

The Language of Magic

Edited by Eleonora Cianci and Nicholas Wolf

IL SEGNO E LE LETTERE

*Collana del Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Moderne
dell'Università degli Studi 'G. d'Annunzio'*

DIREZIONE

Mariaconcetta Costantini

COMITATO SCIENTIFICO

Università 'G. d'Annunzio' di Chieti-Pescara

Mariaconcetta Costantini - Mariapia D'Angelo - Antonella Del Gatto
Elvira Diana - Emanuela Ettorre - Persida Lazarević - Maria Rita Leto
Lorella Martinelli - Carlo Martinez - Paola Partenza - Ugo Perolino
Marcial Rubio Árquez - Anita Trivelli

Atenei esteri

Antonio Azaustre (*Universidad de Santiago de Compostela*)
Claudia Capancioni (*Bishop Grosseteste University, Lincoln*)
Dominique Maingueneau (*Université Sorbonne*)
Snežana Milinković (*University of Belgrade*)

COMITATO EDITORIALE

Mariaconcetta Costantini - Barbara Delli Castelli
Eleonora Sasso - Luca Stirpe

I volumi pubblicati nella Collana sono stati sottoposti a doppio referaggio anonimo.

ISSN 2283-7140
ISBN 978-88-7916-996-7

Copyright © 2022

LED Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto

Via Cervignano 4 - 20137 Milano

www.lededizioni.com - www.ledonline.it - E-mail: led@lededizioni.com

I diritti di riproduzione, memorizzazione e archiviazione elettronica, pubblicazione con qualsiasi mezzo analogico o digitale (comprese le copie fotostatiche, i supporti digitali e l'inserimento in banche dati) e i diritti di traduzione e di adattamento totale o parziale sono riservati per tutti i paesi.

Le fotocopie per uso personale del lettore possono essere effettuate nei limiti del 15% di ciascun volume/fascicolo di periodico dietro pagamento alla SIAE del compenso previsto dall'art. 68, commi 4 e 5, della legge 22 aprile 1941 n. 633.

Le riproduzioni effettuate per finalità di carattere professionale, economico o commerciale o comunque per uso diverso da quello personale possono essere effettuate a seguito di specifica autorizzazione rilasciata da: AIDRO, Corso di Porta Romana n. 108 - 20122 Milano
E-mail segreteria@aidro.org <mailto:segreteria@aidro.org>
sito web www.aidro.org <http://www.aidro.org/>

Volume pubblicato con il contributo
dell'Università degli Studi 'G. d'Annunzio' di Chieti-Pescara
Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Moderne

In copertina

Graphic design by Pierluigi Traini

Videimpaginazione: Paola Mignanego

Stampa: Litogi

CONTENTS

Introduction <i>Eleonora Cianci</i>	7
Neumes in Three Old High German Charms <i>Eleonora Cianci</i>	13
Words as Gestures: Allusions to the Christian Iconography in East-Slavic Charms and Magic Formulas <i>Liudmila V. Fadeyeva</i>	33
Undoing the “Evil Eye” in Italy: A Comparison of Folk Documentation from 1965-70 with Present Research <i>Lia Giancristofaro</i>	53
Taboo Words and Secret Language as Verbal Magic in Childbirth (Russian North) <i>Lubov’ Golubeva - Sofia Kupriyanova</i>	69
Charms, Changelings, and Chatter: Sonic Magic in the <i>Secunda Pastorum</i> <i>Sarah Harlan-Haughey</i>	81
A Written Charm in Oral Tradition: “Peter Sat on a Marble Stone” in Ireland <i>Barbara Lisa Hillers</i>	103
Arguments for the Authority of the <i>Tietäjä</i> <i>Henni Ilomäki</i>	123
<i>The Dream of the Mother of God</i> and Its Oral-Written Performances, with Examples from Early Modern and Contemporary Romanian Tradition <i>Laura Jiga Illiescu</i>	141
Euphemisms upon the Example of Incantations <i>Mare Kõiva</i>	163

Old Norse Poetry and the Language of Magic <i>Maria Cristina Lombardi</i>	191
An Episode from the History of Publishing Russian Folklore Charms and Their English Translations <i>Andrei Toporkov</i>	201
Urine for a Treat! Or, How to Cure Urinary Disease in Early Medieval Ireland <i>Ilona Tuomi</i>	219
Magic as a Statement of Power and Weapons of the Weak: Heroine of the Russian Epos <i>Inna Veselova</i>	235
Restrain, Liberate, Kill: Parsing the Language of Blocking Sickness in Irish Charms <i>Nicholas M. Wolf</i>	251
The Authors	263

NEUMES IN THREE OLD HIGH GERMAN CHARMS

Eleonora Cianci

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.7359/996-2022-cian>

ABSTRACT

Ad pestem equi, *Ad equum infusum* and *Crist unte Iudas* are three Old High German charms of the twelfth century that display various signs between the lines that can be identified with neumatic notation. The charms are integrated in two manuscripts collections of healing remedies, and they are the only texts displaying neumes. *Ad pestem equi* and *Ad equum infusum* are written in the margins of Vatican City, (BAV) Cod. pal. lat. 1158; *Crist unde Iudas* is in MS. Bamberg, (Staatsbibliothek) Msc. Med. 6. Nobody would be surprised to know that some charms were sung, or that there should have been an oral performance connected to them, yet this can be considered the first textual evidence of this idea. This essay provides a description of the neumes and a new edition and interpretation of the three charms.

Keywords: *Ad equum infusum*; *Ad pestem equi*; Bamberg Msc. Med. 6; BAV Cod. pal. lat. 1158; *Crist unte Iudas*; Medieval healing charms; neumes.

