical and significative aspects of words, the type of articulation suggested in O virtus sapientie was expounded in the medieval period through the spoken art of rhetoric, which in religious circles included the art of preaching.

Rhetoric and the Medieval West

The traditional definition of rhetoric as the 'art of persuasion' describes a discipline concerned with the elicitation of desired responses from an audience. This definition perhaps reflects most readily Aristotle's conception of rhetoric as the 'faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatsoever'.

This definition also reflects the rhetoric taught by Christian scholars as a self-contained discipline from the fourth century. In the medieval West, the most widely studied rhetoric was the model expounded by the more prolific practitioners of Roman rhetoric — Cicero, Quintilian and the anonymous author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium. By the twelfth century, this rhetoric was well established in the curricula in medieval universities.

There is a high degree of consistency in terms of the rhetorical precepts these authors expounded. Their rhetorical handbooks comprise a system of speech preparation deemed necessary for effective political oratory within specific situations pertinent to ancient Rome. This system encompasses the construction of a text from inception to delivery, but unlike Aristotle whose primary focus was persuasion, the speech act itself is the primary focus of Roman rhetoric. For the Roman rhetors, the 'function' of rhetoric is 'to speak in a manner suited to persuade an audience', from which is adduced rhetoric as the 'art of persuasion' — the end of Ciceronian rhetoric is to 'persuade by speech'.

The Ciceronian Modal of Rhetorical Exchange

One of the most widely circulated codifications of Ciceronian rhetorical precepts in the medieval West was the Ad Herennium. This treatise describes five canons of speech preparation — invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery — and these are cast as attributes a speaker should possess if that speaker were to pursue the eloquence necessary for successful speech making. It was the mastery of these attributes that enabled the end of Ciceronian rhetoric, persuasion of an audience:

Oportet igitur esse in oratore inventionem, dispositionem, elec-
tionem, memoriam, pronuntiationem. Invenio est ex
cogitatio rerum verarum aut veri simillium quae causam probabiliem reddant. Disposi-
tio est ordo et distributio rerum, quae demonstrat
guid quisbus locis sit conclamandum. Elec
tio est idoneum verborum et sententiarum ad inventionem
adcommodatim. Memoria est firma animi rerum et
verborum et dispositionis perceptor. Pronuntiatio est
vocis, vultus, gestus moderatio cum venustate.

The speaker, then, should possess the faculties
of Invention, Arrangement, Style, Memory,
and Delivery. Invention is the devising of mat-
ter, true or plausible, that would make the case
convincing. Arrangement is the ordering and
distribution of the matter, making clear the
place to which each thing is to be assigned.
Style is the adaptation of suitable words and
sentences to the matter devised. Memory is the
firm retention in the mind of the matter, words,
and arrangement. Delivery is the graceful regu-
lation of voice, countenance, and gesture.35

The faculty of inventio is the principal canon of speech preparation in Ciceronian
handbooks and concerns the formulation of arguments produced from loci [places] (and
by extension ‘topics’) where arguments can be located. The topics identified in the
Ad Herennium cohere with three genres of oratory – the epideictic (praise and blame),
deliberative (good and bad) and judicial (just and unjust)34 – and modes of appeal (ethos,
pathos and logos).35 Arguments draw on formal logic (deduction and induction), which
have rhetorical equivalents in the enthymeme (‘statement with a supporting reason’)
and induction (a ‘general’ conclusion drawn from a set of ‘particulars’). Once a topic,
situation, mode of appeal and suitable arguments are determined, the remaining four
canons of rhetoric are called upon.

The second canon, dispositio, bridges the invention of speech matter with its ‘order
and distribution’, and a speech in six parts is recommended in the Ad Herennium: exord-
dium (introduction), narratio (statement of facts/background), divisio (summary of argu-
ments), confirmatio (proof), confutatio (refutation) and peroratio (conclusion).36 Each of
these parts has a set of precepts governing the types of introductions, narrations, divi-
sions, proofs, refutations and conclusions relative to specific topics, situations, arguments
and modes of appeal.37 The third canon, eleutrio, or the ‘use of appropriate language’,
concerns the ‘adaptation of suitable words to the matter devised’. In the Ad Herennium,
two aspects of style are elucidated: ‘oratorical’ style, which concerns itself with one of
three levels of style: grand, middle and simple, ‘to which discourse, if faultless, confines
itself’,38 and ‘qualities of style’, which is expressed through an elaborate system of rhet-
orical figures and tropes. The fourth canon, memoria, concerns techniques for improving
upon ‘natural’ mnemonic endowments. The fifth canon, pronuntiatio, is concerned

34 For example, Cicero identified the topic of adnotas [corollaries] as of particular value for conjecture in judicial rhet-
35 In Cicero’s De Invenzione and the Rhetorica ad Herennium, logos is the dominant mode of appeal, although there are
instances where the other two modes are evoked.
36 Ad Herennium, pp.8 & 10.
37 Ad Herennium, pp.9-189.
38 Ad Herennium, p.253.
with delivery, and in the *Ad Herennium* two aspects are considered: vocal quality (*figura vocis*) and various types of delivery — e.g. conversation (*sermo*), debate (*contentio*) and amplification (*amplificatio*) and subdivisions thereof. Specific types of delivery are attached to specific situations, arguments and styles.39

The Ciceronian Model and the Christian Speaker

The complex Ciceronian system of eloquence held observable allures for the early Christian speaker, whose primary concerns included preservation, proclamation and perpetuation of God's Word. Knowledge of rhetorical precepts acquired through 'theory, imitation and practice' was assessed as enabling the Christian speaker to persuade audiences (with an emphasis placed on heretical ones) within specifically Christian situations. Appropriation of these precepts in educated circles during the medieval era signalled a change of emphasis' for rhetoric, insofar as the precepts expounded in Ciceronian handbooks were adapted for practical speech situations foreign to those experienced in Roman antiquity. This 'transfer of emphasis' influenced a revision of the speech situations considered appropriate for rhetorical transactions. The 'topics' of rhetoric, which could be thought of as sets of cultural presuppositions, were recast to meet the needs of the Christian speaker.

A prominent exponent of this transference of rhetorical 'emphasis' from a Roman use to a Christian one was Augustine, who in the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana* posited rhetoric as a tool for the defence of Christian faith. Augustine recognised that Ciceronian rhetoric preserved those intentions of the speaker desirable in the Christian speaker: both Roman and Christian practitioners were 'good men' who spoke in defence of the righteous and the just.40 Augustine's appropriation of Roman rhetoric effected an alteration of subject matter from Roman political discourse to Christian doctrine, the introduction of the speech situations pertinent to the 'defence of the faith' and a 'rhetoricisation' of exegesis. His purpose was a practical one, influenced by recognition that these precepts of eloquence were available to enemies of the faith. He advocated the same availability of 'ways to persuade' for Christian speakers, arguing that Christian speakers would be armed not only with eloquence but also with knowledge of God. In Augustine's treatment of rhetoric, the functional emphasis remains with speaking 'in a manner suited to persuade an audience', only here this involves speaking 'in a manner suited to persuade' a fourth-century heretical one:

39 *Ad Herennium*, pp.189–205. It is claimed in the *Ad Herennium* that, prior to that treatise, no one had 'written carefully on this subject', *Ad Herennium*, p.191.

40 Augustine, *De Doctrina IV*:7, pp.228–29; Cicero, *De Inventione*, p.11.
Nam cum per artem rhetoricam et vera suadentur et falsa, quis audeat dicere adversus mendaciam in defensoribus suis inermem debere consistere veritatem, ut videlicet illi qui res falsas persuadere coactus non sint audiorem vel benevolentem vel intentionem vel docilium proemio facere, iti autem non noveint? . . .

Cum ergo sit in medio posita facultas eloquii, quae ad persuasenda seu prava seu recta volet plurimum, car non bonorum studio comparatur ut millet veritati, si eam malit ad obtinentias pervenas vanasque causas in usus iniquitatis et errores usurpant?

Since rhetoric is used to give conviction to both truth and falsehood, who could dare maintain that truth, which depends on us for its defence, should stand unarmed in the fight against falsehood? . . . No; oratorical ability, so effective a resource to commend either right or wrong, is available to both sides; why then is it not acquired by good and zealous Christians to fight for the truth, if the wicked employ it in the service of iniquity and error, to achieve their perverse and futile purposes?  

The Ciceronian model of rhetoric had, by the twelfth century, been firmly established as part of the medieval trivium, or the spoken arts, and descriptions of the liberal art of rhetoric confirm its appropriation for the needs of the Christian speaker. For example, in Honorius Augustoduensis’ description of rhetoric from De animae exsilio et patria, rhetoric is portrayed as necessary for the specifically Christian attainment of Salvation. Honorius’ point of departure is a specifically Christian problem, the ‘exile of mankind’ through ‘ignorance of God’. He argues that man’s ‘native land’ is wisdom, and this is attained through the liberal arts, which he describes as ‘cities on the road’. The first city, grammar, is on the ‘highway to the fatherland’; the third city, dialectic, ‘must be visited en route to the homeland’, but the second city, rhetoric is: ‘the . . . city through which the road toward home passes’. In his explanation of this position, he gives Ciceronian genres of oratory specifically Christian equivalents:

Secunda civitas est rhetorica per quam adevenda est patria; hujus porta est civilis cura, iter vero triparti-
tum genus curum, videlicet demonstrativum, deliberativum, judiciale. In una parte hujus civitatis praeules Ecclesiae Decreta componunt, in altera reges et judices edicta proponunt. Hinc synechial promul-
pantur, inde forensia jura tractantur. In hac urbe Tullius [Cicero] itinerantes ornate loqui instruit, quatuor virtutibus scilicet prudencia, fortitudine, justitia, temperantia mores componit. Haec urbis sub-
jecte historiae, fabule, libri oratorie et ethic con-
scripti, per quos gressus mentis ad patriam sunt dirigendi.

The second city through which the road toward home passes is rhetoric. The gate of the city is civil responsibility, and the highway is the three ways of exercising that responsibility: demonstrative oratory, deliberative, and judicial. On the first approach we see the rulers of the Church, who proclaim the laws of God and the Church; on the other two we find earthly kings and judges issuing their decrees. The former consider the common good, the latter deal with the laws of equity between men. Cicero instructs those journeying to this city to speak eloquently; he regulates their lives by four virtues, which are prudence, courage, justice and moderation. The citizens who live here are histories, romances and books written to deal in an oratorical or ethical way with their subjects. Through these the mind is directed along the road to its homeland.

Augustine, De Doctrina IV.4–5, pp.196 & 98; trans. Green, pp.197–199. It has been argued that, prior to Augustine, the Church had rejected rhetoric due to its pagan associations and the potential for its misuse. Augustine was schooled in Sophistic but adopted Cicero’s conception of rhetoric in the De Doctrina Christiana. See James Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California P, 1974), pp.47–49.

Here, the aims of the Roman and Christian speakers merge: civil responsibility becomes a Christian prerogative through the genres of oratory borrowed from Ciceronian rhetoric. ‘Demonstrative’ (deliberative) oratory now concerns the good and bad as proclaimed by Church law, and praise/blame (epidictic) and the just/unjust (judiciary) are decreed by earthy kings and judges. Four Roman/Christian virtues – prudence, courage, justice and moderation – inform the motives of the speaker, and the speaker engages in the oratorical/ethical treatment of subjects. The reward of this eloquence is attainment of the city [of God].

The highly technical rhetoric of Roman orators represents practical precepts for eloquent speech making. As an art which expounds a ‘tried and true’ method of eloquence, it can be profitably thought of as the ‘codification of a set of discursive practices’ developed over a significant period of time within a specific historical locus (i.e. ancient Rome). It can also be assumed from the complexity of the system, and the sites in which it was taught (e.g. universities and monastic schools), that it was a province of the educated classes and took considerable time to master.

This ‘tried and true’ method taught during the medieval era informs a medieval understanding of rhetoric – i.e. rhetoric was widely understood in the terms described in Ciceronian handbooks. Although material shifts in the practice of rhetoric (e.g. from persuading a Roman audience to persuading a Christian one) were witnessed in the medieval West, the treatises and texts which informed rhetorical training during the medieval era are characterised by preceptual stability coherent with the Ciceronian model. One example of this is the mid ninth-century verse on the five parts of rhetoric by WalfridStrabo (d. c.849), monk from Fulda and student of Rabanus Marus. Walfrid’s description of the five canons of rhetoric represents a typical understanding of rhetoric by the medieval practitioner, i.e., in terms of the Ciceronian model:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pars est rhetorice solus inventio prima.} & \quad \text{The first of rhetoric’s parts is the wise choice of matter,} \\
\text{Dicendi constat bene conditio ordo secunda.} & \quad \text{And clearly the second is proper arrangement of thoughts;} \\
\text{Tertia condignis sequitur pars angusta duobus,} & \quad \text{The third, a difficult task, demands the use of appropriate language;} \\
\text{Quarta rogat memorem, collecta tenere magistrum.} & \quad \text{Memory’s fourth – be master of what you would say.} \\
\text{Esplet et ornatum dicentis formula quintum.} & \quad \text{Then, fifth, be eloquent; this makes the system perfect.}
\end{align*}
\]

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43 Cicero, *De Inventione*, pp.5-11.
44 Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, p.9.
The Classical Model of Rhetorical Criticism and the Medieval Text

A central focus of rhetorical criticism is the recovery of techniques of persuasion. Traditional rhetorical criticism seeks to describe how a speaker set about persuading an audience through text-based identification of the traits of rhetorical engagement. The traits identified vary with critical bias, but, traditionally, critics have drawn on Cicero-nian categories of rhetorical exchange – argumentation, situation, genre, style and strategy – as pertinent to the text-bound circumstance.47

The preceptual stability experienced by medieval rhetoricians and students suggests that Ciceronian precepts formed the basis of rhetorical treatises, dialogues and commentaries during the medieval period. From this arises a view of the absorption of Ciceronian rhetoric into the medieval educational system as extending well beyond the medieval circulum. Here, it has been argued that rhetoric's 'elaborately developed system became the common denominator of literature in general'.48 This rhetorical-preceptual stability as experienced by the educated classes was to such an extent that Richard McKeon once concluded, 'if rhetoric is defined in terms as a single subject matter – such as style, or literature, or discourse – it has no history during the Middle Ages'.49

One outcome of this view of medieval rhetoric is that a consistency of precepts is assumed for the contents of Ciceronian handbooks, the medieval handbooks that dealt with the subject of rhetoric and the 'rhetoric' recovered in medieval texts through rhetorical criticism. If one proceeds from the premise that rhetorical precepts remained stable in the West during the Middle Ages and these precepts form a ubiquitous standard by which all textual production can measured, then these same precepts are perusable as the basis of a model of interpretation of medieval texts, including non-rhetorically informed ones. Even the less-well educated could not 'escape' the comprehensive influence of Ciceronian rhetoric – apparently.50

The Historical Significance of Rhetoric

It is a matter of historicity that a stable Ciceronian rhetorical tradition was not a direct influence upon the production of Hildegard's writings. Her writings represent the work of a woman unskilled in the ars litterae, or the very arts that informed the medieval knowledge of rhetoric. Some of her scribes may have had a working knowledge of Ciceronian rhetoric, but their task was to correct her grammar, not change her words to produce technically proficient argumentation. Based on a lack of rhetorical traits – such as technically proficient argumentation – in her writings, and descriptions of her less-

47 Bible and Culture Collective, 'Rhetorical Criticism', pp.150–156.
50 Curtius, European Literature, p.70.
than-scholarly education, the idea that she had acquired a working knowledge of the Ciceronian canons of speech preparation can be refuted entirely.

The discontinuity between Hildegard's milieu and the assumptions which traditionally inform rhetorical criticism exemplifies the range of considerations that the new rhetorical criticism has embraced. A primary concern here is the sorts of problems that arise from promoting a Classical model like Ciceronian rhetoric to describe unarguably non-Classical texts. The rhetorical precepts appropriated by Hildegard's predecessors and contemporaries were, admittedly, anachronistic to their cultural surrounds, but the appropriation of Ciceronian rhetoric and its uses in distinctly non-Roman environs are consistent with the appropriation of 'pagan' learning in medieval scholarship. One reason for the appropriation of rhetoric in the medieval West was, as Augustine had it, the arming Christians with the same tools of eloquence that the enemies of the faith were said to have had at their disposal — and this was done within social and economic climates predisposed to the appropriation of anachronic schools of thought for doctrinal advancement. While Ciceronian rhetorical precepts might be used to recover otherwise unobserved rhetorical practices, it is important to recognise here that, from a modern standpoint, the imposition of Ciceronian precepts on to non-Classical/rhetorically produced texts, such as Hildegard's, is inappropriately anachronistic.

Another concern for new rhetorical criticism is that traditional rhetorical criticism is informed by the assumption that all 'speaking in a persuasive manner' was done in the same way as ancient rhetors, irrespective of situation. A modern imposition of a single set of rhetorical precepts upon isolable discursive practices runs the risk of absorbing highly specified discursive contexts into a universal phenomenon.51 Here, traditional rhetorical criticism has been 'denounced' as 'enshrining an undifferentiated, universalized notion of rhetoric that [ignores] cultural difference'.52 Clearly, not only were the arguments, speech situations, audiences and speakers in the medieval West different to those in ancient Rome, but there was also a wide range and complex diversity of arguments, speech situations, audiences and speakers within Western Christendom. Even a staunch 'Classicist' like rhetor George Kennedy observes that much of what might be considered classifiable against Ciceronian precepts constitutes 'a mannerism of the historical period in which it [was] composed'.53

To subject all texts to what Foucault has described as the 'same central core', in particular, by critical restriction to the text-bound circumstance, is to promote arguments, speech situations, audiences and speakers as the same through time, and to promote 'cores' that resist social, economic and material change.54 This has significant implications for the ways we use rhetoric in criticism, for, as James Berlin points out:

52 Bible and Culture Collective, 'Rhetorical Criticism', p. 158.
a rhetoric is the product of a particular historical moment, and... its historical significance can only be seen in considering it within the economic, social, and political context in which it appears, whether that context is ancient or medieval or modern. Attempts to celebrate its universal value are, furthermore, suspect because... inscribed within it is the enforcement of a particular ideological formulation.55

In traditional rhetorical criticism, the oratorical, or the speech act and the way it effects persuasion, is prioritised, and, as Berlin suggests, this is at the expense of ‘historical significance’. Accordingly, the historical significance of rhetoric to Hildegard’s contemporaries suggests a very different set of priorities to the oratorical.56

Speaking and Ethics

In a letter written c.1149 to Manegold, Master at Patherburn, by Wibaldus of Stavelot (1098–1158), it is stated that the practice of the liberal arts, including rhetoric, was to no avail without a love of God, as cultivated through Scripture. Wibaldus implies that, without a love of God, the eloquent Christian speaker was little better than the eloquent enemies of the faith. Here, he reaffirmed Augustine’s ‘ethical’ basis for the inclusion of oratory in Christian learning, and it is apparent that Wibaldus was concerned far less with the ‘oratorical’ than the ‘ethical’ in speaking:

\[ ut \textit{recte scribere}, \textit{distincte legere}, \textit{aperte pronuntiare}, \textit{practicamente et sedes argumenti nosse, persuadere dictione, numerosum vim et naturam intelligere, harmoniam et intervalla discernere, abaco et gnomone et astralabio praecellere, complexiones et graduum connexiones judicare, parum vel nihil valere scias, si non cognoscatur, si non amatur Deus: quem si cognoverimus, si amando secessi fuerimus, et sequendo ad ipsum pervenerimus, cum omnia siente omnia sciemus. ]

unless God is known, unless He is loved, it is of little or no avail to be able to write correctly, to read aloud clearly, to speak distinctly, to know all the categories and fonts of argumentation, to persuade by speech, to understand the power and nature of numbers, to perceive the difference between harmony and intervals, to excel in the use of the abacus, the sundial, and the astrolabe, to pass judgement on the shapes and areas of figures. But if we have learned to know Him, if in loving Him we have followed Him, and if in following Him we have come to Him, then we shall know all things with Him who knows all.57

This important Christian priority, the ‘ethical’, and its placement above the ‘oratorical’, is also represented in the writings of Hildegard’s rhetorically trained peers. During the 1160s, an heretical Cathar sect had infiltrated the German Rhinelands prompting Hildegard and two contemporaries, Eckbert of Schōnau and his visionary sister, Elizabeth, to mount a homiletic campaign against them.58 A prefatory letter to Eckbert’s sermons addressed to the archbishop Rainhold of Cologne suggests that the intellectual climate surrounding Eckbert was informed by a suspicion towards ‘disenscriptured’ elo-

quence. He alerts Rainhald to the potential abuse of rhetoric as a means for self-aggrandizement by disavowing fluency (in this case fluency that attacks Catholicism) for purposes other than defence of the faith:

\[\text{Muniti sunt verbis sacre Scripturae, que aliquo modo sectis eorum concordare videntur, et ex eis scirem defendere errores eorum, et obtinere Catholice ventati: recte autem intelligentie, que in sarsi verbis latet, et non sine magna discretione agnostet, nimirum experite sunt . . . Valde enim linguosi sunt, ac semper in promptu illis est quod adversum nos dicere possint. Et est non para verecundia nostri, qui litteras scient, ut sint muti et clingues in conspectu illorum.}\]

They [the Cathars] are equipped with passages from holy Scripture, which — they think — support their views, and know how to use them to defend their lies and to attack Catholic truth, though they are ignorant of the true meaning which lurks in the divine words and cannot be grasped by the unskilful . . . They are very fluent, and always have their case against us ready to hand. It is shameful if educated people like us find ourselves dumb and speechless before them.²⁹

Hildegard also alluded to eloquence as only of use in the service of God. After a visit to Cologne in c.1163, members of the clergy in Cologne petitioned Hildegard for advice on how to challenge the views expounded by the Cathars and save the souls of those who accepted their heretical views. Her suggested course of action was for the clergy to embrace Scripture, as Moses, Abraham and the prophets had done during their homiletic campaigns, but she also warned them that:

\[\text{Lingue autem ueste mutre sunt in clamante voce canentis tibia Domini, sanctam rationalematem non amantes, que sint stelle circlum circumvisus habet. Tuba Domini iustitia Dei est, quam magno studio in sanctitate nominare debereis, eam quoque in officiis lege et obedientia cum sancta discretione per consenientia tempora iterando populis, et non in nimietate eam illis incutiendo.}\]

But your tongues are silent, failing to join in with the mighty voice of the resounding trumpet of the Lord, for you do not love holy reason, which, like the stars, holds the circuit of its orbit. The trumpet of the Lord is the justice of God, which you should meditate upon zealously in holiness, and through the law and obedience of your office make it known to the people at the proper time with holy discretion, rather than pounding them mercilessly with it.³⁰

Hildegard’s invective here concerns not the Cologne clergy’s lack of oratory skill per se but their lack of ethics. Their tongues are silenced because they lack a necessary tool for defence of the faith, a ‘love of holy reason’. While the clergy have the Scriptural knowledge essential to persuade their congregations — audiences threatened by heresy — of holy reason, she views the clergy as not meditating ‘zealously in holiness’ upon the ‘justice of God’, and accuses them of ‘mercilessly pounding’ their congregations with uninspired sermonising that lacks both propriety and ‘holy discretion’ — or put another way — eloquence. For her, persuading an audience of God’s Word required being inspired by God’s Word and ‘loving holy reason’.

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Hildegard's notion of persuasion, through 'inspiration' and 'love', is at odds with the notion of persuasion implicit in traditional rhetorical criticism. In Ciceronian rhetoric, persuasion of an audience followed successful eloquence, and successful eloquence followed mastery of the precepts of oratory. Traditional rhetorical criticism seeks to bear out the 'mastery of the precepts of oratory' through the text. The historical significances of rhetoric overlooked here include recognition that persuasion of twelfth-century Christian audiences did not depend solely on mastery of oratory. Moreover, the ways in which these audiences received and responded to discourse represent a state of constant flux.

Speaking and Audience
Many of Hildegard's songs, and indeed much of the liturgy, is cast as anaphora or an address to an absent party – God and the citizens of heaven. God as the audience of earthy utterances highlights a discontinuity between the traditional rhetorical conception of audience as able to be persuaded and the pervasive notion of God as resolute. Hildegard argued in her *Scivias* that God was 'immovable' [immobile], or resolute, untouched by the 'deceitful or adulatory words' of the sinful. He could not be moved by the words of humans, no matter what they said. In rhetorical terms, his omnipotence rendered him unpersuadable:

_Atque immobile permanet: quia Deus net fallacibus nec adulatores sermonibus omnino mouet aut molliri potest a restitutina iudicii sui de non emendatati crim- inibus, utelat per collum fortitudinis suae a Deo constitu- tate legi ad operandum hominibus infixo, reddens scilicet omnium non observanti praecipita legis emer- tatas poenas secundum mala opera ipsius in quibus sor- dens emancipat, repugnant etiam eadem excellentissima fortitudine sua quasi in virtute colli sui diablo et sequen- titibus illum, se opponendo inquitiae eum._

It remains immovable, for God cannot be moved, or his righteous judgement of un- toned sins softened, by deceitful or adulatory words. And so it renders to each person who does not observe the precepts of the Law the punishments he deserves for the evil deeds that have sunk him in filth; it is set up by God to establish laws for humans according to their works, and with its excelling strength, like the strength of its neck, it resists the Devil and his followers and opposes itself to their injustice.61

Hildegard's songs address a celestial audience, including a resolute God, and by implication her songs are not intended to persuade. With a lack of audience to persuade, a principal assumption of traditional rhetorical criticism – that an audience is persuaded by oratory – is not represented in Hildegard's songs. The lack of persuadable audience appears to have influenced at least one objection to viewing chant in rhetorical terms. As John Stevens argues:

[An] objection to seeing the relations between text and melody in rhetorical terms... is that it seems to put liturgical chant into a wrong perspective. The chant is not addressed to a human audience but offered in reverence to God. There is, then, no one to be persuaded... [This] central function of rhetoric (human persuasion) is, I believe, irrelevant to its understanding.62

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Speaking and Situation
Related to the 'lack' of audience is an association between a systematised means to effect persuasion and theoretically motivated situations (preaching, letter writing and exegesis). It is within these situations that rhetoric is traditionally sought, situations for which a rhetorical influence (such as the educational qualifications of the speaker or the rhetorical traditions and treatises surrounding the production of the medieval document) and the traits of rhetorical discourse, in particular 'identifiable beginnings and ends', can be demonstrated. Transactions which fall outside of these parameters, such as the inspiration and reaffirmation of faith through participation in the proclamation of God's Word in a devotional context, lack the readily definable traits of rhetorical discourse, especially beginnings and ends. The liturgy itself does not survive as a single text and so falls outside of the forums traditionally considered appropriate for rhetorical criticism. The rejection of a traditional model of rhetorical criticism as appropriate for the examination of chant follows as a matter of course.

Summary
A rejection of a traditional rhetorical critical model as suitable for the analysis of Hildegard's songs is synonymous with a rejection of viewing Hildegard's songs as rhetorical. There is an imposition of a set of discursive practices which are anachronistic to the texts in question – Hildegard's songs do not cohere with the methods of effecting persuasion preserved in Classical handbooks. There is a prioritisation of oratory in persuasion, which comes through restriction to the immediate text-bound situation in traditional rhetorical criticism. Here, Hildegard championed something other than oratory – a 'love of holy' reason – as a means to persuade an audience. There is also the unqualified imposition of intent in traditional rhetorical criticism – persuasion of an audience. In Hildegard's case the intent of the singer is taken as not to persuade. This is reinforced through the lack of readily identifiable rhetorical traits, such as beginnings and ends, in her songs, in the liturgy and in devotion in general.

Before proceeding further in developing the relationship between rhetoric and Hildegard, the historical significance of Ciceronian rhetoric should itself be considered. Ciceroanian rhetoric dealt with particular codifications of particular sets of discursive practices which were initially codified so that a particular class of speaker could persuade a particular class of audience in a particular society (i.e. Roman). For the medieval West, rhetoric has been defined as a set of precepts comprising a 'definite method for speaking and writing', and its codification is read as inseparable from Ciceronian rhetorical precepts. Discursive practices which fell outside the 'definitive method' represented by Cic-

eronian rhetoric were not codified independently of it. An ability to trace this appropriation of Ciceronian rhetoric in the medieval West and the inclusion of this branch of rhetoric in medieval curricula only render Ciceronian rhetoric the most visible rhetoric of the Latin Middle Ages, not the only rhetoric.

**Hildegard and 'Uncodified Rhetoric'**

A dominant concern of new rhetorical criticism is the detachment of discursive texts from the definitive precepts described in technical handbooks. Here, the most widely read text in the medieval era, the Bible, has received significant attention. Rhetorical criticism of the Bible is concerned with recovering techniques of persuasion in Scripture, but recovery of these techniques proceeds with the understanding that although biblical speakers did not use the 'tried and true' models understood in antiquity they still sought to persuade. As the Bible and Culture Collective argue:

> The rhetoric of biblical literature is not that of those trained in the art of persuasion, who consciously employed language as an art, but neither is it rhetoric that is without eloquence and a conscious attempt to persuade an audience.

It can be assumed from Hildegard's writings that she, like the biblical speaker, sought to persuade, and there were traditional sites of persuasion available to her, in particular the sermon and the letter. Her letter to the Mainz prelates gives one account of an attempt to persuade an audience to perform an action, in this case to lift an interdict. Her petition was unsuccessful, and it was not until the return of the archbishop of Mainz in 1179 that the interdict was lifted. Nonetheless, the lack of success of her petition does not render her letter unrhetorical; it only renders the audience, the Mainz prelates, unpersuaded.

One way in which to elucidate the ways in which Hildegard's *melodiae* encompass rhetorically the words to which they are set is through consideration of the historical significance of rhetoric to Hildegard and her congregation. The way in which this is done in new rhetorical criticism is through explication of the specific contexts in which discourse was produced and presented to an audience.

**Hildegard and the Devotional Context**

Hildegard's songs were produced and presented in a devotional context. Here, the existence of localised cultural arguments and presuppositions can be assumed, in particular assumptions surrounding belief and discursive authority. These two aspects, belief and authority, in particular affect not only what and how but also why information was transferred in the devotional context.

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65 Bible and Culture Collective, 'Rhetorical Criticism', p173.
Belief and the Devotional Context

Belief can not be thought of as stable in the devotional context. The threat of heretical sects in Germany during Hildegard's lifetime— their ability to seduce the disenfranchised and those disenchanted with orthodoxy and lead the medieval Christian to surrender one belief system in order to adopt another— testifies towards this. Similarly, the struggle for the Christian ideal of perfect belief, one which entailed a union with God, was a life-long struggle for the medieval monastic who sought reconciliation with God through obedience and divine humility. Even the existence of conciliatory acts, such as the liturgy, attests to the instability of belief, for if perfect belief were stable and unalterable in the medieval Christian, one might question the expediency of conciliatory acts between God and humankind.

Although the traditional end of rhetoric— persuasion of an audience— is denied to the speaker in the devotional context, the functions of rhetoric within this context are nonetheless associative with the articulation of God's Word through humans. A devotional context can be thought of as a site in which a continued affirmation of belief through the reiteration of God's Word takes place. Belief is not stagnant, and it is the divine speaker, God, who ultimately seeks to persuade the Church, His audience. As Louis Mackay has argued:

The rhetorical act then proposes to reduce [the] distance [between God and humans]. Its aim, as persuasion, is the communion of persuader and persuaded.68

Communication with God is no less rhetorical in devotional contexts than in rhetorical contexts, for an agreement of speaker and audience is as much an end of the practice of the devotion as it is of technically informed rhetorical discourse. If we accept that to be persuaded of something is to entice belief in what a speaker says, then God's eternal, rhetorical aim is the union of the Word (speaker) and the Church (audience) as embodied in Christ (the Word), who died 'to gather into one the children of God' [John 11:52].

Far from ceasing all rhetorical communication, the function and means of rhetorical communication changed. In a devotional context, the discreteness of the speaker and audience is a little less straightforward than for other rhetorical contexts. The less clearly defined role of the audience influenced Stevens' objection to viewing chant in rhetorical terms. If we take a congregation to be the collective speaker and God to be the audience, as Stevens does, the relationship between speaker and audience is informed by the assumption that belief in one's audience, God, ensures Salvation.

There is, however, a reciprocity explicit in communication between God and humans. Humans communicate with God, but their communications are based on reiterations of what they initially received from God. In both the Old and New Testaments, God is represented as the source of the content of communication between Himself and

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67 Black, 'Mutability', p.75.
humans, and the liturgy represents the words of the prophets, apostles and Gospelists through whom God spoke. Even the accompanying chant was believed to have been transmitted from God via the dove on Gregory the Great's shoulder. It is God who speaks, and His message is reiterated on earth through his human audience, his mouthpiece. This transaction is represented in the Scivias II; 1:4 through Hildegard's description of the Word:

Et quae dicit Verbum? Quia ut per locum verbum quod in pulvere hominis transiturum est praeenter intelligitur, passa praecta, hominibus scientibus et praesidentibus quae causa iussio praecipiens sit, ita etiam per illo loco Verbum, quod per inextinguibili sem vitam qua vivat in aeternitate intransitarior est, verae et incorruptae Patris diversis creaturis mundi ipsum sententias et intelligibilis in os quod creatae sunt, atque ut per officiale verbum potestas et honor situr hominis, sic etiam per plenum Verbum sanctitas et bonitas resplendet Patris.

And why is He called the Word? Because, just as a word of command uttered by an instructor among local and transitory human dust is understood by people who know and foresee the reason he gave it, so also the power of the Father is known among the creatures of the world, who perceive and understand in Him the source of their creation, through the Word Who is independent of place and imperishable in His inextinguishable eternal life; and as the power and honor of a human being are known by his official words, so the holiness and goodness of the Father shines through the Supreme Word.

A devotional site, such as the liturgy, might be thought of as one in which God's original message is reiterated back towards God, who is the omnipresent, omnipotent audience. The Church speaks its belief through worship to God, but by doing so it also communicates God's message on earth to other humans. Added to this is the notion of God's omnipresence as both within and outside of the speaker – He is both speaker, audience and a presence in communication between humans. The explicit reciprocity between God and humans and implicit reciprocity in the transmission between humans of God's message might even be thought as heightened in reality for Hildegard. She not only ascribed her earthy works to their divine source but also denied any part in their communication back toward heaven or in some circumstances toward other humans. In view of Robert Scott's argument that 'it is as legitimate to take the listener as the maker of a message as the speaker', the relationship between speaker and audience in devotional contexts is inclusive. It can be suggested, contrary to Steven's claim that there was no (human) audience in a liturgical environment, or even that speaker and audience are mutually exclusive, that speakers speak both individually and collectively as much to God as He speaks to the speakers as the speakers do to each other.

Authority and the Devotional Context

In situations where the transference of information from a speaker to an audience takes place, the positions of the speaker and audience alter according to the relationship each has with the other. In rhetorical communication, it might be said that the speaker wishes to

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establish a position of authority, and hence believability, in relation to an audience as part of the speech process. In her letters, Hildegard’s position of authority changed with the audiences she addressed. Here, Gillian Ahlgren has identified various ‘rhetorical strategies’ that represent ways in which Hildegard tailored arguments in view of audiences. Ahlgren found that the position Hildegard spoke from consistently altered in accordance with the station of the audience addressed, and this was instrumental in effecting persuasion.\textsuperscript{72}

Hildegard made conscious decisions about the level of claims to authority that would be necessary both to promulgate her message and to gain credence in the eyes of the recipient.\textsuperscript{73}

A significant shift in the speaker-audience relationship can also be assumed for the devotional context. This shift brings with it a heightened experience of authority – while God may be the assumed ‘audience’ in a devotional setting, He is still the ‘maker of the message’ that is articulated. As Louis Mackay has observed:

As the use of language to persuade, rhetoric posits a hierarchical relation between persuader and persuadee... In prayer the worshipper abases himself absolutely before God, who is absolutely elevated.\textsuperscript{74}

It is well known that Hildegard ‘abased [her]self absolutely’ to the authority of God, as relayed through her insistence upon divine ascription for her works. Her own authority as a speaker is nonetheless enhanced not only through her comprehensive knowledge of Scripture and the writings of Church Fathers, but also through direct communication with the Almighty – her zealous meditations on, and ‘love’ of, holy reason. Although she submitted to the authority of the Church, especially in the initial stages of establishing her credibility as a visionary,\textsuperscript{75} her conflicts with personages of higher temporal authority cohere with her frequent appeals to the highest authority, God. An example of this is her letter to the Mainz prelates, whose ecclesiastical position gave them temporal authority over her. In this letter, her desire for their interdict to be lifted is communicated as God’s desire, or commanded by the highest authority in both temporal and spiritual terms. This suggests a separation of spiritual authority from doctrinal or temporal authority, and reinforces the notion of God (i.e. divine authority) as the divine speaker.

Hildegard’s relationship with God as carried through visionary experience remained constant throughout her life. Hildegard and her Rhineland contemporaries did not share the Classicist notion of the speaker’s authority as wrought through the disposition of the audience, which a trained speaker sought to overcome. For Hildegard, authority was God’s alone; she was an instrument, a mere ‘feather on the breath of God’.

\textsuperscript{73}Ahlgren, ‘Rhetorical Strategy’, p.60.
\textsuperscript{74}Mackey, ‘\textit{Inter Nocturnas Vigilias}’, p.84.
\textsuperscript{75}Grace Jantzen, ‘‘Cry Out and Write’ : Mysticism and the struggle for Authority’, \textit{Women, the Book and the Godly}, p.69.
Music and the Devotional Context

A function of praise is the human reiteration of the divine Word back towards God. This effects an hierarchical relationship between the realm of the divine speaker and the realm of an earthly one, and from this arises a position of music within the devotional context. The celestial and ecclesiastical realms can be treated as discrete, with God’s Word providing a conceptual common link between them, but amid the two realms is what Patrick Diehl describes as ‘middle’, which reflects the realm of human knowledge received from God and documented by humans for human use in pursuit of Salvation—humans spreading God’s Word among humans. This knowledge includes the music sung in praise of God, or the music which is used to articulate God’s Word.

In Regino of Prüm’s conception of musica naturalis, the function of devotion as returning God’s Word to Him incorporates the music by which those words are delivered. Musica naturalis was externalised through the nature God created and was rationalised by humans through ‘divine inspiration’, or in accordance with what the Almighty dictated. Those who received this music did not create so much as recreate; he or she was a reiterator of God’s celestial harmony, just as the medieval speaker was the reiterator of God’s Word. Here, Calvin Bower argues that the ‘musician receives the hymns sung in heaven and transmits them from one order [i.e. the divine] to the next [i.e. the temporal].’ Words and music represent complementary means towards the unification of God and humans, brought together by their simultaneous articulation.

