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Traces of Liturgy: Analysing Manuscript Fragments from the Binding of the *Riesencodex*

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Abstract: This paper analyzes two manuscript fragments with musical notation retrieved from the fifteenth- or sixteenth-century binding of the twelfth-century *Riesencodex* (Wiesbaden, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, Hs. 2), the most substantial collection of the works of Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179). We determine through close attention to various aspects of the leaves—liturgy, notation, later additions—that both these fragments originated, and remained, close to Hildegard's Rupertsberg convent and date from during or just after Hildegard's lifetime. This analysis not only adds to our understanding of local liturgical context for the nuns at Rupertsberg, it also reveals that Rupertsberg was operating within a broad monastic network well beyond Hildegard's lifetime. The two fragments, from an antiphoner and a gradual, contextualize the survival of Hildegard's own musical work in light of the apparent disposability of these contemporary liturgical items.

Keywords: *Riesencodex*, Hildegard, liturgy, binding fragment

The provenance of a western medieval manuscript often has to be coaxed from the codex itself, by considering carefully its style of script(s), languages present, decoration and its content. In the case of liturgical books, scholars will assess the material both broadly and narrowly, e.g. considering the saints celebrated and large-scale organization of the book, which can lead to successful attributions of provenance when the place of origin is not identified explicitly.

While fragments of liturgical manuscripts—individual leaves or a group of leaves from a broken book—usually also permit the identification of textual and musical script style, their reduced content often requires a microscopic assessment of texts and melodies. Even then, the brevity of the material may prove insufficient to contribute to knowledge of the fragment's origin. Working closely with fragments, however, even with just a single leaf, can sometimes provide enough information to place it generally according to time and place.

There are two main reasons why people have broken apart medieval books: in the modern era books have been broken for commercial gain, to increase the profit margin on the sale of a book, while historically books were broken in order to re-use materials, often for binding purposes. Those that have been used for bindings are usually in dreadful condition with holes, or folds, or cuts, or traces of glue, and with fading ink. Despite their condition, however, these fragments are important for the study of Western medieval culture generally and certainly more specifically for understanding the transmission of Western plainchant. Only a fraction of original books from the medieval era have survived, and so these fragments help to complete the picture of exactly what was in circulation. More importantly, however, when liturgical books were used as binding materials, they were usually very ordinary books, which were previously regularly used, but using a style of musical notation that had become obsolete; and these ordinary books tell us far more about daily monastic practice than the luxury books that are more likely to have survived into the modern era because of their decorative worth.

The Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain in Wiesbaden in Germany has recently made available photographs of two manuscript fragments with musical notation, retrieved from the fifteenth- or sixteenth-century binding of the twelfth-century *Riesencodex* (Hs. 2), the most substantial collection of the works of Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179).[1] The provenance of these fragments is

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[1]   Many thanks to Martin Mayer, librarian at the Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, for sharing these images before they were made publicly available, as well as allowing the physical inspection of the fragments by Jennifer

of particular importance for two reasons: first, from our assessment of them, they appear to be from no later than the twelfth century and so from Hildegard's lifetime or just after; and second, there are no known extant liturgical books from Hildegard's Rupertsberg convent, so a discovery of fragments of a liturgical book from Rupertsberg would significantly help musicologists and liturgists to understand the liturgical environment in which Hildegard lived and worked. While we cannot say definitively that either fragment is or is not from Rupertsberg,[2] we can establish with new evidence that Fragment 1 (the lower pastedown) has a southern Germanic provenance and shares liturgical details with other Benedictine monastic houses, and that Fragment 2 (the upper pastedown) has a very local provenance, naming several locations within eight kilometres of Rupertsberg and naming St. Alban of Mainz, who, as the name implies, was martyred in Mainz, a town thirty kilometers upriver that was also the seat of the (arch)diocese to which Rupertsberg belonged.

While these provenance identifications provide some understanding of local liturgical context for the nuns at Rupertsberg and for Hildegard herself, uncovering these details related to provenance has also revealed that Rupertsberg was operating within a broad

Bain and Debra Lacoste on 4 December 2024. Wiesbaden, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain (=HLBRM), Hs. 2, detached lower pastedown [F-5goe] (Fragment 1) and detached upper pastedown [F-ymov] (Fragment 2). Inventories of the fragments and transcriptions of their melodies may be found on the Cantus Database: see J. Bain, Inventory of "Wiesbaden, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, Hs. 2 (Riesencodex), detached lower pastedown (fragment)", with editorial assistance by L. Denk, and proofread by D. Lacoste, and A. de Bakker, in *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant*, directed by D. Lacoste (2011–present), T. Bailey (1997–2010), and R. Steiner (1987–1996); developed for the web by J. Kolácek (2011–2023), McGill University Distributed Digital Music Archives & Libraries Lab - DDMAL (2023–present); and funded through the *Digital Analysis of Chant Transmission* project at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada (SSHRC 895–2023–1002), https://cantusdatabase.org/source/676971; and J. Bain and L. Denk, Inventory of "Wiesbaden, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, Hs. 2 (Riesencodex), detached upper pastedown (fragment)", ed. D. Lacoste and A. de Bakker, in Cantus https://cantusdatabase.org/source/702501.

2   Stefan Morent and Marianne Richert Pfau come to the same conclusion in their brief discussion of the pastedowns, S. Morent and M. Richert Pfau, *Hildegard von Bingen: Der Klang des Himmels*, Cologne 2005, 142.

monastic network well beyond Hildegard's lifetime. It is well documented that Hildegard herself participated in a large network within the Church (from her extensive correspondence, her travels, etc.), and now we know as well that Rupertsberg continued to participate in a monastic network in later centuries, not only in the twelfth century when Hildegard was alive. To support our provenance identification, we will begin by considering what is already known about the binding, and then will offer an analysis of the fragments by providing first physical descriptions of both—considering size and orientation, script, and notation—and then a detailed description of their liturgical content, and finally by discussing the additamenta on Fragment 2.

The extant binding of the *Riesencodex*

Antonius van der Linde in 1877 and Gottfried Zedler in 1931 both describe the extant binding of the *Riesencodex* as fifteenth- or sixteenth-century,[3] with neither providing a rationale for that determination. It is generally accepted as a reasonable dating, although Albert Derolez and Peter Dronke refer to it instead as a "*contemporary* pigskin binding [emphasis ours]," again without providing much evidence to support that supposition.[4] While Michael Klaper describes the dating as "controversial" because of this discrepancy,[5] none of these authors seems particularly concerned with finding a secure dating for the binding. The pigskin identification does seem secure; the hair follicles are arranged in clusters of three, and the light colour of the leather corresponds with the practice of alum-tawing pigskin.[6] Zedler notes that the stamp impressions on the blind-tooled cover of Hildegard's (now-lost) *Scivias* manuscript

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3   A. van der Linde, *Die Handschriften der Königlichen Landesbibliothek in Wiesbaden*, Wiesbaden 1877, 86 and G. Zedler, *Die Handschriften der Nassauischen Landesbibliothek zu Wiesbaden* (Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 63), Leipzig 1931, 17.

4   A. Derolez and P. Dronke, "Introduction" in *Hildegardis Bingensis Liber diuinorum operum* (CCCM 92), ed. A. Derolez and P. Dronke, Turnhout 1996, xcvii.

5   M. Klaper, "Commentary" in Hildegard von Bingen, *Lieder: Riesencodex*, ed. L. Welker, Wiesbaden 1998, 24.

6   P.J.M. Marks, *The British Library Guide to Bookbinding: History and Techniques*, Toronto 1998, 44.

(Wiesbaden, HLBRM, Hs. 1) are the same as on the *Riesencodex*, so both were bound (or re-bound?) at the same time and place.[7] The inclusion of twelfth-century liturgical manuscript fragments as pastedowns in the binding of the *Riesencodex* strongly support a later binding; if the binding were twelfth century, it would have been most unusual for the binder to take apart contemporary manuscripts for use as scrap material for the pastedowns. As well, one of the fragments—as will be detailed below—includes later additions that appear to have been added to its original book before dismemberment. Whichever dating is correct, both suggest that the binding was made during the time at which the manuscript was housed at Rupertsberg. The Rupertsberg nuns had to abandon the monastery during the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century and they joined the nuns in Eibingen, bringing the *Riesencodex*, the *Scivias* manuscript and Hildegard's relics with them; the binding pre-dates that move.

Given that the binding corresponds to the Rupertsberg years, we need to consider if the binding could have been produced at Rupertsberg itself. Did Rupertsberg have a book binding workshop? We know that it had a scriptorium,[8] and in Hildegard's invented language, the *Lingua ignota*, she includes vocabulary specifically associated with the scriptorium, incorporating words for ink, inkwell, quill pen, wax tablet, stylus and so on.[9] The thousand or so words in the *Lingua ignota* are grouped thematically and sometimes hierarchically within a theme. There is no specific grouping of words, however, that would be associated exclusively with a book bindery, even though in different thematic groupings (including one naming iron implements) there are items that could be found in a book binding workshop, such as *Nogiz* for gimlet and *Zuinta* for

7   Zedler, *Die Handschriften*, 17.

8   M. Fassler, "Hildegard of Bingen and her Scribes", in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, ed. J. Bain, Cambridge 2021, 280–305.

