“TUNC TU CLAMAS CLARA VOCE”: MARIOLOGICAL ALLUSION AND THE MUSIC OF ST. HILDEGARD OF BINGEN

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
March 2021

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[1] While the transcriptions used for these examples are from CANTUS Database, with some modifications/additions on my part in some cases, all musical analysis/phrase diagrams are my own.

ABSTRACT

Hildegard's Mariology, most overtly expressed through her sixteen Marian plainchants, has received close attention by scholars over the years. Nevertheless, unanswered questions remain concerning her Mariology as well as the musical manifestations of her devotion to Mary. This thesis seeks to fill a void in this area of Hildegard research by introducing a new lens—Mariological allusion—by means of which new aspects of Hildegard's Mariology in her music may be discovered and explored. First, an investigation of Mariological allusion in the twelfth century, particularly as it is channeled through the theme of Mary's voice, demonstrates its prevalence in medieval culture. Secondly, case studies, including select compositions by Hildegard of Bingen, manifest applications of Mariological allusion to female saints through musical intertextuality. Finally, Hildegard of Bingen's liturgical drama, *Ordo virtutum*, illustrates the presence of Mariological allusion, a work which brings together themes from the previous chapters by showcasing both a twelfth-century focus on Mary's voice and applications of Mariological allusion to the women in Hildegard's community. Ultimately, the lens of Mariological allusion is employed in this thesis both as a means of reassessing and recontextualizing Mariology in the music of Hildegard of Bingen, and to provide a new mode of inquiry for future studies of the intersections of medieval plainchant with Marian devotion.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are a number of individuals without whom this project and its completion would not have been possible. First, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Fred and Elizabeth Fountain for the Fountain School Fellowships which I have received towards my studies. Their contributions to the arts/music research at Dalhousie University have been tremendous, and I feel very blessed to have been a recipient of their generosity.

I would also like to express gratitude to certain individuals who throughout my life have been both consciously and unconsciously instrumental in my musical journey, and who inspired me to pursue further research in musicology and medieval plainchant. A very special thank-you to my parents and two brothers (including Michael and my mom Debra, who graciously helped proofread this thesis) for being so supportive of my musical interests over the years, even when it meant helping me move to another country to undertake graduate study! Furthermore, I would like to thank Joseph Mullen, former choir director of St. Jude's Church, whose passion for music and the singing of plainchant was truly infectious, and who provided me my first opportunities to sing plainchant as well as work as a church organist while still a teenager. Also, my sincere thanks to Dr. Bibiana Vergine for inspiring me to consider plainchant as a research specialty, for reading a draft of my thesis and providing helpful comments, and for her assistance and encouragement throughout the years as a wonderful friend and colleague.

Additionally, I owe a great deal to the musicology faculty of the Fountain School of Performing Arts for their incredible dedication and support of my studies at every turn, and for enabling many excellent opportunities for professional development through RA- and TA-ships, conference travel funding, etc. I also want to extend a special thanks to Dr. Estelle Joubert for her encouragement and for providing me with a publication opportunity while working towards my degree. And, of course, I am very much indebted to Dr. Jennifer Bain for providing outstanding mentorship throughout my degree program, for the opportunity to gain invaluable experience in plainchant studies as a research assistant, and whose insights and ideas have contributed greatly to helping this project achieve its final form.

Much thanks must also go to Drs. Lori Kruckenberg and Barbara Swanson for being my thesis readers and for their insightful feedback. Furthermore, I am grateful to Frs. Pierre Roy, Kevin Robinson, and Daniel Themann for their assistance with theological questions, to Dr. Michael Fournier from the Classics Department at Dalhousie University for answering my questions regarding terminology, and to Drs. Christopher Grundke and Jack Mitchell from the Classics Department at Dalhousie University for their advice on and assistance with Latin translations.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank all the scribes, saints, and scholars who have come before me, and whose writings stand as witnesses to those deeper truths which have endured for centuries and will continue to do so until the end of time.

Funding for this project was supported by fellowships from the Faculty of Graduate Studies and the Fountain School of Performing Arts, the Nova Scotia Graduate Scholarship, and through the SSHRC-funded “Contextualizing the Music of Hildegard of Bingen” Project, directed by Dr. Jennifer Bain.

Chapter One: Introduction: Mariology in the Music of Hildegard of Bingen: A Reconsideration

> Wherefore, O Wisdom, praise be to you, because you found another woman, the Virgin Mary, that the serpent could not deceive, and she has crowned all the human race, so that from now on the devil will be unable to delude man as he did before. For in her pain Eve was the mother of all weeping, but in Mary joy resounded with harp and harmony.[1]

For the past several decades, Hildegard of Bingen, the iconic, polymathic magistra of twelfth-century medieval Europe, has been a subject of particularly intense scrutiny. The range of Hildegard studies has spanned many facets, drawn on multiple perspectives, and at times served various ends—illuminating not only the person but the specific mode(s) of perception, reception, and representation/appropriation of her in the modern era.[2] Among her wealth of attributes as saint, visionary, poet, preacher, theologian, scientist, physician, etc., is one particular area which, despite numerous analyses to-date, continues to stimulate additional research and furnish enlightening discoveries: her music. A composer of seventy-seven liturgical plainchants as well as a substantive liturgical drama, *Ordo virtutum*, Hildegard of Bingen is not only one of the few medieval composers to produce an array of plainchants which are firmly attributable;

[1] Hildegard of Bingen, Letter 390, "Songs and Meditations," in *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, vol. 3, translated by Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 194.

[2] A particularly enlightening account of the perception, reception, and representation of Hildegard of Bingen from a musical perspective can be found in the writings of Jennifer Bain, in terms of both nineteenth-century and twentieth/twenty-first century revivals of her as a medieval composer; see Jennifer Bain, "Hildegard on 34th Street: Chant in the Marketplace," *Echo: A Music-Centered Journal* 6, no.1 (2004), accessed May 15th, 2019, www.echo.ucla.edu/Volume6-issue1/bain/bain1.html; "Hooked on Ecstasy: Performance 'Practice' and the Reception of the Music of Hildegard of Bingen," in *The Sounds and Sights of Performance in Medieval and Renaissance Music: Essays in Honour of Timothy J. McGee*, edited by Brian Power and Maureen Epp (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 253-273; and *Hildegard of Bingen and Musical Reception: The Modern Revival of a Medieval Composer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

her affinity for and theological understanding of music permeates her written output as a whole. This means that an accurate assessment of any one aspect of Hildegard often necessitates a level of attention to her music as well. The role of music as an omnipresent, ordering principle in the universe, its integral place in salvation history, and indispensable need for personal salvation are themes consistently invoked in her writings, including her letters and her trilogy of visions: *Scivias* (Know the Ways of the Lord), *Liber divinorum operum* (Book of Divine Works), and *Liber vitae meritorum* (Book of Life's Merits).[3] From the loss of Adam's "angelic voice" which originally "had the sweetness of all musical harmony" through the Fall, to the fittingness "for the body, in harmony with the soul, to use its voice to sing praises to God";[4] from "the lucent sky" resounding with the celestial harmony of heaven in *Scivias*,[5] to an allegorical description of musical instruments (pipes, citharas, and organs) signifying diverse works of "the host of believers" in *Liber divinorum operum*,[6] Hildegard probes the depths of and expounds upon multiple layers of meaning in music to the fullest possible extent. Her musical output, addressing various saints, liturgical occasions, and moral topics (particularly in the case of her *Ordo virtutum*) is a consummation of a distinctive theology of music, one perhaps more richly expressed than that of any medieval composer of her time.

[3] Editions of these three works which will be referred to throughout this thesis are: *Scivias*, translated by Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist Press, 1990); *The Book of Divine Works*, translated by Nathaniel M. Campbell (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2018); *The Book of the Rewards of Life (Liber Vitae Meritorum)*, translated by Bruce W. Hozeski (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994).
[4] Letter 23, "Hildegard to the prelates at Mainz," in *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, vol. 1, translated by Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 78-79.
[5] Hildegard, *Scivias*, 3.13, trans. Hart and Bishop, 525.
[6] Hildegard, *The Book of Divine Works*, 3.2.10, trans. Campbell, 372-373.

Among the religious figures whom Hildegard honors through her musical compositions, the Virgin Mary stands out prominently. Sixteen of Hildegard's plainchants were composed for the *Mater Dei*, more than for any other saint who was the subject of her compositions; these Marian chants conspicuously exceed even the number of chants written for the Trinity. Moreover, Hildegard integrates the texts of her Marian chants into her other writings: in the thirteenth and final vision of *Scivias* referenced above, she describes the blessed joyfully "praising the ranks of Heaven," followed by a selection of her chant texts addressing members of the celestial hierarchy. Two chants for the Virgin Mary are listed first, symbolizing her rank at the top of the hierarchy: "O splendidissima gemma" (O resplendent jewel) and "O tu suavissima virga" (O sweetest branch).[7] Furthermore, she pedagogically incorporates texts for nine of her other chants for Mary in a letter written to her community of nuns in which she exhorts them towards a greater practice of virtue, framing Mary as the "sister of Wisdom" who redeems the "feminine form" from the destruction which Eve brought upon it.[8] Not only do we have records of Hildegard personally referencing her Marian chants, but perhaps the most fascinating account comes, not from Hildegard herself, but from three women of her community who testified under oath, as related in the *Acta Inquisitionis*, that, when Hildegard was under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, she would sing her Marian sequence "O virga ac diadema" to herself.[9] This is the only piece of contemporary testimony we have describing Hildegard singing one of her own chants; the fact that, out

[7] Hildegard, *Scivias*, trans. Hart and Bishop, 525.
[8] Letter 192, "Hildegard to the Congregation of Nuns," in *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, vol. 2, translated by Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 159-163.
[9] "Acta Inquisitionis" in *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources*, translated and introduced by Anna Silvas (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 263. The *Acta Inquisitionis* was a collection of documents from the thirteenth century which recorded Hildegard's virtues and miracles in order to initiate her canonization process.

of all her seventy-seven chants, she is remembered singing a Marian sequence, speaks again to a particular attraction to the Virgin Mary. These factors—the greater number of chants written for Mary, Hildegard's singular attention/direct reference to the texts of these chants in other works, and an eyewitness account—underscore the significance of the Virgin Mary in Hildegard's music.

Research on the Explicit Marian Plainchants in Hildegard's Repertoire

Hildegard's sixteen Marian chants are included in two main twelfth-century manuscripts which were prepared during the magistra's lifetime, and which collectively encompass all her musical compositions: the Leuven codex (Dendermonde) and Wiesbaden codex (also called the Riesencodex, or "giant" codex given its hefty proportions).[10] Table 1.1 provides the opening incipits for each Marian chant, the designated manuscript or manuscripts containing them and the folios on which they occur, and the genre of each chant, all of which have been clearly established, with the exception of the more ambiguous "O viridissima virga," which, according to Bain, "has the layout of a sequence or a hymn because of the decorated letters at the beginning of phrases throughout, but not the musical structure."[11] These manuscripts contain clear liturgical rubrics for many of Hildegard's chants, including those for Mary; the folios containing music in the Riesencodex point to independent usage before being added to

[10] The following facsimile editions will be referred to in this thesis: Hildegard of Bingen, *Lieder: Faksimile Riesencodex (Hs. 2) der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden, fol. 466-481v,* edited by Lorenz Welker, and commentary by Michael Klaper, Elementa musicae 1 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1998); and *Symphonia Harmoniae Caelestium Revelationum: Dendermonde, St.-Pieters & Paulusabdij, Ms. Cod. 9*, edited and with introduction by Peter van Poucke (Peer: Alamire, 1991).
[11] Jennifer Bain, "Music, Liturgy, and Intertextuality in Hildegard of Bingen's Chant Repertory" in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), [final pagination unavailable].

the manuscript; and the hierarchical and thematic ordering of liturgical occasions suggests the use of Hildegard's compositions as substitute chants on a designated liturgical feast.[12] All of these indicators strongly support the physical performance of these chants, including the Marian ones, as an integral part of the liturgy within Hildegard's community, heightening their contextual importance.

Table 1.1 Sixteen Marian Liturgical Plainchants of Hildegard of Bingen

Incipit	**D-WI1 2 (Riesencodex)**	**B-DEa9 (Dendermonde)**	**Genre**
O splendidissima gemma	466v	154r	Antiphon
O tu illustrata de divina	466v		Antiphon
*Nunc aperuit nobis clausa porta	467r	154v	Antiphon
Quia ergo femina mortem instruxit	467r	154v	Antiphon
Cum processit factura digiti Dei	467r	154v	Antiphon
Cum erubuerint infelices in progenie	467r	155r	Antiphon
O quam magnum miraculum est	467r	155r	Antiphon
Ave Maria o auctrix vitae	467v	153r	Responsory
O clarissima mater sanctae medicinae	467v	153v	Responsory
O tu suavissima virga frondens	468r	156v	Responsory
O quam preciosa est virginitas	468r		Responsory
Alleluia o virga mediatrix sancta	473v		Alleluia
**O virga ac diadema purpurae	473v	156r	Sequence
O viridissima virga ave quae	474r		?
Ave generosa gloriosa et intacta	474v	155v	Hymn
O frondens virga		155r	Antiphon

* In Dendermonde, this appears as "Hodie aperuit" rather than as "Nunc aperuit."

* *In Dendermonde, the sequence is incomplete due to a missing folio; it starts at "Claritas in nobilissima virga te."

[12] Ibid, [final pagination unavailable].

Secondary literature addressing Hildegard's Marian music—that is, chants which through their texts and/or liturgical rubric are unambiguously and explicitly meant to honor Mary on one of her feast days—broadly considered, encompass two main categories: writings featuring direct treatment/discussion of Hildegard's Mariology/Marian music, where a predominant or substantial focus is on the topic of Hildegard and Mary (or, in some cases, Hildegard and the feminine), and those with indirect treatment, sources which address Hildegard's Marian music and/or Mariology in context of a broader study of her music, without intending to focus solely on questions concerning her Mariological manifestations.

While the terms "Marian" and "Mariological" to some extent can be used interchangeably, I maintain an important distinction between the two in this thesis. "Marian," as I use it here, indicates, more simply and in a more static sense, the designation of a work or devotion as being directed to Mary. "Mariological," on the other hand, is more dynamic, addressing the ideology, rationale, or system of beliefs underscoring one's devotion to Mary, including the historical contexts and culture supporting a particular veneration of Mary. "Mariology" thus deals more with the "why" or underlying factors precipitating a specific approach to Marian devotion.[13]

Varying levels of attention to both text and music are evident in these two categories of direct and indirect treatment of Hildegard's Mariology. Barbara Newman, for instance, in her book *Sister of Wisdom*, addresses Hildegard's devotion to Mary as

[13] While Mariology was not a formal, fully developed discipline in the twelfth century, Cyril Vollert, S.J., provides an in-depth discussion of Mariology conceptualized as a formal theological science from a twentieth-century perspective. See Cyril Vollert, S.J., "The Scientific Structure of Mariology," in *Mariology*, vol. 2, edited by Juniper B. Carol (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1957), 1-29.

part of a broader "theology of the feminine" which also includes a specific approach to Eve and Ecclesia (the Church). Newman's discussion does not delve into musical analysis but focuses on the symbolism and poetic content of select Marian texts. Since she provides indispensable contextualization of Hildegard's immersion in sapiential Mariology (more will be said on this in chapter two), her work belongs in the first category; it directly discusses Hildegard's Mariology while predominantly focusing on text versus music.[14] Beverly Lomer's dissertation also belongs in this category since it is focused almost exclusively on Hildegard's Marian chants and her relationship with Mary; in this case, however, she provides more extensive musical analysis in which she relates Hildegard's musical structures to medieval principles of rhetoric.[15] Additional direct analyses of Hildegard's Mariology and Marian chants include Peter Walter's "*Virgo filium dei portasti*: Maria in den Gesängen der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen," Deánna Marie Stark's "The Marian Music of Hildegard von Bingen (1098-1179)," and Hildegard Gosebrink's *Maria in der Theologie Hildegards von Bingen*.[16]

While it might seem that the first category of secondary literature would provide more enlightening information on Hildegard's Mariology than the second, this is not necessarily the case, since scholars treating Hildegard's music beyond just the Marian chants have also introduced methodologies which can be directly applied to Hildegard's Marian music, facilitating enlightening new discoveries. Marianne Richert Pfau, for

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[14] Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
[15] Beverly R. Lomer, "Music, Rhetoric, and the Creation of Feminist Consciousness in the Marian Songs of Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179)" (PhD diss., Florida Atlantic University, 2006).
[16] Peter Walter, "*Virgo filium dei portasti*: Maria in den Gesängen der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 29 (January 1977): 75-96; Deánna Marie Stark, "The Marian Music of Hildegard von Bingen (1098-1179)" (PhD diss., University of Memphis, 2001); and Hildegard Gosebrink, *Maria in der Theologie Hildegards von Bingen* (Würzburg: Echter, 2004).

instance, was the principal discoverer of substantive interactivity between Hildegard's text and music. She makes the case in her dissertation that Hildegard's music, far from consisting of isolated aggregates and accumulations of melodic formulae (argued by Ludwig Bronarski, who negatively viewed Hildegard's music as an overly decadent manifestation of evolutionary decay within the plainchant tradition),[17] actually indicates, *sed contra*, an organic, generative process by which music and text mutually inform and enrich each other.[18] In so doing, she dramatically changed previous methods of analysis of—as well as aural engagement with—Hildegard's music. Highlighting the holistic treatment of music and philosophy in Hildegard's own written works, Pfau indicates that "to fully appreciate the beauty of this work it is essential to experience text and music as an aesthetic whole, as the unity it was for Hildegard."[19] In the wake of her analysis, which unraveled another layer of complexity in Hildegard's music, scholars have noted subsequent connections between Hildegard's music and text, which, when considered in relation to Hildegard and her Marian compositions, have afforded new insights. Other examples of works providing more indirect treatment of Hildegard's Mariology include Pfau and Morent's *Hildegard von Bingen: Der Klang des Himmels*, particularly in their meticulous and insightful analysis of the original notation of Hildegard's plainchants, and Barbara Stühlmeyer's *Die Gesänge der Hildegard von Bingen*, which integrates a thorough analysis of Hildegard's musical style in each chant genre with a

[17] Ludwig Bronarski, *Die Lieder der hl. Hildegard. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der geistlichen Musik des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: Verlag von Breitkopf & Härtel), 1922.
[18] Marianne Richert Pfau, "Hildegard von Bingen's 'Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum': An Analysis of Musical Process, Modality, and Text-Music Relations" (PhD diss., SUNY Stony Brook, 1990); and "Music and Text in Hildegard's Antiphons," in Hildegard of Bingen, *Symphonia: A Critical Edition of the "Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum" [Symphony of the Harmony of Celestial Revelations]*, 2nd ed., edited and translated by Barbara Newman (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 74-94.
[19] Pfau, "Music and Text," 75.

contextualization with other liturgical genres/musical styles of her time.[20] Indirect treatment of Hildegard's Mariology, in fact, far outweighs the number of works directly and/or exclusively treating her Marian music in and of itself, and can contribute greatly to a deeper understanding of her Marian devotion.

By focusing directly (or indirectly) on Hildegard's Marian music, as well as her passing references to Mary in her other writings, these and other scholars have contributed greatly to Hildegard scholarship by elucidating previously unknown aspects of her Mariology. Nevertheless, there remain unanswered questions and conflicting views about the nature of her Marian devotion. Was it affective in nature, or a more detached, impersonal form of devotion? Barbara Newman suggests the latter, labelling Hildegard's Mariology "antiquated" for an age with "new currents of Marian devotion fostered by St. Anselm and St. Bernard."[21] On the opposite end of the spectrum, Bruce Holsinger suggests that Hildegard's devotion to Mary is a manifestation of homoeroticism which "allows women to voice their fleshly and spiritual desires for the female body."[22] Similarly, was Hildegard's interest in Mary limited to her functional role in the Incarnation, as Gosebrink suggests,[23] or did she, according to Lomer, conceptualize her in proto-feminist terms as an "independent salvatrix," a quasi-goddess?[24] These conflicting

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[20] Marianne Richert Pfau and Stefan J. Morent, *Hildegard von Bingen: Der Klang des Himmels* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2005) and Barbara Stühlmeyer, *Die Gesänge der Hildegard von Bingen: Eine musikologische, theologische und kulturhistorische Untersuchung* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2003).
[21] Newman, *Sister of Wisdom*, 159.
[22] Bruce W. Holsinger, "The Flesh of the Voice: Embodiment and the Homoerotics of Devotion in the Music of Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179)," *Signs* 19, no. 1 (Autumn 1993): 108, accessed March 30, 2020, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3174746.
[23] Gosebrink, *Maria in der Theologie*, 359-360. Gosebrink echoes, to some extent, the "impersonal" and "outdated Mariology" theory of Barbara Newman, stating that for Hildegard Mary is less of a person and is considered more in terms of her function in the context of salvation: "Für Hildegard geht es dabei mehr um ihre Funktion als ihre Person" (359).
[24] Lomer, "Music, Rhetoric, and the Creation of Feminist Consciousness," particularly 117, 141-144 and 164-176.

assessments of/theories regarding Hildegard's Marian devotion reflect a reality that, while aspects of Hildegard's Mariology have been unveiled (including recurring themes such as the Eve/Mary opposition trope referenced earlier, and a strong focus on Mary's role in the Incarnation), there remains a lack of clarity and consensus on the nature of her devotion to Mary.

Furthermore, Hildegard's sixteen explicitly Marian chants, which in their texts clearly and irrefutably reflect upon, praise, or supplicate the Virgin Mary, have often been the sole point of departure for assessing Hildegard's Marian music. However, do these chants really represent the summit, the extent, of Hildegard's musical manifestations of her Mariology? I suggest that employing another mode of investigation, one which does not confine itself to these sixteen chants, can expand the scope of analysis to uncover traces of emphasis on Mary in Hildegard's other chants, thus expanding an already generous output of Marian music to other works which, although not necessarily associated with a Marian feast, contain implicit references to Mary. Analyzing these subtler Marian elements may help clarify aspects of Hildegard's Mariology. More specifically, I will use a lens of inquiry in this thesis which I call "Mariological allusion"—a phenomenon in which Mariological meaning and resonance is assigned, whether through text, music, or another medium, to that which, in most cases, is not generally or intrinsically Mariological. While Hildegard's explicitly Marian chants do factor into my discussion, it is not the explicit referencing of Mary in their texts, their liturgical associations with Marian feasts, nor the ways the melodic structures punctuate the text that drive my particular analysis in this thesis. Rather, my aim is to highlight the less obvious, hidden—yet nonetheless real—distinctive inner layers of Hildegard's

Mariology within her music, both in her Marian works and in some designated for other liturgical occasions, which through their unveiling elucidate new meanings, facilitate new understandings, and invoke new levels of agency, both in context of the specific work considered as well as in relation to Hildegard's Mariology as a whole. Ultimately, I will apply the lens of "Mariological allusion" to the music of Hildegard of Bingen as a means of reassessing and recontextualizing her Mariology.

I chose the phrase "Mariological allusion" with several considerations in mind. One was the need for a term which would be fluid enough to encompass a varying number of options and contexts; the word "allusion," when framed properly, fits this role. The phrase "Mariological allusion," as I use it, aptly underlines a broader phenomenon in medieval culture, one which has the potential to assume diverse forms in various mediums, including, but not limited to: scripture, commentary, poetry, music, art, etc. Another consideration was the avoidance of a term which would be constrained to demonstration of a formal construct, such as allegory, or which is used in an official sense in biblical exegesis (while the word "allusion" is loosely used at times in biblical studies, it is not an official term nor is it one of the categorized senses of scripture).[25] Finally, and most importantly, allusion is an ideal word because, while I will make the case throughout this thesis that Mariological allusion was meaningfully employed, allusion does not automatically imply a particular intention (or consciousness) on the part

[25] For a brief overview on the formal terminology of biblical exegesis in the context of Mariology considered as a theological science, as well as a discussion/disputes regarding the application of specific senses of scripture, see Eric May, O.F.M., "Mary in the Old Testament," in *Mariology*, vol. 1, edited by Juniper B. Carol, O.F.M. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1955), 52-53 and 54-79.

of the one creating it; the phrase "Mariological allusion" thus avoids perilous presuppositions and provides room for careful analysis and assessment.

In order to demonstrate the capabilities of this mode of inquiry, I will consider Newman's qualification of Hildegard's Marian devotion as seemingly "antiquated." When explicating this interpretation of Hildegard's Mariology, she states that Mary as "… queen of heaven seldom appears in Hildegard's writings … startling in a writer whose range is so broad …"[26] While Newman is correct that Hildegard does not often *explicitly* reference the Virgin as queen of heaven, she nevertheless does so *implicitly*—and quite profoundly—through Mariological allusion. With this particular application, there is a medium which Newman does not address, one which does not convey Mariology solely through the concreteness of text: the melodic content of Hildegard's music. Melodies, particularly in the context of the liturgy, instilled and conveyed powerful resonances, including those which could be transferred to other contexts. Margot Fassler, for instance, discovered that Hildegard's own responsory for the Common of virgins, "O nobilissima," is a melodic reworking of the votive Marian antiphon "Ave regina caelorum" (Hail, queen of heaven).[27] As such, Hildegard's "O nobilissima," contrary to Newman's statement that Mary as "queen of heaven" almost never appears in Hildegard's written work, does in fact manifest, in a deeply reverential and expressive manner, an extensive extolment of Mary as queen of heaven, albeit not through text, but through music; furthermore, the singing of "Ave regina caelorum" by monastic communities in the twelfth century does not evince an "antiquated" form of

[26] Newman, *Sister of Wisdom*, 159-160.
[27] Margot Fassler, "Composer and Dramatist: 'Melodious Singing and the Freshness of Remorse,'" in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, edited by Barbara Newman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 166-168.

Mariology. The medium of music, and not just text, can afford a more comprehensive assessment of the specific Mariological ideas Hildegard was attracted to, changing the narrative of what appears to be absent based solely on textual appraisal and interpretation. Because Fassler's example demonstrates Hildegard's application of a Marian melody to a chant which is not directly or intrinsically Marian, it constitutes an example of what I call "Mariological allusion," in which Hildegard subtly furnishes one of the most effusive treatments of Mary as *regina caelorum*, more effectively than perhaps a number of textual iterations could do. Mariological allusion, in this instance, not only tips the scale towards Hildegard's deeper appreciation of Mary's queenship; it illuminates just how far-reaching Hildegard's admiration for Mary as *regina caelorum* truly was.

The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to use "Mariological allusion" as a lens through which to analyze the climate and contexts of twelfth-century Mariology, and most importantly, its impact and influence on Hildegard of Bingen and her music. In doing so, I hope to provide additional insight into Hildegard's own Mariology and continue to move the conversation towards a clearer understanding and more accurate assessment. I will highlight specific themes, particularly that of Mary's voice, which I will show in chapter two was a prominent feature of Mariological devotion and allusion in the twelfth century and was in fact an integral aspect of Hildegard's own music. In chapter three, following upon Fassler's analysis of "O nobilissima," as well as more recent analysis and discoveries of musical referencing in Hildegard's music by Jennifer Bain,[28] I will undertake an analysis of musical intertextuality, showing how it functioned within applications of Mariological allusion to women and female saints in medieval

[28] Jennifer Bain, "Music, Liturgy, and Intertextuality," [final pagination unavailable].

culture, and that Hildegard was not only aware of it, but manifests it within her own music, revealing additional layers of Mariological meaning that we have not seen previously. Finally, in chapter four I will demonstrate how themes of Mary's voice and applications of Mariological intertextuality to women unite in full force through Hildegard's masterpiece of Mariological allusion—her *Ordo virtutum*. Ultimately, I will show that there are facets of Hildegard's Mariology with which other methods of analysis have not allowed us to fully engage, and on which Mariological allusion—as I will show—sheds new light.

Chapter Two: Mariological Allusion and the Voice of Mary in the Twelfth Century

In the beginning of the twelfth century, a community of monks dispatched a letter to "the excellent master," Honorius Augustodunensis, requesting that he elucidate why certain scriptural texts were read on a specific Marian feast: [1]

> The convent of all the brothers thanks you because the Spirit of Wisdom working through you in the *Elucidarium* lifted so many veils for them. We all beg you, therefore, to undertake a new work and show us, in the spirit of Charity, why the Gospel text *Jesus entered into a certain town* (Lk. 10:38) and the Canticle of Canticles are read on the Feast of Mary, although they do not seem to pertain to her at all.[2]

The particular "Feast of Mary" which the monks reference here is the Assumption, which, although introduced as a feast in Western Europe as early as the seventh century, would receive heightened focus in the twelfth given a renewed emphasis on the question of the bodily assumption of Mary into heaven.[3] Since by this time both the Gospel text (Lk. 10:38-42) and the Canticle of Canticles would have been recited at Matins in the

[1] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum Beatae Mariae: The Seal of Blessed Mary*, translated by Amelia Carr (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing, 1991), 47. It is not known for certain which specific monastic community this is, although Amelia Carr suggests in her introduction that it is most likely the English Benedictines of Canterbury. Although an elusive figure whose whereabouts are difficult to trace, Honorius Augustodunensis had lived at one time with these English Benedictines, presumably to immerse himself in the scholasticism of Anselm of Canterbury, since elements of his methodology can be observed in Honorius's early treatises. Because his *Elucidarius*, referenced by the monks here, had been addressed to his "fellow students" (quoted on page 6), and since a later treatise, his *Speculum ecclesiae*, had been explicitly dedicated to the English Benedictines of Canterbury, mentioning his preaching "when he resided among them" (ibid.), Carr makes the case that the monks requesting "a new work" here and the recipients of the *Elucidarius* and *Speculum ecclesiae* are one and the same. Carr, "Introduction," in *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 5-7.
[2] Honorius, *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 47.
[3] Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 1963-1965), 111 and 174-176.

monastic *cursus* for the Office of the Assumption,[4] the request is not merely speculative, but is motivated directly by the practice of the liturgy itself.

A similar kind of question occurs within the dialogue of the twelfth-century didactic treatise for consecrated virgins attributed to Conrad of Hirsau, the *Speculum Virginum*.[5] In a discussion on the Virgin Mary as a model for the consecrated virgin, Theodora asks Peregrinus to explain the concept of Mary's predestination:

> *Theodora*. Truly she is "blessed among all women" [Luke 1.42], who from the beginning of the world until its end has received and granted blessings! Yet I do not understand what you say about her being conceived before time and remaining in heaven, or how a question was raised about her in paradise at the beginning of creation.
>
> *Peregrinus*. She herself will answer you in my place—the creature who bore the Creator. Let her speak in my stead—the mother chosen before the foundation of the world. "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways," she says, "before he made anything from the beginning. I was ordained from eternity and from old, before the earth was made. The abysses did not yet exist, and I was already conceived" [Prov. 8.22-24] and so forth.
>
> *Theodora*. Explain, then, how these things should be understood as pertaining to her.[6]

Theodora's reflection and commentary not only demonstrate her ardent zeal for Mary as the *princeps virginum* (leader of the virgins);[7] her persistent line of questioning directed to her mentor Peregrinus also discloses an inquiring mind desirous of reaching an even greater comprehension of the woman she seeks to imitate.

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[4] Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 248-249.
[5] For in-depth discussion on the authorship of the *Speculum Virginum*, see Constant J. Mews, "Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy," in *Listen, Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, edited by Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 16-20.
[6] Barbara Newman, trans., "*Speculum Virginum*: Selected Excerpts," in *Listen, Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, edited by Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 286. Square brackets in source.
[7] Mews, "Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy," in *Listen, Daughter*, 25.

Although these textual excerpts differ from one another in their origins—the first comes from a real correspondence, the second from an imagined dialogue—the questions asked converge on precisely the same concept: Mariological allusion. Both the monks and Theodora pose the same fundamental question: in what manner can texts which in and of themselves do not mention Mary, and which do not appear to be intrinsically Mariological, be apprehended as "pertaining to her"? Honorius responds to the monks' request with a new treatise titled the *Sigillum*, or Seal of Blessed Mary, while Peregrinus proceeds to answer Theodora's question within the *Speculum Virginum*; they both provide a rationale as to how the texts in question enfold a Marian mode of exegesis. Honorius's response is generous: he not only provides an explanation of the use of the Gospel for the Feast of the Assumption (drawing out, among other aspects, the idea that Martha and Mary, representing the active and contemplative life, respectively, reflect the Virgin Mary's fullness of both states) but also the use of the Epistle, which praises the eternal Wisdom (Ecclesiasticus 24:11-23); furthermore, he creates what is the first formal Marian exegesis of the Song of Songs, with Mary in dialogue with Christ in the bride/bridegroom relationship in the biblical source.[8] Peregrinus answers Theodora's question regarding the application of selected verses from the Book of Proverbs to Mary by explicating the omniscience of God by which all things, including the Incarnation, exist in a state of potency within the Eternal Wisdom, "waiting to be unfolded as and when God willed."[9] This includes her intimate role in the Incarnation: "how could the Mother not preexist with the Son, in whose conception and birth turned the hinge that

[8] Honorius, *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 48-49; Carr, "Introduction," in *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 5; and Rachel Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion, Marian Exegesis, and the Historical Sense of the Song of Songs," *Viator* 27 (January 1996), 91, 93.
[9] Newman, trans., "*Speculum Virginum*: Selected Excerpts," in *Listen, Daughter*, 286.

opened the door for the whole rational creation to be sanctified, unified, and restored to peace?"[10] Both Honorius and Peregrinus thus satisfy the intellectual curiosity of their respective audiences through providing a rationale that includes Mary implicitly within the context of ordinarily non-Mariological texts.

Although Mariological allusion, as I define it, incorporates such examples by means of which a Marian interpretation is applied to scriptural texts (and, in fact, the development of Mariology itself as a branch of theology is connected with this phenomenon), it is imperative to remember that it is not confined solely to scripture or textual examples.[11] "Mariological allusion," once again, encompasses other mediums, including commentary, poetry, music, art, etc. Although exhausting the different manifestations of Mariological allusion is beyond the scope of this chapter (and thesis), there is a prevailing theme which I suggest is the key to a deeper understanding of twelfth-century Marian culture and, ultimately, the implicit Mariology of Hildegard of Bingen expressed in her music: the voice of Mary herself. This theme becomes evident if we consider the specific means by which Peregrinus presents his use of Mariological allusion to Theodora; instead of introducing Mary's existence in the Godhead from all eternity through his own voice, he explicitly shifts the answer (and, it should be observed, consequent pedagogical authority) to Mary instead: "She herself will answer you in my place.… *Let her speak in my stead* (emphasis added) …"[12] Consequently, "The Lord

[10] Ibid.
[11] It is important to note as well that, while I apply the phrase "Mariological allusion" to these two cases of scriptural texts which are ordinarily non-Mariological, in biblical exegesis the term would most often be "accommodation" (one of the senses of scripture), although Fr. Eric May uses more technical terminology for the application of the Song of Songs to Mary, describing it as a "parabolico-allegoric understanding" which also encompasses an "ascetico-mystical interpretation." May, "Mary in the Old Testament," in *Mariology*, 52-53, 69-71 and 76-77.
[12] Newman, trans., "*Speculum Virginum*: Selected Excerpts," in *Listen, Daughter*, 286.

possessed me in the beginning of his ways …" (Proverbs 8:22-24) is no longer merely a scriptural text associated with Mary; it has been unmistakably transformed into a personal revelation by Mary herself. As such, it constitutes an example of what I call "first-person Mariological allusion."

In this chapter, I argue that the "first-person" mode, or the voice of Mary, had a distinctive impact on twelfth-century Marian culture and, more specifically, on developments in implicit Mariology. It was particularly prominent through first-person Mariological allusion in the liturgy and religious treatises/commentaries, enhancing personal comprehension of and connection with Mary's persona and agency. In addition, I suggest that Hildegard of Bingen, being immersed within twelfth-century Mariological culture, was conscious both of various modes of Mariological allusion in her day and their relationship to the power of Mary's voice, and that this awareness manifests itself within the specific ways she employs it in her music, as I will show in the chapters which follow. Finally, although Hildegard's Mariology has been discussed at length in previous scholarship, contextualizing it through the lens of Mariological allusion in the twelfth century affords both essential clarification and an invaluable re-assessment of Hildegard's relationship with the Virgin Mary.

I will first provide a general overview of an explicit, first-person mode of Mariology, as well as direct, obvious reference in the twelfth century to the agency of Mary's voice. Next, I will explore the "hidden" voice of Mary through the introduction of and psychological potency of first-person Mariological allusion in the liturgy. Finally, I will consider the perpetuation of first-person Mariological allusion and remarkable flowering of Mary's conversation through twelfth-century commentaries on the Song of

Songs, with specific attention to those commentaries with which I suggest Hildegard would have been familiar. Throughout this chapter, as well as the rest of this thesis, I will integrate her own contributions to and demonstrated awareness of these specific developments in Marian devotion, thus firmly situating her within, and not segregating her from, a highly multifaceted Mariological climate.

Explicit, First-Person Mode of Mariology and Vocal Agency

In order to grasp comprehensively the significance of Mary's speaking authority in implicit contexts, it is necessary to begin with an overview of an explicit, first-person mode of Mariology, insofar as it provided both a fundamental backdrop and impetus for the specific kind of agency which occurs in the context of first-person Mariological allusion. Such discussion naturally begins with scripture, and more specifically, with the New Testament. The moments in which Mary speaks in the New Testament (the Gospels of Luke and John), are chronologically ordered from left to right in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1 Mary's Voice in the New Testament[13]

Mary and the Angel Gabriel (Gospel of Luke)	**Mary with her Cousin Elizabeth (Gospel of Luke)**	**Mary with Her Son Jesus in the Temple (Gospel of Luke)**	**Mary with Her Son at the Wedding of Cana (Gospel of John)**
And Mary said to the angel: **How shall this be done, because I know not man**? And the angel answering, said to her: The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the	And Mary said: **My soul doth magnify the Lord.** **And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.** **Because he hath regarded the humility of his handmaid: for behold from**	And seeing *him,* they wondered. And his mother said to him: **Son, why hast thou done so to us? Behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.**	And the third day, there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee: and the mother of Jesus was there. And Jesus also was invited, and his disciples, to the marriage.

[13] The Douay-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate (Fitzwilliam: Loreto Publications, 1941) was used for the scriptural citations in Table 2.1.

Mary and the Angel Gabriel (Gospel of Luke)	**Mary with her Cousin Elizabeth (Gospel of Luke)**	**Mary with Her Son Jesus in the Temple (Gospel of Luke)**	**Mary with Her Son at the Wedding of Cana (Gospel of John)**
power of the Most High shall overshadow thee. And therefore also the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God. And behold thy cousin Elizabeth, she also hath conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth month with her that is called barren. Because no word shall be impossible with God. And Mary said: **Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it done to me according to thy word.** And the angel departed from her. (Luke 1:34-38)	**henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. Because he that is mighty hath done great things to me: and holy is his name.** **And his mercy is from generation unto generations, to them that fear him.** **He hath shewed might in his arm: he hath scattered the proud in the conceit of their heart.** **He hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble.** **He hath filled the hungry with good things: and the rich he hath sent empty away.** **He hath received Israel his servant, being mindful of his mercy.** **As he spoke to our fathers: to Abraham and to his seed for ever**. (Luke 1:46-55)	And he said to them: How is it that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be about my father's business? And they understood not the word that he spoke unto them. And he went down with them and came to Nazareth and was subject to them. And his mother kept all these words in her heart. (Luke 2:48-51)	And the wine failing, the mother of Jesus saith to him: **They have no wine.** And Jesus saith to her: Woman, what is that to me and to thee? My hour is not yet come. His mother saith to the waiters: **Whatsoever he shall say to you, do ye.** (John 2:1-5)

Although the explicit voice of Mary is rather sparse in the context of the New Testament, the moments in which Mary speaks are far from inconsequential; on the contrary, they mark significant moments in the biblical narrative. Her words to the Angel Gabriel, "How shall this be done, because I know not man" (Luke 1:34) reveal her virginal status, a crucial element of the Incarnation; her "Behold the handmaid of the Lord …" (Luke 1:38) is a cause of the Incarnation and consequently, the Redemption of humanity; her Canticle (Luke 1:46-55) to her cousin Elizabeth, the Magnificat (which would have been daily recited by medieval religious communities at Vespers), indicates her perfection of virtue as the Mother of the Redeemer; her words to her Son in the Temple, "Son, why hast thou done so to us …" (Luke 2:48) highlights a significant moment of Christ's ministry in the Temple; and her statement to her Son, "They have no wine" (John 2:3) at the wedding feast of Cana and subsequent "Whatsoever he shall say to you, do ye" (John 2:5) to the servants provides the impetus for Christ's first miracle. Nor does this infrequency of speech, of course, in any way lessen its agency or significance; rather, biblical commentators have long highlighted the historic import of Mary's words, positioned as they are within the context of the Incarnation and the workings of Christ's apostolate. Such moments, few as they are, function as potent forces within the biblical narrative; furthermore, monastic/religious communities, in full acquaintance with these texts, particularly through the liturgy, would have been predisposed to experience other instances of first-person references to Mary and Mariological allusion in other contexts. To demonstrate, I will discuss two examples of Mary speaking within scripture and also underscore moments in which Mary's vocal agency in these texts is highlighted in twelfth-century Marian culture.

