Symphonia Caritatis: The Cistercian Chants of Hildegard von Bingen

By K. Christian McGuire

I would like to begin by thanking of few of the many people who have had a hand in making this presentation possible – Pozzi Escot for her gracious invitation for me to present and Bruce Hozeski for his valuable contributions to Hildegard Studies and founding the ISHBS; Barbara Newman, Margot Fassler, and Barbara Haagh-Huglo for patiently addressing my questions, recommending sources and overall encouragement; Constant Mews for clarifying aspects of 12th century liturgical practice, Teresa Vann, Matt Henzleman and the rest of the very helpful staff at the Hill Monastic Museum and Library at Saint John's University in Collegeville, MN for assisting me in finding manuscripts (and working with the microfilm readers) – my wife and my children for being very patient as I spent time on this project.
I would also like to dedicate this presentation to my academic advisor and advocate, Donna Cardamone Jackson who was diagnosed with ALS in Fall of 2006 and who, shortly after my thesis defense in summer 2007 had a devasting stroke which robbed her of the ability to interact with the world. I request that you keep her in your thoughts and prayers.

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FORWARD

Perhaps no other figure from the Middle Ages has captured as much interest in recent U.S. popular culture as Hildegard von Bingen. By all accounts, she was one of the most remarkble figures of the 12th century. She was a nun who authored three visionary texts and a treatise on nature and medicine. She composed (at least) 77 liturgical chants as well as a liturgical musical drama. She founded two monastic communities for women of noble birth. In her 60s, she embarked on preaching tours in various cities. Taken together, with the over 390 letters written to and from her, we get a fairly clear picture of a *magistra* on a mission to care for the spiritual well-being of those in need and to restore the righteousness of the Church in a time when her own arch-diocese of Mainz, aligned with Frederick Barbarossa waged war against Alexander III, the man she recognized as Pope.

So why another paper on Hildegard and her chants, commonly refered to as the *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum* [Symphony of the Harmony of Celestrial

Revelations]? Already, there have been a number of terrific analytical and interpretive papers on this subject. To start, much of what has been popularly believed regarding her music is stems from assumptions based from limited sources. One assumption is that she conceieved of the *Symphonia* as a complete cycle between the years 1151 and 1158 for sole use by her nuns.[1] Another assumption is that most of Hildegard's music does not fit the expectations of typical medieval music theory or practice. While it is true that many of her chants seem arbitrarily labeled, for instance it is often difficult to tell the difference between her responsories and antiphons, the view is in large part based upon comparison with Renaissance theory as presented undergraduate music history texts. This view is fed further by generalizations made from the small number of her chants which contain extremely wide vocal ranges, large leaps, florid melodies, the characteristic opening ascending fifth et al. Furthermore, in contextualizing her life and music, many scholars have limited their primary sources to English translations of her *Vita*, *Scivias*, and a few select letters (most often cited are those between the Prelates of Mainz and her defence of the critical Tenxwind of Andernach)

In the last 10 years, our understanding of the medieval world has been revolutionized by two remarkable things: One, are the new critical editions produced by the Corpus Christianorum; Two, digital technology which has facilitated our access to source manuscripts and enabled spontaneous dialogue with world scholars and enthusiasts. This explosion of intellectual interaction has placed us today in a better position to contextualize Hildegard's life and works among her contemporaries.

Four years ago I began my research intent on determining if Hildegard's apparent office chants for the *Feast of St. Ursula and the 11,000 virgin martyrs*, had an impact on

[1] LVM

the liturgies practiced by monastic and lay communities of the Rheinland and Walloon-Brabant in the late 12th and early 13th century (Beguinnes).

For my study, I focused primarily on the earlier of the two extant 12th century sources of her chants, the Dendermonde Codex Ms. 9. Soon, my preliminary study of this manuscript ended up raising a bigger question. "Why was it that Hildegard sent this copy of her chants, the *Dendermonde Codex Ms. 9* as a gift to the Cistercian monastery in Villers?" Knowing what I knew of the Cistercian's strict practice of (and enforced uniform adherence to) their liturgy, certainly they would not have found her chant acceptable, would they?!? But there is was in the letter from the monks of Villers [a direct daughter house of Clairvaux] expressing thanks for a book she sent as a gift that they were "…reading zealously and embracing…affectionately …"

After a quick search, I stumbled across an *Early Music* article by Richard Witts.[2] He hypothesized that after Pope Eugenius III's famous 1147/8 Synod of Trier endorsement of Hildegard's first visionary treatise, *Scivias*, the 49 year old nun set about founding her own community for women -- aligned with the Cistercian Order.[3] Witts argument was intuitive -- After all Eugenius was not only the first Cistercian pope but was no less **a pupil** of Bernard of Clairvaux, the orders' biggest proponent. While it is easy to disregard some aspects of Witts' argument (where he cites, among other things, numerous coincidences and numerological conspiracy theories) his intuition regarding a Cistercian connection might not be so far fetched.