Three twelfth century German charms in Friedrich Wilhelm's *Denkmäler deutscher Prosa des 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* display a number of pen strokes that no one, to my knowledge, has yet identified as neumes. Wilhelm interpreted them as accent marks and numbered them as "18 acute, 10 circumflex" for the first two *Vaticanische Pferdesegen* in the one manuscript and 3 acute and 4 circumflex accents for the *Bamberger Blutsegen*. Wilhelm also points out that only the prose *Bamberger Blutsegen* displays those accents¹. The same happened in Elias Steinmeyer's *Die kleineren alt-hochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*. Steinmeyer did not explain the meaning of

¹ Wilhelm 1960, 1, 49-50; 2, 125-126, 127-129.

the signs, nor did he discuss their function. In his printed text, they are offered to the modern reader as accent marks or as diacritics indicating vowel length². Diacritics indicating stress, vowel quantity, or difference between *i*, *m*, or *n* are not uncommon in medieval German manuscripts.

In 1992, Karl A. Wipf included the newly edited charms in his Old High German verse anthology. He rightly observed that one stroke pencilled on the manuscript could not represent the long value of /a/ in the word *vvâmbiziges* “intestinal worm”. Wipf, however, only commented on one accent, carefully reporting the other signs without any interpretation³.

In a passing remark of his admirable study of the Merseburg charms, Wolfgang Beck suggested that the symbols in *Ad pestem equi* speak for a “singable quality” of the charm⁴. No one would be surprised that some charms were sung: the word *incantatio* refers, after all, to chanting or recitation. The three texts considered here provide explicit manuscript evidence of charms intended to be performed in a fashion similar to that of liturgical texts.

We owe Ernst Hellgardt a handlist of neumatic texts written in medieval German (ninth to fourteenth centuries). Hellgardt’s catalogue includes a total of thirty-seven items, four of which date to the twelfth century and one between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Our three charms are not among these. They are:

- Troyes, Stadtbibl. Ms. 663, f. 112v: *Cristi huns gegnade kirioleyon*⁵ (12th c.).
- Berlin, Staatsbibl. Ms. theol. lat. qu. 140, ff. 124r-177r: Williram von Ebersberg, *Hohenliedkommentar*⁶ (12th c.).
- Troyes, Stadtbibl. Ms. 888, f. 91v: *Cristi huns ge genade kirioleyon*⁷ (12th c.).
- Salzburg, Universitätsbibl. Cod. M II 6, f. 67rb: *Christ ist erstanden*⁸ (12th c.).
- Engelberg, Stiftbibl. Cod. 1003, f. 115r: *Mariensequenz aus Muri*⁹ (end 12th - beg. 13th c.).

Hellgardt observes that neumatic texts written in medieval German are usually included in collections of Latin liturgical texts. The category of liturgy, though, should not be restricted, in his opinion, to the canonical

² Steinmeyer 1916, 370-371, 377-378.

³ Wipf 1992, 70-71, 278-279.

⁴ Beck 2003, 287.

⁵ <https://handschriftencensus.de/18908>.

⁶ <https://handschriftencensus.de/15115>.

⁷ <https://handschriftencensus.de/18910>.

⁸ <https://handschriftencensus.de/12727> (Easter song).

⁹ <https://handschriftencensus.de/1553>.

office of the Mass and to other ceremonies. It should include events like the *Geistliche Spiele*, that is “para-liturgical” events customarily carried on in vernacular language¹⁰.

The first element that singles out our three charms is that they are not integrated into a liturgical book, canonical or not. Instead, they are found in two collections of healing remedies. *Ad pestem equi* and *Ad equum infusum* have come down to us in MS. Vatican City, (BAV) Cod. pal. lat. 1158; *Crist unde Iudas* is in MS. Bamberg, (Staatsbibliothek) Msc. Med. 6.

1. THE TEXTS

Ad pestem equi and *Ad equum infusum* are Old High German veterinary remedies. *Crist unde Iudas* is a charm against bleeding and wounds, belonging to the *Longinus* and *Flum Jordan* charm tradition. In the Bamberg manuscript, the charm is followed by a second blood charm also in medieval German (*Crist wart bi erden wunt* “Christ was wounded on earth”), which has no neumes. Steinmeyer and other scholars have read the two charms as one, perhaps because *Crist wart bi erden wunt* contains a charms motif (*neque doluit neque tumuit*) not infrequently coupled with the *Longinus* and the *Flum Jordan* motifs¹¹.

In what follows, the texts and their neumes will be presented prior to a description of their manuscript context. The texts established by Elias von Steinmeyer and Karl Wipf¹² have been compared once again to the original manuscripts. A few differences in reading and interpretation are discussed below. An English translation is provided, in which italics indicate the use of the Latin language in the manuscript. Ligatures have been expanded in italics. I adopt the lineation proposed in Wipf’s edition.

¹⁰ Hellgardt 2011, 163-164.

¹¹ See Steinmeyer 1916, 377-378. Further reference also in Cianci 2004, 120-123.

¹² *Ad pestem equi* and *Ad equum infusum* are not distinguished as two texts and are listed under the same title both in Steinmeyer 1916, 370-371 (1. *Pferdesegen*) and in Wipf 1992, 70, 278 (*Ad pestem equi . quod dicitur môrth*).

1.1. *Ad pestem equi*

1. Ad pestem equi . quod dicitur môrth
2. dic .
3. Johan . was êin mân .
4. fas ês sin sîn . genâs ín thes .
5. so do diz rós . des mordes .
6. Pater noster . ter .

Against a horse disease named glanders.

Say:

John was a man. His son stumbled. (He) healed him from this.