Regino’s conception of musica naturalis as the product of divine inspiration can be readily compared to the visionary state Hildegard claimed for herself when she heard diversum genus musicae. The ‘middle’ position of music within the hierarchy between God and humans is suggested in Hildegard’s conception of the lost voice of paradise which was transmitted among humans through the prophets and erudite humans. The divine position of music as an expression of God’s Word which is directed back towards God is also documented in Book III, Vision 13 of the Scivias, where music is described as a heavenly ‘vox multitudinis’ which ‘lifts on high’ [ruminant], or returns to God, what the Word has revealed to the world:

Quapropter et sonus ille ut vox multitudinis in lavibus de supernis gradibus in harmonia symphonizat: quia symphonia in unanimitate et in concordia gloriae et honorem caelestium cicitum ruminat, ita quod et ipsa hoc sursum tollit quod verbum patiam pretet. And so that [sound], like the voice of a multitude, makes music in praise among the ranks of Heaven. For the song of rejoicing, sung in consonance and in concord, tells of the glory and honour of the citizens of Heaven, and lifts on high what the Word has shown.

Although both words and music function in the communication of knowledge that is derived from God, reiterated back towards Him and transmitted by humans among humans, the ways in which music and words do this are through complementary means. Here, devotional words are uttered and understood in the pursuit of Salvation. Music represents not only a way to maximise the effectiveness of that utterance, but it is also a way to inspire the singer to ‘wakefulness’, or ‘predispose the soul’ for an understanding of the sensus verborum. In the devotional context, ways in which music ‘encompasses’ the meaning of words are a function of lessening the distance between God and humans. In the rationalisation of music in medieval music theory, however, the ways in which it maximises the effectiveness of devotional utterances do not move beyond effectus. The sensus verborum is admitted in, for example, Guido’s syntheses of the word-music relationship, but words and music still occupy paralleled domains in the devotional context.

Musical Rhetoric
One way in which parallels between the meaning of words and of music have been channelled historically is through the adoption of Classical rhetorical precepts to music. An early example of this type of channelling is Joachim Burmeister’s Musica poëtica (1606), in which rhetorical codifications of stylistic figures influenced a separate codification of musical figures, or of a ‘musical rhetoric’, which could be used to convey the meaning of words.79 This ‘musical rhetoric’ assigns a rhetorical function to music – both music and rhetoric are concerned with the successful transference of words from a speaker to an audience. A ‘musical rhetoric’ is set of musical strategies which assists in this transference. In this and other conceptions of the relationship between words and music, both are still governed by paralleled functions of ways and means of affecting communication – each of words and music has a discrete set of strategies for getting the sensus verborum across.

A codification of musical strategies which assist the transference of the sensus verborum is suggested in John’s De musica, where a number of precepts for setting chant texts are given in response to the meaning of words. The conditions for John’s documentation of rhetorical compositional precepts are suggested in chapter 17 of De musica, where not only is Augustine’s conception of music as able to move the minds of men [mentis hominum commovendas] alluded to, but a defence for the rationalisation, or knowledge [scientia], of how music encompasses the meaning of the words performed with it beyond effectus is also represented:

Cum ergo tanta huius disciplinae in veteri testamento inveniatur auctoritas, cumque eam tam religiosi viri in ecclesia saeventur, cum denique efficiunt, ut dictum est, ad mentes hominum commovendas sit eius potentia, quem huius scientiae sanum piges? Quis ei non tota affectu studiosus adhaeret?

Since we find such great authority for this practice [of praise with singing and instruments] in the Old Testament, since such pious men have ordained it in the Church, and since, lastly, its power is effective, as we have said, in stirring men’s minds, what sane man would object to this art? Who would not zealously embrace it with all his heart?80

The codification in this treatise of ways and means that music can move minds draws upon the language and terminology of Ciceronian handbooks, and, at various points in John’s text, the parts of invention, arrangement and style are represented. In Ciceronian rhetoric, the invention of a speech is concerned with the contrivance of subject matter and is conditioned by the speech situation with which the speaker is concerned. The contrivance of musical matter and applicability to speech situation is suggested in chapter 16, where John recommends that:

Quadropropter in componentibus cantibus bene cautos musicae iis sibi providere debet, ut eo modo quam decentissime utatur, quo eos maximine delectari videt quibus cantum suum placere desiderat.

Therefore, in composing chants, the duly circumspect musician should plan to use in the most fitting way that mode by which he sees those are most attracted whom he wishes his chant to please.81

At the opening of chapter 18, John suggests that devising musical matter [modo], or musical/rhetorical inventio, is a way to amplify the effectiveness of the words in accordance with various articulative situations:

Primum igitur preceptum modulandi subrectimus, ut secundum sensum verborum cantus varietur. Quis autem canendi modus sibi libet materiæ conveniat, præter documus, cum diversis diversis delectari dicitur: quodam enim curialitiat, quodam lasciviar, quodam etiam tristitiae aptos monstravimus. Sic autem laudem desideranti poetae studendum est ut faciat dictis exequeret neve eius, quem describit, fortunis absona dicit, sic laudes avide modulati amittendum est ut ipsa propriis cantum componat, ut quod verba sonant cantus exprimere videatur.

The first precept we give is that the chant be varied according to the meaning of the words. We showed earlier what mode in singing suits what material when we said that different people are pleased by different modes. We showed that some are suitable for courtly ceremony, some for frivolity, and some even for grief. Just as anyone eager for a poet’s fame must take pains to match the action by the words and not to say things incongruous with the circumstances of the man he is writing about, so the composer eager for praise must strive to compose his chant so aptly that it seems to express what the words say.82

For John, the arrangement of music concerns the distribution of subject matter, and in De musica he recommends that the correct ‘place’ for each part of a melody is determined by the grammatical distribution of the text.83 A parallel also exists between the rhetorical codification of figures and tropes and the codification of musical figures in De musica. In

83 John, ‘De Musica’, p.139.
chapter 18, for example, John draws a correlation between the rhetorical figure of *homoi-optoton* and the undesirable musical practice of ‘unduly harping’ upon a single neume:

\[\text{Illegible text}\]

This too we enjoin upon the composer eager for praise: that he not abuse one neume by unduly harping on it, but that the composer of chants devote as much effort to avoiding the fault that is called by musicians *μοιοποιητών* [homoioph-thaγον], that is, similarity of sound, as the experienced poet expends toil to escape the defect that the Greeks call *μοιοποιητών* [homoioph-thaγον], that is, identity of case endings. But let the grammarians—and the rhetoricians, too—watch out for the latter fault.  

The idea that music could be equated with the delivery of the meaning of words was an important influence on the rhetorical undercurrents in this treatise. What is represented in John's treatise are ways in which music encompasses the meaning of the words performed with it beyond *effectus* to encompasses the *sensus verborum*. As Stevens argues with respect to a concept similar to *effectus*, i.e. *affectus* ['feeling']:

What Johannes Afflighemensis does, I think, is to bring more clearly than the earlier writers the rhetorical nature of his position and to relate the *affectus* of music not just generally to the subject of the song (the *vogue in rebus*) but to the meaning of the words themselves (*sensus verborum*).  

Stevens also points out that John codified some of the articulation practices which he had observed and judged to be worth documenting, and which could be related to the meaning of words. John's discussion of these is framed by both direct and indirect parallels between rhetoric as he understood it (i.e. Ciceronian rhetoric) and music as he understood it (i.e. liturgical chant). It should be stressed here that the rhetorical precepts included in John's codification still expound parallel rhetorical functions for words and music in the devotional context. The precepts offered for the musical delivery of chant texts in *De musica* represent a codification of parallel functions for the meaning of words and music, which, as Steven's argues, 'seems to exclude—or, at least, patently and consistently neglects—the close and detailed expressive relations between words and music which we find in the songs of later periods'. Words and music agree as parallel derivatives of God's 'harmony' of sound, but interaction between them takes place at rhetorical 'points of contact' between an amorphous 'meaning' of words and their musical articulation.

Pláu's codification of Hildegard's 'musical rhetoric' is conceptually similar, insofar as Hildegard's 'musical rhetoric' represents a set of separate musical strategies which assists the transference of the meaning of words from speaker to audience.  

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which music encompasses the meaning of words in Hildegard’s songs are arguably still unclear, however. In Pfau’s study, there is a codification of musical strategies which function in the expression of loosely defined meanings in Hildegard’s devotional songs, but these rhetorical ways and means of delivering the meaning of her devotional words proceed in the absence of a codification of the rhetorical meaning of words. In a ‘musical rhetoric’, an association between words and music is suggested by the parallel function of both in transmitting words, but the ways and means that music encompasses the meaning of the words to which it is set are at best secondary to the words, or alternatively, entirely separated from them. In other words, a musical rhetoric is a codification of rhetorical ‘delivery’ in the absence of rhetorical words. What is lacking in the devotional context is an understanding of the rhetoric of the words that music encompasses.

Hildegard and Argumentation

One aspect of the text which has received significant attention in new rhetorical criticism, particularly in relation to the Bible, is argument. The emphasis placed on argument here is to the extent that it has been cited as the ‘single most important feature’ of new rhetorical criticism.\(^\text{89}\) One explanation for this emphasis on argument is offered by John Cambell, who equates rhetoric with practical reason, a phenomenon which crosses cultural boundaries, but is still culturally determined, or is sensitive to the rhetorical context:

> In principle... the presence of rhetoric is not impossible to detect even when it does not appear in its most visible guise as oratory... Rhetoric is another name for practical reason and practical reason is ubiquitous – without being, or having pretensions of being, a universal logic. Whenever we are deliberating, wherever the forum, wherever there are no fixed rules, or where there are very few, or those few conditioned by our decisions, we are in a province as surely rhetorical as ever was classical oratory. Nor is there anything novel about this... The novelty of a rhetorical reading of nonrhetorical texts is merely the novelty of returning health after a long positivist illness. Once one gets used to being well, the ubiquity of rhetoric is neither surprising or destabilising.\(^\text{90}\)

If the function of rhetoric is taken as the imparting of a point of view by use of argumentation or, as Cambell has it, practical reason, then the diverse means used to effect this will represent one substance of a rhetoric.

Explication of the ways in which Hildegard’s *melodiae* encompass the meaning of words, however, depends on much more than the identification of blocks of argument, or what are traditionally known as ‘rhetorical units’, governed by an awareness that the text is not an ‘autonomous object’.\(^\text{91}\) Traditional rhetorical text-bound description of

\(^{89}\) Bible and Culture Collective, ‘Rhetorical Criticism’, p.174.


\(^{91}\) Bible and Culture Collective, ‘Rhetorical Criticism’, p.174.
word-music relationships without attention to the specific circumstances in which the musical text was produced and the influences or ‘constraints’ (whether social, political, ideological or religious) that impinge upon that text runs the risk of producing that undesirable ‘undifferentiated and universalised’ reading.

This is an advantageous position to take in relation to Hildegard’s songs, for although the songs are grammatically distinct, they are not distinct in terms of the context in which they were produced. There is a broad range of influences which can be explored as having impacted upon the production of Hildegard’s songs, two of the more significant being the intellectual priorities articulated by Hildegard (and her contemporaries) as they relate to the devotional context of her songs, and the scribal influences preserved in the cyclic sources.

Argument and Song
Interpretation of Hildegard’s devotional songs as argumentative is informed by the assumption that exercising persuasive or believable discourse did not cease to function in the devotional context. Belief in God was by no means consistent in each medieval Christian and can be read as conditioned by a range of doctrinal/rhetorical commonplaces enunciated in order to persuade the medieval Christian not only to believe but to sustain belief throughout a lifetime. The subjects of Hildegard’s songs (which are summarised in chapter 1) suggest a stockpile of themes which recur not only in songs devoted to a common subject but also between songs of different subject groups. These themes represent cultural presuppositions which pervade her songs, and here two presuppositions can be related to the themes in her songs. Firstly, in the Christian Middle Ages, a ‘belief in God determines cosmic fate’, which is traceable in Hildegard’s songs that, for example, describe attainment of Salvation. Secondly, there is the presupposition that the devotional song functions in lessening the distance between God and humans. This can be traced through themes which reinforce a union between God and His Church. There are also localisable presuppositions which can be related to individual subjects, such as St. Disibod the hermit who exiled himself from the community he is credited with founding. These themes suggest a stockpile of propositions which are put forward and substantiated in Hildegard’s devotional songs.

The priorities suggested by the devotional context of inspiring and reinforcing belief and union with Him are represented in Hildegard’s description of two types of song in the Sävias – there is the song which praises the citizens of Heaven, and there is the song which laments those ensnared by the devil. Each song suggests a disposition of a speaker – the speaker who wishes to strengthen belief and aims toward a perfect union with God, and the speaker who laments those who have strayed from God and need reminding of their ‘cosmic’ fate:
Thus, O human, you see the lucent sky, which symbolizes the brilliance of the joy of the citizens of Heaven; in which you hear different kinds of music, marvellously embodying all the meanings you heard before. You hear the praises of the joyous citizens of Heaven, steadfastly preserving in the ways of Truth, and laments calling people back to those praises and joys. For, as the air encloses and sustains everything under the heavens, so the wonders of God, which you have already been shown, are enveloped for you in a sweet and delightful song. It sings with joy of the wonders of the elect who dwell in the heavenly city and eternally express their sweet devotion to God; and it laments over the wavering of those the ancient serpent is trying to destroy...  

Hildegard's reference to the praises of heavenly citizens is an expression of the laudability of a subject, while her reference to laments [querelaes], can be associated with songs in which the sorrow of a past act is suggested, for example, petitioning a divine personage to call the speaker back from whence the devil has led. In each of Hildegard's songs, there is a single or collective audience to which each song is devoted, and these apostrophic audiences comprise authoritative figures who act as intermediaries between the God and His Church. These audiences also speak to the Church – they occupy various stations amid the celestial hierarchy and between God and humans, and they are submitted in devotional address to intercede in the lessening of the distance between God and the Church. In rhetorical terms, they effect unity between God and the Church through being both audience and speaker, receiver and conveyer of Hildegard's spiritual messages. Interpretation of Hildegard's songs as rhetorically discursive, or argumentative, includes recognition of her songs as imparting a position on her audience/speaker and arguments, or reasons, for that position.

Hildegard's prose argumentation is very informal, and if her arguments are analysed against formal logic, they come across as 'faulty' processes. The devotional context of the songs can again be very useful here. As the subjects of Hildegard's songs function as intermediaries between God and humans, the aspects of the subjects described in Hildegard's songs represent arguments for their praiseworthiness (or why a personage is entreated). Each of Hildegard's statements about her subjects suggests a proclamation of God's authority, and Hildegard substantiates or argues these proclamations. A proclamation can be taken as an expression of a doctrinal position, while substantiations of proclamatory expressions of praise and sorrow can be taken as demonstrations of -- or arguments for -- these expressions.  

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93 Mackey, 'Inter Noctumas Vigilias', p.71; Bible and Culture Collective, 'Rhetorical Criticism', p.173.
In Hildegard’s letter to the prelates in Mainz, one aspect of music, its function in praise, suggests a position from which she develops various arguments which in turn support her central argument – that the interdict against her and her congregation should be lifted. Similarly, a position, or set of positions, on her subjects can be identified in each of her songs. Substantiations of these positions can be identified from words such as ‘propter’, ‘quia’ and ‘quoniam’, or through interpreted demonstrations of positions. Further, separate sections of themes, propositions and arguments can be identified, and her songs can be partitioned into sections of meaning – akin to the ‘rhetorical unit’ – which bear out the structure of arguments.

Although prominent themes can be identified in relation to each subject group in Hildegard’s song cycle, the interpretive possibilities implied by these themes – themselves a set of ‘presuppositions’ – is endless. It has been convincingly argued that, on account of the ‘location and agenda of different interpreters’, a rhetorical approach will produce different outcomes, even for ‘critics working on the same text and even within the same sets of interpretive procedures’.\(^\text{95}\) Here, interpretation is swayed by the location of the text within the devotional context and an agenda to demonstrate rhetorical potential in Hildegard’s word-music relationship. In order to establish some constraints here, interpretations of themes in Hildegard’s songs are based on documents which immediately surround her songs. Emphasis is placed on the Bible and the Scivias – on account of their doctrinal import and the proximity of these works to the documentation of Hildegard’s cantus – commentaries which emanate from the period and region, and histories of saints where appropriate.

Returning to O virtus sapientie, the subject of this song is the theological personification of Wisdom. In her Scivias, Hildegard described Wisdom as a personage through whom God spoke to her,\(^\text{96}\) and Wisdom’s role as an emblem of God’s Word is revealed to Hildegard through the Trinity. Wisdom is also an aspect of God’s Eternity, although this is not indicated in the rubrication in the Riesenkodex. In O virtus sapientie, a particular description of Wisdom, the virtus of the divine luminary, suggests a rhetorical, or argumentative, position:

\[ O \text{ virtus sapientie que circuisti comprehensio in una via}\]
\[ que habes vitam tres alas habens quam unam in alium volat et alena de terra sudat et tercia undique volat \]
\[ laus tibi sit sicut de te desit o sapiensia. \]

\[ O \text{ excellence of Wisdom who circled circling}\]
\[ embracing all things in one way which has life;\]
\[ having three wings of which one flies on high\]
\[ and the second distils from the earth and the third flies everywhere;\]
\[ praise be to you as befits you \text{O} \text{ Wisdom}.\]

\(^{95}\) Bible and Culture Collective, ‘Rhetorical Criticism’, p.183.


\(^{97}\) Riesenkodex, fol. 466.\(^{96}\).
Three ‘rhetorical units’ or sections of argument which coincide with grammatical syntax can be identified. In the first clause, there is a second person introduction to the subject (O virtus sapientie), and this is followed by a 3rd person commentary on the subject which complements the description of Wisdom in Ecclesiastes 24:8–9. As argument, this section suggests the biblical demonstration of—or arguments for—Wisdom’s virtus, which in turn suggests a demonstration of God’s eternity. One justification for the position of Wisdom as virtus is her capacity to ‘embrace all things’. Another is suggested in the second-clause description of Wisdom’s three wings, which inhabit the realms of heaven, earth and ‘everywhere’. An argument here is that Wisdom’s excellence as a divine luminary is proclaimed through her ‘three wings’, which in the Scivias suggest the Trinity. The final, independent phrase, laus tibi sit, sicut te decet, o sapientie supervenes as an outcome of the preceding argumentation. This phrase implies that laus tibi sit is in accordance with Wisdom’s station as an emblem of eternity, which is demonstrated through biblical allusions to her capacity to embrace all and as emblem of the Trinity, her ‘three wings’.

Argument and Style
An aspect of the rhetorical interpretation of argumentation is the ‘phonetic’ and grammatical levels of language comprising style. Traditionally, rhetorical style extends over the provinces of the ars grammatica, which is concerned with the correct use and decoration of language. A measure of demarcation between style as a self-contained discipline and style within a rhetorical context is that, in the latter, style is a function of the rhetoric of the text. In Peter Dronke’s assessment of style and its place in traditional sites of Classical, rhetorical transactions during the medieval era, he argues that the relationship between what was said and the way it was worded was not only maintained, but there was also a ‘refusal to see the problem of style divorced from that of meaning’, and an ‘unequivocal condemnation of verbal ornament and display for their own sakes’.98

This refusal to separate argument and style is represented, for example, in Bede’s seventh-century rhetorical codification of Biblical ‘figures and tropes’, De Schematibus et Tropis. In this treatise, Bede used style as a way to access and understand distinctly non-Ciceronian modes of argumentation. In so doing, he situated style within ‘that which is said’. The trope of charientismus, for example, is defined through the meaning suggested by use of this trope:

CHARIENTISMUS is a trope in which a disagreeable meaning is expressed in more agreeable language, as in [Gn. 29:25]: Did I not save you for Rachel? Why have you imposed upon me? For with that one inoffensive word impose,  Jacob, speaking quite temperately, indicated the very heavy wrong which he was enduring.99

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Style is admitted in new rhetorical criticism as a function of the arguments interpreted, but this is only in accord with the priorities of rhetorical identification. A new rhetoric 'insists' that the use of stylistic devices must be 'explained by the requirements of argumentation...rather than reduced to general considerations'. Descriptions of style are thereby not confined to codified schemes and tropes. Barbara Newman identifies a number of figures of speech in Hildegard's songs and uses these as a way of accessing an interpretation of a text. In the process, however, Newman reveals as much about the shortcoming of Hildegard's unskilled Latin ('One must admit that, as a craftsman, she had her faults. She could be prolix, obscure to the point of opacity, or, more rarely, banal to the point of dullness') and dilemmas faced by the modern translator ('these figures chime pleasantly in Latin but drive translators to despair') as the attributes of the colloquial expressions of a twelfth-century monastic ('as a verbal artist, Hildegard did not have the craftsmanship of a Notker or a Peter Abelard. But neither was she the inept, negligible figure that the standard histories of hymnography would have us believe'). Rather, the grammatical and 'phonetic' attributes of Hildegard's song texts can be related directly to her arguments. For example, in O virtus sapientie, the eternal, effervescent nature of Wisdom is rendered through present participles (circuiens, habens) and a series of relative phrases; the active present complements (habet, volat, sudat) suggest the active presence of Trinity. A beginning and an end to the 'rhetorical units' described above are suggested by word repetition, the vocative addresses at the beginning and end of the verse (O virtus sapientie, O sapientia).

Music as Rhetorical Delivery

A central concern here is how to talk about Hildegard's melodies in terms of the ways in which they encompass the rhetorical meanings of her words. An examination of music as that which encompasses the rhetorical meanings of words is in response to the rhetorical content of those words. This rhetorical function of music — as the delivery of rhetorical words — as opposed to a 'musical rhetoric' — was initially proposed by Gerardo Huseby in relation to the monophonic songs from the Las Huelgas codex. In his study 'Retórica y música en los planctus monofónicos del Códice de Las Huelgas: Un aporte metodológico' (1992), Huseby convincingly demonstrates that the rhetorical structures of the planctus texts are mirrored in the musical settings, and that, when viewed as rhetorical deliveries, structural correlations between the planctus songs begin to emerge.

The monophonic songs in the Las Huelgas codex have in common with Hildegard's songs a lack of transparent phonetic or grammatical correlations between songs. With

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100 Bible and Culture Collective, 'Rhetorical Criticism', p.179.
101 Newman, introduction, Symphonia, p.42.
103 Newman, introduction, Symphonia, p.45.
respect to both collections, traditional modes of word-music criticism struggle to yield
distinct and consistent structural correlations. Here, Pfau is successful in demonstrating
structural correlations between Hildegard's settings. Pfau's codification of Hildegard's
melodic processes represents a codification of her articulations, but this codification is
in response to the grammatical syntax of her cantus - Pfau's codification of Hildegard's
melodic processes represents a 'musical grammar'. If Hildegard's melodies are taken as
the articulation of rhetorically structured cantus, then the ways these melodies encompass the rhetorical meaning of her words is through rhetorical delivery. Rhetorical delivery is a response to both grammatical and rhetorical syntagms of cantus.

An important consideration here is that the documentation of Hildegard's music indicates that her articulations of His heavenly harmony were very much subject to the locale of those articulations - in particular, the redactions of her iubilatio were subject to the influences of scribes. As a consequence, Hildegard's melodic behaviour is mediated through a theoretical system. While a distinction can be made between her theoretically influenced melodic behaviour as preserved in the cyclic sources and the authentic, pre-redacted Hildegardian melody, the latter is, for all intents and purposes, lost.

It is more than likely that scribes introduced a theoretical sophistication to the improvised melodies sung at Rupertsberg. This sophistication includes the maneriae in which her songs are cast and the intervalllic qualities associated with species of tetrachord and pentachord which pervade her songs. These species, or sequences of tones and semitones within the consonant intervals of the diatessaron and the diapente (rather than the consonant intervals themselves) can thereby be taken as a product of scribal intervention. Consideration of these aspects of Hildegard's melodic behaviour outside of the context of redaction assigns a level of sophistication to Hildegard's melodic articulations that does not reflect the role of her scribes in the preservation of her music.

Pfau's examination of Hildegard's melodies is a case in point. She argues that specific sequences of pitches recur at common points between songs cast in related maneriae. Pfau's emphasis on conditions that allegedly enabled Hildegard 'to create intervalllic relationships that do not occur in any of the traditional tonalities' assigns an inappropriate level of theoretical sophistication to Hildegard's oral melodies, even though she possibly did sing notes that fell outside of traditional (i.e. redacted) tonalities. A concern here is that, in Pfau's summation, similarities in melodic processes between songs are linked to discrete intervalllic qualities of melodies; intervalllic differences between songs produce individual modalities with their 'own distinct set of characteristics', with the most obvious interchange between D-, E- and a-modalities. There are obvious relationships between Hildegard's protus and deuterus songs, but there are also relationships between

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105 Pfau, Hildegard's Symphonia, pp.140-212.
106 Pfau, Hildegard's Symphonia, p.204.
songs cast within other maneriae, for example, deuterus and tritus songs. In light of the role of scribes in the redaction of Hildegard's melodies, there are several aspects of Pfau's interpretation of Hildegard's melodic behaviour which can be reconsidered.

It was observed in chapter 2 that several aspects of Hildegard's musical settings are consistent between songs, including the alignment of syntactical and musical phrases, and an emphasis on the final or a cofinal and the consonant intervals of the diatessaron, diapente and the diapason. These aspects arguably transcend theoretical influences such as maneria and the intervallic qualities associated with each; they also suggest traces of Hildegard's preredacted melodies. The melodic relations between songs of different genres and unrelated maneriae are consistent with the ubiquity of consonant relations in Hildegard's songs. These consonant relations are consistent between songs irrespective of the intervallic qualities associated with maneriae and represent an oral, rather than theoretical, characteristic of her melodic behaviour.

Other characteristics of her melodic behaviour include the types of progressions which dominate her songs and the variant styles of melody in which these progressions proceed, ranging from restrained deliveries to highly melismatic ones. A common progression is the final-diapente-diapason-diapente-final one found in most songs. This progression can occur, for example, as a highly melismatic setting of a single word, or even syllable, or it can extend over an entire clause. It is found as an uninterrupted progression, or it can include repetitions of diapente-diapason-diapente movement before returning to the final. Other 'stock' progressions include final-diapente-final and final-diatessaron-final ones, as well as descents to the diatessaron below the final. These progressions can also be melismatic or part of more restrained delivery. All of these 'stock' progressions appear in various contexts, i.e. at the opening, middle or ends of songs – their position within each song, as well as their style, is in response to an individual cantus.

As rhetorical articulation, the process of melody – the points of tension and resolution, the ways in which articulative tension is created and resolved, and the changes in melodic style in the course of articulation – is a function of a cantus. Here, movement around a final or cofinal, e.g. final-diatessaron-final, is indicative of one type of articulation. Movement away from a final to the diapente or beyond, or even a cofinal, represents other types. An important analytical consideration here is whether or not a correspondence exists between the rhetorical syntagms of Hildegard's songs and the types of articulations represented by progression and style.

A secondary consideration here is the relationship between the rhetorical structures of Hildegard's songs and the liturgical forms – genres and maneriae – in which they are cast. It was proposed in chapter 2 that the positions of her melodies on the gamut represent responses to melodic characteristics. These melodic characteristics can be equated with types of articulation of – or types of responses to – cantus. Examination of the relationship
between cantus, type of articulation and maneria requires separation of her melodies from the maneriae in which they are cast. For this, melodies will be described without reference to the discrete arrangements of tones and semitones which define modality in each song with each degree above and below a final or cofinal represented numerically.

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Only a few points need be added to the previous description of the setting of O virtus sapiente. The articulation of the argumentative structure is represented by a melody which opens on the final, the note E, and pauses either on the final or its diapente at phrase ends (Example 3-3). At the opening, there is a melismatic intonation initiated by a leap to the diapente followed by an ascent to the diapason. The final is returned to by step, but, when the subject of this song is articulated ('virtus sapientie'), the melody passes through the final and moves directly to the diapente. The articulative tension suggested by this movement is sustained for the first clause in which Wisdom 'circles circling' and comprehends all, but the articulation is less florid, in contrast to the melismatic opening, with single notes per syllable in the middle of the clause. At the end of this clause, the final is resolved to (over 'que habet vitam').

Example 3-3: O virtus sapientie – Riesenkodex fol. 466v
A new argument begins at 'tres alas habens', and the diapente above the final is immediately established. The neumatic delivery is maintained, but whereas the cantus from 'que circuiens' to 'habet vitam' comprised a single 1-5-8-5-1 progression, similar progressions are articulated over single phrases, as over 'quarum una in altum volat', and 'et tercia unique volat'. The final is briefly resolved to over '[su]dat', which describes the earthly realm encompassed by Wisdom's second wing, but there is a leap between the final and its diapente over 'et [tercia]', which, on 'O' at the beginning of the song, represents a melodic opening - a relaxing of tension suggested by return to the final on '[su]dat' is short lived.

From 'tres alas habes', the prominence of the diapente is sustained until near the end of the song. Even when the melody moves to the final, over '[te] de[ce]', a delay in resolution is suggested by repetitions of notes not in a tertial relationship with the final - the subfinal and the second degree (D and F) appear at the beginning of each neume, and there is a 'pressed' second degree over '[sapienti][a]'. These repetitions also contrast to the emphasis given notes in a tertial relationship with the final for ascending movement at the opening. They preface articulative resolution of argumentation, and this resolution only comes at the end of the song - this is suggested by articulation of argumentation though sustained movement away from the final and only brief resolution to the final within the song. Put simply, the way in which music rhetorically encompasses the meaning of the cantus in O virtus sapientiae is through the creation of articulative tension as arguments are initiated, and the relaxing of articulative tension once those arguments have been uttered.

The Rhetorical Situation
The two pervasive foci of the new rhetorical criticism, context and argumentation, can be related to Hildegard's songs through the devotional context and interpretation of the doctrinal positions and themes in her songs. The Bible and Culture Collective also point out, however, that, in new rhetorical criticism, there is an important distinction between persuasive argumentation, or what is interpreted as appealed to an audience, and what the modern critic construes as convincing argumentation, that is:

Convincing argumentation appeals to cultural norms presumed to be shared by the whole audience, while persuasive argumentation appeals only to hearers or readers who are in a special rhetorical situation.107

In the song Quia ego femina, for example, Hildegard argues that 'because a woman constructed death', a 'bright virgin' tore it down; as a result, the 'supreme blessing' takes the 'form of a woman':

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107Bible and Culture Collective, 'Rhetorical Criticism', p.181.
Quia ergo femina mortem instinxi,
clara virgo illum interieun,
et ideo est summa benedictio in femina forma pre
omnia creatura.
quia Deus factus est homo in dulcissima et beata
virgin.

Because a woman constructed death,
a bright virgin demolished it.
Therefore the supreme blessing comes in the
form of a woman beyond all creation:
for God became man in the Virgin, most
sweet and blessed.\textsuperscript{108}

Her argument here, that the 'supreme blessing comes in the form of a woman', is also
informed by the doctrinal commonplace that God was made incarnate through the Vir-
gin Mary [\textit{Deus factus est homo in dulcissima et beata virgine}]. While convincing argumen-
tation can be identified here, the situation in which this song persuaded an audience, or
inspired a union between God and His Church, is not apparent.

The central argument identified here (that the 'supreme blessing comes in the form of a
woman') is pertinent to the situation of the Virgin cult experienced in the twelfth century,
particularly in Cistercian circles.\textsuperscript{109} It is also persuasive within an asumed devotional situa-
tion of this song as received by the congregation at Rupertsberg and transmitted in the Den-
dermonde codex to the Cistercian monks in Villers, both speakers/audiences who could be
persuaded by Hildegard's position on the Virgin. These assumed situations suggest a very spe-
cific rhetorical context, or rhetorical situation, for the rhetoric of Hildegard's words.

Unlike liturgical chant, Hildegard's songs are not readily identifiable with an immedi-
ate devotional context, or the type of situations (e.g. Mass, Office hour, after a sequence
or before a psalm) suggested for liturgical chant. Even though the redaction of her songs
with melodies suggests their intended use in the liturgy, the function of each song is not
confined to a particular site of formal worship. This means that the specific rhetorical sit-
uations of her arguments are difficult to describe beyond the devotional context. There
is a rhetorical context for — and argumentation in — Hildegard's songs, but the Bible and
Culture Collective argues that a rhetorical situation assists in defining persuasive argu-
mentation, or the expressions in the text which define its rhetoric within a specific con-
text.\textsuperscript{110} The absence of a rhetorical situation means that some of the 'close and detailed
expressive relations between words and music' are neglected in Hildegard's songs.

In Hildegard's letter to the Mainz prelates, a rhetorical situation is suggested from the
context of that letter as responding to an interdict being placed on the nuns at Ruperts-
berg. Interpretation of her letter as both argumentative and ineffectively participating in
persuasion is based on how arguments represent that situation. Rhetorical situations for
her songs are implied through their location within a community of nuns and the des-
tination of the Dendermonde codex — but while these situations might be pertinent to
the song \textit{Quia ergo femina}, they may be less effective in bridging the context and argu-
ments of other songs (e.g. a sequence to St Eucharius, first bishop of Trier).

\textsuperscript{109}Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Early Cistercian Experience of Liturgy', \textit{Rule and Life: An Interdisciplinary Symposium},
\textsuperscript{110}Bible and Culture Collective, \textit{Rhetorical Criticism}, pp.181–182.
Hildegard’s songs substantiate her devotional context, and, in order to put this substantiation into effect, her rhetorical situations should be considered. Here, the Bible and Culture Collective argues that the rhetorical situations bridge rhetorical contexts and rhetorical argumentations. In Hildegard’s songs, they could be similarly used to bridge not only her rhetorical context (the devotional setting) and her rhetorical argumentation (her words) but also articulations of her argumentation (her musical settings).

The two types of expression Hildegard spoke of in the Scivias, praise [laus] and lament [querela], provide one point of departure here. These two types of song suggest two rhetorical situations, the situation of ‘praise’ and that of ‘lamentation’, but these situations suggest what is already represented by the context and arguments. This is especially so for a song like O Jerusalem. Here, Hildegard’s second-person panegyric includes a first-person appeal for those who ‘serve and labour in exile’ (from the holy city of Jerusalem) at the end of the song. The rhetorical context – devotion which inspires union between God and Church through inspiring and reinforcing belief – and the rhetorical situation(s) of praise and lament are represented by the arguments in the first fourteen verses and the final verse appeal respectively. These two rhetorical situations are perhaps less useful, because a specific rhetorical context of O Jerusalem remains unclear.

Situation and Monastic Preaching

One way to address this is to explore the range of rhetorical situations in which Hildegard might have participated. This comes not so much through Hildegard’s role as cantatrix, but through her role as ‘monastic preacher’. This role differs from the monastic perse, who was not only unordained to speak publicly and ‘immune from the mission’ of preaching, but whose utterances were also, at least officially, restricted in Benedictine circles by the vow of humility represented in the Rule of St Benedict:

Noitus humilitatis gradus est, si lingvam ad loquenti
 dum prohibest monachus et, tactuaritatem habens,
 usque ad interrogationem non loquatur, monstrante
 scriptura quia in multilquio non effugisset pecatum,
 et quia vir linguosus non dirigitur super terram.

To be on the ninth rung of humility is for a monk to forbid his tongue to speak, and, maintaining reserve, not to speak until questioned. Scripture shows that WHERE WORDS ARE MANY, SIN IS NOT WANTING [Pro 10:19], AND: ‘THE MAN OF TONGUE’ DOES NOT FIND FOOTING IN THE LAND [Ps. 140:12].

Hildegard’s role as monastic preacher, however, encompasses the description of monastic preaching given by Alan of Lille (d. 1203) as ‘publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deseruientis, ex rationum semita et auctoritatem fonte proveniens’ [public instruction, behaviour and belief proposed for the formation of men, rooted in reason


112 Benedict, Rule of Benedict, p.100; trans. monks of Glenstal Abbey, p.97.
and growing from the spirit of the spring of the sacred text.\textsuperscript{113} Hildegard instructed publicly in 'behaviour' and 'belief' during her four preaching tours c.1160–1170, and public instruction is also represented in her writings and letters, which were circulated among contemporaries for edificatory purposes. This ‘public instruction’ is also represented in her songs, which were not only sung among the populace at Rupertsberg but, according to Guibert of Gembloux, were also part of public devotion. In both circumstances, her songs instruct humans in behaviour and belief – orthodox morals and faith. Appraisal of the priorities of the monastic speaker that relate directly to the instruction in morals and faith suggests rhetorical situations for Hildegard’s songs.

A sizeable corpus of sermons and commentaries which represent the priorities of the monastic preacher was circulated in Germany during the twelfth century, including deliveries by Bernard of Clairvaux, Eckbert of Schönau and Augustine. Particularly useful here is the earliest extant practical treatise on monastic preaching, the preface to the \textit{Moralium Geneseeos} (c.1100) entitled \textit{Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debet [A Book about the Way a Sermon Ought to be Given]} by Guibert of Norgent. It has been noted that, prior to Guibert, the only prerequisite for the effective Christian preacher was a competent knowledge of the Bible, and that Guibert’s preface provided a ‘major innovation’ by inclusion of precepts which described how to preach.\textsuperscript{114} In this preface, priorities of the Christian preacher assumed for sermons and commentaries are described independently of the sermons that are influenced by these priorities. What is of particular interest here is that it was composed by a Benedictine monk who argued that all Christians, be they monks or otherwise, have a duty to speak of the glory of God. The priorities Guibert describes are those of the monastic preacher:

\begin{center}
\textit{Lici ergo non sit episcopus, aut abbas, seu qui licet postestate proumincat, agat tamem juxta bestiam Augustinum pro persona quam portat. Christianus est; si Christiane vivere voluit, scit in se, ita quoque in aliis Christianum nomen clarificet.}
\end{center}

Guibert was aware of the unconscionableness of the non-Scripturally informed speaker. The precepts of rhetorical exchange expounded in his preface are influenced by the position of the ‘ethical’ above the ‘oratorical’, a position reiterated several times throughout the treatise, as in the following passage:

\begin{center}
So even if a man is not a bishop or an abbot, if he does not exercise official authority over others, still he acts for the One whose name he bears, as St. Augustine said. He is a Christian; if he wishes to live as a Christian, then let him glorify the name of Christ both in himself and in others.\textsuperscript{115}
\end{center}


\textsuperscript{114} Joseph Miller, \textit{Readings in Medieval Rhetoric}, p.163.