THESIS

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

[3] The only sources pertaining to this "official endorsement" are the *Uita Hildegardis* (ca. 1183) and Odo of Soissons 1148 letter to Hildegard. The Synod records themselves record nothing.

What I present here is a work in progress intended to clear a new path for exploration in Hildegard studies. -- I hold that in 1150, when Hildegard founded her first community at Rupertsberg, she adopted some form of the Cistercian liturgy rather than copied the Hirsau liturgy from her parent monastery of Disibodenberg. Her Cistercian practice intensified after 1170 when she and Volmar began to prepare for the inevitablity of her heavenly reward. To support this hypothesis I will first draw upon written accounts lending plausibility to her Cistercian sympathies. Secondly, I will briefly describe some issues in source records in the development of the Cistercian liturgy. Finally, I will provide a comparative analysis focused soley on the melodies of chants composed both by Hildegard and those composed during the mid-12th century Cistercian liturgical reform.

I want to be clear, this is not the same as stating that she became Cistercian, nor am I stating that ALL of her chants demonstrate Cistercian influence, but given her outspoken distrust of the ecclesiastical authority of Disibodenberg and her own archdiocese of Mainz, she apparently found Cistercian practice a better conduit to salvation.

Just a brief background on the Cistercians. The order was founded in 1098 by Robert of Molesme (1027-1110) (coincidentally in the same year as Hildegard's birth) and grew tremendously under the abbacy of Bernard of Clairvaux. The intention was to do away with the corrupt excesses found in contemporary Cluniac practice. Robert therefore led a small group of Benedictine monks to Citeaux in a desire to return to an authentic practice of monasticism by following strict observance of the *Rule of St. Benedict.* In this they were also devoted to the practice of *caritas*.[4]

[4] The meaning of *caritas* is often obscured in English where it is often translated as either *Love* or *Charity*, words which themselves carry multiple meanings. It is cited by Paul in 1 Corinthians 13:13 as the third and

Aside from the devotion to *caritas* and strict observation to the Rule of St. Benedict, which included the wearing of a white habit (ergo their appellation "white monks"), all Cistercian houses venerated the Virgin Mary.[5] Their stated reason was because their founders came to Citeaux from the church of Molesme which was itself dedicated in honor of the blessed Mary.[6] They decreed therefore that all succeeding churches be founded in dedication to the Queen of Heaven and Earth, establishing a relationship of "mother – daughter" houses.[7] Furthmore, in keeping with Bernard of Clairvaux's famous sermons on the *Song of Songs* [review Sermon 8 in relation to Hildegard], it was a common metaphor among 12th century Cistercian monks to refer to their souls (in the feminine -- *anima*) as the ideal "Bride of Christ."[8]

The movement soon began to gather steam after 1112 when Bernard of Clairvaux and 29 followers joined the order. By 1150, Bernard's charismatic influence led to the establishment of no fewer than 327 Cistercian houses across Europe. Unlike Citeaux

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

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

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

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

[8] Emphasis on the female-positive which Krahmer points out is the virile spiritual perseverance embodied in the bride. Shawn M. Krahmer, "The Virile Bride of Bernard of Clairvaux," *Church History*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (June 2000) : 314. ; This plays into another common issue when looking at Hildegard's works in isolation from her contemporaries—that her use of virtues, vices, Ecclesia, etc. in feminine form somehow refers to her own physical femaleness. But the whole history of literature among male authors also use this feminine imagery to refer to spiritual marriage of their needing souls for union with Christ.

however, many of the Cistercian houses were not founded from scratch in some wilderness. They were in fact existing communities, often Benedictines, who adopted Cistercian practice. Such is the case of the community at Obazine in the diocese of Limoges. They adopted an early version of the Cistercian liturgy (RI) in 1142 before officially becoming Cistercian five years later (in 1147 when they had to adopt the RII liturgy).[9] The case of the Obazinites provides a parallel on how the Cistercian liturgy may have developed at Rupertsberg.