So may this horse from the glanders.

(Recite) *Three times Paternoster.*

1.1.1. Textual commentary

(1) **Morth**, (5) **mordes** “glanders”. The name is an OHG substantive (M-a) *mord*, *morth* “murder, death”, MHG *mort*, used in the juridical field, but also as a medical term indicating a disease of the horse. According to Gerhard Eis, the term indicates the disease called *Rotz* “glanders” in German texts of the eleventh century. This is a lethal infectious disease of equines due to a specific microorganism (*Malleomyces mallei*) that causes severe ulcerations on the skin and mucous membranes. The disease causes pain and makes the horse unusable, therefore as if dead¹³.

(3) **Johan**. Steinmeyer and Wipf read: *Johan*, *ioban* respectively.

(4) **Fas ês**. Steinmeyer and Wipf read *Farê*s. Steinmeyer interprets it as a personal name from the Bible, *Phares*, son of Jude, Wipf considers the analogy with the German substantive *Farne* “fern”, a plant. Both scholars abstain from explaining the grammatical implications and the meaning of their interpretations. In my opinion, between *Johan was ein man* and *genas in thes*, in which the verbs are in the past tense, we should expect another sentence in the past tense. In fact, the first part of all the charms with a *historiola* is always delivered in the past tense¹⁴. In this case, if the subject is *sin sun*, that is, the son of John, then *fas* should be a preterite of a strong verb. If we admit it, then we might consider the preterite 3rd singular *faz*

¹³ AWD 6, 801; Riecke 2004, I, 111; Eis 1964, 88-108; Graff 2, 855; Lexer 1, 2204.

¹⁴ For the meaning and function of the *historiola* in charms, see Frankfurter 1995 and Frankfurter 2017.

of a rare word, the stark verb (class 5) OHG *fezzan*¹⁵, which occurs only once in the eleventh century, glossing the Latin verb *labere* “tremble, vacillate, shudder”, and the OHG *gifezzan*, *gafizan* “to fall” (*ni gifaz* translate Latin *excidit* in the glosses of Gregorius’ *Dialogi*)¹⁶. The verb does not continue in the MHG and can be considered an archaism in the twelfth century. The meaning of this sentence is thus consistent with the general sense of healing a horse that cannot move.

Genas in. Steinmeyer and Wipf read *genasin*. Wipf translates: *Er genas davon*. I translated it as the preterite 3rd singular *genas* of the stark verb (class 5) OHG *ginesan*, *genesan*, *genesen*¹⁷, MHG *genesen* “to recover, to heal, to rescue” with accusative of the healed person (*in*) and the genitive (*thes*) indicating the disease (the same also in *des mordes*). On a semantic level, we can infer that the unnamed son of John fell (ill) or stumbled and then John healed him from the disease or the injuries.

1.2. *Ad equum infusum*

1. Item ad equum infusum .
2. dic .
3. Christ wârd an érthe gebóren . in cúbbi giworfen . in slúthere bebúnden . sa verlóren.
4. Der heilige Crist buoce dítime rosse .N. ouervággenes . gerâys . thes wâmbiziges . thes wûrmes . unte álles thes . the íme scathene si .
5. In nomine Domini . Daz tír ze bóze .
6. Pater noster . post eadem ter .

Similarly for a lamed horse.

Say:

Christ was born on earth, lying in a manger, wrapped in swaddling clothes, then he passed away.

May the holy Christ heal this horse (Name) from lame, from stiffness, from the farcy, from the worm, and from anything that may harm him.

In the name of the Lord. This is for you for the healing.

(Say) *Paternoster.* And afterwards three more.

¹⁵ AWB 3, 789.

¹⁶ AWB 3, 789; Graff 3, 727.

¹⁷ AWB 1, 1179; Graff 2, 1098.

1.2.1. Textual commentary

(3) **In sluthere bebunden.** The expression is a clear reference to Luke 2,12: “And this will be a sign for you: you will find a baby wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger”. Nonetheless, since the noun *sluthere* is a *bapax* in the entire OHG literature, there can be different opinions about it. I agree with Karl A. Wipf who translates “Schlüttchen”, which is a Swiss word for “baby dress” (*Schlutt*, *Schlüttli*)¹⁸. The fricatives /th/ in *sluthere*, *erthe*, *thes* and *scathene* represent an older usage of Central Franconian.

Bebunden is the past participle of the OHG strong verb (class 3) *bi-bintan*¹⁹ “to wrap, bind”.

(4) **Ouervaggenes.** This noun (genitive singular) derives from the past participle of the reduplication 7 class verb OHG *furfaban*, *farfaban*²⁰ “to catch”. It is also attested as *warwanghen* as a medical term indicating a specific disease of the horse legs and hooves, a rheumatic disorder²¹. In Hildegard von Bingen’s *Physica* the OHG term is mentioned in Chapter 12 *De Kestenbaum*²²:

Quod si equus et bos aut asinus, vel aliud quodlibet pecus *verfangen* est, da illi folia in pabulo ad comedendum, si potest, vel si comedere noluerit, ipsa folia pulveriza, et pulverem illam in aquam proiice, et da illi saepe in potu bibere, et curabitur.