Guibert’s preface offers an insight into the priorities of the monastic preacher from the position of how such a preacher might go about convincing a Christian audience of doctrinal arguments. By taking this preface as promoting the ‘ethical’ above the ‘oratorical’, a variety of rhetorical situations pertinent to Hildegard the monastic preacher can be elicited.

Perhaps foremost here is the assumption that repetition of God’s Word is the basis from which the monastic preacher spoke. In Guibert’s preface, this is embodied in recognition of God as the ‘foundation of all’ that is said, and restriction of what is said to that which ‘relates to God and flows from him’:

Let us speak, therefore, if we have acquired any knowledge of the sacred pages, as inspired by God, that is, as recognizing that God is the foundation of all that we say. After all, if there is any obligation incumbent upon the instructor of souls, it is that he ought to speak only of God. If he must speak of anything else, then let him treat it as it relates to God and flows from Him as from a special fountain. How great a sacrifice does a man commit when he presumes to seek his own glory in his treatment of things that should tend only to the glory of God. If thievery is the most nefarious action in human relations, what a crime must it not be to steal from God in order to increase ourselves!

The reliance upon God’s Word as transmitted through Scripture, or, in Hildegard’s case, through slightly more direct transmissions, has been put forward as the foundation of not only Christian knowledge but also the inspiration and reaffirmation of faith in a devotional context. Repetition of God’s will informs Hildegard’s conception of the Word and is of particular significance to the devotional context through repetition of the Opus dei, which represents a foundation of monastic existence. As a rhetorical situation which bridges the devotional context, argumentation and its articulation, repeti-
tion suggests the reiteration of God's Word within the devotional context, and this can be traced through assessment of conceptual or thematic repetition. The way in which music encompasses rhetorically the meaning of the words in this situation is through consideration of the ways in which her settings articulate that repetition.

Related to the situation of repetition is the concept of God's Word as everlasting, or without beginning or end. Perpetuation of God's Word was an important priority for the Christian speaker, and, in Guibert's preface, this priority is represented by recognition of the eternal struggle for perfection on earth and the concept of the eternal after-life, both of which influence the 'attitude of the mind' recommended for effective ('ethical') monastic preaching:

*Ipsi est Spiritus qui, cum sit bonus, docet nos bonitatem; in bono scilicet ac simplici nos effectu constituit et sic nos diende disciplinam docet, ut non fatigemur, cum et Deus argumur, quia cum ab ipso judiciumus, coruptio est, ut nos cum mundo daminemur, et per hoc multa jam scientia et discretio acquiritur, ut sciamus temporales gloriae aeternos subrequi luctus, et flagella momentanea bonis compensari perennibus.*

It is the Spirit who, because He is Himself good, teaches us goodness; that is, He confirms us in a pious and whole-hearted devotion and thus teaches us discipline. In this way we do not feel harassed when God examines us; the judgment He speaks upon us is rather a gentle reprimand which will prevent us from being damned along with the rest of the world. Through this reprimand, we acquire much knowledge and discretion, so that we may know that eternal glory follows temporal suffering and that temporary discomfort is but the preparation for everlasting happiness.\(^{118}\)

The concept of perpetuation has particular implications for the devotional context. In formal worship, psalms and responses are sung within an office hour within the *Opus dei* within devotion within monastic existence within God's Church within God's divine plan. As with God's Word, there is no definite beginning and end to devotion, and Hildegarde acknowledged by arguing that 'praise should be unceasing'.\(^{119}\) The versifications preserved in the cyclic sources of Hildegarde's songs were possibly determined by her scribes and represent one interpretation of the beginnings and ends of her songs.\(^{120}\) As a rhetorical situation, perpetuation can be used to reconsider thematic, textual and musical structures redacted by her scribes. The way in which music encompasses rhetorically the meaning of the words in this situation is through settings which reflect perpetuation of God's Word beyond textual boundaries.

A prominent Christian concept, and one which is often referred to in Hildegarde's own writings, is the antithetical relationship between virtue and vice. This relationship forms a foundation of human knowledge as understood by Christians. In Genesis 3:22, God expelled Adam from the garden of Eden stating that 'Behold Adam is become as

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\(^{120}\) Bible and Culture Collective, *Rhetorical Criticism*, p.178.
one of us, knowing good and evil'. Adam's humanity comes from his knowing both paradise ('good') and the taste of the apple ('evil').

The good and evil contrary is also a prominent theme in Guibert's preface and could even be thought of as a discursive frame. The preface opens with a lengthy discussion of the attributes of the speaker which takes as a principal focus the distinction between good and bad speakers, and Guibert concludes with a discussion of virtue and vice as a basis for 'material to speak about'. For the Benedictine monastic, this relationship was promoted as a foundation for piety, precipitated by 'fear of judgement day' and 'a great horror of hell'. This relationship is represented in Guibert's preface as a priority of the monastic preacher who informs a knowledge of God through recognition of the ungodly, and through development of the humility to oppose it:

Dixi sane verumque dixi non minus prodesse aliquoties, si fiat tractatus de natura virtutum, quam si fiat de natura vitiorum, quam si enim vitium non cognovero, quomodo sinceritate virtutis amabo? Et vitium quodam fugiam, nisi bonum, sanum et integrum alicuius, cujus adipiscendi ar freundi gratia ipsam vitium fugiendum sit, sciam? Sunt olora sunt et cictae: uum utile est, alienum mortifera; si ergo sit aliquis qui uerum quidem libenter comedat, sed inter olora et cictas distantiam nesciens, cictas sint olora comedendas cedat, quid sibi prodest aliquando uum oloribus fussa, si postmodum per ignaviam suam cictas comedendo contingi sibi amentiam et mortem incurrere?

I have said clearly and I have said often that sometimes as much is accomplished with a discussion of the nature of vices as with a discussion of the nature of virtues. For if I do not recognize what a vice is, how can I love the purity of virtue? And how can I avoid sin unless I am seeking an object which is good, healthy, and untainted, one which I can pursue and enjoy in the very act of fleeing evil? There are nutritious green herbs and there is hemlock; the herbs are of much value, the hemlock is poisonous. If someone likes to eat green vegetables, but knows not the difference between the herbs and the hemlock and believes that hemlock is as edible as other herbs, of what use to him will all his eating of healthful herbs prove to have been on that day when, through his own ignorance, he eats hemlock, falls into a coma, and finally dies?

The theme of good and evil pervades Hildegard's writings, for example, in her conception of the body as an inherited state of sin, and the soul as able to recreate the joy of the lost paradise. In the devotional context, this relationship embodies her concept of the song as the victory of virtue over the 'imimical arts of the Devil', rendered in many songs through antithetical relationships, including those between Adam and Christ, and Eve and Mary:

Itemque sonus ille, ut uox multitudinis, in exhortatione virtutum in adiuturium hominum et in contradicetionem repugnantiae diabolicamartum, virtutibus uita superanitibus et hominibus tandem divina inspiratione ad paenitentiam redeuntibus, in harmonia sic clamabat.

And again a song was heard, like the voice of a multitude, exhorting the virtues to help humanity and oppose the imimical arts of the Devil. And the virtues overcame the vices, and by divine inspiration people turned back to repentance. And thus the song resounded in harmony.

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121 Guibert, 'The Way a Sermon Ought to be Given', p.178.
As a rhetorical situation, contraries quantify word–music relationships within a versified structure. Here, emphasis is placed on themes that are interpreted as contraries, and how contraries within a song are resolved. The way in which music encompasses rhetorically the meaning of the words in this situation is suggested by the various ways in which these contraries are articulated.

A fourth priority of the Christian speaker is to inspire unity, which in the devotional context denotes a union of speaker and audience, or, as Guibert has it, the union of humans with the body of Christ, the Church. As a theological concept, unity is represented in the Trinity— the Creator of all things, the Incarnation of the Word and the Spirit of resurrection. In the Scivias, for example, Hildegarde renders each aspect of the Trinity— Father, Son and Spirit— indivisible by the impossibility of rejecting one aspect without rejecting another. Implicit in this description is the necessity of faith in each aspect of the Trinity as essential to being part of the ‘body of the Lord’:

Quoniam Patrem non colit qui Filium abnegat, nec Filium diligat qui Patrem ignorat, nec Patrem nec Filium habet qui Spiritum sanctum abscit, nec Spiritum sanctum accipit qui Patrem et Filium non sen-

He who denies the Son does not worship the Father, and he who does not know the Father does not love the Son, and he who rejects the Holy Spirit has neither the Father nor the Son, and he who does not adore the Father and the Son does not receive the Holy Spirit. Therefore the Unity must be understood in the Trinity, and the Trinity in the Unity.\textsuperscript{126}

As a priority of the Christian speaker, unity is represented in Guibert’s preface through description of techniques for promoting the union of speaker and audience, or the unity of humans, and, by implication, the speaker and audience and God, or God and his Church. It also embraces the idea that, in order to receive God’s Word, one must be predisposed to hearing it, and music was an important means to effect this disposition. An example of a technique for inspiring unity from Guibert’s preface is to prepare an audience for sermonic reception of God’s Word through prayer, and, following this, by delivery that enhances the ‘inflamed’ predisposition of the audience:

Sermonem praecebat oratio, ut animus fervens amore divino ardenter, qua de Deo sentit, enuntiet, ut siquid apud se intreiusce ardet, sic auditionum cordis inflammat. Sermo namque tepidus languideque pro-

Let a prayer always precede the sermon, so that the soul may burn fervently with divine love; then let it proclaim what it has learned from God so as to inflame the hearts of all hearers with the same interior fire which consumes it. For a tepid sermon, delivered half-heartedly, cannot please even the preacher; wonder of wonders, then, if it should please anyone else.\textsuperscript{127}

As a rhetorical situation, unity complements the situations of repetition, perpetuation and contraries, all of which inspire unity between God and His Church. Here this situ-

\textsuperscript{126}Hildegarde, Scivias I: 4:31, p.91; trans. Hart & Bishop, p.128.

\textsuperscript{127}Guibert, Quo Ordine Serme, col.24; trans. Miller, p.168.
ation can be utilised to assess how unity is suggested in the verifications documented by Hildegard’s scribes. This situation places emphasis on argumentative structures in the word-music relationship, but it also addresses the ways and means clauses and verses are brought together to effect a rhetorical structure. The way in which music encompasses rhetorically the meaning of words in this situation is suggested by the various ways in which the argumentative structure is reinforced through melody.

A dominant priority of the Christian speaker was the interpretation of God’s Word. This priority informed both the articulations of the monastic preacher, who was encouraged by Guibert to never ‘stop studying’ or learning what to say, and speaking in a way as to promote the retention of God’s Word in an audience. Once again, this priority is implied by Guibert through his recommendations concerning the speech act—for example, the length of a sermon and the danger of straying from the topic:

Nam si quando verbi copia excubat, et ad cordis placitum linguæ progreditur, longus nimium fieri semo non debet, quanto minus cum nec memoria suppediti dicendorum, et locutio prepeditur, et animus torpet. Apud beatum Ambrosium (De officis, lib. I c. 22) legitur quia semo tediosus iram excitat; et cum eadem septius replicatur, vel ultra modum diversa dicendo tenditur, fieri inde solet ut tecio victis omnia partitur, prima, media et ultima afferatur, et quae prodesse pausa poterant, nimia et indiscreta effusa, in fastidium et pene quodanmodo in odium veritantur. After all, if a sermon ought not to be given at excessive length even when the words come easily and the fluency is pleasing to the heart, how much less when the memory fails, the delivery is halting, and the mind is sluggish. As St. Ambrose said, a tedious sermon arouses anger; and when the same things are repeated over and over, or when unrelated topics are dragged in during the sermon, it usually happens that the hearers lose everything from the sermon equally, because of their boredom, the beginning, the conclusion, and everything in between. Where a few ideas might have been presented effectively, a plethora of ideas presented at too great length leads to apathy and even, I fear, to hostility.  

When Hildegard’s melodies were written down, a theoretical bias towards musical literacy was well established, yet the cyclic sources of her songs suggest that an oral tradition prevailed before redaction. Interpretation is included here as a rhetorical situation in order to examine the word-music relationship in light of the interpretations of Hildegard’s melodies by her scribes. The way in which music encompasses rhetorically the meaning of words in this situation is suggested by less conventional interpretations of Hildegard’s melodies, and their relationship to argumentative structures.

A sixth priority of the speaker implied in Guibert’s preface, and one which represents the monastic preacher as articulator of God’s Word, is the annunciation of praise, or rejoicing in the Word through the act of speaking. In the passage immediately preceding the recommendations for encouraging and enhancing an ‘inflamed’ audience, Guibert describes the annunciations of the tongue, or what is to be heard, as ‘good’, or praise, which is both an aim of the proclamation of God’s Word and the proclamation itself:

Sit liber noster ex quo nostra procedat textus orationis, pura conscientia, ne dum lingua alius bona annuntiat, peccati memoria nos intus mordeat, quae locutionis impetus occulto confusione prepediat. Let the book from which flows the text of our speaking be a pure conscience; in that way, while our tongue announces [good] to others, the memory of our own sins will not destroy us within and dissipate, with hidden guilt, the force of our speaking.\textsuperscript{129}

The concept of praise as the aim – as well as the proclamation – of God's Word is well situated in the devotional context, but it is perhaps less readily engaged as a rhetorical situation than those proposed thus far. Discrimination of what constitutes praise in Hildegard's devotional songs could be taken as a moot point. It was argued in chapter 1, however, that praise through \textit{iubilatio} suggests not only the extemporisation of sung joy but also a background for Hildegard's role as \textit{cantrix}, or articulator of sung joy. This concept of praise as \textit{iubilatio} is evoked as a rhetorical situation in order to consider the relationship between \textit{cantus} and \textit{iubilatio}.

These six rhetorical situations – repetition, perpetuation, contraries, unity, interpretation and \textit{iubilatio} – are arbitrary insofar as they far from exhaust the types of situations that might be considered appropriate for scrutiny. Nor are they evoked as a basis for a typological identification of rhetorical structures and melodic behaviours, something which is more convincingly attempted with examination of the entire collection. Rather, they have been elicited for the purpose of extending the boundaries of – as well as providing foci for – an explication of a rhetorical word-music relationship. What follows is an examination of the rhetorical context, situations, arguments and articulations in a selection of Hildegard's songs.

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

Chapter 4

A Rhetoric of Hildegard’s Devotional Songs

1. Repetition and Song

1.1 Repetition and Melody — O magne pater

Sources: cantus cum melodia: Dendermonde 9, Riesenkorpus
    cantus: Stuttgart 4°253, Riesenkorpus, Vienna 963

Hildegard’s songs are primarily in praise of heavenly citizens, and very few suggest the
    type of song she described in the Scivias as ‘calling back’ to God. Of the three songs
devoted to God the Father, two imply this ‘calling back’, and both are cast in the first
person plural. The first song, O magne pater, conveys a collective need, whether that of
Hildegard, her congregation, or of the Church:

O magne pater in magna necessitate sumus
    nunc igitur osseceramus osseceramus te per verbum
    tuum per quod nos constituitisti plenos quibus
    indigemus.
    nunc placet tibi pater quia te deecet
    ut aspicias in nos per adiutorium tuum
    ut non deficiamus et ne nomen tuum in nobis
    obscuretur
    et per ipsum nomen tuum dignare nos adiuvare

O great Father we are in great need;
    now therefore we implore, we implore you
    through your Word, by which you have
    filled us with [those things] we need;
    now it may please you Father for it befits you
    to consider us with your help,
    so that we might not fail and lest your name
    might be blackened in us
    and through your name, deign to help us.

Read as an example of persuasion through repetition, O magne pater elaborates two
themes: Hildegard’s collective need (‘in magna necessitate sumus’) and the help of the
Father (‘dignare nos adiuvare’). At the outset, the same adjective describes both Hildegard’s
‘great’ need and the ‘great’ father to whom she appeals. A repeated entreaty (‘nunc igitur
osseceramus osseceramus te’) follows — itself representing a repetition of a scriptural entreaty,
Psalm 117:25: ‘obsecer Domine salva obseco obseco Domine prosperare obseco’ [I entreat the
Lord, Save me; I entreat, I entreat the Lord, let me prosper, I entreat]. For Hildegard,
the source of help, the Word (‘osseceramus per verbum tuum’), whose great sacrifice deliv-
ered the world from sin, is also the source of need (‘per quod nos constituitisti plenos quibus
indigemus’). The Word of God as the source of her need and salvation suggests the great-
ness of this ‘need’, and the greatness of God’s help, both of which were made possible
through the great sacrifice of God’s only Son.

The second clause describes a petition to God to deliver His Church. A similar petition
by those who seek His assistance is given, for example, in Psalm 39:14: ‘placeat tibi Domine
ut liberes me Domine ad adiuvandum me festina’ [Be pleased, O Lord, to deliver me. Look

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1 ‘Vnde uides, o homo...in laudibus divium sursumus gaudium in via venitatis forter perseverantium, ac in querculis resolu-
2 Dendermonde 9, fol. 153r.
down, O Lord, to help me'). In Hildegard’s song, His ability to intercede is amplified – it is His wont ('quia te decet'). The Father’s ability to help is then placed beside Hildegard’s ‘need’, now represented as two spiritually disastrous consequences: ‘failure’ ('ut non deficitus') and, in amplification of failure, the darkening of His Name. In particular, the phrase ‘ut non deficitus et ne nomen tuum in nos obscuretur' highlights Hildegard’s role as speaker through whom God spoke; God’s warning of the threat of failure and darkness (as transmitted through Scripture) is here articulated both towards the speaker/human and back towards God. The final verse reiterates the appeal for help, here through the name of God, and again in repetition of the psalms, as for example Psalm 9:11: ‘et confidet in te qui noverunt nomen tuum quoniam non dereliquisti quaerentes te Domine’ [and let them trust in thee who know thy name: for thou has not forsaken them that seek thee, O Lord].

The setting of this song (Example 4–1) is a protus chant with the note a as final. It exhibits characteristics of Hildegard’s ‘regular’ melodic behaviour: an emphasis on the final and its diapente, and repetitions of 1–5–8–5–1 progressions. The song comprises two main clauses, but the rhetorical syntax suggests three sections of argument: description of the speakers’ need (1), description of the source of need and help (2), and description of potential consequences of that need (3). Here, the melodic articulation emphasises the rhetorical syntax by delineation of these three sections and resolution to the final at the end of sentences once each section is concluded. In particular, in the second clause, which here is interpreted as the third section of argumentation (3), returns to the final occur mid-phrase and grammatical phrases end on the diapente. A summary of the melodic structure is as follows:

1. O magne pater
   in magna necessitate sumus;
   nunc igitur obscuramus obscuramus te
   per verbum tuum
   per quod nos constituisse plenos quibus indigemus;
   1–5–8–5–1
   1–4–1

2. nunc placeat tibi pater quia te decret,
   ut aspicias in nos per adiutorium tuum,
   ut non deficitus et ne nomen tuum in nobis obscuretur,
   et per ipsum nomen tuum dignare nos adiuvere.
   1–5–8–5
   5–1–5

At the opening, the melody proceeds 1–4–1 over ‘O magne’. Similar movement is suggested over ‘necessitate’, but this is prefaced and concluded by a descent to the diatessaron below the final over ‘in magna’ and ‘su[mus]’. In the second phrase beginning ‘nunc igitur’, the melody moves to the diapente and returns to the final. The end of this section of argumentation is signalled by a (3–2–1) cadence on ‘te’, similar to the movement over ‘obscuramus’.

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3 See for example Psalm 108, Deum laudem meam.
Example 4-1: O magne pater – Dendermonde 9 fol. 153r
At ‘per verbum tuum’, which describes the rhetorical source of need and help of the speakers, the movement is comparatively melismatic, and the melody proceeds 1-5-8-5. The diapente is sustained over ‘per quod nos constituitis’, and there are 4-5-6-5 cadences on ‘nos’ and ‘[constituitis]’. A descent from the diapente to the final is initiated over ‘plenos’, but a cadence to the final is delayed by an ascent to the 3rd degree and movement around the final over ‘[indigemos]’.

This section of argumentation is concluded by a –2-1-2-1 cadence (compare the 4-5-6-5 cadences on ‘nos’ and ‘[constituitis]’). Following the leap between the final and diapente at ‘per [verbnum tuum]’, the final is not resolved to with a cadence until the final syllable of ‘indigemos’.

The second clause, or third section of argumentation, opens with a reiteration of Hildegard’s entreaty for the Father’s assistance. The melody again begins with a 1-5 leap, but delivery is more restrained than the melismatic flourish over ‘per [verbnum tuum]’. A 1-5-8-5-1 progression is reiterated three times in this clause, interspersed with a 1-5-1 progression over ‘per adiutorium tuum non deficiamus’, but the openings and endings of these progressions do not coincide with the ends of independent clauses. Returns to the final proceed –2-3-1 over ‘[aspia]as in nos’, and –2-1-2-1 over ‘[deficiamus]’, movements established as cadences in the first clause. The middle phrases open with restrained articulation followed by increased melodic activity once the diapente is established. Here, melodic closure is delayed through returns to the final mid-phrase – grammatical breaks coincide with articulation of the diapente, with similar cadential movement over ‘deceit’, ‘tuum’ and ‘[obscure]ur’ as over ‘nos’ and ‘[constituitis]’. These diapente cadences at phrase ends and increased movement around the diapente as the clause proceeds represent an heightening of articulative tension over a cantus which amplifies the ‘great need’ of the speakers.

In the final phrase, there is a return to the final over ‘[tu]um’, but this is immediately followed by the diapente over ‘[dir]are’. The return to the final at ‘[adiu]are’ is interrupted by an ascent to the diapente, and the melody resolves to the final after a melisma on ‘[adiu]are’. The cadence on ‘[adiu]are’ combines 2-3- –2 and –2-2-1 cadential movement, which is also suggested over ‘[deficiamus]’.

The setting of this song reflects a process of increased tension, or moving from 1-4-1 and 1-5-1 progressions to 1-5-8-5-1 progressions, in the articulation concurrent with the unfolding of argumentation, and each section of argumentation begins and ends on the final. In the first clause, the diapente is sustained through a lack of repetition of the final following ‘per verbum tuum’, but in the second clause, the prominence of the diapente is suggested through its articulation at the ends of clauses with returns to the final occurring mid phrase. In this way, a prominent characteristic of a regular repetitive melodic structure – returns to the final after ascents to the diapente and diapason – proceeds in agreement with a grammatical structure but with phrases ending on the diapente. Here, the coordination of the ends of grammatical phrases with the final delineates an argumentative structure.
1.2 Argumentative Repetition:  
O felix apparicio – O beatissime Ruperte – Quia felix puercia

Sources: O felix apparicio/O beatissime  
cantus cum melodia: Dendermonde 9, Riesenkodex  
cantus: Riesenkodex, Vienna 963  
Quia felix puercia  
cantus cum melodia: Riesenkodex

The three antiphons O felix apparicio, O beatissime Ruperte and Quia felix puercia are dedicated to St Rupert, the patron of Hildegard's second monastery. In Dendermonde 9, O felix apparicio and O beatissime Ruperte are paired and followed by the sequence O Jerusalem, and the cantus to these three songs appear together in the Miscellany in Vienna 963 and the Riesenkodex. The antiphon Quia felix puercia appears in the antiphon and responsory cycle in the Riesenkodex only, where it follows O felix apparicio and O beatissime instead of O Jerusalem.

Hildegard's Vita records how a vision lead her to the abandoned Rupertsberg site and how she remained in her sickbed until the initial opposition to her and her congregation's relocation to the site was reversed. Resentment of the removal of the visionary, her congregation and its dowries from Disibodenberg appeared to continue after the relocation c.1150. An example of this is recorded in a letter c.1155 to Abbot Kuno; on a visit to Disibodenberg, Hildegard claimed to have been confronted by a mob of Disibodenberg monks who ‘gnashed their teeth’ at her and attempted to drive her away.

Once installed at Rupertsberg, Hildegard became a chief exponent of both the St Rupert and St Disibod cults and by the 1170s had compiled hagiographies on both saints (Vita Sancti Disibodi and Vita Sancti Ruperti). The depictions in her songs of the ascension to sainthood of these two confessors are very different. The hermit St Disibod ‘hides’ from the world and rises from his hermitage to join celestial citizens, but the youthful St Rupert is raised up through worldly activity to his celestial station. In the sequence O presul vere for example, Disibod is prelate of the city of God, but in the sequence O Jerusalem, St Rupert embodies the city of God, Jerusalem.

The ‘historical’ ninth-century St Rupert was son of St Bertha who renounced his wealth, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and joined his mother in building hospices for the poor before dying prematurely at the age of 20. Aspects of St Rupert's life to which Hildegard attaches virtues in her hagiology (e.g. renunciation of wealth, giving alms to the poor) are reiterated in the antiphons. In O felix apparicio, Rupert 'embraces' the fear of God which Hildegard attributed to his upbringing by his saintly mother; his charity, which was born of his renunciation of wealth and founding of hospices in his Vita, 'flows' from him in this same song; and his rejection of sin, which comes through his rejection of earthly vices at a young age, is mentioned in all three songs.

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5 Hildegard to the Abbot', Letters of Hildegard, p.162.  
7 Hildegardia, Vita Sancti Ruperti, PL 197, cols 1083–1092.
O felix apparicio – O beatissime Ruperte

In the first of these three antiphons, *O felix apparicio*, Rupert is the happy ‘apparicio’, which Newman translates as ‘apparition’ but which also has the connotation of ‘manifestation’ or ‘appearance’, especially one that appears in order to serve. This interpretation recalls the role Hildegard claimed for St Rupert as leading her to Rupertsberg and lends itself to the idea of Rupert as a happy ‘servant’ of God:

\[
\begin{align*}
&O \text{ felix apparicio} \\
&\text{cum in amico dei Ruperto flavo vite chonoscavit} \\
&\text{ita quod caritas dei in corde eius fluxit} \\
&\text{timorem domini amplexens} \\
&\text{unde etiam agnito eius in superne civibus florent.}
\end{align*}
\]

O happy manifestation
when the flame of life glistened in the friend
of God, Rupert,
so that the charity of God flowed in his heart
embracing the fear of the Lord;
hence knowledge of him also bloomed in
supernal citizens.\(^8\)

In this song, Hildegard presents three main arguments: that the flame of life ‘glistened’ in Rupert, ‘friend of God’ (1), and that, by embracing Fear of the Lord, the charity of God flowed in his heart (2). By way of a third argument, the final phrase is an expression of Rupert’s exalted state gained through good work (3), a concept which is explained in the *Scivias*:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Nam scientia in homine est quasi speculum, in quo} \\
&\text{latet desiderium sive bonum sive malum solentis.} \\
&\text{Vide homo inter ha duas partes positus, inclinat se} \\
&\text{voluntate sua ad partem illam quam desiderat. Sed} \\
&\text{homo qui vult se ad bonum, illud fidei oper ae} \\
&\text{amplexens per adiutorium Dei, mercedem beatæ remunerationis laudabiliter accepit, quia malum} \\
&\text{spreuit et bonum fecit . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

For knowledge in Man is like a mirror in which
lies his desire to do good or evil. And each per-
son, standing between these two choices, inclines himself by his will toward the one he
desires. The person who turns toward the good
and with God’s help embraces it in works of
faith will be praised and blessedly rewarded, for
he has spurned evil and chosen good.\(^9\)

By embracing good in ‘works of faith’, Hildegard concludes that Rupert’s ‘knowledge’ flourishes among supernal citizens.

In the second antiphon, *O beatissime Ruperte*, Hildegard presents two main arguments. She begins with a description of Rupert as ‘most blessed’ and argues that his blessed state comes from his rejection of sin – in the ‘flower of his age’ he neither propagated nor tolerated the devil’s vices (1). This recalls the second aspect of Hildegard’s antipodal concept of attainment of Godly knowledge, ‘spurning evil’. She then argues that Rupert ultimately relinquished the ‘shipwrecked world’ (2). This rejection leads his station as intermediary as described in the final phrase (3), where he is entreated to intercede for his earthly servants, the congregation that resides in the monastery which bears his name:

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\(^8\) Dendermonde 9, fol. 164\(^v\).

O beatissime Ruperte
qui in flore etatis tuae non produxisti nec portasti
vicia diaboli
unde naufragum mundum reliquisti
nunc intercede pro famulantibus tibi in deo.
[Alleluia]

O most blessed Rupert
who in the flower of your age neither pro-
moted nor bore the vices of the devil;
whence you relinquished the shipwrecked
world;
now intercede for your servants in God
[Alleluia].

O beatissime Ruperte represents a rhetorical amplification of O felix apparicio. The ‘man-
ifestation’ which opens the first antiphon becomes the saint who is asked to intercede for
his earthly servants in the second. Hildegard reiterates Rupert’s most blessed state, firstly as
a conclusion to the first antiphon and then as the subject of the second, while Rupert’s role
as ‘manifestation’ (that appears in order to serve) is suggested in Hildegard’s entreaty to him
to intercede for his ‘servants in God’. In both songs, Rupert’s journey to sainthood is told
in the past perfect tense, and each song represents one of the two contrary aspects of
Rupert’s ‘knowledge’: in O felix apparicio, Hildegard describes the ‘friend of God’ who was
imbued with the ‘flame of life’, and this enabled his charity to flow, but in O beatissime
Ruperte, this same ‘knowledge’ comes from a rejection of the world and its vices. The adverb
unde initiates two central argumentative conclusions: that knowledge of Rupert flourishes
in supernal citizens and that he relinquished the shipwrecked world. Between the two anti-
phons, Hildegard describes Rupert’s progression from God’s ‘friend’ and supernal citizen to
intermediary between God and His earthly ‘servants’.

The two songs are set with different finals and within different maneriae, but the argu-
mentative relationship between the two songs is reflected in their comparable, salient
melodic features. In O felix apparicio, phrases end on either the final, the note E, or its dia-
pente, the note B. There are several 1-5-8-5-1 progressions, and the song concludes with
melisma on the final word, but the setting ends on the subfinal in the RiesenCodex and
on the second degree in Dendermonde 9. The note D is the final of the setting of O bea-
tissime Ruperte. This song also includes 1-5-8-5-1 progressions and a melisma on the final
word. The melodic structures of these two songs are given below:

1. O felix apparicio
   cum in amico dei Ruperto flamma vite chruscavit,
   ita quod caritas dei in corde eius fluxit, timorem domini amplectens;
   unde etiam agnitis eius in supernus civibus
   floavit
   1. O beatissime Ruperte
   qui in flore etatis tuae non produxisti
   nec portasti vicia diaboli;
   unde naufragum mundum reliquisti:
   nunc intercede pro famulantibus tibi
   in Deo.
   1-4-1
   1-5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-4-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-4-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-4-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-4-1

10Dendermonde 9, fol. 1647.
The setting of *O felix apparicio* (Example 4–2) is initiated with a typical deuterus-E opening (i.e. stepwise movement around the final within a narrow range). The process of melody is repetitive, comprising 1-5-8-5-1 progressions initiated by 1-4-1 movement for the intonation and the melisma on *flonuit*, and concluded by 1-4-1 movement for each clause. The two phrases beginning ‘*sum in amico*’ and ‘*ita quod*’ describe two arguments (how the flame of life ‘glistened’ in Rupert and how charity flowed in him when embracing the fear of the Lord). The articulation of these phrases comprises 1-5-8-5-1 progressions with the second progression including another ascent to the diapente and diapason before returning to the final. The grammatical break at *fluxit* is not reflected in the setting; rather the argumentative flow remains uninterrupted in the articulation. The final and its diapente are separated by leaps, and each argument is clearly delineated by repetitions of the final. The cadential figures over ‘*choruscavit*’ and ‘*amplectens*’ repeat the stepwise movement of the intonation on ‘*O felix apparicio*’, and the second phrase is prefaced by movement around the final over ‘*ita [quod]*’.

The setting of Hildegard’s argumentative conclusion (beginning ‘*unde etiam*’), that knowledge of Rupert ‘bloomed’ in supernal citizens, repeats the articulation of the preceding phrase, including movement around the final before a 1-5-8-5-8-5-1 progression, but there is a 4-8 diapente leap (i.e. from the note a to the note e) on the first syllable of ‘*supernis*’. The melisma on *flo[nuit]* is initiated with similar movement to the opening intonation and comprises a 1-5-8-5-1 progression with the final again returned to by leap. For the third argument, beginning at ‘*unde*’, there is a return to the final at the opening of the melisma, but this follows a pause on the diapente. Cadential resolution to the final is delayed until the very end of the song.

In the cyclic sources, this antiphon ends on the second degree in Dendermonde 9 and the subfinal in the Riesenkodex. For other multiple-source songs, a ‘faulty ending’ in one source, usually Dendermonde 9, is always given a corrected ending in the other. Here, however, both sources end with a note related to the final of the next song, the note D. Although scribal error is possible, the unusual endings also represent a means of linking the two songs.
Example 4-2: O felix apparicio – Dendermonde 9 fol. 164v (Riesenködex fol. 471r)
The setting of *O beatissime Ruperte* (Example 4-3) is initiated with a typical protus-D opening (i.e. leap to the diapente from the final), and the intonation on *'O beatissime Ruperte'* comprises a 1-5-8-5-1 structure with the note D as final. This intonation and the two phrases that follow comprise parts of a single argument in which Hildegard describes how Rupert rejected evil in the 'flower of his age'. The final appears at the end of each 1-5-8-5-1 progression – the articulation does not delineate the argumentative structure here by a delay in resolution to the final until end of an argumentative section. Rather, the structure suggests a similar progression to the two phrases of *O felix apparicio* which describe how Rupert embraced God. After the intonation on *'O beatissime Ruperte'* , there is a 1-5-8-5-1 progression (including a leap from the diapente back to the final), and, as in *O felix appa-ricio*, this is concluded by a 1-4-1 cadence. Here, however, there is also 1-4-1 movement over *'non [pro]duxisti'*. The phrase beginning *'nec porrasti' opens with a similar gesture as over *'non produ[xisi]'* (1-4-1), which is also similar to the gesture over *'ita quod' in O felix apparicio*. As in that antiphon, a second-phrase gesture is reiterated at the opening of the subsequent phrase, but, in *O beatissime Ruperte*, this movement is also repeated at *'unde'* and *'nunc'*. At the end of *O felix apparicio*, 1-4-1 movement is redacted in the Riesenkdex at the same position on the gamut as in *O beatissime Ruperte*.

Once again, Hildegard draws an argumentative conclusion beginning with the adverb *unde*. In *O beatissime Ruperte*, she surmises that Rupert abandoned the 'shipwrecked' world, and the articulation of this phrase remains centred around the final, with two ascents to the diapente midphrase. For the first time in this and the preceding antiphon, the final and its diapente are connected by stepwise movement, over *'[fra]gum' and '[mun-dum] reliquisi'*. In *O felix apparicio*, the 'blooming' of Rupert's knowledge among supernal citizens is articulated with a progression that emphasises the diapente and diapason, but here, where Rupert's rejection of evil' is consolidated, the articulation comprises movement around the final, and the melody does not ascend above the diapente.

*O felix apparicio* ends with a melisma on *'floruit'*. *O beatissime Ruperte* also ends with a melisma, but there is an addendum to Hildegard's conclusion in the form of an entreaty to St Rupert. The articulation of the phrase beginning *'nunc intercede'* comprises a 1-5-8-5-1 progression prefaced by movement around the final. A melisma follows on *'deo'*, and, as on *'floruit'*, a 1-5-8-5 progression is articulated, but the melisma ends with 1-5-1 progressions including repetition of the third degree (the note F) at the beginning of neumes. This contrasts to the melisma on *'floruit'* in which the final is articulated at the beginning and end of the melisma only.
Example 4-3: *O beatissime Ruperte* – Dendermonde 9 fol. 164v (Riesenkdex fol. 471r)
Quia felix puericia

A different unfolding of arguments and articulation to O felix apparicio and O beatissime Rupertie is suggested in Quia felix puericia, but this song includes thematic and melodic references to the two antiphons it follows. Here, Hildegard combines two themes from the preceding antiphons: Rupert's exalted place among citizens of heaven from O felix apparicio (1) and the rejection of the world in youth from O beatissime Rupertie (2):

Quia[a] felix puericia in laudabilii Ruperto ad deum anhelavit et mundum reliquit
ideo ipse in celestii armonia fulget
et ideo etiam angelica turba filium dei laudando concinit.

Because a happy boyhood in laudable Rupert sighed for God and relinquished the world, thus he shines in celestial harmony and thus the angelic host also sings in concord praising the Son of God.11

Quia felix puericia opens with the relative pronoun 'quia' [because], which suggests that Rupert's 'sighing for God and relinquishing the world' in the opening phrase have been previously established, as is the case in the preceding two antiphons. In Quia felix puericia, there is a paraphrase of Rupert's abandoning the 'shipwrecked world', and there is reiteration of Rupert's supernal status in the middle and end of the cantus (3). Hildegard reiterates not only arguments found in the previous two songs, but also amplifies Rupert's supernal status so that he now 'shines in celestial harmony' and the angelic host 'sings in concord'. Just as Rupert embodies the city of God in O Jerusalem, in this song he embodies the heavenly harmony, the highest summit of knowledge of God - expressed here as musical allegory. The melodic structure of Quia felix puericia is given below:

1. Quia[a] felix puericia in laudabilii Ruperto 1-5-1-5-1-5
2. ad deum anhelavit et mundum reliquit, 5-8-5-4-1
3. ideo ipse in celestii armonia fulget, 1-5-1-5
et ideo etiam angelica turba filium dei laudando concinit. 5-1-5-1-4-1

The setting of Quia felix puericia (Example 4-4) is a deuterus chant with the note E as final, but the song opens in a similar way to O beatissime Rupertie, with a 1-5 leap characteristic of protus settings. Rather than ascending to the diapason above the final following this leap, the melody moves around the diapente before returning to the final on the penultimate syllable of 'puericia'. The phrase 'in laudabilii Ruperto' is set around the diapente, and there is a 5-8-5-4-1 progression over 'ad deum anhelavit et mundum reliquit', which reiterates Rupert's rejection of the world. The cadential figure over 'reliquit' reflects the cadential figure over 'flo[n]n[it]' in the Dendermonde 9 copy of O felix apparicio, only the final is returned to in Quia felix puericia.