LIFE WITH HILDEGARD

To establish plausibility of Cistercian practice at Rupertsberg look to contemporary written accounts. We get some idea of monastic life under Hildegard from Guibert of Gembloux, the monk who served as her final secretary and *prepositus* between 1177-1180.[10] In a letter to his fellow monk Bovo, he criticizes the monastic practice of his own monastery at Gembloux while praising the modest and dutiful practice at Rupertsberg as *regularis* a term often used in the 12th century when describing Cistercian houses.[11]

A more telling account however comes directly from Hildegard herself. In an 1170 letter to her nuns, she states the purpose of Rupertsberg's founding:

> *…at God's admonition I paid a visit to Mount St. Disibod…where I presented the following petition to all who dwelt there: I requested that our monastery, as well as the alms accruing therefrom, be free and clear from their jurisdiction, for the sake of the salvation of our souls and our concern for the strict observance of the Rule.*[12] [that is the rule of St. Benedict] - Hildegard von Bingen to her congregation of nuns (ca. 1170)

[9] Waddell. Cisterican Hymnal p. 76.

[10] The prepositus is the temporal authority of the community representing the abbot of Disibodenberg at the convent. Hildegard was never recognized by the Church as an abbess, just a magistra. In the eyes of the church, Volmar and Guibert actually had authority over her.

[11] Guibert's letter to Bovo #38 p. 100-101 – Hildegard and Jutta.

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

Third we look to her last treatise *Liber diuinorum operum*. Aside from her correction (or rather clarification) of the cosmology as represented in the *Scivias*, we should note the LDOs prominent emphasis of *Caritas* which replaces the dominant *Ecclessia* in her *Scivias* as the primary agent of salvation – In effect an *Ecclesia* without *Caritas* is corrupt.[hmm…refer to Philosophia's argument to Boethius in Consolation Book II.6 regarding the power of the office and poem 8 the power of love [amor] in binding the world with Hildegard's LDO].

Fourth, examining her vast correspondence reveals that she generally maintained friendly relationships with Cistercian houses. Monks and abbots from these from Cistercian houses not only sought spiritual guidance but also requested copies of her books and writings. While these are plausable accounts which <u>might</u> <u>indicate</u> the adoption of Cistercian practice, it does not tell us anything specifically about the Divine Office chants where Hildegard and her nuns spent ¼ of their day. I am going to assume that most of you know the hours of the Divine Office and its two primary chants genres [antiphons and responsories] as it stands today. But I must discuss a few points concerning the development of the Cistercian Liturgy during the 12th century as it parallel's Hildegard's life in a section I call…

THE ASSUMPTION OF FULLY FORMED PRACTICE

The hypothesis that a possible connection between Hildegard's chants with the Cistercians has often been dismissed because of the assumption that Cistercian theory and practice was already fully developed and uniform during her active period of compostion. Even the more recent and valuable research on Hildegard's songs have stopped short because they only compare her melodies with Cistercian <u>theory</u> (those of Marianne

Richert Pfau and Catherine Jeffreys). A thorough comparison of contemporary practice however has yet to be undertaken.

[I ask you to refer to the table 1: Development of the Cistercian Liturgy]

The first step in source comparison is to understand that there were two (2) major developments of the Cistercian liturgy which occurred during Hildegard's adult lifetime and one (1) which occurred 11 years after her death. Chrysoganus Waddell describes these developments as recensions. The first recension (RI) was completed sometime in the early 1130s. In the Cistercians drive for authenticity they were compelled to celebrate the liturgy with the most authentic chants. To accomplish this they eliminated as much of the previous 600 years of liturgical emendations as possible and retained only chants which could have been known by St. Benedict or Pope Gregory I. They carefully copied chants from Metz, which was at that time considered to house the most authentic chant. They found however that many of these chants were full of errors having texts that made no sense and melodies that wandered.

After much criticism, Bernard of Clairvaux led a team to create the second recension R2 which they completed sometime around 1147. His team developed a theory to be used to "correct" the first recension (RI) chants. I am also indebted to Jaime Younkin who pointed out that in the process they also composed new chants including a 4th responsory per nocturn for all Sundays and Feast days as required by the *Rule of St. Benedict*. [By this time, many Benedictine communities often performed only 3 nocturns regardless.] Many of these new chants drew took as their texts excerpts from the *Song of Songs*. Some other guiding principles of the R2 restoration theory include the **Avoidance of Bb (by transposition if necessary), cutting back long melismas, and restricting the**

range to 10 notes. The final recension in 1190 served as a master copy for all Cistercian houses.