Gerays. Genitive singular of OHG *girâhi* (N) “stiffness”²³. The word in this form is a *bapax* connected to OHG *rabi* (F-ī) and to MHG *ræbe* (adjective) “lame, stiff”, modern German *Räch*, *Räbe*, *Hufrehe* “laminitis”. These words are attested with the meaning of a stiffness of horse legs due to a disease of its hooves²⁴. Other OHG charms against horse diseases

¹⁸ Idiotikon IX, 797. Schwab translates this as: “tied with ropes”, and she connects *sluthere* to Gmc. **slutila*, OHG *sluzzil* (M-ā) “key”. In this way, she hypothesizes a meaning of “something that serves to close, to bind” and she refers to the crucifixion of Christ, which, in certain iconographies, is interpreted as tied to the cross by means of ropes, instead of nails. According to this interpretation, the four sentences would summarize the life of Christ, the first two would refer to birth, and the other two to death: birth and childhood, crucifixion, and death (Schwab 1994, 554-583). See also Cianci 2004, 61-64.

¹⁹ AWB 1, 1067; Graff 3, 135.

²⁰ AWB 3, 500; Graff 3, 408.

²¹ Eis 1964, 97; Riecke 2004, I, 111.

²² <http://www.clerus.org/bibliaclerusonline/it/jxi.htm>.

²³ AWB 7, 656. Wipf translates it as “Aufregung” and connects it to MHG *gereize*, *geraize* (Latin *concitatio*), German *Reizung*. Wipf 1992, 70-71, 278-279.

²⁴ German words like *Wasserräbe*, *Mauchelräbe*, *Windräbe*, *Futerräbe* distinguish different laminitis depending on whether this rigidity was caused by exposing the horse to

use variants of this word, for example *errebet*, *errebeten* (adj.) in *Ad equum errebet* (Paris. cod. nouv. acquis. lat. 229) and *rebin* (accusative singular of a F-ī noun) in *Contra rebin* (Zurich cod. C 58/275)²⁵.

Wambiziges (genitive singular). It is a rather problematic term that according to Eis is linked to MHG, *wambiz*, MLG *wambete* “farcy”. Riecke also connects it to MLG *wambete* but translates it as “glanders”. Glanders and farcy are often used as synonymous. Glanders is a contagious fatal disease of the horse characterized by the development of ulcerating growths that are most commonly found in the upper respiratory tract, lungs, and skin. In the cutaneous form, it is also called farcy and growths appear along the course of the lymph vessels, particularly on the legs. However, Wipf translates the whole expression *thes wambiziges thes wurmes* as “from the worm of the entrails”, connecting the adjective *wambiz-ig* to OHG *wamba* (F-ō), MHG *wambe*, *wanbis* “womb, belly” but it can also be connected to OHG *bizig*, *bizzig* (adj.) “biting”²⁶.

1.3. *Crist unte Iudas*

1. Crist unte Iudas spiliten mit spîeza .
2. Do wart der heiligo *Christ* wund in sine sîton .
3. Do nâm er der dumen . unte vordûhta se vorna .
4. So verstant du bluod . sôse Iordanis âha verstant .
5. do der heiligo Iohannes den heilanden Crist in îro toufta .
6. Daz dir zo buza .

Christ and the Jude handled spears.

As Christ was wound in his side,

he took his thumb and pressed it thereon.

So, stop you blood, as the river Jordan stood still as holy John baptized Christ in it.

This is for your healing.

1.3.1. Textual commentary

(1) **Iudas**. There are two different interpretations of the name *Iudas*: Jacoby sees in *Iudas* the proper name “Judás”, a name that would refer

cold water, to heat, to cold wind or to overeating. Riecke 2004, I, 111; Eis 1964, 55, 97; BMZ II, 1, 548.

²⁵ Cianci 2004, 59-61, 66-69.

²⁶ Eis 1964, 94; Riecke 2004, 111; Wipf 1992, 70-71, 278-279; AWB 1, 1162.

to an episode of the *Evangelium Infantia Arabicum* (chapter 35) in which Judas Iscariot possessed by Satan bites Jesus on the right side and is freed by him from the devil²⁷. However, I agree with Elias von Steinmeyer that by *Iudas* is probably meant “the Jew”, that is, Longinus²⁸, known as such throughout the medieval tradition²⁹. The wound on Christ’s side procured by handling (OHG *spilōn*, MHG *spiln*, *spilen* “to handle, to play”³⁰) a spear (*mit spieza*) seems to confirm the presence of Longinus in this text (OHG *spioz*, MHG *spiez*, *spīz* “spear”³¹).

(4) **Iordanis aha versunt.** The river that stops to flow is a merging motif from the Old Testament: Joshua 3:9-13. The canonical Gospels only refer to the baptism in the Jordan river: Matthew 3:5-6; Mark 1:5; Luke 3:3; John 1:28.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE NEUMES

The study of the neumes requires competence in musicology, semiotics and palaeography. Musicology and semiotics investigate the aspects that influence performance: they interpret the neumes in terms of pitch patterns, articulation, and ways of enunciating and joining syllables. Palaeography, for its part, aims at dating and locating the neumes in a specific geographical area. Palaeography, musicology, and semiotics address, of course, many other aspects, e.g. the function of formal distinctions made by scribes in the shape of neumes³².

The use of neumes began in Western Europe around the ninth century and remained current in its German-speaking area up to the fourteenth century. Neumatic notations were perfectly consistent with the Carolingian cultural policy aiming at standardizing the writing of Latin and vernacular texts to achieve the maximum possible clarity³³. As soon as neumes found their way into parchment along with the spread of Caroline minuscule, different neumatic styles rapidly developed in various regions of Europe before being eventually unified under the so-called square

²⁷ Jacoby 1913.

²⁸ Steinmeyer 1916, 379.

²⁹ Cianci 2013, 207-209.

³⁰ BMZ 2, 505; Lexer 2, 1094; Graff 6, 331.



³¹ BMZ 2, 495-496; Lexer 2, 1090; Graff 6, 368.



³² A survey of the study on neumes see: Rankin 2018, 52-64. For the palaeographic investigation of the neumes, I refer to Corbin 1977.