11 Riesenkodex, fol. 471r-a-b.
Example 4-4: *Quia felix puercia* – Riesenkodex fol. 471ra-b
In the following phrase (beginning ‘ideo ipse’), Hildegard surmises that Rupert ‘shines in celestial harmony’, and the setting initially moves around the final, as it did for the openings of the second argumentative phrases in the preceding two songs. The melody does not ascend beyond the seventh degree, and, as over ‘in laudabili Ruperto’, the diapente is articulated at the end of the phrase on ‘fulget’. In the next phrase (beginning ‘et ideo etiam’), the melody moves 5-1, and in the final phrase, in which Rupert has ascended to the summits of the celestial realm, the melody moves 1-5-1-4-1. In *O beatissime Ruperte*, there was similar 1-5-1 behaviour, only with leaps between the final and diapente, but this was also concurrent with the establishment of Rupert’s exalted station. The *cantus* amplifies the conclusion drawn in *O felix apparicio*, and the articulation amplifies the association between movement to the final and the establishment of Rupert’s status through rejection of evil in *O beatissime Ruperte*. The antiphon concludes with a cadence in which the diatessaron and third degree (the diapente and diatessaron of *O beatissime Ruperte*) are emphasised.

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The settings of these three songs encompass the rhetorical argumentation therein through increased articulative tension concurrent with the unfolding of argumentation in each song. In *O felix apparicio*, the final is returned to after each argument, but there is a disjuncture between the argumentative and melodic structures in *O beatissime Ruperte* suggested by repetitions of the final mid-argument. This disjuncture, however, reinforces a musical/rhetorical correlation between this song and *O felix apparicio*. The antiphon *Quia felix puericia* suggests a summary of these two antiphons. Its articulation comprises movement between the final and diapente with only one statement of a (1)-5-8-5-1 structure over a paraphrase of an argument from *O beatissime Ruperte*.

The rhetorical correlation among these three antiphons is further suggested in the cyclic sources. An alleluia has been appended at the end of *O beatissime Ruperte* in the Riesenkodex (Example 4-3), and it includes movement similar to the opening intonation on ‘*O felix apparicio*’, as well as cadential figures in both *O felix apparicio* and *O beatissime Ruperte*, but beginning on the 3rd degree. In Dendermonde 9, where *O felix apparicio* ends a tone higher than expected, there are psalm cadences for both antiphons, but neither cadence is neumed — these are the only unneumed psalm cadences in this source. In the Riesenkodex, *O felix apparicio* is without psalm cadence, but the psalm cadence for *O beatissime Ruperte* begins and ends on the note a, which is the reciting tone of protus chants, but it is also the reciting tone of deuterus chants – the *maneria* in which *Quia felix puericia* is cast.

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1.3 Repetition and Genre: *O eucharis in leta via*

Source: *cantus cum melodia*: Riasenkodex

Hildegard’s sequence to St Eucharius, *O eucharis in leta via*, is introduced into this discussion of rhetorical repetition on account of the reiteration implicit in its genre. Hildegard also dedicated a responsory, *O Eucharis columba*, to St Eucharius, and, between the two songs, she alludes to the prevalent assumptions surrounding the saint. Her responsory draws on medieval folklore which claims, amongst other things, that Eucharius was commissioned by St Peter to preach, and that he revived his teacher, St Maternus, by placing St Peter’s staff on the corpse.¹² Eucharius’ commission is described in a sequence, *Cordis laeti iubilo*, found in Trier, Bischofen Archiv Abt. 95 no. 133a (1191), which Trithanius ascribed to Remigio of Mettlach.¹³ The dedication to Eucharius in the *MartYROlogium Adonis* copied at St Paulin, Trier, during the twelfth century describes him as ‘*admirande fidei vite et doctrine virti*’ [to be admired for fidelity of life and man’s teachings].¹⁴ This alludes to Eucharius’ role as the first Bishop of Trier who, accompanied by two companions, Valerius and Maternus, was venerated locally for the proselytisation of the city. This is also described in Remigio’s sequence: ‘Novā [nam] luce exoritur, Vetus caligo pellitur, Teveris convertitur [For a new light is risen, an old darkness is banished, Trier is converted]. These central themes, Eucharius’ ‘fidelity of life’ and ‘teachings’, are represented in Hildegard’s sequence:

1a  *O eucharis in leta via ambulasti ubi cum filio dei mansisti illum tangendo et miracula eius que fecit videndo.*

1b  *Tu eum perfecere amasti cum sodales tui externi erant pro eo quod homines erant nec possibilityatem habebant bona perfecere intuieri.*

2a  *Tu autem in ardentie amore plene caritatis illum amplexus es cum manipulos preceptorum eius ad te collegisti.*

2b  *O eucharis valde beatus fuisi cum verbum dei te in igne columbe imbuit ubi tu quasi aura illuminatus es et sic fundamentum ecclesie edificasti.*

3a  *Et in pectore tuo choruscet dies in quo tria tabernacula supra marmoream columnam stant in civitate dei.*

3b  *Per os tuum ecclesie ruminat vetus et novum vinum videlicet poulum sanctitatis.*

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¹⁴Trier, Priesterseminar Bibliothek Hs. 69, fol. 137°.
Sed et in tua doctrina ecclesia effecta est rationalis
ita quod supra montes clamavit ut colles et ligna
se declinarent ac mamillas illius sugerent.

Nunc in tua clara voce filium dei ora pro hac turba
ne in cerimonias dei deficiat sed ut vivens holo-
caustum ante altare dei fiat.

But also in your doctrine the Church was made
rational so that she called above the mountains
that the hills and woods might bend themselves
aside and imbibe of her breasts.

Now in your clear voice pray the Son of God for
this band least it fail in the ceremonies of God but
so that they make a living sacrifice before the
alter of God.\footnote{Riesenköx, fol. 476\textsuperscript{32-2b}.}

\textit{O eucharis in leta via} suggests two argumentative sections. In the first section, verses 1a
to 2b, Hildegard describes Eucharius’ journey with Christ, which eventuated in the
establishment of a church. Each verse in this section is initiated by a direct address to
Eucharius; there are vocative addresses for verses 1a and 2b, and personal pronouns ini-
tiate verses 1b and 2a. The second argumentative section, verses 3a to 4b, describes
Eucharius’ teachings and his ascension to spiritual intermediary between God and
humans. Each verse in this section is linked by conjunction, preposition or adverb.

The setting is a deuterus chant with the note E as final (Example 4-5), although, as
with \textit{Quia felix puerosia}, the song opens with a typically protus gesture. The openings
of verses 1a \& b are repeated for verses 3a \& b, and a similar relationship is suggested for
verses 2a \& b and verses 4a \& b. Each verse closes with similar 1-4-1 movement. The
setting comprises repetitions of 1-5-8-5-1 progressions which unfold both in agreement
with the melodic repetition characteristic of the genre, the grammatical structure for the
most part, as well as the rhetorical structure described above. The melodic structure of
\textit{O eucharis in leta via} is given below:

\begin{verbatim}
(1) 1a O eucharis in leta via ambulasti,
    ubi cum filio dei manisti
    illum tangendo et miracula eius que fecit videndo.
  1b Tu eum perfecte amasti,
    cum sodales tui extermiti erant,
    pro eo quod homines erant nec possibilitatem habebatis bona perfecte intueri.
  2a Tu autem in ardentis amore plane caritas eius illum amplexus es
    cum manipulos preceptorum eius ad te collegisti.
  2b O eucharis valde beatus fuiisti, cum verbum dei in igne columbe imbuit;
    ubi tu quasi aurora illuminatus es et sic fundamentum ecclesiae edificasti.
(2) 3a Et in pectore tuo choruscat dies
    in quo tria tabernaculam supra mammorem columnam stant in civitate dei.
  3b Per os tuum ecclesia ruminat vetus et novum vinum,
    videlicet polum sanctitatis.
  4a Sed et in tua doctrina ecclesiae effecta est rationalis,
    ita quod supra montes clamavi,
    ut colles et ligna se declinarent ac mamillas illius sugerent.
  4b Nunc in tua clara voce filium dei ora pro hac turbam,
    ne in cerimonias dei deficiat,
    sed ut vivens holocaustum ante altare dei fiat.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
1a 1-5-8-5-1-5-1 1-5-8-5
1b 1-5-1-5-1-4-1 1-5-8-5-1-5-1 1-5-8-5-1-5
2a 1-4-1-5-8-5-1-4-1
2b 1-4-1-5-8-5 5-1-4-1-5-8-5-1-4-1
3a 1-5-8-5
3b 1-5-8-5-1-4-1 5-8-5-1-4-1
4a 1-5-8-5-1-5-4-1 1-5-4-1 5-1-5-8-5-1-4-1
4b 1-5-8-5-1-5-1-4-1 1-5-1-4-1 5-1-5-8-5-4-1
\end{verbatim}
Example 4-5: O eucharī in lēta via – Riesencodex fol. 476ra-b
Et in pectore est columna stant
in quo tres tabernacula super maro-
Per os noster ecclesiast rum
vi de licet polum sancta-
Sed et in tua domini
ef fecit est causa-
i ta quod supra mens
ut colles et ligna se de-
Nunc in tua clasa
orati pro hac man-
ne in ceremoniais dei de-
sed ut vivens holocaustum ante altare dedi.
In verse 1a, Hildegard argues that Eucharius ‘travelled in a fortunate way’ when he ‘remained’, ‘touched’ and ‘saw’ the Son of God and His miracles. The setting opens with a 1-5-8-5-1-5-1 progression, and the final is returned to by leap at the end of the phrase over ‘an[bulast]i’ (similar to the returns to the final in the St Rupert antiphons). In the second phrase, the opening progression (i.e. 1-5-8-5-1-5-) is repeated, but resolution to the final is delayed until the end of the verse, although there is a second leap between the final and diapente over ‘ill[u]m’.

Eucharius’ actions of ‘remaining’, ‘touching’ and ‘seeing’ are represented in the following three verses. In verse 1b, Hildegard describes how Eucharius remained with Christ while others fled, and the setting reiterates the first verse setting with prepositions and verbs aligned with melodic phrases, but at ‘exterrit erant’, the melodic pause does not agree with that established in verse 1a. A phrase of melody is added over ‘nec possibilatem habet’, and this ‘added’ phrase resolves to the final.

Eucharius’ ‘touching Him’ is suggested by Eucharius’ love of Christ in verse 2a. The setting of this verse opens with stepwise movement around the final before a leap to the diapente, which also occurs in the middle phrases of all three St Rupert antiphons. There is a single 1-5-8-5-1 progression, and this incorporates a diapente leap down to the diatessaron over ‘[cum ma]nipulos’. The setting of verse 2a is repeated for verse 2b, in which the Word of God ‘illuminates’ Eucharius, a representation of Eucharius’ ‘seeing’. Here, verbs and pronouns in verse 2b are aligned with the melodic phrases, and, as with verse 1b, there is another melodic ‘addition’ – this time over the phrase ‘te in igne columbe imbuit ubi tu quasi aurora illuminatus es’. In verse 1a, movement around the diapente was complemented by a melodic addition mainly comprising movement around the final. Here, movement around the final at the opening is complemented with the addition of a second (1-5)-8-5-1 progression.

In the second argumentative section, the active saint of the first four verses becomes the passive vessel through which ‘the day gleams’. There is a shift from Eucharius’ actions to his ascriptions and from the past tense to the present. In verses 3a, 3b & 4a, Hildegard expounds three aspects associated with the theme of Eucharius’ preaching – his heart (‘pectoris’), mouth (‘os’) and doctrine (‘doctrina’). Verse 3a describes how the ‘day gleams’ in Eucharius’ heart; the setting of this verse opens in the same way as verses 1a and 1b and comprises two 1-5-8-5-1 progressions. In the second of these, the melody proceeds 5-8-4-5-1 before returning by leap to the final over ‘te [dei]’, similar to the movement in verses 2a and 2b. This movement is repeated in verse 3b, which describes Eucharius’ ‘mouth’ through which the Church ‘ruminates old and new wine’. The melody set to ‘tuo choruscat dies in quo’ in verse 3a, which mainly comprises stepwise movement around the diapente, is omitted in verse 3b. As in verse 1b, there is a greater emphasis placed on the final through addition/omission of a phrase of melody in verse 3b. The grammatical
break at ‘vinum’ is also aligned with a melodic pause on the final, but this pause was not aligned with a grammatical break in verse 3a. Rather, in that verse, the articulation continues without resolution to the final at the end of a grammatical phrase from ‘in quo’ to the end of the verse and suggests a similar device to that used in O magne pater and the St Rupert antiphons – returns to the final, or conclusion of a melodic phrase, without interruption to the argumentative flow.

Verse 4a, which describes Eucharius’ doctrine, opens with a similar progression to the opening of verses 2a and 2b. There setting comprises two 1-5-4-1 progressions prefaced and concluded by (1)-5-8-5-1 ones, but the final is resolved to after each ascent. In the final verse, Eucharius is implored to intercede for the turba who addresses him. Hildegard used this same word to address the St Eucharius community in a letter c.1173, in which she also warns the monks to be ‘vigilant’. For the first time in the sequence, there is close reiteration between paired verses – frequent returns to the final at the ends of phrases in verse 4a are carried over into the final verse.

In this sequence, Hildegard presents Eucharius’ progression from his journey with Christ and the establishment of His Church in Trier to his role as intermediary and legacy as patron. In each section of argumentation, there is an elaboration, or demonstration, of Eucharius’ actions (‘remaining’, ‘touching’ and ‘seeing’ Him) and attributes (‘heart’, ‘mouth’, and ‘doctrine’). The articulation mainly comprises 1-5-8-5-1 progressions which continue throughout until the very end of the song. The setting delineates the two sections of argumentation though greater emphasis given to the diapente in the first verses of each section, and similar articulative openings are also given for each pair of verses in each argumentative section. In this song, there is agreement between not only the genre and setting, but also between the melodic, and rhetorical structures, with a high degree of agreement between melodic and grammatical syntagms.

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16 'Hildegardis ad congregationem monachorum', Epistolae, p. 483.
2. Perpetuation and Song

2.1 Perpetuation of Argument: *O virgo ecclesia – Nunc gaudeant*

Sources: *cantus cum melodia*: Dendermonde 9, Riesenkodex  
*cantus*: Riesenkodex, Vienna 963

The *cantus* beginning ‘*O virgo ecclesia*’ in the Riesenkodex ‘miscellany’ (folio 405*) describes the abandonment and return of the sons of the Church. Here, the sons of the virgin Church are stolen by the ‘savage’ wolf, but through the blood of the Saviour the Church is wed to God; the sons of the Church are the offspring of this union. The sons then are reunited to the ‘mother’ Church, the serpent is defeated and the once-stolen sons now ‘gleam’ in the blood of Christ. This *cantus* is redacted as two antiphons, *O virgo ecclesia*, is a deuterus chant with the note E as final, and the second antiphon, *Nunc gaudeant*, is a tritus chant with the note c as final:

*O virgo ecclesia. plangendum est quod sevissimus lupus filios tuos de latere tuo abstractit. O ve calido serpentii. Sed o quam preciosus est sanguis salvatoris qui in vexillo regis ecclesiam ipsi despensavit. unde filios illius requirit. Nunc autem gaudeant materna viscera ecclesie. quia in superna symphonia filii eius in sinum suum collocati sunt. unde o turpissime serpens confusus es. quoniam quos tua estimatio in viscera suis habuit. nunc fulgent in sanguine filii dei. Et ideo laus tibi sit rex altissime.*  

*O virgin Church, it is to be mourned that the most savage wolf has stolen your sons from your side. O woe to the cunning serpent. But O how precious is the blood of the saviour who in the king’s standard has betrothed the church to Him, from whom He wishes to have sons. Now, however, may the maternal viscera of the church rejoice, because in supernal harmony her sons are laid by her heart; hence O most foul serpent you are confounded, because the ones your reckoning held in its viscera now gleam in the blood of God’s Son. And so praise be to you King most high.*

*O virgo ecclesia* and *Nunc gaudeant* can be related to a range of assumptions about the state of the Church on the Rhineland during the latter part of Hildegard’s life. She addresses the *virgo ecclesia* and argues that the ‘sons’ of the Church have been ‘stolen’ by the ‘most savage wolf’, to which she laments the ‘cunning serpent’, or the devil. Hildegard’s vocabulary here reflects Eckbert of Schönau’s *virgo ecclesia* in his *Sermon against the Cathars*. In Eckbert’s sermon, the *virgo ecclesia* is ‘precious pearl’ of the orthodox Catholic faith:

*Unam pretiosam margaritam a sponso suo Christo Jesu in dotem accepit virgo Ecclesia, idem Catholicam . . .*  

The maiden church received a precious pearl as a wedding gift from her bride Jesus Christ, the Catholic faith . . .

In the same sermon, Eckbert uses the word *vulpesula* [little fox] to describe the Cathars, who preached a doctrine of two deities – one a ruler of the spirit, and the other a ruler of ‘matter’. In *O virgo ecclesia*, Hildegard uses the word *lupus*, the same word as St Matthew

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17Riesenkodex, fol. 405*
19Russell, *Dissent and Order in the Middle Ages*, p.48.
(Matthew 7:15) to describe those who preach against orthodoxy and threaten Christ’s corporate body. The images of the lupus and ecclesia are combined in Acts 20:28-30, where St Paul warns bishops that wolves will invade the pastures of the Church after his departure:

addeunte vobis et universo gregi in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos regere ecclesiam. Dicit quem adquisivit sanguine suo ego scio quoniam intrabunt post discussionem meam lupi graves in vos non parentem gregi et ex vobis ipsi exsurgent viri loquentes perversa ut abducant discipulos post se.

Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to rule the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. I know that, after my departure, raving wolves will enter in among you, not sparing the flock. And of your own selves shall arise men speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.20

Hildegard shifts her attentions to the ‘precious blood of Christ’ in the second clause of O virgo ecclesia. Here, she describes the betrothal of the Church to God through the Standard, Christ, and how this betrothal produces the spiritual sons of the Church. The outcome of this consummation is described in the second song, Nunc gaudeant, where Hildegard rejoices in the ‘maternal viscera of the Church’. Once again, Hildegard’s vocabulary reflects that of a contemporary, this time Honorius Augustoduniensis. In his Expositio in Cantica Canticorum, which was probably written while Honoirius was in residence at Regensburg,21 the Virgin Mary is an allegory of the Church. She is both the virgin bride ‘uncorrupted by heresy’, and the mother who bears spiritual children:

Virgo, quia ab omni haeresi incorrupta; mater, quia parent semper spiritualis filios ex gesta. Et ideo omnia quae de Ecclesia dicta sunt, possint etiam de ipsa Virgine, sponsa et mater sponsi intelligi.

Virgin because [she is] uncorrupted by all heresy; mother, because [she] always bears spiritual children. And therefore everything which is said about the Church can also be said about the Virgin, understood as both bride and mother of the bridegroom.22

The wolf and serpent are lamented in O virgo ecclesia, but, in Nunc gaudeant, they are ridiculed. Here Hildegard suggests that the wolf is overcome because the ‘stolen sons’ have now been returned in ‘supernal harmony’, and that the ‘serpent’ is confounded because the sons held in the devil’s ‘viscera’ now ‘gleam in the blood of God’s Son’. She then offers praise to the ‘King most high’ followed by an Alleluia. The parallels between the stolen and returned sons and the marriage of the Church and defeat of the devil in the two antiphons suggest the following parallel argumentative structures with the victory and defeat of the devil at the centre of each:

20Jerome’s 405 A.D. Latin Vulgate; trans. from the Latin Vulgate.
(1) O virgo ecclesia, plangendum est quod sevissimus lupus filios tuos de latere tuo absctraxit;
(2) o ve callido serpentis;
(3) sed o quam preciosus est sanguis salvatoris qui in vexillo regis ecclesiam ipsi desponsavit, unde filio illius requirit

Nunc gaudeant materna viscera ecclesie quia in suprema symphonia filii eius in sinum suum collocati sunt;
unde o torpissime serpens confusus es quoniam quas tua estimatio in viscibus suis habuit nunc fulgent in sanguine filii dei, et ideo laus tibi sit rex altissime. Alleluia.

In O virgo ecclesia and Nunc gaudeant, the settings suggest two halves of an argumentative continuum. In O virgo ecclesia, the melody initially remains centred around the final, the diapente is established at the centre of the song, and a 1-5-8-5-1 progression appears at the end. Nunc gaudeant opens with 1-5-1 progressions, ascents to the diapason appear in the middle of the song, and the song ends with 1-5-1 movements. The melodic structures of this cantus are given below:

(1) O virgo ecclesia, plangendum est quod sevissimus lupus filios tuos de latere tuo absctraxit;
(2) o ve callido serpentis;
(3) sed o quam preciosus est sanguis salvatoris qui in vexillo regis ecclesiam ipsi desponsavit, unde filio illius requirit.

Nunc gaudeant materna viscera ecclesie quia in suprema symphonia filii eius in sinum suum collocati sunt;
unde o torpissime serpens confusus es quoniam quas tua estimatio in viscibus suis habuit nunc fulgent in sanguine filii dei, et ideo laus tibi sit rex altissime. Alleluia.

O virgo ecclesia (Example 4-6) opens with a typical deuterus-E intonation (stepwise movement around the final within a narrow range) and the melody ascends to the 4th and 6th degrees over ‘[vir]go ecclesia’). This reflects the movement of another lament, the expression of need at the opening of O magne pater, where the melody moves between the final and diatessaron before movement to the diapente. The following two phrases lament the loss of the sons; the opening climaxus is repeated on ‘lupus’ and ‘tu[o]’, and the articulation elaborates the final with ascents to the 4th degree (and one ascent to the 6th degree). The diapente is eventually established, albeit briefly, over ‘[call]lido’, in a phrase which laments the serpent.

In the second clause, Hildegard describes the ‘precious blood of the Saviour’, and the setting proceeds 1-5-1-5-1. Hildegard then describes the union of the ‘standard’ and the Church, and there are two leaps between the final and diapente (over ‘viscillum religis’ and ‘ecclesiam’). There is also a 1-5-8-5-1 progression beginning at ‘ecclesiam’. In the final phrase, initiated by the adverb unde, Hildegard concludes that the union of the Church and the
Standard, Christ, will produce the sons of the Church. The articulation of this phrase descends from the diapente to the final, but this incorporates a descending diapente leap over \"illii\" and a second ascent to the diapente before resolution to the final at \"re\". In this song, the melody moves from 1-4-1 through 1-5-1 to 1-5-8-5-1 progressions concurrent with arguments that initially lament the serpent but then praise the Saviour.
The opening neume of Nunc gaudeant (Example 4–7) is exactly the same as the opening neume of O virgo ecclesia, only redacted a 5th higher. If Nunc gaudeant is transposed to the same pitch as O virgo ecclesia, the same notes are represented for this neume, with Nunc gaudeant as a tritus-F chant (Example 4–8). The setting otherwise opens with a typical tritus/tetrardus intonation (movement to the diatessarons either side of the final).
Example 4-8: opening of *Nunc gaudeant* on F – Dendermonde 9 fol. 170f

The rejoicing in the ‘maternal viscera’ of the Church is articulated with melismas on ‘materna’ and ‘ecle[sie]’. In the phrase beginning ‘quia in superna’, Hildegard describes the ‘supernal symphony’ in which the sons are returned. The setting here is predominantly melismatic, and there is a 1-5-8-1 progression over ‘symphonia’ with the decent passing through the 3rd degree, not the diapente. From ‘fili[ei]us’ to ‘collocati sunt’, the melody includes stepwise movement similar to the first phrase, which proceeds, 1-5-1, 1-4-1, 1-5-1, only here the melody proceeds 1-4-1, 1-5-1, 1-5-1.

While the serpent was lamented in *O virgo ecclesia*, it is now defeated in *Nunc gaudeant*. Over ‘unde o turpissime serpens confusus es’, the setting includes a second 1-5-8-1 progression, this time passing through the diatessaron, over ‘o turpissime’. The defeat of the serpent is described in the following three phrases, beginning ‘quoniam quos’, ‘nunc fulget’, and ‘et ideo’. The melodic style is less florid, and two 1-5-1-4-1 phrases surround a 1-5-1 phrase. As with the opening of this antiphon, the alleluia comprises movement between the final and diatessarons either side of it. In this song, the first and second sections of argument include movement to the diapason, but the final section, which predominantly comprises 1-5-1 movement, recalls *O beatissime Ruperto* and *Quia felix puercia* in which this type of articulation is concurrent with the establishment of Rupert’s exalted station. In *Nunc gaudeant*, the sons are raised up from the snares of the devil.

In *O virgo ecclesia*, the diapente is not established until the central phrase, but thereafter it is prominent for the remainder of the antiphon. In *Nunc gaudeant*, the diapente is established at the opening, and it is emphasised throughout the first clause. After the central phrase of this antiphon, beginning ‘unde o turpissime’, there is less florid delivery and the melody moves between the final and diapente without ascents to the diapason. The settings of this *cantus* encompass the perpetuation of argumentation through a suspension of articulative tension between the end of *O virgo ecclesia* and the opening of *Nunc gaudeant*, and reduced articulative tension at the opening of *O virgo ecclesia* and the end of *Nunc gaudeant*.

* * *
2.2 Perpetuation of Themes:

O viridissima virga – O virga mediatrix – O quam magnum miraculum est

Sources: O viridissima virga –
- cantus cum melodia: †Dendermonde 97, Riesenkdex
- cantus: Stuttgart 4°253, Riesenkdex, Vienna 963

O virga mediatrix
- cantus cum melodia: †Dendermonde 97, Riesenkdex, Vienna 1016
- cantus: Stuttgart 4°253, Riesenkdex, Vienna 963

O quam magnum miraculum
- cantus cum melodia: Dendermonde 9, Riesenkdex
- cantus: Stuttgart 4°253, Riesenkdex, Vienna 963

In O virgo ecclesia and Nunc gaudeant, arguments about a common theme are carried through two songs. Three Marian songs – O viridissima virga, O virga mediatrix and O quam magnum miraculum – preserved together on folio 407r of the Riesenkdex also represent rhetorical perpetuations but here through the elaboration of common themes between songs. The parameters of these perpetuated themes are taken from the unneumed verse O magne res, which precedes the song O viridissima virga but is not included in the cyclic sources, and the mixed-maniaria antiphon O tu illustrata (discussed later in this chapter), which follows O quam magnum miraculum. In the Riesenkdex and Vienna 1016, the alleluia verse O virga mediatrix has no rubricated liturgical genre, and O viridissima virga is Hildegard's only versified song without a rubricated genre or the melodic repetition between verses that would suggest the sequence genre. The third song, O quam magnum miraculum, is a multiple-clause antiphon. Unlike O virgo ecclesia and Nunc gaudeant, none of these three Marian songs appears together in the cyclic sources.

The first two songs address the Virgin as virga or branch. The image of the 'branch' is a Scriptural metaphor which Hildegard elucidates in her commentary on Isaiah 11:1-3 (Scivias III, 8:15). Here she describes how, from the root of (the tree of) Jesse, the virga engendered the flos:

Egregiis virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet. Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini: spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis; et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini, Hoc tali est. Virgo Maria egressa est de angustis sacularium oppressionum in dulcedinem honestatis morium. . . . orta siliceti de radice Jesse, id est ab illo qui quas fundamentum erat regalis proli de qua eadem illibata Mater nata processit. Vnde et de radice eiusdem virgae ascendit suavisissimus odor, qui fuit integra viriditas eiusdem Virginis suolans in alius omnium, Spiritu sancto eam ita irrigante, quod ex ipsa alium flos natus est.

"And there shall come forth a branch out of the root of Jesse; and a flower shall rise up out of his root. And the Spirit of the Lord will rest upon him; the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and of piety; and the spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill him" [Isaiah 11:1-3]. This is to say: The Virgin Mary came forth from the troubles of earthly oppression into the sweetness of moral life. . . .arisen, therefore, from the root of Jesse, who was the foundation of the royal race from which the stainless mother had her origin. And so from the root of that branch arose the sweet fragrance of the Virgin’s intact fecundity; and when it had so arisen, the Holy Spirit inundated it so that the tender flower was born from her.23

On folio 407\textsuperscript{ra} of the Riesen kodex, the final phrase of \textit{O magne res} describes how divine Wisdom 'erects' the branch. In \textit{O viridissima virga}, Hildegard argues that the Virgin as \textit{virga} brought forth the \textit{flos}, who in turn brought forth Salvation. The verses are set as a through-composed, versified song:

\begin{quote}
Te sapiensia erexit ita quod omnis creature per te ornate sunt in meliorem partem quam in primo acieperent.
Unde
1 \textit{O viridissima virga ave que in ventoso flabo scisitatis sanctorum prodist.}
2 Cum venit tempus quod tu florististi in ramis suis ave ave sint tibi quia calor solis in te sudavit sint odor balsami.
3 Nam in te floristit pulcher flou qui odorem dedit omnibus aromatibus que arida erant.
4 Et illa apparsunom omnia in viriditate plena.
5 Unde celi dedenunt rorem super gramen et omnis terra leta facta est quoniam viscera ipsius frumentum protulerunt. et quoniam volucres celi nidos in ipsa habuerunt.
6 Diesse facta est esca hominibus et gaudium magnum epulantium unde o suavis virgo in te non deficit ullam gaudium.
7 Hec omnia eva contempsit.
8 Nunc autem laus sit altissimo.
\end{quote}

Wisdom has erected you so that all creatures are adorned through you in a better way than they received in the beginning. Hence:

\begin{quote}
O most verdant branch, Ave, who put forth in the windy breezes of questioning of saints.
When the time came which you bloomed in your branches, Ave, Ave may be to you, for the warmth of the sun distilled in you, like the scent of balsam.
For in you bloomed the beautiful flower which gave scent to all spices that had been dry.
And they all appeared in full verdure.
Hence the heavens bestowed dew over the grass and all the earth was made glad, since the birds of heaven had nests in them.
Thereupon food was made for humans and [there was] the great joy of feasting: hence \textit{O} sweet Virgin in you no joy fails.
Eve despised all these.
Now, however, may praise be in the highest.\textsuperscript{24}
\end{quote}

Like Hildegard's sequence \textit{O eucharin in leta via}, \textit{O viridissima virga} suggests two sections of argumentation. The first describes a 'history' – in \textit{O eucharin in leta via}, this is Eucharius' journey; in \textit{O viridissima virga}, it is the heavenly gestation and birth. The second section describes consequences of that 'history' – Eucharius' proselytisation of Trier in the sequence, and the joy for humanity in the Marian song.

In verses 1 to 4 of \textit{O viridissima virga}, Hildegard describes the genesis of the \textit{flos} through the metaphor of the verdant branch. The branch, imbued by the sun, begot the 'beautiful flower' who gave scent to hitherto dry 'spices', and these flourished in the same verdure as the branch ('\textit{O viridissima virga}... Et illa apparsunom omnia in viriditate plena'). The second section, verses 5–6, is initiated by adverb \textit{unde}, which, in other songs, initiates an argumnetative conclusion, or an argument derived from previous statements. In \textit{O viridissima virga}, Hildegard describes a consequent greening of the earth: the heavens bestowed 'dew over the grass', the earth was made glad, the heavenly birds nested in the grass and the spiritual food of this greening lead to 'great joy of feasting'. She draws a second argumentative conclusion in verse 6: 'hence \textit{O} sweet Virgin, in you no joy fails' ('\textit{unde o suavis virgo in te non deficit ullam gaudium}'), which reflects the praise given the

\textsuperscript{24}Riesen kodex, fol. 407\textsuperscript{ra}.
branch in the opening verse (‘ave ave sit tibi’). In verse 7, she evokes the emblematic antithesis of the Virgin, Eve, who ‘despised’ the greenings, feastings and jubilations. She counters Eve’s contempt in verse 8 through amplified praise – ‘in the highest’. This praise leads to the subsequent songs.

In O virga mediatrix and O quam magnum miraculum, Hildegard re-argues the gestation of the flos but with increasing emphasis on the pre-Salvation condition:

_O virga mediatrix_. sancta viscera tua mortem super-avertit et venter tuus omnes creaturas illuminavit in pulcro flore de suavisissima integritate clausi pudoris tua ordo. Quod est hoc. O quam magnum miraculum est. quod in subditam feminam formam rei introivi. hoc deus fece quia humilitas super omnia ascendit. Et o quam magna felicitas est in ista forma. quia malitia. que de feminam fluxit. hanc feminam postea detestat. et omnes suavisissimum odores virtutum edificavit. ac eolum ornavit plus quam terram prius turbavit.

_O branch intermediary_. your holy viscera conquered death and your womb illuminated all creatures in the beautiful flower born of the sweetest integrity of your closed modesty. This is to say: O how great is the miracle, that the king has entered into a substitute feminine form; this God did because humility ascends above all; and O how great is the felicity in this form, because malice which flowed from a woman this woman thereafter weakened, and she has built all the sweetest fragrances of virtues, and ornamented heaven more than she harmed the earth.²⁵

In _O virga mediatrix_, the argumentative elements of _O viridissima virga_ – the gestation and consequences for humans – are summarised through a complementary set of metaphors. Here, the Virgin is the ‘branch intermediary’ (between God and his spiritual children) through which the _flos_ was brought forth. She conquers ‘death’ (a metaphor for the Fall) through her womb, which ‘illuminates all creatures’ through the chaste birth of the _flos_. This summary reflects the function of an alleluia in relation to a sequence.

_O quam magnum miraculum_ is introduced by the phrase ‘Quid est hoc’ [This is to say], which here suggests that this song is an explanation or commentary on the arguments of the preceding verse. Hildegard amplifies the Virgin’s role in Salvation: the ‘intermediary branch’ is now the ‘miracle’ which entered a ‘substituted [subditam] feminine form’. Three argumentative sections are suggested here. In the first, she argues that the ‘king entered’ the form of woman because ‘humility arises above all’ (1). In the second, she reiterates the opening words ‘O quam magnum’ and argues that the ‘felicity’ of the form of woman is great, because the female body that once spread ‘malice’ among humanity was overcome by the same body who ‘built all the sweetest fragrances of virtues’ (2). She concludes by arguing that the form of woman ‘ornamented heaven’ more than it ‘harmed the earth’ (3). In these three songs, there is a progression from the Virgin as ‘verdant branch’ through ‘branch intermediary’ to the ‘great miracle’ of the female form.

These three songs have different grammatical and rhetorical structures, and the melodic settings reflect these differences. The thematic correlations between the three songs are nonetheless suggested not only by the melodic motifs shared between the three

²⁵_Riesenkovex, fol. 407v–rb._
songs, but also through structural correlations between *O viridissima virga* and *O quam magnum miraculum*. The musical structure of the three songs are outlined below:

(1) 1. *O viridissima virga*

    *ave que in ventoso flabo sciscitationis sanctorum prodisti.*

    1-4-1

    1-5-1-4-1-4-1-4-1

2. *Cum venit tempus quod tu floruit in ramis,*

   *tuis ave ave sit tibi quia calor solis in te sudavit sicut odor balsami.*

   1-5-1

   1-4-1-4-1-5-1-4-1

3. *Nam in te floruit pulcher flors*

   *qui odorem dedid omnibus aromatisbus que arida erant.*

   1-5-1-4-1-5-1

4. *Et illa apparuerunt omnia in viriditate plena.*

   1-5-1-4-1-5-1

(2) 5. *Unde celi dederunt rorem super gramen*

    *et omnis terra leta facta est quoniam visceras frumentum protulerunt*

    *et quoniam volueres celli nidos in ipsa habuerunt.*

    1-5-1-4-5

    (5)-1-4-1

6. *Disse facta est esca hominibus et gaudium magnum eupulantium,*

   *unde o suavis virgo in te non deficit utium gaudium.*

    1-4-1-5

    (5)-1-4-1-4-1

7. *Hec omnia eva contempsit.*

    1-5-1

8. *Nunc autem laus sit Allissimo.*

    1-4-1-4-1

| alleluia   | 1-5-1-5-1-4-1 |
| O virga mediatrix | 1-5-1-5-1 |
| sancta visceras tua mortem superaverunt | 5-8-5-1-5-1 |
| et verter tus omnes creaturas illuminavi | 1-5-1-5 |
| in pulcro flore de suavissima integritate | 5-8-5-1-5 |
| clausi pudoris tuæ orto | 5-8-5-8-5-5-1-5-1 |

(1) 1. *O quam magnum miraculum est*

    *quod in subdita feminea formam rex introivit;*

    *hoc Deus fecit quia humilitas super omnia ascendit;*

    1-4-1

    1-5-1-5-8-5-1-5-1-5-1

2. *et o quam magna felicitas est in ista forma,*

   *quia malicia quia de femina fluxit,*

   *hanc femina postea detestat,*

   *et omnem suavissimum odorem virtutum edificavit,*

   1-5-1-5-8-5

   1-5-1-5-8-5

3. *ac celum ornavit plus quam terram prius turbavit*

   1-5-1-5-8-5-8-5-1-5-1

The setting of *O viridissima virga* (Example 4–9) is readacted as a tetrardus melody with the note G as final. The first verse, which describes the bringing forth of the branch, comprises predominantly stepwise 1-4-1 movement, only ascending to the diapente over ‘*ave que*’. Verse 2 describes the ‘blooming’ of the *virga*, and the melody proceeds 1-5-1, 1-4-1, 1-5-1, with sustained movement below the final in the middle of the verse, over ‘*[ti]bi qui[a] calor solis in [te]*’.
Example 4-9: *O viridissima virga* – Riesenkodex fols 474v-475r
In verse 3, Hildegard describes the blooming of the *flos* and how the *flos* 'gave scent to dry spices'. There is a different melodic structure again, with movement from *'[qui]a calor solis [in] te su[da]vit'* in verse 2 reiterated at the opening of verse 3, ending with 1-5-1 movement for *'omnibus aromatibus que arida erant'*. Verse 4, which describes the 'greening' of the spices, mainly comprises 1-5-1 movement.

In verse 5, the opening of the second section of argument, Hildegard states that, because of the *virga*'s greening, the 'heavens bestowed dew over the grass' and the earth was 'made glad'. The articulation has a similar structure to verse 1, but, after 'super gramen', resolution to the final is delayed by movement around the diapente and non-alignment of a grammatical break at *'facta est'* with a return to the final. In verse 6, Hildegard argues that this greening produced 'food for humans' and 'great joy of feasting', and she praises the *virga* 'in which no joy fails'. The setting again reflects the structure of the opening verse but with increased movement around the diapente. The codicil to her arguments in verses 7 and 8 comprises 1-5-1 and 1-4-1 movements, the main progressions in this song, and suggests articulative tension and resolution respectively. In verse 7, Hildegard describes Eve's contempt, and the melody moves 1-5-1. In verse 8, she gives 'praise in the highest', and the melody moves 1-4-1. In this song, two sections of argument are delineated with repetition of movement from the opening verse at the beginning of the second section, but this proceeds with increased movement away from the final concurrent with the *virga*'s greening of the earth.