One cannot pinpoint exactly when any of these recensions may have come into Hildegard's hands. If it occurred anything like the Obizinites, she may have adopted an RI liturgy when she founded Rupertsberg. (perhaps donated by the neighboring Cistercian monastery of Eberbach with whom she maintained close ties) This makes for a tantalizing speculation that the inclusion of feast days such as those to Mary and St. Ursula AND the usual appearance of only 1 responsory and antiphon for other Feast subjects, might indicate that the Dendermonde Codex says less about her own personal preferences in selecting liturgical subjects and more about her pragmatic concern of supplementing a deficient RI liturgy.

COMPARISONS

Nevertheless we can attempt to infer some method of determination in the "adopted liturgy hypothesis" by trying to date her compositions based upon texts. For this I turned to the work begun by Barbara Newman. Indicating her belief that Hildegard did not set out to compose a song cycle and that it is virtually impossible to determine "…conclusive dating of any individual piece," Newman presents a possible division of Hildegard's chant into three periods. The earliest layer of Hildegard's work, she surmises, consist of the *Ordo Virtutem* and fourteen (14) texts in honor of the celestial hierarchy, 12 of which are set to melody. She establishes the middle layer (which she refers to as the Miscellany) as those twenty-six (26) texts which appear interspersed with the aforementioned fourteen (14) elsewhere within the Riesencodex -- but without musical notation. These include

most of the Marian chants as well as a hymn and sequence to the Holy Spirit.[13] The final layer consists of the remaining thirty-plus works which include those dedicated to various local saints, many of which we now know to have been requested by other monastic communities such as Trier and Disibodenberg.[14]

Having established a textual basis for dating some of the chants, I began to narrow my study by cross-referencing the melodies with the texts. I then applied the principles of the RII theory to all of the chants which appear in the Dendermonde codex.

Restricted Range

Perhaps the easiest RII principle to determine is that of restricted range. No chant is to have an ambitus wider than 10 notes. By applying only the principle of restricted range, I discovered that only nine (9) of Hildegard's chants were found to be in clear violation. Of those nine (9), Seven (7) are pre-Rupertsberg chants (that of those 12 which appear at the end of Scivias). {S}O gloriosissimi lux; {S} O vos angeli, {S} O spectabiles viri, {S} O choors [cohors] militie, {S} Vos flores rosarum; {S} O vos imitatores; {S} O nobilissima uiriditas

Conversely there are 14 chants which clearly met the standards of the principle. Cross-referencing the texts of those 14 chants with those found in Hildegard's other writings and correspondence, it seems likely that a significant number of those chants were composed in the 1160s and 1170s.

As for the remaining chants in the Dendermonde codex I will table that discussion because they require further explanation, but I will state that their exclusion from the

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

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

"textbook" example of restricted range is only because the majority of them break the principle only once by dropping down to the *tenor* usually for word-painting considerations. Without that discrepancy, their inclusion would raise the number of acceptable from fourteen (14) to fifty-two (52).

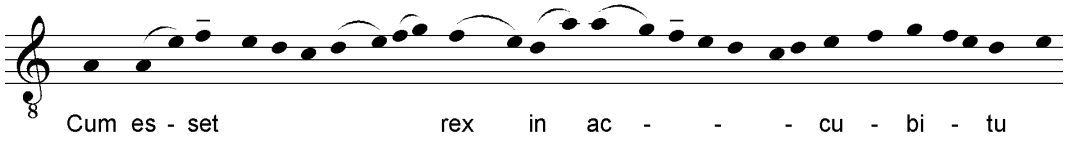
Having determined ambitus as a basis for comparision, I began to compare other aspects of theory and practice.

One apparent peculiarity that stands out in both Hildegard and Cistercian chant is the use of "C" and "a" as transposed finals. Although there are a number of 11th and 12th century theorists who did in fact recognize "C" and "a" as Finals, the actual practice is more common in Cistercian manuscripts than other liturgies.[15] In the case of Hildegard's Dendermonde Codex, no fewer than eight (8) are based on C, and twelve (12) on "a". Another peculiarity is that both the Cistercians and Hildegard maintained that B is the tenor of mode 3 rather than C (as we have generally been taught in the Grout/Palisca/Burkholder text).

Avoidance of B-flat

The most common reason for transposition to C or A was to avoid B-flat in the notation. The solution was often to transpose the chant so that the semi-tone interval of A to B-flat, became E to F.