9   S.L. Higley, *Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language: An Edition, Translation, and Discussion*, New York 2007, 177; and Wiesbaden, HLBRM, Hs. 2, f. 463rb, https://hlbrm.digitale-sammlungen.hebis.de/handschriften-hlbrm/content/pageview/450558.

plane.[10] There are no extant account books from Rupertsberg either, so there is no evidence of book binding services paid for elsewhere or of purchases of materials for book binding in house. In short, we cannot say one way or another from documentary evidence whether there was capacity at Rupertsberg to bind books or if this was a service that would have been sought elsewhere. The provenance of the fragments used for pastedowns in the binding, however, can give us further clues about where the binding might have taken place and can contribute to an understanding of binding practice in this region.

Physical description of the *Riesencodex* pastedown fragments

Both pastedowns (reproduced fully in Appendices 1 and 2) are dirty and damaged by glue and by holes that correspond with the metal centre piece and corner pieces on the covers of the *Riesencodex* (visible in the reproduction of the front and back covers in Appendix 3). While the rubrics, text, and musical notation are rather faded in both, the lower pastedown is much more legible than the upper.

The two fragments are from different book types and formats. The lower pastedown (which we are calling Fragment 1) is a single leaf that comes from an Antiphoner, which seems to have been of a format similar to the *Riesencodex* itself; the full leaf was used, in the same orientation as the codex contents (as assessed by the placement of holes from the metal hardware on the back cover), placed in the inside back cover (as noted by van der Linde).[11] Presumably it formed half of a bifolium, but the other half is lost. Its current dimensions are 460 × 288 mm,[12] slightly smaller than the *Riesencodex's* approximately 460 × 300 mm, with 26 staves of music on the recto

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10   Higley, *Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language*, 176 and Wiesbaden, HL-BRM, Hs. 2, f. 463rb.

11   Van der Linde, *Die Handschriften*, 86.

12   The dimensions are irregular and range in size from 454.5–460 mm in length and 281.5–288 mm in width. The number of staff lines vary, sometimes using 5 or even 6 according to the range of the melody; 108 ruled lines are used on the recto, while 105 out of 107 are used on the verso.

side and 25 on the verso in a writing space of of 409 × 230 mm—a quite dense layout with small handwriting. By comparison, the music section of the *Riesencodex* itself (the last sixteen folios) has two columns of 17 staves each in a writing space of 380 × 227 mm. There is a striking similarity in size that may represent a local copying practice, but more data on the dimensions of liturgical manuscripts would be needed to confirm that general impression. In Fragment 1, the text and music is written in a single column, in contrast to the *Riesencodex*, which uses a 2-column format throughout the entire collection of 484 folios. To judge by the contents—chants for late Lent—Fragment 1 would have been found toward the end of the winter section of a Temporale of an Antiphoner.

The upper pastedown (which we are referring to as Fragment 2) is a bifolium that appears to have come from a processional section of a Gradual; although according to content it could have been in a separate processional book, these are designed to accommodate being carried while walking, and therefore are usually much smaller than a Gradual. The bifolium was opened and turned 90 degrees clockwise before being attached to the inside of the front cover of the *Riesencodex*.[13] Its dimensions are 458 × 299 mm,[14] fractionally shorter and wider than Fragment 1 (460 × 288 mm), with 16 staves on both recto and verso of the first folio in a writing area of 264 × 186 mm. The second folio of this bifolium seems to have been left blank on both sides in its original liturgical codex. One side has attracted considerable additamenta, including chant texts and some notation, vernacular German texts, and a Latin colophon, as will be described below; the other side remains blank. Another leaf must have preceded the written content in the bifolium, because it begins in the middle of a chant. Possibly the fragment formed the outer bifolium of a quire (or was the only bifolium of a quire),[15] with its final leaf left blank. In principle, this blank page could have been located

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13   Van der Linde, *Die Handschriften*, 86.

14   Again, the dimensions are irregular: 440–457.5 mm in height and 293–299 mm in width.

15   One argument for considering it to be a single-bifolium quire is that the litany that ends the verso folio looks rather compressed, with additional columns being inserted and the litany ends very cleanly with the end of the folio.
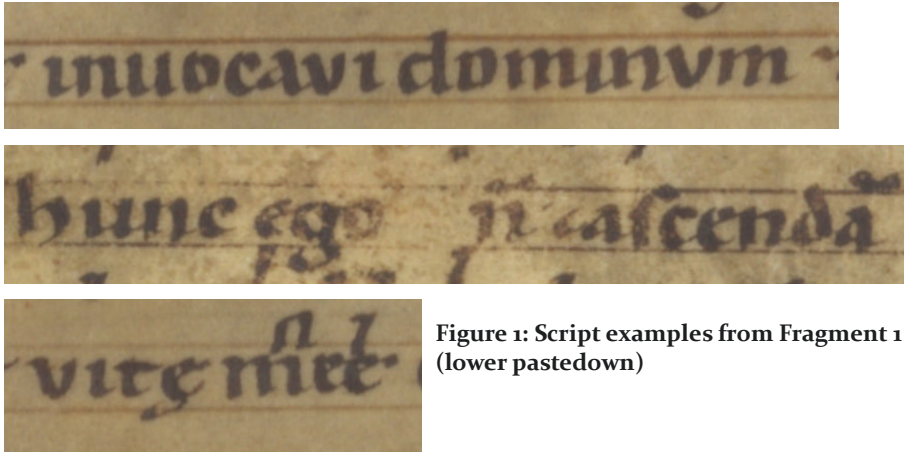
Figure 1: Script examples from Fragment 1 (lower pastedown)

at either the front or back of the codex, depending on the original arrangement of the bifolium; in practice, it seems more likely to have been at the back, and the bifolium came from the final quire.[16]

The textual hands of both fragments, while different from one another, both suggest a late twelfth-century origin. The hand of Fragment 1 (the lower pastedown) is rather squat, with short ascenders and descenders; it also gives a somewhat uneven appearance, with many letters either extending just below the line of writing (see the *i* in *dominum* [Figure 1]) or else not quite reaching it (as the *a* in *invocavi*). The sloping uncial *d* is occasionally present, but the vertical letterform is still much preferred; other letters, like *h*, have more definitively taken on a (pre-)gothic form (in this case with a short, curving second stroke). Conservative elements like the cauda for *æ* (on its way out by the late twelfth century) appear fitfully alongside later ones, like the frequent Tironian *ets.* By comparison, the chants within the *Riesencodex* itself, often employ a characteristic curling ampersand—perhaps in keeping with the overall higher grade of script.

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16   In this case, the arrangement of the codex would have been similar to, for example, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1008 Helmst., a Gradual made at St. Gall ca. 1025 for Bishop Sigebert of Minden, which includes similar processional chants and litanies at the end of the volume.

Figure 2: *v*-form of *u* and *u-s* ligatures in Fragment 1 (lower pastedown)

**Figure 3: Script examples from
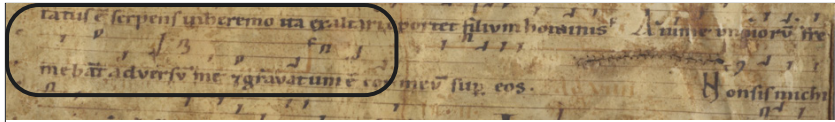Fragment 2 (upper pastedown)**

One unusual characteristic of the script is the strong preference for the *v* letterform, rather than the curved *u* [Figure 2]; as Derolez has pointed out, the round form is the more common one in the twelfth century, but in some cases the *v*-form is preferred—all the examples given being late twelfth-century German sources.[17] Another distinctive, and characteristically Southern German, feature of the script is the frequent use of *u-s* ligatures, in which a "trailing" *s*-form is attached to the right hand stroke of the *v*. Taken together, these characteristics are fully consistent with a text hand of late twelfth-century Germany, with many transitional features in varying degrees.

The hand of Fragment 2 (the upper pastedown) is from a similar period, although the transitional aspects it exhibits are different from those of Fragment 1. Overall the script, while still uneven, is more uniform than that of Fragment 1, with broad, straight minims and ascenders ending at a consistent angle [Figure 3]; even rounded letters like *p* have a certain angularity to them. This "gothic" treatment of the penstroke is perhaps most evident in the letter *x*, which consists of a central minim with two disconnected strokes forming

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17   A. Derolez, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 2003, 64, n. 44.

each arm of the letter. Nevertheless, other aspects of the script are more conservative: the uncial *d* is only rarely present, a straight *r* is preferred over curved (even after rounded letters like *o*), and a rounded *s* is absent, with a long s descending slightly below baseline being used in almost all instances (a few superscript "trailing" *s* forms are also present [Figure 3]). Like Fragment 1, Fragment 2 from a textual paleographic assessment seems to date from the later years of the twelfth century.