³³ Treitler 2003, 370-371, 403-407.

notation. Neumes continued to be used for a long time even after Guido d'Arezzo, in the eleventh century, invented the modern musical notation³⁴.

The neumes found in our charms are short pen strokes shaped over single vocals or syllables. They are:

Virga  (Vatican),  (Bamberg), < ' >: the *virga* is similar to an acute accent sign, probably indicating a single ascending note.

Clivis  (Vatican),  (Bamberg), < ^ >: the *clivis* resembles a circumflex accent sign. Its upward stroke marks a higher note as its first element and its falling stroke marks the second lower note.

Punctum < . >: the *punctum* represents a pause, and it is an important aid for speaking as well as for reciting or singing³⁵. The *punctum* in our texts is never located above the vowel or the syllable like the neumes. It only occurs between words.

The style of the *virga* and *clivis* in both manuscripts is very similar to the St. Gall neumatic type (see *Figs. 1* and *2*). They are “adiastematic gestural neumes”, i.e., in a musical context, neumes not intended for measuring the distance between grades. They belong to a type of notation *in campo aperto* representing lower and higher notes only³⁶. The absence of staff lines and pitch referents, i.e., the lack of dedicated symbols for pitches and intervals, implies that the charms were addressed to the eyes of a competent singer, who had a previously acquired knowledge of the intended melodic system. An approximate record of the melodic line, a sort of visual aid to guide his memory with flexible gradations of exactitude, was probably enough to guarantee an efficient performance.

Were it not for the evidence offered by neumatic charms like the ones discussed here, our understanding of the mode of delivery of healing charms within a German monastic community of the twelfth century would not be available. Monastic communities recited psalms and antiphonals in a tone that varied at specific points (that is, the voice raised or sunk within a pattern). The singing was conducted according to a shared knowledge of the melodic system. Generally speaking, the way medieval charms were written down on parchment hardly permits us to shed light on their actual mode of delivery. The monastic “textual community”, that is the community responsible for their production as well as for their delivery, did not obviously need any written account of the ritual.

³⁴ For a complete survey of the history of neumatic scripts in Germany and Switzerland, see Corbin 1977, 45-66; Parrish 1978, 8-10.

³⁵ Parkes 1992, 77.

³⁶ Parrish 1978, 8-10.

Names	punctum	virga	pes	clivis	torculus	porrectus	climacus	scandicus	quillisma
Modern equivalent	•	•	↗	↘	↗↘	↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘	↗↘↗↘↗	
French Square Notation	■	└	└└	└└	└└└	└└└└	└└└└└	└└└└└└	└└└└└└└
St Gall	-	/	↗	↘	↗↘	↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘	↗↘↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘↗↘
Messine	•	/	↗	↘	↗↘	↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘	↗↘↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘↗↘
Breton	•	/	↗	↘	↗↘	↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘	↗↘↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘↗↘
Aquitanian	•	^	↗	↘	↗↘	↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘	↗↘↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘↗↘
Palaeo-Frankish	•	^	↗	↘	↗↘	↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘	↗↘↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘↗↘
Beneventan	-		↗	↘	↗↘	↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘	↗↘↗↘↗	↗↘↗↘↗↘

Figure 1. – Different types of neumes adopted in Medieval Europe.

NAMES OF SYMBOLS	BASIC ST. GALL NEUMES	SQUARE NOTATION	MODERN NOTATION
1. <i>virga</i>	a /		
2. <i>tractulus</i>	-		
3. <i>punctum</i>	•		
4. <i>gravis</i>	\		
5. <i>clivis</i>	∧		
6. <i>pes</i>	↗		
7. <i>porrectus</i>	↘		
8. <i>torculus</i>	↗↘		
9. <i>climacus</i>	↗↘↗		
10. <i>scandicus</i>	↗↘↗↘		

Figure 2. – Square neumes and equivalents in modern notation and in St. Gall neumes and French neumes (Fassler 2014, A10).

There is a strong relationship between the phonetic value of written letters and the neumatic notation. Neumes can indeed communicate a written gesture. As Treitler points out, medieval musical notation was initially a spatial metaphor in which melody was represented as a voice movement and then they became signs for the inflection of the voice³⁷.

3. THE MANUSCRIPTS

3.1. *The Vatican manuscript*

The first two charms, *Ad pestem equi* and *Ad equum infusum*, are both in MS. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana³⁸, Cod. pal. lat. 1158 at f. 68v. *Ad pestem equi* appears as one line of text in the upper margin of the page; *Ad equum infusum* occupies the second and third lines of the upper margin and four more lines on the left margin of the same page³⁹. Cod. pal. lat. 1158 is a copy of the *Viaticus Peregrinantis* by Constantinus Africanus. This is the famous eleventh-century Latin translation from the Arabic *Zād al-musāfir* by ibn al-Gazzār, the medical handbook for the traveller.

It consists of sixty-eight *folios* written in Carolingian minuscule measuring 335 × 230 mm (written space 260 × 165 mm). Each page is organized in two columns of 43–44 lines each. The codex probably derives from a book commissioned by *Northungus medicus*, a monk expert of medicine at the monastery of Hildesheim in the first half of the twelfth century. The manuscript laid for some time in Heidelberg, Bibliotheca Palatina and was transferred to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in 1623. It was bound in parchment and cardboard in 1780. Along with the *Viaticus Peregrinantis*, this manuscript contains four items in Old High German (Franconian) language (nn. 4, 5, 6a, 6b).

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 1. f. 1r | Title page containing the words <i>Viaticus Constantini</i> in a later hand. |
| 2. f. 1v | A decorated page displaying four doctors with their medical equipment. |

³⁷ Treitler 2003, 401.