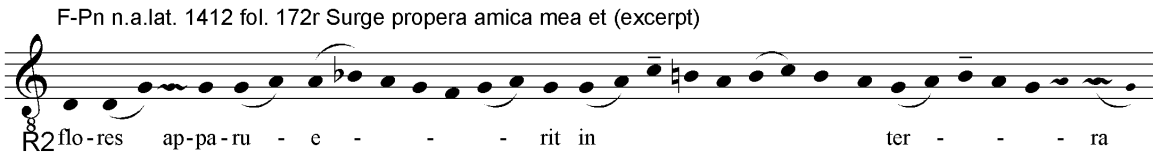
FIGURE 1 Transposed A



[15] Mode 6 aka Hypolydian retains F as the final with A as the tenor.

In the Dendermonde codex, there are twenty-nine chants which correspond with this rule. Ironically, in the new Cistercian chants, we find examples where this rule is not followed.

FIGURE 1.2: Co-Mingling Bb with B natural



Reduction

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

> *If there is singing the melody should be grave and not flippant or uncouth. It should be sweet and not frivolous; it should both enchant the ears and move the heart; it should lighten sad hearts and soften angry passions; and it should never obscure but enhance the sense of the words. Not a little spiritual profit is lost when the minds are distracted from the sense of the words by frivolity of the melody, when more is conveyed by the modulations of the voice than by the variations of the meaning.*[16]

The problem with a definition such as this is its subjectivity. For instance how are the words <u>enhanced</u> in the following Responsory composed under the second Recension (RII) ?

Figure 2: Reduction of Melismas

[16] The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, ep. 430.

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

R2 Qui - - - a

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

Responsory for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary
R: *Filie iherusalem nuntiate dilecto* ***quia amore*** *langueo* [Songs 5:8]
V: *Osculetur me osculo oris sui* [Songs 1:1]

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

The elision between *Quia amore* not withstanding, what enhancing purpose is there in melismatic application to such a word as *quia*? The treatment of *amore* is more in lines with what one might expect, especially in a responsory which, considering its subject matter and text drawn from the *Song of Songs*, may indeed have been written by Bernard of Clairvaux himself.

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

Figure 2-1

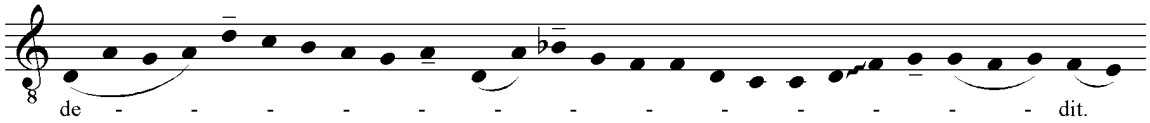
F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 – fol.4r-v – *Preciosus athleta domini*

hoc

This too is longer and indeed less than "enhancing" in what we typically find with Hildegard's 27 note *jubilatio* at the end of her antiphon, *Karitas habundat*.

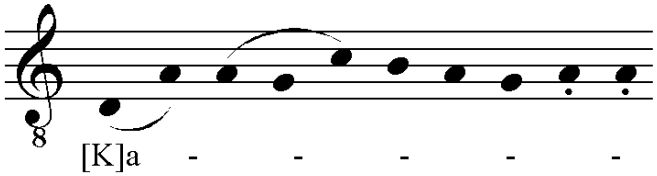
FIGURE 2-2

Dendermonde Ms. 9 – fol. 157r – Karitas habundat



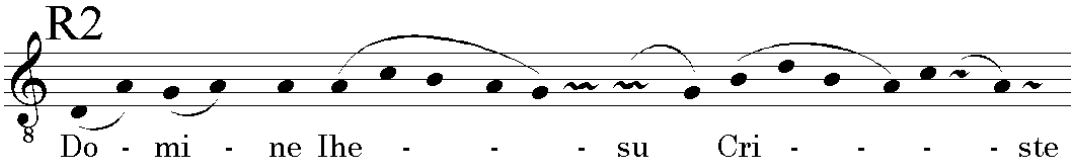
Another Hildegardian trait which has been described by Marianne Richert Pfau as unusual occurs in the opening motif of *Karitas habundat* which opens by sort of outlining a 7th interval. [17]

Dendermonde Ms. 9 – fol. 157r – Karitas habundat



This 7th outline however is by no means unusual and appears commonly in both Benedictine and Cistercine chants. For instance in the RII Cistercian responsory *Preciosus athleta domini* for the feast of St. Stephen.