The musical notation in Fragments 1 and 2 also appears to be no later than twelfth-century in style, which means that the books they came from would have been musically obsolete and not very usable to musicians in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, who were accustomed to very different looking notation. The notation in Fragments 1 and 2 is also remarkably similar to the musical notation found in the *Riesencodex*. As shown in the large rectangular boxes in Figure 4, all three use 4-line staves with red F-lines and yellow C-lines, although the yellow lines in particular are very difficult to see. In Fragment 1 and the *Riesencodex* the remaining stafflines are in a brown ink, while Fragment 2 uses dry-point stafflines. The *Riesencodex* and Fragment 2 both have additional space above and below the 4-line staves, leaving room for the musical notation. The staves in Fragment 1, however, do not—the text line is used as the uppermost staff line—and as a result the ascenders and descenders of the chant texts really intrude into the musical space, giving the page a very crowded appearance.

Also depicted in the large rectangular boxes, Fragment 1 and the *Riesencodex* both indicate C clefs with the letter *C*, and the F clef usually with a dot rather than an *F* (in contrast to the style found in twelfth-century Klosterneuburg notation, which labels every staff line with a letter). When the F clef shifts to another staff line partway through a staff (also visible in the rectangular boxes in these two sources), the letter *F* is used to show the shift and the zigzagging red F line further reinforces the "jog". Fragment 2 frequently uses an *F* for the clef, as captured in the rectangle (and visible even on the very damaged recto side of this fragment), sometimes replacing the letter *F* with a dot. The scribe rarely uses a C clef, although one

Fragment 1 (lower pastedown), verso
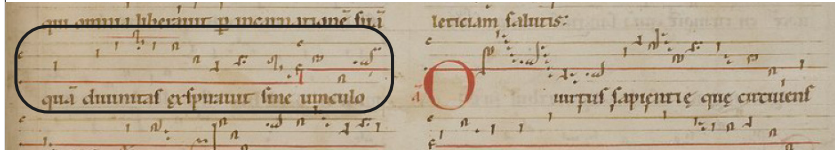
Riesencodex, f. 466r
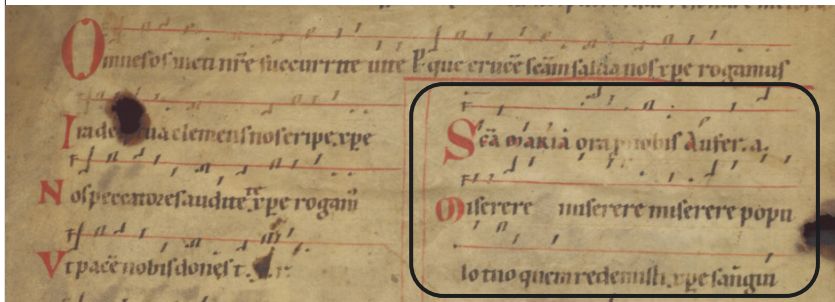
Fragment 2 (upper pastedown), verso

Figure 4: Notation comparison between Fragment 1, the *Riesencodex*, and Fragment 2

visible C clef can be seen at the beginning of *Aufer a nobis*, four lines from the bottom of the verso side (see Appendix 2).

The gently rounded neume shapes used in all three are almost identical, although written in different hands. The neumes in both fragments lean slightly to the right, while they are extremely vertical in the *Riesencodex*. They all use a fairly light penstroke, unlike the later, thick *Hufnagelschrift*, but a little heavier than the very fine pen strokes found in St. Gall notation. The puncti [Table 1] frequently have a slight ascending tail to the right (as the pen lifts off). The virgas all have a small horizontal head, and all three scribes use a backwards capital L-shaped neume for the pes. They also all use the rounded clivis, and they share two special neumes: the P-shaped liquescent cephalicus and the squiggly, rising quilisma. The only different neume shape is the porrectus, which appears as rounded

Latin Name	*Riesencodex,* f. 477r	Fragment 1, recto	Fragment 2, verso
Virga	NON	E-go	UT
Punctum	EST	DO-mi-ne	cunc-TUM
Clivis	an-ti-QUE	e-GO	PA-cem
Pes / Podatus	ma-ce-RA-tum	ME-us	pa-CEM
Climacus	ma-ce-ra-TUM	CA-nis	
Porrectus	DE-i	FRA-me-a	
Torculus	an-TI-que	de-US	SAL-ves
Quilisma	tu-I	DE-us	SANC-ta
Cephalicus	AN-ti-que	OM-nes	CUNC-tum

Table 1: Comparison of neumes

in the *Riesencodex* and which begins rounded in Fragment 1 and then finishes the shape with a final, angular gesture up to the right. In short, these three liturgical sources are not only representative of the same general southern German twelfth-century notation, but
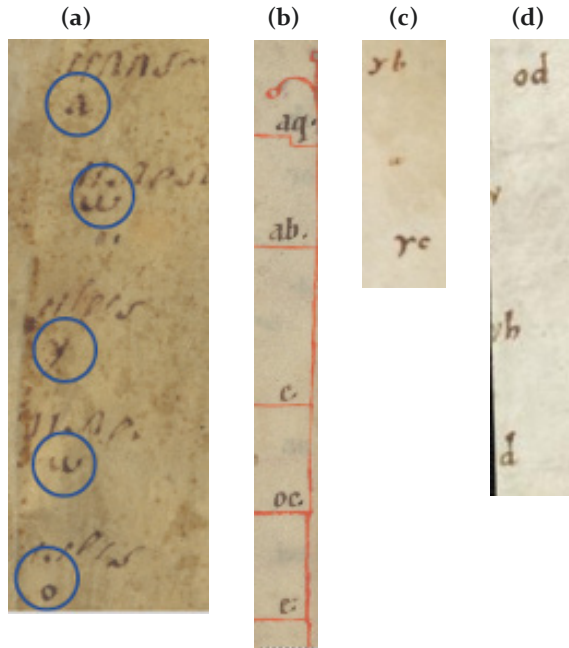
Figure 5: Tonary letters in (left-to-right) (a) Fragment 1, and in manuscripts from: (b) Gottschalk Abbey, Lambach, Austria; (c) the Abbey of St. Gall, Switzerland; and (d) Zwiefalten Abbey, Zwiefalten, Germany

in style specifics, they could have come out of the same scriptorium.

Another feature of the notation that makes it immediately identifiable as southern German provenance is the use of differentiae with tonary letters to provide psalm tone intonation patterns. Differentiae are musical formulae that appear in Antiphoners to tell the singer what mode and tone should be used for singing the psalm or canticle that accompanies an antiphon. In this manuscript fragment, the differentiae are identified with both the musical formula as well as with tonary letters, *a e i o v H y* or *w* [Figure 5]. These tonary letters appear only in southern Germanic sources. Alongside the tonary letters from Fragment 1 [5a], Figure 5 shows examples from the Gottschalk Antiphonary, from Lambach, Austria [5b];[18] from the Hartker Antiphoner from the Abbey of St. Gall in

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18   Excerpted from [F-306i] Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 704 (5), verso.

Switzerland, near Lake Constance [5c];[19] and from a manuscript held today in Karlsruhe, Germany but originally from the Abbey of Zwiefalten,[20] halfway between Lake Constance and Stuttgart [5d].[21] What distinguishes the use of the differentiae in Fragment 1 is that they use mostly single letters, rather than letter combinations as found in the other sources, and they combine the tonary letters with the notated melodic formulas, representing a collision of two different notational systems for differentiae.

Liturgical content as provenance identifier: Fragment 1

Despite the challenges of faded ink, grime, and damage in Fragment 1, we have been able to complete a full inventory of both sides of the folio and have determined that its liturgy is for the Office, not the Mass, that it was for monastic rather than secular use, and that the folio would have been located originally in an Antiphoner (rather than a Breviary). One of the rubrics on the recto side of the fragment, for example, tells us somewhat cryptically but conclusively that the liturgy is both for the office and for monastic use. The rubric, *svp cantica* [*super cantica*] just above the antiphon *Ego gloriam* [Figure 6] indicates that it is meant to be sung with a canticle, and canticles are used in the Office not in the Mass. This particular canticle appears at the beginning of the third nocturn in Matins, the first liturgical hour of the day. In monastic use, but not in secular use, canticles rather than psalms are sung in the third nocturn,[22] so the fragment definitely comes from an Antiphonal used in a monastic setting.

While the rubric for the liturgical office is missing from this manuscript, a comparison of the inventory [Table 2] with other manuscript inventories in the Cantus Database identifies the liturgy

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19   Excerpted from the Hartker Antiphonary, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 390, p. 27 [https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0390].

20   Excerpted from Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. 60, f. 2v [https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:31-39404].

21   The additional letters *ab*, *ac*, and *ad*, for example, distinguish two or more differentiae within a single mode.