³⁸ <https://handschriftencensus.de/10515>, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1158, *BStK Online*: <https://glossen.germ-ling.uni-bamberg.de/bstk/807>.

³⁹ https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1158/0142 (digitized image).

3. ff. 2ra-68vb Incipit: *Constantinus Africanus, Viaticus Peregrinantis*.
 4. f. 13rb Old High German gloss *vveckoldor* over Latin *Juniperus*.
 5. f. 38ra Old High German gloss *dost* over Latin *abrotani*⁴⁰.
 6. f. 68v (a) upper margin: Old High German charm *Ad pestem equi* against horse glanders; (b) upper and left margin: Old High German charm *Ad equum infusum* against horse paralysis and other horse diseases.

3.2. The Bamberg manuscript

The third charm, *Crist unte Iudas*, is transmitted in MS. Bamberg, (Staatsbibliothek)⁴¹, Msc. Med. 6 (see Fig. 3).

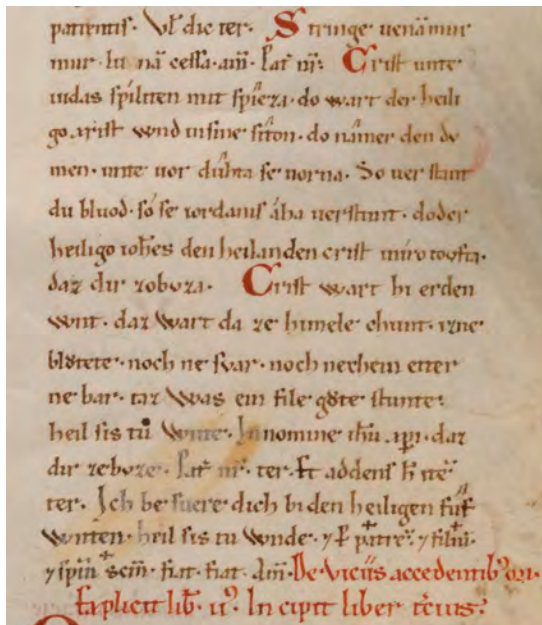


Figure 3. – MS. Bamberg, (Staatsbibliothek) Misc. Med. 6, f. 139rb. The Bamberg charms: “Crist unte Iudas” and “Crist wart bi erden wunt”. Foto: Gerald Raab.

⁴⁰ For the two OHG glosses, see Riecke 2004, I, 129-130.

⁴¹ http://digital.bib-bvb.de/view/bvb_mets/viewer.0.6.5.jsp?folder_id=0&dvs=1649601205307-133&pid=5402038&locale=it&usePid1=true&usePid2=true (digitized image); description of the manuscript: Leitschuh - Fischer 1899, 433-435; Suckale Redlefsen 1995, 103; <https://handschriftencensus.de/6838>.

This is a miscellany of medical texts dating to the last quarter of the twelfth century. The script seems to be a late Carolingian minuscule in transition to early Gothic⁴². The Bamberg manuscript is made of 143 *folios* of 290 × 185 mm and consists of two codicological units: the first (ff. 1-118) has a written space of 245 × 140 mm with each page having two columns of 42-44 lines. The second (ff. 119-143) is in a different hand: the written space measures 250 × 150 mm, with two columns of 43 lines for each page. The manuscript is connected to the same *Northungus medicus* of Hildesheim, who commissioned or directed the writing of the Vatican codex. A line at f. 143v attests that the codex was in Bamberg in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries (*Hic Liber est maioris Ecclesie in babenberg*). Since 1803, after the secularization, it has belonged to Bamberg Staatsbibliothek. The volume was bound in white pig leather with the golden seal of the Bamberg Dombibliothek and with two metal clasps in 1611. The manuscript contains two texts in Old High German (Franconian) language (9a and 9b):

FIRST PART:

1. ff. 1ra-29rb *Constantinus Africanus, Practica.*
2. ff. 29va-36rb Northungus, herb glossary (alphabetic). Incipit: *Uber de nominibus morborum et specierum et herbarum a northungo compositus.*
3. ff. 36va-40ra *Tractatus de natura aquae.*
4. ff. 40ra-118ra Incipit: *Antidotarius per alfabetum transpositus.*
5. f. 118rb *De ponderibus medicinalibus.*
6. f. 118v Empty.

SECOND PART:

7. ff. 119ra-143vb Collection of remedies, f. 119: *De passione vertiginis et Scotomiae*, f. 126: *De Podagra*, f. 127r: *De ponderibus medicinalibus. De Cerebro. Specula Medicorum*, f. 127v: *Hic summa totius Artis (hanc paginam in hunc modum a northungo christi pauperculo editam ... memorie commendet). Quid sit phisicus.*
8. f. 130 Incipit: *Uber capitis*, f. 134v: *De causis que in naribus generantur*. In the following pages there are repetitions of the previous remedies in another order, f. 139: *De libro pauperum*. Remedies against bleedings.

⁴² None of the manuscript catalogues mentions the script.

9. f. 139rb (a) *Christ unde Iudas spiliten mit spieza*, an Old High German blood charm with neumes; (b) *Crist wart bi erden wunt*, an Old High German wound charm.
10. f. 139rb Incipit: *Uber tercius de viciis accendentibus ori*.
11. f. 141v Incipit: *Tractatus libri aelefantiae*.
12. f. 142v *Tractate de scaemate humano* (containing a 14 cm – figure of a human body with a beard; the picture seems to follow a contemporary Italian exemplar).
13. f. 143r *Loca combusta imprimis debent*.
14. f. 143v *Hec medica mina sua proprietate maturant apostemata et rumpunt*.