FIGURE 3.2
F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 – fol.4r-v – *Preciosus athleta domini* (Feast of St. Stephen)

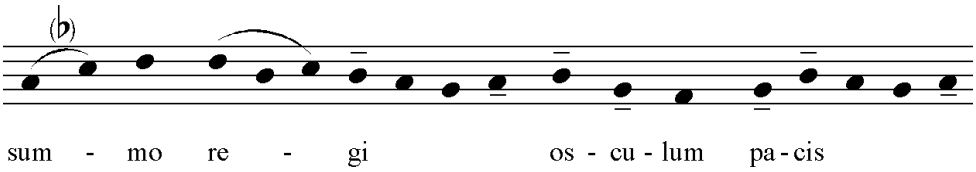


This excerpt <u>does</u> share another interesting word-painting trait with Hildegard. After intoning *Domine Jesu*, the introduction of the octave *d* stands to emphasize *Criste*, with a clear triadic outline of *G-b-d* before settling back to *a*.

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

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

Figure 6-8 [18]



This *Kiss of Peace* is likened to the breath of the Holy Spirit granted divine revelation. Compare this motive with the opening of the RII Responsories for the Feast of St. Stephen.[19]

In conclusion there remain some critical issues to be resolved in source studies, but the possibility of a Cistercian connection should no longer be fully dismissed as implausible. It has been demonstrated that a significant amount of subjectivity in what constituted authentic was used by the RII reformers in composing their own chants. It is plausible then that to her many Cistercian contemporaries who did indeed respect her spiritual authority, Hildegard's chant was acceptable on the merits of its divinely inspired content alone. The Cistercian preference for divine knowledge over the limits of temporal reason would preclude any contradictions between her chant and the theories of liturgical reform. This position is echoed by Chrysogonus Waddell who comments on the manner conducted by Bernard's team when editing the Ambrosian hymn-texts, "One simply does

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

[19] The 7th motif however has already been shown earlier in this study as it is taken from the *Gloria Patri* CAO9000 which served as the basis for versicles in the new

not "correct" a doctor of the Church such as Ambrose. To do so would be the equivalent of correcting the Holy Spirit, whose mouthpiece and amanuensis Ambrose was."[20]

Hildegard's writings speak with an authority not from schooled men of reason and learning, but by the gift of divine revelation bestowed upon her by the Holy Spirit. Like John the Evangelist, one of her favored Saints, this was a reward for her perpetual virginity.

I hope to have opened a new avenue for exploration/consideration into the compositional process of Hildegard's works as well as the early development of female monasticism in Cistercian communities. But for this, a more thorough study and dedicated search for 12th century liturgical manuscripts of the Rheinland is the obvious next step.

Thank you.

The choice of subject matter in Hildegard's chants are a reflection of when copies of these where used or known by Hildegard. are dependent upon which may have been working from donated versions of either RI or RII.

[20] Chysogonus Waddell, *The Twelfth Century Cistercian Hymnal*, Cistercian Liturgy Series volume I, (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1984), 91

Symphonia Caritatis: The Cistercian Chants of Hildegard von Bingen

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Manuscripts consulted:

F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 *Un antiphonaire cistercien pour le sanctoral Paris Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Nouvelles Acquisitions Latines 1412.* Sanctorale of the Cistercian antiphoner of monastic cursus from the Abbey of St. Mary of Morimondo in the diocese of Milan. Second half of the twelfth century (approximately 1175). Staff notation dry point with F and C inked, facsimile reproduction in black and white edited by Claire Maitre. Paris: Poitiers; Centre d'Études supérieures de la civilisation médiévale, 1998.

D Ms. 9 Dendermonde, St.-Pieters & Paulusabdij, Ms. Cod. 9. Hildegard of Bingen. *Symphonia Harmoniae Caelestium Revelationum*. Introduction by Peter van Poucke, Peer, 1991: Received by Cistercian monks in Villers ca. 1175.

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TABLE 1: Development of the Cistercian Liturgy

During Hildegard's lifetime, there were four main stages of the Cistercian liturgy:

1) <u>Molesme Liturgy</u> (1098-ca1119) - that is the Benedictine liturgy taken when the first Cistercians set out from Molesme to Citeaux in 1098.

2) <u>First Cistercian Liturgical Reform (RI) (ca1112-1132?)</u> adopted during the abbacy of Stephen Harding who sought the undisputed authority of Ambrosian Hymns from Milan and "Gregorian" Chant from the Metz Antiphonal.[21]

3) <u>Second Cistercian Liturgical Reform (RII) (ca1132?-1147</u>) – Bernard of Clairvaux, Guido d'Eu and Richard of Vauclair developed the Cistercian theory to correct the errors of RI. They also added chants and Feasts to the liturgy. Many of the Rules regarding RII theory however do not appear in many *tonaries* until the mid-13th century, lending one to believe that Hildegard and many Cistercian houses themselves may not have been aware.

