NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

NEOPLATONIC INFLUENCES IN HILDEGARD OF BINGEN'S ORDO VIRTUTUM: WITH LATIN TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE PLAY.

Christine Jolliffe

Department of English

McGill University, Montreal

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

ISBN 0-315-67751-1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Hildegard of Bingen's Ordo Virtutum (c.1141), the earliest liturgical morality play, presents in small compass some of the Neoplatonic doctrines which formed the common property of theologians in the twelfth century, the most pervasive of which was that which posited a disparity between the sense-perceptible and intelligible realms, true reality being supposed to belong to the latter. For Hildegard, like her contemporaries, such a world-view is inseparable from symbolist modes of thought, and in this thesis explanations for the form and effect of Hildegard's use of rhetorical devices such as symbol and metaphor in the Ordo will be sought within the framework of a discussion of "medieval linguistic epistemology" (Neoplatonic). The Latin text and English translation of the play are also provided.

RESUME

Ordo Virtutum (c.1141), de Hildegard de Bingen, la plus ancienne des moralités à caractère liturgique, présente à échelle réduite quelques-unes des doctrines néoplatoniciennes qui constituaient le bien commun des théologiens du 12^{e} siècle, et dont la plus influente posait en principe qu'il existe une disparité entre le monde sensible et le monde intelligible, le réel relevant présumément de ce dernier. Pour Hildegard, comme pour ses contemporains, une telle vision du monde est indissociable des modes de pensée symbolistes, et, dans la présente thèse, on recherchera dans le cadre d'une étude de "l'épistémologie linguistique médiévale" (néoplatonicienne) des explications pour la forme et l'effet de l'emploi par Hildegard, dans l'Ordo, de figures de rhétorique comme le symbole et la métaphore.

On trouvera en annexe le texte latin et la traduction anglaise de la pièce.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis Supervisor, Professor David Williams, for the help he has given me throughout the preparation of this thesis, and also my Co-Supervisor and Latin tutor Peter Blaney for correcting my translation of the Ordo Virtutum. Professor Schachter of the Department of Classics also checked the translation and made some helpful suggestions. After completing my thesis, I was informed by Dr. Peter Dronke, who has kindly given me permission to use his rendition of the Latin text of the Ordo Virtutum as found in the first edition of Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages, of the existence of a second edition of that work. In his revised Introduction, Dronke alludes to some of the themes developed extensively in my thesis, particularly that which associates Hildegard's Virtutes with John Scotus Eriugena's causae primordiales. While I am not directly indebted to Dr. Dronke for the similarity of my discussion to his on certain points, there is some consolation in knowing that despite the fact that my work is not wholly original, Dronke's scholarship verifies some of my findings.

INTRODUCTION

Prophet, mystic, poet, dramatist, musician; writer of treatises on medicine, ethics, natural history and cosmology, the brilliant twelfth-century renaissance figure Hildegard of Bingen has achieved something of a new birth herself in recent years in the flurry of scholarly attention given to her works. Emerging, as one critic has put it "with a saintly vengeance"[1] after centuries of neglect, Hildegard is now recognized as one of the most important figures in the history of the Middle Ages.

Born, by her own assessment providentially, "when Christians and spiritual people began to grow sluggish and irresolute,"[2] Hildegard at eight years old was offered by her pious parents, Hildebert and Mechthild, as a tithe to the Church and placed in the local hermitage of the noblewoman Jutta von Sponheim. As Jutta's pupil, Hildegard learned to read the Bible in Latin and chant the divine Office, and familiarized herself with the writings of the Fathers of the Church and the major Christian writers of her day.[3]

When Jutta died in 1136, Hildegard became Abbess of what had become a convent practising the Benedictine rule, and a few years later she began composing her summa of Christian doctrine, the visionary opus Scivias (a contraction of Sci Vias Domini) after receiving a prophetic call which she claimed gave her an infused knowledge of the Scriptures and the teachings of the Church. News of Hildegard's visionary experiences eventually reached the ears of

Pope Eugenius III, who after reading a portion of the Scivias to bishops attending a synod at Trier in 1147 wrote to Hildegard to exhort her to continue writing down her revelations. Shortly after receiving this papal seal of approval, Hildegard wrote a commentary on the Athanasian creed for the use of her nuns, and to enrich their liturgical life she composed a song cycle which she called the Symphonia Armonie Celestium Revelationum (Symphony of the Harmony of Heavenly Revelations) which concluded with the liturgical morality play the Ordo Virtutum (Play of Virtues).[4]

As Hildegard's fame grew, pilgrims flocked to her convent on the Rupertsburg to seek her advice and a host of luminaries began to correspond with her: Popes Eugene III, Anastasius IV, Hadrian IV and Alexander III; Bernard Clairvaux, Thomas Becket, Elisabeth Schönau, Henry VI of Germany, Henry II of England, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Emperors Conrad III and Frederick Barbarossa, to name but a few. Confident in her prophetic rôle and believing she spoke for "the living light," Hildegard also ventured outside the convent to proffer her advice: in a series of tours along the Rhine Valley beginning in 1158 she preached with apocalyptic fervour on a variety of subjects, most especially against the Catharist heretics.