4. CONCLUSION

Various studies of the dissemination of Constantinus Africanus' work in Western Europe suggest that the Bamberg antidotary as well as the Vatican *Viaticus* originated in Hildesheim and that they were probably a product of the medical school of *Northungus medicus* “the little pauper of Christ” (as stated at f. 127: *hanc paginam in hunc modum a northungo christi pauperculo editam ... memorie commendet*). Brian Long states:

The monks of Hildesheim, for example, sought to produce an “enhanced Viaticum” by combining Constantine’s text with supplementary moral apothegms and the empirical findings of their teacher Northungus. [...] BAV MS Pal. lat. 1158 preserves the best copy of this text; additional evidence of their efforts, including parts of this “enhanced Viaticum” that appear to have been copied from Pal. lat. 1158, can be found in Bamberg, Med. msc. 6.⁴³

Northungus was a monk and a teacher at the monastery of St. Michael in the first half of the twelfth century⁴⁴. His learning was of remarkable scope and variety. According to Wack, he compiled the Bamberg antidotary drawing material from an early version of the *Antidotarius magnus* adding to it several other recipes taken from other, unidentified, local sources: “Thus, the compiler of the Bamberg manuscript or of its source integrated a (probably) written tradition of ‘indigenous medicine’ with the

⁴³ Long 2015, 289, 196.

⁴⁴ Green 1994, 144.

latest teaching emerging from Salerno and elsewhere, giving us a glimpse of the range of German monastic medicine”⁴⁵.

From this, we may draw two important conclusions. Firstly, St. Michael was part of a large network of medical institutions favoring a rapid transfer of knowledge from the Mediterranean region to northern Germany. Secondly, local remedies were added to the new ones coming from abroad. Among these, we can certainly number our three neumatic charms. Despite their undefined provenance, their language, as we have seen so far, seems to be older than those current in other German contemporary texts.

It is hard to believe that our three neumatic charms are the only surviving exemplars. Further research may bring to light more of them, helping to establish a more reliable basis for a comprehensive study. The link of our Vatican and Bamberg medical volumes with Hildesheim school of medicine raises the fascinating question whether Hildegard von Bingen, the most famous medieval scientist of her time, had a role in connecting medical remedies with liturgical singing. In fact, Hildegard von Bingen made use of Constantinus Africanus’ work as she combined Constantine’s theory and remedies with her own innovative interpretations of theology, cosmology, and medicine⁴⁶. We also know how strong her interest in music and singing was.

Twelfth-century charms, chants, and medical remedies share the same monastic environment. German Benedictine monasteries carefully studied the Mediterranean tradition and tested it with everyday practice and field-work. This is the place where Christian belief merges with local customs and where charms, poems, and medical recipes find their way to the parchment. Some of them allow us even to get a vague idea of the necessary ritual gestures and movements. In a recent work, Haines nicely explains this as follows:

Thus, along with gesture and movement, the music of the human voice is the most ephemeral element of magic rituals. The texts of some charms and prayers from the late Middle Ages, for example, have survived in writing [...] but their song or recitation has the musical notes have not. [...] As an example, the words of the famous Longinus charm – “Longinus miles latus domini nostri Jesu Christi lancea perforavit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua in redemptionem nostram” (“The soldier Longinus pierced the side of our lord Jesus Christ and immediately there gushed forth blood and water for our

⁴⁵ Wack 1994, 189-199.

⁴⁶ Long 2015, 289.

redemption”) – have both a lyric and liturgical feel. To my knowledge, no late medieval Longinus charm has survived with musical notation. Yet, it is hard to believe that such popular formulas as this one were not chanted or recited on occasion. Indeed, perhaps there was a melody or two performed often enough with this charm that it was known as the “Longinus tune”. This is a common phenomenon of orality that is underestimated from our excessively written perspective.⁴⁷

Our three neumatic charms were also produced in a monastery. As we have seen, the manuscripts hosting them are not of ecclesiastical or liturgical character. The neumes are where we would not expect them to be. Are these the only extant medieval neumatic charms?

REFERENCE

Ahd. Gl.

E. von Steinmeyer - E. Sievers, *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen*, 4 Bd., Berlin, Widmannsche Buchhandlung, 1898.

AWB

E. Karg-Gasterstädt - Th. Frings, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig, Akademie Verlag, 1952-2015, <http://awb.saw-leipzig.de>.

Beck 2003

W. Beck, *Die Merseburger Zaubersprüche*, Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag, 2003.

BMZ

G.F. Benecke - W. Müller - F. Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, Hirzel Verlag, 3 Bde., 1854-1866, <https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/BMZ>.

Cardine 1982

Dom E. Cardine, *Gregorian Semiology*, Sablé-sur-Sarthe, Solesmes, 1982.

Cianci 2004

E. Cianci, *Incantesimi e benedizioni nella letteratura tedesca medievale (IX-XIII sec.)*, Göppingen, Kümmerle Verlag, 2004.

Cianci 2007

E. Cianci, “La ricezione della medicina araba nell’occidente medievale”, in *Ricerca e didattica tra due sponde*, a cura di E. Fazzini, Lanciano, Editrice Rocco Carabba, 2007, 151-171.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Page - Rider 2019, 372.

Cianci 2013

E. Cianci, *The German Tradition of the Three Good Brothers Charm*, Göppingen, Kümmerle Verlag, 2013.

Corbin 1977

S. Corbin, *Die Neumen*, Köln, Arno Volk Verlag, 1977.

Du Cange

Du Cange *et al.*, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*, Niort, L. Favre, 1883-1887, <http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/>.