The first instance of Mary speaking is in response to the Annunciation, in which the Archangel Gabriel announces to Mary that she has been chosen to be the Mother of the Redeemer: "Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb and shalt bring forth a son: and thou shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great and shall be called the Son of the Most High …" (Luke 1:31-33).[14] Mary's first words in scripture are in direct response to the angel's proclamation: "How shall this be done, because I know not man?" (1:34). Although modern exegetes debate whether or not this implied that she had already taken a vow of chastity, or merely decided to remain a virgin upon hearing Gabriel's words,[15] the common opinion within medieval culture was that Mary had already taken a vow of virginity (and thus logically could be considered an exemplar of the consecrated virgin); as such, Mary naturally queries the angel, as Gruenthaner says, "from a legitimate desire to know what measures she must adopt to attain the realization of the angelic promise, since the use of the natural means of procreation were impossible to her."[16] Furthermore, the prevalence of Augustinian thought in the twelfth century suggests a ready acquaintance with his statement on this matter in *De Sacra Virginitate*: "Mary certainly would not have spoken those words if she had not vowed her virginity to God."[17] In the context of twelfth-century medieval culture, therefore, Mary's first words in scripture not only reflected her chosen state of virginity, but also functioned as a powerful endorsement of religious life (which Peregrinus also alludes to in encouraging Theodora

[14] Douay-Rheims translation.
[15] Graef, *Mary*, 7.
[16] Michael J. Gruenthaner, S.J., "Mary in the New Testament," in *Mariology*, vol. 1, edited by Juniper B. Carol, 87.
[17] Quoted in Stefano M. Manelli, F.I., *All Generations Shall Call Me Blessed: Biblical Mariology*, rev. 2nd ed., translated by Fr. Peter Damian Fehlner, F.I. (New Bedford, MA: Academy of the Immaculate, 2005), 158.

in the *Speculum Virginum* to "imitate this chief of virgins as far as possible … you too, with Mary, will seem to give birth spiritually to the Son of God").[18]

Additionally, the twelfth-century focus on Mary as "Regina Virginum" implicitly draws out, not only the doctrinal belief in the perpetual virginity of Mary before, during, and after the birth of Christ, but also the agency of Mary's first words in the New Testament attesting to her conscious choice of this state of virginity. This theme is subtly highlighted by the twelfth-century writers St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Amadeus of Lausanne in their Marian sermons referencing Mary's voice, this time in the context of "intonation" of the "new song" (itself an allusion to the Book of Revelations, 14:1-5, showing the virgins at the end of time singing "a new canticle" to the Lamb on His throne). In his second homily on the Annunciation (Hom. II, 1), Bernard states that "the new song which only virgins will have the right to sing in the kingdom of God will certainly be sung by the Queen of Virgins and she will surely be the first to intone it."[19] Amadeus of Lausanne echoes these words in his Assumption homily (Hom. VIII), stating that "Virgins will run in the scent of her perfumes, hastening to enter with her into the wedding that, joined with her for ever in the heavenly marriage chamber to their true spouse, they may sing, with Mary leading the new song which no one can utter unless he be virgin in spirit and body."[20] Bernard's and Amadeus's emphasis on Mary's voice, placed in the context not only of speaking, but of singing, provides an added layer of "voicing" which subtly complements her statement of her personal consecration by

[18] Newman, trans., "*Speculum Virginum*: Selected Excerpts," in *Listen, Daughter*, 284.
[19] Bernard of Clairvaux and Amadeus of Lausanne, *Magnificat: Homilies in Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, translated by Marie-Bernard Saïd and Grace Perigo (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1979), 15.
[20] Ibid., 135.

means of which she "knows not man"; it also further emphasizes the twelfth-century mindset of Mary as a model for virgins. Mary's first words in scripture indirectly receive another dimension of meaning through a separately created instance of speech (more specifically, singing, as implied by the word "intonation") in which the "Regina Virginum" leads the choir of virgins in song.

The second instance of Mary's voice in the New Testament is the most consequential, involving as it does her explicit consent to the Incarnation; her voice is the means by which the Redemption itself will be set into motion. Her words: "Ecce ancilla domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum" (Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it done to me according to thy word) (Luke 1:38) and their weighty impact on all of humanity receive what is arguably one of the most eloquent and effusive treatments by St. Bernard of Clairvaux in another of his homilies on the Annunciation (Hom. IV, 8):

> Virgin, you have heard what will happen, you have heard how it will happen…. The angel is waiting for your reply.… The price of our salvation is being offered you. If you consent, we shall immediately be set free.… In your brief reply we shall be restored and so brought back to life.… For it the whole world is waiting, bowed down at your feet. And rightly so, because on your answer depends the comfort of the afflicted, the redemption of captives, the deliverance of the damned; the salvation of all the sons of Adam, your whole race. Give your answer quickly, my Virgin. My lady, say this word which earth and hell and heaven itself are waiting for…. Him whom you pleased by your silence, you will please now even more by your word. He calls out to you from heaven, 'O fair among women, let me hear your voice'. If you let him hear your voice, then, he will let you see our salvation.…[21]

In this context, Bernard not only expressly refers to Mary's voice and its implications for the salvation of humanity; he also draws a direct contrast between silence and speech: while the former was pleasing to God before, now He will be even *more* pleased by

[21] Saïd and Perigo, trans., *Magnificat*, 53.

Mary's word. Bernard's exegetical contrast here does not hold a merely static significance for one historical moment; on the contrary, it is a manifestation of a broader shift in medieval Mariological thought, or, rather, feeling. Far from diminishing the value of silence, which would itself have formed a necessary part within medieval monastic life, this is an age which yearned to hear Mary's voice.[22] Rachel Fulton Brown presents a compelling case why this was so, arguing in part that the sorrow of Christians when 1033 A.D.—the millennium of Christ's Passion and Death—came and went without the second coming of Christ, facilitated additional longing to both see and hear Christ and His Holy Mother, and "the only cure for the disappointment, or so twelfth-century religious leaders began to suggest, was to transfer the search for Christ inward …"[23] as well as compassionate Mary who, in her sorrow at the Crucifixion of her Son could relate to the pain of the unfulfilled medieval Christian. Crucially, this longing facilitated a change in affect, a more deeply expressive, personal approach to devotion and prayer, one which was not limited purely to the image of the Mother and Christ Crucified, but would spill over into other imaginings about Mary, her relationship with Christ, and her power as intercessor for sinners.[24] Ultimately, the act of remembering both Christ and Mary through "new tools with which to *feel*"[25] facilitated not only a need for more descriptive imagery by means of which one could self-identify and become one with Christ inwardly,

[22] Fulton Brown touches on the medieval longing to hear both Christ's and Mary's voices in her groundbreaking treatment of the historical catalysts of medieval devotion to Christ Crucified and His Holy Mother (*From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200*). She argues that the disappointment of Christians when Christ's second coming did not occur in the eleventh century created additional longing for both Him and His holy Mother, including a wish to hear Mary's voice within the twelfth-century Marian exegesis of the Song of Songs (discussed further on in this chapter). See Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, 64-87, 197-199, and 265-275. She has published both under the names Fulton and Fulton Brown; when discussing her work I will refer to her as Fulton Brown.
[23] Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, 198.
[24] Ibid., 197-199.
[25] Ibid., 197.

but a desire to be more closely united to both Christ and Mary,[26] as the eleventh-century Benedictine abbot and theologian Anselm of Canterbury indicates in one of his prayers:

> Great Lord, our elder brother, great Lady, our best of mothers, teach my heart a sweet reverence in thinking of you (*vos*).… Speak and give my soul the gift of remembering you … delighting in you, rejoicing in you, so that I may come to you. Let me rise up to your (*vestra*) love.…[27]

This time the request of speech is put to both Christ and Mary, but Fulton Brown points out that Anselm, while encouraging the soul implicitly to reflect on this conversation on which one's salvation depends, does not explicitly put words in Mary's mouth in any of his prayers.[28] A first-person emphasis on Mary, however, appears to progress in a significant way in the twelfth century. In fact, I suggest that the theme of "longing" which Fulton Brown has drawn out, and the yearning to hear Mary, exerted an overarching influence, to a greater or lesser degree, on all of the examples of Mariological allusion which I highlight throughout this thesis.

One of the most compelling cases of Mary's voice in the twelfth century, however, highlights a dramatized approach with the Theophilus legend. This story has its Greek origins in the fifth century, but was translated into Latin in the eighth century[29] and is recounted by the twelfth-century Benedictine William of Malmesbury in his *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, one of the first major compilations of Marian

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[26] Ibid., 197-199.
[27] Quoted in Fulton, 239-240. Note that Fulton Brown includes interpolations of the original Latin in parentheses. First ellipsis in source.
[28] Ibid., 240.
[29] Graef, *Mary*, 133. Direct attention to Mary's voice has existed in other mediums and contexts since the early ages of the Church, such as in the East, with the hymns of Ephraem in the 4th century and the poetry of Romanos in the sixth century (see Graef, *Mary*, 45, 98-99). While a comparison between the implementations of a first-person Mariological mode between the Eastern and Western traditions will not be undertaken here, a comprehensive historical study in this regard might yield interesting results, including addressing more definitively how the presence, lack thereof, or varying degrees of emphasis on a first-person mode of Marian devotion might have manifested and/or perpetuated a specific approach to Marian devotion in a given age or region.

apparitions and miracles. Although Mary's voice is not the only feature within the Theophilus legend, it is the crucial fulcrum directing its outcome, and, according to Graef, represents the first time Mary is referred to as *mediatrix* in Latin.[30] Theophilus is portrayed in the role of vicar to a bishop; when his superior dies, Theophilus is assigned to take his place. Fearful of collapsing into pride (or, if we apply William of Malmesbury's more critical judgment of his motivation, "the thought of the burden involved, or just pretense … perhaps his hope was that the next bishop would do nothing to reduce his past power"),[31] he rejects the position, but is subsequently deposed by the new bishop. In his impoverished state, he signs a pact selling his soul to the devil as a means of regaining his previous post, yet eventually repents of his error and prays to Mary for help.[32] She appears to him in a dream; however, far from glossing over his offense, she excoriates him before agreeing to intercede for him with her Son. William of Malmesbury vividly dramatizes the Virgin's monologue:

> She rebuffed the wretch with well-meant sharpness, asking him how he had the face to call upon her when he well knew that he had denied both her and her son: "It is folly to pile audacity on top of dire faithlessness. Injuring a son is an insult to the mother, and conversely abusing the mother is a reproach to the son. My son is generous to grant a favour, but terrible in revenge.… How though shall I appeal to my son? If you had offended only one of us two, you might have hoped for forgiveness: one would try to lighten the offense of the other, and beg for forgiveness, but since you have offended us both, you wretched manikin, what room will there be for asking pardon?"[33]

[30] Graef, *Mary*, 133.
[31] William of Malmesbury, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, edited and translated by R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), 15.
[32] Ibid., 15-18.
[33] Ibid., 18.

Such language, the very first words Mary utters to Theophilus in this twelfth-century account, clashes with common twentieth-and twenty-first-century views of Mary as an exclusively merciful Mother who will dismiss and excuse any fault without exception. Nevertheless, William of Malmesbury not only displays no qualms about Mary's tone of voice, but wholeheartedly relishes it on a personal level:

> With words to this effect the Lady Mary terrified Theophilus, shaking his bones and melting his marrow with their artful sweetness. What delightful threats! What pity! If only you would find me, yes if only, worthy of the same anger, so that, even though I have not deserved to experience the sweetness of your chiding, I might undergo your menaces and cease from wrongdoing![34]

William's qualitative transformation of Mary's rebuke from harshness to sweetness, even before proceeding to disclose Theophilus's fate, is noteworthy in itself; but more than this, an implicit desire to hear Mary's voice is once again acknowledged, particularly with the words "I have not deserved to experience the sweetness of your chiding." What can be inferred is that, while it would be wonderful to "experience" Mary speaking directly to him, he does not consider himself worthy of this, so he would accept instead her "menaces" acting upon his soul, enabling him to "cease from wrongdoing." This constitutes, arguably, a point of convergence with Bernard of Clairvaux's Annunciation sermon and William of Malmesbury's account of the Theophilus legend; while Bernard directly pleads with Mary to hear her voice in the historical, universal context of the Redemption, William of Malmesbury indirectly displays a desire for the sweetness of Mary's voice on the subjective level; by emphasizing his own unworthiness, he inversely intensifies, not diminishes, the priceless value of being a recipient of Mary's speech, no matter how harsh it might be.

[34] Ibid.

Ultimately, Theophilus acknowledges his heartfelt contrition for his gross offense and Mary has him recite the creed (which, fortunately, he has memorized) as a means of restoring his faith, "that I may report it to my son." Consequently, she advocates for Theophilus with Christ, and returns, according to William, "speaking more pleasantly," telling Theophilus that "I have won over my son … and come now to bring you, my man, full absolution for what you did. So stop sobbing, stop torturing yourself: through me the sentence of the highest Judge has been mitigated. As for you, make sure you remain loyal to Him who gave His favour, and beholden to her who mediated for you."[35] She then directly undoes Theophilus's action by compelling the devil to give her the contract and returning it to Theophilus, after which it is burned publicly and his soul saved.[36] The *Mater Dei's* agency is therefore employed in several aspects: with a soul, with Christ, and with the devil himself. By means of these manifestations of her power Theophilus's salvation is secured. Her voice elucidates her persona and prevailing influence directly to the soul, as well as her sway over both heaven and hell. If the tale were narrated about Mary in third person and omitted her speech, it would not have generated the same psychological response; however, Mary's vocal intervention directly saves Theophilus, imprints a personal conversation with her in the imagination of the reader (who becomes one with Theophilus), and consequently adds weight to the inner workings and significance of referencing Mary as *Mediatrix*, a term which achieved general use in the twelfth century.[37] The fact that the Theophilus legend is the very first Marian apparition listed in William's compilation lends credence to modern-day assessments of its

[35] Ibid., 19.
[36] Jerry Root, *The Theophilus Legend in Medieval Text and Image* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017), 1-2.
[37] Graef, *Mary*, 134.

significance and popularity in the Middle Ages (notably, it was also transformed into a versified play in the tenth century by the Benedictine nun Hroswitha of Gandersheim, further cementing the dramatized power of Mary's voice through Hroswitha's depiction of Mary as the motherly Queen of Heaven who pledges never to cease petitioning her Son for the salvation of her children).[38]

Following the legacy of the Theophilus legend, Mary's intercessory power in the twelfth century as Mediatrix was made manifest through other mediums, including Hildegard of Bingen's poetic "O Fili dilectissime" included in the miscellany of songs and prose texts following Hildegard's vita of St. Rupert in the *Riesencodex*:[39]

Table 2.2 Hildegard of Bingen's "O Fili dilectissime"

O Fili dilectissime	**Song of the Virgin to Her Son**
O Fili dilectissime, quem genui in visceribus meis de vi circueuntis rote sancta divinitatis, que me creavit et omnia membra mea ordinavit et in visceribus meis omne genus musicorum in omnibus floribus tonorum constituit, nunc me et te, o Fili dulcissime, multa turba virginum sequitur, quas per adiutorium tuum salvare dignare.[40]	O my well-beloved Son, Whom I bore in my womb By the might of that ever-turning wheel Of holy divinity, That created me And ordered all my limbs, And in my womb Established Every kind of music In all the flowers of all the tones. Now, virgins in a vast throng Follow me and You, O my well-beloved Son. Deign To save them by Your aid.[41]

[38] Graef, *Mary*, 134 and 159-160.
[39] "O Fili dilectissime" can be viewed online in a high-resolution scan of the complete twelfth-century Riesencodex on the Hochschul-und Landesbibliothek RheinMain website, on folio 405r: https://hlbrm.digitale-sammlungen.hebis.de/handschriften-hlbrm/content/pageview/450440.
[40] Latin text taken from Hildegard of Bingen, *Symphonia*: *A Critical Edition of the* "*Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum*," trans. Barbara Newman, 260.
[41] Hildegard von Bingen, Letter 390, "Songs and Meditations," in *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, vol. 3, trans. Baird and Ehrman, 194.

Mary's role as Mediatrix in "O Fili dilectissime" is directly connected to her voice, and her power of persuasion with her Divine Son that He protect the virgins under her care. This twelfth-century depiction conjures a vivid image of Mary vocally advocating for her children on earth, as Hildegard's text and use of a first-person mode of Mariology demonstrates. It should be noted as well that Hildegard explicitly describes Mary's voice with the phrase "clara voce" (clear voice) in the text of her Marian antiphon "Cum erubuerint," demonstrating not only her first-person use of explicit Mariology, but also her direct reference to Mary's voice just as Bernard of Clairvaux, Amadeus of Lausanne, William of Malmesbury, and other twelfth-century theologians do. It suggests a consciousness on Hildegard's part of the power of a hymn which is generated directly from the Virgin's lips. This kind of awareness would have ramifications for other compositions by Hildegard, as I will demonstrate throughout this thesis.

Finally, despite the power and agency of Mary's voice as explicitly represented in hymns, legends, sermons, etc., it is important to consider other accounts of Marian apparitions and miracles extending beyond the Theophilus legend, by means of which Mary's personal and multiplied contact with humanity is intensified. Hagiographical literature in the Middle Ages is replete with examples, including an account in the tenth-century *Vita Odo* which relates the story of the monk to whom Mary appeared and introduced herself as the "Mother of Mercy"; when the monk communicated the apparition to Odo, the saintly abbot himself repeatedly called Mary by this title, which subsequently "spread from Cluny all over Western Christendom."[42] Furthermore, William of Malmesbury's *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary* features additional cases

[42] Graef, *Mary*, 158-159.

of Mary speaking to human beings, coupled with the yearning to hear her voice. While this longing was merely implied in his account of the Theophilus legend, it is openly referenced in his narration of St. Dunstan's experience miraculously seeing and hearing the Virgin "singing in a charming voice"[43] with the virgin choir (resonating, of course, with St. Bernard's and Amadeus's emphasis on Mary's "intonation" in their sermons and Hildegard's portrayal of Mary's "clear voice" in "Cum erubuerint"). William concludes this account with the following reflection, touching on humanity's pining to see *and* hear the Virgin Mary:

> Great proofs are these to show to men the sweetness of the blessed Mary, displayed by her to a servant [Dunstan] who won her favour by long service. And great the praise redounding to the man, that, though not yet free of the muddy frame of the body, he saw with his eyes and heard with his ears what other holy men, *in their great longing over many years* [emphasis added], can only hope will be granted them in a future life.[44]

Accounts of Marian apparitions and miracles thus manifested and, arguably, helped perpetuate a personal interest in Mary's voice, and a consequent desire in twelfth-century culture to hear and see Mary "incarnate," if not in this life, hopefully in the next.

While the above survey is far from exhaustive, it demonstrates in brief not only a pronounced emphasis on the first-person mode of Mariological expression but also the conscious desire in twelfth-century medieval culture to tangibly experience Mary's voice. This fundamental awareness is manifested not only through putting words directly into the Virgin's mouth, but also through second- and third-person reflection and commentary regarding the eagerness to hear Mary herself, creating an atmosphere in which first-person Mariological allusion would be perceived more acutely. Having engaged with

[43] William of Malmesbury, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, 34.
[44] Ibid.

these explicit cases, we now turn to a study of first-person Mariological allusion in a liturgical context.

First-Person Mariological Allusion in the Liturgy

Although, as I have already stated, Mariological allusion is not limited in scope to the study of scripture, biblical texts nonetheless, as was the case with the explicit first-person mode of Mariology, constitute both its starting point and subsequent perpetuation. In this case, however, it is the Old Testament, not the New, which contains abundant opportunities for first-person Mariological allusion, particularly in the three books which comprise part of the sapiential literature and which held an important place in medieval culture: the Book of Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and the Canticle of Solomon (Song of Songs).[45] While select applications of scriptural texts capable of transmitting first-person Mariological allusion can be observed in medieval sermons, commentaries, and other modes of discourse, there is a primary generating force by means of which such references have the potential to transmit (as well as ingrain) the "vocal" effect of Mary's voice: the liturgy. Although a comprehensive study of first-person Mariological allusion would naturally extend to thorough analysis of medieval prayers, sermons, commentaries, etc., such a study could not provide an accurate assessment unless grounded in that fundamental life-force, the backbone of religious life and monasticism, which, in its consistent, repetitive cycle, year after year, would energize and provide a basis for subsequent use of allusion in other contexts. It is for this reason (including the fact that, for Hildegard herself, the liturgy was such a crucial point of reference in all that she did)

[45] Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 190-191.

that a study of first-person Mariological allusion, but more importantly, its *activation* (and not just mere iteration) must begin with the liturgy.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, Rome instituted the principal Marian feasts of the Nativity of Mary, Annunciation, Purification, and Assumption, coupled with the installation of lavish processions for all four feasts by Pope Sergius I in the latter half of the seventh century. Over time the celebration of these feasts was integrated into the liturgy throughout all of Western Europe. With these new feasts stimulating a need for liturgical texts, lessons were liberally applied to them from the sapiential books.[46] The origins/rationale of the application of the Wisdom literature to Marian liturgical contexts are obscure, and early commentaries and biblical exegesis on these books are sparse;[47] according to Barbara Newman, "the very absence of authoritative exegesis devoted to these books might have encouraged original meditation on them as part of the *lectio divina*, at a time when liturgical devotion to Mary was increasing."[48] Because various Wisdom texts feature first-person narrative (which in the patristic era had strong Christological connotations, representing the personified Sophia, or Wisdom of Christ),[49] the phenomenon of applying "speaking" lessons to the Marian liturgies may have at least partly reflected a conscious or unconscious desire to have Mary speak as well through these texts, enlarging the quantity of her speech beyond that found in the New Testament. This inclination would provide at least a partial explanation for the employment of texts

[46] Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, 195-196.
[47] Ibid., 196-197.
[48] Ibid., 196. Note that this lack of early commentary explicitly associating Mary with the Wisdom literature is part of the reason why, in assessing the "voicing" aspect of first-person Mariological allusion, we must look to the Marian liturgy itself, there being presumably no other substantive textual mediums preceding it upon which it might have been based.
[49] Ibid., 194-195.

from selected sapiential books which, while not intrinsically Marian themselves, give Mary a "voice" through feasts commemorating the central moments of her life, regardless of whether it was universally perceived as such in initial stages of liturgical practice. Additionally, because Sophia, or Wisdom, was ascribed a feminine identity when treated Christologically in patristic/early medieval sources, its transferral to Marian contexts could occur seamlessly.

Some examples of first-person texts taken from the Wisdom literature which were also applied to Marian feasts are indicated in Table 2.3. These texts, listed with their corresponding manuscripts, are examples of lessons from the Wisdom literature which would have been read on the Marian feasts specified in the manuscript. In a liturgical context, given the natural convergence of texts towards the figure who is being honored through the feast, it would have been difficult to read these lessons (in the case of the lector) or listen to them without associating the "I" with Mary herself. There is little need to underscore Mary's voice here; she literally speaks for herself in each of these texts. This does not mean, of course, that every aspect of *how* these texts apply to Mary would have been automatically clear to everyone in a monastic community, which is the reason why the monks sent their liturgically-grounded inquiry to Honorius, asking specifically how certain texts "pertain to Mary." Nevertheless, their manner of phrasing the question indicates that they are accustomed to *hearing* and linking the intricate association of liturgical texts *with* the person to whom the liturgical texts of the feast are directed. Their question partly implies the answer: the texts *must* relate to Mary in some fashion; they are not some irrelevant, lesser "ornamentation" to the liturgical happenings of the feast of the Assumption. Furthermore, the Song of Songs, one of the texts about which they enquire,

would have conjured associations of Mary speaking through this Canticle with, among other aspects, its multiple references to the masculine "My beloved."[50] Additionally, since the readings for Marian feasts taken from sapiential books, including those speaking in first-person, would have been commonplace in the early twelfth century due to the liturgical precedent several centuries earlier, there would already have been a general awareness of the phenomenon of Mary's voice speaking through Old Testament texts; exegetical clarification to some extent would have followed upon prior experience.[51] It is also important to note as well that, while they ask for an explanation regarding the use of the Gospel text and the Song of Songs, it is telling that they do not ask about the use of Ecclesiasticus 24:11-23 for the Epistle text of the Assumption, even though Honorius provides commentary on this as well in his response. It can be safely assumed, therefore, that the monks would have already understood the use of this text, as well as experienced Mary's voice speaking through it.

Although first-person Mariological allusion, or Mary's voice in implicit contexts, is not liturgically confined to the genre of lessons, it cannot be overemphasized how significant it was that such allusion developed in the lessons, or epistles, of these Marian feasts. The lesson, as a reading for the day from either the Old or New Testament, was an

[50] It should be noted, however, that the monks' query about the Gospel text, unlike that regarding the Song of Songs, does not imply an experience of Mary's voice given its narrative in third-person about Martha and Mary (even the shared namesake, Mary, sitting at Christ's feet, does not speak in the Gospel text). However, Honorius's interpretation allows for the Virgin Mary to represent both Martha and Mary, who respectively signify the active and contemplative lives; he explains that Martha's words, when she does speak, could be interpreted as Mary's words as well in the context of Christ's passion and death (see Honorius's commentary in *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 48-49). In this case, therefore, Honorius creates a perception of Mary's voice for the monks which would not have been readily apparent otherwise.

[51] As Barbara Newman states, while not addressing the vocal aspect specifically: "between the ninth and twelfth centuries, exegesis followed where liturgy had led, as theologians developed a high sapiential Mariology" (*God and the Goddesses*, 195). The liturgy, itself an experiential phenomenon, would have actively created perceptions which in turn helped facilitate exegetical interpretation.

essential part of the Office (as was the epistle at Mass), functioning as a revelation directly to the soul, and would have been chanted by one member of a monastic community, most often on a reciting tone, rather than to a complex melody.[52] This enunciated simplicity, coupled with listening to and mentally absorbing the chanted text in silence, helped ensure that its layers of meaning, however conjured through liturgical contexts, would not have been lost on the community as a whole. Consequently, not only would a case of first-person Mariological allusion likely have been perceived through its placement in a Marian feast, but the lessons themselves as a genre—and the circumstances in which they were delivered—served to augment this perception. The role and dispositions of the lector in providing a voice to the inner truth of the lesson for the rest of the congregation was a crucial one, as Hildegard herself knew, and which, in the *Acta Inquisitionis*, a magistra speaks on oath concerning her:

> She [the magistra] also understood from the seniors of the monastery that the blessed Hildegard immediately corrected any sister whose mind strayed to vain things at the Divine Office, and that when they were reading the lessons, she would give them a blessing fitted to their inner disposition, expressing their own desires word for word.[53]

This specific reference underscores the import of each recited lesson, not only for the lector, but for the rest of the community. A sapiential lesson featuring first-person Mariological allusion most likely would have been experienced and imprinted in one's mind as a personal revelation from Mary herself, in union with Peregrinus' perceptive observation in the *Speculum Virginum*, "let her speak in my stead." As the magistra's account in the *Acta Inquisitionis* implies, a consciously heightened focus during the

[52] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 54.
[53] "Acta Inquisitionis" in *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources*, trans. Anna Silvas, 265.

recitation of the lesson would certainly have characterized Hildegard herself—a leader of her community who embodied the liturgy and its workings in every fibre of her being. If Mary were to "speak" through the lesson for a Marian feast day, Hildegard surely would have heard it as such.

Additionally, it is crucial to note that the "I" of a sapiential text, given its previously well-established Christological overtones, would have continued to engender associations with the feminine Wisdom of God; nevertheless, the placing of such a text in an explicitly Marian context (i.e., a feast of Mary), blurs the lines between Wisdom and Mary, enabling Mary to speak as well. Newman observes, for instance, the significance of the omission of Ecclesiasticus 24:14: "From the beginning, before the ages I was created, and until the age to come I shall not cease to be; and in his holy habitation I ministered before him" (marked in bold in Table 2.3) from the lesson prescribed for the Feasts of the Assumption and the Nativity of Mary in the early 8th-century epistolaries of the Corbie and Murbach manuscripts, noting that "the liturgists felt that this verse, with its assertion of eternal preexistence and high priesthood, was inappropriate to any creature, even the Virgin Mary."[54] Clearly, as early as the eighth century, Mary's speech was capable of being consciously experienced through the liturgy, otherwise, why should such a text have been deemed problematic? If the verse had been perceived as exclusively referencing personified Wisdom in its more traditional Christological context, regardless of the feast to which it was applied, there would have been no reason, logically, to be concerned about including it in the lesson; yet the fact that it sparked this concern speaks to the ability of an explicit Marian context (i.e., a clearly defined Marian feast) to colour

[54] Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, 197-198.

previous interpretations of a given scriptural text and activate the voice of Mary through first-person Mariological allusion. Nevertheless, the burgeoning devotion to Mary meant that, as Newman says, "once the floodgates had been opened the tide could not be turned back, and the verse that had once been censored would eventually appear as the *beginning* of the Marian lesson";[55] furthermore, this verse was included in one of two epistle readings in the Norcia Missale in the tenth century (marked in bold in Table 2.3).[56] It seems all the more evident, therefore, that early on Mary's voice was perceived as "speaking" through these cases of first-person Mariological allusion, and this speaking role would only gain more prominence as time went on, notwithstanding perceptions of Mary's voice possibly being overshadowed initially by personified Wisdom.[57]

[55] Ibid., 198.
[56] Ibid.
[57] This transition, or blurring of the lines, between Wisdom and Mary is illustrated in Honorius's explanation to the monks about the use of Ecclesiasticus 24:11-23 as the Epistle for the Feast of the Assumption (which, presumably, the monks must have felt they already understood, since their initial request did not ask for an explanation of this particular text. Nevertheless, Honorius, given the singular importance of the reading for the day, felt the need to incorporate it into his pedagogical exposition). While Honorius in his exegesis begins by associating the "I" of the text with personified Wisdom, by verse 13 he switches the association of "I" to Mary explicitly, and does not make reference to personified Wisdom again in his discussion of this specific text; thus, the "I" has been reoriented from Wisdom to Mary. The fact that the Marianizing of the "I" occurs by the third verse of the text demonstrates, metaphorically, a gravitational pull towards a Marian interpretation of sapiential literature, facilitated through its placement in a Marian feast. For a translation of his exegesis of Ecclesiasticus 24:11-23 in full see Honorius, *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, trans. Carr, 50-53.

Table 2.3 Examples of First-Person Mariological Allusion in Scriptural Texts (Wisdom Literature Used as Lessons in the Liturgy for Marian Feasts)[58]

Epistolaries of Corbie and Murbach manuscripts (ca. 700)	**Alcuin's Lectionary (eighth century)**	**Norcia Missale, Vallicellana B.8 (late tenth century)**
Feasts of the Nativity of Mary and the Assumption	Assumption	Vigil of the Assumption
In my strength I have trodden down the hearts of all the proud and the humble, and in all of these I sought rest, and I will dwell in [the Lord's] inheritance. Then the Creator of all things commanded and spoke to me, and he who created me rested in my tabernacle and said to me, "Dwell in Jacob and make your inheritance in Israel, and take root among my chosen ones." **(Ecclesiasticus 24:14 is omitted)** And so I was confirmed in Zion, and in the holy city likewise I rested, And in Jerusalem is my power. And I took root among the honored people, and in the portion of my God is his inheritance, And in the fullness of the saints is my dwelling place. I am exalted like a cedar in Lebanon,	As the vine I have brought forth a pleasant odour: and my flowers are the fruit of honour and riches. I am the mother of fair love, and of fear, and of knowledge, and of holy hope. In me is all grace of the way and of the truth: in me is all hope of life and of virtue. Come over to me, all ye that desire me: and be filled with my fruits. For my spirit is sweet above honey: and my inheritance above honey and the honeycomb. My memory is unto everlasting generations. They that eat me shall yet hunger: and they that drink me shall yet thirst. He that hearkeneth to me shall not be confounded: and they that work by me shall not sin. They that explain me shall have life everlasting (Ecclesiasticus 24:23-31).	**From the beginning, before the ages I was created, and until the age to come I shall not cease to be; and in his holy habitation I ministered before him.** And so I was confirmed in Zion, and in the holy city likewise I rested, and in Jerusalem is my power. And I took root among the honored people, and in the portion of my God is His inheritance, and my abode is in the full assembly of saints (Ecclesiasticus 24:14-16) Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth: for thy breasts are better than wine, Smelling sweet of the best ointments. Thy name is as oil poured out: therefore young maidens have loved thee. Draw me: we will run after thee to the odour of thy ointments. The king hath brought me into his

[58] This table presents information from Newman's *God and the Goddesses*, 197-198. It includes Newman's translations of both the reading in the epistolaries of the Corbie and Murbach manuscripts and Ecclus. 24: 14-16 in the Norcia Missale; and is supplemented by the Douay-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate for the reading in Alcuin's Lectionary and Song of Songs 1:1-2:14 in the Norcia Missale.

Epistolaries of Corbie and Murbach manuscripts (ca. 700)	**Alcuin's Lectionary (eighth century)**	**Norcia Missale, Vallicellana B.8 (late tenth century)**
Feasts of the Nativity of Mary and the Assumption	Assumption	Vigil of the Assumption
like a cypress on Mount Zion, like a palm tree I am exalted in Cades, like a rose garden in Jericho. I am like a lovely olive tree in the fields, like a plane tree I am planted in well-watered streets. Like cinnamon and aromatic balm I gave forth my fragrance, like fine myrrh I gave forth a sweet odor (Ecclesiasticus 24:11-13, 15-20).		storerooms: we will be glad and rejoice in thee, remembering thy breasts more than wine. The righteous love thee. I am black but beautiful, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Cedar, as the curtains of Solomon. Do not consider me that I am brown, because the sun hath altered my colour: the sons of my mother have fought against me. They have made me the keeper in the vineyards: my vineyard I have not kept. Shew me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou liest in the midday, lest I begin to wander after the flocks of thy companions…. Let thy voice sound in my ears: for thy voice is sweet and thy face comely (Song of Songs 1:1-2:14).

Following the acceptance of Ecclesiasticus 24:14 into the Marian liturgy—a text which not only activated Mary's voice but also helped promote the concept of her predestination— it is not surprising that, by 1000 A.D., another Wisdom text addressing this very topic would be incorporated into the Marian liturgy: Prov. 8:22-35:

> The Lord possessed me [in] the beginning of his ways, before he made anything at all, from the beginning; I was ordained from eternity and from of old, before

> the earth was made.... I was with him, fashioning all things, and it was my delight every day to play before him … and delighting to be with the children of men.… Whoever finds me will find life and quaff salvation from the Lord.[59]

This is the text which in the *Speculum Virginum*, as seen earlier, Peregrinus tells Theodora comes directly from Mary's mouth, and forms the foundation of his exegetical discussion of her predestination. More than that, it is just one of several manifestations that, in Newman's words, "By the mid twelfth-century, the liturgical link between Sophia and the Virgin had inspired a full-fledged sapiential Mariology."[60]

A major twelfth-century figure who promoted this sapiential Mariology through her music was none other than Hildegard of Bingen herself.[61] Several of the texts for her Marian chants allude to the predestination of Mary from all eternity, including, as Newman has shown, the hymn "Ave generosa" and sequence "O virga ac diadema." In "Ave generosa," Hildegard addresses Mary as "the shining lily, the point before all creation where God fixed his gaze" (Tu candidum lilium quod Deus ante omnem creaturam inspexit) and in "O virga ac diadema," Mary is lauded as the branch (virga): "O branch, God foresaw your flowering on the first day of his creation" (O virga, floriditatem tuam Deus in prima die creature sue previderat).[62] The predestination-oriented use of the word "ante" (before) in "Ave generosa" concords with the presence of the same Latin word in both Ecclesiasticus 24:14: "Ab initio **ante** saecula creata sum" (From the beginning, and before the world, I was created) and Proverbs 8:22: "Dominus possedit me initio viarum suarum **ante**quam quicquam faceret" (The Lord possessed me

[59] Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, 198-199. Final ellipsis originally in source.
[60] Ibid., 199.
[61] Newman, *Sister of Wisdom*, 160-167.
[62] Ibid., 162 and *Symphonia*, 122-123 and 128-129.

in the beginning of His ways, before He made anything at all).[63] Because of this common denominator amongst all three texts, "Ave generosa," notwithstanding an alternate perspectival approach of second-person address to the Mother of God, implicitly resonates with the sapiential declamations of first-person Mariological allusion. "O virga ac diadema" also contains subtle overtones of Mary's personal revelation through Wisdom literature, since God foresees the "flowering" of Mary, the "branch" existing in His mind from all eternity. As mentioned in chapter one, Hildegard had a particular affinity for this sequence, based on sworn testimony in the *Acta Inquisitionis*, in which Hedwig, a lay-sister, relates in accord with two other members of Hildegard's community that "she [Hildegard] would walk about the monastery singing that sequence inspired by the Holy Spirit which begins: 'O scepter and diadem!'"[64] Not only is this the only account we have from contemporary testimony of Hildegard directly singing one of her own chants, but it involves a Marian chant which is also subtly tinged with first-person Mariological connotations.

More explicitly, Hildegard draws a direct connection between Mary and Wisdom in her poem, "O vita, quae surrexisti," particularly through the words: "O form of

[63] Note that the conjunction "antequam" still means "before," but "ante" is compounded with "quam" to set up the ensuing clause.

[64] "Acta Inquisitionis" in *Jutta and Hildegard*, trans. Silvas, 263. Note that the Latin word *virga* can be translated several different ways, including scepter or branch; however, the opening of "O virga ac diadema" contextually makes more sense translated as "O scepter and diadema" given Hildegard's vivid descriptions of Mary's royalty in the opening stanza. Both Silvas and Newman translate the opening of "O virga ac diadema" in this manner (See Newman, *Symphonia*, 128-129). On the other hand, the stanza referencing Mary's preordination, "O virga, floriditatem tuam …" logically implies the translation of virga as "branch," since the visual imagery shifts to the "flowering" of Mary. More importantly though, Hedwig's testimony in the original Latin uses the phrase "O virga et diadema" and identifies its genre as a sequence (sequentiam), eliminating any doubt as to the identity of the chant Hildegard was singing. See Jacques-Paul Migne's Latin edition of Hildegard's works, *Sanctae Hildegardis Abbatissae opera omnia*, Patrologia Latina 197 (Paris: Migne, 1855), 133. For an historiographical overview of how "O virga ac diadema" and the report of Hildegard's singing helped facilitate a revival of Hildegard's music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Bain's *Hildegard of Bingen and Musical Reception*, 8-34.

woman, sister of Wisdom, how great is your glory!"[65] As Newman has shown, using this Marian title brings to mind Proverbs 7:4: "Say to Wisdom, You are my sister, and call insight your intimate friend."[66] Hildegard's sapiential allusions in her treatment of Mary appear far from unconscious; rather, she interweaves these connections, both implicitly and explicitly, into the very fabric of her manifestations of Marian devotion.

Hildegard's explicitly Marian chants, particularly those which allude to sapiential texts, are themselves partly an outgrowth of the first-person Mariological allusion in the liturgy, the seeds of which, as already noted, were planted at least as early as the eighth century with the usage of "speaking" texts as lessons for Marian feasts. While most of her openly Marian texts address Mary either in second or in third person, the voice of Mary is also beneath the surface of many of these texts. Hildegard's emphasis on Mary as "recreatrix," "rebuilder," "author of life," "destroyer of death," "mother of sacred healing," etc. is evident throughout all sixteen Marian plainchants, yet such power, boldly described, would not have been possible had it not been for Mary's predestination (revealed through her implicit voice in Ecclesiasticus 24:14 and Proverbs 8:22-35) and her "Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum" (Luke 1:38) at the Incarnation. This is where, I suggest, assessing Hildegard's Mariology accurately means recognizing that it is not only an ardent manifestation of the flowering of sapiential Mariology, as Newman correctly states, but is also closely linked with a twelfth-century awareness of—and potential longing for— Mary's voice speaking directly to the soul. While the three Wisdom books discussed in this chapter all factor into this sapiential Mariology, the first-person texts are

[65] Newman, *Sister of Wisdom*, 165.
[66] Ibid.

key to a proper scrutiny of Hildegard's devotion, since it is particularly those texts which assign Mary a voice and satiate a desire to hear her. Hildegard's awareness of such subtle "voicing" would not have arisen through an isolated devotion but, again, would have sprung from first-person Mariological allusion in the liturgy, to which monastic communities by the twelfth century would have been fully sensitized.