Returning to her convent on the Rupertsburg toward the end of the decade, Hildegard began work on the two medico-scientific treatises for which she did not claim divine inspiration: the first a classification of animals, herbs, and precious gems titled the Liber Simplicis Medicinae (Book of Simple Medicine), or Physica; the other a book on diseases and their remedies, called alternatively the Liber Compositae Medicinae (Book of Composite Medicine) or Causae et Curae

(Causes and Cures). This period also saw the completion of Hildegard's Liber Vitae Meritorum (Book of Life's Merits) which contains a description of vices and virtues and a discussion of penance. In the last decade of her life Hildegard presented her distinctive views on history and eschatology in the Liber Divinorum Operum (Book of Divine Works). She died in 1179 at the age of 81.

The Ordo Virtutum

The Ordo Virtutum is arguably the first liturgical morality play and assuredly a work of startling originality, yet it has received virtually no literary discussion. Bordering as it does several genres in its assimilation of poetic fantasy with philosophical and theological speculation, the Ordo has been denied a place in both histories of medieval philosophy and in the standard works on medieval drama;[5] moreover, work on the play is further hindered by the fact that English translations of it are hard to come by or defective. The earliest, that of Francesca Maria Steele in The Life and Visions of Saint Hildegard (1914), is a translation of the imperfect text which forms part of J.-P. Migne's Patrologia Latina (cxcvii, Paris 1882). Bruce William Hozeski used instead Maura Böckeler's text which was supposed to have corrected Migne, Der hl. Hildegard von Bingen Reigen der Tugenden (1927), for a translation forming part of his Phd. dissertation (1969), yet Böckeler's text, too, contained several faults. Peter Dronke, in turn, eliminated these,[6] and my translation is based on his more faithful rendition of the original Latin text as published in his Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages (1970).

Bruce William Hozeski was the first in the English-speaking world to work on the Ordo Virtutum. His Phd. dissertation, which included a translation and the Latin text of the Ordo, concentrated primarily on placing Hildegard's liturgical morality play in the context of the genre and on comparing the Virtues appearing in the Ordo with doctrinal descriptions of all virtues contained in Hildegard's visionary opus Scivias in order to highlight their thematic significance.[7] Robert Potter has also been concerned to place the play in genre-context and compares and contrasts it to later English Moralities. While he finds obvious thematic connections to later liturgical plays, Potter points out that the Ordo is unusual in that it is little concerned to depict human vices, avoids indulging in popular homiletics or in dramatizing the workings of a human soul--all of which are distinguishing features of later vernacular plays--and seems instead to be an elite and mystical exposition of virtue in which "familiar lessons of redemption are cloaked in numinous emanations of radiance."[8]

That the Ordo Virtutum has little in common with the resolutely earthy vernacular moralities comes as no surprise when one considers that Hildegard's play precedes the earliest of these by approximately one hundred years. Hildegard was writing in a historical and doctrinal context far removed from that which saw the triumph of scholastic and logical modes of thought and the ascendancy of the "Hohenstaufen spirit"[9]--a rebellion against the Augustinian-Cluniac doctrine of the inferiority of the natural world in favour of an unabashed "worldliness"; her cosmology was nourished instead by the symbolic soteriology characteristic of medieval Platonism and typical

of twelfth-century monastic theology, and while she claims direct visionary inspiration for her writings and so never cites her sources, Hildegard would have to be said to betray a deity fully conversant with twelfth-century cosmological thought since her work presents in small compass some generic Neoplatonic themes:[10] the distinction between the intelligible and the sense-perceptible worlds; the idea that true reality belongs to the unchanging intelligible realm; the belief that all created beings are signs of the Creator's plenitude. For Hildegard, like her contemporaries, such a world-view is inseparable from symbolist modes of thought, and in the Ordo Virtutum such rhetorical devices as symbol and metaphor serve as the aesthetic expression of the doctrine of ontological participation as ultimate metaphysical realities are emblematically presented by means of some parallel or analogy drawn from the sense-perceptible world. Hildegard's confidence in the capacity of verbal and non-verbal signs to intimate these higher principles derives from her presentment of some mystic unity between the corporeal and spiritual realms and everywhere she expresses the conviction that the finite must ascend to the infinite by means of intermediaries which only partially capture its essence.