In the previous example of rhetorical perpetuation, the deuterus-E *O virgo ecclesia* and tritus-c *Nunc gaudeant* opened with the same neume. This is also the case between the tetrardus-G *O viridissima virga* and the deuterus-E *O virga mediatrix*, only here the reiteration occurs within the final verse of *O viridissima virga* and the opening and end of *O virga mediatrix* (Examples 4-9 & 4-10). The melismatic Alleluia comprises 1-5-1-5-1 movement, the type of movement which dominates *O viridissima virga*, and the Alleluia setting is initially repeated for *'O virga mediatrix'* until the 5th neume, in which resolution to the final is delayed. From *'sancta viscera tua'*; the verse reiterates the gestation and blooming of the *flos*, and the setting comprises a (1)-5-8-5-1-5-1 progression with the grammatical break at *'superaverunt'* ending on the final. From *'et verter tunus'*; there are 1-5-1 and 1-5-8-5-1 movements, but each grammatical break ends on the diapente. A 5-8-5 progression is repeated three times for the melisma over *'tu[t] or[to]'*, and the final is not resolved to until the end of the verse.
Example 4-10: O virga mediatix – Riesenkodek fol. 475vb
The next song, *O quam magnum miraculum* (Example 4-11), is also redacted as a deuterus chant with the note E as final, and the neumatic figures which suggest a link between *O viridissima virga* and *O virga mediatrix* are again reiterated – the antiphon opens with the same neume as over ‘*O virga mediatrix*’ and concludes with the 3rd and 4th neumes from the alleluia setting.

The first section of argumentation in this song introduces a theme not expounded in the previous two songs, the ‘miracle’ of the ‘substitute’ feminine form. Description of this ‘miracle’ coincides with 1-4-1 movement, and this is followed with two (1)-5-8-5-1 progressions. The melody ascends by leap to the diapente on ‘in’ with the same figure as over ‘*et* [venter]’ in *O virga mediatrix*. At ‘introvit’, the end of a grammatical phrase coincides with a return to the final, but the argumentative flow between the two clauses is suggested by the opening of the new clause at ‘hoc’ on the diapente – this phrase also includes a leap between the diatessaron and diapente (i.e. the notes a and e – compare *O felix apparicion at [lu]mi[litas]*). Resolution to the final is delayed until the end of the clause.

In the second argumentative section, beginning ‘*et o quam*’, Hildegard substantiates the great ‘felicity’ of the female form, and the setting is initiated by the same gesture as over ‘*quod* in [subditam]’. The setting mainly comprises alternate 1-5-1, 1-5-8-5-1 movements, and, initially, the ends of grammatical phrases coincide with returns to the final. As the section proceeds, however, grammatical phrases end on the diapente. Here, the final is resolved to over ‘*virtutum*’, which occurs mid phrase.

In the final two phrases, Hildegard argues that the female form ‘ornamented heaven’ more than it ‘harmed the earth’. As in the alleluia verse, there are ascents between the diapente and diapason without a return to the final, and resolution to the final is delayed in this concluding phrase until the very end of the melisma on ‘*fitur*ba[vit]’, which comprises similar progressions to the ones on ‘*tu*[s] or[to]’ in *O virga mediatrix*. From ‘*hanc femina postea*’, the final is not aligned with a grammatical break until the end of the song.

Hildegard’s Marian *cantus* is redacted in the cyclic sources as three songs of different liturgical genres. The setting of each song reflects its own argumentative structure, but the thematic interchange between them is suggested by motivic links, and a similar melodic structure unfolds between the final phrases of *O quam magnum miraculum* and *O virga mediatrix*. A similar range of articulations is suggested in all three songs, including 1-4-1 movement in the antiphon and *O viridissima virga*, 1-5-1 movement in all three songs, and 1-5-8-5-1 movement in the antiphon and alleluia verse. In all three songs, there is misalignment of grammatical and musical phrases which delays resolution to the final at the ends of grammatical phrases, and there is sustained movement away from the final concurrent with developments of argumentation.
Example 4-11: O quam magnum miraculum – Dendermonde 9 fols 155r-v
3. Contraries and Song

3.1 Adam and Christ: *O vis eternitatis*

Sources: *cantus sunt melodia*: Riemerkodex  
*cantus*: Riesenkodex, Vienna 963

Hildegard’s responsory *O vis eternitatis* is dedicated to God’s *aeternitatis*, the ‘divine nature and divine knowledge’ which precedes creation.\(^{26}\) In the *Seivias, aeternitatis* is an expression of the *infini tum verbum*, which, Hildegard argues, is ‘indivisibly and eternally in the Father’.\(^{27}\) In Genesis 1:1–31, God’s infinite words created heaven, earth and the first humans, Adam and Eve, who succumbed to the snares of the serpent. In the wake of their expulsion from God’s earthly paradise, He promised redemption through the ‘seed of a woman’ who would crush the head of the serpent (Genesis 3:15). Before sending Adam from paradise, God expressed the contrary which informs human knowledge—‘Behold Adam is become as one of us, knowing good and evil’ (Genesis 3:33).

In delivering His promise of redemption (crushing the emblem of evil, the serpent), the Word assumed flesh. This personified *infini tum verbum*, Christ, assumed the human form initially taken by Adam, but, unlike His ancestor, Christ embodied the *divinitatis* or divine nature of God and was ‘brought forth without sin’, as described in John 1:14:

> *et Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis et vidimus gloriam eius gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre plenum gratiae et veritatis.*  

> And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth.\(^{28}\)

As an example of the expression of contraries in song, *O vis eternitatis* represents the evil and good of the pre- and post-Salvation conditions, and these cohere with the responsory genre in which this song is cast. In the respond, Hildegard reiterates the events leading to salvation: the eternity of God, the creation of the world, the assumption of flesh in the form of Adam and the great suffering of humanity. The verse comprises a series of complements: the kindness of the Saviour, the emancipation of ‘all things’, and the divine incarnation free from sin:

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\(^{27}\) Hildegarde, *Seivias* II; 1:3, p.114.  
\(^{28}\) *Jerome’s 405 A.D. Latin Vulgate*, trans. from the *Latin Vulgate*. 
The responsory is set as a deuterus chant with the note E as final (Example 4-12). The description of the pre-Salvation condition in the respond is articulated with a melismatic, repetitive melody that lacks resolution to the final. The post-Salvation condition described in the verse is articulated with similar progressions to the respond setting, but the melody is less florid and suggests both a grammatical and rhetorical association with the respond. The melodic structure of this responsory is given below:

\[
\text{(1) } O \text{ vis eternitatis que omnia ordinasti in corde tuo, } 1-4 \rightarrow 1-5 \rightarrow 8-5 \rightarrow 5-8-5 \rightarrow 5-8-5-1
\]
\[
\text{per verbum tuum omnia creata sunt sitae voluistis, } 5-8-5
\]
\[
\text{et ipsum verbum tuum induit carmem } 5-1 \rightarrow 5-8-5 \rightarrow 5-1-5-8-5-1
\]
\[
\text{in formatione illa que educta est de adam. } 5-8-5-1
\]
\[
\text{et sic indumenta ipsius a maximo dolore absterse sunt. } 1-5-8-(3)\rightarrow 1
\]

\[
\text{(2) } O \text{ quam magna est benignitas salvatoris, } 1-5-1 \rightarrow 5-8-5 \rightarrow 1-5-1-5-1-5 \rightarrow 1-5 \rightarrow 1-5-8-(3) \rightarrow 1-5-8-(3) \rightarrow 1-5-8-5-1
\]
\[
\text{qui omnia liberavit per incarnationem suam, } 5-8-5-1
\]
\[
\text{quam divinitas expiravit sine vinculo peccati. } 5-1-5-8-5-1 \rightarrow 1-5-8-(3) \rightarrow 1-5-8-5-1
\]
\[
\text{et sic indumenta ipsius a maximo dolore } 1-5-8-(3) \rightarrow 1-5-8-5-1 \rightarrow 1-5-8-5-1-1 \rightarrow 1-5-8-(3) \rightarrow 1-5-8-(3)
\]

\[
\text{absterse sunt. }
\]

\[
\text{Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto. }
\]

\[
\text{et sic indumenta ipsius a maximo dolore absterse sunt. }
\]

\[
\text{And in this way His clothes were cleansed from His bitter agony.}
\]

\[
\text{O how great is the kindness of the Saviour who liberated all things through His incarnation which His divinity exhaled without chain of sin.}
\]

\[
\text{And in this way His clothes were cleansed from His bitter agony.}^{29}
\]

\[
\text{Glory to the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.}
\]

\[
\text{And in this way His clothes were cleansed from His bitter agony.}^{29}
\]

\[
^{29}\text{Riesenkokex, fol. 466a.}
\]
Example 4-12: O vis eternitatis – Riesenködex fol. 466v

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Example 4-12 cont.

There is a melisma on 'O' at the opening, comprising a typical deuterus-E intonation (stepwise movement around the final within a narrow range), and the setting of 'vis eternitatis', the subject of the respond, opens with a 1-5 leap. The setting of Hildegard’s account of Salvation History in the respond is repetitive, and comprises continuous (1)-5-8-5-(1) progressions. The final is articulated at several points (over ‘[eter]ni[tatis]’, ‘om[nia]’, ‘et [ipsum]’, and ‘in [formatione]’), but each grammatical phrase ends on the diapente, and the final is not resolved to until ‘[il]la [que] educta est’. Here, the cantus expresses the assumption of human flesh by the deity, and the setting resolves to the final. When the antithesis of Christ, Adam, is mentioned ('de Adam'), however, there is a 1-5-8-5 progression.
In the repetenda, Hildegard describes the 'greatest pain' suffered by the flesh. The setting initially proceeds 5-1, thereby completing a 1-5-8-5-1 progression over 'de adam et sic indumenta ipsius', but there is another 1-5 leap at 'a [maximo]'. This phrase, 'a maximo dolore', describes the 'greatest pain' endured by the flesh (grammatically, the sufferings of two fleshes are suggested, Adam's as well as Christ's). The setting of this phrase also comprises a melismatic 1-5-8-5 progression, but, unlike in the phrases before 'et sic indumenta', there is a cadence to the final (on 'dolo[re]'). Similar articulation is suggested over 'abstessa sunt', only resolution to the final is delayed with a melisma on 'sunt'. There is reiteration of the third degree at the beginning and end of neumes over 'sunt', which recalls the descents from the diapason to the final through the third degree in Nunc gaudenant. In that song, this type of articulation coincided with the return of stolen sons and defeat of the devil. A comparable argumentative climax is suggested here with the suffering of the flesh. In both songs, these movements follow 1-5-1 and 1-5-8-5-1 movements, only in Nunc gaudenant these occur at the end of a related setting.

The verse suggests a second set of arguments, and Hildegard begins by stating: 'O how great is the kindness of the Saviour'. Here, the Saviour represents both an independent subject as well as an emblem of the 'vis eternitatis'. The setting of this phrase, 'O quam magna est benignitas salvatoris', opens with the same leap as on 'vis [eternitatis]', but, unlike in the respond, there is a cadence to the final over '[magna] est' before a 5-8-5 progression.

Both respond and verse 'O' phrases are followed by relative clauses. In the respond, Hildegard argues that eternity 'ordered all things', and in the verse she argues that the Saviour 'liberated all things'. Where there was 1-5-8-5 movement without resolution to the final in the respond, there is 5-1-5 movement with a mid-phrase cadence to the final over '[liberavit]' in the verse. These relative clauses are each followed by a prepositional phrase initiated by the preposition 'per', and these two phrases, 'per verbum tuum' and 'per incarnationem suam', describe the source of eternity's 'order' and the Son's 'liberation' respectively. In the respond, the 'per' phrase was part of continuous movement away from the final. In the verse, the 'per' phrase initiates a new 1-5-8-5-1 phrase, whereas grammatically a new phrase begins at 'quam divinitas'.

The grammatical parallel between respond and verse is less apparent after this point, although the following phrases of both expound a source of assumed flesh. In the respond, the flesh assumed was in the sinful 'form of Adam', but in the verse, it was 'breathed forth' by divinity 'without chain of sin'. For the phrase 'que educta est de adam', the setting moves from the final to the diapente, but over 'quam divinitas expiravit sine vinculo peccati', the melody comprises a 5-8-5-(1)-(5)-1 progression with resolution to the final at the end of the phrase.
The phrase beginning ‘et sic indumenta’ from the respond is then repeated, but here the flesh is grammatically and rhetorically Christ’s, and, unlike its first appearance, it is preceded by the final, not a conclusion of a 1-5-8-5-1 progression begun over ‘de adam’. A lesser doxology is added, and this is set with the same melody as the opening (‘O quam magna est benignitas salva[toris]’) and closing (‘[sp]avit sine vinculo peccati’) phrases of the verse producing a 1-5-8-5-1 progression initiated and concluded with 1-5-1 movement.

The contrary between the pre- and post-Salvation conditions coheres with the genre of this song. The pre-Salvation state is expounded in the respond with a repetitive, melismatic setting which lacks resolution to the final. The post-Salvation condition is expounded in the verse, and, although progressions are similar, the delivery is more restrained, and returns to the final suggest a grammatical and rhetorical link between respond and verse.
3.2 Transgression and Elevation: Mathias Sanctus

Source: cantus cum melodia: Riesenkodex

Hildegard’s hymn to St Matthias, Mathias Sanctus, could be thought of as a companion song to O eucharis in leta via. The St Eucharius abbey in Trier was reconsecrated to St Matthias in 1143, although dedications in manuscripts produced at the abbey after 1143 refer to both saints. Like the sequence to St Eucharius, Mathias sanctus is set to paired verses. Another hymn to St Matthias, Diem angelicis solemnem choris, which was known at the abbey, describes Matthias as a ‘child of God’ elected by lot. The historical St Matthias was the first-century apostle who replaced Judas Iscariot. The brief account of Mathias’ elevation in Acts 1:23–26 describes how he was elected to the apostolate by lot, joining the eleven apostles following the transgression of Judas:

et statuerunt duos Joseph qui vocabatur Barsabas qui cognominatus est Justus et Matthiam et orantes dixerunt tu Domine qui corda nostri omnium ostende quem elegis ex his duobus unum accipere locum ministerii suus et apostolatus de quo praeventurus est Judas ut abint in locum suum et dedenunt sortes eis et occidit soror super Matthiam et adnomenatus est cum undecim apostolis.

And they appointed two, Joseph, called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias. And praying, they said: Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two thou hast chosen, To take the place of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas hath by transgression fallen, that he might go to his own place. And they gave them lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven apostles.

As with O eucharis in leta via and O viridissima viga, this hymn suggests two sections of argumentation. The first section concerns the saint’s pre-elected state, and the second section concerns a contrary, his elevation to the sainthood. Hildegard’s song begins and ends with a description of Matthias as ‘elected’, but in verses 1a to 2b, she describes the human error that caused Matthias’ elevation (1). In verses 3a to 4b, she argues that Matthias ‘rose like a giant’ and elucidates the mystery of his choice (2). In the final verse, she issues an invitation to the Church to rejoice in him:

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32 Jerome’s 405 A.D. Latin Vulgata, trans. from the Latin Vulgata.
Mathias sanctus per electionem vir preliator per victoriam ante sanguinem agri electionem non habuit sed tardus in scientia fuit quasi homo qui perfecte non vigilat.

Homo qui electionem vidit ve ve ceedit boves et arietes habuit sed faciem suam ab eis retorsum duxit et illos dimisit.

Unde foveam carbonum invisi et desideria sua osculatus in studio suo illa sicut olimpum erecit.

Tunc Mathias per electionem divinitatis sicut gygas surrexit quia deus illam posit in locum quem perditus homo noluit o mirabile miraculum quod sic in illo resplenduit.

Deus enim ipsum previdit in miraculis suis cum nondum haberet meritum operationis sed mysterium dei in illo gaudium habuit quod idem per institutionem suam non habebat.

O gaudium gaudiorum quod deus sic operatur cum nescienti homini gratiam suam impendit tua quod parvulus nesit ubi magnus volat avius alas deus parvulo tribuit.

Deus enim gustum in illo habet qui seipsum nescit quia vox eius ad deum clamat sicut Mathias fecit qui dixit o deus deus meas qui me creasti omnia opera mea tua sunt.

Nunc ergo gaudate omnis ecclesia in Mathia quem deus in foramine columbe sic elegit. Amen.

Mathias, Saint by election, a man of war through victory; before the blood of the Lamb he had no election, but he was tardy in knowledge just like a human who is not perfectly awake.

The gift of God aroused him, whence he rose through joy as a giant in his strength, for God foresew him just as the human which he formed from mud when the first angel struck who denied God.

The human who saw election, alas, alas he fell; he had oxen and rams, but he turned his face from them and abandoned them.

Whence he entered a charcoal pit, and, his desires having been kissed in his zeal, he erected them as Olympus.

Then Mathias, through the election of divinity, rose as a giant, for God set him in the place which the lost human refused; O miraculous miracle that thus gleamed again in him.

For God foresew him in His miracles since he did not yet have the merit of divine service; but the mystery of God had joy in him that it did not have with its institution.

O joy of joys that God works in this way when he expends his grace to an unknowing human, so that the small is ignorant of where the great flies, the wings of whom God grants to the small.

For God has a foretaste in he who is ignorant of himself because his voice calls to God, as Mathias did, who said: 'O God my God who created me, all my works are yours'.

Now therefore may the whole Church rejoice in Mathias who God in the aperture of the dove thus elected. Amen.\footnote{Riesencodex, fol 474\textsuperscript{rb}.}

The setting of Mathias sanctus (Example 4-13) is a tritus melody with the note c as final, but, unusually, the first section of argumentation takes the note F as cofinal, and the final is the diapente in 1-5-8-5-(1) progressions. The diapente above the final is established at the end of verses 2a and 2b, and, in the second section of argumentation, the melodic structure is dominated by 1-5-8-5-1 progressions. This change from cofinal to final coincides with a more florid style of delivery and a change in argumentative focus from Mathias' pre-elected state to his post-elected one. The melodic structure of Mathias sanctus is given below with cofinal progressions given in italics:
(1) 1a Mathias sanctus per electionem,
    vir prelator per victioriam
    ante sanguinem agri electionem non habuit,
    sed tardi in scientia fuit
    quasi homo qui perfetque non vigilat.
   5-8-5-1 (= cofinal)
   1-4-1
   1-5-8-5
   5-1-4-1
   1-5-8-5

   1b Denum dei illum excipit unde ipse per gaudio
    sicut gygas in viribus suis surrexit quia dei illum previdit
    sicut hominem quem de limo formavit cum primus angelus cecidit,
    qui deum negavit.
   5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-5-8-5
   5-1-4-1-5
   5-8-5

   2a Homo qui electionem vidit in ve vescidit,
    boves et arietes habuit,
    sed faciem suam ab eis retroscum dixit
    et illos dimiserit.
   5-1-5-8-5
   5-1-5
   1 (= final) 5-1
   1-4-1
   5-1-5

   2b Unde foveam carbonum invasit
    et desideria sua osculatis in studio suo illa sicut olimpum rexixit.
   5-8-5-1-5-1 (= final) 5-1-4-1

(2) 3a Tunc Mathias per electionem divinitatis sicut gygas surrexit,
    quia dei illum posuit in locum quem perditus homo noluit;
    o mirabile miraculum quod sic in illo resplenduit.
   1-5-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5
   1-5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-5-8-5-1-4-1

   3b Deus enim ipsum previdit in miraculis suis,
    cum nondum haberet meritorium operationis,
    sed mysterium dei in illo gaudium habuit,
    quod idem per institutionem suam non habebat.
   5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5
   1-5-8-5-1-4-1
   1-5-8-5-1-4-1

   4a O gaudium gaudionum quod desit sic operatur,
    cum nescienti homini gratiam suam impendit, ita quod parvulus nescit,
    ubi magnum volat eius alas deum parvulo tribuit.
   1-5-8-5-1-4-1
   5-1-4-1-5-8-5
   5-1-4-1-5-8-5-1-4-1

   4b Deus enim gustum in illo habet,
    qui teipsum nescit quia vox eius ad deum clamat sicut mathias fecit,
    qui dixit o deus deus meus qui me creasti,
    omnia opera mea tua sunt.
   1-4-1-5-8-5
   5-1-5-8-5-1
   1-4-1-5-8-5-1
   (1)-5-1-4-1

   5 Nunc ergo gaudeat omnis ecclesia in mathia,
    quem deus in foramine columbe sic elegit.
   5-1-4-1

Hildegard's opening description of Matthias' election ('Mathias sanctus per electionem') suggests central focus for this song. Reiteration of Matthias' elected state occurs at the opening of each pair of phrases until verse 4a, and his elected state is rendered by verb in the final, unpaired verse. The first argumentative section describes Matthias prior to his election. In verse 1a, Hildegard argues that Matthias was a 'man of war' who 'had no election' prior to Christ's crucifixion. The setting of this verse (Example 4–12) is centred around the diapente below the final, the cofinal F. After an initial ascent to the diatessaron above the final over ['Mathias']s, the melody resolves to the cofinal at ['electio]nem'. The setting from 'ante' to 'scientia fuit' comprises a 1-5-8-5-1-4-1 progression, with the grammatical break at 'habuit' ending on the final. A second 1-5-8-5-1 progression is begun at 'quasi homo', but the verse ends on the final without resolution to the cofinal.
Example 4-13: Mathias sanctus – Riesenkdex fols 474\textsuperscript{rb}-475\textsuperscript{ra-b}
Example 4-13 cont.

Verse 1b continues the theme of Matthias prior to his election; Hildegard describes the saint’s ‘arousal’ through the gift of God and draws a comparison between God’s foreknowledge of Matthias and that of the first human. The setting reiterates verse 1a, but a melodic and grammatical break is misaligned at ‘formavit’ in comparison with the same point in verse 1a (at ‘scientia fuit’). The cofinal is again not resolved to at the end of clauses in this verse.
In the following pair of verses, Hildegard takes up the themes of the ‘fallen human’ and describes the abandonment of his flock. She also depicts the descent of the ‘human who saw election’, a representation of Matthias’ fallen predecessor, Judas, whose ‘desires had been kissed’. The first phrase comprises a 5–1–5–8–5 progression, and this is repeated in part over ‘boves et arietes habuit’. At ‘sed faciem suam’, however, the melody rises to the diapente above the final, which is introduced over ‘[faciem suam ab eis reflosu]’ The same setting is given to verse 2b, but the opening of the phrase at ‘boves’ in verse 2a occurs mid phrase in verse 2b (on ‘sua’), and the association between the cofinal (the note F) and resolution is further diminished by misalignment of grammatical and melodic phrases at ‘suo’.

Verse 3a coincides with a second section of argumentation, and Hildegard reiterates an argument from verse 1b, that Matthias ‘rose like a giant’. In that verse, Matthias rose through joy, and this is clarified in verse 3a where Matthias rises ‘through his election’. His election here follows the transgression of Judas alluded to in verse 2b, and Matthias now assumes the place of the ‘lost human’. The setting reflects Matthias’ transition from pre-elected tardy human to ‘elected’ giant in whom the miracle of God ‘gleams’ with 1–4–1, 1–5–1 and 1–5–8–5–1 movements a fifth higher than in the first argumentative section.

The setting of verse 3a comprises two 1–5–8–5–1 progressions, prefaced by 1–5–1 and 1–4–1 movements. Each grammatical phrase begins and ends on the final, with ascents to the diapason rendered melismatically. In each phrase, the final is returned to by leap, which reflects the melodic behaviour in other songs, for example the St Rupert antiphons. In verse 3b, Hildegard amplifies arguments put forward in the first unit, that Matthias was elected – that he was inspired into God’s service (not unlike St Eucharius) – and that God foresaw his elevation. The setting is in repetition of verse 3a with grammatical and melodic phrases aligned. The argumentative flow is maintained in the middle of the verse however, with only the first and fourth phrases beginning and ending on the final. The articulation is also less florid than in the preceding verse.

In the final pair of verses, 4a and b, Hildegard continues the theme of the mystery of Matthias’ appointment and argues ‘O joy of joy’ that God elevates the small. She then relates this to the elevation of Matthias, who ‘called to God’ (in paraphrase of the opening of psalms 21:2, 62:2 and 45:2) saying, ‘O deus deus meus qui me creati omnia opera mea tua sunt’ [O God my God who created me, all my works are yours]. The setting of each of these verses comprises three 1–5–8–5–1 progressions, separated by 1–4–1 movement, with the first two phrases comprising a single 1–5–8–5–1 progression. The first and fourth phrases also include melismas, as at the beginning and end of verse 4a.

The setting of verse 4a is repeated for verse 4b, but the (1)–4–1 progression over ‘gratiam suam impendit’ in verse 4a is omitted in verse 4b. As a result, two 1–5–8–5–1 progressions are articulated in verse 4b without intermediary 1–4–1 movement. Unusually, a phrase of melody has also been added over ‘creati, omnia opera mea’, which
is part of Matthias' declaration of dedication to God. The melody here includes a 5-1-5 progression not included in verse 4a. As with verse 3b, the delivery in verse 4b is less florid than in the verse preceding.

In the final verse, Hildegard concludes, 'now therefore may the whole Church rejoice in Matthias', and again she reiterates that Matthias was 'elected'. The setting of this verse comprises stepwise movement around the final with only one ascent to the diapente (over 'Mathi]a quem deus in'), which suggests diminished articulative tension concurrent with the conclusion suggested in the cantus. The amen is set in the same way as the alleluia at the end of Nunc gaudeant, with movement between the final and diatessarons either side of it.

This 'hymn' is set to a melody dominated by 1–5–8–5–1 progressions, but these are initially redacted on a cofinal. The two sections of argumentation express a contrary, Matthias' pre- and post-elected states, and this is encompassed in the setting through the establishment of a cofinal which is not resolved to in the first argumentative section. At the end of verses 2a and 2b, a final-diapente relationship is established, and this relationship is sustained in the second argumentative section with repetitions of 1–4–1, 1–5–1, and 1–5–8–5–1 progressions common to many of Hildegard's songs.

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4. Unity and Song

4.1 The Holy Spirit as Unifier: *O ignis spiritus paracleti*

Sources: *cantus cum melodia*: Dendermonde 9, Riesenkdex
*cantus*: Riesenkdex, Vienna 963

*O ignis spiritus paracleti* is a sequence dedicated to the third member of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit. Hildegard’s position on the Trinity, that ‘unity is understood in the Trinity, and the Trinity in unity’, is reflected in this sequence by her address to the Paraclete, the helper and comforter that followed Christ. This dedication emphasizes the place of the Holy Spirit as successor to the Incarnation who is inseparable from Him, as described in John 14:26:

> paracletus autem Spiritus Sanctus quem mittet Pater
> in nomine meo ille vos docet et omnia quae quaecumque dixeris
> But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you.

As with Hildegard’s antiphons to the Trinity and Holy Spirit, this sequence is an apostrophe which extols the Paraclete in the continuous present. Hildegard follows an initial vocative address (‘*O ignis spiritus paracleti*’) by seven other vocative acclamations, and the continuous flow of praise reflects the omnipresent, omnipotent spirit. Without clear demarcations that represent shifts in argumentative focus, such as changes in tense or subject, the sequence suggests a single rhetorical argument which expounds various virtues of the Paraclete:

1a *O ignis spiritus paracleti vita vitæ omnis creaturæ sancta est vivificandæ formas.*

1b *Sanctus es ungendo periculose fractos sanctus est tegendo fetida vulnera.*

2a *O spiruillum sanctitatis o ignis sanitatis o dulcis gustus in pectoribus infusio cordium in bono odore viriditab.*

2b *O tibi purissimae in quo consideratur quod Deus alienos colligit et perditos requirit.*

3a *O lorica vitæ et spes compaginis membrorum omniæ et o ingulum honestatis salva beatos.*

3b *Custodi eos qui carcerati sunt ab inimico et solve ligatos quod divina vis salvare vult.*

4a *O iter fortissimum quod penetravit omnia in alissimis et in terris et in omnibus abyssis tu omnes componis et colligis.*

4b *De te nubes fluunt ether volat lapides humorem habent aque rivulos educunt et terra viridiatar sedat.*

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35 *Jerome’s 405 A.D. Latin Vulgate*; trans. from the Latin Vulgate.
5 Tu etiam semper educis doctos per inspirationem sapientie letificatos.

6 Unde laus tibi sit qui es sonus laudis et gaudium vite, spes et honor fortissimus dans premia lucis.

Also, you always instruct the learned, gladdened through inspiration of Wisdom.

Hence praise be to you, who is the sound of praise and joy of life, hope and honour most powerfully giving gifts of light.  

This apostrophe is set to a protus melody with the note a as final. There are four pairs of verses followed by two through-composed verses at the end. The pairs of verses comprise elaborations of common themes, and this is reflected in the melodic pairings. The final two verses expound different themes, and each is given an individual setting. The melodic structure of this sequence is given below:

1a O ignis spiritus paradisi
   vita vite omnis creaturae,
   sanctus est vivificando formas.

1b Sanctus es ungendo periculose fractus, sanctus es tegendo
   fetida vulnera.

2a O spiraculum sanctitatis, o ignis caritatis,
   o dulcis gustus in pectoribus et infusion ordium in bono odore virtutum.

2b O fons purissime, in quo consideratur,
   quod deus alienos colligit et perditos requirit.

3a O loricae vite, et spes compaginis membrorum omnium,
   et o cinerum honestatis, salva beatos.

3b Custodi eos qui carcerati sunt ab inimico, et soluv ligatos
   quod divina vis salvare vult.

4a O iter fortissimum, quod penetravit omnia,
   in allissimis et in terrenis et in omnibus abyssis,
   tu omnes componis et coligis.

4b De te nubes flosunt, ether volat,
   lapides humorem habent, aque rivulos educunt,
   et terra viriditatem suscit.

5 Tu etiam semper educis doctos per inspirationem sapientie letificatos.

6 Unde laus tibi sit qui es sonus laudis et gaudium vite,
   spes et honor fortissimus, dans premia lucis.

1-5-1-1-4-1
1-5-1-1-4-1
--4-1--4-1
1-5-1-1-4-1
1-5-1-1-4-1
--4-1--4-1
5-1-5-1
1-5-1-5-1
5-1-5-1
1-5-8-5-1-5-1
1-5-8-5-1-5-1
1-5-8-5-1-5-1
1-4-1-1-4-1
5-8-5-1-4-1-5-1
1-4-1-1-4-1
1-4-1-1-4-1
1-5-8-5-1-4-1-5-1
1-4-1-1-4-1
1-5-8-5-1-4-1-5-1
1-5-8-5-1-4-1-5-1
5-8-5-1-5-1
8-5-1

In the first pair of verses, Hildegard describes the ‘life giving’ properties of the Paraclete, that, as with the Father and Son, the Paraclete gives ‘life and form’ to every creature and heals the spiritually wounded. The setting of the opening of verse 1a is typical of Hildegard’s protus songs (an initial leap between the final and diapente), and the verse comprises 1-5-1, 1-4-1 and 1-4-1 movements. Phrases are separated by 3-2-1 cadences.

36 Dendermonde 9, fols 158v.
The continuation of the theme of the Paraclete's life-giving properties between verses 1a and 1b is reinforced by repetition of 'sanctus es' at the opening of verse 1b. The setting of this verse is the same as verse 1a, but a grammatical and melodic pause is misaligned at 'fractos', and there is no 3—2—1 cadence at 'tergendo'. Here, the argumentative flow is uninterruptedly by a cadence to the final at grammatically significant points from 'Sanctus es' to the end of the verse.
Hildegard continues the theme of the Paraclete’s ‘life giving’ properties in the second pair of verses. Here, the Paraclete embodies the spiritual life; it is ‘sanctity’, ‘charity’, ‘virtue’ and is the ‘pure fountain’ in which God’s assistance is considered. The setting of verse 2a suggests a heightening of articulative tension, with continuous movement between the final and diapente. The diapente is emphasised through a ‘1—2—3’ figure of its own (i.e. e-d-g) at the beginning of each phrase (over ‘spira[culum]’ and ‘dukis’ – compare c-G-a) before the melody descends to the final. The first phrase ends on the final, but the second phrase begins on the diapente, which, as in O quam magnum miraculum, suggests an articulative continuum to the argumentative flow. Verse 2b has the same setting, and, as with verse 1b, a melodic and grammatical break is misaligned. A break between ‘consideratur’ and ‘quod’ is articulated, but the word ‘colligit’ ends a grammatical phrase while initiating a melodic one, and the subfinal over ‘colligit’ is not followed by repetition of the final as between ‘pastoribus’ and ‘infusio’ in verse 2a. In both verses, there is sustained movement away from the final concurrent with Hildegard’s amplification of the Paraclete’s life-giving properties.

Now the Paraclete has been established as emblem of ‘life’ and ‘healing’, Hildegard turns her attention to the Paraclete as spiritual ‘defender’. In the third pair of verses, the Paraclete is the ‘breastplate of life’ that unifies the ‘limbs’ of the Church and is entreated to ‘save the blessed’. The Paraclete’s role as defender is continued in verse 3b, where Hildegard asks that the Spirit ‘guard’ the imprisoned from harm and release spiritual captives. A further heightening of articulative tension in this pair of verses is again represented, this time by two 1–5–8–5–1 progressions prefaced/followed by 1–3–2–1 figures (compare 3–2–1 at the end of phrases in the opening verses). The setting of verse 3a is reiterated for verse 3b with grammatical and melodic breaks aligned. For the second phrase at ‘quos divina’, the final is not repeated and the phrase begins on the diapente (compare ‘et [o cingulum]’ in verse 3a). The e-f-a-b’ progression over ‘cingulum honestatis’ in verse 3a is corrected to e–g–a’ in verse 3b.

In verse 4a, Hildegard continues to reveal the Paraclete’s godliness through description of three realms, ‘heights and lands and in all abysses’ in which the spirit ‘unites and gathers’ all. She elucidates two realms in verse 4b; ‘clouds flow’ and ‘heavens fly’ (heights), ‘stones have moisture’ and the ‘earth distils viridity’ (lands) from the spirit. The setting of verse 4a also includes a 1–5–8–5–1 progression. This is prefaced by extended movement around the final and followed by 1–5–1 and 1–4–1 progressions. There is also a leap from the diatessaron to the diapason over ‘altis[simus]’; similar movement occurs in O felix apparicio and O quam magnum miraculum. This melody is repeated in verse 4b – a grammatical and melodic break is misaligned at ‘lapides’, which, with reference to verse 4a, concludes a melodic phrase but initiates a grammatical one.

With Hildegard’s description of the Paraclete’s realms in verses 4a and 4b, the apostrophe has reached a rhetorical climax, and the articulation associated with this climax is not only sustained but also enhanced in verse 5. As argument, verse 5 represents an addendum to
Hildegard's description of the Paraclete who gives life, heals, protects and encompasses all. She adds to these arguments that the Paraclete 'instructs the learned' through Wisdom, who inhabits the same 'heights, lands and abysses' as the spirit. The setting comprises a single '1-5-8-5-1' progression with four ascents to the diapason. Similar movement occurs in the melismas at the end of O vinga mediatrix and O quam magnum miraculum.

In the final verse, Hildegard concludes (initiated by the familiar unde) with an exaltation - 'praise' be given to the Paraclete who is the 'sound of praise', 'joy of life, hope and honour', and giver of 'gifts of light'. The articulation here is not in repetition of the preceding verse. Rather it comprises two 1-5-8-5-1 progressions. This movement is similar to that in verses 3a and 3b but without movement around the final at the opening of the verse.

O ignis spiritus paracliti summarises many of the articulations found in other songs. The song opens with 1-4-1 and 1-5-1 movement, 1-5-8-5-1 progressions are introduced as arguments progress, and these progressions are prefaced and concluded with movement around the final. Additions to the 1-5-8-5-1 progressions include leaps between the diatessaron and diapason, and repetition of 5-8-5 movement within progressions. Argumentative flow between phrases is maintained in the articulation through misalignment of grammatical and musical pauses, and through the non-articulation of the final at the opening of phrases after a return to the final at grammatically significant points.

The melodic pairing associated with the genre of this song unfolds in agreement with the rhetorical pairing of arguments, and the discontinuation of paired verses/arguments coincides with the introduction of through-composed verses. There is a tension between the melodic structure and the grammatical structure as well as the genre, but the rhetorical and melodic structures unfold in agreement.

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37 'O virtus sapientie', Hildegard, Symphonia, p.100.
4.2 Unity and Narrative: Studium divinitatis

Sources: cantus cum melodia: Dendermonde 9, Riesenkodex

According to legend, St Ursula was a fourth-century British princess who rejected matrimony, gathered together a band of 11,000 companions and embarked upon a pilgrimage to Rome, only to be slaughtered on the way by Huns near Cologne. There are a number of accounts of the deeds of this saint, including one by Hildegard's contemporary Elizabeth of Schönau, who composed her Revelations on St Ursula c.1158 after the discovery of an assumed Ursuline burial plot near Cologne.\(^{38}\) Hildegard's eight laudes antiphons describe the pilgrimage and demise of St Ursula and her companions.

In the first antiphon, Hildegard describes how Ursula and her companions received the blessing of divinity ("osculum pacis") for their journey, and in the second she argues that, because of this blessing, they were honoured wherever they went. In the third antiphon, Hildegard introduces a theme which is not represented in her other Ursuline songs – the inclusion of males among Ursula's companions.\(^{39}\) Development of this theme is credited to Elizabeth, who included male companions in her version of the legend in response to the discovery of male skeletons at the burial plot in Cologne.\(^{40}\) Hildegard argues in the fourth antiphon that God 'foretold' that 'woman should be nourished' by male custodianship. In the fifth antiphon, she amplifies this argument by drawing an analogy between the spiritual nourishment of women through male custody and the nourishing firmament which 'sustains' the air. She then concludes that the girls were 'sustained' by the 'supreme man'.

In the sixth antiphon, these male companions suggest the presence of the 'supreme man', and, by way of summation, Hildegard describes how 'God sent dew' from which Ursula's 'repute' grew, and how people feasted on this 'as if food'. She then ends her version of the Ursuline pilgrimage in the same way as the pilgrimage itself ended, with the devil's ridicule. The eight antiphons otherwise suggest three sections of argumentation – one which describes the godliness of the Ursuline pilgrimage (antiphons 1 & 2), a second which outlines how male custodianship nourished the pilgrims on their journey (antiphons 3 to 7) and the unfortunate end to the Ursuline pilgrimage (antiphon 8).

\(^{1}\) Studium divinitatis in laudibus excelsis osculum pacis urse virgini cum turba sua in omnibus populis dedit.

\(^{2}\) Unde quocumque venientes perexerant velut cum gaudio celestis paradisi susceple sunt quia in religione morum honorifice appaerent.