Not only the texts of Hildegard's Marian chants, but their ordering in the Dendermonde manuscript—in which they are placed directly after the chants to God the Father and before those to the Holy Spirit, supplanting the Second Person of the Trinity entirely—may also reflect this phenomenon of first-person Mariological allusion/Marian voicing. Newman, applying her contextualization of Hildegard's sapiential Mariology to this novel ordering, suggests that Hildegard is implying Mary's role in the Incarnation as the revealer of the Word; consequently, "she takes her place not among creatures but in the heart of God, where all creatures are predestined."[67] Because the Wisdom literature provides first-person revelations of this predestination when imbued with a Marian context, however, Mary's voice *dynamically* reveals her place in the divine plan; it is not merely a *static* positioning in God's plan in and of itself. Assertions that this Dendermonde ordering, according to Peter van Poucke, smacks of "heresy,"[68] or in Beverly Lomer's view, functions as an isolated gesture of feminist rhetoric in Hildegard's convent,[69] tend to exclude consideration of a broader "quaternizing" impact of first-person sapiential texts in the twelfth century, in which various theologians almost conceptualized Mary as a fourth member of the Trinity. Peter of Celle, for instance,

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[67] *Sister of Wisdom*, 162.
[68] Peter van Poucke, "Introduction," in Hildegard of Bingen, *Symphonia Harmoniae Caelestium Revelationum: Dendermonde St.-Pieters & Paulusabdij Ms. Cod. 9* (Peer: Alamire, 1991), 7.
[69] Beverly Lomer, "Music, Rhetoric, and the Creation of Feminist Consciousness," 143-144, 181-182.

stated that, "You [Mary] approach the Trinity itself in a unique and quite ineffable, almost direct manner, so if the Trinity admitted in any way an external quaternity, you alone would complete the quaternity."[70] The Dendermonde ordering of Hildegard's Marian chants may speak more to the experience of Mary's "quaternized" voice from the heart of the Trinity; if this is what Hildegard meant to imply, then such meaning would likely not have been lost on the Cistercian monks of Villers to whom she sent the manuscript,[71] extending its potential symbolism well beyond the confines of her female community.

Finally, the best manner of assessing the integration of Mary's voice into the liturgy is to consider an example of its contextual usage within the liturgy of a Marian feast. An example from the Office of Matins for the Feast of the Assumption will be provided here, from Engelberg 103 (see Table 2.4), a manuscript which, although approximately dated from the early thirteenth century, slightly after Hildegard's lifetime, likely conveys on some level the kinds of liturgical customs with which she would have been familiar, given its regional provenance close to the towns and abbeys with which

[70] Quoted in Graef, *Mary*, 198. Bonnie Blackburn also shows how, in popular devotion, the supreme hymn of praise, worship, and thanksgiving to the Godhead— "Te deum laudamus"—was parodied by a medieval poet to laud Mary through an adapted text, "Te matrem dei laudamus," which was subsequently included in books of the hours to the Virgin for several centuries and was also set polyphonically. Blackburn, "'Te Matrem Dei Laudamus:' A Study in the Musical Veneration of Mary," *The Musical Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (January 1967): 53-76, accessed January 20th, 2020, https://www.jstor.org/stable/741097. "Te matrem dei laudamus" arguably contributed to a "quaternized" view of Mary, one which hearing her voice in the liturgy through sapiential texts would have supported. Likewise, in the thirteenth century, Richard of St. Laurent contributed to these bolder acts of textual "Marianizing" in his *De Laudibus Sanctae Mariae* by adapting the text of a prayer traditionally directed to God, the "Our Father," to Mary: "Our Mother who art in heaven, give us our daily bread" as well as John 3:16: "Mary so loved the world, that is, sinners, that she gave her only-begotten Son for the salvation of the world" (quoted in Graef, *Mary*, 210). These adaptations of prayers honoring the omnipotent God to Mary herself constitute additional artifacts of Mariological allusion.

[71] For a rationale on the strong likelihood that this Cistercian community was the recipient of the Dendermonde manuscript, see van Poucke, "Introduction," in *Dendermonde*, 6.

she would have had contact in her lifetime.[72] Additionally, a twelfth-century antiphoner from Klosterneuburg, Austria, which is both contemporaneous with Hildegard's lifetime and of Germanic provenance, contains a number of the same chants for the Matins of the Assumption included in Engelberg 103, including shared first-person texts which are compactly contained within the first nocturn of Engelberg 103, and are spread out over the first and second nocturn of Klosterneuburg 1012. Because of these first-person concordances within the same Marian feast and office hour between two Germanic manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and because additional research supports possible overlap between the liturgies of Sponheim and Disibodenberg, the first nocturn of Engelberg 103 provides a compelling example of first-person Mariological allusion which Hildegard arguably would have experienced in a liturgical context.

Table 2.4 provides detailed information for the chants in Engelberg 103 for the first nocturn of Matins of the Office of the Assumption, ordered as they would have been sung in this first hour of the Divine Office on that feast. Working from left to right, the first column indicates the genre of the chant in question; the second column denotes the perspective, or point of view, revealed through its text; and the third and fourth columns provide both the Latin text and English translation for each chant, respectively. In this first nocturn, all six antiphons utilize a second-person perspective, not surprising given the initial emphasis on laudation of the Virgin Mary, consistently invoked as "sancta dei

[72] Tova Leigh-Choate, William T. Flynn, and Margot E. Fassler suggest, based on the manuscript contents and an understanding of celebration of regional saints associated with specific monastic institutions, that the provenance of Engelberg 103 may have been Sponheim, at the abbey relatively close to the Disibodenberg, where Hildegard began her religious formation as a recluse with Jutta and lived for a number of years before moving to Rupertsberg. See Leigh-Choate, Flynn, and Fassler, "Hildegard as Musical Hagiographer: Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 103 and Her Songs for Saints Disibod and Ursula," in *A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, edited by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt, and George Ferzoco (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 194-199.

genitrix." The soul is placed directly into the heavenly Mother's presence, singing her praises with affectionate descriptions of her beauty and goodness. Additionally, in this intimate initial phase of the soul's address to Mary, the words of Elizabeth to Mary at the Visitation insert themselves at the fourth antiphon: "Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb," grounding the prayer of the monastic community in the words of scripture itself. The inclusion of this specific text heightens the poignancy of extolment, and also establishes roots in the commemoration of the first recorded praise by another human being (Elizabeth) of Mary's singular status. The second-person mode converges with Elizabeth herself, enabling each member of the community to identify with her and thus situate themselves more firmly in the historical reality of scripture. This psychological bilocation through second person into the events of scripture itself is significant, insofar as it mentally prepares the soul honoring Mary for what will follow.

After the sixth antiphon, which, strikingly, ends with the phrase "dulcia cantica dramatis" (sweet songs of alternating characters), the antiphon verse "Diffusa est gratia" (for which only an incipit is provided for this Office) is sung, after which the genre changes to that of the responsory. With the switch in genre comes a transformation in perspective.[73] The first responsory, "Vidi speciosam sicut columbam" (I saw a beautiful one like a dove), is in first-person, introducing a speaker to whom all ears are inclined.

[73] It is important to note that the recitation of lessons, which in monastic institutions would generally have been provided in a separate manuscript called the lectionary, would have been interspersed with the responsories of Matins. Since the choice of lessons on a given feast was generally flexible, it is unclear from Engelberg 103 which combinations of lessons would have been recited at Matins for the Assumption (although, fortunately, a full listing of lessons designated with the Assumption rubric is provided on folio 64r in Engelberg 103, making it easier to narrow down the options). Because the flexibility of lesson choice makes it impossible to pinpoint exact sequencing of texts, I am focusing here on the overarching shifts in perspective provided through the responsories, showing that, notwithstanding the role lessons play in this regard, the interaction of one responsory with another nonetheless creates an impactful and over-arching layer of perspectival change.

The text, following upon the preceding praises and the overshadowing context of the Assumption, describes Mary herself, implying that God, or Christ Himself, is speaking about His beloved. While not quoting the biblical source verbatim, the text adapts content from both Ecclesiasticus 50:8 (… as the flower of roses in the days of the spring, and as the lilies that are on the brink of the water …) and Song of Songs 6:8 (One is my dove: my perfect one is but one …), anchoring this first-person entrance in not one, but two sources from the Wisdom literature. The verse of this responsory reacts to the words of the speaker in third-person, asking, "Quae est ista quae ascendit per desertum sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrhae et thuris" (Who is this who ascends through the desert as a pillar of smoke, of aromatic myrrh and frankincense?) The 2nd responsory provides the answer, in first person: "Sicut cedrus exaltata sum in Libano …" (I was exalted as a cedar in Libanus …) and is carried over into the responsory verse "Et sicut cinnamomum et balsamum aromatizans dedi" (Like cinnamon and aromatic balsam I gave forth a pleasant odor). Both the responsory and its verse together comprise Ecclesiasticus 24:17 and 24:20; as we have seen in Table 2.3, these two verses were already in use as early as the eighth century as part of the lesson for the Feasts of the Assumption and Nativity. Consequently, such texts bear traces of Mary's voice given their previously-established associations in another genre; furthermore, because they are situated directly after the query: "Quae est ista?" the soul inevitably perceives that it is Mary herself who answers, who describes in vivid, sensory detail her personal glory and attributes. The voice of Mary thus seamlessly makes an entrance into the liturgical dialogue through first-person Mariological allusion, and, given that the over-arching intent of the feast day is to exalt and honor her, it would have been impossible for anyone

hearing and chanting the text to have been unaware that it was Mary herself speaking to them. After Mary's exposition, another question is posed through the third responsory: "Quae est ista quae processit sicut sol et formosa tamquam Jerusalem viderunt eam filiae Sion et beatam dixerunt et reginae laudaverunt eam" (Who is she who comes forth like the sun, beautiful as Jerusalem; the daughters of Sion saw her and called her blessed and queens praised her). This text, adapted from Song of Songs 6:8-9; is reinforced through the responsory verse which, although listed as an incipit in Engelberg 103, likely repeats the text of the first "Quae est ista" (Song of Songs 3:6).

Notwithstanding the liberal use of sapiential texts and allusions to describe Mary, the culmination of this first nocturn—the fourth responsory—is the most noteworthy of all. It does not employ implicit Mariology at all, but this time features part of the Magnificat—the exact words of Mary herself—from the New Testament, as shown in Table 2.1 earlier in this chapter. First-person Mariological allusion and an explicit first-person mode of Mariology converge in this first nocturn, with the deliberate application of Mary's voice creating a decisive climax. Not only does scripture continue to ground the monastic community in the historical truths of Mary's life, but the fourth responsory and its verse also answer the words of Elizabeth (and, simultaneously, the words of the community as well), replicating the dialogue between Elizabeth and Mary at the Visitation. As a result, one is positioned all the more in the presence of Mary herself, and in the act of praising her is granted the joyous grace of hearing her voice in return, through a harmonious interplay of perspective, which synthesizes the historical voice of Mary herself from the Gospel of Luke, and first-person Mariological allusion through texts from the sapiential literature, in this case Ecclesiasticus and the Song of Songs.

Finally, in this particular example, the integration of the explicit voice of Mary through the Magnificat has the effect of authenticating her implicit voice (Ecclesiasticus) earlier in the nocturn, placing equal stress on the import of her message as conveyed through both the Old and New Testaments.

Table 2.4 Texts for the Feast of the Assumption at Matins, First Nocturn (Engelberg 103, folio 142v)[74]

Chant Genre	**Person**	**Latin Text**	**English Translation**
Ant. 1	2nd	Exaltata es sancta dei genitrix super choros angelorum ad caelestia regna.	Thou hast been exalted, O holy Mother of God, above the choirs of angels to the heavenly throne.
Ant. 2	2nd	Paradisi portae per te nobis apertae sunt quas hodie gloriosa cum angelis triumphas.	Through thee, glorious one, the gates of heaven have been opened for us, over which today thou celebratest thy triumph with the angels.
Ant. 3	2nd	Sicut mirra electa odorem dedisti suavitatis sancta dei genitrix. (Ecclus. 24:20, adapted)	As choice myrrh thou didst give an odor of sweetness, holy Mother of God.
Ant. 4	2nd	Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui. (Luke 1:42)	Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.
Ant. 5	2nd	Speciosa facta es et suavis in deliciis tuis sancta dei genitrix (Song of Songs 7:6, adapted)	Thou hast become beautiful and sweet in thy delights, holy Mother of God.
Ant. 6	2nd	Ante thorum hujus virginis frequentate nobis dulcia cantica dramatis.	Before the bed of this virgin repeat for us sweet songs of alternating characters.
Ant. 6 verse	2nd	Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis propterea benedixit te deus in aeternum (Psalm 44:3)	Grace is poured forth upon thy lips; therefore, God hath blessed thee forever.
Resp. 1	1st	Vidi speciosam sicut columbam descendentem desuper rivos aquarum cujus inaestimabilis odor erat nimis in vestimentis ejus et sicut dies verni circumdabant eam flores rosarum et	I saw a beautiful one descending like a dove over the streams of water, whose inestimable odor was exceedingly great in her clothing, and like the spring

[74] Translations mine, with consultation of the Douay-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate for some of these translations.

Chant Genre	Person	Latin Text	English Translation
		lilia convallium. (Ecclus. 50:8; Song of Songs 6:8; adapted)	day there were flowers of roses and lilies of the valley surrounding her.
Resp. 1 verse	3rd	Quae est ista quae ascendit per desertum sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrhae et thuris? (Song of Songs 3:6)	Who is this who ascends through the desert like a pillar of smoke, of aromatic myrrh and frankincense?
Resp. 2	1st	Sicut cedrus exaltata sum in Libano et sicut cypressus in monte Sion quasi myrrha electa dedi suavitatem odoris. (Ecclus. 24:17 and 20)	I was exalted as a cedar in Libanus and as a cypress on mount Zion, like choice myrrh I gave forth an odor of sweetness.
Resp. 2 verse	1st	Et sicut cinnamomum et balsamum aromatizans dedi. (Ecclus. 24:20)	I gave a sweet smell like cinnamon and aromatic balsam.
Resp. 3	3rd	Quae est ista quae processit sicut sol et formosa tamquam Jerusalem? Viderunt eam filiae Sion et beatam dixerunt et reginae laudaverunt eam. (Song of Songs 6:8-9; adapted)	Who is this who comes forth like the sun, as beautiful as Jerusalem? The daughters of Sion saw her and called her blessed and queens praised her.
Resp. 3 verse	3rd	Quae est ista* (likely Song of Songs 3:6)	Who is this*
Resp. 4	1st	Beatam me dicent omnes generationes quia fecit mihi dominus magna quia potens est et sanctum nomen ejus. (Luke 1:48-49)	All generations shall call me blessed because the Lord who is mighty hath done great things to me and holy is his name.
Resp. 4 verse	1st	Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies timentibus eum. (Luke 1:50)	And his mercy is from generation unto generations, to them that fear him.

First-person Mariological allusion in the liturgy was a means, not only of quantitatively increasing Mary's speech, but more significantly, of facilitating an intimate connection with Mary through the audible experience of her "voice," contributing to the Mariology of the twelfth century. While this section has only skimmed the surface of the liturgy, it provides us with an important foundation for engaging with a particularly

intriguing manifestation of Mary's voice in the twelfth century: Marian commentaries on the Song of Songs.

Twelfth-Century Marian Commentaries on the Song of Songs

While the patristic Fathers, particularly Ambrose and Jerome, had interpreted selected verses of the Song of Songs in a Marian sense as early as the fourth century, specifically to support the doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity, full-scale Marian commentaries on the Song of Songs came into being in the twelfth century, responding directly to the experiential milieu of the Marian liturgy.[75] Fulton Brown has shown in her dissertation, "The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs in the High Middle Ages," that the liturgical usage of the Song of Songs in the Marian feasts of the Assumption, which we have already observed in the first nocturn of Matins for the Assumption in Engelberg 103, and Nativity of Mary, was the catalyst for the Marian commentaries on the Song of Songs in the twelfth century. The liturgy, itself a dramatic, antiphonal activity, spotlighted the narrative and inherent dialogue of a text which was the perfect foil for describing events in Mary's life, including her birth, death, and assumption.[76] Because of ecclesiastical skepticism of the account of Mary's life in the *Transitus Mariae* due to its apocryphal status, the Song of Songs in the context of the Marian liturgies filled an important void. Its manifestation in the Marian offices for the Assumption and Nativity in liturgical manuscripts from the ninth century onward functioned as an exegetical device

[75] Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 85-86.
[76] Fulton, "The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs in the High Middle Ages" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1994), 70-71, 377-379, and 409.

for relating crucial events of Mary's life not unveiled in the New Testament.[77] As Fulton Brown argues:

> In lieu of the apocrypha, the liturgists turned to the Song as a source for the Assumption and Nativity chants because in its verses they could hear the stories recorded in the apocrypha … they accordingly constructed from the Song a *vita Mariae*, a *vita* which, because it was based on Scripture, counterbalanced the apocryphal origins of much of Mary's "history." In the antiphons and responsories of the liturgy, the Song alluded to the events celebrated on her feast days—her earthly birth, and heavenly rebirth.[78]

The Marian liturgies for the Nativity and Assumption thus, figuratively speaking, rolled out the carpet for a formal biblical exegesis long before the twelfth century; more importantly, because of this "*vita Mariae*" effect prepared centuries earlier, the twelfth-century commentaries themselves reflected this by showcasing, not an allegorical (symbolic, such as the relationship between Christ and the Church, or Christ and the soul) or tropological (dealing with questions of morality, or ways of righteous living) interpretation, but an *historical* one which harmonized the Song of Songs with events in Mary's life. Consequently, the Marian commentaries of the Song of Songs responded organically to a devotional context, rather than a purely speculative one; it was not a derivative of previous associations of the Song of Songs with the relationship between Christ and the Church.[79]

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[77] Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 91-92.
[78] Ibid., 91.
[79] Ibid., 85-87. Fulton Brown demonstrates in her dissertation that the liturgical use of the Song of Songs was the primary catalyst for these new Mariological commentaries, not the exegetical application of an ecclesiological interpretation (i.e., the relationship between Christ and His Church) to Mary herself (as a type of the Church). The most striking piece of evidence she provides in favor of this argument is that, while verses from this biblical text were used in offices for feasts of Mary's Assumption and Nativity since the ninth century "without exegetical support for some three hundred years" ("Mimetic Devotion," 92) the Song of Songs is not featured in the offices of ecclesiastically-oriented feasts such as that for the Dedication of a Church. If the medieval liturgy was meant to function as a passive follower of exegesis, then logically the Song of Songs should have been featured in ecclesial offices, especially since the Church-Christ connection in the Song of Songs had already been established in patristic exegesis as early as the third century. Because of this ecclesial omission/Marian inclusion in liturgical contexts, coupled with

Most significantly, for the purposes of our discussion here, because the bride/bridegroom dialogue in the Song of Songs could be mapped onto the relationship between Mary and Christ (in a mystical sense), it continued to perpetuate the voice of Mary through the liturgical context of a Marian feast, transmitted, once again, through a sapiential medium. The Marian commentaries are thus a flowering of that which is rooted in the liturgy, and, most importantly, several of these commentaries function as witnesses to the Marian vocal effect of the liturgy. They represent what one might call a kind of *apologia*, an additional confirmation and proof that these first-person instances were really and truly experienced as Mary's voice, especially in the twelfth century and thus in Hildegard's own lifetime.[80] Finally, two of these commentaries in particular—those by Honorius Augustodunensis (1080-1154) and Rupert of Deutz (1075-1129)—are not only among those which, as Fulton Brown shows, particularly underscore Mary's voice,[81] but, more importantly, possibly would have been known by Hildegard of Bingen; in fact, I think it is likely that she would have been familiar with them, for reasons that I will explain. Since a full analysis of the twelfth-century Marian commentaries on the Song of Songs is not the focus of this thesis (and has already been covered in depth by Rachel Fulton Brown, E. Ann Matter, Ann Astell, and others), I will briefly tailor this discussion

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the reality that the patristic Fathers themselves never actually applied verses of the Song of Songs to Mary's Assumption and Nativity, Fulton Brown argues that the liturgy, when it comes to interpreting the Song of Songs in a Marian sense, was the crucial actor which "disrupted the established categories of Song of Songs exegesis" ("The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs," 21) and implanted the seeds for the eventual blossoming of Marian interpretations/commentary in the twelfth century. Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 90-93, and "The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs," 21-22, 75-94.

[80] These Marian commentaries not only explicitly and concretely draw out Mary's voice from its implicit grounding in a liturgical environment; they provide yet further proof of, as I stated earlier, the activation of Mary's voice through the liturgy. In essence, these commentaries, while treated in a separate section here to give proper treatment to the genre of biblical commentary, are but an extension of Mariological allusion in the liturgy.

[81] Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 104.

to some of the vocal qualities of Honorius's and Rupert of Deutz's commentaries, as well as Hildegard of Bingen's potential awareness of them.

Honorius's commentary on the Song of Songs was included in the new treatise which he affectionately titled the *Sigillum*, or Seal of Blessed Mary. Given the phrasing of the monks' question to which he was responding (concerning why the Song of Songs was sung on the Feast of the Assumption), the causal relationship of liturgy-to-commentary in this situation is fully apparent, albeit infused with Honorius's personal interpretation of the historicized meaning behind each passage of the Song of Songs. After Honorius provides his short exegesis of both the Epistle and Gospel texts for the Feast of the Assumption, he lays out this Canticle chapter by chapter, verse by verse, and creates a narrative of the events in Mary's life driven by the conversation between Christ and Mary. He provides headings before passages of the Song of Songs, much as one would delineate the acts or scenes of a drama, in order to guide the reader assiduously through the story, which includes a depiction of Mary's Assumption as well as her conversation in heaven. A few examples will illustrate the style and direction of Honorius's interpretation, as well as the interplay he envisioned between Christ's and Mary's voices.

Honorius opens the first chapter of the Canticle of Solomon in the following manner: "*Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth*. Kings and prophets had not deserved to see or to hear him. But the Virgin not only deserved to carry him in her womb, but also after his birth to give him abundant kisses and to receive many kisses from his blessed

mouth."[82] He concretely assigns the words of the very first verse to Mary herself, allowing her to be the one desiring to kiss Christ "with the kiss of his mouth." Moreover, he situates this desire in a fulfilled reality: Mary did, in fact, kiss Christ as His Mother who conceived and gave birth to Him. As a result, Honorius not only seamlessly introduces Mary as the first speaker of the drama, but also historicizes her desire through the mutual kisses between her and Christ as an infant.

Further on in the second chapter, the theme of Mary's longing to be with her Son in heaven is introduced: "Stay me up with flowers, compass me about with apples, for I languish with love" (Song 2:5) which Honorius interprets as meaning the innocents (flowers) and saints (apples) who encompass her, the most innocent and glorious of all, she who "languishes, because she desired to look upon God perpetually."[83] She narrates Christ's response to her, interspersed with Honorius's commentary: "*My beloved*, that is her son *speaks* to me: *Arise* from mortal life, *make haste* toward the immortal life, *my love*, that is, my intimate one, *beautiful* in chastity, *and come* into the joys of heaven."[84] Honorius continues his "historicizing" by framing this part of the Canticle of Solomon in light of Mary's Assumption into Heaven with the words "toward the immortal life" and by mentioning "the joys of heaven."

The pining for reunion between the lovers Christ and Mary is fulfilled in the third chapter through Mary's assumption into heaven, in which other characters speak as well; the angels, for instance, praise her assumption into heaven through Song 3:6 (Quae est

[82] Honorius, *The Seal of Blessed Mary,* 53. Note that in Carr's edition of the *Sigillum* the text of the Canticle is italicized, while Honorius's commentary is not.
[83] Ibid., 58.
[84] Ibid., 59.

ista) which we observed in the first nocturn at Matins in Engelberg 103. In subsequent chapters, Honorius extends the narration to a full-fledged conversation in heaven, with praises of Mary by both the Father and the Son, laments of the "penitent Church" representing those who will convert from Judaism to Christianity, the praises to Mary by the same Church in the process of "conversion," and—at the climax of this Canticle-turned-drama—what Honorius dubs "The Promise of the Virgin" for those on earth below, in which Mary pledges that "I will be *a wall* for them, because if they imitate my life, they will be unconquerable by vice, *and* my *breasts are as a tower*, that is, through my examples they will be safe in goodness."[85] The theme of imitating Mary being a means of virtue, of being "unconquerable by vice," is not surprising in the Mariological climate of the twelfth century, nor is, as we have seen, this ever-abiding emphasis on the words of Mary herself, whether explicitly or implicitly. Notable, of course, is the fact that, throughout Honorius's commentary, Mary not only cites scripture, but elaborates on it herself, eventually displacing Honorius's position as the biblical exegete (once again drawing out the "let her speak in my stead" theme!)

More significantly, Honorius uses the dialogue structure of the Song of Songs to incorporate explicit references by Christ Himself to His Mother's voice. In chapter four, after the Assumption of Mary into heaven, Christ says of Mary that "*Your lips* were not deceitful.… *And your speech* [is] *sweet*, because it is all about God and the rest to come."[86] Honorius elaborates further on Mary's speech and implied teaching, referencing "the lips of the Virgin, who made known to others the secrets of God concerning her. Her

[85] Ibid., 84.
[86] Ibid., 65.

speech is their preaching."[87] This pointed reference to the Virgin actively revealing truths to others is a theme which pervades Rupert of Deutz's commentary on an even greater scale, as we shall see. The final words of Christ to His Mother in the *Sigillum* are even more poignant, encapsulating a yearning which has been richly indulged in throughout the commentary: "Now *make me hear your voice*, that is, make known what you most desire."[88]

In a captivating manner, Honorius arguably channels his own thirst for Mary's voice through the words of Christ, which themselves resonate with Bernard of Clairvaux's own plea. Mary's answer to Christ's request to "hear her voice," however, is not automatically reassuring: "*flee away* from evil ones, *O my beloved, and be like to the roe* … in your judgment, separate the damned from the elect."[89] Honorius thus adds a bitter taste into the savoring of Mary's voice throughout his commentary: a profound twelfth-century anxiety regarding personal salvation. Even the words of the popular "Salve regina": "Our life, our sweetness, and our hope," did not depict an effusive expression of a complacently comfortable love for Mary; it was constantly overshadowed with trepidation of what one's fate might be without her grace. Her voice, therefore, functions in this interpretation of the Canticle of Solomon as a loving point of contact, but without guarantee that one might not pull away and lose her intercession altogether. Honorius does not wish the audible experience of her speech through the Song of Songs to be taken as a mere reassurance; it is, however, a crucial aid which may help one stay in her graces and, consequently, those of her divine Son. It is this multilayered tone, that of

[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., 85.
[89] Ibid.

the positive assurance of Mary's intercession coupled with her desire of justice for her Son, which pervaded twelfth-century medieval culture and which Honorius meaningfully incorporates into the conclusion of his *Sigillum*.

Rupert of Deutz's commentary, unlike Honorius's, is even longer and more elaborate in its treatment of Mary and her voice. While keeping the theme of historicity, it attributes a role to Mary which is absent from Honorius's treatise: that of *magistra apostolorum*, or the concept of Mary as prophetess who is given to understand the profound depths of scripture through her divine Son. Each historical event, from the Annunciation to her Assumption, is framed within the progression of the "pondering within Mary's heart" to her "gradual awakening" from a contemplative state to an active one, culminating in her full-fledged status as teacher of the apostles. Fulton Brown paraphrases part of Rupert's text in the following manner:

> Mary is to be the teacher of the apostles, the *magistra apostolorum*, but she will not speak of the things hidden in her heart while her child is still a baby, lest by speaking she alert Herod to her son's whereabouts. But at the beginning of book 5, she abandons her contemplation in order to teach. "Why," Rupert asks her, "have you not rather kept yourself in hiding? Why have you not confirmed for yourself the solitude of contemplation?" Mary answers with the following story: "I sleep and my heart keeps watch" (Song 5.2). She heard the voice of her beloved knocking, and calling to her: "Open to me (Song 5.2), namely, your mouth to speak, for the sake of confirming the gospel, and in this reveal the worth of the quiet you long for; for my sake, break the silence so pleasing to your singular modesty."[90]

Once Mary hears the voice of her Son, while reluctant at first, she ultimately responds in Rupert's commentary with the following statement, elaborating on the words of the Canticle yet further: " 'I rose up' therefore, 'to open to my beloved,' I gave my work, that with the apostles of Christ assuredly I might profess the running gospel with the words

[90] Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 103.

and deeds of my beloved."[91] The rest of the commentary showcases her apostolic teaching authority, which does not merely climax with her assumption and subsequent queenship in heaven, but is furthered— unlike Honorius' commentary—through an epilogue, in which Christ and Mary actually go forth together into the world to preach the gospel and save souls.[92] Therefore, in a brilliant fashion, Rupert not only allows for the flowering of Mary's voice in his commentary; he ascribes to it a distinctive prophetic, teaching function. In doing so, he not only reflects the yearning for Mary's voice in this period; he builds upon the vocal emphasis in a manner which validates Mary's role as preacher to all of humanity. Such conceptualizing of Mary would have been attractive to Hildegard, herself a visionary, a prophetess who, although initially reluctant to share her visions with the rest of the world, responded to "the Voice of the Living Light" much in the way that Mary responds in Rupert's commentary to "the voice of her beloved." Hildegard not only prophesized, but preached publicly and ardently for the good of souls; furthermore, as a renowned *magistra*, she administered advice and counsel to those both within and outside of her immediate community, including members of the clergy, inevitably modelling Mary's vocation in Rupert's commentary as *magistra apostolorum*.

While there is no absolute, concrete evidence showing that Hildegard knew of these commentaries, read them, or corresponded with their authors, nevertheless, there are certain established facts which I believe indirectly point to her awareness of these particular twelfth-century modes of Marian exegesis on the Song of Songs. The first is the specific dating of each of these commentaries. Valerie Flint has established in her

[91] Quoted in Fulton, "The Virgin Mary," 447.
[92] Ibid., 447, 450.

work on Honorius that the *Sigillum* was written ca. 1100, a date with which Fulton Brown and Carr concur.[93] Rupert of Deutz's *De Incarnatione Domini* was written approximately twenty years later, ca. 1125/1126, according to the assessments of Rupert of Deutz scholar and biographer John Van Engen.[94] Both timelines of these works have been carefully established; significantly, they comprise the first and second Marian commentaries on the Song of Songs to have been written in the twelfth century.[95] The early twelfth-century dating for both works would allow more time for copying and transmission throughout the rest of that century, providing a feasible timeframe within which Hildegard could have been exposed to either work.

Another crucial fact which must be considered is the respective popularity of these commentaries in conjunction with their transmission history. According to Carr, Honorius's *Sigillum* "is preserved in numerous twelfth-century copies from monastic library collections in England, southern Germany and Austria."[96] These provenances partly concord with events in Honorius's life, which point to his having undertaken study

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[93] Valerie I.J. Flint, "The Chronology of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis," *Revue bénédictine* 82 (1972): 215-42; Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 91; Carr, "Introduction," in *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 13-14.
[94] Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 101 and "The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs," 432.
[95] "Mimetic Devotion," 101. Other Marian commentaries on the Song of Songs were written in the twelfth/early thirteenth centuries, including those by Philip of Harvengt (1100-1183), William of Newburgh (1136-1198), Alexander Nequam (1157-1217), and Alan of Lille (1128-1202) ("Mimetic Devotion," 101-102). For various reasons, including the fact that the dating/transmission of the other authors' commentaries is less clear-cut, it is easier to establish the possibility that Hildegard would have had contact with the commentaries of Honorius and Rupert, less so for Philip's, William's and Alan's, and impossible in the case of Alexander's (Hildegard was born in 1098 and died in 1178). However, it should be noted that the presence of other Marian commentaries on the Song of Songs in the twelfth-century atmosphere speaks to a particular intrigue with this mode of interpretation, a fascination which, in the Mariological climate of that time, points more generally, even if less specifically, to her potential awareness of this unique exegetical trend of thought. Since a number of twelfth-century commentators favored "Marianizing" the Canticle (as well as, more importantly, the fact that this "Marianizing" had already been happening in the liturgy for several centuries), it seems rather unlikely that religious congregations in the twelfth century would have been completely oblivious to their presence, even if they had never engaged with the particulars of those interpretations. See Fulton's "Mimetic Devotion," 101-102 and "The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs," 455-541 and 592-603.
[96] Carr, "Introduction," in *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 23.

in England before later departing for southern or southeastern German lands.[97] The spread of the *Sigillum* into Germanic regions in the twelfth century (among the over thirty extant manuscripts, approximately a dozen twelfth-century copies were in monastic libraries in Germanic lands)[98] makes Hildegard's awareness of the work more plausible; in addition, another of Honorius's Canticle commentaries written later after his *Sigillum*, his *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* (this time exploring the lovers-relationship from the already well-established Church-Christ perspective), was, according to Fulton Brown, "as popular in its own time as Bernard's sermons on the Song."[99] Even though the later *Expositio* (ca. 1132) is an ecclesial, not Marian, interpretation,[100] it is far from a disavowal of the earlier *Sigillum*; Honorius, in the epilogue to the *Expositio*, states the following:

> This book therefore is read for the feast of St. Mary, who herself bears the type of the Church, who is virgin and mother … therefore everything that is said about the Church, may also be understood of the Virgin herself, the bride and mother of the bridegroom. There is a little book written by us, entitled Seal of St. Mary, in which the entire Songs are specially adapted to her person.[101]

His explicit "Marianizing" of this second commentary through allowing its contents to be applied to Mary, coupled with his explicit reference to the earlier work, indirectly augments the *Sigillum's* renown by an arguably wide margin. Even if a given community such as Hildegard's were not initially aware of it, Honorius's reference (or "advertising!") in the more popular *Expositio* would undeniably have awakened curiosity for the older interpretation, and may have been an impetus for possibly obtaining and

[97] Fulton, "The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs," 412.
[98] Fulton, "The Virgin Mary," 413-414.
[99] Ibid., 396.
[100] Ibid., 395-396.
[101] Quoted in "The Virgin Mary," 400.

copying it in a twelfth-century scriptorium, perhaps even the one at Rupertsberg.[102] Additionally, Lori Kruckenberg has noted that, beginning in the early twelfth century, female religious communities had a stronger affinity for the acquisitions of works by contemporary authors; reconstructions of female monastic libraries demonstrate the existence of both Rupert's and Honorius's writings in various communities, including those of the Benedictine order.[103]

Like Honorius's, Rupert of Deutz's commentary was popular: his *De Incarnatione Domini* was in fact his most famous biblical commentary, and exists today in "over forty manuscripts, all of which were copied in the German Empire."[104] The treatise's Germanic connection increases the possibility that Hildegard may have known this work. Her correspondence indicates that she had a number of contacts at Cologne and even preached there;[105] since Cologne is near Deutz, where Rupert not only became abbot in 1120 but also composed the Marian commentary,[106] it may have been almost impossible for her not to have been aware of *De Incarnatione Domini*.

Finally, Honorius and Rupert appear to have had some level of impact on Hildegard's own writings. Constant Mews suggests a possible influence of one of Honorius's later treatises, his *Imago mundi*. In Hildegard's *Scivias*, Book One, Vision

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[102] For more information on the scribal activities undertaken by Hildegard's community at Rupertsberg, see Margot Fassler, "Hildegard of Bingen and Her Scribes" in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), [final pagination unavailable].
[103] Lori Kruckenberg, "Literacy and Learning in the Lives of Women Religious of Medieval Germany," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), [final pagination unavailable].
[104] Fulton, "The Virgin Mary," 434.
[105] Theodoric, one of three biographers of Hildegard's vita, lists Cologne as one of five cathedral cities which she visited. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen and Her Gospel Homilies: Speaking New Mysteries* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 48-49.
[106] Fulton, "The Virgin Mary," 433-434.

Three on the universe and the forces of nature, she expands on a theme contained as well in the opening of Honorius's *Imago*: the universe envisioned in the form of a cosmic egg. She vividly describes the constant movement of the cosmos: "And that globe at times raised itself up, so that much fire flew to it and thereby its flames lasted longer; and sometimes sank downward and great cold came to it, so that its flames were more quickly subdued."[107] Because Honorius is the sole author among those using the cosmic egg analogy to describe it in terms of perpetual movement, Mews suggests that Hildegard likely encountered his work in some form at Disibodenberg.[108] This singular, concrete connection with one of Honorius's commentaries further substantiates the probability that Hildegard might have come into contact with other works by the same author, including possibly either the *Sigillum* or *Expositio* given their collective popularity.

The intermingling of ideas from Rupert of Deutz also can be observed in Hildegard's writings. Beverly Mayne Kienzle suggests that Hildegard was impacted by Rupert of Deutz's view on a "threefold, Trinitarian division of history"—clear traces of which can be seen in her exegesis of the gospel of Luke 19:41-47 in which she creates three homilies praising the work of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in separate stages of history.[109] Both Rupert and Hildegard, strikingly, extend the agency of the Holy Spirit into their current time, provoking Kienzle to suggest that Hildegard's "view of the Holy Spirit as the guiding force behind history probably owes much to Rupert."[110] Of course, the parallelism of visionary experience between the two writers cannot be overlooked:

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[107] Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias,* trans. Hart and Bishop, 93.
[108] Constant J. Mews, "Hildegard and the Schools," in *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of Her Thought and Art* (London: Warburg Institute, 1998), 98.
[109] Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen and Her Gospel Homilies*, 162.
[110] Ibid.

both Rupert and Hildegard ascribed the source of their exegetical understanding to visions.[111] These opening similarities of religious experience could arguably have attracted Hildegard of Bingen more strongly to Rupert of Deutz's works, facilitating a desire to know them more intimately, inevitably including his Marian commentary *De Incarnatione Domini*.

Conclusion

Mary's voice, as demonstrated through explicit Marian contexts as well as first-person Mariological allusion, was a significant phenomenon in the twelfth century. Even in situations when the first-person mode was not directly utilized, the persistent intrigue, loving request, and inner longing to hear her words spoken directly to the soul was never far from the surface of various writings. Anselm of Canterbury in his prayers, Bernard of Clairvaux in his sermons, William of Malmesbury in his compilation of Marian miracles—these authors and others manifested a clear, irrefutable wish to hear Mary speak, regardless of how much or how little their texts quantitatively assigned speaking parts to the Mother of God. In a similar fashion, Hildegard's explicit prayer of Mary to her Son, "O Fili dilectissime," while satisfying her own desire to hear Mary's voice in the particular context of the protection of the consecrated virgins in her community, is not her only "vocal" creation: the sapiential connections of first-person Mariological allusion in the liturgy, rooted in a long-established precedent in the lessons of the Carolingian period, subtly resurface within the texts of her explicitly Marian chants, as well as, possibly, the ordering of Marian chants in the Dendermonde manuscript. This Mariological "voicing" would have been experientially ascertained and aurally cemented

[111] Ibid., 29.

in the context of the liturgy for Marian feasts, facilitated by meaningful shifts in perspective such as we have seen in the first nocturn for Matins of the Assumption in Engelberg 103, a manuscript outlining a liturgical blueprint which arguably simulates what Hildegard herself may have experienced in her own community. Finally, the roots of first-person Mariological allusion in the liturgy through the sapiential literature blossom profusely in a unique twelfth-century contribution to biblical commentary: Marian commentaries on the Song of Songs, particularly those by Honorius and Rupert of Deutz, who each enact creative ways of expanding Mary's conversations even further, highlighting in the process her intimate relationship with Christ as the Bridegroom. Not only do they consciously draw to the surface and confirm a phenomenon which would already have been experienced in the liturgy, but they employ their own exegetical methods to elaborate more deeply on Mary's role and agency through her speech, a theme which arguably reaches its peak with Rupert's attribution of *magistra apostolorum.* Given the prominence of these works in the twelfth century as well as traces of influences of both writers in Hildegard's works, I suggest that it is likely that she would have known these Marian commentaries, and that their particular emphasis on Mary's speech may have had an impact on her music, as I will address more closely in chapter four.

Ultimately, and most importantly, Hildegard's Mariology receives a new dimension of understanding through the theme of Mary's voice, and exploring her contributions in this vein will demonstrate her complete immersion in a distinctive Mariological *ethos* of her time, one which includes this poignant first-person emphasis on Mary. With this vocal contextualization in mind, we now proceed to a close inquiry of

the means by which Mariological allusion through musical intertextuality become apparent in selected liturgical plainchants, particularly those of Hildegard of Bingen.