22   D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford 1993, 26–27.
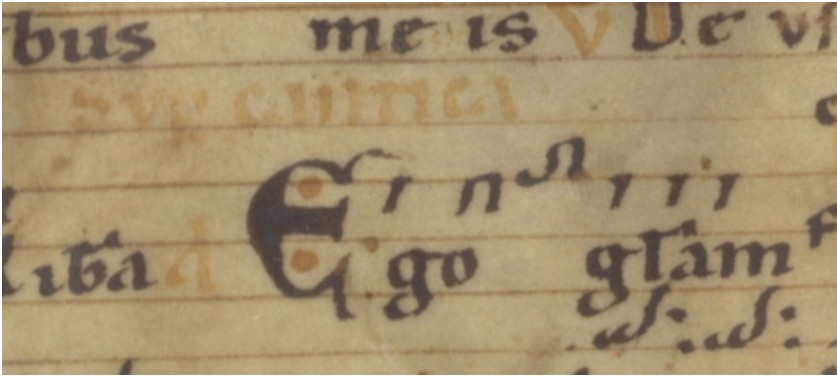
Figure 6: Fragment 1, the rubric *svp cantica* and the antiphon *Ego gloriam*

securely as Passion Sunday and Passion Week, up to the first two chants for Palm Sunday.[23]

Passion Sunday and Passion Week are standard feasts that occur in virtually every Antiphonal that includes the feasts from Advent to Easter, so the presence of the feast itself does not help to locate provenance at all. The Feast Analysis Tool on the Cantus Index site, however, can be used to compare similarity in liturgical content amongst all of the instances of a particular feast across the sources catalogued in the Cantus Index Network. Searching on Cantus Index for feasts similar to Passion Sunday as it stands in Fragment 1, 16 of the 98 that include Passion Sunday were found to be 90% or more similar.[24] By comparing those sixteen manually, we found that eight of the sixteen were not only similar liturgically for Passion Sunday, but also for the ferial days of Passion Week and the first two chants of Palm Sunday; moreover, these eight sources are all southern Germanic, coming from institutions in what is today southern Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the Czech Republic. This provenance is significant, because the area includes where Hildegard's Rupertsberg monastery was situated geographically.

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23   *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant - Inventories of Chant Sources*, directed by D. Lacoste (2011–), T. Bailey (1997–2010), and R. Steiner (1987–1996). Web developer, J. Koláček (2011–) (http://cantusdatabase.org/).

24   *Cantus Index*, managed by D. Lacoste, founded and developed by J.Koláček (http://cantusindex.org).

f.	Genre	Text incipit	Mode	Final	Tonary Letters	Rubric
DOM. DE PASSIONE [Passion Sunday]						
Matins - partway through second nocturn						
1r	Resp.	*[Tota die contristatus] domine*	4	E		
		v. Et qui inquirebant mala mihi				
	Resp.	*Adjutor et susceptor meus tu*	4	E		
		v. Eripe me de inimicis meis				
	Resp.	*In proximo est tribulatio mea*	7	G		
		v. Deus deus meus respice in me				
	Ant.	*Ego gloriam meam non quaero*	8	G	wd	svp cantica
	Vers.	*Deus deus meus respice in me*	*			
Matins - third nocturn						
1r	Resp.	*Doceam iniquos vias tuas et*	8	G		
		v. Domina labia mea aperies et				
	Resp.	*Ne avertas faciem tuam a*	2	D		
		v.Eripe me domine ab homine				
	Resp.	*Pacifice loquebantur mihi inimici mei*	8	G		
		v. Omnes inimici mei adversum me				
	Resp.	*In te jactatus sum ex*	2	D		
		v. Erue a framea deus animam				
Lauds						
1r	Ant.	*Vide domine afflictionem meam quoniam*	8	G	w	
	Ant.	*In tribulatione invocavi dominum et*	7	G	y	
	Ant.	*Judicasti domine causam animae meae*	4	E	o	
	Ant.	*Popule meus quid feci tibi*	4	E	o	
	Ant.	*Numquid redditur pro bono malum*	4	E	o	
	Resp.	*Erue a framea deus animam*	2	D		
		v. Eripe me domine ab homine				
	Vers.	*Eripe me de inimicis meis*	*			
	Ant.	*Dixit Jesus turbis quis ex*	1	D	a	
Prime						
1r	Ant.	*Ego daemonium non habeo sed*	8	G	w	
Terce						
1r	Ant.	*Ego gloriam**	*			
	Vers.	*Erue a framea deus animam*	*			
Sext						
1r	Ant.	*Abraham pater vester exsultavit ut*	1	D	a	
1v	Vers.	*De ore leonis libera me*	*			
None						
1v	Ant.	*Quinquaginta annos nondum habes et*	1	D	a	
	Vers.	*Ne perdas cum impiis deus*	*			
	Resp.	*De ore leonis libera me*	2	D		
		v. Erue a framea deus animam				
Second Vespers						
1v	Ant.	*Tulerunt lapides Judaei ut jacerent*	1	D	a	

FERIA 2 DE PASSIONE						
Matins						
IV	Inv.	*Nolite obdurare corda vestra quia*	6	F		[illeg.]
Prime						
	Ant.	*Vulpes foveas habent et volucres*	1	D	a	Ad Primam
Terce						
	Ant.	*Sicut exaltatus est serpens in*	1	D	a	Ad iii
Sext						
	Ant.	*Animae impiorum fremebant adversum me*	8	G	w	[illeg.]
None						
	Ant.	*Non sis mihi tu formidinis*	7	G	y	Ad viiii
Lauds						
	Ben.	*In die magno festivitatis stabat*	8	G	w	In .ii.?
Second Vespers						
	Mag.	*Si quis sitit veniat et*	4	E	o	Ad ve[...]
FERIA 3 DE PASSIONE						
Lauds						
IV	Ben.	*Tempus meum nondum advenit tempus*	4	E	o	[illeg.]
None						
		Vos ascendite ad diem festum	1	D	a	Ad viiii
Second Vespers						
	Mag.	*Quidam autem Judaei dicebant quia*	1	D	a	Ad vesp.
FERIA 4 DE PASSIONE						
Lauds						
IV	Ben.	*Oves meae vocem meam audiunt*	4	E	o	[illeg.]
Second Vespers						
	Mag.	*Multa bona opera operatus sum*	4	E	o	Ad vesp.
FERIA 5 DE PASSIONE						
Lauds						
IV	Ben.	*Magister dicit tempus meum prope*	4	E	o	[illeg.]
Second Vespers						
	Mag.	*Desiderio desideravi pascha manducare*	4	E	o	[illeg.]
FERIA 6 DE PASSIONE						
Lauds						
IV	Ben.	*Appropinquabat autem dies festus et*	1	D	a	
Second Vespers						
	Mag.	*Principes sacerdotum consilium fecerunt*	1	D	a	Ad vesp.
SABBATO						
	Mag.	*Clarifica me pater apud temetipsum*	1	D	a	Sabbato
DOM. IN PALMIS [Palm Sunday]						
Vespers						
IV	Resp.	*Ingressus Pilatus cum Jesu in* *v. Tunc ait illis Pilatus regem*	3	E		Ad vesp.

Table 2: Inventory of Fragment 1 (* in mode column = no musical notation)

Siglum	Identification	Provenance	Benedictine	M/F	Date
D-WIl Fragment 1	Wiesbaden, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, Fragment 1	near Bingen?	?	?	12C
CZ-Pu VI.E.4c	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, VI. E. 4c	St George Monastery, Prague	Y	F	12C
A-Wn 1890	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1890	Augsburg, Germany (or Mondsee, Austria?)	?	?	12C
D-Sl HB.I.55	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 55	Weingarten Abbey, Germany	Y	M	12–13C
D-KA Aug. LX	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothtek, Cod. Aug. perg. 60	Zwiefalten Abbey, Germany	Y	M	12–14C
A-LIb 290	Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Hs.-290 (olim 183; Gamma p 19)	Kremsmünster Abbey, Austria	Y	M	12-14C
CH-ENstb 103	Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 103	Sponheim Abbey, Germany	Y	M	13C
CZ-Pu XIV. B.13	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, XIV. B. 13	St. George Monastery, Prague	Y	F	14C

Table 3: Eight sources with very similar Passion Sunday and Passion week liturgies (male or female house identified); provenance comes from the source description in the Cantus Database (http://cantusdatabase.org**)**

Across these eight sources [Table 3], there are only two differences in the liturgy as set out. First, the placement and choice of versicles varies between the sources, but this difference is not very significant; versicles are frequent and short formulaic responses, and are rarely included in a consistent manner in manuscripts, probably because everyone knew them and knew when to use them.

The second difference between these eight sources is much more interesting. All of them include the same invitatory and antiphons (both textually and musically) for Feria 2 (Monday), but

	Hour	Genre	Text incipit
1	Matins	Invitatory	*Nolite obdurare corda vestra quia*
2	Prime	Antiphon	*Vulpes foveas habent et volucres*
3	Terce	Antiphon	*Sicut exaltatus est serpens in*
4	Sext	Antiphon	*Animae impiorum fremebant adversum me*
5	None	Antiphon	*Non sis mihi tu formidinis*
6	Lauds	Benedictus antiphon	*In die magno festivitatis stabat*
7	Vespers	Magnificat antiphon	*Si quis sitit veniat et*

Table 4a: Feria 2 order in Fragment 1

D-WIl Frag-ment 1	D-KA Aug. LX	A-LIb 290	D-Sl HB.I.55	CZ-Pu VI.E.4c	A-Wn 1890	CH-ENstb 103	CZ-Pu XIV.B.13
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	6	6	6	6	6	6
3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
4	4	3	3	3	4	4	
5	5	4	4	4	3	3	
6	6	5	5	5	5	5	5
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7

Table 4b: Feria 2 order in Fragment 1

with different orderings.[25] Although chronologically Lauds comes immediately after Matins, the scribe of Fragment 1 chose a thematic ordering instead, placing the two canticle antiphons, the Benedictus and Magnificat, together at the end of the Feria 2 grouping [Table 4a]. A comparison with the rest of the sources in the group reveals the parallels between them [Table 4b].[26] Note that all eight sources begin with no. 1, the invitatory, *Nolite obdurare*, and end with no. 7, the Vespers Magnificat antiphon, *Si quis sitit veniat et*. The Zwiefalten Abbey manuscript (D-KA Aug. LX) in column 2 fol-

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25   A thorough comparison of the melodies between sources revealed minor variants, but nothing notable enough to report.