DWB

J. Grimm - W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, Hirzel Verlag, 16 Bde., 1854-1961; Quellenverzeichnis Leipzig, 1971, <https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB>.

Ebermann 1903

O. Ebermann, *Blut und Wundsegen in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt*, Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1903.

Eis 1964

G. Eis, *Altdeutsche Zaubersprüche*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1964.

Everist - Kelly 2018

M. Everist - T.F. Kelly (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Fassler 2014

M. Fassler, *Music in the Medieval West*, New York - London, Norton, 2014.

Frankfurter 1995

D. Frankfurter, "Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells", in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, edited by M. Meyer - P. Mirecki, Leiden, Brill, 1995, 457-476.

Frankfurter 2017

D. Frankfurter, "Narratives That Do Things", in *Religion: Narrating Religion*, edited by S. Iles Johnston, Farmington Hills, Macmillan Reference USA, 2017, 95-106.

Graff

E.G. Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz oder Wörterbuch der althochdeutschen Sprache*, Berlin, Nikolaische Buchhandlung, 6 Bde., 1834-1842.

Green 1994

M.H. Green, "The Re-Creation of *Pantegni, Practica*, Book VIII", in *Constantine the African and 'Alī Ibn-al-'Abbās al-Magūsī: The Pantegni and Related Texts*, edited by C. Burnett - D. Jacquart, Leiden - Köln - New York, Brill, 1994, 121-160.

Hellgardt 2011

E. Hellgardt, "Neumen in Handschriften mit deutschen Texten. Ein Katalog", in *Ieglicher sang sein eigen ticht. Germanistische und musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge zum deutschen Lied im Spätmittelalter*, herausgegeben von C. März (†) - L. Welker - N. Zotz, Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag (Elementa Musicae 4), 2011, 163-207.

Idiotikon

F. Staub - L. Tobler, *Schweizerisches Idiotikon. Wörterbuch der schweizerdeutschen Sprache. Gesammelt auf Veranstaltung der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich unter Beihilfe aus allen Kreisen des Schweizervolkes*, Neunter Band, Frauenfeld, Huber & Co, 1929.

Jacoby 1913

A. Jacoby, "Der Bamberger Blutsegen", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 54, 2 (1913), 200-209.

Leitschuh - Fischer 1899

F. Leitschuh - H. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, Bde. 1-3: *Philosophische, naturwissenschaftliche und medizinische Handschriften (Msc. Philos., Nat., Med.)*, Bamberg, C.C. Buchner Verlag, 1899, 433-435.

Lexer

M. Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, Hirzel Verlag, 3 Bde., 1872-1878, <https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer>.

Long 2015

B. Long, *Body and Soul: The Production and Reception of Medical Translations from Arabic in the Long Twelfth Century*, PhD Diss., University of Notre Dame, 2015.

Lutz 2021

G. Lutz, "Hildesheim as a Nexus of Metalwork Production, c. 1130-1250", in *The Regional and Transregional in Romanesque Europe*, edited by J. McNeill - R. Plan, London, Routledge, 2021, 69-80.

Miller 1963

C.L. Miller, *The Old High German and Old Saxon Charms: Text, Commentary and Critical Bibliography*, PhD Diss., Washington University, St. Louis, 1963.

Ohrt 1938

F. Ohrt, *Die älteste Segen über Christi Taufe und Christi Tod in Religionsgeschichtlichem Lichte*, København, Levin & Munksgaard, 1938.

Page - Rider 2019

S. Page - C. Rider (eds.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, London - New York, Routledge, 2019.

Parkes 1992

M.B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, Cambridge, Scholar Press, 1992.

Parrish 1978

C. Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music*, New York, Pendragon Press, 1978.

Rankin 2018

S. Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Riecke 2004

J. Riecke, *Die Frühgeschichte der mittelalterlichen medizinischen Fachsprache im Deutschen*, 2 Bd., Berlin - New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2004.

Roper 2003

J. Roper, "Towards a Poetics, Rethorics and Proxemics of Verbal Charms", *Folklore* 24 (2003), 7-49.

Schwab 1994

U. Schwab, "In sluthere bebunden", in *Studien zum Altgermanischen. Festschrift für Heinrich Beck*, herausgegeben von H. Uecker, Berlin - New York, Walter de Gruyter (RGA 11), 1994, 554-583.

Steinmeyer 1916

E. von Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916.

Stock 1983

B. Stock, *The Implication of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1983.

Suckale Redlefsen 1995

G. Suckale Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1995.

Sudhoff 1916

K. Sudhoff, "Die medizinischen Schriften, welche Bischof Bruno von Hildesheim 1161 in seiner Bibliothek besaß, und die Bedeutung des Konstantin von Afrika im 12. Jahrhundert", *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 9 (1916), 348-356.

Treitler 1984

L. Treitler, "Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing", *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 135-208.

Treitler 2003

L. Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2003.

Wack 1994

M. Wack, "Ali ibn al-'Abbas al-Magusi and Constantine on Love, and the Evolution of the Practica Pantegni", in *Constantine the African and 'Alī Ībn-al-'Abbās al-Magūsī: The Pantegni and Related Texts*, edited by C. Burnett - D. Jacquart, Leiden - Köln - New York, Brill, 1994, 161-202.

Wilhelm 1960

F. Wilhelm (Hg.), *Denkmäler deutscher Prosa des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, Abteilung A: *Text*; Abteilung B: *Kommentar*, München, Callwey (Münchener Texte 8), 1914-1916; München, Max Hueber Verlag (Germanistische Bücherei 3), 1960.

Wipf 1992

K. Wipf, *Althochdeutsche poetische Texte*, Stuttgart, Reclam, 1992.