4) <u>Minor Reform and Compilation of the Mother Liturgy (ca. 1174-1190)</u> – *Dijon, Bibliotheque Municipale 114.* This was intended to be the Master copy against which all Cistercian communities could be compared. Unfortunately the hymnal, gradual, and antiphonal have been missing since the 16th century.[22]

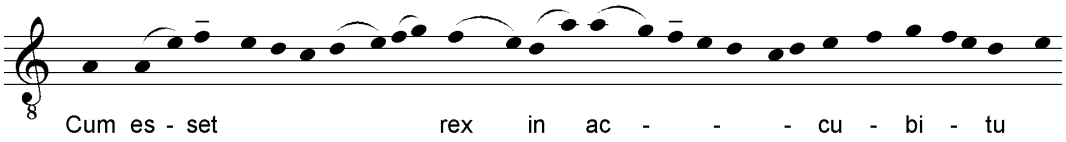
[21] Waddell designates RI and RII as sigla for the First and Second Recension of liturgical books. Chysogonus Waddell, *The Twelfth Century Cistercian Hymnal*, Cistercian Liturgy Series volume I, (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1984), 7.
[22] Ibid., 17.

Comparative timeline of Cistercian Liturgy with Hildegard

DATE	CISTERCIANS	HILDEGARD EVENTS	LITERARY/MUSICAL EVENTS	
1098	Cistercian order founded	Hildegard born		
1130s	**RI completed**			
1136		Hildegard elected *magistra* after death of Jutta		
1141-1150			pre-Rupertsberg chants, *Ordo uirtutem*, *Scivias* (emphasis on *Ecclesia*)	
1147	**RII completed**	Synod of Trier (1147/48)		
1150s	Cistercians add Feasts/Commemorations to Mary, Ursula, and the Trinity (1150-1175)	**MOVE TO RUPERTSBERG (1150)**	Hildegard composes *Symphonia* & miscellany of Marian, Ursuline chants others commissioned by Trier and Disibodenberg	Discovery of Ursula relics in Cologne
1160s				Preaching tours
1170		Volmar's forged letters of authority/endorsement by Eugenius III and Bernard of Clairvaux (John van Engen's hypothesis)		
1173		Death of Volmar	completion of *Liber diuinorum operum* - (*Caritas* replaces *Ecclesia* as most prominent figure / Hildegard composes Trinity antiphons (my hypothesis)	
1175	Ms. 1412 completed (RII liturgy)		D Ms. 9 sent to Cistercian monks in Villers	Guibert of Gembloux writes to Hildegard on behalf of Cistercian Monks in Villers
1177		Guibert of Gembloux becomes Hildegard's *prepositus*		Peace of Venice (Barbarossa recognizes Alexender III as Pope after over 20 years of conflict) Christian von Buch (archbishop of Mainz and Barbossa's Chancellor attends)
				Prelates of Mainz and Hildegard have a row – when Christian returns to Mainz he lifts the interdict but still chastises Hildegard
1179		Hildegard's death (Sept. 17th)		
1180s			Compilation of Riesencodex and *Uita Hildegardis*	
1190	Dijon Ms. 114			

* Both Hildegard and the Cistercians backed Alexander III as Pope against Frederick Barbarossa's succession of anti-popes.
* Hildegard maintains friendly relations with Cistercian abbots (especially nearby Eberbach) who often request copies of her writings and sermons. Conversely maintains hostile relations with the abbots of Disibodenberg (Kuno and Helengerus) as well as the authority of Mainz after Christian von Buch becomes Archbishop in 1162 (no correspondence until the famous "inderdict incident.")