26   The *Liber Ordinarius* (Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 331) from Hirsau follows the same order of antiphons on f. 44r as A-LIb 290, D-Sl HB.I.55 4, and CZ-Pu VI.E.4c.

Figure 7: Geographical proximity of known and suggested locations of the eight sources

lows the same pattern as Fragment 1, keeping together the canticle antiphons, while all of the others place the Benedictus antiphon (no. 6) in strict liturgical order after Matins. Two manuscripts, A-Wn 1890 (possibly from Augsburg) and CH-ENstb 103 (probably from Sponheim Abbey), reverse the order of the terce and sext antiphons (nos. 3 and 4), while the final source, CZ-Pu XIV.B.13 from St. George monastery in Prague, leaves the terce and sext antiphons out entirely. Most significant is that searching the 178 published and unpublished inventories on the Cantus Database for the antiphon, *Nolite obdurare*, reveals that this invitatory for Feria 2 is a very rare chant; in the Cantus Database it occurs only in these eight sources, including Fragment 1, which strongly suggests a connection between the monastic houses that use it. Beyond the sources in the Cantus Database, we have located *Nolite obdurare* and the series of six antiphons in the Hirsauer *Liber Ordinarius*, which is significant given Hildegard's known associations with Hirsau reforms.[27] Moreover, all of these monastic houses are in southern-Germanic locations [Figure 7]. The combination of the use of tonary letters, the shared Feria 2 antiphons and the rare invitatory, *Nolite obdurare*, provides

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27   C.J. Mews, "Hildegard of Bingen and the Hirsau Reform in Germany 1080–1180," in *A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, ed. B.M. Kienzle, D.L. Stoudt and G. Ferzoco, Leiden 2014, 57–83.

unequivocably a southern-Germanic provenance for Wiesbaden Fragment 1.

Liturgical content as provenance identifier: Fragment 2

While features of Fragment 1 point to a general southern-Germanic provenance, features of Fragment 2 point to a more particular location for its provenance. Fragment 2, however, is more damaged than Fragment 1, making identification of the liturgical content and other elements on the bifolium challenging. In any case, the processional chants that make up its liturgical content suggest that the leaf comes from either a Processional or the processional section of a Gradual; the size of the leaf suggests a Gradual, since Processionals tend to be very small books. The texts and music comprise two hymns and a litany used on the three Rogation Days, the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday leading to Ascension Thursday (the fortieth day of Easter) [Table 5].

	folio	Text incipit
Table 5: Original content layer of Fragment 2	1r	**Hymn**: *Humili prece*
	1r–v	**Hymn**: *Ardua spes mundi*
	1v	**Litany**: *Aufer a nobis*

As noted above, one of the two folios has music and text on the front and back, while the other is blank on one side and has scribbles of neumes and chants as well as a contractual text and a colophon on the other. The music and text begin mid-way through a chant including many sub-sections, indicated by the smaller coloured letters at the beginning of each line, which suggest either a hymn or a sequence. Although the text is almost indecipherable [Table 6], the first letter of every line and the context of what follows identifies it as *Humili prece*, a long refrain hymn used in processions, making possible a reconstruction of the text through reference to the *Analecta Hymnica* edition [Table 7].[28]

The large initial *A* (the height of two lines with staves, or 28 mm) in the middle of the recto side of the written leaf begins another

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28 G.M. Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica medii aevi 50, Hymnographi Latini, Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1907, no. 191, 253–255.
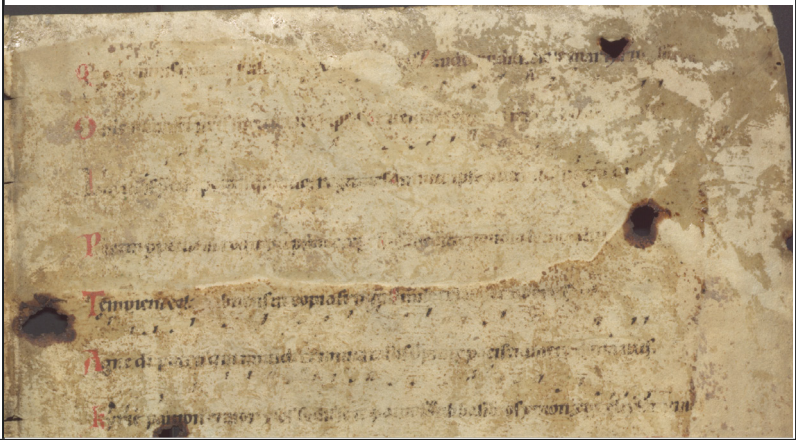
First word	Damaged text
Quae	
Omnes	
Iam	
Pacem	
Temperiem	
Agne	
Kyrie	

Table 6: Fragment 2, recto side, end of *Humili prece*

[*Refrain*: Humili prece et sincera devotione, Ad te clamantes semper exaudi nos. Stanzas 1–16, with refrain following each stanza]

[17. Virginitate chorus resplendens candidularum, Turba puellarum integritate nitens,] ***Quae*** geminis gaudens pulchrum decorata coronis, Laude pudicitiae, martyriique simul.

18. ***Omnes*** nunc Sancti nostris succurrite lapsis, Et veniam cunctis ferte juvando malis; ***Nam*** vestris precibus, petitis quaecunque rogantes, Annuit ipse pius, nilque negat Dominus.

19. ***Pacem*** perpetuam, rogitamus, prospice Christe, Et sanae vitae gaudia longa diu; ***Temperiem*** caeli tribuens, ut copia frugum Omnibus exundet ubere laticiae.

20. ***Agne*** Dei Patris, qui Mundi crimina tollis, Optatae pacis munera dona tuis. ***Kyrie*** pantocrator, yson sodisse te pantos, Sub basileos ymon, Christe, eleison ymas.[a]

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[a]   Dreves gives the Greek as ἐλέησον ἡμῶν, with manuscripts variously reading *ymas*/*imas* or *ymon*/*imon*. The relevant letters are obscured here, but seem more likely to be *ymas*.

Table 7: Fragment 2, reconstructed text of *Humili prece*; square brackets denote text that would have been on the previous folio

Rogation hymn (often called a versus), *Ardua spes mundi*, written by the poet Ratpert at St. Gall (d. 884) in the ninth century [Table 8].[29] It continues on the verso and has a second section with a new

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29   The attribution to Ratpert of Saint Gall is provided by Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 146.

Part 1:
Ardua spes mundi solidator et inclite caeli,
Christe, exaudi nos propitius famulos.

Virgo Dei genetrix, rutilans in honore perenni
Ora pro famulis, sancta Maria, tuis.

Angele summe Dei, Michael, miserescito[a] nostri,
Adiuvet et Gabriel atque pius Raphael.

Aspice nos omnes, clemens[b] baptista Iohannes,
Petreque cum Paulo nos rege doctiloquo.

Coetus apostolicus sit nobis fautor et omnis
Ac patriarcharum propheticusque chorus.

Poscere nunc Stephanum studeamus carmine summum,
Ut cum martyribus nos iuvet ipse pius.

Inclite Laurenti, qui flammas exsuperasti,
Victor ab aethereo nos miserere choro.

Splendide Silvester Gregori ac sancte magister,
Nos quoque cum sociis ferte iuvando polis.

O Benedicte, pater monachorum, Galleque frater,
Cum reliquis sanctis nos refovete polis.[c]

Virgineos flores Agnes Agathesque ferentes,
Auxilio vestris[d] addite nos sociis.

Innocuos pueros resonemus laude peractos,
Qui modo nos pueros dant resonare melos.

Part 2:
Omnes o sancti, nostrae succurrite vitae,
Perque crucem sanctam salva nos, Christe rogamus,
Ira deque tua clemens nos eripe, Christe.
Nos peccatores audite, te, Christe, rogamus.
Ut pacem nobis dones, te, Christe, rogamus.
Crimen ut omne tuis solvas, te, Christe, rogamus.
Aure ut temperiem dones, te, Christe, rogamus.
Ut populum cunctum salves, te, Christe, rogamus.
Ecclesiamque tuam firmes, te, Christe, rogamus.
Fili celsi throni, nos audi, Christe rogamus.
Christe, exaudi nos, o Kyrie ymon eleyson.