The zeal of divinity, with high praises, has given a kiss of peace to Ursula the virgin with her band among all peoples. Hence wherever arriving, they proceeded through [and] were received as if with the joy of celestial paradise because they appeared honouring in religiousness of conduct.


\(^{39}\) Sabina Flanagan, 'Hildegard and the Gendering of Sanctity', Hildegard and Gendered Theology, p.86.

\(^{40}\) Flanagan, 'Gendering of Sanctity', p.85.
From that Fatherland also and from foreign regions, men—religious and wise—were joined to them, who were retaining them in virginal custody and who were ministering to them in all things.

God foretold in the first woman that woman would be nourished by the custody of man. The air certainly flies and with all creatures it exercises its office; and firmament sustains it, [and] the air is supported by its strength. And for that reason, those girls were sustained through the supreme man, standard bearing in the royal offspring of virginal nature.

God certainly sent a dew for them from which manifold repute grew, so that all peoples were partaking from this honourable repute as if food. But the devil, in his jealousy, ridiculed that he left no work of God intact.  

Each 'verse' of this narrative is given an independent musical setting. The first, fourth and fifth antiphons are deuterus chants with the note E as final; the second and sixth antiphons are protus chants with the note A as final; and the third and the final antiphons are protus chants with the note D as final. These eight songs are unified by their *cantus*, which expounds the Ursuline pilgrimage, and the articulation encompasses this through repetition of progressions, figures and cadences between the antiphons. The melodic structures of the eight antiphons are given below:

(1) 1 Studium divinitatis in laudibus excelsis osculum pacis
ursule virgini cum turbis sua in omnibus populis dedit.  
2 Unde quaequaque venientes perrexerunt velut, 
cum gaudio celesti paradisi suscepte sunt, 
quia in religione morum honorifice apparentur.

(2) 3 De patria etiam earum 
et de aliis regionibus 
wpn religiosi et sapientes ipsius adjuncti sunt, 
qui eas in virgine custodia servabant 
et qui eas in omnibus ministrant.
4 Deus enim in prima muliere presignavit, 
vel mulier a viri custodia nutrirtur.
5 Aer enim volat et cum omnibus creaturis officia sua exercet, 
et firmamentum eum sustinet, 
aer aer in viribus istius pastitur.
6 Et ideo puelle iste per summum vinum sustentabantur 
vexillate in regali prole virginee nature.
7 Deus enim norem in illas misit, 
de quo multiplex fana crevit, 
ita quod omnes populi ex hac honorabili fana velunt cibum gustabant.
(3) 8 Sed diabolus in inviva sua istud imisit, 
quod nullum opus dei intactum dimisit.

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41Dendermore, 9, fols 167v-168r.
The setting of the first antiphon, which describes how Ursula and her virgin companions are blessed by divinity, opens with a typical deuterus intonation (stepwise movement around the final within a narrow range). The setting comprises three melismatic 1-5-1 progressions separated by 1-4-1 ones. This movement suggests similar 1-5-1/1-4-1 movement to the opening of many of Hildegard’s songs.

Hildegard continues the theme of the blessed pilgrimage in the second antiphon, and the setting here is initiated with a ‘protus’ leap with the final as protus-a. The melody incorporates 1-5-1 and 1-4-1 movement with two 1-5-8-5-1 progressions, the second of which includes hitherto unencountered leaps (at ‘velitut’ and ‘cum [gaudio]’) between the second degree and the diapente – the diapente and diapason of deuterus-E songs. As in other songs, a 1-4-1, 1-5-1 opening is followed by 1-5-8-5-1 progressions. The more florid delivery in this antiphon also reflects the amplification of argument in the cantus.

The third antiphon suggests a separate section of argumentation – concerning the pilgrims’ male custodianship. The setting is initiated by another ‘protus’ leap, this time with the note D as final. This setting also incorporates initial 1-5-1, 1-4-1 movements followed by 1-5-8-5-1 progressions. With the first of these progressions, however, there are diapente leaps between the final and its diapente, between the diapente and its diapente followed by a descending diatessaron leap to the second degree over ‘et sapiens’ (D-a-e-b), which, unusually, is preserved in both sources. These four notes outline the prominent diapente relations in the eight antiphons.

In the fourth antiphon, Hildegard argues that God ‘foresaw’ in Eve that woman would be ‘nourished’ by the custody of men. The custodian, like the provost, guards, educates and helps Ursula’s band of girls. The perpetuation of the theme of male custodianship in this antiphon is met with a deuterus-E setting which comprises two, regular 1-5-8-5-1 progressions with interim 1-5-1 movement. The first four antiphons combined suggest a modal sequence of deuterus-E, protus-a, protus-D, deuterus-E.

In antiphon 5, Hildegard continues the theme of the custodianship of the pilgrims. The final is again the note E, but the antiphon opens with a melody reminiscent of the setting of ‘ursula virginis’ in the first antiphon. The setting again comprises two 1-5-8-5-1 progressions, this time followed by 1-4-1 and 1-5-1 movements. An argumentative climax is represented in the sixth antiphon. Here, Hildegard describes the ‘divine’ custodian, the ‘supreme man’ who is ‘royal offspring of virgin nature’. The setting is, as might be expected, a protus-a melody (which opens with a ‘protus’ 1-5 leap) and comprises two 1-5-8-5-1 progressions. As in other songs, the second progression is prefaced by extended movement around the final, here —4-1-4-1 movement.
Example 4-15: Studium divinitatis. . .Sed diabulus – Dendermonde 9 fols 167v-168v
Example 4-15 cont.
Example 4-15 cont.
Up to this point, the modal sequence of the first four antiphons, E–a–D–E, is repeated, but the seventh antiphon is set on deuterus–E, not protus–D, despite opening with a typically protus 1–5 leap. In antiphon 7, Hildegard summarises the Ursuline pilgrimage with reference to the blessing and reception of the pilgrims in antiphons 1 and 2, and argues that ‘God sent dew’ (compare the blessing of divinity in the first antiphon), and ‘people partook’ of the pilgrim’s ‘repute’ as if ‘food’ (compare the pilgrim’s reception with joy in antiphon 2). Once again there are two 1–5–8–5–1 progressions. As a summary which coincides with an argumentative climax, this setting returns to the parameters associated with articulative stability, represented here by regular 1–5–8–5–1 behaviour and the deuterus–E final.

The protus–D setting expected for antiphon 7 is set aside for antiphon 8, in which Hildegard alludes to the untimely end of the Ursuline pilgrimage. Here the setting reflects the setting of the third antiphon, but the delivery is less florid. As in antiphon 3, there is an immediate return to the final after an opening 1–5 leap, and there is a 1–5–8–5–1 progression over ‘quod nullum opus dei infiatum’, prefaced by 3–4–1 movement. The lack of resolution suggested by the devil’s victory in this antiphon is reflected in the repetition of protus–D – its previous articulation was at the beginning of an argumentative section.

The rhetorical structure of this cantus is represented by melodic behaviour similar to other songs, in particular 1–4–1, 1–5–1 movements, followed by 1–5–8–5–1 progressions. The modal assignments also suggest this structure, with interruption to the modal sequence E–a–D–E with ‘resolution’ to the deuterus–E final in the seventh antiphon, and repetition of the maneria and opening progression of antiphon 3 for the description of the devil’s ridicule of the Ursuline pilgrimage in antiphon 8. The three argumentative sections are also suggested by the more florid delivery given to the central section of argument (antiphons 3 to 7), and more restrained delivery in the first and final antiphons.

The redaction of deuterus–E and protus–D between related cantus is also found between two St Rupert antiphons, O felix apparicio and O beatissime Ruperte. In the eight Ursuline antiphons, there is a correlation between melodic behaviour, primarily the openings of songs, and the modal assignments, yet the progression of melody between the eight antiphons proceeds in a similar way to other songs. This suggests that the designation of maneria is in response to dominant melodic characteristics and position of verses in the narrative.

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5. Interpretation and Song

5.1 Interpretation and Transposition: *O dulcissime amator*

Sources: *cantus cum melodia*: Dendermonde 9, Riesenkdex  
*cantus*: Riesenkdex, Vienna 963

The *Symphonia virginibus O dulcissime amator* addresses the same subject as the *Symphonia de virginibus* included in the *Scivias* Book III vision 13, which is preserved as a paired antiphon (*O pulcre facies*) and responsory (*O nobilissima viriditas*) in the cyclic sources. *O dulcissime amator* however, represents a departure from Hildegard’s depictions of laudable personages in the *Scivias*, where she describes the attributes of virgins and the blessedness of their pious state. *O dulcissime amator* is cast in the first-person plural, is addressed to the ‘Salvator Christe’ and describes the suffering of the virgins and their willingness to be ‘one with Him’.

A precedent for these two depictions of virgins – as praiseworthy subjects and lamenting speakers – is *Scivias* Book II;3:23. Here, the spiritual relationship between cloistered virgins and God is described through the metaphor of the laudable virginal bride and her spouse, Christ, and the suffering virgin who perseveres with the eternal struggle to maintain and strengthen the bonds of her union with Christ:

> Quae dux desiderat Filium meum in amore eius cupiens obtendere virginitatem suam, vaude ornatur in thalamo ipsius, quoniam contentit ordonem quem pro cantate illius sustinet, noleas dissolvi de incendio ardentis libiinis, perseverans in pudicitia; quia carnalem uiram in spirituali desponsatione despist, tota desiderio anhelans post Filium meum, uidelicet recordationem sin camalis abictis.

But she who desires My Son and wants to keep her virginity for His love is greatly ornamented in His nuptial chamber, for she sets at naught the burning she endures for the sake of His love, but perseveres in chastity, choosing not to be consumed by the fire of ardent lust; and in her spiritual marriage she despises [the idea of] a fleshly husband, and renounces the thought of one to strive with her whole desire after My Son.\(^2\)

This twofold way of maintaining the union with Christ reflects the ‘human knowledge’ of good and evil, with a knowledge of ‘good’ represented by a desire for the spouse, and that of ‘evil’ represented by the ‘fire of ardent lust’ which the virgins are encouraged to reject. Hildegard expounds both types of knowledge in *O dulcissime amator*. In verses 1 and 10, virgins entreat the eternal spouse to keep them in virginal custody; in verses 2 to 4, the virgins lament their struggle with the sinful flesh they inherited from Adam; in verse 5, they call on the redeemer; and in verses 6 to 9, the virgins describe their desire for the divine spouse. This suggests two sections of argumentation in verses 2 to 4 and verses 6 to 9, prefaced and concluded with appeals to Christ:

1 O dulcissime amator, o dulcissime amplexator. Adiuva nos custodire virginitatem nostram. O sweetest lover, O sweetest embracer, help us guard our virginity.

2 Nos sumus ortae in pulvere heu heu et in crimen ade valde damnum est contradicere quod habet gustus pomi tu erige nos salvator christe. We were born in dust alas alas and in the sin of Adam; it is very hard to contradict what the taste of the apple has; you erect us Saviour Christ.

3 Nos desideramus ardenter te sequi o quam grave nobis miseris est te immaculatum et innocentem regem angelorum imitari. We long ardently to follow you, O how painful it is for us wretchedness to imitate you – immaculate and innocent king of angels.

4 Tamem confidimus in te quod tu desideres gemman require in putredine. Yet we are assured in you that you long to look for the gem amid putridity.

5 Nunc advocamus te sponsum et consolatorem qui nos redemisti in cruco. Now we summon you spouse and consoler who redeemed us on the cross.

6 In tuo sanguine copulate sumus tibi cum despansione repudiantes virum et eligentes te filium dei. In your blood we were wed to you with betrothal rejecting man and choosing you, Son of God.

7 O pulcherrima forma o suavissimus odor desiderabilium deliciarum semper suspiamus post te in lacrimalibi exilio quando te videamus et tesum maneamus. O most beautiful form, O sweetest odour of desired delights always we sigh after you in woeful exile; when may we see you and remain with you?

8 Nos sumus in mundo et tu in mente nostra et ampleximur te in orde quasi habeamus te presentem. We are in the world and you in our mind and we embrace you in heart as if we may have you present.

9 Tu fortissimus leo nepisti celum descendens in aulam virginis et destructoris mortem edifistas vitam in aurea civitate. You mightiest lion, you broke through heaven descending into the palace of the Virgin, and you destroyed death building life in the golden city.

10 Da nobis societatem cum illa et permanere in te o dulcissime sponsa qui abstexisti nos de facibus diaboli primum parentem nostrum seducentem. Give us an alliance with her and to remain in you O sweetest spouse who removed us from the jaws of the devil who seduced our first parent. 44

The two cyclic sources preserve two versions of the setting. The song begins in both sources as a deuterus chant with the note E as final, but, in the second verse, a cofinal is established. In both sources, this cofinal is initially the note C, but, soon after the opening of this verse, a second cofinal, the note G, is established in Dendermonde 9. Both versions eventually return to the final, but, in verse 7, the two versions vary concurrent with the establishment of the same cofinals. Both versions include reestablishment of the deuterus final in the eighth verse, but the Dendermonde 9 version is redacted on deuterus-a – with the Riesenkdex version redacted on deuterus-E – for the final two verses. These digressions from the final to cofinals are consistent with the rhetorical unfolding of arguments in this song. These two settings are summarised opposite with cofinal passages given in italics:

44 Dendermonde 9, fols 165v–166v.
1 O dulcissime amator, o dulcissime amplexator.

[Adiuva nos custodiare virginitatem, nostram.

2 Nos sumus orte in pulvere
heu heu, et in crimine ade,
valde durum est contradicere quod habet gustus poni;
tu erige nos salvator christe.

3 Nos desideramus arderent te sequi;
o quam grave nobis miseric est te immaculatum et
innocentem regem angelorum imitari.

4 Tamen confidimus in te quod tu desideres gemnem
requirere in putredine.

5 Nunc advocamus te sponsum et consolatorem, qui nos
redemisti in cruce.

6 In tua sanguine copulate sumus tibi
cum desponsatione repudiantem vinum et eligentes te,
filium dei.

7 O pulcherrima formam,
o suavisissimus odor desiderabilium delicarum,
semper suspiramus post te in lacrimabilis exitio;
quando te videamus et tecum maneamus.

8 Nos sumus in mundo,
et tu in mente nostra,
et ampleximur te in corde,
quasi habeamus te presentem.

9 Tu fortissimus leo repasti cœlum descendens in
aulam virginis
et destructisti mortem edificans vivam in aurea civitate.

10 Da nobis societatem cum illa et permanere in te o
dulcissime sponsa
qui abstraxisti nos de fauciis diaboli
primum parentem nostrum seducem.m.

The setting of the first verse (Example 4-16), which address to the 'sweetest lover', opens with a typical deuterus intonation (stepwise movement around the final within a narrow range), and this stepwise movement around the final persists for the two vocative addresses ('O dulcissime amator', 'O dulcissime amplexator'). The diatessaron above the final appears over 'adiuva', which in Dendermonde 9 initiates a separate verse, here redacted with a return to the final over 'amplexator'. In the Riesenkodex, in which a separate verse is not indicated, the melody moves from the third degree above the final to the diatessaron and the verse ends on the final at 'nostram'.
Example 4-16: O dulcisime amator – Dendermonde 9 fols 165v-166r (D) & Riesenkokdex fol. 478v-vi (R).

In the following three verses, Hildegard describes the suffering of virgins and their desire to reject sin. In verse 2, the virgins lament being ‘born in dust’ and their unfortunate ancestry, and the difficulty in rejecting the ‘taste of the apple’. The setting opens on the 3rd-degree below the final (i.e. the note C) in both sources. This shift down a third from the opening final resembles a similar shift in O speculum columbe, in which a tetrardus setting opens and closes with a deuterus final. In the Riesenkokdex, there is movement to the diapente of this cofinal (i.e. the note G) over ‘heu [heu]’ and ‘valde du[m] est contradicere quod ha[s]bet’, and the verse ends on the final, the note E.

The version in Dendermonde 9 begins the same way, but, over ‘pulvere heu heu’, there is a 4-8-5-8-5 progression, and the note G is established as a cofinal. The setting remains set a 5th higher than in the Riesenkokdex, except for ‘[gus]tus poni tu[e]’, which is set a third higher; if redacted at the 5th degree, a tritone between E and b⁷/F and b is formed. In the Riesenkokdex, the tritone formed by the notes F–E–D–C–B – initially
redacted within a single neume – appears three times in this verse. This tritone is rendered c-b-a-G-F in Dendermonde 9, which suggests that the melody was transposed to avoid redaction of this tritone. In this source, the verse ends on the G cofinal.

Example 4-16 cont. (§ pp.200–202)
In tue sanui ne co-pate su-mus ti-

cum des-pone-re-pu-di-an-ves vi-rum et e-li-
gen-te te,

O pulcher-rima for-ma,

[O pulcher-

ma for-

ma,

o sus-visi-

mus or-
dor

o sus-

visi-

mus or-
dor

de-si-de-ra-

li-

um de-li-

ci-

rum,

desi-de-ra-

li-

um de-li-

ci-

rum,

semp-er su-

pi-

ramus post-

tae

semp-er su-

pi-

ramus post-

tae

in la-ci-ma-

bi-

li-

o;

in la-ci-

mi-

bi-

li-

o;

quando te vi-

demus et te-
cum ma-

ne-

mus.

quando te vi-

demus et te-
cum ma-

ne-

mus.
Hildegard then argues in verse 3 that it is difficult for human ‘wretchedness’ to imitate the ‘immaculate and innocent king of angels’. The opening phrase, ‘[Nos de]sideramus ardente te sequi’, is set a second lower in Dendermonde 9. This follows a leap to the 3rd degree (at ‘[de]sideramus’) where the 4th degree is redacted in the Riesenkodez, and the melody winds up on a protus cofinal, the note D. The final is reestablished with a leap of a sixth—which is rare in Hildegard’s songs—between the subfinal and diapente over ‘o quam’. After ‘o quam grave’, there is a 1-5-8-5-1 progression in both sources. In verse 4, the final verse in this section of argumentation, virgins take assurance in the knowledge that Christ will locate the virginal ‘gem’ among their ‘putridity’, and the melody progresses –2-1-4-1-5-1 in both sources. In verse 5, a transitional verse, the speakers summon the ‘spouse’ who redeemed humans, and this represents a change from the ‘putrid’ flesh that comprises humans to the redemption of humanity through the Crucifixion. This verse proceeds 1-4-1-5-1, similar to the previous verse, and again the setting is the same in both sources.
Having described the ‘denial of the sinful flesh’, Hildegard now describes the virgin’s knowledge of ‘good’. Verse 6 coincides with the beginning of a second section of argumentation, and the virgins ‘reject the flesh’ and turn towards the Saviour. She argues that the blood through which humanity was redeemed is the blood through which virgins are betrothed to the Son of God. The setting opens with a similar progression to verse 4 but here followed by a 1-5-8-5 progression. In Dendermonde 9, this progression is followed by a cadence to the diatessaron (the note a) at the end of the verse. A very different interpretation is represented in the Riesen kodex. The setting descends to the 2nd degree (the note F) over ‘feligenvtes te’, there is a second 5-8-5 progression, and the verse ends on the cofinal G. Several tritones are preserved here, and the redaction a second higher for ‘f[ilium dei’ in Dendermonde 9 again suggests transposition in order to avoid tritones.

In verse 7, the virgins ‘sigh’ for their spouse – the ‘beautiful form’ and ‘sweetest odour’, and the setting suggests a similar transition to a cofinal as in verse 2. Both versions descend a 3rd between the end of verse 6 and the beginning of verse 7 (compare the decent of a 3rd between verses 1 and 2). In Dendermonde 9, the setting is initially redacted a 2nd higher than in the Riesen kodex, which represents a continuation of the register established at the end of verse 6. In Dendermonde 9, there is a 1-5-8-5-1 progression on the note F over the phrase ‘O pulcherrima forma o suavisimus’, but, at ‘odor desiderabilium’, the 3rd degree (the note G) is repeated and, with inclusion of its diapente, is established as a cofinal. In the Riesen kodex, the opening of verse 7 includes a 1-5-8-5 progression on the final before the melody descends to the 3rd degree below the final. The melody is the same as in Dendermonde 9, but the third degree below the final (the note C) is established as a cofinal. At several points, the melody is separated at the 3rd and 4th between the two sources, but the establishment of the note C as cofinal suggests a similar transition to the C cofinal in verse 2, with related cofinals (C and G) between the two sources. In verse 7, however, there are no tritones formed by the use of C as cofinal in the Riesen kodex. Rather, the registers established in verse 2 for each source are repeated here.

In verse 8, the setting moves from the cofinal in each source to a deuterus final, the note E in the Riesen kodex and the note a in Dendermonde 9. In this verse, the return to the final coincides with description of the virgins ‘embracing’ the spouse as if ‘He were present’. After establishment of a deuterus final, both versions comprise 1-5-1 and 1-4-1 movements. This argumentation is concluded in verse 9, in which Hildegard describes Christ’s role in the defeat of evil and the setting in place of the good that lifted humanity. Here, He is the ‘mightiest lion’ who through the Virgin ‘destroyed death building life’. The setting of verse 9 is consistent between the two sources and includes a 1-5-8-5-1 progression prefaced by 1-4-1 and 1-5-1 movements and followed by 1-5-1 movement. In the Riesen kodex, this 1-5-8-5-1 progression ascends through the diatessaron over ‘destruxis[ti]’.
The contrary 'destroying death' and 'building life' is reiterated in the final verse, in which Hildegard asks that the virgins be given 'alliance' with the Virgin, and that they 'remain' with the 'sweetest spouse' who rescued them from the 'jaws' of the devil. There is repetition of the opening imperative mood ('adiuvam'), and there are references to the two types of knowledge expounded in the song; the embrace of 'good' is represented by the desire for alliance with 'sweetest spouse' and rejection of evil is represented by the removal of the virgins from the 'jaws of the devil'. The setting comprises two 1-5-8-5-1 progressions surrounded by 1-5-1 and 1-4-1 movements. The setting of this verse represents an articulative climax concurrent with the embrace of the Saviour and rejection of the devil concluded at the end of the song.

The setting differs between the two versions at '[dij]aboli' and 'nostrum seducenis' for which there is a step to the 2nd degree (the note F) in the Riesenkdex, whereas the 3rd-degree (the note C) is redacted in Dendermonde 9. The subsequent descent to the subfinal in the Riesenkdex is duplicated in Dendermonde 9 at the opening of verse 3, where a step to the note F coincides with the redaction of the 3rd degree (the note G) in the Riesenkdex. In both verses, a 'protus-D' phrase is suggested by descent to the subfinal followed by a leap of a 6th between subfinal and diapente (i.e. D and B). Without the diapente in the final phrase of verse 9, the song ends on the subfinal in the Riesenkdex.

The redaction of this song in Dendermonde 9 represents transposition to avoid tritones, but, in both sources, the rhetorical unfolding of this *symphonia* coincides with shifts to a cofinal before reestablishment of the final in two sections of argumentation. The final is established at the beginnings and conclusions to both sections of argumentation. Here, the transitions to a cofinal represent another way in which articulative tension is created through sustained movement away from the redacted final.

***
5.2: Interpretation and Modal Ambiguity: O tu illustrata

Sources: cantus cum melodia: Riesenkodek
           cantus: Stuttgart 4°253, Riesenkodek, Vienna 963

The antiphon and versus O tu illustrata follows O quam magnum miraculum in the 'miscellany' redaction of Hildegard’s cantus and suggests further development of the themes expressed in O viridissima virga, O virga mediatrix and O quam magnum miraculum. O tu illustrata is addressed in the second person to the illustrata, or the illuminated Virgin Mary. This represents a continuation from the Virgin as the greening virga, and branch intermediary, to the miraculous miracle and the illumination:

\[
\text{O tu illustrata de divina claritate clara virgo Maria,} \\
\text{verbo dei infusa unde venter tuus floruit de introitu spiritus dei qui in te suflavit et in te [te] exeuxit quod eva abstulit in absissione punitatis per contractam contagionem de suggestione diaboli. Versus.} \\
\text{Tu mirabiliter abscondisti in te immaculatam carnem per divinam rationem cum filius dei in ventre tuo floruit sancta divinitate eum educente contra carnis iura que construxit eva integritati copulatum in divinis viscerebus.}
\]

O you illumination from divine clarity, illustrious Virgin Mary, Infused with the Word of God, hence your womb bloomed by the entrance of the Spirit of God, which he swelled in you and in you sucked dry that which Eve took away in transgression of purity, through contracted contagion of the devil's suggestion Versus: You miraculously hid in you the immaculate flesh through divine reason, when the Son of God bloomed in your womb, holy divinity raising Him up against the law of flesh which Eve constructed united to purity in the divine viscera. ⁴⁵

In the antiphon, Hildegard argues that the illustrata from divine clarity, the Virgin Mary, was infused with the Word of God; her womb bloomed, and this swelling in the Virgin undid Eve’s ‘transgression of purity’. In the versus, the Virgin ‘hid’ the immaculate flesh through divine reason, and, when the Virgin’s womb bloomed, Christ countered the ‘law of flesh’ constructed by Eve. The two clauses represent two sections of argumentation with the second in amplification of the first:

**Antiphon**

\[
\text{O tu illustrata de divina claritate clara virgo maria,} \\
\text{verbo dei infusa unde venter tuus floruit de introitu spiritus dei} \\
\text{qui in te suflavit et in te [te] exeuxit quod eva} \\
\text{abstulit in absissione punitatis per contractam} \\
\text{contagionem de suggestione diaboli.}
\]

**Versus**

\[
\text{Tu mirabiliter abscondisti in te immaculatam carnem per divinam rationem cum filius dei in} \\
\text{ventre tuo floruit sancta divinitate eum educente contra carnis iura que construxit eva integritati copulatum in} \\
\text{divinis viscerebus.}
\]

The protus opening of this song (Example 4-17) also represents a modal continuation from deuterus-E (O quam magnum miraculum) to protus-D, as with those redacted between O felix apparicio and O beatissime Ruperta, and among the eight Ursuline antiphons. Although the opening is protus, the song also includes phrases which suggest

⁴⁵Riesenkodek, fol 466r-467v.
tetardus and deuterus cofinals. The modal ambiguity suggested by these cofinals has been dealt with by modern editors by rendering this song as protus-D throughout, but, as with O dulcissime amator, related cofinals are introduced over two section of argumentation. A summary of the melodic movement in this song is given below:

(1) O tu illustrata de divina claritate,
    clara virgo maria
    verbo dei infusa,
    unde venter tuus floruit
    de introitu spiritus dei,  
    qui in te sufflavit
    et in te [te] exercit
    quod eva
    abstulit in absclio puritatis,
    per contractam contagionem
    de suggestione diaboli.

(2) Tu mirabiliter abscondisti in te immaculatum carnem
    per divinam racionem,
    cum filius dei
    in ventre tuo floruit,
    sancta divinitate eum educente
    contra carnis iura
    que construxerit eva
    integritati copulatum in divinis visceribus.

The setting of the antiphon opens with repetitive stepwise movement between the note a and its third degree (the note c). At 'virgo Maria', the setting descends through the note F, and the note D is established as final. Unusually, the b⁵ is included in the opening phrase without initial juxtaposition to F/f. Its inclusion suggests a response to the emphasis of the note F over 'virgo' or perhaps transposition of similar movement in the second phrase (compare for example the tetrachord D-E-F-G included in the following phrase (over 'verbo de[i infusia]') and G-a-b⁵-c at the opening). The setting here continues the melismatic setting and repetition characteristic of the opening but with 1-5 leaps and movement to the diatessaron below the final.

In the second part of the antiphon, where Hildegard describes the antithetical relationship between Eve and Mary (beginning 'qui in te sufflavit'), there is movement above the diapente over 'qui' and 'sufflavit'. Three highly melismatic phrases follow. The first (a) includes 1-5-8-5 movement on the final but cadences via a leap of a 3rd to the second degree. The second (b) includes 5-8-5 movements above the final, but there is a cadence, again with a leap of a 3rd, to the diapente. The third (c) proceeds 1-5-1-4-1-4 on the diapente and cadences to its subsfinal, the note G.

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46 Barth, Ritacher & Schmidt-Görg, eds, Hildegard, Lieder, pp.135-137. See also Pfuu, Hildegard’s Symphonia, p.156.
Example 4-17: O tu illustrata – Riesenködex fols 466 recto-467 verso
In the next phrase, Hildegard describes how Eve’s ‘transgression of purity’ was contracted through the devil, and here the note G becomes a temporary cofinal. The melody moves between the cofinal G and its diapente over ‘per contractum contagion[em]’, but the phrase ends on the 2nd degree above the final, the note E. The final is articulated at the beginning of the final phrase, but the melody comprises a 1-5-8-5-1 progression on the 2nd degree. The final is again returned to via a leap of a 6th at ‘[suggestio]ne di[aboli]’, which is the interval to which the diapente is reestablished from the subfinal in O dulcissime amator, but the antiphon ends on the second degree, the cofinal E.

The *versus* suggests a similar articulative process to the antiphon, but the temporary establishment of the tetrardus cofinal occurs at a different point in the argumentative structure. As in the antiphon, the setting opens on the diapente, but instead of moving to the final as initiated over ‘[in]maculatam’ (compare ‘virgo’ in the antiphon), the diapente is established as final. In the following phrase, the melody proceeds from this final to a cofinal, the note C. In the antiphon, Hildegard argued that Eve’s ‘transgression of purity’ was contracted through the devil; in the *versus*, she argues that Christ was raised through divinity, and He overcame the ‘laws of the flesh’ constructed by Eve. The setting of ‘[per di]vinam racionem cum filius dei’ moves between the note C and its diapente, although here this movement occurs mid phrase, not at the opening of a phrase as in the antiphon. The movement reflects the less florid style of melody over ‘per contractum contagionem’ in the antiphon, and the tetrardus-C cofinal compares to the transition to the tetrardus-G cofinal over that phrase. The coordination of cofinals here suggests both a grammatical association between antiphon and *versus* as well as a relationship between the rhetorical contrary of the source of Eve’s transgression (the devil) and the source of Christ’s redemption (divinity).

In the *versus*, this phrase is followed by a description of Christ’s flowering in the holy womb (‘in ventro tuo floruit’), and, as with the phrases preceding the phrase ‘per contractam’ in the antiphon, the articulation is highly melismatic. The setting of ‘in ventro tuo floruit’ comprises a 1-5-8-5-1-5-1-4-(2) phrase set on the diatessaron, the note D, at the upper extreme of the gamut. As with phrase (a) from the antiphon, this phrase also ends on the note E. Over ‘santa divinitate eum educente’ in the *versus*, the setting proceeds 5-8-5-4-(1)-4 on the final A, and the phrase ends on the diatessaron, the note D. This compares to the setting of ‘quod eva’ in the antiphon (b), where the setting moves 5-8-5-8-5 (i.e. a 4th below ‘santa divinitate eum educente’). The setting of ‘contra carnis iura’ in the *versus* opens on the note D and descends through the final (i.e. the note A) to the subfinal (the note G), and the phrase ends on the final A. This can be compared to the setting of ‘abstulit in abscessione puritatis’ (c) in the antiphon, which also opens with a 1-5- leap from the cofinal A, descends to this cofinal, moves 1-4-1 and closes on the note G.
The *versus* concludes with a description of the triumph of divinity, and, as in the antiphon, the melody ascends to end on a deuterus cofinal, here the note b. In both antiphon and *versus*, this transition takes place through the note e, which is the diapente of the cofinal a in the antiphon, and the diatessaron above the cofinal b in the *versus*.

The setting of the antiphon and *versus* in *O tu illustrata* reiterates a similar pattern of associations between protus, tetrardus and deuterus finals/cofinals. In the antiphon, the association between protus-D and tetrardus-G leads to a transition back to the final and a conclusion on deuterus-E, the *maneria* which surrounds tetrardus sections in other songs. When the same association is rendered through the final a in the *versus*, the tetrardus cofinal is represented by the note c, and the protus *maneria* is reestablished through the final a. The redaction of similar associations at the diatessaron and diapente results in the *versus* ending on the deuterus final b. This suggests transposition of all three of protus-D, tetrardus-G and deuterus-E final/cofinals in the antiphon to protus-a, tetrardus-c and deuterus-b final/cofinals in the *versus*. Despite the modal ambiguity in this song, there is reiteration of an articulative process over a *cantus* comprising grammatical and argumentative repetition between antiphon and *versus*.

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The apostles were the first to preach His Word after the Incarnation; the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles describe how Christ commanded the apostles to ‘go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel’ and ‘preach’ [Matthew 10:6–7]. The apostles’ position in Hildegarde’s celestial hierarchy is explained in the Scivias as part of a commentary on the dispersal of the Word both prior to and after the Incarnation.47 Here the apostles occupy a pivotal position between those who preceded Christ – the Virgin, angels, patriarchs and prophets – and Christ’s successors – martyrs, confessors, virgins and saints – all of whom attained their celestial positions through dedication to His Word.

The apostles are also emblems of Christ’s ministry upon which the foundation of the Church was built. Apostles take a pre-eminent position in Hildegarde’s conception of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which represents the dispersal of the Word from the apostles through the ecclesiastical orders to the secularised populace. In her conception of this hierarchy, the Church is the ‘uncorrupted spouse’ encircled by the apostolic teachings which enabled the Church to embrace salvation:

itself that same church the same doctrine from the very beginning, of which the first begetter was the Word of God, the same as the faithful have been circumscribed by the faithful.

And this teaching, which shines so brightly around the Church, constantly surrounded her from the start, from the time she first began to be built until she attained the strength to swallow the food of life.48

Hildegarde’s Symphonia de apostolis from the Book III, vision 13 of the Scivias comprises the antiphon O choos milicie and the responsory O lucidissima apostolorum. In the Scivias, these two cantus are connected by the conjunction nam [for], which suggests that the responsory is an elucidation of the antiphon. In these cantus, Hildegarde describes the apostles as envos of Christ’s teachings and as pillars of the Church.

Each clause suggests a section of argumentation. In the first clause of the antiphon, the journey of the apostolic army into the world and the laying of roots in the tabernacle of God’s Word suggest the apostles’ role as founders of the Church. This is also suggested in the second clause of the respond and the verse of the responsory, in which the luminous band of apostles sustain the virgin Church. In the second clause of the antiphon, the apostles are sent among the ‘savage dogs’, which suggests the apostles’ role as preachers, or defenders of the Word. This is also suggested in the first clause of the responsory, in which the apostles rise in ‘true recognition’, exposing the devil. Here, the cantus is taken from the Riesenkokdex version of the Scivias:

47 Hildegarde, Scivias III:8:11, p.379.
O cohortis milicie floris virge non spinate. tu sonus orbis terre. circuens regiones insanorum sensuum. epulantium cum portis. quos expungasti per infusum adiutorem. ponentis radices in tabernacula pleni operis verbi patris.

tu etiam nobilis es gens salvatoris. intrans viam regenerationis aquae per agrum. qui te misit in gladio inter sevissimos canes. qui suam gloriani destruxerunt. in operibus digitornum suorum. statuentes non manufactum in subiectiorem manuum suarum. in qua non invenierunt eum.

Nam o lucidissima apostolorum turba. surgens in vera agonitione. et aperiens clausuran magisterii diaboli. abluendo captivos in fonte viventi aquae.

tu es clarissima lux in nigritiis tenebris. fortissimumque genus colupnum. sponsum agni sustentans. in omnibus ornamentis ipsius. per aieus gaudium ipsa mater et virgo est vexillata.

Agnus enim immaculatus. est sponsus ipsius sponse immaculate.

O cohort of the military of the flower of the branch of no thorn, you sound of the circle of the world; circling regions of insane senses; feasting with sows, which you overcame through infused help; placing roots in the tabernacles of the plentiful work of the Word of the Father.

You are also the noble clan of the Saviour, entering the way of regeneration of water through the Lamb, who sent you with sword among savage dogs, who destroyed their glory in the works of their fingers; placing no handiwork in subjection of their hands, in which they did not find him.

For O most luminous band of apostles, rising in true recognition, and uncovering the precinct of the magistracy of the devil, washing the captives in a fountain of living water.

You are a most illustrious light in the blackest darkness, and a powerful kinds of pillar, sustaining the bride of the Lamb in all her ornaments; through His joy she is mother and standard bearing virgin.

The immaculate Lamb is truly the bridegroom of His immaculate bride.49

The setting of this symphonia is redacted as tetrardus melodies with the note G as final.

As with O dulcisssime amator and O tu illustrata, cofinals are established in the central phrases of sections of argumentation in both the antiphon and responsory, and the argumentative structures are delineated by articulation of the final. In the antiphon, an articulative process established in the first clause is repeated in the second. In the responsory, a cofinal is established in the first clause but the melody remains centred around the final in the second clause. The melodic structures of these two songs are summarised below:

1-4-1 -4-1-5-1-4-1
5-1-5-8-4-1
5-1-5-8-5-1-4-1-2
2-1-5-1-4-1-5-1-4-5-1-1 (=a)
1-5-1-5-1 -4-1
1 (=b)-5-8-5-1
1-4-1-5-5/5
1 (=a)-4-1-5-1-4-1 -4-1
1/1 (=final)-5-1-4-1
1/1 (=a)-5/4-1-5-1-1 (=a) -5-1
1-5-1-5-8-1-4-1-4-1
1-4-1 (=c)-5-8-5-1
5-1 (=D) -4-1
1 (=a) -4-1 -4-1-5-1 -4-1/1 (=E)
1-5-1 (=final)-5-8-1
1-4-1-5-8-5-1
1-4-1-4-1 -4-1
1 -4-1-4-1

49 Riesen Kodex, fol. 133⁵².
(1) respond Nam o lucidissima  
apostolorum turba,  
surgens in vera agitione,  
et aperiens clausuram  
magisterii diaboli,  
abduendo  
captivos in fonte  
viventis aque;  

(2) tu es clarissima lux  
in nigerrimis tenebris,  
fortissimunque genus columnarum,  
sponsam agni sustentans in omnibus  
ornamentis ipsius per caulis gaudium ipsa mater  
et vigo est vexillata;  

verse agnis enim immaculatus  
est sponsus ipsius sponse immaculat.