Chapter Three: Mariological Allusion Applied to Women Through Musical Intertextuality

In the year 1176, Guibert of Gembloux, on behalf of the monks at the monastery of Villers, wrote a letter to Hildegard in which he reverentially praises her and compares her to Mary:

> *Hail*, therefore, lady *full of grace*, after Mary, *the Lord is with you*. *Blessed are you among women* [cf. Luke 1.28] and blessed the speech of your mouth, which conveys the secrets of invisible things to men, and couples the heavenly to the earthly, and joins the divine to the human. Believing this with our whole heart, we confess with our mouth that you are the fountain of gardens, the well of living water that flows from Libanus [cf. Cant 4.15].[1]

This singular praise by a monk who eagerly would proceed to write and revise Hildegard's *vitae* after her death (one being his own version surviving in a letter he sent to Bovo at Gembloux, the other being a revision of Theodoric's *Vita Hildegardis*),[2] is not a mere extolling of her level of virtue; it is a conscious application of a scriptural text and prayer explicitly associated with Mary, the *Ave Maria*, to Hildegard herself. This reference is emphasized in the next sentence through their "believing this with our whole heart" (in what appears to be a carefully framed *sequitur*), in which Guibert and the monks of Villers apply a verse from chapter four of the Song of Songs to Hildegard, lauding her as a "fountain of gardens, the well of living water." The premise that Hildegard is a type of Mary, earning her this "Hail, lady full of grace," propels the conclusion that she must also be honored with Song of Songs terminology, an association

[1] Letter 108, "The Monk Guibert to Hildegard," vol. 2, Baird and Ehrman, 44. Italics are mine; bracketed scriptural references are in source.
[2] Silvas, "General Introduction," in *Jutta and Hildegard*, xxi-xxii.

which, as we have already seen, is consonant with the singing and awareness of the Song of Songs in Marian liturgies as well as the writing of twelfth-century Marian commentaries on the Canticle.[3]

Similarly, the Abbot of Brauweiler appropriates a portion of the Magnificat when he writes to Hildegard, imploring her counsel regarding the exorcism of "a certain noble woman, obsessed for some years by a malevolent spirit":[4]

> It has spread abroad in popular talk what the Lord has brought about in your regard, namely, *he who is mighty has done great things through you, and holy is his name* (Lk. 1:49).… All our hope is, after God, in you.… Thus shall the overflowing kindness of our Redeemer condescend through you to bring the labour of our toil and our grief to abundant fruition in gladness and exultation, when he brings to nothing all the error and infidelity of men and sets free this obsessed handmaid of God.[5]

In this example, Mary's own speech to her cousin Elizabeth is applied to Hildegard, but with a clear change of perspective: Hildegard is not saying this of herself as Mary did; the words are applied instead by the Abbot of Brauweiler in second person. The Mariological allusion continues with the words "all our hope is, after God, in you," not because the Abbot in any way doubts the Virgin's power to free the obsessed woman, but because the demon himself has related that he can only be expelled through Hildegard; thus in this particular situation she necessarily becomes the "Mary" in whom all hope must be placed after God. Finally, the acknowledgement and desire that the Redeemer will "condescend through you" (fashioning Hildegard into a kind of mediatrix like Mary) to bring about the

[3] Honorius draws out the Marian element with this specific verse in his *Sigillum* when he has Christ say of His Mother: "From you flows *the fountain of gardens*, that is, through you comes the baptism of the faithful" (*The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 68).
[4] "The Life of Hildegard," in *Jutta and Hildegard*, trans. Silvas, 196.
[5] Ibid.

woman's liberation, with God bringing to nothing "all the error and infidelity of men," alludes to a subtle continuation of the Magnificat, bringing to mind the text: "He hath shewed might in his arm: he hath scattered the proud in the conceit of their heart; He hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble" (Luke 1:51-52). More specifically, the contrast which the Abbot sets up between the sinfulness of the men attempting to exorcize this woman and Hildegard's high level of virtue manifests his effort to humble himself and his associates before a woman—much as he might do were he praying to the holy Virgin herself. The expression of confidence in Hildegard's intercession is because she has become, in a sense, another Mary; the Mariological allusion here thus indirectly emphasizes Mary's agency rather than detracting from it, while simultaneously not minimizing Hildegard's own status of virtue.

These two cases demonstrate a kind of Mariological allusion which we have not yet observed in this thesis: applying ideas or terminology associated with Mary to individual human beings. The Mariological climate of the twelfth century facilitated this kind of allusion extending beyond just these eloquent addresses to Hildegard; in fact, Hildegard herself practices this phenomenon of applying Mariological allusion in her *vita* to St. Rupert, where she likens Rupert's mother, Bertha, to Mary several times. When speaking of Rupert's conception and birth, Hildegard draws a direct parallel with the Nativity: "For she finally conceived and bore a son, if one may be permitted to put it thus, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, just as the blessed mother of God, Mary, did her son [cf. Lk. 2:7]."[6] Hildegard also has Rupert refer to his own mother in

[6] Hildegard of Bingen, *Two Hagiographies: Vita sancti Rupperti confessoris, Vita sancti Dysibodi episcopi,* translated by Hugh Feiss, O.S.B., edited by Christopher P. Evans (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 48 and 49 (square brackets in source). Note that Hildegard takes particular care to ensure that the Mariological allusion does not in any way displace the original honor due to Mary by using the words "etsi dicere

Mariological terms through his acts of charity: "For, as little boys do, he found poor little boys and brought them to his mother and said: 'Mother, behold your sons'"[7] (Mater, ecce filii tui) echoing Christ's words from the cross to His mother: "Woman, behold thy son" (Mulier, ecce filius tuus) (John 19:26). Significantly, Hildegard's application of Mariological allusion to Bertha demonstrates that, while her writings consistently show that she considers virginity to be the highest calling, it does not inhibit her from extolling another woman in Mariological terms both as a married woman and as a widow (although Bertha is able to more fully dedicate her life to God later in her life as a widow, Hildegard's application of Luke 2:7 clearly spotlights Bertha's "Marianized" holiness in the married state).

This kind of Mariological allusion also appears to have had some measure of impact on the status of women in positions of leadership. One particularly intriguing twelfth-century scenario involves the abbey at Fontevrault. Its statutes, drawn up by the founder of the order, Robert d'Arbrissel, not only established that an abbess should be and always remain the head of the community of monks and nuns (which by the years 1140-1150 consisted of about five thousand religious altogether),[8] but that she also should be a widow, personifying Mary as the mother to whom the monks owe their subservience in the way that John the Evangelist did (once again drawing out the "Behold

liceret" (if one may be allowed to say so). She does not wish to create a direct equalization of Bertha with Mary, nor of the biblical moment of Christ's birth with Rupert's (thus respecting the unique sacredness and singularity of the Nativity) although she draws out the connection in order to extol the high level of virtue of Rupert and Bertha who mirror a kind of Christ/Mary relationship.

[7] Ibid., *Vita sancti Rupperti confessoris,* 56 and 57.

[8] Régine Pernoud, *Women in the Days of the Cathedrals*, translated by Anne Côté-Harriss (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1998), 113-114. Pernoud recounts d'Arbrissel's emphatic ruling on the matter of a female leader of his community: "I have therefore decided … that during my life, an abbess should direct this congregation; and after my death let no one dare contradict these decisions that I have taken." Quoted in Pernoud, 114.

thy mother" scriptural association).[9] Such service would have taken on particular symbolism in the profession of the monks, in which they "owed her obedience and made their profession with their hands in hers."[10] This unique instance of Mariological allusion applied to the abbesses of Fontevrault thus may have been consistently associated with a Marian kind of authority, one to which both monks and nuns readily submitted themselves. I also suggest that, since Rupert of Deutz's Marian commentary on the Song of Songs applies the word *magistra* to Mary, framing her as an active *magistra apostolorum*, this popular work may have helped fuse Mariological connotations with the very authority of the women in charge of their monastic communities as *magistras* in the twelfth century. Mariological allusion to women in the twelfth century thus perhaps not only functioned as a tool for extolling their virtue, and for rejoicing, and perhaps fulfilling a deep longing for, "new Marys" becoming incarnate in the world, but also in certain situations may have impacted their level of agency as authority figures.

Although these cases provide essential context for and manifest another form of Mariological allusion in the twelfth century, this phenomenon is not restricted solely to textual likening of an individual with Mary. In medieval culture, this form of Mariological allusion also occurs through the medium of musical intertextuality in medieval plainchant, by which melodies/melodic content associated with Marian chants are applied in some form to other medieval plainchants written for saints' feasts in the liturgy. These melodies, through calling to mind the original associations with Mary,

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[9] Ibid., 114. It should be noted as well that Hildegard applies the phrase "God's chosen widow" (vidua Dei electa) to Bertha when reflecting on her apostolate after the death of her son; it is possible that, in light of potential associations of widowhood with Mary in the twelfth century (as is clearly articulated in the Fontevrault scenario), that she was reinforcing the Mariological allusion at this point in the vita's narrative. See *Vita sancti Rupperti confessoris,* 74 and 75.
[10] Pernoud, *Women in the Days of the Cathedrals*, 113.

fulfill the effect of "Marianizing" those saints to a certain extent, except that it happens through music instead of merely through text.

In this chapter, I will closely analyze the manifestations of Mariological allusion through musical intertextuality, specifically as it is applied to female saints, through what I will show was a clear "Marianizing" of female figures in the twelfth century and beyond. I will first provide an in-depth discussion on musical intertextuality in medieval plainchant, including a description of the methodology I am employing and rationale by means of which one can discover legitimate and certifiable cases of musical referencing in medieval plainchant. I will then explore and discuss case studies of Mariological allusion applied to female figures though musical intertextuality, and the ways in which the musical reference crafts a specific kind of association with Mary. Finally, I will consider examples in which musical intertextuality is applied to chants composed in honor of the Virgin herself, and how these musical resonances augment and expound upon an already clear Marian context in a way that text alone is not capable of doing. As in the preceding chapter, I will illustrate Hildegard's contributions to this phenomenon through her musical output and unveil enlightening new aspects of her Mariology.

Musical Intertextuality in Medieval Plainchant: The Question of "Sound and Sense"

While text by itself had the power to shape and create an application of Mariological allusion, text coupled with music enhanced Mariological allusion in a whole new way. Another dimension was added—musical sound, and with another dimension came another layer of association. In medieval plainchant, music and text were combined into a single entity, thus fashioning one main liturgical idea or set of ideas. The melodies themselves, therefore, when extracted from the texts, had the potential to retain their

original liturgical and thematic connotations. A melody from one chant text could be reused, in whole or in part, in another chant melody assigned to a completely new text; or, more simply, the same melody itself, with minimal alteration, could be transplanted to a new text, becoming a contrafact. The resulting intertextuality on a musical canvas meant that melodies had the potential to fuse together multiple ideas at once, by calling to mind two texts—the old and the new—in a single chant. Marian associations thus could be layered and compounded through the tools of expression available through medieval plainchant.

This phenomenon of musical intertextuality, along with its power to invoke simultaneous associations of religious themes from two different texts, was not foreign to Hildegard of Bingen. Margot Fassler summarizes a threefold methodology to Hildegard's relationship of music and text in her liturgical plainchants, alluding to the role of musical intertextuality at the end:

> There are basically three ways in which music interacted with text in the twelfth-century world of Hildegard of Bingen's new liturgical compositions. First of all, music served to proclaim the sounds of the words and sentences and often to underscore various structural levels, from phrases to sentences to larger units. Second, it worked by genre, every class of liturgical piece having a particular style and historical sense growing out of the style. And third, music was capable of bearing symbolic meanings, both because of its association with genre and style and also because of the power generated by particular famous melodies, which, charged with the sense of their texts and positions in the liturgy, could be reused with new texts and offer symbolic meanings to new words through past associations.[11]

The agency of familiar melodies in facilitating "symbolic meanings" through reuse and borrowing was not exclusively a feature of Hildegard's music nor of twelfth-century

[11] Fassler, "Composer and Dramatist," in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. Barbara Newman, 161-162.

compositions. Jennifer Bain, in her assessment of musical intertextuality in Hildegard's compositions, contextualizes the broader phenomenon of musical intertextuality in the culture of medieval plainchant, stating that, "Composers also borrowed melodies and set new texts to them … if monks or nuns knew both versions of the chant, they might hear one as they sang the other and new meanings would be understood from considering both simultaneously."[12] The underlying concepts of reuse and simultaneity are echoed in both Fassler's and Bain's assessment of musical referencing. In the case of Hildegard, Fassler reiterates the resonating capabilities of melody: "By reusing the notes … she [Hildegard] could bring to the mind of singers and listeners its text as well, making sound and sense resonate simultaneously within her own song."[13]

The question of what constitutes a case of "sound and sense," however, deserves further investigation. How can one tell, for instance, if there is a real correlation between the two, by means of which additional meaning is communicated through musical referencing? Moreover, situating this question within the context of this thesis necessitates another consideration: if meaning can be established, when is it Mariological in nature? While a comprehensive assessment of these questions is beyond the scope of the present study, I suggest the following: because of the prominence of Mary in medieval culture, and because medieval texts themselves demonstrate cases of Mariological intertextuality and allusion,[14] intertextual techniques would have been

[12] Bain, "Music, Liturgy, and Intertextuality," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, [final pagination unavailable].
[13] Fassler, "Composer and Dramatist," in *Voice of the Living Light*, 166.
[14] At this juncture, an important distinction must be made between my use of the phrase "Mariological intertextuality" and "Mariological allusion." Mariological allusion is a broader phenomenon of applying ideas or contexts associated with Mary to that which is not necessarily connected with Mary or is not intrinsically Mariological. "Mariological intertextuality," on the other hand, is a specific subset of allusion addressing the specific medium, i.e. text or music, which creates an explicit Marian association *and* has its origins in another source. For instance, situating verses from the Song of Songs within a Marian feast

readily applied to melodies associated with Marian themes.[15] The melodies of medieval chants provide apt material, both for assessing suspected instances of musical intertextuality and for exploring potential cases of Mariological allusion. I will show that Mariological allusion through musical intertextuality does exist within Hildegard's music, evoking a simultaneity of "sound and sense" by which Mariological ideas are revealed, expounded and elaborated on, and embodied in a special manner. Because Hildegard's compositions can be firmly attributed to her, and because scholars have already analyzed her compositional techniques at length, both at the phrase and motivic

creates Mariological allusion because a Marian context is applied to texts which taken in and of themselves are not intrinsically Mariological. However, while the placement of scriptural texts such as the Song of Songs in a Marian feast or in a Marian commentary creates examples of Mariological allusion, I do not call these instances "Mariological intertextuality," since these sapiential texts in and of themselves, while they come from another source (i.e., scripture), do not create the allusion; it is the feast day or framing of the commentary that does. Additional Marian texts in the feast day, however, could *enhance* and help facilitate the allusion, such as the use of the Magnificat and prayers directly addressing Mary in the first nocturn for the Assumption at Matins in Engelberg 103; these Marian texts function intertextually in the new feast, and, as we saw, lent credence and a stronger tone of historicity to the sapiential texts used in the same nocturn. Mariological allusion is created by an explicitly Marian source (i.e., a feast day, scriptural text/prayer clearly associated with Mary, melody taken from a Marian chant, etc.) which "overshadows" the particular context, imbuing and infusing it with connections to the Virgin herself. A case of Mariological allusion might also be a case of Mariological intertextuality, though not always, since the former refers more to the overarching concept; the latter to the medium from an outside source which either creates or facilitates the Marian connection.

[15] David Rothenberg's *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) provides a brilliant exposé of the ways in which melodies and texts associated with Mary were applied intertextually in both sacred and secular polyphony from ca.1200-ca.1500, creating multiple layers of resonance and evidencing a long-lasting usage of musical Mariological intertextuality extending beyond the medium of medieval plainchant. Other discussions of Marian melodies and texts applied intertextually in polyphony include, but are not limited to, Aaron James' "*Salve Regina Barbara*: The Adaptation and Reuse of Marian Motets," *Early Music* 45, no. 2 (May 2017): 217-230, and Michael Alan Anderson's "Enhancing the *Ave Maria* in the Ars Antiqua," *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 19, no. 1 (2010): 35-65, especially 55-65. Intriguingly, as late as the nineteenth century Hildegard of Bingen was honored through an instance of Mariological intertextuality through music: Ludwig Schneider, in his planning of the devotional service celebrating Hildegard's feast day on September 17th, 1857, applied the melody of a German hymn addressed to Mary, "Ave Maria klare," to the text "O sancta Hildegardis." The service closes with an antiphon addressed to Hildegard, "Ave Hildegardis," which uses the melody of a Marian chant. See Bain, *Hildegard of Bingen and Musical Reception*, 85-92. Given the application of a Marian melody to Hildegard twice in the same service, the Mariological allusion is unlikely to be coincidental.

level, studying her use of Mariological allusion through musical intertextuality also provides additional insight into her compositional process.

Methodology

In order to assess a case of musical intertextuality, and whether or not it constitutes an instance of Mariological allusion, I am employing a methodology which draws upon both digital tools as enabled through the CANTUS Database and upon analytical techniques developed by Jennifer Bain. [16] Once I have ascertained an intertextual relationship through visual and aural analysis, I conduct an examination of contextual factors (the liturgical occasion designation, text, thematic material, etc.), to establish whether a Mariological allusion is present or not.

The CANTUS Database provides indices for medieval manuscripts (including antiphoners, graduals, and breviaries) containing plainchants, facilitates easy access to digitized images of medieval manuscripts in online archives (where available), and offers searching capabilities for determining which chants (both by text and melody) are in which manuscripts, including how many known concordances there are with the chant in question (searching across the CANTUS Index network of related chant databases).[17] The capacity to search by melody is essential for assessing musical intertextuality, made possible on the CANTUS Database through the Melody Search Tool, which searches all chant melodies digitally transcribed into the CANTUS Database. Through this tool one can input any series of up to fourteen pitches and assess how many chant melodies, based

[16] *CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant-Inventories of Chant Sources*, directed by Debra Lacoste (2011-), Terence Bailey (1997-2010), and Ruth Steiner (1987-1996), web developer, Jan Koláček (2011-), available from http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/, accessed April 18th, 2020.
[17] Ibid.

on a certain number of corresponding notes in sequence, match up with the melody in question (with the option of searching either at the beginning of or anywhere within the chant melody). The tool also provides the option of searching for both exact matches and transpositions of an inputted melody; the results do not differentiate based on qualitative intervallic relationships, however, but rather only by distance (so major and minor thirds are not distinguished in a single melody search). Consequently, for research purposes, the net is cast wide enough to encompass many potential matches, while still necessitating manual analysis/investigation after the data has been collected to verify actual matches. The Melody Search Tool, coupled with subsequent analysis, factors into my research and thesis argument, given its potential, not only to uncover melodic concordances, but also, because these melodic concordances come from indexed manuscripts within CANTUS, to discover their context: the textual incipits corresponding with the chant melody, the associated genre or genres, the feast or lists of feasts for which the melody is sung, the manuscripts or groups of manuscripts it is found in, their temporal and geographical status, etc. It is this contextual information which helps one determine whether a discovered instance of musical intertextuality is also a subject of Mariological allusion.

It is important to note that only melodies for which pitches can be conclusively determined (staffed neumes) are transcribed on the CANTUS Database; therefore, other manuscript sources containing staffless neumes (diastematic or adiastematic) will need a different approach instead of the Melody Search Tool, although this device is a crucial starting point. If, based on the results of the Melody Search Tool, a chant melody with corresponding text incipit is especially prominent, the next step is to determine how many concordances that melody holds across manuscripts. The number of concordances across

manuscripts is a key factor, because it helps indicate whether or not a melody believed to have an intertextual relationship with the original chant melody in question would have been widespread in its usage (considered both temporally and regionally), and thus more commonly recognized in a new context. If those concordances are of a significant number and include chants from manuscripts featuring adiastematic notation, then I will compare the melodic contour, in lieu of exact pitches, with staffed sources as a fixed point of reference. In this manner, melodies can be assessed more easily across both staffed and staffless neumed sources, thus allowing one to confirm or negate possible concordances of a given melody. This method of comparison is important for assessing regional or temporal variations within the same melody, which can be useful in determining which specific variation of a chant melody might have been the basis for an intertextual connection.

After confirming that the melodic concordances in relation to the search string appear to be significant, one can utilize theoretical analysis to ascertain what role the intertextual relationship plays in the fabric of the melody within which it has been incorporated, and what techniques the composer is using to emphasize or bring the intertextual connection to the forefront. For this, a closer look at the original notation and techniques used therein will be necessary. Additionally, Jennifer Bain's principle of "varied repetition" is an indispensable tool specifically in relation to analyzing Hildegard's music. Bain first applied this method of analysis to Hildegard's sequence "O Jerusalem" in which she assessed Hildegard's propensity for elaborating (expanding and contracting) her melodic structures based on syllabic content while still maintaining the sequence form and overall structure. By measuring Hildegard's melodic techniques

against a contextualized constant (the sequence genre and its formal protocols in medieval plainchant), Bain has demonstrated that Hildegard varied her melodic structures in such a manner as to still preserve *the auditory perception of repetition*, albeit in a varied form.[18] This concept of "auditory perception" is significant, and helps establish whether or not melodic intertextual connections are present, and, if so, whether or not they generate associations with the *Mater Dei*. Although the genres of her music which I am analyzing are not sequences, I will indicate ways in which Bain's discovery of "varied repetition" in Hildegard's music can be used as a lens to zoom in on specific instances of referencing or quotation in other genres,[19] in order to assess whether or not these references are repeated (varied or not), and if so, whether or not they reinforce the initial reference. I will also indicate how Bain's concept of "varied repetition" (sound) connects with the medieval process of "rumination" (sense) by means of which chant texts, through the medium of melodic repetition, would have generated extensive, ruminative meditation, probing and excavating the depths of a spiritual concept.[20] If an intertextual reference visually and aurally repeats in a manner suggesting "rumination," this points to its deeper theological significance, whether in Mariological terms or otherwise.

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[18] Jennifer Bain, "Varied Repetition in Hildegard's Sequence for St. Rupert: *O Ierusalem aurea civitas*," in *Analytical Essays on Music by Women Composers: Sacred and Secular Music to 1900*, edited by Brenda Ravenscroft and Laurel Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 4-46.

[19] It is important to note that Bain indicates the applicability of this method to other genres besides the sequence, mentioning her own use of it in assessing musical intertextuality within Hildegard's chant repertory. See Bain, "Music, Liturgy, and Intertextuality," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, [final pagination unavailable].

[20] Fassler, "Composer and Dramatist," 162. Fassler states that *ruminatio* is the most significant concept one should aurally listen for within Hildegard's music.

The Nature and Function of Musical Intertextuality in Plainchant

Before proceeding to examples of musical analysis applying the preceding methodology, there are some brief but important points I would like to make regarding the nature and function of musical referencing/intertextuality in plainchant, specifically in contradistinction to other musical genres. Musical intertextuality, while not necessarily discussed with that specific terminology (the term "reference" is more common), has received significant discussion in musicological research, without being confined to a single genre or time period in music history. Scholars have raised questions about musical aesthetics, and about determining the identification, nature, and function of musical referencing in varying genres and contexts.

Various scholars, for instance, have addressed the issue of quotation (as a subset of musical referencing) and have grappled with the issue of how to determine criteria and parameters for assessing musical quotation.[21] V. A. Howard, for instance, demonstrates the difficulty in defining the parameters of musical "quotation," a term itself derived from and understood well in the context of language, since there is no semantic equivalence of music to language itself. While assessing and making distinctions between various categories of referencing, he acknowledges the challenges of ascertaining them definitively in musical terms, concluding that reference "is vaguely established at best by vague contextual criteria."[22] Jeanette Bicknell concurs with the challenges of determining a quotational reference, echoing the fundamental question: how do we determine what

[21] It is important to note that these scholars are not specifically dealing with quotation in plainchant, instead assessing the practice of musical quotation in larger-scale vocal and instrumental works from the eighteenth century onward.
[22] V. A. Howard, "On Musical Quotation," *The Monist*, 58, no. 2 (April 1974): 315, 307-318.

constitutes an "auditory equivalent of quotation marks?"[23] The ultimate issue these authors bring to the forefront is how to determine whether or not a reference is merely a coincidental "containment" of the same musical phrase or is *intended* to be an actual "reference" (which in turn leads us back to my initial question: what constitutes, using Fassler's phrase, "sound AND sense")?

While I do not intend to launch into a full-fledged dialectic on the question of reference and musical aesthetics, awareness of such discussion raises an important issue: the recognition of a quotation by a target audience, which is where referencing in medieval plainchant, as opposed to musical referencing in other genres, time periods, and contexts in music history, has a unique stronghold. While both scholars concur that recognition of a quotation is merely a symptom, not a criterion, of a reference, Bicknell emphasizes that "for a musical quotation to be aesthetically effective as quotation, it is crucial that the composer's intended audience recognize it."[24] While a target audience, particularly in relation to nineteenth- or twentieth-century music, might have been an elite or select few (and in fact, various composers implemented "concealed" referential techniques to be recognized primarily by a selective group),[25] the target audience for a

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[23] Jeanette Bicknell, "The Problem of Reference in Musical Quotation: A Phenomenological Approach," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 59, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 185-186, accessed April 10th, 2020, https://www.jstor.org/stable/432223.

[24] Bicknell, "The Problem of Reference," 188. She also suggests that, instead of struggling to define the musical analog of quotation marks, we should aesthetically view musical quotation as what she calls "nonreferential quotation," since in modern parlance we quote other sources and do not necessarily formally state when we are employing direct quotation, expecting that the person or persons to whom we project the reference will "get it" (188-189). In medieval writings and discourse, it is precisely the case that, at times, "nonreferential quotation" is used (such that editors will often provide footnotes or brackets clarifying the source of the quotation, which often would include scriptural texts). This extensive and liberal "sprinkling" of intertextuality in medieval texts would have naturally translated to musical intertextuality as well.

[25] Philip Keppler, Jr., "Some Comments on Musical Quotation," *The Musical Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (October 1956): 473-485, accessed March 24th, 2020, https://www.jstor.org/stable/740256.

medieval plainchant reference, when considered in the context of monastic communities, would have been none other than the religious congregation itself. Each member was immersed constantly in each melody or set of melodies for the hours of the Divine Office, the Mass, and any other liturgical/extra-liturgical services throughout the entire liturgical year. Life was centered around, not just merely attending or observing, but in fully participating and ultimately embodying the liturgy through singing it in each changing (and unchanging) liturgical context. Consequently, medieval plainchant referencing, and its potential for communicable "sound and sense," is distinctive in the following ways:

1) Plainchant melodies were sung by the whole community (notwithstanding antiphonal performance or the use of select cantors to sing specific chants), meaning that perception of a reference would have been heightened, not just by regular/cyclic liturgical practice, but also by physical participation. The level of aural familiarity with any given chant was therefore greatly augmented through an important sensory mechanism—the human voice. Consequently, one would become acquainted with a musical reference on multiple sensory levels, heightening the ability to perceive both the reference and its potential meaning. However, an audience's recognition of musical referencing in other genres and contexts (including the passive concert setting—a far cry from the level of performative repetition experienced in a liturgical setting) would not have been achieved through the act of physical performance. As such, it may not always be discernable even to the most musically educated, since the original reference itself would not have been deeply embodied through multisensory treatment. While perhaps still detected aurally (especially if a reference or quotation, in context of the greater work, strongly differs stylistically

from the musical techniques of the composer),[26] the experience of the reference would nonetheless lack a holistic treatment, unlike the scenario of medieval plainchant.

2) Plainchant (or monody in general) is, by its very nature, transparent. While a plainchant reference in a monodic context would not have been augmented by the harmonic or contrapuntal structures typical of polyphonic music, neither would it have been obscured by them, or hidden within the fabric of a thicker musical texture.[27] This level of transparency afforded by a clear melodic line, sung in unison by the religious congregation, would make it easier for a musical reference to be detected, if not the first time it is sung, upon repeated performances.[28]

3) Finally, and most importantly, one must consider the "memorial archive" concept, discussed by Anna Maria Busse Berger in her *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*.[29] Agobard of Lyon in his *De antiphonario* implies a system of rigorous repetition by monastic singers over a vast period of time: " 'Most of them have spent all the days of their life from earliest youth to gray age in the preparation and development of their singing.'"[30] Busse Berger describes how, despite the introduction of notation, the monks and nuns would have continued the practice of singing from memory, thus amassing an immense repertoire of chant throughout their lives, reinforced through mnemonic devices

[26] See Bicknell's discussion of "secondary material" in "The Problem of Reference," 186-187.
[27] This is the case, for instance, with Oliver Messiaen's borrowings and reworkings of material from Debussy's music, including from his opera *Pelléas et Mélisande*. See Yves Balmer, Thomas Lacote, and Christopher Brent Murray, "Messiaen the Borrower: Recomposing Debussy through the Deforming Prism," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2016): 699-791, particularly 718-734.
[28] This is where the concept of *rumination*, and Bain's "varied repetition" concept, might elucidate information regarding the role of repetition in possibly drawing attention to a reference.
[29] Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 45.
[30] Quoted in Busse Berger, "Tonaries: A Tool for Memorizing Chant," in *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 47.

(of which written notation became a subset, without subsuming oral memorization practices).[31] Because of this, and because in Benedictine communities like Hildegard's one would easily sing at least six hours of chant repertoire a day,[32] the level of repetition would have enhanced the singer's ability to distinguish, by text and by melody, one plainchant from another, with a deeply rooted sense of their similarities and differences. Given the overall consistency of repetition, both on a macro and microcosmic level, understanding and embodying the inner meanings of the melodies associated with their texts would have been a continuous practice, meaning that perception of musical references would most likely have been fairly uniform in the community; extensive familiarity with both melodies and their original texts would have facilitated a greater awareness of cross-pollinated significations. However, perception of musical references in, for instance, nineteenth-century abstract instrumental works, would not have been as uniform, since recognition/detection of any intertextual insertions often depended on the level of musical understanding and aural ability of a select few. The medieval monastic environment represents a stark contrast, since perpetual repetition and memorization would engender perpetual distinguishing and differentiation, or, to put it simply, knowing something on a deeper and deeper level through repeated use.

This concept of "knowing"—a theme which I will be returning to throughout my analysis of Hildegard's musical referencing practices—relates directly to a form of embodiment by which the performer would become thoroughly immersed in, and in a sense become one with, the music itself. Furthermore, because sung liturgical practices

[31] Ibid., 47-50.
[32] Ibid., 49.

were interspersed with periods of meditative silence, the environmental conditions and contexts of monastic life themselves provided optimal levels of focus. They reinforced and continuously deepened the process of memorization of the chant melody in question, along with its textual (and potentially intertextual) associations, creating "knowledge" in the fullest, consummate sense of the term. Because of this kind of "knowing" through deep memorization, I suggest that most cases of musical intertextuality would have been readily detected by the musical recipients, who themselves, far from passive onlookers, were actively becoming one with the "inter-textualized" chant themselves, deepening its potential theological significance in their liturgical practices.

In summation of the preceding points, I would like to emphasize that the crucial difference between the art of musical referencing in medieval plainchant versus in other genres lies in a heightened perception, both by the composer and by the other members of the religious community, fostering a greater likelihood that references would have been meaningfully employed, and, in many cases, readily detected. Because of the multifaceted embodiment of the liturgy—not for a single occasion—but throughout their entire lives, the participants would themselves have been, in threefold fashion: listeners, performers, and memorial archives, with a well-developed focus and awareness of the melodies they were singing. Most importantly, through repetition of the liturgy throughout the year, they would achieve the ability to distinguish between many different kinds and variations of melody, even those which are similar to each other, through constant repetition, ruminations, and endless embodiment, leading to true "knowledge" of their chants.

It is with these contexts in mind that we can now turn to analyzing examples of Mariological allusion applied to female saints through musical intertextuality, including specific liturgical plainchants by Hildegard of Bingen.

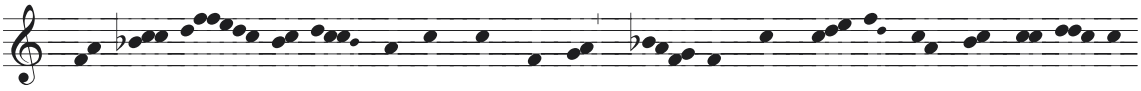
Mariological Allusion Through Musical Intertextuality Applied to Female Saints

One of the central "ingredients" in a musical scenario of Mariological allusion is a chant melody which has explicit and irrefutable associations with a Marian text. Otherwise it would be more difficult to discover, let alone prove, that a case of musical referencing suggests Marian connotations. Because of this, one means of using the Melody Search Tool on the CANTUS Database to search for Mariological allusion, is to input a melody for a Marian chant, and observe what the results show. Given the importance of the votive Marian antiphons in the twelfth century, one of them— "Alma redemptoris mater"—will serve as an example here.

At the outset, it is useful to consider the opening of "Alma redemptoris mater" (typically in mode 5 in authentic range with a corresponding F final). Example 3.1 includes the openings of four versions found in the CANTUS Database using the Melody Search Tool.

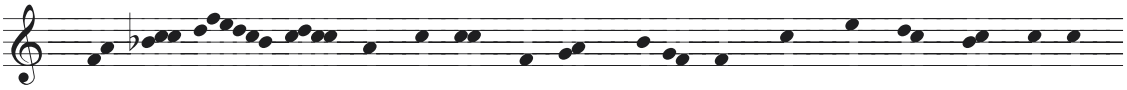
Example 3.1 Sample transcriptions of the opening of "Alma redemptoris mater" from multiple manuscripts (listed at the upper-right side of each excerpt is the manuscript siglum, the folio on which the chant appears, and the feast designation in each manuscript, respectively) [33]

A-KN 1012, folio 052r, Assumptio Mariae, 8



Al- ma re-demp-to- ris ma- ter quae per- vi- a cae- li

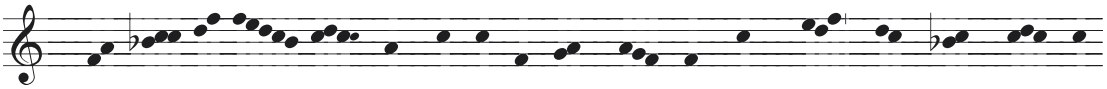
F-Pnm lat. 12044, folio 177v, Assumptio Mariae



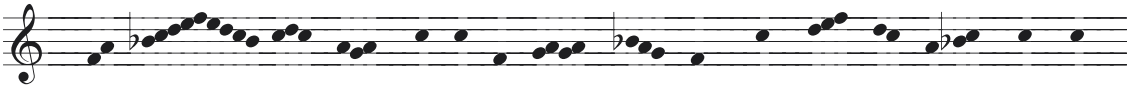
Al- ma re-demp-to-ris ma- ter quae per- vi- a cae-li

[33] A-KN 1012, as already mentioned, is a twelfth-century antiphoner with a provenance of Klosterneuburg, Austria; F-Pnm lat. 12044 is an early twelfth-century antiphoner from St. Maur-des-Fossés; CH-P 18 is a twelfth-century gradual connected with Bellelay Abbey with potential origins in northeastern France; D-KA Aug. LX is a late twelfth-century antiphoner originating in Zwiefalten. See Debra Lacoste, Inventory of "Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift-Bibliothek, 1012," in *CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant-Inventories of Chant Sources*, directed by Debra Lacoste (2011-), Terence Bailey (1997-2010), and Ruth Steiner (1987-1996), web developer, Jan Koláček (2011-), available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123613, accessed April 18th, 2020; Denise Gallo and Keith Glaeske, Inventory of "Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France-Département des Manuscrits, latin 12044," edited by Debra Lacoste, additional fields added or edited by Alessandra Ignesti and Sheila Meadley Dunphy in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123628, accessed April 18th, 2020; Barbara Swanson, Inventory of "Porrentruy, Bibliothèque cantonale jurassienne, 18," edited by Debra Lacoste and Jennifer Bain, additional fields added or edited by Alessandra Ignesti, Marina Gallagher, and Shawn Henry in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/638308, accessed April 18th, 2020; Charles Downey, Joseph Metzinger, Keith Glaeske, Lila Collamore, and Richard Rice, Inventory of "Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek-Musikabteilung, Aug. LX," edited by Debra Lacoste, additional fields added or edited by Marina Gallagher, Shawn Henry, and Joel Oliver-Cormier in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123612, accessed April 18th, 2020.

CH-P 18, folio 003, Additamenta



D-KA Aug. LX, folio 236v, Suff. Mariae



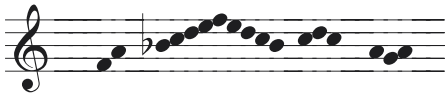
The value of the Melody Search Tool, as can be seen by the variances among just the opening phrases of these respective "Alma redemptoris mater" chants, lies in its ability to bring up results note by note (when set to "search the beginning of the melody"), with the numbers of results more or less gradually narrowing down as each subsequent note is added. This provides an effective strategy for researching this particular chant melody, especially since the Karlsruhe manuscript version includes a passing tone between the sixth and the octave at the peak of the first phrase (on the syllable "Al"), filling out the seventh and eliminating the leap of a third, unlike the profile for the ascending gesture in the other twelfth-century source examples. It is important to note as well that on the CANTUS Database there are listings for many other concordances of the "Alma redemptoris mater" with links to digital images of the chant; this small sampling of twelfth-century sources (once again, in line temporally with

Hildegard's own lifetime) is far from exhaustive, yet provides a general sense of regional variances across manuscript sources, even among those within a similar timeframe.[34]

This small difference in the ascending melodic gesture creates two different sets of results, each of which provides enlightening information. I will first discuss the results produced with the Karlsruhe manuscript opening of "Alma redemptoris mater." As Table 3.l indicates, the first five notes of "Alma redemptoris mater" show concordances with chants which collectively represent a wide range of liturgical occasions, from Barbara to John the Evangelist, from the Dedication of a Church to Holy Thursday (note that there are many more chants matching the first five notes of "Alma redemptoris mater" on CANTUS; those provided here are a representative sample). Although these feasts include those in honor of Mary, such as the Assumption and Visitation, the extensive variety of liturgical contexts does not directly support a case of Mariological allusion through musical intertextuality. However, the addition of the sixth note of "Alma redemptoris mater" drastically decreases the results to three chants, all of which, strikingly, are from offices of female saints: St. Catherine, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and St. Hedwig of Silesia. All three chants share up to the first ten notes of "Alma redemptoris mater," after which only one chant— "Alma pupillorum mater" from the Office of St. Hedwig—continues to share melodic content with "Alma redemptoris mater" up to the fourteen-note limit of the CANTUS Melody Search Tool.

[34] While acknowledging the benefits of the Melody Search Tool in its ability to search for verbatim sequences of notes, its limitations are also enclosed within those capabilities, since it is currently not able to search for broader musical phrases, melodic contours, or additional varied structural devices, being confined only to exact note-by-note searches.

Table 3.1 Chant Incipits Sharing Pitches with "Alma redemptoris mater" (D-KA Aug. LX)[35]



Al- ma

Chant Incipits	**Liturgical Occasion/Feast**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**
Alma pupillorum mater	Hedwig of Silesia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cornu salutis hodie	Elizabeth of Hungary	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Voce cordis et oris	Catherine	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Famulis se famulam	Elizabeth of Hungary	X									
Hoc mirandum cernite	Barbara	X									
Venit Maria nuntians	Mary Magdalene	X									
Septem ergo Maria	Mary Magdalene	X									
Maria virgo semper	Assumption of Mary	X									
Descendi in hortum nucum	Assumption of Mary	X									
Annuntiate salutare domini	Visitation of Mary	X									
Ascendit fumus aromatum	Michael	X									
Cibavit illum dominus	John the Evangelist	X									
Mecum est maxima	Dionysius	X									
Nesciens mater virgo	Nativity	X									
Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus	Holy Innocents	X									
In die tribulationis	Holy Thursday	X									
In Galilaea Jesum	Tuesdays in Eastertide	X									
Si merito invehimur	Crown of Thorns	X									

[35]*CANTUS*, available from http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/.

Chant Incipits	Liturgical Occasion/Feast	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Erexit Jacob lapidem	Dedication of a Church	X									

Because chants for the feasts of three female saints—Catherine, Elizabeth of Hungary, and Hedwig of Silesia—share the first ten pitches of "Alma redemptoris mater," it is possible that a musical reference is being used to connect all of these saints with the Virgin Mary. Of these three, however, "Alma pupillorum mater" is the most compelling. A closer assessment from the manuscript source, a thirteenth-century Cistercian antiphoner, indicates that the sequence of notes and overall contour of this chant is almost identical to the original Karlsruhe manuscript example of "Alma redemptoris mater," with just small note variations, making this essentially a contrafactum of the "Alma redemptoris mater" (see my partial transcription of the "Alma pupillorum mater" below in Example 3.2, with corresponding manuscript excerpt in Figure 3.1).[36]

[36] Recently I discovered a passing reference to the "melodic convergence between the beginning" of these two chants in Jerzy Morawski's first volume of *The History of Music in Poland*, though without the extensive analysis and comparison I provide here; I independently uncovered the full contrafactual relationship between "Alma pupillorum mater" and "Alma redemptoris mater" using the CANTUS Database research tools. See Jerzy Morawski, *The History of Music in Poland*, vol. 1, *The Middle Ages: Part 1: Up to 1320*, translated by John Comber (Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition, 2003), 565.