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a   A corrector has added a *re* to the fragment so that it appears to read *misere^re scito*.
b   The fragment appears to read *clemens omnes*.
c   Dreves includes several verses for other saints (Otmar, Magnus) here, which are not present in all his sources (or this fragment). Some sources include other "customized" saints in their place (including a source from Mainz, which mentions Alban), but the fragment does not; in this respect it resembles Dreves's source F, from St. Emmeram in Regensburg.
d   The fragment reads *nostris* here.

Table 8: Text of Hymn, *Ardua spes mundi*, based on Dreves (*Analecta Hymnica* 50, no. 179, 237–238), because the fragment text is not always legible. Footnotes indicate the obvious differences.

Aufer a nobis iniquitates nostras ut mereamur puris mentibus introire ad sacra sanctorum.

Exaudi, exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras. Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.

Aufer a nobis [iniquitates nostras ut mereamur puris mentibus introire ad sacra sanctorum.]

Miserere, miserere, miserere populo tuo quem redemisti Christe sanguine tuo ne in eternum irascaris nobis.

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Michael, ora pro nobis

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Johannes [ora pro nobis]

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Petre [ora pro nobis]

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Paule [ora pro nobis]

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Andrea [ora pro nobis]

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Jacobe [ora pro nobis]

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Stephane [ora pro nobis]

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Clemens [ora pro nobis]

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Laurenti [ora pro nobis]

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] **Sancte Albane** [ora pro nobis]

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Hilari [ora pro nobis]

Exaudi, [exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Martine [ora pro nobis]

[*Exaudi,* exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Benedicte [ora pro nobis]

[*Exaudi,* exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancte Gregori [ora pro nobis]

[*Exaudi,* exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancta Felicitas [ora pro nobis]

[*Exaudi,* exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Sancta Agnes [ora pro nobis]

[*Exaudi,* exaudi, exaudi domine preces nostras.] Omnes sancti, orate pro nobis

Table 9: Text of Litany, *Aufer a nobis*, in Fragment 2

repeating melody that begins with the one-line-and-staff initial *O* at the beginning of the third line. The layout on this side, visible in Appendix 2, is distinctive because it begins with the full horizontal lines of script and music that were on the previous side, but at line 4 it divides into two columns and then about halfway down the page the second column divides again into two columns.

The final chant is a multi-part litany [Table 9].[30] It begins with the antiphon *Aufer a nobis* at the large initial A (this time the height of one line and staff), four lines from the bottom on the verso side of the Fragment in Appendix 2. A sub-section of the litany, *Exaudi,*

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30   For a musical reconstruction, see R. Amstutz, *Ludus de Decem Virginibus: Recovery of the Sung Liturgical Core of the Thuringian Zehnjungfrauenspiel*, Toronto 2002, 286.

exaudi, exaudi follows and then jumps to the top of the second column for the first invocation, to Mary, *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis*. After the Marian invocation, *Aufer a nobis* is repeated, as the incipit indicates, followed by another sub-section, *Miserere, miserere, misere*. The rest of the litany consists of alternations between the *Exaudi* (again indicated through incipit only) with invocations to particular saints: *Sancte Michael, ora pro nobis; Sancte Johannes, ora pro nobis*; and so on down the column and up to the top of the next column. The final invocation concludes at the bottom of the right-hand column with a petition to all saints: *Omnes sancti, orate pro nobis*.

Taken together, these liturgical items, the two hymns and the litany, were popular enough that they do not point to any specific time or place. Guido Dreves, who reproduced the text of *Humili prece* and *Ardua spes mundi* in *Analecta Hymnica*, found them in numerous tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts, including both in a tenth-century Missal from St. Alban's monastery in Mainz that also includes *Aufer a nobis*.[31] The three do not appear in the same order in this manuscript and there are enough textual and musical variants between the two that it does not appear that one was copied from the other, but that they inhabited the same liturgical sphere.[32] As well, there is one name in the list of saints at the end of the litany that suggests geographical proximity to Rupertsberg: *Albane* is in all likelihood St. Alban of Mainz (not the more famous St. Alban of the British isles). The Abbey of St. Alban's in Mainz, which produced the tenth-century Missal mentioned above, was a leading institution in the Hirsau reform that influenced many institutions (including Hildegard's), and it had established a number of filial monasteries in the region. Having St. Alban's name in the litany in Fragment 2 provides a regional connection.

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31   Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, 253–255 and 237–238 respectively. *Missale* from St. Alban's: *Ardua spes mundi*, ff. 103v–105r; *Humili prece*, ff. 105r–107v, and *Aufer a nobis*, f. 109v.

32   *Humili prece* appears in later manuscripts as well, such as the twelfth- or thirteenth-century manuscript, Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1003, ff. 86r–87r (https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bke/1003).

Additamenta as new contexts for Fragment 2

The unstructured text on the other leaf of the bifolium offers some further clues about the use of and possible provenance for Fragment 2: a 3-line inscription at the top in Middle High German; a Latin colophon directly underneath it; and some bits of chant that are little more than scribbles. Given their orientation (in line with the main contents of the fragment) they presumably date to when the leaf was bound in its earlier volume, rather than its use within the *Riesencodex*. The two items pertaining to music include a notated chant seemingly added by two or even three hands at separate times, perhaps as a pen trial. The earliest of these hands is in a faint brown ink, and gives the text "KYRIE Eleyson. Xp(ist)ELeyson" in what appears to be a thirteenth-century hand [Figure 8]. Above it are German neumes (also in a thirteenth-century style) on a very faint four-line drypoint staff, 8.5 mm tall, similar in size to that of the hymns, with a C clef and a dot for the F-line. The chant transmitted appears to be a variant of the first two phrases of *Kyrie summum bonum*.[33] A nearly identical melody opens the Kyriale of the Gradual of St Kunibert's church in Cologne (ca. 1330) [Figure 9];[34] it is possible that a similar version was prominent in the Gradual housing the fragment, and that this inspired the pen trial.

Below the *Kyrie*, a second hand takes up in darker, blotchier ink, and with a slightly different musical notation (the puncta are curved and the virga are forked where the stem meets the notehead); this seems not so much an attempt to continue the chant (which is still missing the end of the phrase) as an effort to copy down the notation immediately above. Below this musical notation is a larger, inexpertly written *Gloria Patri* with a few notes haphazardly written above it. The whole gives the impression of two inexperienced scribes separately attempting to imitate the style of their— possibly much earlier—predecessor, with the pen trial serving as unintentional learning exercise.

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33   Similar to Melnicki's melody 59. Unfortunately Melnicki's catalog only includes the incipit of the chant: M. Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Regensburg 1955, 98.

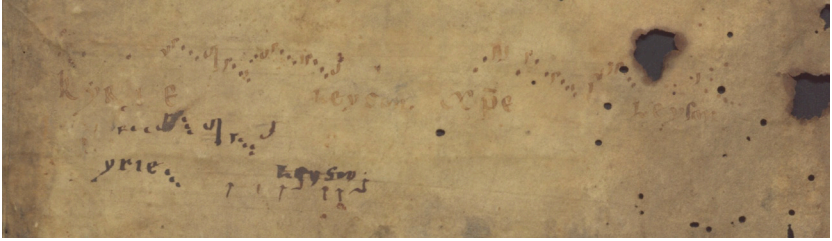34   Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs 876, f. 8r.

Figure 8: Added texts and melodies on the "blank page" of the original bifolium

Figure 9: Opening of the Kyriale of the Gradual of St Kunibert's church in Cologne (ca. 1330), Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 876, f. 8r

A still later hand put the leaf to a somewhat more practical purpose. Below the *Gloria Patri* in a fifteenth-century hybrida script is a small block of text, reading *Off* [...] *pro pace* and then, below a dividing line, giving several chant incipits each followed by a Roman numeral [Table 10]. Combining chants from other liturgical occasions to assemble a mass *pro pace* (or *pro pace regni*) is by no means

Int(r)oit(us)	Da pacem	xcv
Grad(ual)e	Letat(us) su(m)	xxxv
All(elui)a	Qui posuit fi(n)es	xcviii
Off(ertorium)	Sicut i(n) holocausto	xci
Con(munio)	Amen dico vo(bi)s	xcviii

Table 10: Mass incipits listed on Fragment 2

unique to this manuscript; the Cantus Index network alone records at least twenty-three other examples from various times, places, and liturgical practices. Such masses commonly begin, as this one does, with *Da pacem* (Cantus ID g01229), which typically appears on the eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost. Traditions vary in the choices of the other four mass propers, however. The five chants seen here are found with great regularity in Cistercian sources, while outside the Cistercian order other communion chants (such as *Pacem meam*) or offertory chants tend to appear. Fragment 2 is the only example currently on the Cantus network of this set of propers appearing in a source not known to be Cistercian, and may suggest that the scribe had some contact with the local houses of the order.[35]

These mass incipits give further evidence that the book to which the leaf belonged was a Gradual, in which the incipits could be found at the indicated folios earlier in the book. If so, we may assume it contained both summer and winter chants—the gradual *Laetatus sum* is typically for the fourth Sunday in Lent—and sixty folios contained the chants for the intervening twenty-seven weeks. The addition of the incipits in the fifteenth century suggests, moreover, that the Gradual was still in use as a liturgical book at that time—perhaps spending very little time unused before being repurposed as a binding.