FIGURE 1 – Cistercian chant transposed to *a* (note *Song of Songs* imagery)
F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 – fol.93v – *Cum esset rex in accubitu suo* (Assumption of Mary)



Responsory for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary
R: *Cum [*Dum*] esset rex in accubitu suo nardus mea dedit odorum suum* [Songs 1:11]
V: *Pulchre sum et decora filie ihreusalem* [adapted from Songs]

FIGURE 1.2: Co-Mingling Bb with B natural (Common of a Virgin)
F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 fol. 172r Surge propera amica mea et (excerpt)

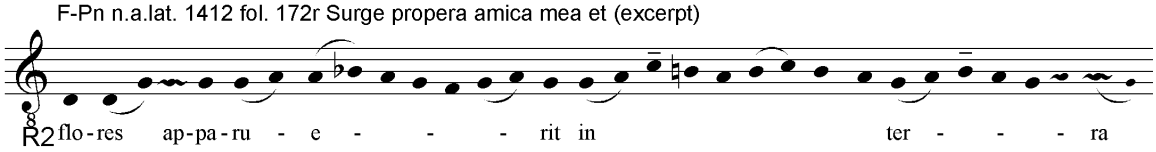
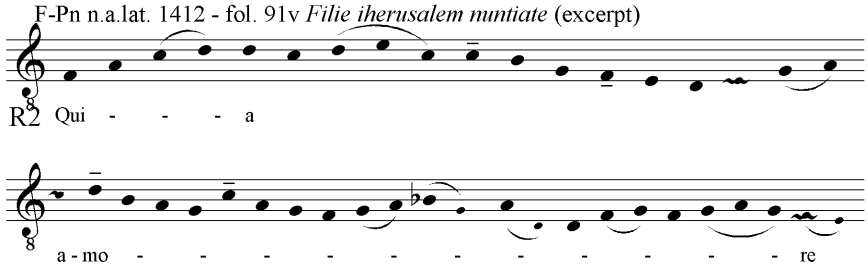


FIGURE 2: Reduction of Melismas

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



Responsory for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary
R: *Filie iherusalem nuntiate dilecto* ***quia amore*** *langueo* [Songs 5:8]
V: *Osculetur me osculo oris sui* [Songs 1:1]

FIGURE 2.1:
F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 – fol.4r-v – *Preciosus athleta domini* (Feast of St. Stephen)

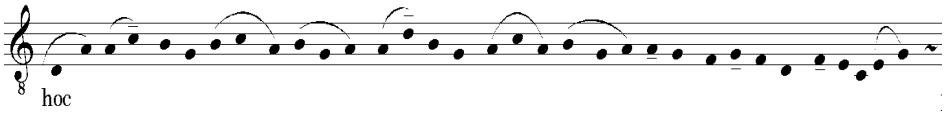


FIGURE 2:2 Dendermonde Ms. 9 – fol. 157r – Karitas habundat

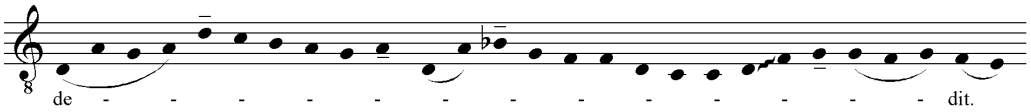


FIGURE 3 – "Pfau's Unusual 7th outline (not really unusual (nor 7th outline)
Dendermonde Ms. 9 – fol. 157r – Karitas habundat

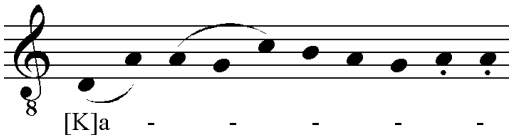
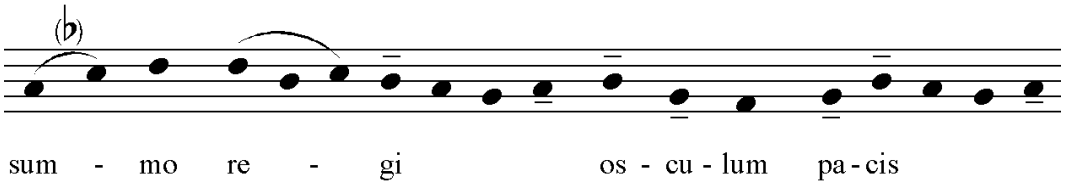


FIGURE 3.2
F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412 – fol.4r-v – *Preciosus athleta domini* (Feast of St. Stephen)

FIGURE 3.3 Dendermonde Ms. 9 – fol. 157r – Karitas habundat



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Hildegard states her Reason for Founding Rupertsberg

> *…at God's admonition I paid a visit to Mount St. Disibod…where I presented the following petition to all who dwelt there: I requested that our monastery, as well as the alms accruing therefrom, be free and clear from their jurisdiction, for the sake of the salvation of our souls and our concern for the strict observance of the Rule.*[23] [that is the rule of St. Benedict] - Hildegard von Bingen to her congregation of nuns (ca. 1170)

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