Example 3.2 Transcription of the opening of "Alma pupillorum mater"[37]

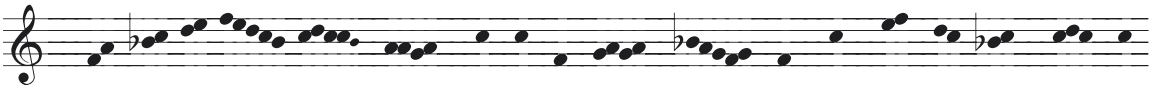
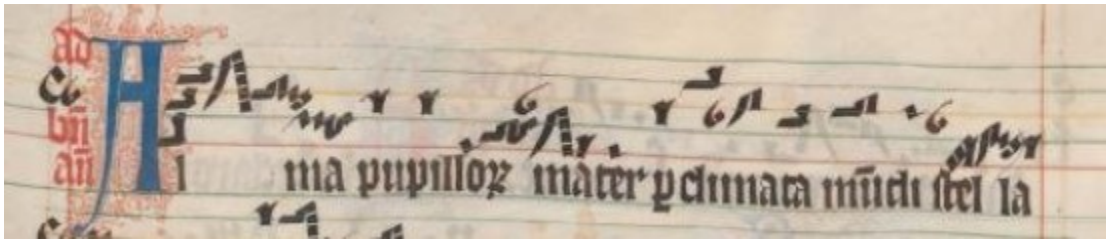


Figure 3.1 Lubiąż manuscript (thirteenth-century Cistercian antiphoner), PL-WRu I F 401, folio 221r



The striking, very explicit musical connection to the "Alma redemptoris mater" is augmented by shared words and identical phrase structures and syntax between the two separate texts, juxtaposed below in Table 3.2. The resonance of specific words, grammatical structures, syllable counts, and word stress can be ascertained from the outset when comparing the opening incipits: "Alma pupillorum mater, per climata mundi" and "Alma redemptoris mater, quae pervia caeli." As Table 3.2 shows, all of the lines share the same syllable counts, with the first four and seventh, eighth, and tenth lines sharing the same syllable count by word as well. Mutually shared words throughout the text such as "Alma" (loving), "mater" (mother), and "stella" (star), create

[37] Robert Bernagiewicz, Inventory of "Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (University Library), I F 401," edited by Debra Lacoste, additional fields added or edited by Kate Helsen and Rebecca Shaw, in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/589069, accessed April 18th, 2020.

Mariological associations through their conventional usage in the texts of Marian prayers. Both texts display syntactical correlations, beginning with a salutation followed by a subordinate clause and invocation. “Alma pupillorum mater, per climata mundi … depelle reatum” (Loving mother of orphans, [who is] the twinkling star without blemish throughout the world’s climes, drive away accusation [from us]) resonates with “Alma redemptoris mater, quae pervia caeli … succurre cadenti …” (Loving mother of the Redeemer, who remains the passable gate of heaven … hasten to the aid of a fallen people). The structural affinities reinforce associations of “Alma pupillorum mater” with the original “Alma redemptoris mater.” Although the textual content between the two texts diverges in the second half of each prayer, with the pointed focus of “Alma pupillorum mater” on suffering and penance versus the Incarnational focus in “Alma redemptoris mater,” the Mariological resonances are nonetheless apparent.

Table 3.2 Texts of "Alma redemptoris mater" and "Alma pupillorum mater"[38]

"Alma redemptoris mater"	**Syllable Count**	**"Alma pupillorum mater"**
Alma redemptoris **mater**, quae pervia caeli porta manes **et stella** maris, succurre cadenti, surgere qui curat populo: **tu quae** genuisti natura mirante **tuum** sanctum genitorem, virgo prius ac posterius, Gabrielis ab ore sumens illud ave, peccatorum miserere.	2+4+2 1+3+2 2+2+1+2+2 3+3 9 12 2+2+4 2+2+1+4 7 2+2+2 8	**Alma** pupillorum **mater**, per climata mundi **stella** micans **et** labe carens, depelle reatum: stigmataque portans Domini, **tu quae** voluisti tot poenis insigne **tuum** corpus macerare, plaude satis, quod visceribus patienter amasti ferre jugum Christi, regnum caeli meruisti.
Loving mother of the Redeemer, who remains the passable gate of heaven and the **star** of the sea, hasten to the aid of a fallen people which attempts to rise. **Thou who** to nature's wonderment bore **thy** holy Creator, a virgin before and after, assuming from the mouth of Gabriel that "Ave," have mercy on us sinners.		**Loving mother** of orphans, twinkling **star** without blemish throughout the world's climes, drive away accusation from us. Bearing the wounds of the Lord, **thou who** wished to wear down **thy** body with the mark of so many penances, display all thy joy, for thou, who patiently loved to bear the yoke of Christ in the flesh, hast merited the kingdom of heaven.

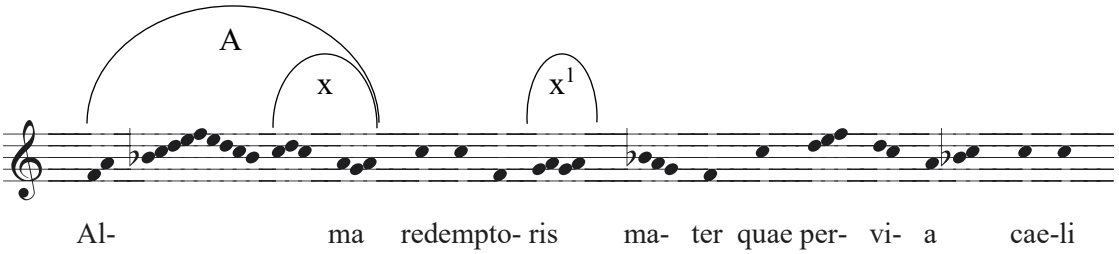
These syntactical associations are emphasized through musical syntax as well. For example, the words of the opening invocation, "Alma pupillorum mater," are precisely fitted to the original opening of the "Alma redemptoris mater" melody, thus reinforcing the original Marian source. In addition, of the sample "Alma redemptoris mater" melodies provided in Example 3.1, the "Alma pupillorum mater" melody corresponds in more ways with the twelfth-century Karlsruhe manuscript version of the "Alma redemptoris mater" than just through the initial ascending motive. As Example 3.3 demonstrates, other shared features include the symmetrical upper and lower neighbor

[38] Translations mine.

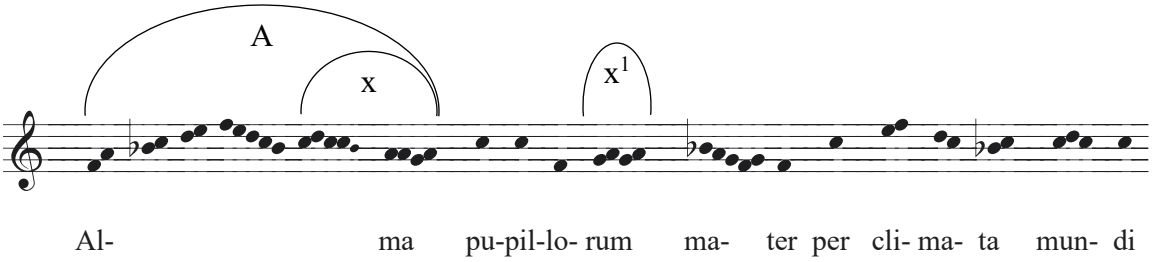
motivic constructions right before partially cadencing on the third at "ma." This suggests that, whichever version of the "Alma redemptoris mater" the "Alma pupillorum mater" was based on, it was likely either the same as or similar to the Karlsruhe manuscript version, or conceivably from a manuscript in a corresponding Germanic region.

Example 3.3 Juxtaposition of the opening phrases of "Alma redemptoris mater" with "Alma pupillorum mater"[39]

D-KA Aug. LX, folio 236v, Suff. Mariae



PL-WRu I F 401, folio 221r, Hedwigis



Because the musical and textual intertextual connections are quite transparent in this particular scenario, there is no urgent need to assess additional concordances of "Alma redemptoris mater" chants from diastematic/adiastematic sources, nor to apply

[39] Downey, Metzinger, Glaeske, Collamore, and Rice, Inventory of "Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek-Musikabteilung, Aug. LX," in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123612, accessed April 18th, 2020; Robert Bernagiewicz, Inventory of "Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (University Library), I F 401," edited by Debra Lacoste, additional fields added or edited by Kate Helsen and Rebecca Shaw, in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/589069, accessed April 18th, 2020.

extensive theoretical analysis to establish the intertextual connection; therefore, we can proceed to part four of the methodology: evaluating the contextual atmosphere surrounding the intertextual connection, to see if we truly have a situation of "sound and sense" in Mariological terms. A brief investigation into the life of St. Hedwig (born circa 1174) reveals that she was Duchess of Silesia, and that, using her royal status as a great beneficiary, she and her husband supported both already existing and new monastic foundations, particularly those of the Cistercian order; Hedwig even took the Cistercian habit after the death of her husband. Additionally, Hedwig practiced extensive works of charity towards the poor and orphaned, as well as personal acts of mortification (which, strikingly, is highlighted in the second half of the "Alma pupillorum mater" text).[40] Given her canonization by Pope Clement IV in 1267, within a few decades after her death, it is not surprising that this thirteenth-century Cistercian manuscript (c. 1295), with a Germanic provenance relatively close to Silesia, would include a newly-composed Office in her honor. Equally unsurprising, in light of Hedwig's motherly care for the sick and orphaned, would be the Office composer's re-use of the melody of "Alma redemptoris mater" and, with a suggestive insertion of the word "pupillorum" (of orphans) from the outset, initiate a Mariological allusion in the new antiphon to Hedwig. In this manner, one can establish, not only a clear intertextual connection, but one which clearly interfaces and projects Mariological overtones which are customized to St. Hedwig herself.

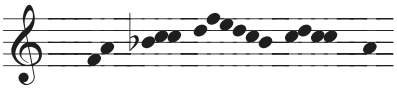
[40] Johann Peter Kirsch, "St. Hedwig," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), accessed April 1st, 2020, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07189a.htm.

Ultimately, it is abundantly clear that music and text here are meaningfully constructed to call to the singer's mind a comparison of Hedwig's sanctity with the Virgin Mary. Textual resonances and syntax, cemented through musical contrafactum, transform Hedwig into another Mary, one who exemplifies and embodies the motherly virtues of the heavenly Queen herself. While the association of Mary with St. Hedwig is very explicit here, the association of corresponding chant melodies from offices of other female saints with "Alma redemptoris mater" is also telling, even at a quotational level, and might, upon further investigation and analysis, reveal and confirm Mariological allusions within the offices of these female saints as well, even if they are less explicitly manifested than in the Office of St. Hedwig.

While the Melody Search Tool highlights the connection of the opening "Alma redemptoris mater" phrase with office chants of female saints in the Karlsruhe manuscript example, an interesting phenomenon can also be observed with the alternate "Alma redemptoris mater" gesture. While, of course, a verbatim series of notes does not necessarily tell everything about an intertextual connection (assessment of phrase contour through further analysis is an indispensable component), the Melody Search Tool for the alternate ascending gesture (pictured on the left in Example 3.4), displays an overwhelming number of chants which reflect a sense of "vertical motion" within the first word of the text encountering the melodic ascent (Figure 3.2).

Example 3.4 Juxtaposition of the opening melodic gestures in "Alma redemptoris mater"

Ascending gesture (with leap)



Ascending gesture (without leap)

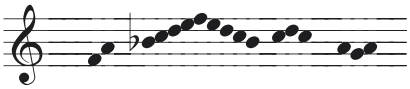
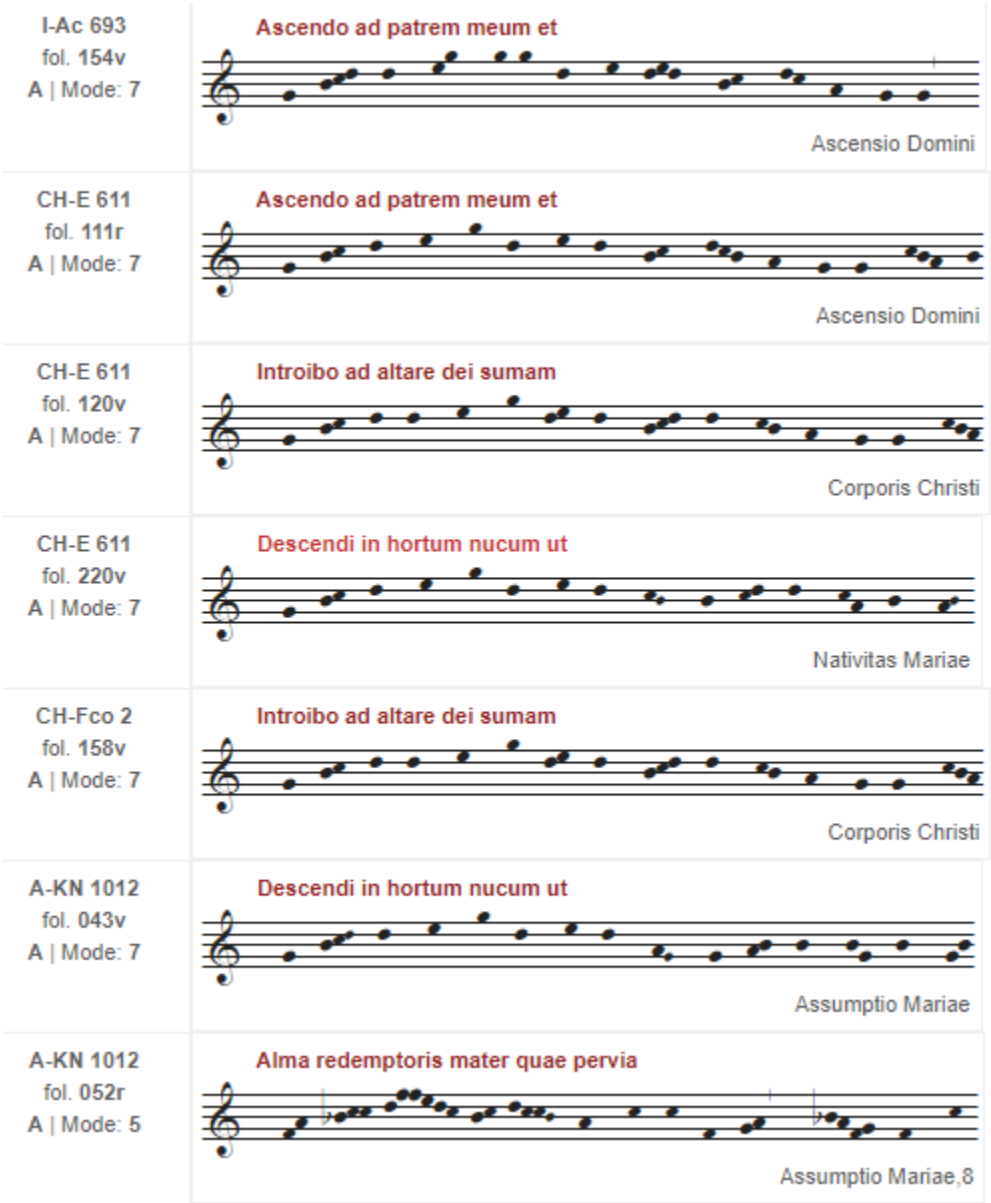


Figure 3.2 Sample melody search results with alternative melodic opening motive of "Alma redemptoris mater"[41]



[41] *CANTUS*, available from http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/.

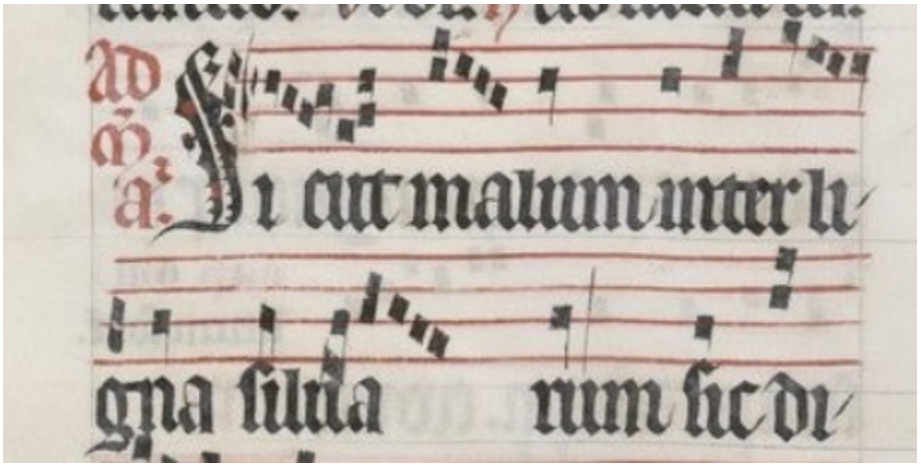
The verticality of the words: "Ascendo" (I go to my father); "Descendi" (I went down into the garden of nuts); and "Introibo" (I will go unto the altar of God) does not appear to be coincidental. The "Introibo" chants are contrafacts of the "Ascendo" chants and not vice versa, given the establishment of the Feast of Corpus Christi in the thirteenth century.[42] Additionally, the antiphon "Descendi," the text of which, once again, comes directly from the Song of Songs, "I went down into the garden of nuts, to see the fruits of the valleys, and to look if the vineyards had flourished, and the pomegranates budded" (Song of Songs 6:10),[43] is found in many manuscripts indexed in the CANTUS Database under (not surprisingly) the Office for the Feast of the Assumption—itself, of course, a feast of vertical/ascending motion in relation to Mary being taken up into heaven by her Son—as well as in the Office of the Nativity of Mary. Both the "Ascendo" and "Descendi" chants are featured, not only in twelfth-century manuscripts, but also in adiastematic notation in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts. While I would not go so far as to conclude that the composition of the "Alma redemptoris mater" itself was in direct response to the melodic openings of these antiphons, at the same time I believe it is a distinct possibility. I also suggest that, given the strong association of this opening gesture with vertical motion, the singing of the "Alma redemptoris mater," which was itself associated prominently, though not exclusively, with the feast of the Assumption, would have also brought to mind the sapientially-infused "Descendi" as well, creating a physical (through singing) and mental awareness of the vertical motion in the opening motives of both chants. It must be remembered, once again, that the "memorial archive"

[42] Francis Mershman, "Feast of Corpus Christi," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4 (New York: Appleton Company, 1908), accessed April 19th, 2020, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04390b.htm.
[43] Douay-Rheims translation.

of each monk or nun was constantly reinforced through full immersion in sung, embodied liturgical practices, and would likely have brought forth many significant associations which these search results make explicit.

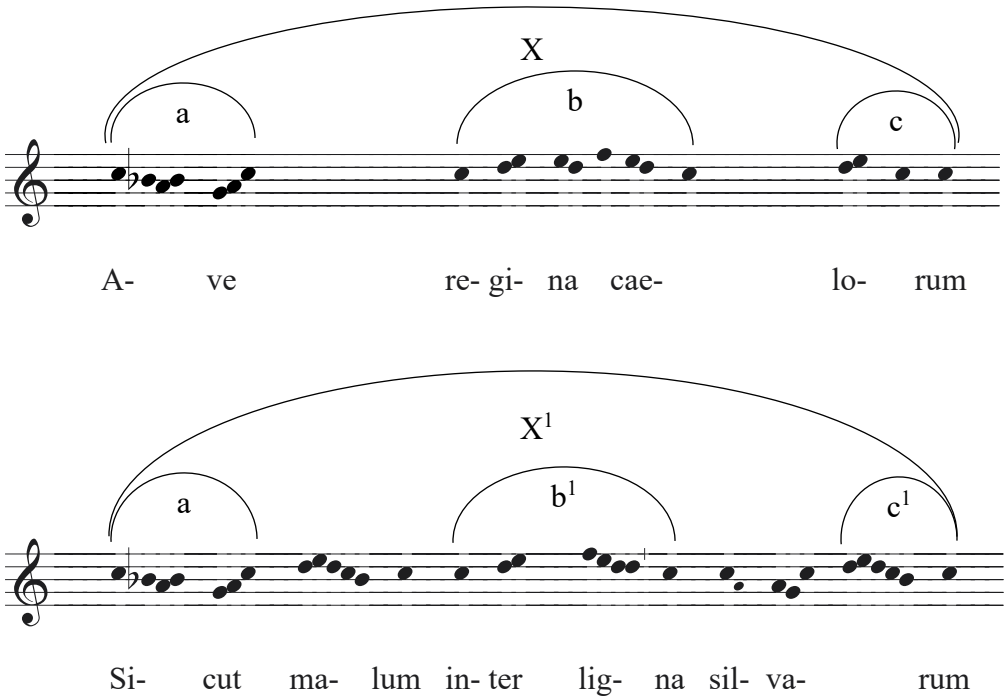
Another case of Mariological allusion applied to a female saint relates to another prominent twelfth-century Marian antiphon—"Ave regina caelorum.” The only chant which matches exactly the opening intonation of this chant is from the Office of Mary of Egypt, the antiphon “Sicut malum inter ligna silvarum,” found in an early fourteenth-century breviary used at Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris (reproduced in Fig. 3.3 and transcribed in Example 3.5).

Figure 3.3 Opening of “Sicut malum inter ligna silvarum,” breviary from Notre Dame Cathedral, F-Pnm lat. 15181, folio 473v



Example 3.5 Juxtaposition of "Ave regina caelorum" with its only match on CANTUS Database up to seven notes, "Sicut malum inter ligna silvarum"[44]

"Ave regina caelorum," F-Pnm lat. 12044, 177v, Assumptio Mariae



"Sicut malum," F-Pnm lat. 15181, 473v, Mariae Aegyptiacae

The opening of "Ave regina caelorum" is very distinctive. It is generated by an embellished stepwise descent on the first syllable, which is followed by a leap down by third, rise by step, and final ascent by third on the second syllable. Given "Ave regina caelorum's" prominence as one of four votive Marian antiphons, its opening quotation would have been recognized immediately, most especially in the atmosphere of Notre Dame, one of the greatest Marian cathedrals in medieval Europe. As Example 3.5 shows,

[44] Denise Gallo and Keith Glaeske, Inventory of "Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France-Département des Manuscrits, latin 12044," in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123628; Susan Kidwell, Inventory of "Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France - Département des Manuscrits, latin 15181," edited by Charles Downey, in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123631.

not only do "Sicut malum" and "Ave regina" share the same opening quotation (motive a); but the opening words "Sicut" and "Ave" feature identical syllabic distribution of melodic content. Additionally, the complete phrases of these chants share similar melodic contours, which encompass the same rising peak of the phrase (motives b and b^1), as well as the same cadence, albeit more elaborately resolved in "Sicut malum" (motive c^1). The opening phrase (X^1) of "Sicut malum" therefore creates a salient relationship with "Ave regina caelorum" (X) and sets a Mariological tone for the rest of the chant.

The association of St. Mary of Egypt with Mary through this intoned musical intertextuality is especially intriguing. Notwithstanding their shared names, the early life of St. Mary of Egypt could not have been more the opposite of the Mother of God. According to her *vita* written by St. Sophronius in the seventh century, Mary of Egypt left her homeland, Egypt, as a young child and lived as a prostitute for many years in Alexandria.[45] When she heard of a pilgrimage being undertaken to Jerusalem for the feast of "the Exaltation of the Precious and Lifegiving Cross," she embarked on one of the ships "to have more lovers who could satisfy my passion."[46] Upon arrival at the door of the temple where the relic of the cross of Christ was being displayed, she was prohibited from entering by an unseen force; it was only when, weeping, she prayed before an icon of the Mother of God begging for forgiveness and promising to lead a life of repentance that she was finally able to enter the church and see the True Cross. After this, she lived

[45] Sophronius, "The Life of Our Holy Mother Mary of Egypt," in *The Great Canon: The Work of Saint Andrew of Crete* (Jordanville, NY: Holy Trinity Publications, 2018), 81, 86-87, also available at https://www.stmaryofegypt.org/files/library/life.htm.
[46] Quoted in "The Life of Our Holy Mother Mary of Egypt," in *The Great Canon*, 87.

the rest of her life in the desert in penance and suffering, never forgetting to invoke the Holy Mother of God who allowed her to see the cross of her Son.[47]

This musical Mariological referencing of "Ave regina caelorum" in "Sicut malum" suggestively calls to mind the narrative of the *Mater Dei's* intercession for St. Mary of Egypt (and by extension to all of humanity, no matter how great the sinner). More significantly, though, it results in a direct "Marianizing" of St. Mary of Egypt herself, by means of which she also attains an intercessory role. Honorius, in fact, references Mary of Egypt in his *Sigillum* when speaking of the Virgin Mary's protection afforded to those invoking her aid, stating that "that Mary [of Egypt] embroiled in many vices through her [the Virgin Mary] not only received pardon for her crimes, but also shone forth in glorious miracles."[48] This "Marianization" achieved through a complete reversal of St. Mary of Egypt's former way of life is supported as well by the fact that the text of this antiphon, "Sicut malum inter ligna silvarum" (As the apple tree among the trees of the woods), is from Song of Songs 2:3, likening Mary of Egypt to the Virgin Mary through a text which would have conjured Mariological associations through its usage in Marian feasts.

Finally, while the preceding examples have examined cases of Mariological allusion in chants outside of Hildegard's repertoire, ranging primarily from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (speaking to the continual blossoming of Mariological allusion beyond the twelfth century), it is important to realize that Hildegard herself makes a distinctive contribution to creating allusion to female saints, in a case of musical

[47] "The Life of Our Holy Mother Mary of Egypt," in *The Great Canon*, 88-91.
[48] Honorius, *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 54.

referencing first discovered by Margot Fassler, and which I already mentioned briefly in chapter one. In her 1998 chapter "Composer and Dramatist" in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, Fassler highlighted the first known case of Hildegard's referential implementation of a chant melody from outside her repertoire, that of "Ave regina caelorum," melodically varied and embedded within her own responsory for virgins, "O nobilissima viriditas." Fassler provides context for Hildegard's usage of this intertextual relationship, highlighting the magistra's intentional marriage of "sound and sense." She explicates the twelfth-century emphasis on Mary as the "rod of Jesse," demonstrating how this scriptural connotation is paralleled both in the text of "Ave regina caelorum" (Salve radix: hail, root), as well as in Hildegard's "O nobilissima" (que radicas in sole—you who are rooted in the sun). In addition to liturgical contextualization, Fassler provides musical analysis which conclusively demonstrates Hildegard's musical referencing of "Ave regina caelorum" within "O nobilissima" beyond a reasonable doubt.[49]

Although Fassler does not directly classify this as "musical intertextuality through Mariological allusion," her discovery gives every indication of Hildegard's musical referencing technique being just that, and she emphasizes Hildegard's intent to bring forth Mary herself in the mind of the singer: "Clearly Hildegard wanted to cement the reference early on, and any twelfth-century monastic would have heard the allusion immediately and understood its symbolic power to evoke the Virgin Mary.… Both in the text and now in the sound, the virgins are models of the Blessed Virgin Mary."[50] This

[49] Margot Fassler, "Composer and Dramatist," in *Voice of the Living Light*, 156-158, 166-168.
[50] Ibid., 167-168.

concept of immediate auditory recognition, of course, relates directly to the fullness of "knowledge" achieved through monastic singing, embodiment, and contemplation of chant melodies over the course of a lifetime. Most importantly, however, Hildegard wrote "O nobilissima viriditas" for virgins, not merely for the specific feast of one female saint, creating a built-in flexibility and facilitating the chant's Mariological application to multiple women throughout the liturgical year.[51] Given the Mariological allusion present in her own culture, it would make sense for Hildegard to compose a chant which "Marianizes" female figures, just as the chants in the offices of St. Hedwig and St. Mary of Egypt do; such a chant would likely have been sung in her own community for multiple feasts of female saints who were virgins. Furthermore, from the very opening phrase of "O nobilissima," Hildegard creates an elaborate yet still recognizable variation of the original "Ave regina caelorum" opening, as we saw with "Sicut malum." While Fassler has already analyzed and provided excellent comparison of the ways in which "O nobilissima" is a melodic variation of "Ave regina caelorum," I would like to provide a separate analysis here of the opening phrases of these chants, drawing particular attention to the application of Bain's principle of "varied repetition." An analysis of "varied repetition" in "O nobilissima" not only highlights the reference to "Ave regina caelorum" through showcasing Hildegard's architectural affinities,[52] but it also provides a logical

[51] Fassler emphasizes the power of "O nobilissima" to frame the virgins as "manifestations of Mary" who become "extensions of her goodness reigning in heaven, reaching to a troubled church on earth" ("Composer and Dramatist," 167-168); consequently, multiple female saints "Marianized" through "O nobilissima" could be supplicated throughout the liturgical cycle.

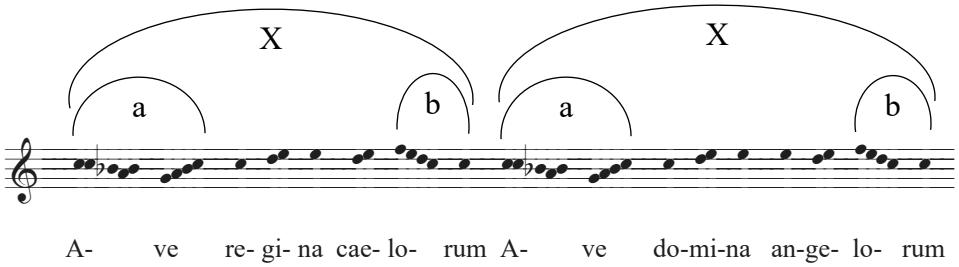
[52] For information on Hildegard's use of architectural imagery, both through musical and allegorical techniques, see Margot Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture in *Scivias*: Hildegard's Setting for the Ordo Virtutum," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 317-378.

springboard for querying what specific version of the "Ave regina caelorum" might have been an inspirational exemplar for Hildegard's "O nobilissima."

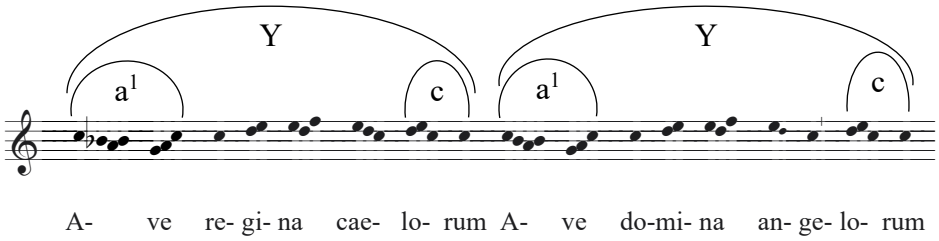
The optimal way to begin an assessment using Bain's methodology is through cross-chant comparisons of several "Ave regina caelorums" from twelfth-century manuscript sources in relation to "O nobilissima" (Example 3.6).

Example 3.6 Comparison of opening "Ave regina caelorum" phrases with "O nobilissima"[53]

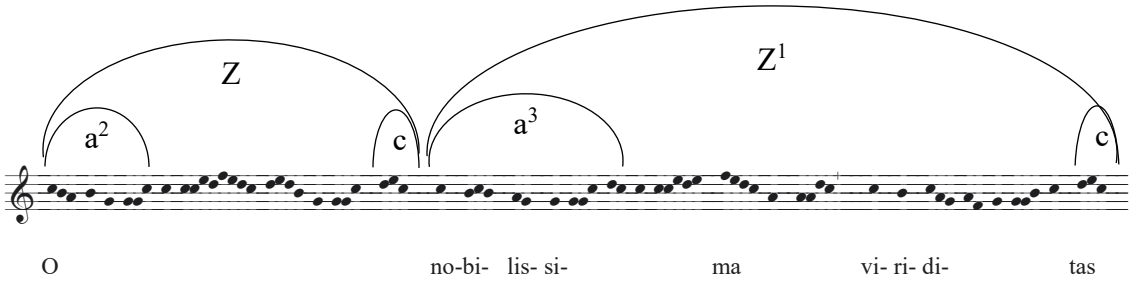
"Ave regina caelorum," D-KA Aug. LX, 236v, Suff. Mariae



"Ave regina caelorum," F-Pnm lat. 12044, 177v, Assumptio Mariae



"O nobilissima viriditas," D-WI1 2, 471r, Common of Virgins



[53] Downey, Metzinger, Glaeske, Collamore, and Rice, Inventory of "Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek-Musikabteilung, Aug. LX," in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123612; Denise Gallo and Keith Glaeske, Inventory of "Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France-Département des Manuscrits, latin 12044," in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123628; Alessandra Ignesti, Jennifer Bain, and Nan Zhang, Inventory of "Wiesbaden, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, 2 (Riesencodex)," additional fields added or edited by Alessandra Ignesti, Barbara Swanson, Debra Lacoste, Clare Neil, Becky Shaw, and Nan Zhang, in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/588308.

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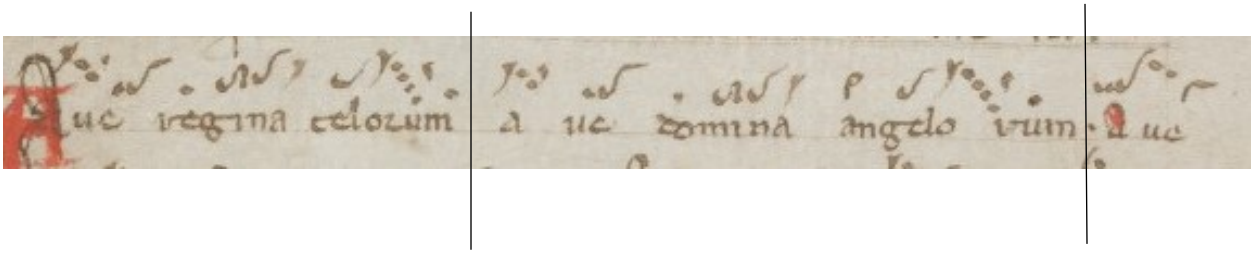
Even with the melodic variances between both the Germanic version of the "Ave regina caelorum" and the French version, the similarity of the opening phrases and overall contour demonstrate a clear connection with "O nobilissima," regardless of which precise version of "Ave regina caelorum" it was based on. In addition, even within their own regional differences, the two "Ave regina caelorums" follow the same constant: that of strict repetitions of their own distinctive opening musical phrases, creating their own respective parallelisms. The strict parallelism of the opening phrase structures, in fact, appears to be a defining, constant feature of the "Ave regina caelorum," as evidenced through other twelfth-century and thirteenth-century versions, including this example of a twelfth-century "Ave regina caelorum" in adiastematic notation in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4 "Ave regina caelorum," Sankt Gallen, Stiftbibliothek, 388, folio 470



Even without knowing the exact pitches for "Ave regina caelorum" in this St. Gall manuscript, the almost verbatim sequencing of the same neumes for the first two phrases underscores the opening parallelism which is a signature component of "Ave regina caelorum."

Hildegard's "O nobilissima," while not adhering to the strict opening parallelism of the "Ave regina caelorum," nonetheless creates the auditory perception of this repetition and parallel structure through varied repetition. When defining this technique in relation to Hildegard's sequence "O Jerusalem," Bain states the following: "Instead of

strict repetition she [Hildegard] uses a varied repetition technique, in which repetition within a couplet is still audible—the form thus preserved—while many elements of the melodic surface expand or contract to relate directly to the new text structure."[54] Although the overall parallelisms of sequence form are not a necessary stipulation for the freer responsory genre, there are two particularly crucial words which Bain uses here: "expand" and "contract." For anything to physically "expand" or contract" within a melody, there must be two stable reference points within which (and by means of which) the expansion and contraction can occur. Bain highlights both larger and smaller expansions and contractions within various components of the musical phrases of "O Jerusalem"; in particular, Hildegard's similar as well as verbatim repetitions of opening motives and ending cadential gestures within paired verses in the first two couplets is especially noteworthy, since these establish stable reference points which in turn help facilitate the auditory recognition of repetition.[55] These opening motives and ending cadential gestures (as well as internal melodic content) vary in response to the text as the sequence progresses, while still maintaining enough similar musical material to reinforce the auditory parallelisms in the listener's ear.[56]

The concept of these outward referential points, as well as Hildegard's calculated pattern of moving from stricter to freer repetitions as the sequence "O Jerusalem" progresses, provides a convenient analog to "O nobilissima." The responsory, as Fassler points out, is at first modelled more strictly on "Ave regina caelorum," yet becomes freer

[54] Bain, "Varied Repetition," 6.
[55] See Bain's transcribed comparisons of verses/couplets in "O Jerusalem" in "Varied Repetition," 21-25.
[56] Ibid., 28-32.

in its modelling as it progresses,[57] sharing the "strict-to-freer" concept with "O Jerusalem." Just as the initially stricter parallelisms in Hildegard's "O Jerusalem" help to bring to mind the sequence genre and the parallelisms between musical/textual phrases, the "auditory parallelism" of the opening phrase structure in "O nobilissima" is a crucial part of establishing, in this case, not a musical genre, but a musical reference to another plainchant. While I would not wish to diminish the value of the internal content of the opening phrases and how they resonate with "Ave regina caelorum" (facilitated in particular through a similar melodic contour and drive to the same peak—the fourth—for each melodic phrase) the outward referential points of opening/cadence nonetheless must be firmly established, to allow the internal melodic expansion (and elaboration on the internal "Ave regina caelorum" phrase content) which happens within the first two phrases of "O nobilissima" in Example 3.6 to audibly occur. These outer referential points at the beginning/ends of the phrases in "O nobilissima" are labelled as a^2 and c, respectively, with a slightly expanded a^3 in the second iteration of the first phrase. Both the opening and closing motives are an indispensable part of both the auditory experience of the parallelism, as well as the community recognition of the musical reference. We should recall as well the previous case of "Ave regina caelorum" referencing within "Sicut malum," in which the opening of "Sicut malum" strictly intones the melody of "Ave regina caelorum," elaborates on its melodic gestures in the body of the phrase, but then adapts the original cadence so as to make the Mariological reference clearer. "Sicut malum" thus also demonstrates a kind of "expansion and contraction" in line with varied

[57] Fassler, "Composer and Dramatist," 167. Note that Fassler's analysis also highlights the similarities of openings and endings of phrases with "O nobilissima" and "Ave regina caelorum."

repetition, albeit with less musical complexity than Hildegard's treatment of "Ave regina caelorum."

In light of the value of the outward referential points, a cross-examination of these opening/closing gestures in the "Ave regina caelorum" examples here will elucidate possibilities concerning which version Hildegard based "O nobilissima" upon. Both "Ave regina caelorums" in Example 3.6 feature the same basic opening melodic gesture, labelled a and a^1, respectively. For "O nobilissima," given the presence of a quilisma and the lack of a b-flat in both the Riesencodex and Dendermonde versions, this opening motive is labelled as a^2, although it essentially follows the same melodic pattern as in both "Ave regina caelorum" examples. Consequently, while the similarities/near identicalities of these opening motives reinforce the "Ave regina caelorum" reference in "O nobilissima," they do not provide us with any indicators regarding which "Ave regina caelorum" Hildegard might have used. However, the cadential gesture—one of these outer referential pillars— may be the key here. Hildegard's "O nobilissima" does not vary the ending cadential gesture between phrases, but keeps it exactly the same, simulating her approach in this manner to cadential gestures between verses in the first few couplets of "O Jerusalem." Furthermore, these ending cadential gestures in the first two phrases of "O nobilissima" match those of the Saint-Maur-des-Fossés manuscript version (F-Pnm lat. 12044), which are also labelled c. This ending cadential figure may have been a regional feature of French "Ave regina caelorums," given the fact that another French version of "Ave regina caelorum" (from a thirteenth-century antiphoner for the Cathedral of Sens) also contains, while overall slightly different melodic content, the same ending cadential figure of D-E-C for each phrase as that of the Saint-Maur-des-

Fossés manuscript version. Because Hildegard adheres strictly to the repetition of her cadential figures in the first few couplets of "O Jerusalem," by means of which the form of the sequence is more clearly outlined, I suggest that Hildegard is not merely interpolating a preferred cadential figure in "O nobilissima," but is employing the cadential figure, repeated verbatim in the second phrase, with which her community of nuns would have been most familiar, from the specific "Ave regina caelorum" they would have personally sung. This "Ave regina caelorum" may have been a French version like the one in the Saint-Maur-des-Fossés manuscript, but even if not, I suggest that it would still have had this same cadential figure, a familiarity with which would have factored into auditorily reinforcing the "Ave regina caelorum" reference for her nuns at the end of each phrase. The constant of this cadential figure, therefore, in conjunction with the opening motive, allows Hildegard to expand and contract the melodic structure of the second phrase over the multiple syllables created with "nobilissima viriditas," creating an intricately woven "varied repetition" technique within the parallelisms evoked through the "Ave regina caelorum" reference.

These three examples of Mariological allusion applied to female saints through musical intertextuality, ranging from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, and which include Hildegard's own contribution with "O nobilissima," demonstrate that this specific mode of referencing was not confined to text, but could be applied to musical examples as well. Furthermore, they show that viewing female saints as other "Marys" continued well beyond the twelfth century, speaking to the continual flowering of this mode of Mariological allusion. Now that we have assessed Mariological allusion as applied to

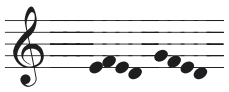
women through both text and music, we will turn to a case in Hildegard's repertoire in which additional layers of Mariological referencing are applied to Mary herself.