A prominent feature of this symphonia is its highly melismatic setting (Examples 4-18 & 4-19). This style of setting is mirrored in the other pre-Salvation Scivias songs as well as O tu illustrata. In the Symphonia de apostolis, there are one or more melismas, or 'jubilations', in each phrase – including on 'gladio/gaudium' [rejoice] in both the antiphon and responsory – except in the final phrases of both songs. These melismatic jubilations on one or more words in each phrase recalls the practice of iubilatio described by Honorius, who spoke of a 'kind of neume' being jubilated over 'understanding', because Saint John had written through the spirit of understanding about the unutterable Word of God [Quidam neumam super intellectus jubilant, quia sanctus Ioannes per spiritum intellectus de ineffabili verbo Deo scripsenat]. In Hildegard's symphonia de apostolis, the 'joy' announced by the apostles in the cantus is continuously articulated in the setting. The jubilated words are not always central concepts – she jubilates the words 'qui suam' and 'ipsius'. Rather, the setting encompasses the joy of the cantus continuously in the setting. In this symphonia, the cantus represents the apostles announcement of joy and the melodia represents an articulation of the joy expressed in the cantus.

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50 Honorius, Gemma animae III:13, col.646.
6.1 *Iubilatio* and Repetition: *O choors milicie*

In the antiphon (Example 4-18), Hildegard describes the apostles as the 'cohort' of the divine military of the flower. This apostolic 'cohort' is the 'sound of the world', circling regions of 'insane senses' ('insanorum sensuum') placing 'roots in the tabernacles' of God's Word. This imagery suggests the apostles as pillars of the Church, the evangelists who disperse the Word to all regions thereby establishing the foundations of the Church. The articulation of this description opens with a typical tritus/tetrardus intonation (i.e. movement to the diatessaron either side of the final). From 'O' to 'terre', there is a number of ascents to the diapente, and, with each subsequent ascent, there is greater emphasis placed on the diapente, through the articulation of neighbour notes over '[flo]ris', through an ascent to the diapason over 'non' and 'tu', and through an extended melody set around the diapente on 'sonus'. At '[ter]re', there is a cadence to the subfinal.

In the following two phrases from 'cirquiens' to 'portis', Hildegard describes how the apostles circle regions of 'insane senses' and feast with sows. The delivery here is initially restrained, and the articulation becomes increasingly melismatic as the phrases progress. The b$^b$ is introduced into these two phrases to soften the tritone between the notes F/f and the note b, which coincides with the emphasis placed on notes other than the final, even though the final and its diapente are included. As with the opening phrases, there are leaps between the final and its diapente. In the phrase 'cirquiens regiones insanorum sensuum', the 2nd degree and diatessaron are prominent and represent sustained movement away from the final. At the end of the second of these two phrases (ending 'cum portis'), the articulation is less florid, and the final is emphasised.

At 'quas expugasti', Hildegard describes how the apostles overcame the sows through 'infused help'. Here, the diatessaron becomes a cofinal, and there is a melismatic 1-5-8-5-1 progression on the note c. In the Riesenködlex, this progression is redacted with the diapente (the note d) as the cofinal. Both redactions represent transposition at the 4th/5th degree, and this is sustained for the following phrases. From 'ponentis radices' to 'verbi patris', Hildegard describes how the apostles placed roots in the 'tabernacle' of God's Word, or set in place the foundations of the Church after their journey into regions of 'insane senses'. In the articulation, the second degree is established as cofinal through its repetition, articulation of its diapente over 'adiu[lo]num' and 'po[nentis]' and decent to the diatessaron below it, as over '[taberna]cula'. The final and its diapente are also articulated (over '[taber]nacula'), and the final is reestablished at the end of the clause at '[p]ni operis'.
Example 4-18 cont.
The second clause initiates a separate section of argumentation; Hildegard initially argues that the apostles are the 'noble clan of the Saviour' and describes how they follow the Lamb. The setting of the phrases from 'tu etiam' to 'per agnum' suggests a similar melodic process to that from 'circuiens' to 'cum portis'. At '[tu eti]am no[bilis]', there is a leap between the second degree and its diapente (compare the movement around the second degree over 'cir-
cui[ens]'). Following this, there are four ascents to the diapente, including a 1-5-8-1 progression on 'regenerationis'. A comparable process to the first clause continues in the second from 'qui te misit in gladio inter sevissimos canes', which describes how the apostles were sent with sword among 'savage dogs'. The word 'gladio' is set to a 1-5-8-5-1 progression, again with the note c redacted as cofinal, this time in both sources.

Hildegard then elaborates the theme of the savage dogs, and, from 'inter sevissimos' to 'operibus', the articulation suggests a series of diapente relations set on notes other than the final. The b⁵ is introduced to soften the tritone between the note F and the note b over 'se[v]is[is]mos', again concurrent with the emphasis given to notes other than the final. The diatessaron below the final, the note D, concludes a phrase on 'canes', and its diapente, the note a or the 2nd degree, is repeated over 'qui [su]am'. The diapente of the 2nd degree, the note e, is given over 'glo[r]iam', and there is a cadence to the second degree on '[glo]r[iam]'. The diatessaron below this cofinal, the note E, is included at the end of the phrase over '[d]estuxe[nt]', and its diapente, the note b, is included over '[fin] o[pe]ribus'. The note b, or the third degree, leads back to the final, and there are 1-5-8-1 progressions on the final over 'dig[i]orum' and 'm[an]ufactum'. The conclusion of this antiphon comprises 1-4-1 and 1-4-1 progressions, and the articulation is less florid.

In this song, similar melodic settings are preserved for both clauses. Each clause includes movement to cofinals, including the diatessaron and the second degree. As in O duleissime amator and O tu illustrata, the melody returns to the final concurrent with the beginning/end of argumentative sections.

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6.2 Jubilatio and Rhetoric: O lucidissima apostolorum

Hildegard continues her emphasis on the apostles' role as preachers in the responsory O lucidissima apostolorum. In the first clause, the apostles 'rise in true recognition', expose the devil, and 'wash captives in the fountain of living water'. She first describes the 'luminous band' who rises in 'true recognition', and the highly melismatic setting from 'O' to 'aperiens' comprises the tritus-F Kyrie melody. As she describes how the apostles uncover the 'magistracy of the devil', the melody over 'clausuram magisterii' moves from the subfinal (F) to the 2nd degree (a), but there is a shift to the diatessaron below the final, the note D, on 'dia[ba]lij'; this is followed by a leap to its diapente on 'ab[luendo]'. The remainder of this clause, and section of argumentation, describes how the apostles 'wash captives' in living water, and the final is reestablished with two melismatic (1)-5-8-5-8-5-1 progressions on 'abluendo' and 'viventis'.

As in O choors milicie, a second section of argumentation opens with the personal pronoun tu. Here, Hildegard describes how the apostles are an 'illustrious light', a 'powerful kind of pillar', and how they sustain the virgin Church. In the previous three clauses, Hildegard describes how the apostles confronted enemies of the faith, founded the Church and uncovered the devil. In this clause, however, the victory of the apostles is complete, and they now 'sustain' the Church they founded. The setting here comprises melismatic 1-5-8-5-1 progressions, or variations thereof, surrounded by predominantly stepwise movement around the final.

At 'ipsa mater', the articulation changes. Here, Hildegard describes the Church as both mother and virgin, recalling the Church's role as mother and virgin in O virgo eclesia and Nunc gaudeant. As at the end of that song, the melody mainly comprises 1-5-1 and 1-4-1 progressions, but here the movement is melismatic. The b³ is introduced to soften the tritone between the notes F and b, but this is not concurrent with the articulation of cofinals in Dendermonde 9. In the Riesenkodex, however, the first neume of 'mater' is placed a 4th higher than in Dendermonde 9, resulting in the redaction of the diapason and diapente above the subfinal (the note F) for the phrase 'mater et virgo'. In the responitory verse, Hildegard summarises the relationship between Christ and His Church — 'the Lamb is the bridegroom' of His 'immaculate bride' — and, as in the final phrases of the antiphon, the setting is less florid and mainly comprises 1-5-1 and 1-4-1 progressions.
Like *O dulcissime amator* and *O tu illustrata*, cofinals are introduced in the *Symphonia de apostolis* concurrent with a change in argumentative emphasis. With these settings, articulative tension is represented through movement away from the final with statements of cofinals and their diapentes. A repeated melodic process is suggested for the two clauses of *O choors milicie*, but this coheres with the grammatical/rhetorical structure. Here, cofinals are given for the articulation of arguments which describe how the apostles journey out into the world and confront enemies of the faith, but the final is established at the opening and end of each clause. In the responsory, the rhetorical structure is perhaps more obvious in the setting which remains on the final in the second clause. A confrontation with enemies of the faith is suggested in the first clause, and again the setting moves away from the final. In the second clause, where the apostles are protectors of the Church, the setting comprises 1-5-8-(5)-1 progressions set on the final followed by 1-5-1/1-4-1 movements.

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Rhetoric, *Iubilatio* and Redaction

Hildegard's *cantus* comprise arguments about her subjects and the articulation of arguments with *melodiae*. Here, her songs suggest priorities of monastic speakers. There is repetition of God's Word represented by elucidation of orthodox and localised assumptions in her *cantus*. God's Word is perpetuated through unceasing praise represented by the suspension of themes beyond redacted beginnings and ends. The eternal contrary – good and evil – is represented by her elucidation of two types of knowledge for subjects, recalling Guibert's argument, 'if I do not recognize what a vice is, how can I love the purity of virtue?'. A union between singers, hearers and God is suggested by arguments which promote her subjects as intermediaries between God and humans; unity in her *cantus* is suggested by argumentative climaxes and responses within redacted beginnings and ends as well as outside of them.

The articulation of her *cantus* delineates the interpreted argumentative tensions and responses through extempore articulation which also comprises melodic tensions and repose. In redaction, the articulative point of repose is usually represented by the final, which is repeated at syntactic pauses and at the beginnings and ends of verses. The melodic processes in Hildegard's songs reflect their beginnings as extemporised melody, or *iubilatio*. A typical structure might comprise preliminary 1–4–1 movement, followed by 1–5–1 progressions. In many songs, a common characteristic is to move from 1–4–1/1–5–1 progressions to a 1–5–8–5–1 one (or vice versa, as in *Nunc gaudemus*). These sorts of melodic unfoldings occur within all genres, *maneriae*, and grammatical and rhetorical structures, and suggest the improvisatory characteristics of Hildegard's preredacted melodies. In many songs, melodic ideas are repeated – also a characteristic of improvised melody. The elaboration of common melodic parameters, rather than direct repetition of specific sequences of notes, further testifies to the oral beginnings of her melodies.

In songs that include repetition of melodic ideas, such as *O tu illustvata* and especially the sequences, the melodic and rhetorical structures concur. This is also the case in songs which deviate from the established final to cofinal progressions. In *Mathias sanctus*, *O dulcisime amator*, and the *Symphonia de apostolis*, cofinals are established, and there are cofinal–diapente relations, as well as final–diapente ones. In *Mathias sanctus*, a cofinal–diapente relationship dominates a section of argumentation. In *O dulcisime amator* and the *Symphonia de apostolis*, movement to cofinals occurs within sections of argumentation, and the final is consistently reestablished at the end of each section. As grammar is a function of argumentation, three syntagms – grammatical, argumentative and melodic – are aligned by establishment/reestablishment of the final in these songs.

In *O beatissime Ruperta*, a tension between the rhetorical and melodic structure is suggested, insofar as the setting does not clearly delineate the sections of argumentation therein. This tension, however, also suggests a rhetorical link between this song and its pair *O felix apparicio*. What is consistent between the songs examined here is an alignment of melodic
and argumentative syntagms. In many songs, these syntagms are in agreement with the genre and grammatical syntax. Where there is tension between genre, grammar and melody, as for example in O ignis spiritus paracleti, the rhetorical and musical structures concur.

Perhaps the most prominent feature of Hildegard's articulations is the manipulation of melodic syntax. Her melodies suggest a range of articulative possibilities through repetition and elaboration of progressions, such as 1-4-1 or 1-5-1 movements, and the misalignment of grammar and phrasing in song emerges as a function of sustained articulative tension. Here, a lack of resolution to the final at syntactic pauses, returns to finals mid phrase, and beginning phrases on notes other than the final represent means of maintaining argumentative flow and delineating rhetorical structures. While many of her contemporaries had the skill to manipulate the grammatical syntax of their cantus, the syntax 'manipulated' by this less than learned Latin practitioner appears to be melodic syntax.

Although the setting of each song is a response to the syntax of each individual cantus, the articulations represented by the settings are shared between songs. There are songs which suggest a thematic relationship to other songs, as in, for example, O virgo ecclesia and Nunc gaudeant. Here, one cantus is set as two antiphons, but, taken together, they represent two halves of a single delivery. The Marian songs considered in this study also indicate that themes and melodies continue past redacted boundaries. In O felix apparicio and O beatisisse Ruperto on the other hand, paralleled grammatical and argumentative syntagms suggest parallel articulations, and the articulative differences between these two songs concur with grammatical and argumentative differences. The antiphon and versus of O tu illustrata suggest a similar parallel. Again, the articulative differences between antiphon and verse concur with grammatical and argumentative differences — the distinction here is that the articulation is represented by a highly melismatic (iubilatio), modally ambiguous setting. The eight Ursuline antiphons provide one indication of the redactive process here; these antiphons include 'final' relations which operate in a similar way to cofinals in other songs, and the initial final, deuterus E, is established/reestablished concurrent with argumentative sections. In these antiphons, the melodic characteristics and position of antiphons within the narrative suggest a basis for designation of maneriae. This also appears to be the case with respect to cofinals in Mathias sanctus, O dulissime amator and O tu illustrata.

The cantus of the Symphonia de apostolis is set to jubilated 'syllables' which suggest an extemporised melodic articulation of joy. One section of this iubilatio, in the first clause of O lucidissima apostolorum, is redacted with a tetrardus final, and there is an emphasis on the subfinal and its diapente, or a tension between the maneria in which this song is cast and the melodic unfolding on the subfinal. This F-c, or subfinal-fourth degree, relationship is set with the note F as final to produce an authentic tritus-F setting of the lesser litany dominated by 1-5-8-5-1 progressions. This casting of a 'tetrardus' setting of O lucidissima apostolorum as a tritus-F setting in Hildegard's Kyrie involved the recasting of melodic elements which asso-
ciated it with the tetrardus *maneria* – including initiation of the *Kyrie* on the note F and incorporation of a decent to the diatessaron below this new final (Example 4–20).

The regular melodic structure of the *Kyrie* is reflected in many of Hildegard’s songs, but its melody began as *iubilatio* in the *Symphonia de apostolis*. This *iubilatio* was redacted as an antiphon and responsory, complete with a *maneria* and psalm cadence/responsory respond and verse. A section of the respond was then redacted as an authentic tritus-F setting for the lesser litany. This progression from extemporised *iubilatio* to *cantus cum melodia* to liturgical chant to regular setting reflects the input of Hildegard’s scribes in the redaction of her songs. The stages represented are an extemporised articulation of a *cantus*, and redaction of this articulation within a *maneria*, which includes assigning patterns of tones and semitones between consonant intervals. What is also suggested by the *Kyrie*, however, is the placement of a dominant articulative feature of Hildegard’s songs – consonant relations between notes – between the final and its diatessaron, diapente and diapason.

As a theological concept, *iubilatio* represents the joy of the ‘inner being’ that proceeds in the absence of words, while Honorius’ description of *iubilatio* from the *Gemma animae* suggests that sung joy could be manifested by the extemporisation of melody. The *Symphonia de apostolis* and Hildegard’s *Kyrie* represent a progression from the proclamation of God’s Word as *cantus* and articulation of *cantus* as *iubilatio* to the regular articulation of *cantus* with predominant 1–5 melodic structures. The redacted versions of Hildegard’s songs suggest a regulation of her melodic behaviour. What can be described beyond the details of redaction – principally *maneriae* and genres – is a simple process of articulating argument through tension, repose and repetition in melody. This survey of the rhetoric of Hildegard’s songs suggests that way in which her *melodiae* encompass a meaning of her *cantus* is through coordination of rhetorical syntagms with articulative tensions, reposes and repetitions.
Example 4-20: *O lucidissima apostolorum* – Riesenkode 469xx (1) & *Kyrie* – Riesenkode 472vb (2)
Chapter 5

Hildegard, the *Speculum Virginum* & the Song of Songs

_Escem videmus in Ecclesia Dei, ut aiunt, quosdam emergere, qui pro libitu suo insolito habitu induuntur, novum vivendi ordinem sibi eligunt, et sive sub monasticae professionis titulo, sive sub canonicae disciplinae voto, quidquid volunt, sibi assumunt, novum psallendi sibi adiuvantium, novum abstinentiae modum, et metas cibariorum statuant, et nec monachos qui sub Regula beati Benedicti militant, nec canonicos qui sub Regula beati Augustini apostolicam vitam gerunt, imitantur. . ._

Behold we see in the church of God, as they say, certain people emerge who put on unusual habits at their own whim, they choose a new way of living and whether under the name of the monastic profession or under the vow of canonical discipline, they take up for themselves whatever they want, they find for themselves a new way of psalmody, they decide on a new type of fasting and a new regime of food, imitating neither the monks who follow the Rule of Benedict nor the canons who follow the apostolic life under the Rule of Augustine.¹

Anselm of Havelberg (c.1100-1158)
*Dialogues* Book I (c.1149)

With these words, Anselm of Havelberg presents the perspective of a hypothetical critic of novelty in the Church. The brusque tone of this passage — rendered by throwaway descriptions of monastic tasks and repetition of the word *novus* — is deceptive. In Anselm’s account of unusual monastic practices in the West, he repeats the argument and mimics the tone of a hypothetical critic as a way of refuting a conservative view of novel practices.

Anselm lists corruptions of daily monastic concerns: dress (‘unusual habits’); routine (‘new way of living’); manual labor (‘whatever they want’), abstinence (‘new type of fasting’); and diet (‘a new regime of food’). Psalmody is located among these daily concerns, which reflects the place of singing among the daily tasks performed by the medieval monastic. His phrase ‘novum psallendi. . .modum’ [new way of psalmody] implies that psalms were recited and responded to in a new way which existed outside established monastic norms as part of a set of ‘new’ and ‘unusual’ monastic practices. In Anselm’s mimicry of a conservative critic, the type of lofty conception of music expounded by Hildegard, or the context of spirituality in which her protestations on music are located, is not represented. Music is simply another daily monastic concern.

This passage could, nonetheless, describe practices associated with Hildegard at Rupertsberg. Her *cantus cum melodia* represent ‘new and unusual’ ways of articulating God’s Word. Her scribes redacted her *cantus cum melodia* with liturgical indications including the psalm cadences necessary to perform antiphons in psalmody, although there is no indication in the cyclic sources of which psalm belonged with which antiphon. Hildegard took up ‘what ever she wanted’: preaching tours, new monasteries, rich postulants, letter

¹ Anselme de Havelberg, *Dialogues* 1:1, p.36; translation provided by Constant Mews.
writing, exorcism... This contrasts to the types of activities Guibert of GBmbloix ascribed to her nuns. Their practices – 'copying from books', and 'producing liturgical garments and other handicrafts' – are prescribed in the Benedictine Rule. 

Hildegard also had criticism levelled against her by Tenxwind, prioress of St Maria in Andernach (d.c.1152), whose famous letter c.1150 laments the extravagant dress worn by Hildegard's nuns on certain feast days and Hildegard's policy of excluding non-noble women from her congregation:

Aliud etiam quoddam insolitum de consuetudine ustra ad nos pernenit, virgines uidelictet ustras festis diebus psallendo solubiis crinibus in ecclesia stare, ipsaque pro ornamento candidis ac sericis uti selasminibus pre longitudine superficiem terre tangentiibus, coronas etiam aure contextas capitis eorum desuper impositas et his utraque parte et retro cruces insertas, in fronte autem agni figuram dexter impressam, insuper et digitos eamdem aurei decorati pulvino. ... Preterea, et quod his omnibus non minus mirandum nobis uidetur, in consortium uestrum genere tantum spectabiles et ingenios intro- duere, alii vero ignobilibus et minus titatis connexionem uestram penitus abnuere.

We have, however, also heard about certain strange and irregular practices that you countenance. They say that on feast days your virgins stand in the church with unbound hair when singing the psalms and that as part of their dress they wear white, silk veils, so long that they touch the floor. Moreover, it is said that they wear crowns of gold filigree, into which are inserted crosses on both sides and the back, with a figure of the Lamb on the front, and that they adorn their fingers with golden rings. ... Moreover, that which seems no less strange to us is the fact that you admit into your community only those women from noble, well-established families and absolutely reject others who are of lower birth and of less wealth.

In this context, Hildegard's songs suggest a new way of articulating God's Word as part of a set of what Tenxwind perceived as 'unusual' practices. This is perhaps one reason why it is difficult to locate the Hildegard repertory within the context of twelfth-century song – her music was part of a highly specific set of monastic practices, which, as suggested by Anselm's rebuttal, was one of a number of 'new' and 'unusual' sets of practices in German Benedictine and Augustinian houses during the twelfth century. Anselm's 'new' and 'unusual' practice of psalmody is also reflected in the anonymous Epitalamia to the Speculum virginum, an early copy of which probably emanated from Tenxwind's cloister. The small repertory of songs included in the Epitalamia indicates that Hildegard's songs are not an isolated example of 'new' and 'unusual' musical practice in South-West Germany during the twelfth century.

The Epitalamia from the Speculum virginum

The Speculum virginum comprises a dialogue between a Priest, Peregrinus, and a nun, Theodora, and was written for the edification of monastic women. The codicil to this work, the Epitalamia, comprises verses and responds, newly composed chants to new and borrowed texts and the psalm cadences necessary to link songs to the practice

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of psalmody. It comprises two parts: an acrostic with 129 unneumed pairs of verses preaced by the rubric *Incipit epithalamium Christ virginum. Alternatim.* This is followed by five neumed *epithalamiae,* or bridal songs, which expound the theme of the union between Christ and his virgin brides. The acrostic provides a nexus between the songs and the *Speculum virginum:* the texts to the first and second *epithalamiae,* O qualis es and O quam miranda, are formed from the acrostic and are preaced by the incipits ‘Akrostichon Chor A’ and ‘Akrostichon Chor B’ respectively. These are followed by two other settings: of verses 5:9-16 of the Song of Songs, Qualis est dilectus, and of a ‘new’ text, *Audite o lucis filie.* The first verse of the five-verse Marian hymn *O sancta mundi domina* (AH 51, 122) is the fifth song in this collection.

There exist significant conceptual and structural similarities between the *Epithalamia* and the surviving copies of Hildegard’s songs. Both are collections of songs preserved as codicils to written works; in some manuscripts, the songs collate themes expounded in preceding texts; and both repertories are not readily identifiable with established liturgical services. In terms of location, period and contents, the *Epithalamia* is possibly the closest available source of music to Hildegard songs. It presents a new way of psalmody as part of a text, in this case, written for monastic women. While this may provide a basis from which to explore possible interchange between Hildegard and the *Epithalamia,* it is the differences between Hildegard and her contemporaries that perhaps reveal more about exchange and influence than ‘superficial’ comparison.

**Sources of the *Epithalamia***

The neumed *Epithalamia* codex survives from the earliest period of transmission of the *Speculum virginum* c.1140-1150. The earliest known copy of the *Epithalamia,* London, British Museum, Arundel 44 (c.1140-50) preserves one song, *Audite o lucis filie.* Unlike the other sources of the *Epithalamia,* this song is located at the opening of Arundel 44, not after the *Speculum virginum.* Verses 44-112 of the acrostic from Arundel 44 are preserved among the miscellany collection in British Museum Arundel 1501, and comparison with this codex suggests that the *Epithalamia* was initially preserved in its entirety in Arundel 44. This manuscript came to the Cistercian abbey at Eberbach by the late twelfth century but was not copied there.

A second copy, Cologne, Historisches Archiv, *Einzelblatt* D182 (c.1140-50), was originally included in Cologne, Historisches Archiv Hs. W276a. Leaves containing the *Epithalamia* became separated from the text leaves and the *Einzelblatt* was the only folio of music from Cologne W276a to survive. The *Einzelblatt* includes 3 songs: a portion of

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5 The *Einzelblatt* appears to have survived because it remained attached to the binding of W276a. As a consequence, the notation on the verso side is partially obscured by binding residue, but it can be read if held to light.
Qualis est dilectus, which survives from midway through verse 5:13, O sancta mundi domina and Audite o lucis filie. Cologne W276a is thought to have been copied at Tenxwind's monastery at Andernach North-West of Bingen. The neumes suggest that the Einzelblatt was probably also copied there. The notational style of vertical and slanted neumes in the Einzelblatt is typical of South-West German sources from the era, and typographical elements — especially the shapes of the signs used — mirror those of Dendermonde 9. The neumes used in Arundel 44 correspond to those in the Einzelblatt, although they are primarily slanted to the right. While this slanting may be more indicative of scribal preference than provenance, the copy of Audite o lucis filie in Arundell 44 is clearly the result of a separable notational procedure.6

A later transmission took place around c.1200 as represented by Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 252 fols 131v-132v and Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phil. 1701 fol. 148v. Troyes 252 was prepared at the Cistercian house at Clairvaux c.1180-1220 and is the only copy which includes the complete Epithalamia with acrostic, epithalamiae and neumes. The notational style in Troyes 252 differs from that in the Einzelblatt and Arundel 44, and the signs are similar to the 'Laon' neumes found in Cistercian books from this era. The copy of the Epithalamia in Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phil. 1701 fol. 148v was copied without neumes from Troyes 252 at the Cistercian Abbey at Igny in c.1200, although space for neumes was allotted above the texts.7 A further three copies of the Speculum virginum — all from Cistercian houses and compiled before c.1220 — preserve the acrostic but not the epithalamiae.8

These sources suggest two differences from the Hildegard repertory. The Epithalamia represents a close, written transmission of the collection, and these songs are part of a codicil to a specific text, the Speculum virginum. A close, written transmission is not represented between the cyclic sources, and the neumed songs are prefaced by different didactic works in each manuscript. Rather, the written transmission of songs and their preservation within a codicil to a written work is represented by the 14 symphoniae and Ordo virtutum from Scivias III:13. The format of the earliest known redaction of Hildegard's songs resembles that of the Speculum virginum. This suggests a tradition of complementing didactic texts with song in Germany c.1150.

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6 This is evidenced by notational peculiarities in Arundel 44 which are not duplicated in the other two neumed sources of the Epithalamia, such as the use of specific neumes for certain notes, and multiple signs for describing a common liquidness.

7 The common position of the hymn O sancta mundi domina and presence of psalm cadences in Troyes 252 and Berlin 1701 suggest the redaction of the latter from the former. The pages were ruled to allow for neumes in Berlin 1701, but staff lines are not included.

8 These manuscripts are: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 72 (from Himmerod); Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. phil. theol. f. 107 (from Erbach); and Zweettl, MS 180 (from Zweettl).
The Epithalamia and the Liturgy

In addressing the issue of a relationship between the Epithalamia and the liturgy at the monasteries in which it was circulated, one useful guide is the first verse of O sancta mundi domina as one of the epithalamiæ. There are at least a dozen sources of this hymn dating from between c.1100–1300, and at least three different settings of the text survive, including one from Einsiedeln c.1150, which has the same final, the note D, as the version in the Einzelblatt and Troyes 252. The setting of O sancta mundi domina in the Einzelblatt and Troyes 252 is also used for the hymn Deus, qui quovis eligis (Analecta Hymnica 43, 236) in Klosterneuburg 1000, which was copied in 1336, but the Einzelblatt and Troyes 252 preserve the earliest known version of this melody.

\[
\begin{align*}
O \text{ sancta mundi domina}, & \quad O \text{ sacred lady of the universe} \\
\text{regina celi incita}, & \quad \text{Queen of the heavens unsaid} \\
o \text{ stella maris Maria}, & \quad \text{O star of the sea Mary} \\
\text{uirgo mater deifica.} & \quad \text{Virgin mother of God}.
\end{align*}
\]

Example 5-1: O sancta mundi domina – Einzelblatt D182 recto

The presence of the first verse only of O sancta mundi domina in the Einzelblatt and Troyes 252 (in Troyes 252, neumes are only given for the first two phrases) suggests that this hymn was already known at the monasteries in which it was circulated. That this eight-syllable, four-phrase setting was transferable also raises the possibility that it could have been used for the recitation of the eight-syllable, four-phrase verses of the acrostic, with ‘Chor A’ chanting the first two phrases, and ‘Chor B’ responding with the final two verses, suggesting the alternatim verse–respond sequence represented in psalmody. The rubric which might support this – *Incipit epithalamium Christi virginum. Alternatim* – is

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9 The earliest source, Vermona, Biblioteca Capitolare CIX (102) is also the only source of this text from outside Germany; *Die Hymnen des Thesaurus Hymnologicus* H. A. Daniels und anderer Hymnen-Ausgaben, ed. Clemens Blume, Analecta Hymnica 51 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1908), pp.139–140.


11 Stüblein, *Hymnen*, p.575. The Epithalamia sources are not taken into consideration in Stüblein’s study, in which the Einsiedeln 366 melody is cited as a possible precursor to the Troyes 252 and Einzelblatt melody as documented in Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek 1000 (from 1336).

lacking in all four sources which include the *epithalamiae*. Nonetheless, the potential, referential function of this hymn is reflected in both Troyes 252 and Berlin 1701, where *O sancta mundi domina* is an addendum to the previous four songs.

*O sancta mundi domina* was also sung at Lauds for the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is cited as Sanctoral feast day (September 8) in Book III:166 of Honorius' *Gemma animae*. The association of this hymn with the Lauds Office hour offers one possibility for a relationship between the practice of psalmody and the *Epithalamia* to be established. In the *Einzellblatt* (and probably the missing folios from Arundel 44), *O sancta mundi domina* is positioned between *Qualis est dilectus* and *Audite o lucis filie*, and this position follows the ordering of variable items in a standard monastic Lauds.\(^ {13} \) With this order in the *Einzellblatt*, the *Epithalamia* could be rendered as Proper necessary for this Office hour. This need not imply that the *epithalamiae* were performed as part of a Lauds celebration, but it does offer one redactive possibility for the *Epithalamia* as new song suitable for liturgical use:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doxologia</th>
<th>Acrostic (verses + respond)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deus in adiutorium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloria patri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalmody</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalm 66</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Psalm 50</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2 variable psalms + respond</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Testament canticle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalms 148-150</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chapter + Deo gratias</td>
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<tr>
<td>Short Respond</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hymn</td>
<td><em>O sancta mundi domina</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venicle + response</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedictus + antiphon</td>
<td><em>Audite O lucis filie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pater noster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedictus dominus.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The relationship between the *Epithalamia* and psalmody is rendered by psalm cadences in Arundel 44 and Troyes 252. The text and neumes to the psalm cadence which follows *Audite o lucis filie* in Arundel 44 is in a different hand to the song, and, in Troyes 252 (and Berlin 1701), psalm cadences are unneumed. In both manuscripts, a relationship between the *epithalamiae* and psalmody is represented, but, as in the cyclic sources, psalm cadences are given without any indication of which psalm was connected to each song. In the cyclic sources, the psalm cadences also assist with aligning modally ambiguous antiphons with one of the four *maneriae*, but this function is redun-

\(^ {13} \) Harper, *Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, pp.97–98.
dant for the modally specific songs in Troyes 252 and Arundel 44. An important distinction here between the Einzelblatt and Arundel 44/Troyes 252 is the absence of psalm cadences in the former. This represents a distancing of this copy of the Epithalamia from the practice of psalmody — and perhaps spares Tenxwind of Andernach from the hypocrisy of being associated with unconventional psalmodic practices.

The presence of the Epithalamia at the beginning of Arundel 44 suggests a different liturgical association again. This position does not appear to be the result of the relocation of folios from the back of the manuscript, and one possibility might be that the Epithalamia initiates praise. This is suggested in a description of the Chorus or assembly given by Honorius in his Sacramentarium (before 1139), which includes description of lessons associated with different days of the liturgical year:

Chorus est consensio cantantium: dictur chorus quod initio in modum corona caelestis et psallent et psallent. Cantores sunt Dei laudatores et ad laudem ceteros existantem.

The chorus is the gathering of those singing; it is said of the chorus that they stand around the altar in the mode of a garland and psallent (sing). The Cantores are praisers of God rousing forth towards other praise.

In this passage, Honorius puts forward the chorus as initiator of praise (in worship) and the chorus accedes to the cantor, who is the 'praiser of God'. This is reflected in Arundel 44 by the antiphonal acrostic and Chor A and Chor B of the first two epithalamiae which initiate the praise represented by the Speculum virginum text.

The location of Audite o lucis filie at the end of the Epithalamia in the earliest sources, the Einzelblatt and Arundel 44, is also significant. It is the only song text in the Epithalamia without a written precedent, and it describes a central theme of the Speculum virginum, the desired union of virgins and Christ. The opening also recalls Psalm 44:11: 'Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam et obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tuir', which is associated with feasts in celebration of the Virgin. The content and position of the 'antiphon' Audite o lucis filie suggest its suitability not only as a conclusion to a collection of epithalamiae which expound the theme of the union of Christ and His bride, but also as a summation to the dialogue between Peregrinus and Theodora in the Speculum virginum. In the Einzelblatt, the function of this epithalamia comes across as a sung response to a particular circumstance — that of the female monastic to a didactic text.

This function of song — as a liturgical 'response' to the written word — is familiar to Hildegard, whose 14 symphoniae in the Scivias III:13 summarise the celestial hierarchy expounded throughout the preceding three books. This function of song provided an influence on the numed collections of her songs, which are devoted to — and ordered

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14 The preface to the Speculum virginum commences on the verso side of the music folio and the first gathering ends at folio 11 (part of Book 1) (the copy of Audite o lucis filie in Arundel 44 not a palimpsest).
15 Honorius, 'De Choro', Sacramentarium XXXIII, PL 172, col.764.
16 Audite filia is set variously as a tract, an alleluia, a gradual and verse, and as a gradual. None of these settings suggests a relationship with the setting of Audite o lucis filie.
according to — the celestial hierarchy described in the Scivias III:13. The differences in the order of songs between the cyclic sources are, in part, due to the greater number of songs in the Riesenkodex and the twofold division of the song cycle into antiphon/responsor and versified song cycles. The four surviving sources of the Epithalamia contain the same songs, but they are still ordered differently between copies. These differences in the ordering of songs and the presence of psalm cadences between the Speculum virginum manuscripts suggest that the function of the Epithalamia varied among the communities in which it was copied. In the cyclic sources, the liturgical functions alter with the scribe, as it may have done with copies of the Epithalamia, and the songs reflect the practice of the community in which it was copied, but this applies to one community only, Rupertsberg.

The epithalamiae Settings
The four 'new' Epithalamia settings, O qualis es, O quam miranda, Qualis est dilectus and Audite o lucis filie, are typical examples of new Latin liturgical song produced in the West during the twelfth century. In all songs, melodic phrases coincide with text phrase beginnings and endings. O qualis es and O quam miranda indicate an approach to text setting common to all four songs. These two texts are formed from the preceding acrostic, as given below:

Akrostichon Chor A
O qualis es, o quantus, quam suavis,
_ o renum pater in gratia,
qua stabit eternaliter unica mater catholica,

sponsa, columba, interterminabili munere rosa
Alleluia
euouae

Akrostichon Chor B
O quam miranda, quam preclara,
_ quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tue, domine,
quam abscondisti timentibus te, perfectisti autem sperantibus, deus, in te

Alleluia
euouae

Acrostic Choir A
O what kind are you? O how great, how sweet,
O Father of things in grace,
by which He will stand eternally with the one catholic mother,

bride, dove, unceasingly giving rose.
Alleluia

Acrostic Choir B
O how marvellous, how remarkable,
how great your multitude of sweetness, Lord,
how you have concealed the fearful from you,

You have, however, perfected from hope, God, in you.
Alleluia

seculorum amen.17

17 Seyfarth, ed., Speculum virginum, p.376.
The position and repetition of notes emphasize the relationship between the final and its diapente, with each phrase ending on the final (the note c) in O qualis es and on either the final (the note F) or the diapente (the note c) in O quam miranda (Examples 5-2 & 5-3).

The setting of O qualis es opens with stepwise movement between the final and its diatessaron, and this is followed by a 5–1 progression over 'o quantus, quam suavis'. There are two stepwise 1–4–1 progressions, over 'o rerum pater' and 'in gracia'. In the second phrase, beginning 'qua stabit', the melody comprises 1–5–1 movement; in the last phrase, the melody moves continuously between the final and diapente; and there is a 1–4–1 cadence over the word 'alleluia' at the end.

Example 5-2: O qualis es – Troyes 252 fol. 131v
The second song, *O quam miranda*, suggests a similar type of melodic unfolding, only here, the setting is dominated by 1-5-8-5-1 progressions, not (1)-5-1 ones. Three of the four phrases of this song are governed by 1-5-8-5-1 movement, but the third phase, beginning 'quam abscondisti', commences on the diapente, not the final. This suggests a comparison with the phrase beginning 'sponsa columba' in *O qualis es*, which also begins on the diapente before continuing with movement similar to the rest of the song.

Example 5-3: *O quam miranda* – Troyes 252 131°-132°
As with the Akrostichon songs, the text to *Qualis est dilectus* is derived from the written word, here verses 5:9-16 of the Song of Songs, with a similar incipit to *O qualis es*. Comparison with the Latin Vulgate suggests that some verses have been abridged:\(^{18}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
[5:9] & \text{Qualis est dilectus tuus ex dilecto, quia sic adiuvasti nos?} & \text{Of what kind is your beloved, that you have so adjoined us?} \\
[5:10] & \text{Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus, electus ex milibus} & \text{My beloved is white and ruddy, chosen from thousands.} \\
[5:11] & \text{caput eius aurum optimum, and eius elate palmarum,} & \text{His head — the finest gold, his hair like exultant palms.} \\
[5:12] & \text{oculi eius sicut columnae super ruinol aquarum, quae} & \text{His eyes like doves above rivulets of waters,} \\
& \text{lacte sunt lute et resident iuxta fluenta plenissima,} & \text{which are bathed in milk and sit near the} \\
& \text{such like as they are} & \text{most abounding streams.} \\
[5:13] & \text{gene illius sicut areole aromatum consiste a pigmentar-} & \text{His cheeks like beds of spices planted by perfumers,} \\
& \text{ii, labia lilia distillantia auram primam,} & \text{his lips — lilies distilling the finest myrrh.} \\
[5:14] & \text{manus illius tornatiles auree plene incinctis, venter} & \text{His hands — shaped of gold, full of hyacinths,} \\
& \text{eius chrunus distinctus saphiris,} & \text{His belly — ivory adorned with sapphires.} \\
[5:15] & \text{crura illius columnae marmoreae, que fundatae sunt super} & \text{His legs — pillars of marble, which are founded} \\
& \text{bases aurae, species eius ut Libani electus, ut cedri,} & \text{upon golden bases, his beauty as elected} \\
[5:16] & \text{guttur illius suavisissimum et totus desiderabilis.} & \text{by Libanus, as the cedars.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\ *
\text{Alleluia.} \\
\text{enae} \\
\text{secularum amen}^{19}\]

As in *O qualis es* and *O quam miranda*, melodic phrases in *Qualis est dilectus* coincide with textual ones, with the final, the note D, and the diapente dominating the melodic structure (Example 5-4). In this setting, five 1-5-8-5-1 progressions can be identified. These progressions extend over pairs of verses for 5:9 to 5:14, but, at verse 5:15, the setting opens on the diapente before descending to the final, similar to the openings of the phrase 'quia stabit' in *O qualis es* and 'quam absorbisti' in *O quam miranda*. In order to facilitate comparison of the melodic structures in these three songs, a summary of the consonant relations between notes in the settings is given on the following page. The melodic structures in these three songs suggest that the same composer was responsible for them all.