The other items on this recto are not musical or liturgical in origin. The German inscription appears to be a contract, or record

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35   The mass is concordant with the following manuscripts, which can be located through Cantus Index (http://cantusindex.org/): D–Mbs Clm 02541 (Aldersbach, 15c); P–Ar 016 (Arouca, 1485); PL–WRu F 413 (Silesia, 14c); PL–WRu F 414 (Silesia, 13c); PL–WRu F 416 (Silesia, 14c); PL–Wn Rps 12496 IV (Silesia, 13c); CH–ROM Ms Liturg. FiD 5 (Abbey of Romont, 13c); F–Pn : NAL 01414 (Morimondo, 12c); and D–HEu : Cod.Sal. x,007 (Salem, 1225).

of a donation, between tenant farmers and a monastic foundation (perhaps a draft, corresponding to the way that the rest of the page was treated):

Gernot vnd Gerdrut di gent[36] ewicliche zvene schillinge pennige vz
Gernot and Gertrude give in perpetuity twenty shillings pfennigs from

eime hus vnd eime gartin. zu Ibingen.
a house and a garden in Eibingen.

Cunlin vnd sin Erbin gent eche vnd zvencich ^cholsche pennige
Cunlin and his heirs give eight and twenty Cologne pfennigs

von eime stucke wingartis zu Grabe wisin.
from a plot of vineyard in Grabe wisin.[37]

This inscription mentions two specific identifiable and regional places: "eime Hus und eime Gartin zu *Ibingen*" [a house and a garden in Eibingen], which is the next village over from Rüdesheim on the north side of the Rhine (and houses one of the convents associated with Hildegard) and is directly across the river from her Rupertsberg convent in Bingen; and "eime stucke wingartis zu *Grabe wisin*" [a plot of vineyard in Grabe wisin], which is a local name for an area near the historic ditch in Rüdesheim, captured today by the street name *Grabenstraße*.[38] There is even a (presumably different) vineyard "zu grabewisen" documented among Rupertsberg's landholdings near Rüdesheim early in the thirteenth century.[39]

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36 *gent=gebent*. This form is found particularly in the west and south of Germany, according to the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (https://apps.dsa.info/sprachgis/atlas/hss:2/13641).

37 Van der Linde transcribed the middle-high German (*Die Handschriften*, 86), but with a number of errors. C.J. Jones and C. Miller kindly provided us with a correct transcription and English translation (personal communication, June 15, 2024).

38 A "grabewisin," with various spellings, is attested in the area of Rüdesheim in many historical documents, and it persisted into the twentieth century as a local name for what had since become part of the town. See "zu grabewysen," in: *Hessische Flurnamen* (https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/purl/resolve/subject/fln/id/494991).

39 See *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der mittelrheinischen Territorien*, in H. Beyer, L. Eltest, and A. Goerz (eds.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der jetzt die Preussischen Regierungsbezirke Coblenz und Trier bildenden mittelrheinischen*

A document that has recently come to light highlights other connections between Rupertsberg, Eibingen and other regional monasteries.[40] Ivana Dobcheva and Christoph Mackert, in discussing the cataloguing of fragments in Leipzig, analyse a fragment possibly from a mortuary roll; the document refers to itself as a *rotulus* and also as a *titulus*.[41] They provide a list of the stops the document made, including "in Mainz: the Teutonic Knights, the monastery of St. Alban, St. Viktor, St. Jacob, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, Weißfrauenkloster; the Cistercians in Eberbach; monasteries in Gottesthal, Tiefenthal, and Johannisberg; the Benedictine monastery St. Georg; in Bingen, the Abbey Rupertsberg..."[42] In fact, between St. Georg and Bingen, the document notes two further stops not identified by the authors: it stopped at Saint Mary's in Eibingen and in Aulhusen, before crossing the Rhine to Bingen.[43] Dobcheva and Mackert place the document as post-1256, because two of the monasteries mentioned belong to an order founded in that year.[44] According to references to specific days in the Church calendar, they suggest the year the *rotulus* travelled was either 1257 or 1268, and by the references to specific days of the week it is clear

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     Territorien: aus den Quellen, vol. 2, Koblenz 1865, 391, which transcribes a lengthy document of Rupertsberg's holdings ca. 1200 and the years afterward.

40   Titulus / mortuary roll (?) (Fragment), [F-yfgp] Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. lat. 199.

41   I. Dobcheva and C. Mackert, "Manuscript Fragments in the University Library, Leipzig: Types and Cataloguing Patterns", *Fragmentology 1* (2018), 105.

42   Dobcheva and Mackert, "Manuscript Fragments", 105, n. 47.

43   The full transcription, corresponding to items 17 through 21 on Dobcheva and Duba's "Addendum", is: *Feria tertia fui in Monte Sancti Johannis liberte(?) et ad sanctum Georgium liberte(?) fui ad sanctam mariam virginem in Ibingin Et in ulinhusin Et fui ad sanctum rupertum*. "Ulinhusin" refers to a Cistercian convent at Aulhausen which would later become known as Marienhausen; the name is attested to in medieval charters (see e.g. the 1210 charter Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt, Bestand A 2, Nr. 23/2 which refers to it as "ecclesie in Ulenhusen" or Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, Bestand 22, Nr. U 480 from 1330, where it is "monasterium sancti monialium in ulinhusin ordinis Cisterciensis"). Its location to Eibingen's northwest would have kept the travelers in the hills before descending to cross the Rhine to Bingen; one assumes that the travelers wished to visit every institution of note, and that the hilly topography of the area partially dictated their route.

44   Dobcheva and Mackert, "Manuscript Fragments", 106.

that the messengers were visiting two to four monasteries per day and covering significant distances.[45] As they conclude, it is "a nice example of distant monastic networks and the speed of travel across them."[46] The document demonstrates as well how connected Hildegard's community at Rupertsberg was to this monastic network, within a century of her death.

Moreover, the document provides a snapshot of what the nearest nodes in this network were to Rupertsberg in the third quarter of the thirteenth century (or at least, the nearest nodes worth visiting), and how they named themselves. The reference to Eibingen is particularly noteworthy because of its significance in the traditional biography of Hildegard, which has reported that Hildegard founded a second monastery in Eibingen—a daughterhouse—in 1165. In 2014, Matthias Schmandt questioned this claim, demonstrating that none of the twelfth- and early thirteenth-century documentation concerning Hildegard's life—her *Vita*, the *Acta inquisitionis de virtutibus et miraculis S. Hildegardis*, her collected letters etc.—mention this founding, which surely they would have.[47] There was an Augustinian convent dedicated to Mary, however, established in Eibingen in 1148,[48] and Hildegard's *Vita* does mention that she sometimes travelled by boat across the Rhine to Rüdesheim to visit the nuns there;[49] there is no evidence of any other convents located in Rüdesheim at any point, so the convent she was visiting must have been the Eibingen convent long associated with her. As well, as Matthia Eiden reports, in 1268 the Eibingen nuns petitioned the Archbishop in Mainz to be separated from Rupertsberg; the Archbishop did not grant this separation, although he did grant the license to choose their own leader, who would report to the Rupertsberg Abbess,[50]

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45   Dobchev and Mackert, "Manuscript Fragments", 106–7.

46   Dobchev and Mackert, "Manuscript Fragments", 108.

47   M. Schmandt, "Hildegard von Bingen und das Kloster Eibingen: Revision einer historischen Überlieferung", *Nassauische Annalen* 125 (2014), 29–52.

48   M. Eiden, "Eibingen", in *Germania Benedictina*, vol. 7, *Die Benediktinischen Mönchs- und Nonnenklöster in Hessen*, ed. F. Jürgensmeier, F. Büll, and R.E. Schwerdtfeger, Sankt Ottilien 2004, 125.

49   "The Life of Hildegard", chapter XVIII, in A. Silvas (ed. and trans), *Jutta and Hildegard: the Biographical Sources*, University Park, PA 1999, 192.
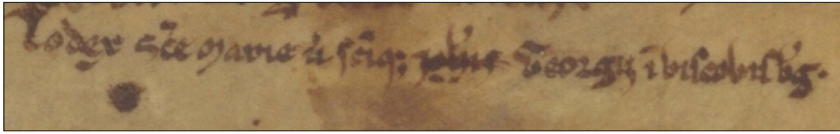
50   Eiden, "Eibingen," 126.

Figure 10: Latin colophon in Fragment 2

and in 1270 it was referred to specifically as a Benedictine convent, the same order to which Rupertsberg belonged.[51] The mortuary roll provides new evidence that both establishments were active and functioning fully in the second half of the thirteenth century, and were part of a local network of monastic institutions.