Mariological Allusion Within Hildegard's Antiphon "Cum Erubuerint"

Hildegard's intertextual techniques with the "Ave regina caelorum"/ "O nobilissima" connection feature clear overtones of the original formal profile of the "Ave regina caelorum," with allusions to its various contours, albeit stretching beyond them in a more profound and highly melismatic fashion. In contrast, her Marian antiphon, "Cum erubuerint," showcases a different scenario, in which Hildegard quotes only a small part of another Marian chant, and creates variation primarily on that segment to draw attention to and ruminate on another chant outside of her repertoire. Because Hildegard implants a Mariological allusion within a chant with an established Marian theme, I suggest that the musical reference enhances and expounds on already-explicit Marian associations, providing a distinctive quality of meditation on the Virgin.

The first part of my methodology—using the Melody Search Tool—reveals from the outset potential Mariological themes within the data. Table 3.3 (below) provides an assessment of the search results at eight notes and indicates a cluster of plainchants associated with offices for Mary, more so than for any other religious figure listed in the data.

Table 3.3 Melodic Concordances with "Cum erubuerint" up to 8 pitches (for inventories on the CANTUS Database that include melodic transcriptions)[58]



Cum

Chant Incipits	**Liturgical Occasion/Feast**	**Manuscript Sigla**
Hodie Simon Petrus	Peter	CH-E 611
Mauritius dux sanctae	Maurice	CH-E 611
Ex nobili stirpe	Hedwig	PL-WRu I F 401
Ave virgo digna praeconio	Conception of Mary	DK-Kk 3449 8o [14] XIV
Arca dei in qua reconditur	Presentation of Mary	DK-Kk 3449 8o [13] XIII
Ordo rectus servatus noscitur	Presentation of Mary	DK-Kk 3449 8o [13] XIII
Gloria patri et filio	Assumption of Mary	F-Pnm lat. 12044
Haec est dies quam fecit	Annunciation	CH-E 611 DK-Kk 3449 8o [03] III A-Wn 1799** D-KA Aug. LX US-Cai 1911.142b
Haec est dies quam fecit	Additamenta	A-Wn 1799** D-KNd 1161
Vide quid illud sit quo	*Ordo virtutum*	D-WI1 2

The heavy prominence of Marian feasts seems significant; however, since certain manuscripts listed are from a later time period than the twelfth century, caution must be taken not to automatically assume the presence of an intertextual relationship. Instead, checking for the "list of concordances for a given melody/textual incipit" on the CANTUS Database will suggest just how widespread a chant may have been in its usage, while still necessitating additional analysis across manuscripts, particularly in cases of diastematic/adiastematic notation.

[58] *CANTUS*, available from http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/.

The first non-Marian chant, "Hodie Simon Petrus" for the office of Peter, in the melodic concordance listings on CANTUS Database with online images, can only be found thus far in a fourteenth-century antiphoner from Einsiedeln, Switzerland (CH-E 611).[59] This eliminates the possibility for now of considering Hildegard's usage of it in an intertextual relationship with her twelfth-century "Cum erubuerint." Closer analysis of the chant for the Office of St. Maurice, "Mauritius dux sanctae legionis confortavit," reveals, strikingly, shared melodic material with Hildegard's "Cum erubuerint" extending beyond the first eight pitches; however, it also has only one concordance in the CANTUS Database—the same Einsiedeln antiphoner.[60] The Office of St. Hedwig, intriguingly, resurfaces again with "Ex nobili stirpe," yet it also can only be found in the thirteenth-century Cistercian antiphoner discussed earlier, with no twelfth-century precedent. One chant in particular, "Vide quid illud sit quo," stands out since it comes from Hildegard's liturgical drama *Ordo virtutum*; I will discuss this chant more closely in chapter four. Because all four of these initial results either come from later sources or from Hildegard's own output, the only viable options for a potential intertextual relationship are the Marian chants; among these, a chant for the Annunciation of Mary, "Haec est dies," features multiple concordances, including fifty-three in CANTUS Database, two in Cantus Planus in Polonia, and two in Slovak Early Music Database (the other Marian chants feature very few melodic concordances and can only be found in sources later than the twelfth century). An analysis of both staffed and staffless sources confirms the presence of the

[59] While the text of this chant appears in sources before the fourteenth century, this particular melody/opening musical incipit does not.
[60] Further investigation and comparison of "Mauritius dux" with "Cum erubuerint" may reveal the opposite scenario in this case, that perhaps Hildegard's "Cum erubuerint" melody was an inspiration for the opening quotation of "Mauritius dux."

"Haec est dies" melody within eleventh-, twelfth-, and thirteenth-century sources, including within Engelberg 103 (see Table 3.4).[61] Furthermore, the geographical spread of these concordances indicates that "Haec est dies" was a common chant in southern Germanic regions, increasing the strong likelihood that Hildegard would have known this chant. (It is also noteworthy that the opening eight-note quotation of this chant, based on the CANTUS results, is featured prominently in Germanic sources both before and after the twelfth century.) Consequently, it is worth comparing "Haec est dies" with Hildegard's "Cum erubuerint" through additional theoretical analysis, to assess objectively whether one can confirm a situation of "sound and sense" with Mariological connotations.

Table 3.4 Concordances of "Haec est dies" in Manuscripts from the 10th-13th Centuries[62]

Siglum	Dating	Provenance	Feast	Folio	Images online?
D-B Mus. 40047	11th c.	Quedlinburg	Nativitas Mariae*	101r	Y
A-KN 1010	12th c.	Klosterneuburg	Annunciation	81r	Y
A-KN 1013	12th c.	Klosterneuburg	Annunciation	97v	Y
A-KN 1017	13th or 14th c.	Klosterneuburg	Annunciation	115r	N
A-Wn 1890	12th or 13th c.	Southern Germany/Austria	Annunciation	104r	Y
CH-SGs 388	12th c.-14th c.	St. Gall	Annunciation	141	Y
CH-SGs 390	10th c.-13th c.	St. Gall	Annunciation	010	Y
D-KA Aug. LX	12th c.-15th c.	Zwiefalten	Annunciation	058v	Y
D-KNd 1161	12th c.	Cologne	Additamenta** (Annunciation)	128v	Y

[61] As mentioned in the previous chapter, for more information on the potential Engelberg 103 connection and its possibilities for elucidating the liturgical plainchant culture within Hildegard's community, see Tova Leigh-Choate, William T. Flynn, and Margot E. Fassler, "Hildegard as Musical Hagiographer," in *A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, 193-220.

[62] Manuscripts from the twelfth century with later additions were assessed to ensure that their "Haec est dies" chants are not part of those additions; in the case of the tenth-century CH-SGs 390, the "Haec est dies" chant is part of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century additions (meaning that "Haec est dies," while occurring in a tenth-century manuscript, does not necessarily date from that time period). Furthermore, in some manuscripts, such as A-KN 1012 and NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7), the first note of "Haec est dies" is repeated twice rather than rising by step; aside from this slight variation, the opening of "Haec est dies" matches up either verbatim or almost verbatim in Germanic manuscripts with the first eight notes of "Cum erubuerint."

Siglum	Dating	Provenance	Feast	Folio	Images online?
D-KNd 215	12th c.-13th c.	Würzburg	Annunciation	057r	Y
D-Sl HB.I.55	12th or 13th c.	Weingarten	Additamenta	190r	N
GB-Ob Laud Misc. 284	12th c.-14th c.	Würzburg	Annunciation	031v	Y
NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)	12th c.-14th/15th c.	Utrecht	Annunciation	151v	Y
A-Wn 1799**	13th c.	Rein	Annunciation	137v, 237v	Y
D-AAm G 20	13th c.-15th c.	Aachen	Annunciation	254r	N
GB-Ob Can. Lit. 202	13th c.	southern Germany	Annunciation	047r	N
PL-Wru I F 401	13th c.	Lubiąż	Additamenta	001a	Y
US-Cai 1911.142b	13th c.	Italian monastery	Annunciation	088r	Y
CH-Enstb Cod. 103	13th c.	Sponheim (or Disibodenberg)?	Annunciation	107r	Y

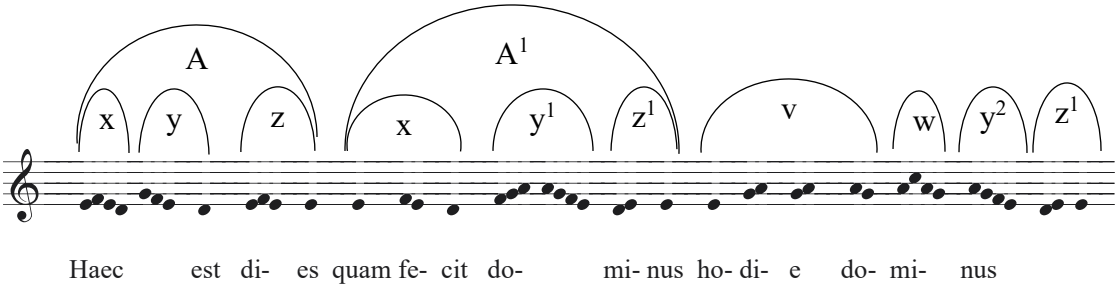
* Although listed above the rubric for the Nativity of Mary, this chant is a later addition to the manuscript inserted in the top margin of the folio and textually matches the Feast of the Annunciation.
** Chants listed under "Additamenta" most likely would have been sung for the Annunciation given the textual content and temporal emphasis on the Incarnation.

Example 3.7 provides a comparison of the openings of "Cum erubuerint" and "Haec est dies." From the outset, three main motives (x, y, and z) comprise the building blocks of "Haec est dies"; these motives are replicated, with a slight modification of the z motive (z^2), in the opening of "Cum erubuerint." Both chants display almost precise intonations of a melodic gesture/subphrase (marked A in "Haec est dies" and A^2 in "Cum erubuerint") which is characterized by stepwise ascending/descending motion (x), the leap of a fourth and stepwise descent (y), and an upper-neighbor construction (z) which cadences on the final. The concentric, "spiraling-out" quality of the melodic gesture is distinctive; it also should be noted that Hildegard places this full gesture melismatically

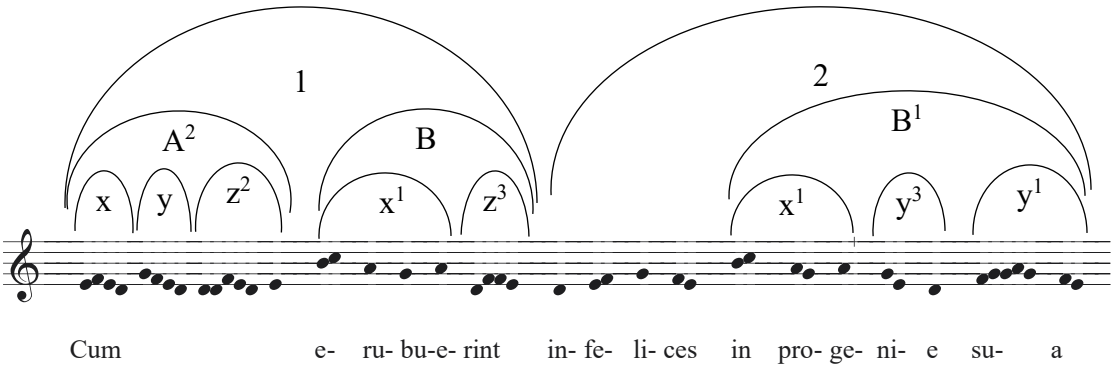
on a single word, “Cum” (While), magnifying both the word and the musical material underscoring it. Although the second subphrase of “Haec est dies” slightly expands the initial A gesture (A^1) with varied repetition, in “Cum erubuerint” Hildegard initiates a leap to the fifth before repeating a modified, transposed version of the x motive (x^1) which resolves on the final with an altered z motive (z^3). “Haec est dies” expands the motivic content slightly with the introduction of the additional motives v and w, although it aurally recalls the initial A phrase by cadencing with modified y and z motives (y^2 and z^1). In “Cum erubuerint,” all three x, y, and z motives appear to be condensed (or “liquidated”) on the word “infelices,” before another leap of a fifth starts subphrase B^1, which features additional variation on the opening phrase (note as well that motive y^1 on “sua,” which constitutes the cadence of this phrase, matches the motive on “do” of “dominus” in “Haec est dies”). Two over-arching phrases are created: phrase 1 on “Cum erubuerint” and phrase 2 on “infelices in progenie sua.”

Example 3.7 Comparison of the openings of "Cum erubuerint" and "Haec est dies" [63]

"Haec est dies," D-KA Aug. LX, folio 058v, *Annuntiatio Mariae*



"Cum erubuerint," D-WI1 2, folio 467r, de BMV



The motives x, y, z and their subsequent modifications/variations not only make up the entire musical material for the opening of "Cum erubuerint"; they are, significantly, almost exclusively applied to this entire chant. Consequently, the opening quotation of "Haec est dies" becomes a fundamental element of "Cum erubuerint,"

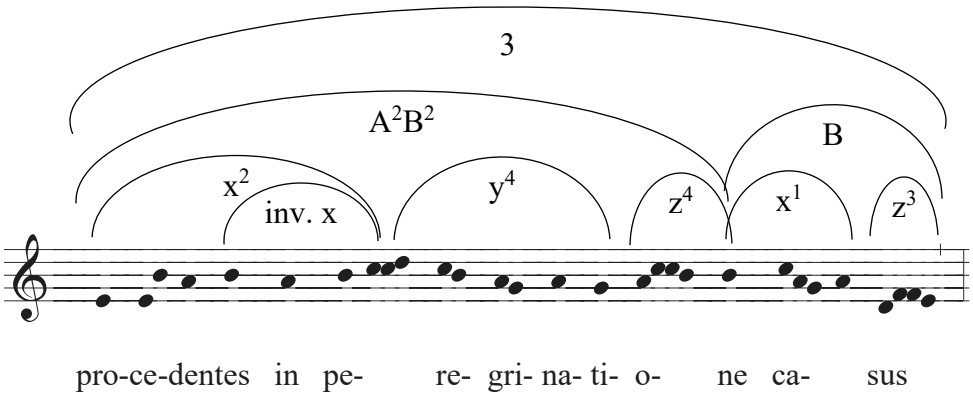
[63] Downey, Metzinger, Glaeske, Collamore, Rice, Inventory of "Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek-Musikabteilung, Aug. LX" in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123612; Alessandra Ignesti, Jennifer Bain, and Nan Zhang, Inventory of "Wiesbaden, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, 2 (Riesencodex)," additional fields added or edited by Alessandra Ignesti, Barbara Swanson, Debra Lacoste, Clare Neil, Becky Shaw, and Nan Zhang, in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/588308.

creating the basis for subsequent developments/elaborations in melodic contour. While the phrase structures of both chants expand and contract in accord with principles of varied repetition, Hildegard's approach in "Cum erubuerint" is more adventuresome. One can observe this visually through the shortening/elongation of individual phrases/subphrases; furthermore, in "Cum erubuerint" Hildegard transposes the motives, allowing them to "wander" away from the final.

In the next phrase, "procedentes in peregrinatione casus" (walking in the exile of the fall), transcribed in Example 3.8, Hildegard not only transposes modified x, y, and z motives at the fifth (subphrase A^2B^2); she also inverts the original x motive within its expanded form (x^2), musically simulating the words "walking in exile" through inversion/transposition. The expanded A^2B^2 subphrase is followed by a contraction/reintroduction of subphrase B, in which the x^1 and z^3 motives facilitate a "fall" (significantly, on the word "casus") back onto the final.[64] It is important to note as well that by repeating subphrase B twice, once on "erubuerint" (blushing) and again on "casus" (fall) (although elided with the previous subphrase on the final syllable of "peregrinatione"), Hildegard facilitates a ruminative connection with the overwhelming shame induced by the Fall. Ultimately, the x, y, and z motivic variations form the basis of the sweeping, wandering musical gestures, continually reinforcing the aural associations with the opening quotation of "Haec est dies" as well as the content of the text itself.

[64] This "falling" gesture also occurs, albeit in a more elaborate, dramatic fashion, on the final word "casus," which contains the longest melisma of the entire chant.

Example 3.8 "procedentes in peregrinatione casus" from "Cum erubuerint," D-WI1 2



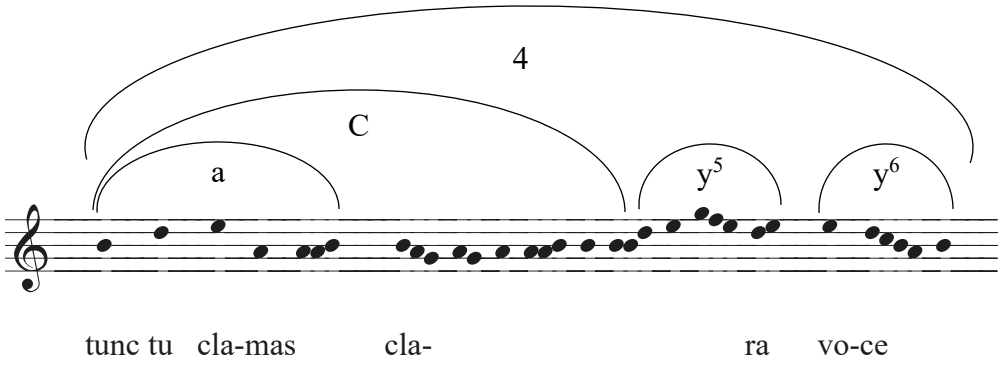
The fourth phrase, "tunc tu clamas clara voce," reintroduces a theme addressed extensively in the previous chapter: Mary's voice. Most significantly, it constitutes the climax of the piece, one which Hildegard, with her acute sense of musical architecture (and, as Meconi points out, her "manipulation of ambitus"),[65] has set up brilliantly. In Example 3.7, the first two phrases of "Cum erubuerint" move from the final upwards to the fifth, yet never plateau on it, instead passing through the sixth before hovering back down onto the final. On the other hand, the third phrase, "procedentes in peregrinatione casus," in Example 3.8 has not only been elongated through the expansion of subphrase A^2B^2 combined with subphrase B, but it begins by immediately leaping from the final to the fifth, enunciating it through an undulating, lower-neighbor construction in motive x^2 coupled with emphasis on the fifth on "ne" of "peregrinatione." Moreover, the enunciation of the fifth provides a vantage point from which the range is extended, not just to the sixth, but to the seventh on "pe" of "peregrinatione."

[65] Honey Meconi, *Hildegard of Bingen* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 97.

"Tunc tu clamas clara voce," however, is even more daring. As Example 3.9 shows, it begins with a primarily syllabic construction on a striking new motive, a, which now commences, not on the final, but directly on the fifth, setting up the contrast of the ensuing melisma on "clara." This melisma not only reinforces the fifth and partially cadences on it through an even more expansive subphrase (C), but it suddenly soars upward and climaxes with motive y^5 at the octave, marking the peak of the phrase and of the entire chant—a full tenth above the final—on "clara" (clear). Hildegard spotlights the quality of Mary's voice through its ascent to the highest note, ruminating on the redemptive capacity of her speech. The modified y motive tumbles downward to another modified repetition (y^6) at the fifth on the word "voce" (voice), decisively cadencing on the fifth and drawing out the transformation precipitated by the "clara voce." Hildegard thus continues to employ the opening melodic material of "Cum erubuerint"—a gesture which matches almost identically with that in "Haec est dies"— to the fullest possible musical advantage through her imaginative traverses through varied repetition, crafting a brilliant musical tribute to the Virgin's vocal power.[66]

[66] Hildegard references the "voice" many times in context of her writings, including the voices of diverse personas/persons speaking (some of the most intriguing examples are in the beginnings of the first five parts of her *Liber vitae meritorum* where she juxtaposes the voices of virtues and vices; see Hozeski, trans., *The Book of the Rewards of Life*, 12-17, 74-81, 126-134, 175-185, and 221-227). "Clara voce" in "Cum erubuerint," however, is one of her most profound emphases on the voice. Although she also uses the phrase "clara voce" in her sequence to St. Eucharius, "Euchari in laeta via," she purposefully makes the musical depiction of Eucharius' voice less profound: the melisma on "clara" in "Euchari in laeta via" is shorter and does not extend the ambitus at all; furthermore, "clara voce" in this context is relatively undramatic. As the second of a paired couplet, it merely repeats musical material previously heard, working within the framework of sequence structure.

Example 3.9 "tunc tu clamas clara voce" from "Cum erubuerint," D-WI1 2, de BMV



Because of Hildegard's consistent and pronounced emphasis on the opening quotational material of "Haec est dies," an intertextual connection between both chants appears to exist. Nevertheless, there is a fourth and final step in assessing this potential case of musical intertextuality—the extramusical contexts by which a Mariological allusion may be affirmed or denied. To ascertain this, one must compare the texts of "Cum erubuerint" and "Haec est dies," translations for which are included in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Translations of "Cum erubuerint" and "Haec est dies"

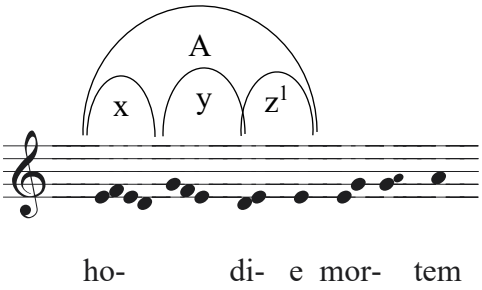
Translation of "Cum erubuerint"[67]	**Translation of "Haec est dies"**[68]
Cum erubuerint infelices in progenia sua, procedentes in peregrinatione casus, hoc modo homines elevans de isto malicioso casu.	Haec est dies quam fecit dominus; hodie dominus afflictionem populi sui respexit et redemptionem misit; hodie mortem quam femina intulit femina fugavit; hodie deus homo factus id quod fuit permansit et quod non erat assumpsit; ergo exordium nostrae redemptionis devote recolamus et exsultemus dicentes gloria tibi domine.
While the unhappy parents were blushing at their offspring, walking in the exile of the fall, then you cry out with a clear voice, lifting humankind in this way from that malicious fall.	This is the day which the Lord hath made; today the Lord hath looked upon the affliction of his people and hath sent redemption; today death which a woman introduced, a woman hath put to flight; today God-made-man remained that which He was and assumed that which He was not; therefore, let us devoutly recall the beginning of our redemption, and let us rejoice saying glory be to thee, O Lord.

Both chants are explicitly Marian in nature. While "Cum erubuerint" is assigned a more generic rubric of "De sancta maria" in the Riesencodex and Dendermonde manuscripts,[69] the applications of "Haec est dies" are more specific: it is almost exclusively associated in medieval manuscripts with the Office of the Annunciation of Mary. This becomes self-evident through the translation, in which the temporal element of the Annunciation, through the consistent use of the word "hodie" (one instance of

[67] Translation of this text is by Barbara Newman, from Hildegard of Bingen, *Symphonia*, 118-119.
[68] Translation mine.
[69] In the Riesencodex the rubric is listed directly before the chant "Cum erubuerint"; in Dendermonde it is implied through the grouping of the Marian antiphons (thus the first antiphon in the group, "O splendidissima gemma," contains the rubric "De sancta maria" since it marks a change in genre; the rubric is not listed again until the switch in genre to the Marian hymn "Ave generosa").

which, as Example 3.10 shows, features the only time the opening musical gesture is almost precisely repeated in "Haec est dies," creating musical as well as textual punctuation), is emphasized again and again, reaching its crux at the words "today God became man"—a clear, irrefutable reference to the Incarnation, where Mary's "Fiat" was a pivotal factor in initiating the Redemption of humanity.

Example 3.10 "hodie mortem" from "Haec est dies," D-KA Aug. LX, *Annuntiatio Mariae*



"Cum erubuerint," while lacking the more explicit language by means of which the Annunciation can be inferred, nonetheless references it implicitly. A parallel temporal aspect can be ascertained in this chant, through the word "cum," which signifies the ongoing "while." "Cum" is used in direct relation to the wandering exile of Adam and Eve and of their children (suggestive also of the "Salve regina" prayer, asking the Virgin to assist those in exile, "in hac lacrimarum vale"—in this valley of tears). This "while" firmly anchors, not only musical material shared between these two chants, but also an ongoing temporal reality of the Fall in the mind of the singer before implying a specific moment in time through the use of the word "tunc" (then), in which Mary cries out "with a clear voice (clara voce), lifting humankind in this way from that malicious fall." The temporal, historical reality in which Mary, with a clear voice, spoke out and redeemed

humankind, was though her "Ecce ancilla domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum"— at the Annunciation. Musically, as we have seen, the words "tunc tu clamas" receive special weight through the introduction of the a motive, and the quality of Mary's voice, "clara," is awarded the highest point in the range of the piece, making Mary's "clear voice" a truly climactic moment. Therefore, the musical association created through quotational referencing of "Haec est dies" is, in a remarkable fashion, corroborated through the convergence of two texts towards one main event—the Incarnation—enabled through the redeeming power of Mary's voice at the Annunciation.

Furthermore, both texts employ the Eve/Mary opposition motive, a common trope in the Marian devotion of medieval culture. "Cum erubuerint" draws a contrast between the "unhappy parents" who caused the fall (which obviously includes Eve) and Mary who saves humanity from that fall; "Haec est dies" states that, while death came through a woman (Eve), death was driven away by another woman (Mary). These thematic similarities between the two texts support Hildegard's modelling of "Cum erubuerint," both textually and musically, on "Haec est dies" for the Annunciation. I further suggest that, while the generic rubric in both manuscripts of Hildegard's music maintains a flexibility of its liturgical application, the feast of the Annunciation and throughout its octave would have posed especially apt occasions for singing this chant in Hildegard's community given the intertextual connection.

"Cum erubuerint" is thus not only augmented through referencing another Marian chant, but the emphasis on Mary's voice is consonant, as we have seen, with the emphasis on a first-person mode of Mariology/Mariological allusion and the agency of Mary's voice in the twelfth century. Hildegard not only foregrounds Mary's voice in "O

Fili dilectissime," but also consciously draws attention to it in "Cum erubuerint" in a twofold manner: by directly referencing Mary's "crying out with a loud voice" textually, and by reminding the singer of Mary's historic "Be it done unto me according to thy word" musically. Consequently, I suggest that "Cum erubuerint" unveils yet another case of Mariological allusion in Hildegard's output which, through its singular rumination on a quoted chant from the Office of the Annunciation, focuses ardently on the redemptive potency of Mary's voice.

Conclusion

Mariological allusion applied to female saints and the Virgin Mary through musical intertextuality, illustrated through the multi-pronged methodology laid out in this chapter, and incorporating digital techniques such as the Melody Search Tool on the CANTUS Database, was a clear, purposeful phenomenon in medieval plainchant. This referencing concords with the textual applications of Mariological allusion to women which we observed at the beginning of this chapter. A musical reference could be employed to create a "Marianization" of a female saint, as one can see in the case studies of chants from the offices of female saints like St. Hedwig and St. Mary of Egypt. Hildegard's awareness of this phenomenon becomes truly manifest in her application of the melody of "Ave regina caelorum" to a chant for virgins, by means of which she "Marianizes" not one, but multiple virgin saints depending on whose feast day "O nobilissima" would have been sung. Finally, the shared intertextual relationship between "Cum erubuerint" and "Haec est dies" shows that even Mary herself could be honored with additional layers of Mariological referencing; in this particular case, Hildegard provides a unique contribution to the twelfth-century appreciation for Mary's voice by

highlighting her "clara voce," her clear voice, through musical intertextuality. Musical analysis demonstrates that Mariological allusion through musical referencing could take on multiple forms, from the clear-cut contrafact referencing of "Alma pupillorum mater" with "Alma redemptoris mater," to the "melodic reworking" of "Ave regina caelorum" within Hildegard's "O nobilissima," to the quotational usage of "Haec est dies" within Hildegard's "Cum erubuerint."

Additionally, given the multifaceted roles the members of a religious congregation played as performers, listeners, ruminators, and memorial archives, it would have been highly unlikely that these cases of musical intertextuality, of "sound and sense," would have gone unnoticed, would not have borne spiritual fruit and symbolism in the souls of those living and embodying the inner workings of the liturgy on a day-by-day basis. This means that the concept of "knowing" a liturgical plainchant would have been beyond that which perhaps even the modern mind can fully grasp. In the case of Hildegard, each chant would have been fully embodied on a singular level and, I suggest, would not have been randomly or unconsciously incorporated into another source. John Stevens, in noting some of the similarities between Hildegard's "Alleluia o virga mediatrix" and "Alleluia: O Maria rubens," states, in somewhat contradictory terms, that Hildegard must have definitely known the latter chant, while declaring it "highly unlikely" that she would have consciously modelled her own "Alleluia" melody on "Alleluia: O Maria rubens."[70] This assumption is based, understandably, on our modern lack of understanding of what it really meant to "know" a chant in medieval culture.

[70] John Stevens, "The Musical Individuality of Hildegard's Songs: A Liturgical Shadowland," in *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of Her Thought and Art*, edited by Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London: The Warburg Institute, 1998), 186-187.

Ultimately, this distinctive kind of "knowledge" would have probed the depths of sensory awareness and summoned every force of body and soul to the service of embodying deeper layers of spiritual truths, for which the art of musical referencing would have been an apt device. Coupling such a device to the art of Mariological allusion in the "Golden Age of Mariology,"[71] would most likely have been consciously used, passionately felt, and intimately experienced by those seeking additional layers of theological meaning in relation to the beloved *Mater Dei*. Such layering would not only have "Marianized" the female saints whom Hildegard and her nuns venerated; it would also have set the tone for them to consistently ruminate and work towards their own personal imitation of Mary's boundless virtue, leading in turn, given the twelfth-century climate, to greater and deeper levels of embodiment of Mary's vocal agency.

[71] Graef, *Mary*, 165-207.

Chapter Four: Pedagogy of Mariological Allusion in Hildegard of Bingen's *Ordo Virtutum*

Hildegard of Bingen's liturgical drama, *Ordo virtutum*, is a singular achievement and could arguably be considered the capstone of her compositional activity. Audrey Ekdahl Davidson describes it as "one of the most important dramatic works of the Middle Ages," with "remarkable text … set to music which is no less powerful in its aesthetic effect."[1] Drawing upon multiple layers of imagery, including Isaiah, the Apocalypse, and the Song of Songs,[2] and subtly evoking the twelfth-century rite for the Consecration of Virgins,[3] the *Ordo* delineates the process and struggle towards virtue as channeled through the character Anima, a personification of the soul, and the Virtues, whose purpose and mission is "to gather souls within the heavenly embrace."[4] Because of the treasure of resonances which the *Ordo* exudes, and because its allegorical presentation of abstract personas evokes a myriad of images, scholars have been able to uncover numerous aspects of this work and provide a variety of interpretations. Margot Fassler, for instance, has suggested that the similarity of themes/presentation of the virtues within the *Ordo* with the allegorical architecture/framing of virtues in Book Three of Hildegard's *Scivias*, points to the interactivity of the two works within Hildegard's

[1] Audrey Ekdahl Davidson, "Music and Performance: Hildegard of Bingen's *Ordo Virtutum,*" in *The "Ordo Virtutum" of Hildegard of Bingen: Critical Studies*, edited by Audrey Ekdahl Davidson, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series, 18 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), 1.
[2] Peter Dronke, trans. and ed., *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, Cambridge Medieval Classics 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 147.
[3] Pamala Sheingorn, "The Virtues of Hildegard's *Ordo Virtutum*; or, It *Was* a Woman's World" in *The "Ordo Virtutum" of Hildegard of Bingen: Critical Studies*, 52-57, and Alison Altstatt, "The *Ordo virtutum* and Benedictine Monasticism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, forthcoming, [final pagination unavailable].
[4] Margot Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture in *Scivias*," 338.

female community.[5] Christine Jolliffe elucidates the presence of Neoplatonic influences within the *Ordo*, Roswitha Dabke suggests that the Beatitudes and the Gifts of the Holy Spirit create a schematic framework for the Virtues, and Alison Altstatt points to similarities of dramatic imagery between Hildegard's *Ordo* and the apocryphal *Descensus Christi ad Infernos*, or descent of Christ into Hell.[6] These interpretations and many others point to a sophisticated level of design on Hildegard's part, by which simultaneous ideas and dynamic levels of understanding can be gleaned from her liturgical drama.

Nevertheless, Hildegard's *Ordo virtutum* is more than just a drama capable of invoking diverse layers of meaning and perspective. It is also a masterful synthesis and consummation of the themes presented in this thesis. Hildegard not only employs the "voice of Mary" throughout her *Ordo*, but she also applies Mariological allusion directly to her virtues (and, in a certain sense, to Anima as well), both through textual allusions to Mary as well as through musical intertextuality. In this chapter, I argue that Hildegard meaningfully employs what I call a "Pedagogy of Mariological Allusion" within this liturgical drama, one which is designed, through a dynamic interplay of perspectives, to have the virtues personify Mary herself, but more importantly, speak and act as her. This simulates the physical presence of Mary and, I suggest, resonates with, as we have already seen, a twelfth-century yearning for hearing and having a connection with the Virgin's voice. Furthermore, I suggest that Hildegard's approach is deeply motivated by

[5] Ibid., 317-378.
[6] Christine Jolliffe, "Neoplatonic Influences in Hildegard of Bingen's *Ordo Virtutum*" (Master's thesis, McGill University, 1991); Roswitha Dabke, "The Hidden Scheme of the Virtues in Hildegard of Bingen's *Ordo Virtutum*" *Parergon* 23, no. 1 (2006): 11-46; and Altstatt, "The *Ordo virtutum*," [final pagination unavailable].

an inner concern and anxiety for the personal salvation of each of her nuns, and that she not only uses Mariological intertextuality, as we have seen, both through text (Bertha in *The Life of Rupert*) and through music ("O nobilissima"), but also meticulously employs it within the context of the *Ordo* to facilitate a dynamic "Marianization" of her own nuns, one which will help ensure their salvation. Because of this, while I agree with Altstatt and Fassler that the *Ordo* is designed to be open-ended,[7] I propose that Mariological allusion, through text and music, holds an especially prominent role, and that the theme of Mary, specifically in the power of her speech, overshadows the *Ordo* to a much greater degree than has previously been acknowledged, placing emphasis for once not just on the voice "of the Living Light," but on that of Mary herself. Notwithstanding the flexibility and diversity of interpretations which emanate from it, the *Ordo* is a striking contribution to the twelfth-century climate of Mariological works such as Honorius's and Rupert's which emphasize the tangible experience of Mary's voice, and which may also have inspired Hildegard's use of Mariological allusion. Ultimately, I will demonstrate that the *Ordo virtutum* challenges previous assumptions about the extent of Hildegard's Mariology, and should be placed alongside Hildegard's sixteen Marian plainchants, both as an implicit tribute to the Virgin Mary, and as a masterpiece of Mariological allusion.

This chapter first provides an overview and contextualization of the *Ordo virtutum*, including a brief discussion of the manuscripts containing it and its dating. Next, I will elucidate what I propose are the driving forces/hidden rationale behind the use of Mariological allusion in the *Ordo virtutum* based on a comparison with Hildegard's other writings. Finally, I will proceed to a detailed analysis of select chants

[7] Altstatt, "The *Ordo virtutum*," [final pagination unavailable] and Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture," 370.

featuring Mariological intertextuality both textually and musically and explain how Hildegard shapes the presentation of Mariological allusion in specific ways throughout the scenes of the *Ordo*.

Brief Overview of the *Ordo Virtutum*

The plot of the *Ordo virtutum* can be roughly divided into six sections.[8] In the first, the patriarchs and prophets herald the coming of the virtues by chanting the text, "Qui sunt hi, qui ut nubes" (Who are these, who are like clouds?) The virtues, patriarchs and prophets describe their respective roles in the divine plan, with the patriarchs relating to the virtues that "We are the roots, and you, the boughs" (Nos sumus radices et vos rami). The second section features the laments of embodied souls wandering in the world, juxtaposed with Anima, who, although initially happy in her anticipation of the joys of eternal life, loses heart when the virtues inform her that they must fight the spiritual battle with her, and laments the seemingly insuperable difficulties, the "harsh weight" (durum pondus) of this life while in the body. Although the virtues, especially Knowledge of God, provide encouragement, Anima defiantly resolves to engage with things of the world, and succumbs to the enticements of the devil (the only character to whom Hildegard assigns a speaking, not singing, role), who tells Anima that the world will "embrace you with great honor" (amplectetur te magno honore). The virtues mourn Anima's fall from grace, with a brief discourse between Humility, the queen of the

[8] While the extant manuscripts containing the *Ordo* provide no indications of formal divisions of the drama, various scholars have suggested conceptualizing it in terms of specific acts/scenes. Audrey Ekdahl Davidson's and Peter Dronke's interpretations, which I echo here as well, correspond in denoting six sections, including an introduction/prologue and closing/finale; Margot Fassler's interpretation, however, is much more detailed, incorporating as it does the alignment of virtues in the *Ordo* with those associated with specific allegorical towers/pillars in the *Scivias*, creating four acts of the drama which are subdivided into eleven scenes. See Davidson, "Music and Performance," 8-9; Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, 147-151; and Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture," 335-336.

virtues, and the devil. In the third section, the virtues define themselves and outline their distinctive qualities/roles in salvation, with an interactive interplay of perspectives in which each virtue declaims herself in first person, and the rest of the virtues collectively respond in second-person to her words, unperturbed by the occasionally-shouted interjection by the devil. Anima returns in the fourth section, wounded by her intercourse with sin, and contritely pleads for healing and strength from the virtues; they urge her to run back to them (Curre ad nos) and fortify her for the ultimate battle. In the fifth section, the devil returns, voraciously declaring that he will fight and regain possession of Anima, only to be bound up and defeated by the virtues at Queen Humility's command. Upon the devil's vanquishing the virtues rejoice and praise God the Father, with Chastity rhetorically casting down the devil one final time by invoking the Incarnation. The *Ordo* concludes in the final section with its own singular "In principio," calling to mind the initial *viriditas*, or life-force, of the world in a primordial state of grace before the fall in Eden, with the voice of Christ proclaiming to the Father the spiritual struggle which will last until the end of time.[9]

The manuscript transmission and dating of the *Ordo* have received close consideration in Hildegard scholarship. There are only two extant manuscripts which transmit the neumed liturgical drama: the twelfth-century Riesencodex, and the fifteenth-century London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 15102, prepared for the German polymath and humanist Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516), himself the abbot of both Sponheim (1482-1506) and Würzburg (1506-1516), as well as an avid supporter/collector

[9] I will use Dronke's English translation of the text of the *Ordo* throughout this chapter, with slight modifications on my part in some cases. See *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, 160-181.

of the works of Hildegard of Bingen. A third manuscript, Vienna, Austrian National Library 721, also contained the *Ordo virtutum*, but this source was lost in the nineteenth century.[10] The Riesencodex thus contains the only known version of the *Ordo*, replete with both text and music, which is contemporaneous with Hildegard's lifetime. It has been comprehensively analyzed and has also been an important source for multiple editions, including one published as a facsimile.[11] In addition, although the exact dating of the *Ordo virtutum* has been subject to debate, it is feasible that Hildegard had already completed the fully-neumed drama by 1152, since, as Fassler has pointed out, the congruence of themes/structural ideas in the *Ordo* with those in the *Scivias* (which itself concludes with a text-only, shortened version of the *Ordo*, the *Exhortatio virtutum*), suggests simultaneous creative activity on both works, with the *Scivias* being completed approximately 1151 or 1152.[12] Finally, both the Riesencodex and Dendermonde manuscripts were prepared close to the end of Hildegard's life in the 1170's, and close analysis of the scribal activities of Disibodenberg and Rupertsberg suggests active copying practices by members of her community; thus, the preparation of the folios

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[10] Vincent Corrigan, editor, *Hildegard of Bingen,"Ordo virtutum": A Comparative Edition* (Lions Bay: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2013), ix-xi.