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\(^{18}\)5:9 (Qualis est dilectus tuus ex dilecto o pulchriissima mulierum qualis est dilectus tuus ex dilecto quia sic adiuvasti nos 5:10 dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus electus ex milibus 5:11 caput eius aurum optimum cuminum eius sicut elate palmarum nigre quasi cornus 5:12 oculi eius sicut columnae super ruinol aquarum quae lacte sunt lute et resident iuxta fluenta plenissima 5:13 gene illius sicut areole aromatum consiste a pigmentaritii labia eius lilia distillantia auram primam 5:14 manus illius tornatiles aureae plene hyacinthis venustus eius chrunus distinctus saphiris 5:15 crura illius columnae marmoreae quae fundatae sunt super bases aurae species eius ut Libani electus ut cedri 5:16 guttur illius suavisissimum et totus desiderabilis talis est dilectus meus et ute est amicus meus filiae Hierusalem'; Jerome's 403 A.D. Latin Vulgate.

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\(^{19}\)Seyfarth, ed., *Speculum virginum*, p.376; trans. from the Latin Vulgate.
Chor A  O qualis es,  
o quantus, quam suavis,  
o renun pater in gratia,  
qua stabit eternitier unica mater catholica,  
sponsa, columba, interminabilis munere rosa  
Alleluia

1-4-1-4-1
5-1
1-4-1-4-1
1-5-1-5-1-5-1
5-1-5-1-4-1-5-1-5-1-4-1
1-4-1

Chor B  O quam miranda, quam preclara,  
quam magna multitudo dulcisiniis tue,  
domine,  
quam abscondisti timentibus te,  
perfectisti auctem sperantibus,  
deus, in te  
Alleluia

1-5-8-5
5-1-5-8-5-8-5-1
1-5-1
5-8-5-1-4-1
1-5-9-8-5
(5)-1-5-1
5-1-5-1-4-1

[5:9]  Qualis est dilectus tuus ex dilecto,  
quis sic adiuvasti nos?  
(1) 1-4-1-4-1-4-1
1-5-1
[5:10]  Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus, electus ex milibus,  
5-8-5-1
[5:11]  caput eius aurom optimum,  
(2) 4-1-5-1
[5:12]  come eius elate palmarum,  
oeuli eius sicut columnae super ripullos aquarum,  
que lacte sunt late et residentiuxta fluenta plenissima,  
5-1-5-1-5-1
[5:13]  gene illius sicut areole aromatum consite a pigmentaritis,  
labia lilia distilatia murrum primam,  
3-1-4-1-4-1
5-8-5-8-5
[5:14]  manus illius tornatiles auree plene iacinctis,  
venter eius eburneus distinctus saphiris,  
1-5-1-4-1-5-1
(4) 1-5-1-5-1
[5:15]  crura illius columnae marmoree,  
que fundate sunt super bases aureas,  
species eius ut Libani electus, ut cedri,  
5-8-5
1-5-1-5-1
[5:16]  guttur illius sauvissimum  
et totus desiderabilis.  
Alleluia.

(5) 1-4-1-5-1-5-1
5-8-5-8-5-1-5-1-5-1
-4-1-4-1-5-1
Similar melodic workings to those observed in these three songs are also observable in *Audite o lucis filié* (Example 5-5). As with *O qualis es* and *O quam miranda*, there is a strong rhyming scheme in the text, which in all three songs is delineated by the repetition of the final (the note F in *Audite o lucis filié*) and diapente at phrase ends in the setting. This also suggests that the composer of the acrostic was also responsible for the text to *Audite o lucis filié*.

*Audite, o lucis filié, advertite coheredes regis et salvatoris nostrí!*
*Nox precessit, dies autem appropriquabit:
Dies interminabilis gracie,
Dies decoris et glorie,
Dies inguam quam fecit dominus, in qua celí terreque omnis ornatus perfectitur,*
*Quando nativus decor hominis uicto mortis vinculo restauratur,*
*Quando regis eterni sponsa, columba, soror et amica sponso suo perfectissimo amoris igne copulatur,*
*ubi sponsa cum sponso letatur et una per unum eternaliter gloriatur.*
*Alleluia. [seculæae]*

Listen O daughters of light, turn coheirs of our king and saviour!  
Night precedes, the day however will draw near:  
the day of unending grace,  
the day of beauty and glory,  
the day [I say] which God has made, in which every ornament of both the heavens and earth is perfected,  
when the innate grace of man, having conquered the chain of death, is restored,  
when the bride, dove, sister and friend of the eternal king are united to her spouse by the fire of love,  
when the bride rejoices with the bridegroom, and eternally glorifies together as one.  
Alleluia. [seculæamen]²⁰

The melodic figure which opens the song over ‘Au[dite]’ comprises movement between the final, the diatessaron below it and a return to the final. This figure appears at five other points in the song and delineates the following grammatical structure:

1 *Audite o lucis filié advertite coheredes regis et salvatoris nostrí.*
2 *Nox precessit dies autem appropriquabit*
   *Dies interminabilis gracie*
   *Dies decoris et glorie*
   *Dies inguam quam fecit dominus in qua celí terreque omnis ornatus perfectitur*
3 *Quando nativus decor hominis uicto mortis vinculo restauratur*
   *Quando regis eterni sponsa, columba, soror et amica sponso suo perfectissimo amoris igne copulatur*
4 *ubi sponsa cum sponso letatur et una per unum eternaliter gloriatur,*
5 *Alleluia.*

The opening clause (1), is set to (1)-5-1 progressions before movement to the diatessaron below the final on ‘[sal]vat[or]is’ and resolution to the final at the end of the clause. The second clause (2), opens on the third degree – the reciting tone – the note a, and the melody comprises movement between the final and its diapente. The opening of each ‘dies’ phrase begins on a note the interval of a 2nd lower than the one preceding, except for the last ‘dies’ phrase, which opens on the diapente before descending to the final on ‘inguam quam’. After ‘dominus’, the melody moves between the final and its diatessaron, and a cadence to the final on ‘perfectitur’ includes a decent to the diatessaron below the final.

The two ‘quando’ phrases begin on the diapente and comprise movement between the diapente and final. The final phrase in this clause, beginning ‘perfectissimo’, opens on the reciting tone and again comprises movement between the diapente and final; the end of the clause includes a descent to the diatessaron below the final over ‘[co]pu[lat}ur]’. The last clause (4) opens on the diatessaron below the final, and there is one ascent to the diapente before repetition of the final over ‘una per unum’. The melisma on ‘[e]t[ernalit}er]’ also begins on the reciting tone and comprises 1-5-1 movement, with another descent to the diatessaron below the final on ‘[g]ro[riatur]’. The setting of the word ‘alleluia’ also includes movement to the diatessaron below the final, and the diapente is articulated twice before resolution to the final at the end of the song.

Similar melodic workings to those observed in the previous three songs are represented in the setting of Audite o lucis fili. This setting comprises predominantly stepwise movement between the final and diapente and dominant 1-5-(8-5)-1 progressions are ‘interrupted’ by phrases initiated on the diapente, including the phrases beginning ‘adver-
tite coheredes’, ‘dies in quam quam’ and the two ‘quando’ phrases. One neumatic peculiarity in all four songs is a 5-1-5 porrectus: over ‘[e]t[ernalit}er]’ in O qualis es, ‘quam [magn}a]’ in O quam miranda, ‘eflectus’ in verse 5:15 of Qualis est dilectus, and over ‘[c]olum}a]’ in Audite o lucis fili. This 5-1-5 movement is not represented by a porrectus in the cyclic sources, and its use in these epitaphalai - always on the first syllable of a word – further suggests that a single composer was responsible for all four songs.

Although these four epitaphalai comprise comparable melodic structures, their differences suggest that there were aspects of the texts that influenced in what ways these comparable structures unfold. The mixture of 1-4-1 movement with 1-5-1 movement in O qualis es, for example, represents expression of the argument suggested in the text. The song opens with a question: ‘O of what kind are you?’ [O qualis es], which is set to 1-4-1 movement. The setting descends from the diapente to the final when this question is first answered: ‘O how great, how sweet’ [O quantus, quam suavis]. When the father is addressed, as He was at the opening, the melody comprises stepwise movement between the final and diatessaron (‘O rerum pater in gratia’). The following phrase continues to answer the question (‘He will stand eternally with the one catholic mother’ [qua stabit eternalit}er unica mater catholica]) and the melody moves from the final to the diapente (interrupted by a 5-1-5 porrectus) and returns to the final over ‘[ca]tho}lica’. In the phrase beginning ‘sponsa colum}a]’, which describes the bride of the divine spouse, the setting opens on the diapente and moves continuously between final and diapente until the alle-
luia, which is set to a progression similar to the opening over ‘O qua[iis]’.

Another aspect of the text represented by the epitaphalai settings is the melodic delineation of clauses, as in Audite o lucis fili, in which movement to the diatessaron below the final emphasises the ‘meaning’ suggested by grammatical divisions – the call-
ing to the daughters of light (1); the descriptions of the ‘divine’ day (2); description of conquering sin through the coming together of the bride and the divine spouse (3); and the bride’s rejoicing in the bridegroom (4); ‘alleluia’ (5).

Hildegard’s famous wide ranges and less obvious structural regularity in her settings suggest a measure of demarcation between these settings and her songs. Nonetheless, in Qualis est dilectus, there are several aspects of both text and setting which invite comparison with Hildegard’s settings. The text to this epithalamia, like O qualis es, begins with a question which is set to 1-4-1 movement on the first word. The answer to this question is an apostrophe which extols the dilectus in the present tense, similar to the apostrophe represented by Hildegard’s sequence O ignis spiritus paracleti. Although pairs of verses are governed by 1-5-8-5-1 movement, increased tension is, for example, suggested for verse 5:12, which opens on the diapason, and the final is not resolved to until the end of this verse. In the final verse, 5:16, a melodic characteristic of Hildegard’s settings – a diapente leap between the diatessaron and diapason – is articulated as the first neume of a melisma on ‘defiderabilis’.

The increased articulative tension suggested by sustained movement away from the final and the diatessaron and diapason leap in both Qualis est dilectus and O ignis spiritus paracleti are two indications of a tradition of musical articulation in South-West Germany during Hildegard’s lifetime. Perhaps some of her melodies, as represented by their redaction in the cyclic sources at least, are not as ‘unusual’ or ‘unique’ as previously thought.

The Epithalamiae and Modal Theory

There are obvious differences between the epithalamiae melodies and those by Hildegard. Perhaps the most obvious differences are suggested by the way the songs have been redacted. The settings of the epithalamiae closely adhere to prescribed modal norms. A comparison here is the highly specified instructions for the location of tritus chants on the gamut given in the Cistercian Praefatio (‘you should end all chants of the third maneria, that is, the fifth and sixth modes, on F and C, assigning F to the greater part of the authentics, but C to almost all the plagals’).21 This recommendation is followed to the letter in O qualis es, which has a plagal range from G to g and takes C as its final, and in O quam miranda, which has an authentic range from F to g and takes the note F as final. Even Hildegard’s song O viridissima virga, which has a comparatively narrow range (D to f) and can be identified as a tetrardus plagal chant, lacks the coherence between the melody and the system used to represent it that these two acrostic epithalamiae suggest.

The setting of Audite o lucis filie, a plagal tritus melody which extends from C to d, coheres with the properties of a tritus plagal chant but is notated on F. This song incorporates both the notes b and b♭ – if located on C, where one would expect to find it, f and g♭ are required – and is perhaps more easily rendered on F than on C.

21 ‘Praefatio’, p.52.
The setting of *Qualis est dilectus* belongs to the protus *maneria*, with the final D, and can be described as an authentic protus melody (with a range from C to f), although at five points the melody descends within the lower tetrachord with movement between the notes A and D. This might appear to conflict with a recommendation to avoid 'double-ranged' melodies in composition, but this was of particular concern in antiphons and responsories as they had either authentic or plagal psalm cadences assigned to them. In this canticle, however, range crossing does not interfere with modal designation and 'high and low' ranges are not intermingled – as they are in many of Hildegard's songs.

The melodic movement in *O quan miranda, Qualis est dilectus* and *Audite o lucis filie* suggests extempore processes, but the processes themselves come across as far from lacking structural coherence. The close transmission of the three sources of neumed *epitalamia* also suggests that these melodies do not represent reductive reworking of improvised material. The placement of melodies on the gamut without evidence of a sustained period of redactional consolidation suggests that the composer was a *musicus*, someone who was schooled in the *ars musica* and familiar with its dictates, even though he or she may not have been responsible for the copying of these melodies in the *Einzelblatt* or Arundel 44. Here, the range crossing in *Qualis est dilectus*, in particular, highlights a distinction between compositional impetus and the modal classification system used to represent the *epitalamia*. Even a composer apparently familiar with the rules governing chant redaction was not restricted by them in expressing musically verses from the Song of Songs. As a point of reference, the redaction of the *epitalamia* in the *Einzelblatt*, Arundel 44 and Troyes 252 represents the types of settings that could be expected from a composer fluent in the principles of modal theory.

While the composer of the *epitalamia* is unknown, the use of the note c as final suggests the influence of treatises such as the preface to Berno of Rheichenau's Tonary or the Cistercian reform Treatises, which expounded the *affinalis* relationship between F and c. The Cistercian revision of the repertory also incorporated newly composed songs with an emphasis on Marian songs, which, Chrysogonus Waddell argues, betray a deference to the Song of Songs. In Cistercian circles, there were communities in which the cult of the Virgin was held in high esteem during the twelfth century. The *Epitalamia* was predominantly circulated among Cistercian houses, and only one copy of the *epitalamia*, the *Einzelblatt*, was housed at a monastery that was not Cistercian. As with the Dendermonde 9 cycle of Hildegard's songs, however, it is possible that the *Epitalamia* was circulated among Cistercian circles after initial redaction in a reformed Benedictine or Augustinian monastery, such as those Anselm's hypothetical critic complained about.

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22 Waddell, 'Early Cistercian Experience of Liturgy', p.97.
Hildegard and the Song of Songs

A second reason as to why Hildegard’s songs are difficult to locate in the corpus of twelfth-century songs is that the redaction of her songs is a product of a highly specific exchange between a Rupertsberg cantrix and St Eucharius musici who also copied her writings. An example of an exchange in which both writings and neumed song come together is suggested by Trier, Priesterseminar Bibliothek 107, which was copied at the St Eucharius abbey during the twelfth century. On the final three half-folios (76r-77r), there is a copy of Hildegard’s commentary on the Song of Songs 2:3 from Sevias III;8:16 and an unneumed respond from her Marian responsory Ave Maria. These two texts are followed on the final half-folio by Sicut malum, a neumed setting on staff notation of the Song of Songs 2:3-6.23

Settings from the four Song of Song verses in Trier 107 are found in the Gregorian repertory, primarily in conjunction with feasts celebrating virginity,24 but as there is no rubrication in Trier 107, this version of Sicut malum appears simply to complement the commentary. As with the Epithalamia and the Sevias, this song could be thought of as a musical response to a didactic text, or of a ‘new’ and ‘unusual’ practice of responding musically to an elucidation of God’s Word, in this case a commentary by Hildegard.

St Eucharius and Trier 107

The St Eucharius abbey, which was reconsecrated as St Matthias c.1142, was founded in the tenth century and, like Hildegard’s first monastic home at Disibodenberg, was reestablished early in the twelfth century after a period of decline.25 According to Petrus Becker, the earliest reference to the St Eucharius scriptorium is found in the dedication to a copy of Augustine’s Retractions and Hieronymus’ Tractatus de oboedientia prepared at St Eucharius in 1125;26 it is stated here that copying was undertaken by the ‘cantor’ (and librarian?) Remigius under the direction of Eberhard, abbot of St Eucharius from 1111 to 1136. Becker also notes that the listing of a cantor as a senior copyist for the redaction of a literary codex suggests that the ‘liturgical’ library at St Eucharius was not separate from the ‘reading’ library.27 We can also assume from this that by the time members of St Eucharius began corresponding with Hildegard some 25 years later, the St Eucharius scriptorium was well established and there had been music scribes at the abbey from at least 1120. This is also

23 The potential interest of this setting to musicologists has been previously mentioned by Hildegard scholar Sr. Angela Carlevaris. Benschen & Schippers, ‘Die Handschriften und die Phasen der Entstehung der Symphonia’, p.247.
24 See for example the settings of phrase 1 of verse 2:3 and verses 2:5-6 in Worcester, Cathedral Chapter Library F.160; reproduced in Antiphonaire Monastique XIIIe Siècle: Codex F. 160 De La Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale de Worcester, Palmus 12 (Bienne: Herbert Lang, 1971), pp.353 & 360. The second half of verse 2:3 (‘sub umbra illius quam desideratum sedi et fractus eius dulcis guttari mito’) is included in the second Nocturne of Matins for the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin.
26 Becker, St Eucharius-St Matthais, p.115; ‘Erneuerung des St Euchariusklosters’, p.205.
27 ‘Die ‘liturgische’ Bibliothek scheint noch nicht von einer anderen, einer „Lese“ bibliothek, getrennt zu sein.’ Becker, St Eucharius-St Matthais, p.82.
suggested by the copy of Berno’s *Tônarium* prepared at St Eucharius during the twelfth century, and the survival of neumed gradual fragments copied at the abbey.28

According to the dedication, the first 76 folios in Trier 107 were redacted during Eberhard’s abbotsipship and completed by 1126.29 The dedication also cites two scribes, the above-mentioned cantor Remigius and a scribe named Heinrich. The first 76 folios preserve two works: the *Liber prognosticos future seculi* (fols 1r–62v) by Julian of Toledo (c.642–690) and the *Regulae Morales* (fols 62r–76v) by Basil the Great (330–379).30 Julian’s text preserves a ‘collection of sayings’ on aspects of the afterlife (‘Death, Judgement, Hell, Heaven’) by Doctors of the Church,31 while Basil’s text comprises 88 Scriptural ‘sayings’ taken from 1553 verses of the New Testament.32 Both works might even be thought of as anthologies of authoritative sayings, and, paired together, they suggest that this manuscript functioned as a reference book used to advise readers on select theological issues. It is in this environment that we find the Hildegard codicil, itself concerned with the theme of virginity. The *Scivias* extract opens with the Song of Songs 2:3 followed by her commentary, which begins with a description of the speaker from verse 3, the *fidelis anima* [the faithful soul] who desires union with the *dilectus* [beloved], Christ – the ‘husband of souls’:

*Sic aut inter ligna silvarum sic dilectus meus inter filios sub umbra illius quem desideramus sedi et fructus eius dulce fortunia mea hoc tale est filius virginis dulcisima amator cæste dilectionis quem apprehendit fidelis anima desiderans dulcisima eius amplacience integretatem suam coronare reliquit carnali vino et se copulans christo eumque certissima foedere amans et in speculo fidei aspicit ens est pulcherrimus fructus fructiferarum arboris . . .

“As the apple tree among the trees of the woods, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under the shadow of him whom I desired; and his fruit was sweet to my palate” [Song of Songs 2:3]. Which is to say: The Son of the Virgin is the sweet Lover in chaste affection; and the faithful soul grasps Him to crown her integrity with His sweet embrace, renouncing an earthly husband. She unites herself to Christ, loves Him with binding certainty and regards Him in the mirror of faith. He is the most beautiful fruit of the fruitful tree . . .

The commentary goes on to explain how Christ ‘gave salvation to the world through His Incarnation’ and so ‘bears the fruit of the sweetness of life.’ It is also stated that the *fidelis anima* is to the *dilectus* as a wife is to a husband whom she married willingly and joyfully; thus the *fidelis anima* is united to the *dilectus*, ‘flowering perpetually with Him in the joy of the regal marriage’.34

29 *Anna dominice incarnationis MCXXVI scriptus est hic liber sub Eberhardo abate, Remigio cantore et Heinrich scriptore. Quos simul in colo. dominus confederet agno. Cuius majestas nunc et per secula regnat.* Trier, Priesterseminar Bibliothek, Hs. 107 fol. 1r.
31 J. N. Hillgart, ‘St Julian of Toledo in the Middle Ages’. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21 (1958), p.15. This work survives in over 150 manuscripts.
Hildegard’s Marian text *Ave Maria* expounds a theme glimpsed at in the commentary: the role of the divine Virgin in salvation. Here the Virgin Mary is praised as the *austrix vite* [author of life] who ‘rebuilt salvation,’ an act which redeemed humanity from its inherited state of sin. This text is followed on folio 77\textsuperscript{v} by the setting of *Sicut malum*:

\begin{quote}
Ave Maria o austrix vite reedificando salutem que
mortem conturbasti et serpentina contrivisti ad quem
se esse erexit erecta cervix cum sufflitu superbe hunc
conclusasti dum de celo filium dei genusit quem
inspiravit spiritus dei.
\end{quote}

Hail Mary, author of life, rebuilding salvation. You who confounded death and crushed the serpent to whom Eve reached up, her neck outstretched with the swelling of pride. You trampled him when you bore the Son of God from heaven: Whom the Spirit of God inspired.\(^{35}\)

As the *Scivias* was composed between 1141 and 1151, it may be assumed that in 1126 three-quarters of fol. 76\textsuperscript{v} and fol. 77\textsuperscript{r}, which complete a binio (fols 74\textsuperscript{r}-77\textsuperscript{v}), were blank. This assumption is confirmed by the two hands found on fols 76\textsuperscript{v}-77\textsuperscript{v}, which are not used in any other part of Trier 107.\(^{36}\) The *Sicut malum* hand is contemporaneous with this second layer of copying, and comparison of the clef, text and corrections hand as well as the ink suggests that the text and neumes on folio 77\textsuperscript{v} are in the same hand:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Hand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>76\textsuperscript{v}</td>
<td><em>Scivias</em> III; 8:16 &lt;br&gt; ‘Sicut malum inter ligna . . . alis quidem viriditatem nec fructum’</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77\textsuperscript{r}</td>
<td><em>Scivias</em> III; 8:16 cont &lt;br&gt; ‘a se ipsis habentibus . . . cum illo flores in gladio’</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77\textsuperscript{v}</td>
<td><em>Ave Maria O austrix vite . . . spiritus dei</em></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77\textsuperscript{v}</td>
<td><em>Sicut malum</em></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The notation on fol. 77\textsuperscript{v} resembles other notational systems in use along the Rhine during the twelfth century. There are five, four-lined staves, and clefs are indicated for tertial lines, a practice duplicated in other mid- to late twelfth-century German sources.\(^{37}\) In particular, the notation is similar to that used by members of the St Eucharius community at Rupertsberg during the 1170s, as documented in the Riesen kodex and Dendermonde 9, although the *Sicut malum* hand differs from the hands in these two sources. Nonetheless, each sign in Trier 107 has a counterpart in the two cyclic sources.

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\(^{36}\) Becker notes that the dedication is also in a different hand to folios 1\textsuperscript{r}-76\textsuperscript{v} (perhaps the hand of Abbot Eberhard?) Becker, *St Eucharius-St Matthai*, p.115.

Significantly, Trier 107 includes two signs for each of the *podatus* and *scandicus*: a square *podatus* is found on the initial syllable of ‘Sicut’, but a hook-shaped *podatus* is used thereafter; similarly, a *scandicus* comprising a *praepunctum-virga* is used over ‘inter’ in verse 3, but a slightly different sign is used for a *scandicus* over ‘[intro]du[xit]’. The single use of one sign prior to consistent use of another suggests that *Sicut malum* was copied from an exemplar, with the scribe adopting a preferred sign after initial use of a sign found in the version from which he or she copied.

As the first sign in each case corresponds with signs used in the cyclic sources, it is possible that an exemplar was initially redacted by either the Dendermonde 9 or Riesenködex scribe, or some other scribe at Rupertsberg. Further to this, the hands and inks on fols 76r–77r of Trier 107 suggest that the *Scivias* commentary, the Marian text and *Sicut malum* were copied during the one sitting. Although the hands in Trier 107 differ from the hands of St Eucharius scribes who were active at Rupertsberg during the 1170s, the notation still refers to signs that they used.

The interest in Hildegard’s works at St Eucharius extended beyond copying. The abbey library also housed copies of each of Hildegard of Bingen’s principal theological works: the *Scivias*, the *Liber vitae meritorum* and the *Liber divinorum operum*. It is possible that *Sicut malum* was copied after c.1179 (the *terminus ad quem* for the Riesenködex) – a copy of the *Scivias* was made at St Eucharius in 1210, which suggests conditions for transmission of the Hildegard codicil from Rupertsberg to St Eucharius after c.1179. These conditions also suggest that the written exchange between Rupertsberg and St Eucharius continued after Hildegard’s death.

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39 *Scivias*: Bernkastel-Kues Cusanusstift Hs. 63, prepared at St Eucharius in 1210; *Liber vite meritorum*: Trier Bibliothek des Priesterseminars Hs. 68, prepared during the 1170s at Rupertsberg; and *Liber divinorum operum*: Ghent, University Library MS 241, prepared at Rupertsberg c.1175. Becker, *St Eucharius-St Matthias*, pp.115–127.
The Setting of Sicut malum

The final of Sicut malum, the note D, is the same as Qualis est dilectus (Example 5-6), and the song structure includes 1-5-8-5-1 movement, but the differences between Qualis est dilectus and Sicut malum are the differences between Hildegard's songs and other contemporary settings. If taken as a single narrative as it is set, Sicut malum expounds the coming together of the speaker, Hildegard's fidelis anima, and the dilectus. In verse 3, the fidelis anima approaches the dilectus, whom she desires. The dilectus introduces the fidelis anima to the 'cellar of wine', and 'orders charity' in her in verse 4. In verse 5, she 'languishes' for His love, and in verse 6 the fidelis anima and the dilectus are physically entwined:

2:3 Sicut malum inter ligna silvarum sic dilectus meus inter filios
    sub umbra ilius quem desiderabam sedi et fructus
    eius dulci gutturi meo
introduxit me rex in cellarum vinarium ordinavit in me caritatem
2:4 fuscite me floribus stipate me malis quia amore
    langueo
2:5 leva eius sub capite meo et dextra illius amplexabit me.

As the apple tree among the tress of the woods, so is my beloved among the sons
I sat down under his shadow, whom I desired: and his fruit was sweet to my palate.
He brought me into the cellar of wine, he set in order charity in me.
Stay me up with flowers, compass me about with apples: because I languish with his love.
His left hand is under my head, and his right hand shall embrace me.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Trier, Priesterseminar Bibliothek Hs. 107 fol.77v; trans. from the Latin Vulgate.
Example 5-6: Sicut malum – Trier 107 fol. 77°
The description of the coming together of the *fidelis anima* and the *dilectus* suggests a rhetorical working towards a union which is realised in the final verse. In the articulation of these verses, there is an intonation on ‘*Sicut*’, which is different to the typical protus intonations in Hildegard's songs (most of which open with a leap between the final and diapente). This opening intonation is, however, reflected at the opening of Hildegard's deuterus E song *O vos felices* (Example 5-7). The melody then ascends to the diapente on ‘*in]ter f]igna*’, before a return to the final at ‘*lig[n]a silvarum*’. This phrase includes a decent to the diapente below the final, the note Γ on ‘*lig[n]a*. The diapente below the final is a cofinal in Hildegard's hymn *Mathias sanctus*, and with reference to her protus settings, a comparable decent is represented in the antiphon *De patria etiam* (Example 5-8).

![Example 5-7: from O vos felices – Dendermonde 9 fol. 160r](image)

![Example 5-8: from De patria etiam – Dendermonde 9 fol. 164r](image)

There is a second ascent to the diapente over ‘*dilec]tus meus*’, and there is a cadence to the final on ‘*fil]ios*. At ‘*sub umbra*’, the melody ascends from the diatessaron below the final to the final, and movement below the final continues until ‘*edi*. There is a 1-5 leap on ‘*et*, and the melody remains centred around the diapente, with an ascent to the diapason over ‘* dulci gu[turi]*’. The final is returned to several times in verse 2:4, but it is not resolved to with a cadential figure until ‘*vil]naram*. The following phrase, beginning ‘*ordinavit*, is initiated on the subfinal, there is an ascent to the diapente over ‘*in me*’, and the final is again resolved to at ‘*ca]ritatem*. This resolution is again short lived, with verse 2:5 opening on the diapente and continuing with movement between the the diapente and diapason above the final. A rhetorical climax is suggested here with the *dilectus* 'staying' the *fidelis anima* with flowers and 'compassing about' her with apples. Here, there has been a progression from the 'desire' of the *fidelis anima* in verse 2:3 to the languishing of the *fidelis anima* for the *dilectus* in verse 2:5. There is a *clivis* 5-1 leap followed by diapente pressi on ‘*qui]a amo[re]’ – the *clivis* 5-1 leap is represented in the cyclic sources – and the melody again resolves to the final.
The resolution suggested by the coming together of the *fidelis anima* and the *dilectus* is reflected by an articulation which begins in a similar way to the phrase beginning ‘*sub umbra*’ in verse 2:3, but here the melody rises to the diapente twice, on ‘*te meo et*’ and ‘*illus*’ before the melisma on ‘*amplexabitur*’. The melisma includes movement between the diapentes above and below the final, and the final is resolved to on ‘*amplexabi]turme*’.

Whereas the setting of *Qualis est dilectus* suggests a predominant and regular 1-5-8-5-1 structure which, for the most part, corresponds to paired verses, the setting of *Sicut malum* elaborates 1-5-8-5-1 progressions surrounded by other extended progressions, for example between the final and the diapente below it. Even songs governed by 1-5-8-5-1 progressions, such as *O magne pater* and *O vis eternitatis*, lack the regularity suggested by *Qualis est dilectus*. As in Hildegard’s songs, the articulation of *Sicut malum* follows the rhetorical unfolding of the text, with a climax suggested by sustained movement away from the final in verse 2:5 concurrent with an interpreted textual climax.

The setting of *Sicut malum* suggests the type of articulations represented in Hildegard’s songs – the coordination of rhetorical and articulative ‘climaxes’, including neumatic consistencies between her songs and the neumation of *Sicut malum*. This suggests her authorship, particularly as there are no known contemporaries who might also be considered here, with perhaps the exception of an enterprising scribe who was familiar with her music, such as the St Eucharius scribes active at Rupertsberg during the 1170s. Either way, Trier 107 suggests a example of a written and musical interchange between St Eucharius and Rupertsberg, in particular, one which represents a ‘new’ and ‘unusual’ practice of responding musically to God’s Word, after a textual response to the Word represented by Hildegard’s commentary. The survival of two settings of verses from the Song of Songs – *Sicut malum* and *Qualis est dilectus* – also suggests a tradition of Song of Songs settings in monastic circles in Germany during the twelfth century as part of a ‘new’ and ‘unusual’ way of articulating God’s Word.

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Summary

The allusions to the practice of psalmody in Cistercian copies of the *Epithalamia* represent a basic liturgical transaction: verse and respond. This is also reflected in the musical response to Hildegard’s commentary on verse 2:3 of the Song of Songs in *Sicut malum*. This basic monastic transaction also recalls Anselm’s evidence of communities that indulged in new psalmic practices, which are here represented by sources prepared in both Benedictine and possibility Cistercian houses, and in the case of the cyclic sources and all but one copy of the *Epithalamia* – circulated among Cistercian monasteries. This indicates that the musical traditions in Germany during the twelfth century did not cohere with a particular monastic code of practice; rather individual communities appear to have experienced music in different ways and had a range of expressions available to them, including expression through music.

John of Affligem noted in *De musica* that ‘naturally, since everyone prefers his own teacher, there arise as many variations in chanting as there are teachers in the world’ [*quia minimum dum quisque suum praefert magistrum, tot sunt diversificationes canendi quot sunt in mundo magistri*]. In the case of Hildegard, her teacher, Jutta the *inducta mulier*, taught her to *iubilatio*, and traces of these ‘jubilations’ in her *Scivias* songs suggest an individual display of an established mode of expression. Other, more learned teachers, such as those who may have taught the St Eucharius scribes and the anonymous composer of the *epithalamiae*, suggest schooling in theoretical traditions, albeit ones which still allowed for individual, and on occasion less than theoretical, expression.

The *Epithalamia* offers an important precursor to the redaction of the Hildegard repertory by a composer who appears to have been familiar with rules governing the art of correct singing. The *Epithalamia* can be taken as a reflection of the *novum psallendi* . . . *modum* in Anselm’s description, perhaps more so than the modally ambiguous cycle of songs that comprise the Hildegard repertory. As an example of new practice, the cyclic sources, the *Epithalamia* and Trier 107 offer an insight into the ways in which new music reflects the liturgical experiences of medieval monastics, in particular, as part of a wider set of localisable customs – in Hildegard’s case, concerning matters of dress and activities; in the case of the *Epithalamia*, the adoption of Marian songs into liturgical practice. It is from this environment – of localisable customs and an emphasis on new modes of liturgical expression in Germany during the twelfth century – that Hildegard’s songs emanate.

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Conclusion

Hildegard's *Vita* describes a woman who 'sang and brought forth' *cantus cum melodia* without training in the arts of letters or music. The same *Vita* indicates that her early training in the written word revolved around the Psalter, and her musical training was in *iubilatio*—the extemporisation of melody as sung praise. Learning the Psalter and *iubilatio* was part of her spiritual development under Jutta of Spanheim. This training under Jutta provides a background to Hildegard's 'bringing forth' *cantus cum melodia*.

An officially sanctioned visionary status enabled Hildegard to pursue 'bringing forth' both writings and songs, and, with Volmar's and her other scribes' help, she wrote down what she saw and heard. Her *cantus* were written down concurrent with her writings, but her *melodiae* were not initially preserved. The arrival of *musici* from St Eucharius signalled a change in the way her songs were redacted. Not only did they place her *melodiae* on the gamut, but they also cast her songs within a tradition of liturgical chant, complete with *maneriae*, genres, psalm cadences, doxologies, amens and alleluias.

The liturgy was a strong influence upon Hildegard's 'bringing forth' song, but, as a result of the collaboration between herself and St Eucharius scribes, an unclear relationship between the songs and the liturgy exists. Here, Hildegard has a counterpart in St Godric of Finchale (c.1069-1170), an English hermit who also brought forth songs and made similar claims to ignorance of letters and music. As with Hildegard's songs, Godric's music 'represents a more learned musician's interpretation of what he sang'.

There are two principal implications of this 'more learned interpretation' with respect to Hildegard: the recasting of her songs as liturgical items and the recasting of extemporaneous melodies within *maneriae*. Indications of the liturgical recasting include the less-than-consistent relationship between songs of the same liturgical genre. Indications of the recasting of extemporised melody include discrepancies between her *melodiae* and the system used to represent them, and the progression of one melody from *iubilatio* in the *Symphonia de apostolis* to a regular, final-diatreme structure in her *Kyrie*. This 'more learned interpretation' of Hildegard's melodies by her scribes affects much of what might be assumed about her songs. Her melodic behaviour, the relationship of her songs with the liturgy, the relationship of her songs with music theory and the relationship of her songs to other medieval repertories are all mediated through this interpretation. The significance of her collaboration with scribes in redaction of her *melodiae* cannot be overemphasised.

An understanding of the significance of music to Hildegard in this study encompassed both her role as monastic *cantix* and as well as that of monastic preacher. As a Benedictine nun, she sang the *Opus dei* and gave praise unceasingly to God as part of a daily routine of devotion. As a preacher, she defended the orthodox faith through her writings,

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sermons and giving council to those who sought it. Her roles as preacher and cantrix come together in her songs. Her cantus preach praises of the joy of celestial citizens, and these are articulated with melodiae.

The intellectual climate on the Rhine during the twelfth century is reflected in Hildegard's songs. Like her contemporaries, she embraced a 'love of holy reason' as a means by which God's Word could be put across and was surrounded by orthodox fervour as well as tension between orthodoxy and non-orthodox views, such those expounded by the Cathars. Her songs preach orthodox fervour through praises of celestial citizens as well as suggest tension between orthodox and non-orthodox views through descriptions of straying humans and the ramifications of abandoning God. Her songs and sermons fulfil the same function – to inspire and reinforce a union between God and humans.

Her redacted songs bear out her preacher/cantrix roles in the word-music relationship; in her songs, the cantus represents the joy that is to be understood, and the melodica is the means by which this joy is articulated to humans. Adopting some of the priorities of the monastic preacher as rhetorical situations for Hildegard's songs indicates that her cantus comprise arguments which promote orthodoxy and reiterate localised assumptions. She conceived the articulation of her arguments and assumptions as caelestia harmonia, and her extemporisations of this harmony were uninhibited by the theoretical constraints later imposed by her scribes. Although her redacted melodiae represent corruptions of oral compositions, the ways in which she articulated her words, or exercised her conception of music as the way for meaning to be understood, are preserved.

The redacted articulation of Hildegard's cantus suggests a simple approach to the articulation of meaning. She spoke of music as a means by which the soul could be made willing to receive the sensus verborum of cantus, and the articulations of her cantus encompass those meanings through delineation of argumentative tensions and reposes. In this respect, her cantus reaffirm her role as preacher and defender of the faith, and her melodiae reaffirm her background as an unlearned cantrix who was taught iubilatio by an indocta mulier. Her cantus cum melodia is an individual expression of devotion by a cantrix who also preached.

Hildegard was not alone in seeking out new forms of devotional expression. The epithalamiae from the Speculum virginum is perhaps the closest surviving contemporary example of the production of newly composed song with liturgical indications, and, along with the setting of Sicut malum in Trier 107, represents a practice of responding musically to devotional writings. Here, music is situated as part of localised conceptions of devotion with the implication that music was used both in formal and private worship. In this context of individual forms of devotional expression and collaboration, the significance of music to Hildegard can be defined through her roles as unlearned cantrix and as monastic preacher – music is a mode of expression for responding to the verbum Dei and as a means to convey the sensus verborum therein.
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