The reference in the mortuary roll to Johannisberg and St. Georg is also noteworthy, because both names appear in the Latin colophon found on the same page as the German inscription, and Rüdesheim and Eibingen are about halfway between Rupertsberg and Johannisberg. It is not easy to say which of the Latin colophon or the German contract was written first. The Latin, which is small (only 1 mm tall) and neat, nevertheless intersects with the somewhat messier German inscription, which might suggest it was overwritten by a scribe with little concern for use of space; but this is hardly proof positive, and it is possible to imagine the two inscriptions added in the opposite order as well. Overall the German script gives the impression of having been written in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, with straight s at the word ends and a pronounced lower lobe on the *G*;[52] the Latin inscription seems to be of a similar date, but is too short to draw definitive paleographical conclusions about its relative age compared to the German inscription. In any case, the colophon provides further evidence of the local network that contributed to the production of the fragment as it has come down to us. The Latin colophon states [Figure 10]: "Codex sanctae Mariae virginis sanctique ~~Johannis~~ Georgii in biscobisberg" [Codex of Saint Mary the Virgin and Saint ~~John~~ George in Bischofsberg

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51   Eiden, "Eibingen", 125. Eiden also reports that in 1270 the new leader, Agnes, petitioned for the Eibingen convent to be considered equal to Rupertsberg, which again was not granted, although the Rupertsberg Abbess did agree that the Eibingen nuns would be invited to participate in abbatial elections (126).

52   We are grateful to A. Papahagi for sharing with us his thoughts about the script of this inscription.

(Bishop's Hill)]. In 1931 Gottfried Zedler used the colophon to suggest a provenance of Kloster Johannisberg, presumably because of the crossed-out "Johannis" and because Johannisberg is on Bischofsberg, which is in Geisenheim, only a few kilometres east of Eibingen and also on the opposite side of the Rhine from Bingen.[53] Zedler does not actually explain his identification of the provenance and he does not mention the connection to St. Mary and St. George at all.

The combining of St. Mary and St. George together in the colophon suggests a location named explicitly for the two saints. The "Codex of St. Mary the Virgin and St. George" could mean that the book belongs to a female or male monastic house named after Mary and George, or to a church, a chapel, or even an altar, or perhaps to a book transmitting liturgical feasts in celebration of Saints Mary and George. One possible provenance, although unlikely, is an Abbey Church in Erfurt for St. Mary and St. George, but there is no Bischofsberg in Erfurt. Until 1525, there was a Benedictine Bischofsberg Abbey in Fulda (often referred to as Frauenberg), but there is no explicit reference to St. Mary and St. George there. More significantly, since the Fulda Abbey church (now Fulda Cathedral) was the burial place of St. Boniface, it seems inconceivable that the final litany of saints in Fragment 2 would not include an appeal to Boniface if the original manuscript were from there.[54]

The most likely original provenance of Fragment 2 is the women's convent—also mentioned in the mortuary roll—called Georgenclause, which was associated with Johannisberg. Johannisberg was founded in 1090 on Bischofsberg (Bishop's Hill) as a double house of men and women,[55] under the rule of St. Alban's in Mainz;[56] this detail is critical, since St. Alban is the only Germanic saint named in the list of saints in the litany elsewhere on the fragment. In 1130 the double house became an independent Abbey.[57] The nuns, apparently

53   Zedler, *Die Handschriften*, 17.
54   J. Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744–c. 900*, New York 2012.
55   Van der Linde, *Die Handschriften*, 86.
56   C.D. Vogel, *Beschreibung des Herzogthums Nassau*, Wiesbaden 1843, 597.
57   Ibid.

orginally housed close to the east side of the church,[58] at some later date split off from the monks and moved "to the valley", as reported by F.W.Th. Schliephase in 1866 and Antonius van der Linde in 1877, with their new convent going by the name of Clause (hermitage) or Georgenclause (St. George's hermitage).[59] Although unnamed by both Schliephase and van der Linde, the closest valley (1.5 km west) is "Marienthal", or "Mary's valley", which may explain the naming of St. Mary.[60] If Georgenclause was established in this valley, then it may have become known also as St. Mary and St. George.[61] Although it is not known when the separation of the two houses occurred, the mortuary roll mentioned earlier also provides a clue: in the year of the roll's travel (presumed to be in either 1257 or 1268), the local scribe distinguished these two houses as separate (St. George and Johannisberg): "Feria tertia fui in Monte Sancti Johannis…et ad sanctum Georgium".[62] This distinction could put the separation of the houses in a similar timeframe as that of the marginal additions to the fragment. The convent was dissolved in 1452 (against the wishes of the nuns) and all of their goods were transferred to Johannisberg,[63] which itself closed in 1563.[64]

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58 F.W.Th. Schliephase, *Geschichte von Nassau von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart, auf der Grundlage urkundlicher Quellenforschung* 1, Wiesbaden 1866, 166, n. **.

59 Van der Linde, *Die Handschriften*, 86 and Vogel, *Beschreibung*, 597.

60 Marienthal was so-named because of a miracle in 1309, when a blind hunter, Hecker Henn, was healed after praying in the forest to an image of Mary; a church was built on that location in 1313 and became a site of pilgrimage, see Franziskanerkloster Marienthal, "Die Geschichte von Marienthal" (https://marienthal.franziskaner.net/die-geschichte-von-marienthal/).

61 In 1463, eleven years after the closure of Georgenclause, an Augustinian house of brothers was established and the foundation is known today as Kloster Marienthal.

62 [F-yfgp], Leipzig, UBL, Fragm. lat. 199; see above, n. 45 for transcription of this line. After each of the houses, the scribe included a word that Duba and Dobcheva transcribe as "liberte" (see "Addendum", table 2, items 17–18). The meaning of this word is unclear, but could have something to do with the separation of the two houses.

63 Vogel, *Beschreibung,* 597.

64 Schliephase, *Geschichte von Nassau*, 167, continuation of n. ** from 166.

Zedler suggests that the binding of the *Riesencodex* is fifteenth-or sixteenth-century,[65] which fits with these dates. A plausible scenario thus follows: in the late twelfth century, the Gradual (that included Fragment 2 with its reference to the local St. Alban), was used by the community at Johannisberg/Georgenclause. In the late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century, nuns at Georgenclause added the German text to the Gradual as well as the colophon, which would explain the slip of the pen and initial identification of St. John rather than St. George (in Figure 10) since there was a close connection between the two houses, even after separation. In 1452, when the Abbey closed, the now unused Gradual was transferred to Johannisberg along with the other goods of the convent and made available for reuse either before or after Johannisberg closed at a still unknown bindery—possibly at Johannisberg, but possibly at another institution, such as Rupertsberg, or farther afield in Frankfurt where there are known binderies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[66] This bindery bound (or re-bound) the *Riesencodex* using fragments from old books for the pastedowns, at least one of which was from the women's house. The other book used could have also come from Georgenclause; but it could have been from Johannisberg, or from another institution in the region—even, perhaps, Rupertsberg itself. Certainly, the materials were local to the area, and importantly shared liturgical elements with other southern-Germanic houses influenced by the Hirsau reform.

While it was known already in 1877 that these fragments—because of the Latin colophon—had an association with the nearby Abbey of Johannisberg, this deeper and close analysis of all aspects of the fragments have contributed to a much richer contextualization of these pastedowns and revealed a broad community of religious institutions in which Rupertsberg participated. The results of our detailed musical and textual palaeographic analysis, liturgical analysis, codicological analysis, and analysis of all of the written elements (both the main content and added items) firmly

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65 Zedler, *Die Handschriften*, 17.
66 W.K. Zülch, "Eine Fehlforschung," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 43 (1926), 119–120.

situate the fragments within a small radius of the book they bind; at the same time, their connections to specific places and practices external to Rupertsberg serve to remind us of this extensive interconnected network of the monasteries in the region. Such connections are already in evidence in Hildegard's lifetime through her own travels and correspondence, but they ran deeper and longer, encompassing—over the course of the twelfth through the fifteenth century—liturgical influences, adjoining land holdings, and books moving from one institution to another, both for reasons of shifting institutional politics and for practical considerations like the availability of book binding. Fragments like these demonstrate the importance of considering not just the original time or place of a book's production, but also how it was used—or re-used, or not used—in the centuries that followed. The German inscription and Latin colophon on Fragment 2 (from well over a century after its production) connect the fragment both to the convent at Georgenclause and to land near Eibingen, which in turn were both associated with Rupertsberg; the added mass propers (from a later time still) might suggest an awareness of practices at the Cistercian monasteries just to the east of Georgenclause; and the re-use of the fragment in the *Riesencodex* connects these institutions yet again, even centuries after the production of the liturgical books in question.

In addition, consideration of how long a now-fragmented book was used, and when it was considered not worth using, gives context to what survives in complete form and why. The study of these fragments emphasizes that even in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the *Riesencodex* was considered worthy of binding or rebinding. Moreover, these fragments tell us that specific value was placed on maintaining in that collection Hildegard's own music in out-of-date musical notation, while these other twelfth-century musical sources used in the binding—from a similar time and place and using a similar musical style—were considered dispensable. The treatment of the fragments in comparison to the codex they bind demonstrates just how important the *Riesencodex* collection still was to the community at Rupertsberg, several hundred years after it was first compiled.

Appendix 1, [F-5goe] Fragment 1, lower pastedown from binding of the *Riesencodex* (Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, Hs. 2)

Appendix 2, [F-ymov] Fragment 2, upper pastedown from binding of the *Riesencodex* (Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, Hs. 2)

Appendix 3, Front and back covers of the Riesencodex (Wiesbaden, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain, Hs. 2)

Appendix 1

Appendix 2