[11] The facsimile edition is the following: Hildegard of Bingen, *Lieder: Faksimile Riesencodex (Hs. 2) der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden, fol. 466-481v,* edited by Lorenz Welker, and with commentary by Michael Klaper, Elementa musicae 1 (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert Verlag, 1998). Other music editions include Maura Böckeler and Pudentiana Barth's *Der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen: Reigen der Tugenden, "Ordo Virtutum,"* edited, translated, and transcribed by the Hildegard Abbey (Berlin: St. Augustinus-Verlag, 1927); Audrey Ekdahl Davidson's *Ordo virtutum* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985); and the comparative edition by Vincent Corrigan (referenced in the previous footnote) juxtaposing transcriptions of both the Riesencodex and London 15102 versions of the *Ordo virtutum.*

[12] Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture," 317-320, and *Scivias*, trans. Hart and Bishop, 59-61. Hildegard relates in her opening to *Scivias* that she was commanded in a vision to begin writing *Scivias* in 1141, and that she completed it "in ten years" (*Scivias*, 61); however, because she did not immediately write what she saw and heard "for a long time" (60) until compelled to by sickness, the exact commencing of *Scivias* is unclear; nevertheless, as Fassler has indicated, subsequent study of her vita (and letters) shows that Hildegard's beloved confidante, Richardis, stayed with her through its completion and did not leave Rupertsberg until 1152, thus the general end dating of 1151/1152 for *Scivias* is a reasonable surmise. Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture," 318 (footnote) and "The Life of Hildegard," in *Jutta and Hildegard*, trans. Silvas, 165-166.

containing the *Ordo* in the Riesencodex (the musical folios of which, once again, demonstrate evidence of separate use before they were added to the manuscript) would have been directly influenced on some level by Hildegard herself.[13] Consequently, while Corrigan has elucidated ways in which the London 15102 *Ordo* (based on another manuscript exemplar, also lost) clarifies and supplements the musical content of the Riesencodex version,[14] the latter—being the only extant manuscript containing the *Ordo* from Hildegard's lifetime with clear origins/connections with her community—will be the basis of the musical examples discussed in this chapter.

The Case for Mariological Allusion in the *Ordo Virtutum* Based on Hildegard's Other Writings

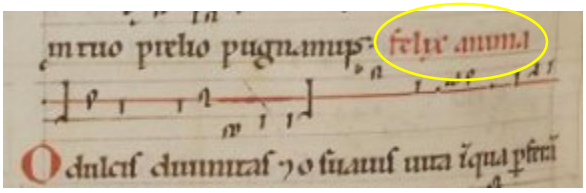
Aside from the *Exhortatio virtutum* at the end of *Scivias*, Hildegard does not provide any other direct reference to the *Ordo virtutum*, nor did she write any explicit commentary (whether in a treatise, personal correspondence, or otherwise) naming and discussing this work. In addition, although rubrics in the *Ordo* call for specific emotions/attitudes by various characters (for example, Figure 4.1 demonstrates the detailed transformation in mood required of Anima, from happy—felix anima—to depressed and lamenting—sed, gravata anima conqueritur—to unhappy—infelix anima), none of the directives liken the Virtues to Mary. The absence of clear-cut evidence pointing to Mariological allusion in the *Ordo*, however, does not exclude characteristics from Hildegard's other works which indirectly support this mode of interpretation. In particular, there are three main themes in certain passages of Hildegard's other writings

[13] Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture," 320; Fassler, "Hildegard of Bingen and Her Scribes," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, forthcoming, [final pagination unavailable].
[14] Corrigan, *Ordo virtutum*, ix-x and xxiii-xxix.

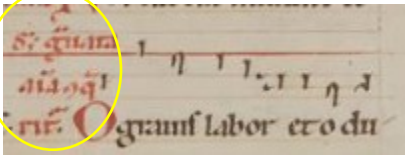
which I suggest point to, and may have been driving forces precipitating, a pedagogical use of Mariological allusion in the *Ordo*: allegorical references to Mary, longing, and anxiety.

Figure 4.1 Juxtaposition of *Ordo* rubrics pertaining to Anima (with abbreviations in the Riesencodex for the words "Sed," "gravata," "anima," "conqueritur")

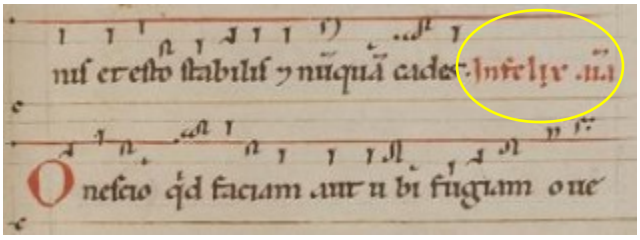
"O dulcis divinitas" (OV 5), *Ordo virtutum*, D-WI1 2, 478v



"O gravis labor" (OV 9), *Ordo virtutum*, D-WI1 2, 479r



"O nescio quid faciam" (OV 13), *Ordo virtutum*, D-WI1 2, 479r



The first theme—allegorical references to Mary—becomes manifest through a perusal of select homilies by Hildegard. Her exegesis of the Nativity allegorizes Mary through the virtue Charity (one of the virtues in the *Ordo virtutum* as well as the subject of her antiphon "Karitas habundat"), particularly through her description of Christ's

Birth: "*She gave birth to her first-born son, wrapped him with cloths, and laid him to rest in a manger, because there was no place for them at the inn*. Charity brought forth Obedience, the foremost virtue, embraced it, and placed it in Humility, because there was no place for Vanity."[15] Kienzle draws out the parallels between this homily and the *Ordo virtutum*, both in their shared dramatic structures as well as imagery of associating Charity with Mary.[16] In the *Ordo*, Charity's statement of leading the virtues "into the radiant light of the flowering branch" (perducam vos in candidam lucem floris virge) calls to mind Mary, the flowering rod of Jesse who maintains her virginity; however, it should be noted that, since Charity is not clearly stated to be the "rod" herself, her role as a personification of Mary in the *Ordo*, based solely on her speech, is not self-evident. However, in conjunction with other factors which I will explicate in this chapter, Hildegard's homily helps clarify Charity's role in the *Ordo*, since it shows that Hildegard consciously conceptualized Mary in this manner and was clearly open to viewing a virtue through a Marian lens, employing it in her sermonizing for pedagogical purposes.[17] Similarly, Hildegard associates Mary dualistically with innocence and virginity in one of her sermons for the Feast of the Epiphany, when she states that "*His mother* clearly [stands for] innocence, because virginity confers the innocence that Cain lost by shedding his brother's blood; whence afterwards the innocent Christ arose for saving the people."[18]

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[15] Hildegard of Bingen, *Homilies on the Gospels*, translated by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Cistercian Studies Series 241 (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2011), 53. Italics in source.
[16] Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen and Her Gospel Homilies*, 225-226. For a more detailed comparison of Hildegard's use of virtue personification in both her sermons and the *Ordo*, see Chapter Five, "The *Expositiones* and the *Ordo Virtutum*," 199-243.
[17] As Kienzle correctly states, "the brilliant light of the flowering branch recalls the splendour that surrounds the birth in the homily" (*Hildegard of Bingen and Her Gospel Homilies*, 226); however, such "recalling" implies that it is the sermon and its content, not so much Charity's speech in the *Ordo*, which cements a clear Mariological connection between Charity and Mary.
[18] Hildegard of Bingen, *Homilies on the Gospels*, 70. Square brackets in source.

Not only is the "birthing" theme apparent in both sermons—Charity bringing forth Obedience, Virginity bringing forth Innocence—but all of these virtues which Hildegard links with Mary in these homilies (Charity, Innocence, and Virginity) also appear in the *Ordo*. Her allegorical association of Mary with virtues in her commentaries on scripture, therefore, shows a conscious willingness to "Marianize" virtues in specific contexts in order to instruct her listeners in deeper spiritual realities, strengthening the possibility that she might consciously do so as well in her *Ordo virtutum*, itself a pedagogical work emphasizing the practice of specific virtues.

Allegorical references to Mary also appear in Hildegard's *Scivias*, albeit more subtly. Visual illustrations of specific virtues (in the photographs of the illuminations of a now-lost Rupertsberg version of *Scivias*) and descriptions of them are Mariologically suggestive.[19] Such is the case, for instance, with Hildegard's description of the virtue Mercy in Book Three, Vision Three, who "has her head veiled in womanly fashion with a white veil," is the "fruitful mother of souls saved from perdition," and "appears in feminine form because, when one virginal body was enclosed by womanly chastity, sweetest Mercy arose in the womb of Mary; Mercy had always dwelt in the Father."[20] Mercy is thus connected with the virginal conception as well as Mary's predestination in the heart of God the Father, drawing out, once again, the sapiential Mariology of the twelfth century. Mercy herself also speaks in the *Scivias*, stating that, "I stretch out my

[19] Facsimile images of these illuminations can be accessed here on the Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Hildegard website: https://www.abtei-st-hildegard.de/die-scivias-miniaturen/. Mariological allusion can occur visually through the medium of art, sculpture, etc., and illustrations in extant manuscripts arguably contribute to this mode of allusion; while an analysis of this kind of Mariological allusion is not the focus of this thesis, it would be a worthwhile undertaking in another project.
[20] Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, 3.3.8, trans. Hart and Bishop, 348-349.

hands always to pilgrims, and the needy, and the poor and weak, and those who groan";[21] because these words conjure in the imagination an answer to the pleas arising from the votive Marian antiphon "Salve regina," Mercy's words could also be considered an example of first-person Mariological allusion.

Another virtue, Knowledge of God, in Book Three, Vision Four, is imbued with Marian imagery. This virtue is surrounded by a "beautiful multitude, with the appearance and wings of angels, standing in great veneration" and has "the terror of divine brilliance in her face and the brightness of her beauty in her garments."[22] Not only does this description, as well as the visual depiction of this virtue in *Scivias*, equate her with Mary, it also evokes the Marianization of Song of Songs 6:9 in the liturgy: "Who is she that cometh forth as the morning rising, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army set in array?"[23] In addition, as Fassler explains, "she [Knowledge of God] is preacher-like in her stance … ready to expound the sense of Scripture."[24] Knowledge of God's role as teacher, revealer of truth, concords with the apprehension of Mary's pedagogical authority, a role which is evident in the commentaries of Honorius and Rupert. While the allegorical connections of select virtues with Mary in *Scivias* are less clear-cut than those in her sermons, they are nonetheless present; in fact, the *Ordo*, as an analysis of text and music will show, verifies some of these Marian associations, confirming Fassler's premise that Hildegard's *Scivias* and *Ordo* were meant to collaboratively convey deeper truths to Hildegard's community.[25]

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[21] Ibid., 343.
[22] Ibid., 358 and 364.
[23] Douay Rheims translation.
[24] Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture," 341.
[25] Ibid., 319.

The second theme present in Hildegard's writings which, I suggest, would have created an affinity for using Mariological allusion in the *Ordo*, is that of longing. Hildegard's *Scivias* raises longing to the level of a distinct virtue, one which, although not included in either the *Ordo* or the *Exhortatio virtutum*, alludes to the twelfth-century pining for the presence of God Himself (and, by extension, His Mother). Longing (gemitus) "is pale and troubled, because her faith always sighs and sobs for eternal felicity";[26] furthermore, she longs for Christ Himself, carrying a cross with His image on her right arm.[27] Hildegard's description of this virtue aligns perfectly with twelfth-century sentiments of internal compunction of heart, the "longing for the remembered life,"[28] by which one could keep a steady gaze on personal salvation, even if one was not bestowed the tremendous fortune of seeing Christ in His second coming before the end of one's earthly life. While Hildegard does not expressly connect the longing of this virtue with the desire to hear Christ's and Mary's voices, I suggest that it is indirectly implied in her theology of music, in which singing is inextricably bound up with nostalgia for Eden.[29] As she states in one of her letters, "sometimes a person sighs and groans at the sound of singing, remembering, as it were, the nature of celestial harmony."[30] Adam's "angelic voice" contributing to this harmony was lost through original sin;[31] Mary's "clara voce" in "Cum erubuerint," however, counteracts this loss of voice and longing for it by facilitating the means by which such vocal ability might be regained, such celestial sounds heard once again. Consequently, I argue that Hildegard's emphasis on the virtue

[26] Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, 3.3.13, trans. Hart and Bishop, 353.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Newman, "Introduction," in *Symphonia*, 25.
[30] Letter 23, "Hildegard to the prelates at Mainz," vol. 1, trans. Baird and Ehrman, 79.
[31] Ibid., 78.

Longing in *Scivias*, coupled with a nostalgia for the lost song in Eden, may have indicated or facilitated a desire to auditorily draw out the speech of the woman who redeemed humanity through her voice. Given Mary's supremacy as a model of virtue, having her speak through the *Ordo* would have been an excellent means of both pedagogically having the magistra's nuns imitate Mary and of fulfilling (as well as, paradoxically, furthering) an inner longing for the sweetness of the Virgin's speech.

Additionally, while the virtue Longing does not formally play a role in the *Ordo*, her sentiments overshadow the drama as a whole: the laments of the embodied souls wandering in sin yearn for the inheritance which they had lost through Adam's sin (hereditatem quam in Adam perdidimus); Anima sighs for divinity and calls upon the Virtues (ad te suspiro, et omnes Virtutes invoco); and the Virtues themselves mention and express longing (desiderio) at specific moments in the drama. Furthermore, Book One, Vision Four of *Scivias* supplements and expounds on the *Ordo*'s dichotomy of the soul-body struggle by elaborating in meticulous detail the struggle of the lamenting soul in the world against the varied attacks by the devil. This soul, in a disconsolate state, finds respite and protection from evil forces by flocking to Mary: "I look to God Who gave me life, and I run to the Most Blessed Virgin who trod underfoot the pride of the ancient abyss, and thus I am made a strong stone of God's edifice; and that rapacious wolf, who choked on the divine hook, from now on cannot conquer me."[32] These laments, these longings in Book One, Vision Four of *Scivias* are not only ameliorated through Mary, but the act of hearkening to the Virgin is implied in various places through the *Ordo*, as I will demonstrate in this chapter. In short, longing not only would have possibly encouraged

[32] Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, 1.4.7, trans. Hart and Bishop, 115.

Mariological allusion in the *Ordo* as a means of hearing Mary's voice; its sentiments, intricately expressed in *Scivias* both through the laments of embodied souls as well as virtue personification, overshadow the *Ordo* and encourage a "run to the Most Blessed Virgin" as a means of achieving both spiritual fortification and consolation.

The final theme which I suggest would have been an underlying motivator for Mariological allusion in the *Ordo* is that of anxiety. While, of course, anxiety as it relates to ensuring personal salvation is closely connected with longing in the twelfth century, in this context I refer to the specific concern of Hildegard about her nuns. In a letter to Guibert of Gembloux which was affixed to his *Vita sanctae Hildegardis*, she informs him of her care for the spiritual and bodily welfare of her nuns; furthermore, she related a vision which filled her **"with great disquietude"** (magna sollicitudine), in which "the spirits of the air were fighting against us, and … these same spirits had entangled some of my noble-born daughters…. I made this known to them and fenced them about and armed them with the words of Holy Scripture and with the discipline of the Rule and with a sound monastic life."[33] This anxiety may also have instigated her incorporation of nine texts of her Marian chants in a letter to her nuns, in which she extolled the redemption of the female form through Mary, and, shortly after describing Mary's "viridity" in one of these chant texts (O viridissima virga), counselled her nuns through the "Voice of the Living Light" to "Be filled with holy and elect viridity,"[34] implying a form of imitation of the Virgin. While her fear for her daughters' respective salvations does not directly prove the presence of Mariological allusion in the *Ordo*, I suggest that Hildegard's earnestness

[33] "The Life of Hildegard," in *Jutta and Hildegard*, trans. Silvas, 173-174. The first phrase translated here, "with great disquietude," is my only deviation from Silvas's translation. For the Latin text, see "Vita Sanctae Hildegardis," in *Sanctae Hildegardis Abbatissae opera omnia*, ed. Migne, 112.
[34] Letter 192, "Hildegard to the Congregation of Nuns," vol. 2, trans. Baird and Ehrman, 162, 159-164.

to "arm them" would have exhausted every means possible of ensuring their protection from spiritual downfall, with the *Ordo* functioning as a vital resource; moreover, her implicit encouragement to her nuns to follow the example of Mary would have found fulfillment in actually facilitating this imitation through personification. Also, given the over-arching twelfth-century anxiety about staying in the Virgin's graces given her mediating role with her Son, Hildegard's concern for her nuns would have arguably stimulated didactic methods of helping them stay closer to the model of all virgins. Her letter to her nuns infused with some of her Marian chant texts, I suggest, shows one such method; the *Ordo*, as I will show through textual/musical analysis, is another.[35]

These three themes—allegorical references to Mary, longing, and anxiety—would, I argue, have functioned on some level as facilitators/driving forces of Mariological allusion in the *Ordo*, both as a means of pedagogically imitating Mary for the sake of personal salvation, and of satiating an inner urge for her voice. Regardless of exact motivation, however, scrutiny of the *Ordo*'s text and music will demonstrate that the *Ordo* is carefully constructed in a manner underscoring the presence of Mariological allusion.

Textual and Musical Analysis of the *Ordo Virtutum*

The first scene of the *Ordo virtutum* creates a kind of Mariological exposition, setting the tone for the development of allusions to Mary throughout the rest of the

[35] Although the specific context of "O Fili dilectissime" in Hildegard's output is difficult to determine, there is a possibility that this instance of first-person Mariology may also have been used in a dramatic context to help encourage Marian imitation for Hildegard's nuns, since the text has Mary beseeching her Son to save the "flock of virgins" following after them both; in the Riesencodex Mary's words are directly followed by a response of these virgins. See Newman's discussion of the miscellany of twenty-six texts in "Appendix: The *Symphonia* and the 'Epilogue to the Life of Saint Rupert,'" in *Symphonia*, 68-73, especially 72.

drama. The opening chant (OV 1)[36] sung by the patriarchs and prophets, "Qui sunt hi, qui ut nubes" (Who are these, who come like clouds?), as Altstatt has pointed out, alludes in part to Song of Songs 6:9, "Quae est ista," which would have been used in the Feast of the Assumption; however, since "Qui sunt hi," as Alstatt shows, also recalls the texts of Isaiah 63:1 and Psalm 23:7-9,[37] this opening text is not the deciding precipitator of a Marian connection. Rather, the virtues' response, and, more significantly, the patriarchs and prophets' ensuing commentary, together initiate the association with Mary. The virtues answer the patriarchs and prophets in the following manner (OV 2):

O antiqui sancti, quid admiramini in nobis?
Verbum dei clarescit in forma hominis,
et ideo fulgemus cum illo,
edificantes membra sui pulcri corporis.

You holy ones of old, why do you marvel at us?
The Word of God shines bright in the shape of man,
and thus we shine with him,
building up the limbs of His beautiful body.

This statement affords several interpretations. One is an ecclesial sense, in which the virtues represent the "building of the heavenly Jerusalem," or the Church, the body of Christ. At the same time, these preliminary words are ripe with Marian implications, since the "building up the limbs of His beautiful body" also references the Incarnation. Because Mary conceived and bore Christ Himself, the "building up" readily calls to mind His taking on flesh in the secrecy of her womb for nine months, a process with which the virtues implicitly claim to have had an integral part.

[36] In this chapter I use Dronke's system for numbering the chants of the *Ordo*, which Corrigan employs as well. See Corrigan, *Ordo virtutum: A Comparative Edition*, xxx, xxxii-xxxiii.
[37] Altstatt, "The *Ordo virtutum*," [final pagination unavailable].

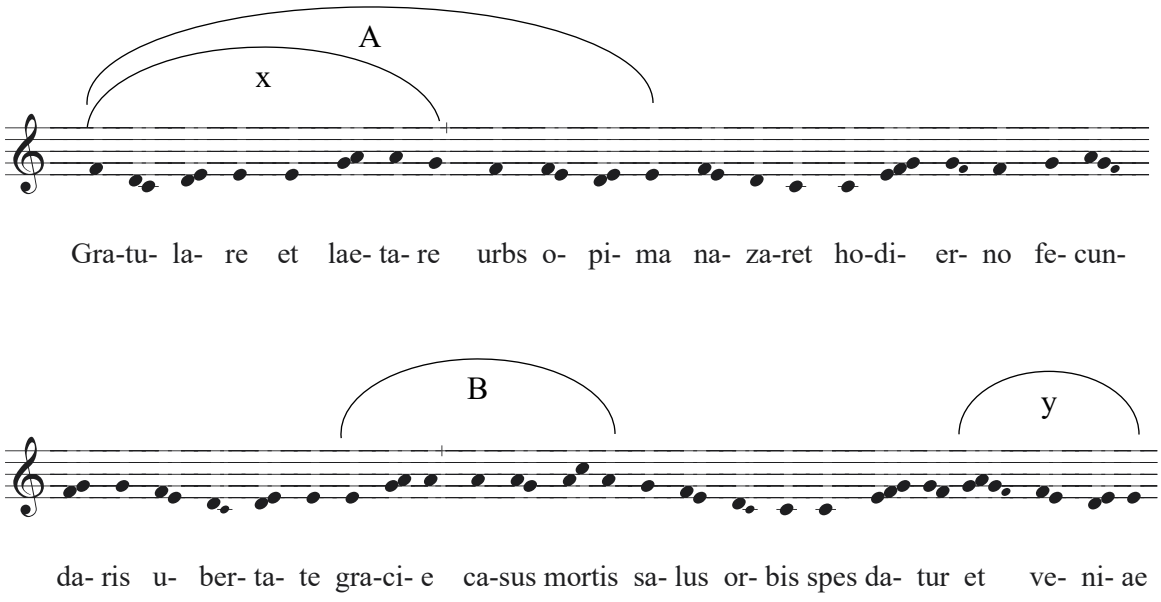
The theme of conception, however, does not end here. Immediately afterwards the patriarchs and prophets declare to the virtues that "We are the roots, and you, the boughs, fruits of the living eye, and in that eye we were the shadow" (Nos sumus radices et vos rami, fructus viventis oculi, et nos umbra in illo fuimus). As Jennifer Bain has shown, "Nos sumus radices" (OV 3) quotes from the beginning of an antiphon sung in the twelfth century on the Feast of the Conception of Mary, "Gratulare et laetare," the text of which reads: "Rejoice and be glad, fertile city of Nazareth, for this day you are made fruitful in an abundance of grace; the fall of death, the deliverance of the world, hope and mercy is granted."[38] Example 4.1 demonstrates shared openings of each chant (subphrase x) enclosed within varied opening phrases (A and A^1), coupled with similar cadential endings in both chants (subphrases y and y^1). The musical connection, through its interplay of "sound and sense," unites the themes of "fruitfulness" and "conception" inherent in "Gratulare et laetare" with those in both "O antiqui" and "Nos sumus," inevitably colouring these chants with Marian intimations. The virtues, "fruits of the living eye," which is God Himself, are united to the "fruitfulness" of Mary's conception in the city of Nazareth, subconsciously making them one and the same (note that the connection is also musically enhanced through phrases B and B^1, the latter of which places emphasis on "viventis oculi," or "living eye," in "Nos sumus," and connects it with the fall of death, the "casus mortis," in "Gratulare"). The Incarnation, celebrating the "building" of Christ's body, is united with Mary's holy conception, honoring the purest matter from which His body was formed. The virtues thus "build the limbs of Christ's

[38] Bain, "Music, Liturgy, and Intertextuality," [final pagination unavailable]. Translation mine.

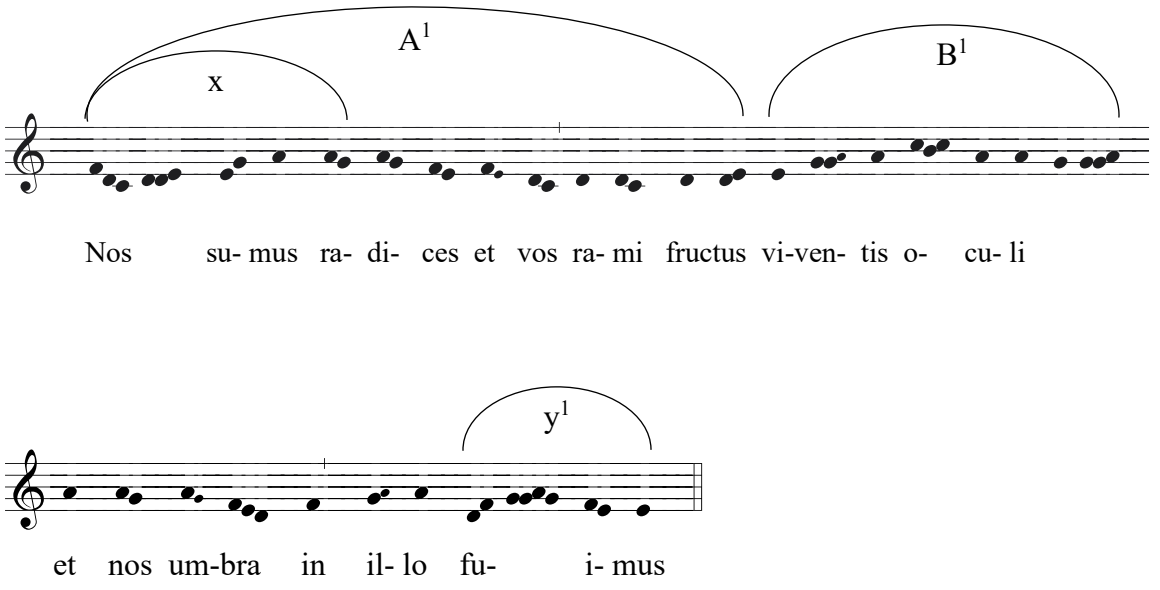
body" as types/representations of Mary, forging a link between the virtues and the Mother of God from the very outset of the drama.

Example 4.1 Comparison of "Nos sumus radices et vos" with "Gratulare et laetare"[39]

"Gratulare et laetare," A-KN 1012, 119v, Conception of Mary



"Nos sumus radices et vos" (OV 3), D-WI1 2, 478v, *Ordo Virtutum*



[39] Lacoste, "Inventory of Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift-Bibliothek, 1012," in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123613; Ignesti, Bain, and Zhang, "Inventory of "Wiesbaden, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, 2 (Riesencodex)," in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/588308.

The next chant, "O nos peregrinae sumus" (OV 4), sung by embodied souls, drastically shifts the tone from purity of conception and the Incarnation to sinfulness, from reverential "Marianizing" of the virtues to sighs and laments of wandering souls. There are, however, important correlations between "O nos peregrinae" and "Nos sumus," mentally linking them for singers and auditors of the *Ordo*. The first connector consists in the shared word "shadow." In "Nos sumus radices," the patriarchs/prophets declare their position in the shadow (umbra) of the divine goodness; in "O nos peregrinae sumus" the wandering souls grieve their straying away from God and subsequent fall into the shadow of sin (in umbram peccatorum). As Dronke states regarding "O nos peregrinae sumus": "We are shown a different *umbra*, a dark shadow of sins existing in the present."[40] This lament, as I have already mentioned, takes on a much fuller scale in Book One, Vision Four of *Scivias*; however, both the extended version in *Scivias* and the condensed version in the *Ordo* include direct mention of the shadow into which these souls have wandered.

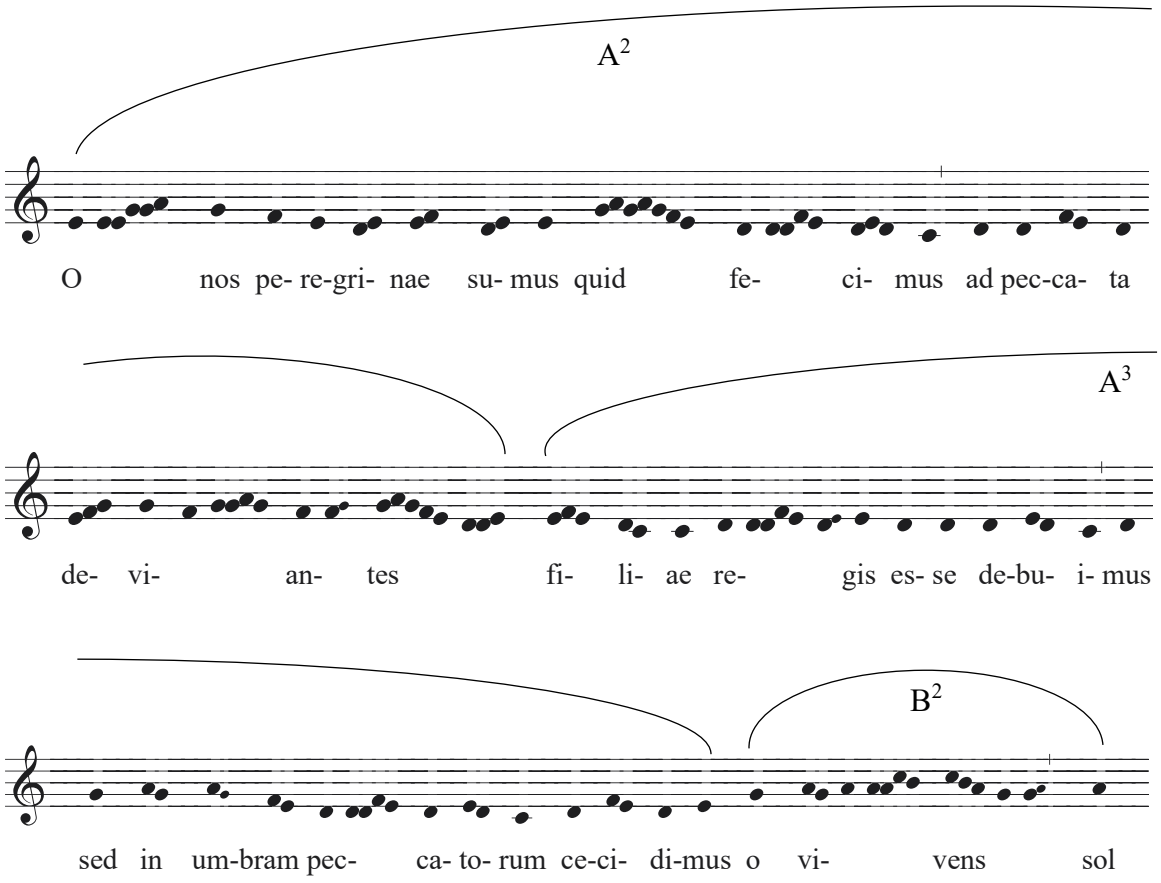
Furthermore, the musical content of "O nos peregrinae" graphically depicts the "wandering" away from the shadow of grace into that of sin. Davidson correctly declares that the melody of this chant "moves stepwise up and down, back and forth meanderingly to show their [the lamenting souls] wavering and querulous nature."[41] "O nos peregrinae," however, is also an "undulating" variation on the melody of "Nos sumus radices" and, consequently, that of "Gratulare et laetare" as well, auditorily depicting the breadth of distance these sinners have created in straying away from God, from the graces of Mary's

[40] Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, 148.
[41] Davidson, "Music and Performance," 10.

conception and the Incarnation. Example 4.2 displays the laboriously-contrived, drawn-out phrases which are variants of the original A phrase of "Gratulare et laetare." Strikingly, the shift to a varied B phrase (B^2) on "O vivens sol" (O living sun) resonates melodically and textually with "viventes oculi" in "Nos sumus radices," equating the two and underscoring the plea of souls to the "living sun" to save them from perdition and bring them back to the light of grace. The placement of "O nos peregrinae sumus" directly after "Nos sumus radices" not only textually sets up the contrast in "shadow" between the two chants; it allows the original "Gratulare" reference to continue to reverberate in the listener's ear. These souls have not only strayed from the goodness of God, but from the Virgin Mary as well.

Example 4.2 Musical Analysis of "O nos peregrinae sumus"[42]

"O nos peregrinae sumus" (OV 4), D-WI1 2, 478v, *Ordo Virtutum*



The next chant, "O dulcis divinitas" (OV 5), is the first one sung by Anima, marking her introduction into the drama. While she does not echo the sorrow and lamenting of the other souls (yet), she shares with them a longing for the divine. Anima concludes her brief meditation on the sweet divinity (dulcis divinitas) which she will obtain in eternal life with the words "ad te suspiro, et omnes Virtutes invoco" (I sigh for you and invoke all the virtues). Gunilla Iversen points out that this text, particularly with the phrase "ad te suspiro," calls to mind the Marian antiphon "Salve regina," the text of

[42] Ignesti, Bain, and Zhang, "Inventory of "Wiesbaden, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, 2 (Riesencodex)," in *CANTUS.*

which contains the phrase "Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes" (to thee do we sigh, mourning and weeping).[43] As a result, the Mariological allusion initiated through the opening dialogue between the patriarchs/prophets and virtues is continued in Anima's opening speech.

Anima's joy is short-lived; when the virtues inform her that she must fight with them, she loses heart; seeing this, the virtues undertake the task of encouraging her. Together, they sing to her the following (OV 10):

O Anima, voluntate dei constituta,
Et o felix instrumentum, quare tam flebilis es
contra hoc quod deus contrivit in virginea natura?
Tu debes in nobis superare diabolum.

Anima, you that were given your place by the will of God,
you instrument of bliss, why are you so tearful
in the face of the evil God crushed in a maidenly being?
You must overcome the devil in our midst.

Once again, an allusion to the Mother of God is created when the virtues remind Anima of the woman (in virginea natura) through whom God crushed all evil. Because they conclude with the statement that Anima must conquer the devil with their aid, an association is implicitly made between the crushing of evil (contrivit) which God has accomplished through Mary, she who crushed the serpent's head, and the overcoming (superare) which Anima must do with the virtues. Anima must accomplish a task which the "Marianized" virtues are already capable of doing—a defeat of evil which is indirectly analogous to Mary's victory over the devil. Anima is thus not only being called

[43] Gunilla Iversen, "*Ego Humilitatis, regina Virtutum*: Poetic Language and Literary Structure in Hildegard of Bingen's Vision of the Virtues," in *The "Ordo Virtutum" of Hildegard of Bingen: Critical Studies*, 88.

upon to fight evil, but I suggest that she is also being subtly asked to reflect on herself as a kind of Mary, in order to arrive at the courage needed to carry out her spiritual battle. The virtues, themselves symbolizing Mary, suggest to Anima a form of Marian emulation, by means of which she too will conquer the devil.

After Anima supplicates the virtues to give her the strength to endure, Knowledge of God, the first virtue whose solo is heard independently, implores Anima to consider the robe of grace she has received through baptism: "Vide quid illud sit quo es induta, filia salvationis, et esto stabilis, et numquam cades" (Look at the dress you are wearing, daughter of salvation: be steadfast, and you will never fall). Not only is Knowledge of God a loving, didactic guide to Anima (consonant with her appearance as educator in *Scivias*), but, as Fassler explains, she is a pivotal figure in the entire play, one who encapsulates that the virtues are ideas; embodying them can only truly happen by first knowing them.[44] It is fitting that this virtue, which is also only one of three to be directly referenced in Hildegard's *Exhortatio virtutum* (the other two being Humility and Victory), is the first to address Anima as she does.

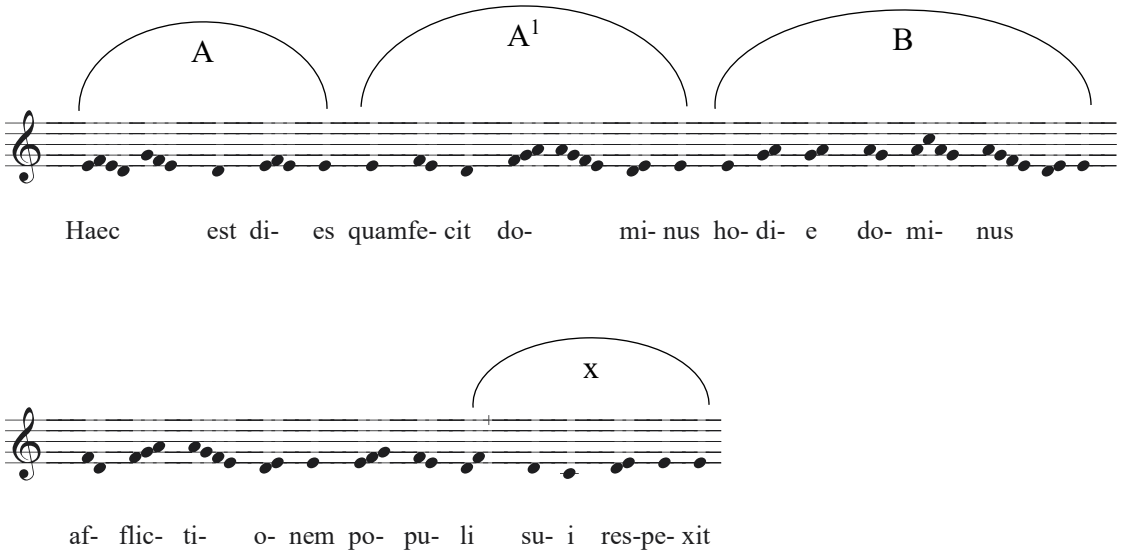
Knowledge of God, however, is more than a kindly advisor to Anima. The pictorial and textual Mariological allusions to her in *Scivias* are spotlighted musically as well in the *Ordo virtutum*. This time, "Haec est dies," the foundational material for Hildegard's "Cum erubuerint," resurfaces as the musical basis for "Vide quid illud sit quo," as Example 4.3 illustrates. The first two phrases of "Vide quid illud sit quo" (A^2 and A^3) are variants of the opening of "Haec est dies"; the third phrase (B^1) is a modified form of phrase B in "Haec est dies." "Vide quid illud sit quo" also quotes the x motive on

[44] Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture," 333 and 341.

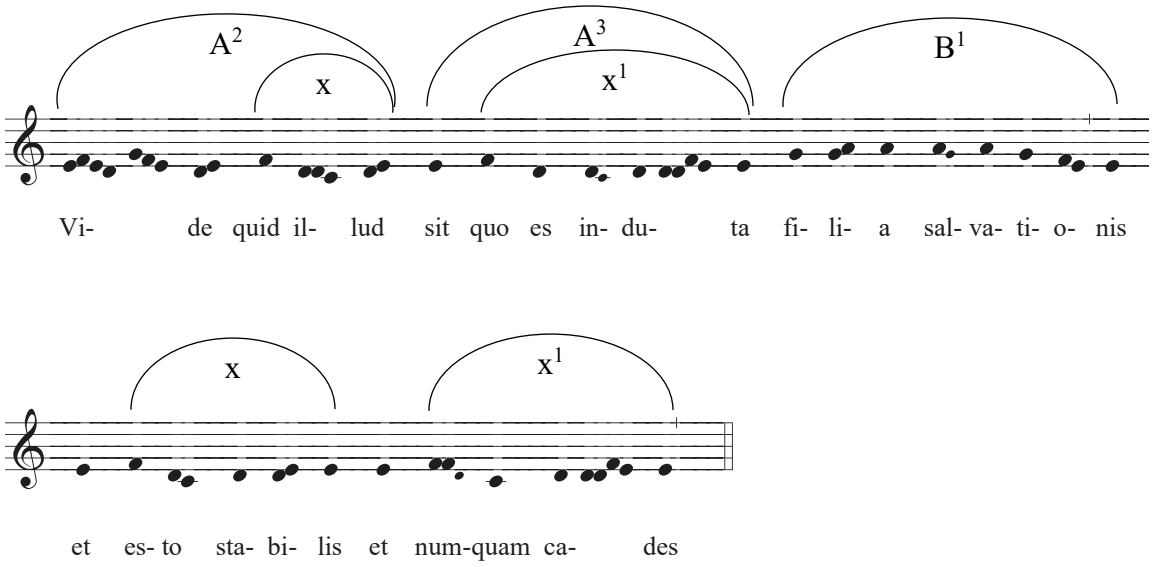
"li" of "populi" and "sui respexit" of "Haec est dies" several times, verbatim as well as in modified form (x^1). Furthermore, Hildegard's nuns likely would have also recalled their magistra's own "Cum erubuerint" when hearing "Vide quid illud," not only because of its musical intertextual relationship with "Haec est dies," but also because "Cum erubuerint" emphasizes the historic "fall" (casus) in its text, and Knowledge of God seeks to protect Anima from a subjective, personal fall from God's grace (cades). As a result, Knowledge of God personifies Mary's role in "Cum erubuerint," "crying out" with her voice to save Anima. Musical referencing also correlates the virtue's namesake, Knowledge of God, with Mary in the sense that she "knew not man," but certainly "knew" Christ Himself more than any other human being through her active receptivity to the Word made flesh. Ultimately, Knowledge of God, in her address to Anima, speaks to her as the Virgin through a musical reference to the Annunciation by aurally conjuring both "Haec est dies" and one of Hildegard's own Marian chants, "Cum erubuerint." As a personification of Mary, Knowledge of God takes on her maternal voice, and imparts her wisdom directly to this perturbed soul.

Example 4.3 Comparison of "Haec est dies" with "Vide quid illud sit quo"[45]

"Haec est dies quam fecit," D-KA Aug. LX, 058v, Annunciation of Mary



"Vide quid illud sit quo" (OV 12), D-WI1 2, 478v, *Ordo Virtutum*



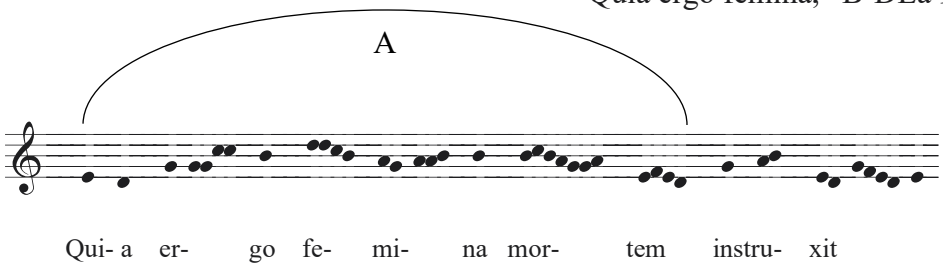
[45] Downey et al., "Karlsruhe," in *CANTUS*, and Ignesti et al., "Wiesbaden," in *CANTUS.*

Hildegard must have wanted Knowledge of God's personification of Mary to have been extremely clear, for this is not the only time this virtue musically references chants for Mary. As Anima continues to languish in discouragement, and the virtues strive to uplift her spirits, Knowledge of God imparts additional guidance, informing Anima that "You do not know or see or taste the One who has set you here" (Tu nescis nec vides nec sapis illum qui te constituit). This time, as Bain has demonstrated, she musically quotes a substantial portion of another of Hildegard's own Marian antiphons,"Quia ergo femina," as shown in Example 4.4.[46] By assigning multiple instances of musical intertextuality—both from a Marian chant outside of her repertoire and from two of her own Marian chants—to the same virtue, Hildegard continually reinforces Knowledge of God's Mariological status as a wise, motherly counsellor of the disquieted Anima, one who has "known" her Son by becoming His Mother and whose voice redeemed humanity.

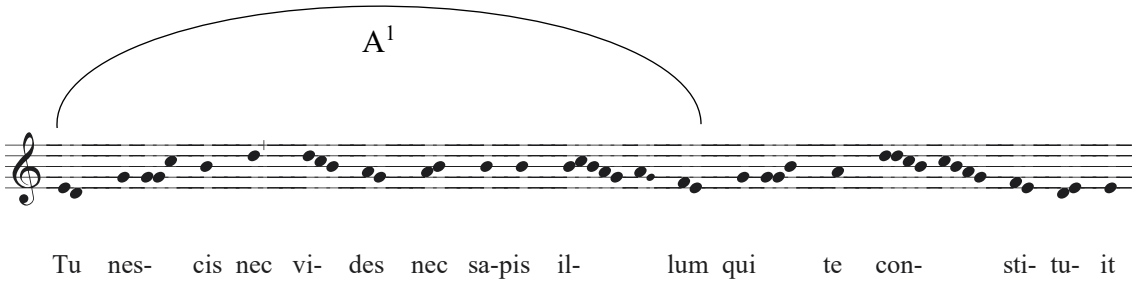
[46] Bain, "Music, Liturgy, and Intertextuality," [final pagination unavailable].

Example 4.4 Comparison of "Quia ergo femina" with "Tu nescis nec vides nec"[47]

"Quia ergo femina," B-DEa 9, 155r, de BMV



"Tu nescis nec vides nec" (OV 15), D-WI1 2, 479r, *Ordo Virtutum*



The rest of this section of the *Ordo* includes Anima's fall from grace, the virtues' mournful reflection on her loss of innocence, and the devil's taunt to Humility that she and her followers do not know what they are. In view of the burgeoning Marian associations, such rhetoric now becomes especially absurd, considering the reality that the virtues not only know who they are, but, in a dynamic sense, have become incarnations of Mary herself, the summit of all virtues. Their communal retort to the devil that they "dwell in the heights" hints at, not merely their status in the abstract, but their close association with the Mother of God, she who was assumed into heaven and now

[47] Jennifer Bain and Nan Zhang, Inventory of "Dendermonde, Sint-Pieters-en Paulusabdij, ms. 9," additional fields added or edited by Alessandra Ignesti, Barbara Swanson, Clare Neil, and Becky Shaw in *CANTUS*, available from https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/588309, accessed April 18th, 2020, and Ignesti et al., "Wiesbaden," in *CANTUS.*

"dwells in the heights" herself, the woman whom they will continue to embody and externalize in various ways throughout the rest of the drama. His premise of their "lack of knowledge," of course, will be rebuffed in even stronger Mariological terms towards the close of the drama, with Chastity's momentous speech.

The next section of the *Ordo* marks a shift in the presentation of Mariological allusion, featuring manifold affirmations of Marian identity through dynamic changes of perspective. While Mary's image has already been overshadowing the virtues from the opening of the drama, this section provides an intriguing interplay in which a first-person perspective (speaking as Mary), coupled with a second-person response (praying to Mary), continually reinforces and deepens the standing of each virtue as a personification of Mary, while customizing the perception to the virtues' respective attributes. While not every virtue receives clear-cut textual/musical treatment in Mariological terms, those that do perpetuate the universal perception of the virtues' Marian-infused roles initiated in the beginning of the *Ordo*. It is this particular section in which the prominent solo voices of the virtues especially echo the workings of offices for Marian feasts, in which, as we observed with the first nocturn of Matins for the Assumption in Engelberg 103, a sequencing of perspectives, a juxtaposing of self-declamation and veneration, intensifies the sounding of Mary's voice. In fact, I suggest that Hildegard is meaningfully attempting to evoke this particular liturgical effect at this stage in the drama, one which, by simulating the Marian liturgies, continually elicits these personifications through "Marianized" voices.

The first self-description is enunciated by Humility, who states the following (OV 22):

Ego, Humilitas, regina Virtutum, dico:
Venite ad me, Virtutes, et enutriam vos
Ad requirendam perditam dragmam
Et ad coronandum in perseverantia felicem.

I, Humility, queen of the virtues, say:
come to me, you Virtues, and I'll give you the skill
to seek and find the drachma that is lost
and to crown her who perseveres blissfully.

While the word "regina" naturally conjures an association with Mary, queen of angels and saints (and by implication, all virtue), it is not so much this statement in itself which reinforces Humility's status as a type of Mary, but the virtues' response (OV 23): "O glorious queen, sweetest mediatrix, we come gladly" (O gloriosa regina, et o suavissima mediatrix, libenter venimus). The Mariological stimulation of the word "mediatrix" in the twelfth century would not have been lost on Hildegard's community, nor would her application of the same superlative, "suavissima" (sweetest), which she uses in her Marian responsory "O tu suavissima virga" (O you, sweetest branch). In this manner, Humility not only speaks as Mary, queen of virtues, but the virtues themselves acknowledge and confirm this status by lauding her with evocative Marian descriptors. Humility responds by promising to fulfill her mediatrix role and keep the place of each virtue "in the royal-wedding chamber" (teneo vos in regali thalamo), alluding to Mary's powerful intercession in obtaining salvation and union with her Divine Son in the mystical marriage.

After Humility's initial address, additional virtues imply their own mediating roles and encourage the others to "come to them" for the unique spiritual gifts which they each have to offer. Charity, for instance, tells the virtues to come to her, and she will lead

them “into the radiant light of the flower of the rod”; the virtues’ response is that they run to her with ardent longing (ardenti desiderio currimus ad te). Likewise, Obedience encourages the virtues to come to her, and she will lead them “to the kiss of the King” (ad osculum regis), followed by their spontaneous wish to come to the “sweetest summoner” (dulcissima vocatrix). Faith relates that if the virtues hearken to her, she will show them the leaping fountain, which is Christ (ostendo vobis fontem salientem). This “leaping fountain” readily calls to mind the text of Hildegard’s Marian antiphon “O splendidissima gemma,” in which Mary conceives the Word as a leaping fountain from the heart of the Father (fons saliens de corde Patris); the virtue of Faith represents she who alone can truly reveal this Word to others. Celestial Love describes herself as the “golden gate fixed in heaven” (aurea porta in caelo fixa sum) through whom one may pass. Her statement not only induces a recalling of Mary under the assignation “porta caeli” (gate of heaven); but, as Margot Schmidt has shown, Hildegard specifically applies the color gold to Mary, such as in her sequence “O virga ac diadema” through the phrase “auream materiam” (golden matter), to reflect divine infusion of the Holy Spirit into a human being, enabling a “golden” perfection of grace (spirit) united with nature (matter).[48] These customized invitations of these and other virtues, coupled with their longing and desire for each other, continually invoke Mary’s loving advocacy by means of which, as mentioned in *Scivias*, the soul “runs to her” and receives the grace necessary for salvation. The virtues thus both subtly echo the longing for Mary prevalent in this time and satiate it through their own projections of her vocal authority, her function as loving mediatrix.

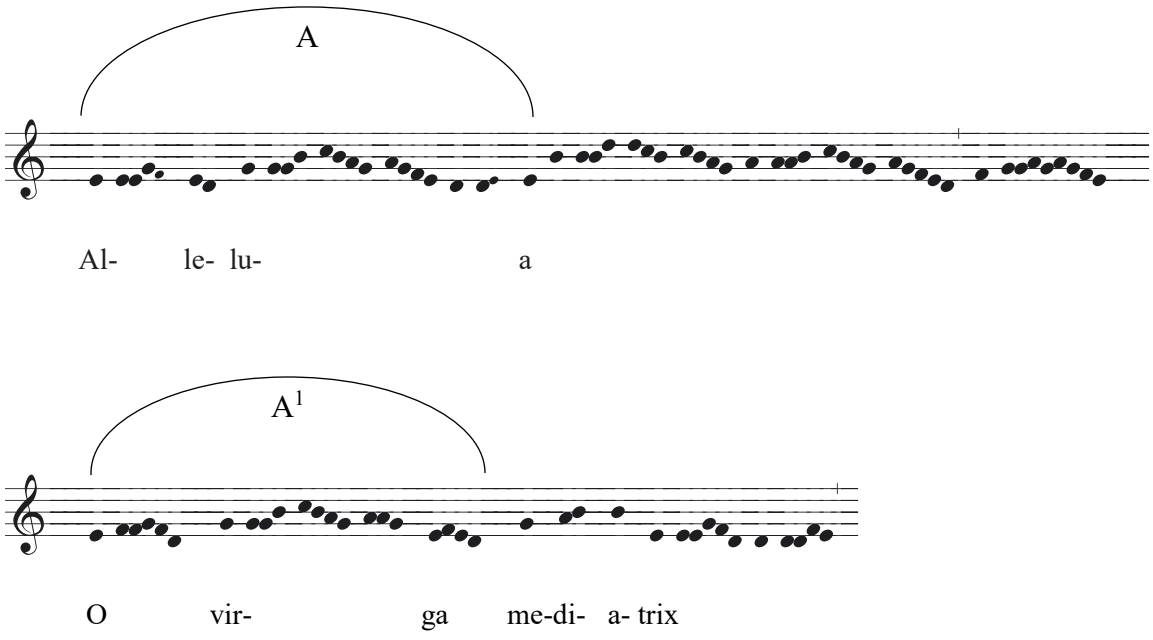
[48] Margot Schmidt, “Maria, ‘materia aurea’ in der Kirche nach Hildegard von Bingen,” *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 32, no.1 (1981): 18-19.

The Mariological associations through interactive discourse are not only promoted through text, but this section also features its own instances of musical intertextuality. The first significant one occurs with the virtues' response to Contempt-of-the-World, who calls on the virtues to come to her, and she will lead them "to the fountain of life" (ad fontem vitae); they respond with the words (OV 42): "Glorious lady, you that always fight Christ's battles, great power that tread the world under your feet, you thereby dwell in heaven, victoriously" (O gloriosa domina, tu semper habes certamina Christi, o magna virtus, que mundum conculcas, unde etiam victoriose in celo habitas). The "glorious lady" who now "dwells in heaven" is none other than Mary herself, as a musical reference to Hildegard's Marian alleluia, "Alleluia o virga mediatrix," elucidates (Example 4.5). "O gloriosa domina" quotes the opening musical material of the first "Alleluia" (phrase A) and its subsequent modified iteration on "O virga" (A^1), creating an A^2 phrase which incorporates melodic elements from both phrases in "Alleluia o virga mediatrix." Not only would Hildegard's nuns likely have heard the reference to another Marian chant composed by their own magistra;[49] the text's explicit depiction of Mary as "mediatrix" furthers the perception of the Mariological intercession of each virtue in the drama.

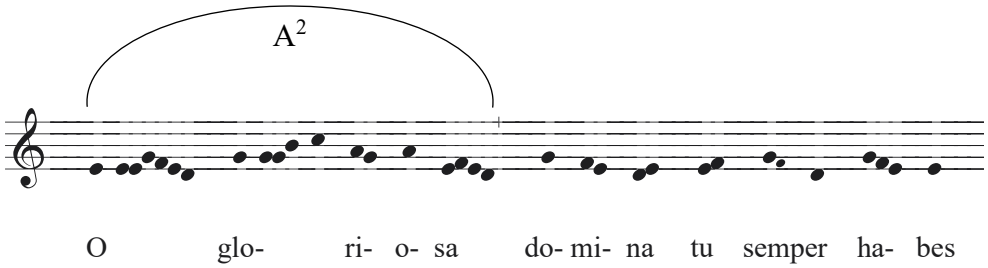
[49] Not only, I suggest, would Hildegard's referencing of her own Marian chants in the *Ordo* have been recognized by her nuns, but they also add a unique personal touch and, pedagogically, augment the distinctive customization of this program of Mariological embodiment to her own community.

Example 4.5 Comparison of "O gloriosa domina" with "Alleluia o virga mediatrix"[50]

"Alleluia o virga mediatrix," D-WI1 2, 473v, de BMV



"O gloriosa domina tu semper" [Virtues to Contempt-of-the World], D-WI1 2, 480r



Another musical reference, significantly, happens with the virtues' response to Mercy (OV 50): "O laudabilis mater peregrinorum, tu semper erigis illos, atque ungis

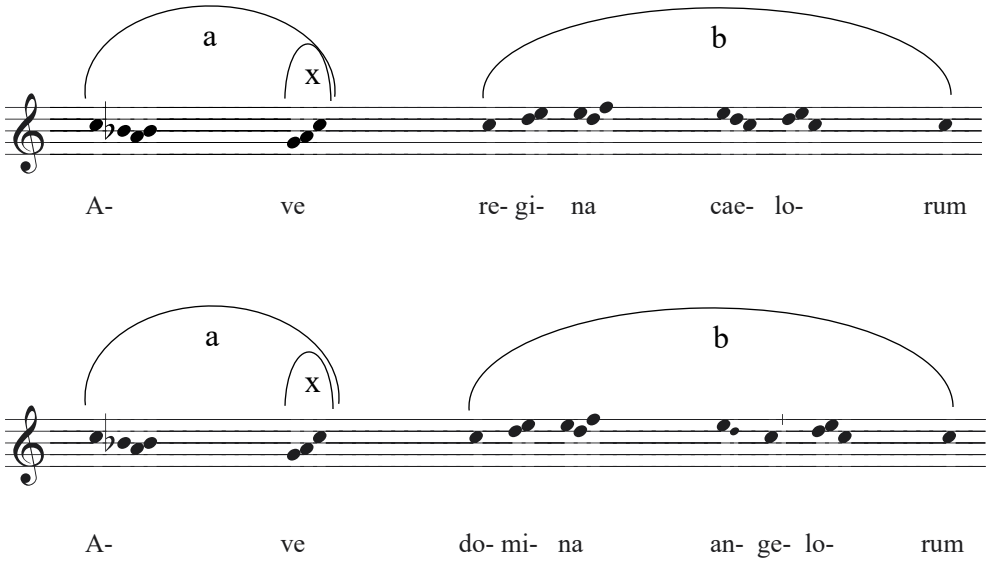
[50] Ignesti et al., "Wiesbaden," in *CANTUS.*

pauperes et debiles" (Matchless mother of exiles, you are always raising them up and anointing the poor and the weak). As we have already seen, Mercy is also alluded to Mariologically in *Scivias*; the association is now furthered with a musical reference to "Ave regina caelorum" (Example 4.6). This reference is less clear-cut, being a variation on the "Ave regina caelorum" melody rather than a direct quotation; nevertheless, it functions as a "foreshadowing" of another musical reference to come with the virtue Victory, and, even if perhaps not detected initially by Hildegard's nuns in the first performances of the *Ordo*, I suggest that, retrospectively, they would have made an association here with "Ave regina caelorum."[51] Although the opening of "Ave regina caelorum" is not directly quoted here, the phrase structure of "O laudabilis mater" (through the sequencing of subphrases $a^1b^1a^2b^2$, with an elision of a^2 with b^1 on "los" of "illos") subtly mimics the repetitions of phrases in "Ave regina caelorum" which were analyzed in chapter three, aurally creating a structural connection with the Marian antiphon. This association is reinforced through the cadencing of each subphrase on the final, the rising and falling contour in the b, b^1 and b^2 subphrases, and a verbatim quotation of the x motive from "Ave regina caelorum" in subphrase a^2 of "O laudabilis mater."

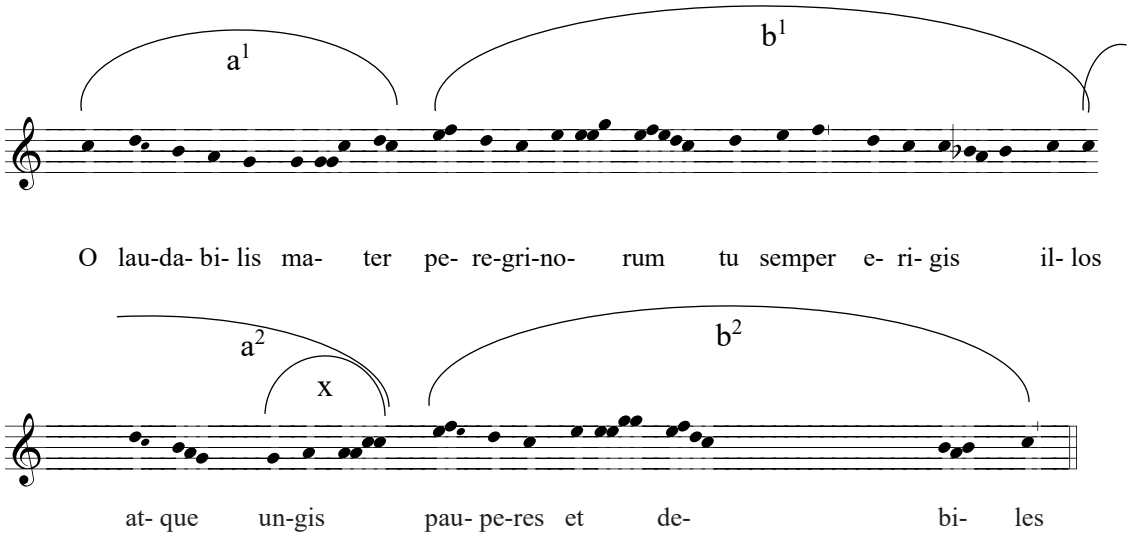
[51] Leigh-Choate, Flynn, and Fassler, while not directly calling Mercy's own speech (O quam amara) a musical reference, state that her "melody, mode, and range foreshadow the play's most triumphant song, that of Victory" where a stronger connection to the "Ave regina caelorum" melody does occur. Tova Leigh-Choate, William T. Flynn, and Margot E. Fassler, "Hearing the Heavenly Symphony: An Overview of Hildegard's Musical Oeuvre with Case Studies," in *A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, 191. The "O laudabilis mater" reference to "Ave regina caelorum" thus facilitates the perception of praying to Mary herself.

Example 4.6 Comparison of "Ave regina caelorum" with "O laudabilis mater"[52]

"Ave regina caelorum," F-Pnm lat. 12044, 177v, Assumption of Mary



"O laudabilis mater" (OV 50), D-WI1 2, 480r, *Ordo Virtutum*



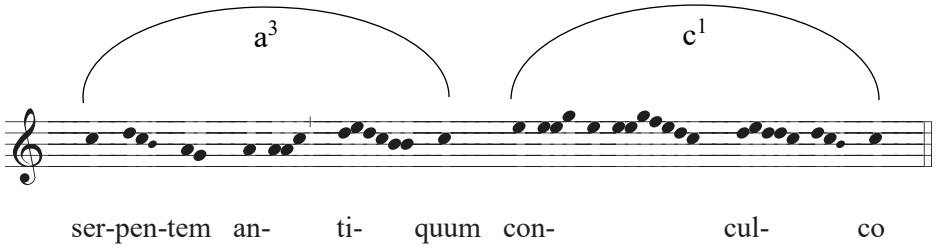
[52] Gallo and Glaeske, "Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France-Département des Manuscrits, latin 12044," in *CANTUS*, and Ignesti et al., "Wiesbaden," in *CANTUS.*

Additional musical heralding of "Ave regina caelorum" occurs with Victory's speech, "Ego victoria velox et fortis pugnatrix sum, in lapide pugno, serpentem antiquum conculdo" (I am Victory, the swift, brave champion: I fight with a stone, I tread the age-old serpent down). This makes her another virtue besides Knowledge of God to quote a Marian chant when singing a solo address (OV 51). Margot Fassler was the first to notice the link between this chant and Victory's "Ego victoria," particularly when Victory musically quotes "gaude gloriosa" (subphrase c) at the word "conculdo" (c^1), lending emphasis to her treading down of the ancient serpent (serpentem antiquum conculdo).[53] Example 4.7 shows the intertextual relationship at "serpentem antiquum conculdo," in which first the opening of "Ave regina caelorum" is elaborated on a^3 before jumping to the "gaude" reference with subphrase c^1.

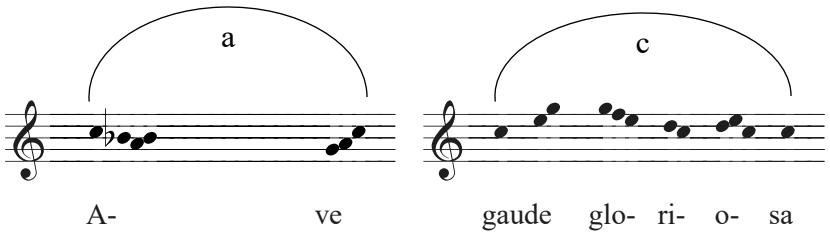
[53] Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture," 354-355.

Example 4.7 Comparison of "Ego victoria" with "Ave regina caelorum"[54]

"serpentem antiquum conculdo" from "Ego victoria," D-WI1 2, 480r, *Ordo Virtutum*



"Ave" and "gaude gloriosa" from "Ave regina caelorum," F-Pnm lat. 12044, 177v

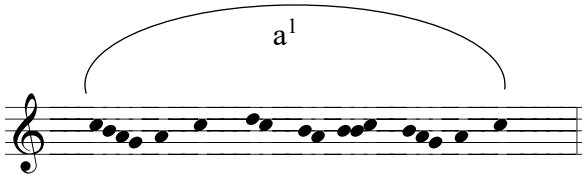


However, "Ave regina caelorum" is not the only Marian chant which "Ego victoria" would have conjured in the minds of Hildegard's nuns as they sung this drama. The opening of "Ego victoria" also quotes a Marian antiphon sung in the twelfth century for the Feast of the Conception of Mary, "Gloriosa semper virgo Maria dulcissima" (O glorious one, sweetest Mary, ever virgin), creating yet another reference to the pure conception of the Virgin who bore the body of Christ (Example 4.8). Mary's sacred origin, therefore, remains an underlying, vital theme throughout the *Ordo.*

[54] Gallo and Glaeske, "Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France-Département des Manuscrits, latin 12044," in *CANTUS*, and Ignesti et al., "Wiesbaden," in *CANTUS.*

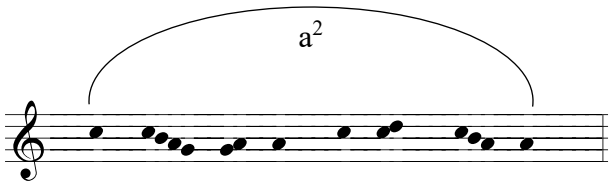
Example 4.8 Comparison of "Ego victoria" with "Gloriosa semper virgo"[55]

"Ego victoria velox et fortis," D-WI1 2, 480r, *Ordo Virtutum*



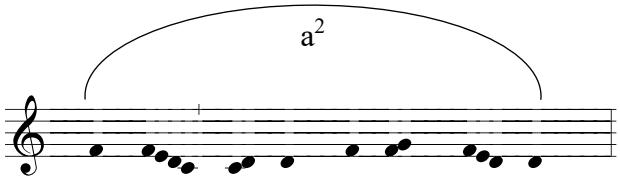
E- go vic- to- ri- a

"Gloriosa semper virgo" (transposed), D-KA Aug. LX, 045v, Conception of Mary



Glo- ri- o- sa semper vir- go

"Gloriosa semper virgo" (MS pitch level), D-KA Aug. LX, 045v, Conception of Mary



Glo- ri- o- sa semper vir- go

This whole section, in which each virtue speaks as Mary and is affirmed as such, could have marked the extent of Mariological allusion in the drama. Nevertheless, projecting the sound of her voice and discoursing about their respective roles as

[55] Ignesti et al., "Wiesbaden," in *CANTUS*, and Downey et al., "Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek-Musikabteilung, Aug. LX," in *CANTUS.*

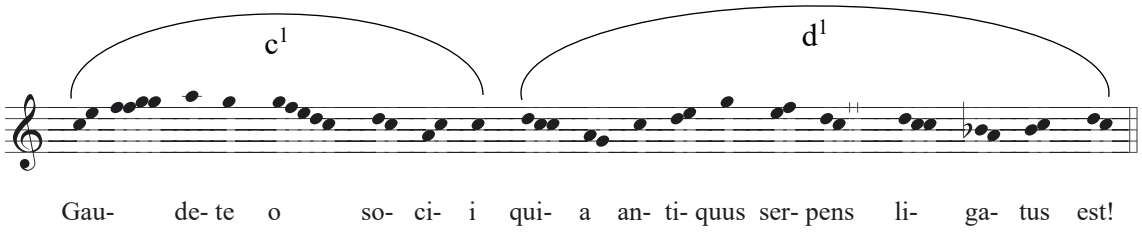
mediators through textual and musical references is not enough. Mariological allusion undergoes one final shift in the *Ordo*: the virtues, having fully established their Marian status, must consummate it with the redemption of Anima, who penitently returns, seeking aid from the virtues. Anima specifically asks Queen Humility, labelling her "true medicine" (vera medicina), to heal her from the wounds of sin. Hildegard herself lauds Mary as "mother of sacred healing" (mater sanctae medicinae) in her responsory "O clarissima mater"; therefore, Anima's terminology would have likely facilitated a rumination on Mary's healing qualities among those performing the *Ordo*. Of course, all the virtues, not just Humility, imitate Mary in their function of providing healing; in their analysis of the *Ordo virtutum*, Pfau and Morent argue for the use of the word "Virtutes," not the typical German word "Tugenden," to more clearly enunciate the virtues' divinely-rooted powers as healers, bestowers of strength.[56] After the virtues communally provide spiritual healing to Anima, the devil returns one final time, seeking to drag her away. Anima denounces him and supplicates Humility (and thus Mary); Humility commands the binding of the devil which is carried out by Victory along with the other virtues. In this manner, the final conquering of the devil, a treading-down of the serpent, is accomplished. As Fassler notes, and as delineated in Example 4.9, "Ave regina caelorum" is referenced one final time through the mouthpiece of Victory, who echoes the "gaude gloriosa, super omnes speciosa" (rejoice, o glorious one, chosen above all) through her own elaborate "Gaudete, o socii, quia antiquus serpens ligatus est!" (Rejoice, o comrades, for the ancient serpent is bound!)[57] The virtues not only speak as Mary and

[56] Pfau and Morent, *Der Klang des Himmels*, 219-220.
[57] Fassler, "Allegorical Architecture," 358, 360-361. Fassler herself alludes to a "Marianized" transformation of Anima, stating that the "Ave regina caelorum" melody enables the soul to be truly victorious, to be liberated towards a deeper imitation of Mary (360). She also states that Victory's use of

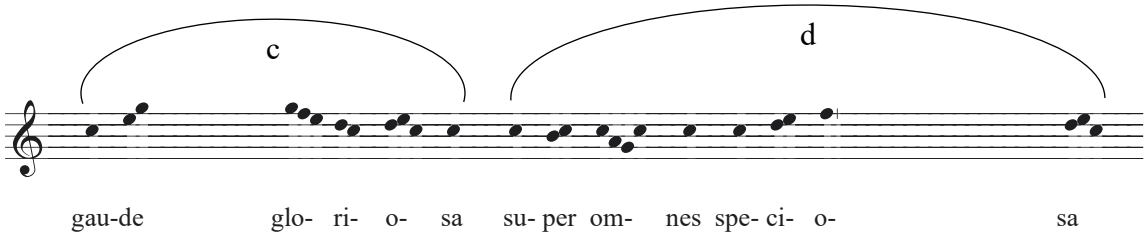
venerate her presence in each other; they enact her apostolate, her act of crushing the serpent's head, in the work of saving souls. Pedagogically, Hildegard has her nuns complete, and thus personally embrace, the saving work of the Mediatrix through their individual personifications of the Mother of God.

Example 4.9 Comparison of "Gaudete o socii" with "Gaude gloriosa" [58]

"Gaudete o socii quia antiquus serpens ligatus est" (OV 79), D-WI1 2, 481r



"Gaude gloriosa" from "Ave regina caelorum," F-Pnm lat. 12044, 177v



Finally, Mariological allusion receives one last commentary in the *Ordo virtutum*: the debate between Chastity and the bound-up devil. Chastity provides the most crucial exposition of first-person Mariological allusion in the entire drama: her role in the Incarnation. She relates that, "in the mind of the most High" (in mente altissimi) she tread

the plural "Gaudete" reinforces the idea that "Mary is one, while the Virtues are many in her image." "Composer and Dramatist," 171.

[58] Ignesti et al., "Wiesbaden," in *CANTUS*, and Gallo and Glaeske, "Latin 12044," in *CANTUS.*

down Satan's head, and as a virgin "nurtured a sweet miracle" (dulce miraculum colui), bringing forth her Son who in turn conquered Satan. Her reference to Mary's predestination in the mind of God adds a sapiential tone, evoking the first-person declamations of sapiential literature in the Marian liturgies. When the devil resorts to a fallacious line of attack, accusing Chastity of not knowing what she bore since she has never had sexual intercourse with a man, she solidly rebukes him, pointing to the reality that "she did bring forth a man, who gathers up mankind to himself, against you" (Unum virum protuli, qui genus humanum ad se congregat, contra te). Her argument is implicitly confirmed in the final "In principio," in which, for once, it is not Mary's voice which is heard, but that of Christ Himself, who alludes to the end of time, showing the Father His wounds. Mariological allusion thus ends where it began, with a reminder of the Incarnation and its purpose, and a lingering sense of the world to come.

Conclusion

Mariological allusion, evocatively implemented through textual and musical references to draw out the voice of the Virgin, plays an integral role in Hildegard's *Ordo virtutum.* A multifaceted presentation of Mariological references elucidates varied theological themes, and plays a fundamental role in initiating, developing, and completing a cycle of Mariological allusion in the *Ordo virtutum*. More importantly, however, Hildegard's nuns, as performers of the work, would have been the beneficiaries of a calculated pedagogical program which enabled a clear embodiment of Mary herself, with emphasis on various aspects of medieval Mariology: her conception, role as mediatrix, sacred healer, warrior, etc. Her voice would not only have been heard in each virtue's declamation of her singular attributes, but Marian imagery is consistently

reinforced through the virtues' collective honoring and veneration of each other, simulating the act of praying to the Virgin. Neither is Anima exempt from the graces of Marian emulation; by the end of the drama she spiritually defeats the devil by having recourse to the virtues, and by unequivocally treading him down through renunciation. Ultimately, Hildegard's effective employment of what Pfau and Morent call "the dialogue principle" (das dialogische Prinzip) in the *Ordo*,[59] facilitates a much stronger connection with the Virgin Mary, with the one whom Hildegard depicts beseeching her Son to protect her community in "O Fili dilectissime." While Constant J. Mews argues that Hildegard's presentation of virtues in the *Ordo* is not so much about advocating Marian imitation,[60] Hildegard's use of Mariological allusion proves the contrary: the virtues dynamically express their distinct qualities while unveiling and reflecting different aspects of Mariology, keeping them from becoming merely "stock figures" of the Mother of God while still modelling themselves after her. Moreover, the act of aligning them with Mary, the greatest of all human creatures and epitome of virtue, would likely have exponentially increased the pedagogical impact on Hildegard's nuns. As Hildegard herself states in *Scivias*, a virtue is "a brilliant star given by God that shines forth in human deeds"[61] and which cannot exist in form by itself;[62] all the more reason therefore for her nuns to embody the virtues through the specter of Mariological allusion, continually recalling the *Virgo virginum* herself. Ultimately, Hildegard's *Ordo virtutum* is a distinctive contribution to twelfth-century emphases on Mary's voice, an augmentation

[59] Pfau and Morent, *Der Klang des Himmels*, 219.
[60] Constant J. Mews, "Hildegard, the 'Speculum Virginum,' and Religious Reform in the Twelfth Century," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld: internationaler wissenschaftlicher Kongress zum 900-jährigen Jubiläum, 13.-19. September 1998, Bingen am Rhein* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2000), 261.
[61] Hildegard von Bingen, *Scivias*, 3.3.3, trans. Hart and Bishop, 345.
[62] Ibid.

of her output of Marian works, and an ingeniously crafted stroke of Mariological allusion, one with long-lasting value for her community and their process towards salvation.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This thesis began with the fundamental question: "Have we truly explored the gamut of Hildegard's Mariology and its expressions through music? Are there unanswered questions about her Marian devotion which another mode of inquiry could help answer?" Mariological allusion, as I have attempted to show here, is a viable tool for reassessing Hildegard's Mariology and uncovering previously unexplored aspects. In this final chapter, I would like to summarize some of the ways in which the findings of this research provide clarification regarding the relationship between Hildegard and Mary.

First of all, the emphasis on Mary's voice in the twelfth century, both on an explicit level (sermons, stories about Mary, poetry, etc.) and implicit level through Mariological allusion (liturgy, commentaries, etc.), greatly challenges Newman's notion that Hildegard's devotion to Mary was impersonal in nature.[1] The reason for this lies in several factors. One is that, because Mary was a human being, not a goddess, it would have been difficult to have conceived her voice from a distant and purely detached point of view, especially in an age which, in its anxiety over personal salvation, was increasingly facilitating a move inward to visualize and simulate the physical presence of Christ and His Mother (one which, as Fulton Brown shows, would blossom with time into the highly affective devotion to Christ Crucified and His Sorrowing Mother).[2] Hildegard knew the voice as a physical instrument, one which needed to exercise its function in praise of God as a means of achieving personal salvation. She does not, for instance, in her letter excoriating the prelates at Mainz, extol the benefits of "mental"

[1] In her discussion of Hildegard's Mariology as "impersonal," Newman argues that "there is a strikingly impersonal quality in her [Hildegard's] lyrics [of her Marian chants]," *Sister of Wisdom*, 160.
[2] Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, 60-61, 197-199, 204-206.

song; it is the suppression of the corporeal which has struck such a fatal blow to her community and for which the prelates will be sorely judged by the Almighty.[3] Consequently, notwithstanding the "quaternizing" effects of sapiential Mariology in this time, the Virgin's physicality—indispensable for the Incarnation, which required the purest of matter—would have still occupied a prominent place in her mind; in fact, she even compares the ability of the body to sing in accord with the workings of the spirit to Christ's body being "born of the purity of the Virgin Mary through the operation of the Holy Spirit."[4] Her conceptualization of the voice as a bodily instrument, coupled with her Incarnational emphasis on Mary in her writings, implies that a consideration of Mary's voice, whether in third-person in "Cum erubuerint," from a first-person perspective in "O Fili dilectissime," or through varied shifts of perspective in the *Ordo virtutum*, could not have been purely mystical; rather, the Virgin's voice would have been apprehended as that of a physical person. Even the texts of Hildegard's Marian chants alluding to Mary's predestination in the Godhead, "O virga ac diadema" and "Ave generosa," pointedly invoke her role as Christ's Mother in the Incarnation. Mary's sapiential origins in the heart of the Trinity never subsumed her earthly physicality; on the contrary, they enhanced its status as the purest matter from which Christ's body would be formed. Consequently, any reference to Mary's voice for Hildegard would not have encouraged a more impersonal approach in her devotion to her, rather, quite the contrary.

The other factor, connected with the first, has to do with aural experience in the liturgy. Real, tangible voices would have enacted first-person Mariological allusion in the

[3] Hildegard of Bingen, Letter 23, vol. 1, trans. Baird and Ehrman, 78-79.
[4] Ibid., 79.

liturgy; real, physical ears would have heard them. The same applies to the first-person Mariological allusion in Hildegard's *Ordo virtutum*. Mary's voice would have been physically simulated, creating a real sense of her presence. This presence, however, would not have increased the distance between Mary and Hildegard's community; rather, it would have decreased it, facilitating, if not an affective devotion strictly speaking, a more intimate, *personal* devotion of some kind. The *Ordo* would have been especially instrumental in this, since in this case each of Hildegard's nuns would have had to not merely sing Mary's words in the liturgy, but embody the Virgin herself, albeit in dynamic fashion through the virtues. Therefore, first-person Mariological allusion, whether through the liturgy or through Hildegard's *Ordo*, would have fostered a personal devotion of some sort; physical simulation and personification would have decreased distance, not increased it. Furthermore, although Newman argues that Hildegard cared "little for the 'personality' of Mary,"[5] the *Ordo* itself facilitates changes in affect and mood among the "Marianized" virtues, which I suggest actually shows Hildegard indirectly "exploring" facets of Mary's persona through "reincarnating" her among her nuns. Ultimately, I argue that first-person Mariological allusion, in union with the twelfth-century longing for Mary's voice, persuasively supports the idea that Hildegard's devotion to Mary was indeed personal, directed to a real human being whom she was eager for her nuns to personify, not an impersonal devotion to a figure viewed primarily in terms of her functional role in the Incarnation, as Gosebrink suggests.[6]

[5] *Sister of Wisdom*, 160.
[6] Gosebrink, *Maria in der Theologie*, 359-360.

Secondly, the multiple and diverse mediums which Mariological allusion can assume means that, in assessing a devotion like Hildegard's, one must take into account the layers of Marian devotion/Mariological ideas running below the surface. The more obvious manifestations of Hildegard's Mariology occur through text; the more implicit layers, through music, art, etc., reveal themselves through Mariological allusion. Consequently, enumerating all facets of an individual's devotion to Mary must exhaust any and all layers achieved through different mediums, otherwise the assessment will be incomplete. In this thesis, the medium receiving especial focus has been music and its role in creating intertextual connections which produce new levels of Mariological resonance and meaning. It is clear, for instance, through the example of Mariological allusion applied to Mercy in the *Ordo virtutum*, that Hildegard is much attracted to Mary as the "mother of exiles and of mercy," echoing *Salve regina* sentiments which are indicative of an affective plea to the Virgin Mother in this century. Her "O nobilissima" musical relationship with "Ave regina caelorum" shows an intense attraction for Mary as "queen of virgins" even though her texts about Mary, taken alone, do not readily draw attention to it. Her intertextual use of "Gratulare et laetare" in "Nos sumus et radices" and of "Gloriosa semper virgo" in "Ego victoria" in the *Ordo virtutum* points to an intrigue not only with the Incarnation, but with the conception of Mary, even though this subject is sparsely treated in her writings. These and other cases of Mariological allusion through musical intertextuality demonstrate that the lens of Mariological allusion can be applied in specific ways to expose aspects of a particular Marian devotion which may not have been apprehended previously, facilitating a more well-rounded and accurate evaluation.

Finally, Hildegard's *Ordo virtutum*, and its skillful implementation of Mariological allusion, provokes the question: was Mariological allusion used in other liturgical dramas of this time? While the simulation of Mary's voice in the *Ordo* arguably could have been inspired by both the liturgy and biblical commentaries on the Song of Songs, perhaps there were other dramas, whether from Hildegard's time or before/after, which sought to incorporate Marian personification and embodiment as well on an implicit level, and from which she might have drawn inspiration (conversely, perhaps her *Ordo* might have influenced future creations of Mariological allusion in liturgical drama). An investigation of other liturgical dramas, including scanning for musical intertextuality, would be a fruitful undertaking; aside from Mariological allusion, such analysis might subsequently uncover previously unexplored dimensions of theological meaning in liturgical drama.

Mariological allusion is, by its very nature, a hidden phenomenon, one which does not always readily disclose itself to surface perusal. The implicit voice of Mary, for instance, would have only been regularly perceived through consistent liturgical practices, and Honorius's and Rupert's commentaries, as well as Hildegard's *Ordo virtutum*, are Mariological contributions bearing witness to these deeper layers of aural perception. To Hildegard, however, Mary's voice would always have been that of a "clara voce," extending well beyond her direct use of the phrase in "Cum erubuerint." Whether experienced explicitly or implicitly, Mary would have been "crying out with a clear voice" to the seer, providing guidance for her and her community of nuns. In the final analysis, the phenomenon of Mariological allusion not only illuminates the picture of Hildegard's Mariology, but it also speaks to the presence of a female voice,

predestined from all eternity, which, although not directly part of Hildegard's written visionary experience, nonetheless impacted and infused her music and writings with far-reaching, revelatory significance.

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