In Chapter One the historical and doctrinal context of the Ordo Virtutum will be discussed, particular attention being given to "medieval linguistic epistemology" (Neoplatonic), by way of background to the discussion of the play in Chapter Two as a masterpiece of twelfth-century symbolics. Chapter Three includes the Latin text and my translation of the play.

CHAPTER 1

Readers of medieval literature are familiar with the claim that medieval man thought "symbolically", that he sustained the conviction that all natural or historical reality possessed a transcendent significance; and while such popular designations as "the medieval mind" or "the medieval world-view" make necessary a certain guardedness against over-generalization, the frequency with which such terms are deployed in discussions of medieval thought seems justified by the preponderance of ideas articulated there that make use of figurative expression, metaphor and symbol to reflect the mysterious connection between the corporeal and spiritual realms.[1] Particularly in the Twelfth Century, natural objects came to be seen as expressive of a higher presence operative in them, and in the area of human communication, the "symbolist" disposition supported the belief that verbal signs too were capable of transporting "presences", or asseverating a connection not only to corporeal reality but also to the realm of the divine.

Poetic language is especially suited to disposing and arraying such a perception of reality, since typically it is a language which essays to describe experience by means of images derived from other realms of experience; it is a language in which the life of the word is deepened or ritually transfigured. As George Steiner points out, in most cultures until most recent modernity, the source of this

"otherness" in poetry or art has been actualized or metaphorized as transcendent. Such a presence--invoked as divine, magical, or daimonic--is the source "of powers, of significations in the text, in the work, neither consciously willed nor consciously understood".[2] In the Twelfth Century, Hildegard of Bingen articulates her vision of the world in the Ordo Virtutum using a poetic language that extends the realm of conceptual statement by means of symbols, which, in their evocative power, trace the lineaments of a higher, more beauteous order, and convey meaning beyond what could be expressed abstractly.[3]

To make a claim for the symbolic in medieval poetry, however, raises questions that have long been asked. To some, such an idea is merely anachronistic.[4] In the past, the bias against such a notion came on the part of scholars operating within a post-Enlightenment historical current saturated with nominalism[5] and scientific-sociological positivism which proscribed the phenomenon of religion (and consequently symbolic modes of discourse) by dismissing medieval thought under the disparaging rubric of theology; and while a more discerning historical method readjusted this view in the early part of the twentieth century, the challenge is again implicit in theories of language which ignore what Charles Taylor has termed the "expressivist" function, by making designation fundamental and meaning explicit.[6] This is true, for example, of certain structural analyses of the medieval tale:[7] while purporting to discover and relate the "mysterious" or hidden meaning of a text to its surface structure, the motivation or intent of such a methodology is still to give an "objective" explanation in keeping with scientific goals. In this regard, though critics

employing such a model might claim to reveal timeless archetypal narrative forms, in actuality they are reflecting a culturally contingent worldview: that of a rationalism which is thoroughly incompatible with the mentality of the medieval Christian. The language spoken by a "Symbolist" poet such as Hildegard is a logic of sense rather than of reason and so the meanings suggested by the images she employs cannot be analytically shown--they remain "mystical" in the sense that no literal formulations are adequate to express them. Aware, then, of the irony of explicating the mystery, and cognizant of the fact that the language of symbolism thwarts attempts at systematization and disallows the possibility of the arrival of interpretation at a demonstrable singleness of meaning, explanations for the form and effect of the Ordo Virtutum will be sought within the framework of a discussion of the medieval "expressivist" theory of language, broadly categorized as medieval linguistic epistemology,[8] in the belief that an examination of the historical, diachronic context of meaning serves best to highlight the richest dimensions of the text.

Medieval Linguistic Epistemology

From the time of St. Augustine until the rise of propositional logic in the high Middle Ages, many western thinkers subscribed to a common theory of signs. Having its foundation in classical philosophy,[9] the most distinctive characteristic of this theory was the belief

that there is an objective order of being prior to the subjective order of knowing, and that words could signify truly, if partially, such extramental reality. A real relation was held to obtain between signifier and signified (vox and conceptus) or sign and reality (res and referent), yet meaning and being, significance and identity, were not confused. Furthermore, since knowledge according to this system was grounded in and controlled by its objects, the accuracy of any verbal statement depended on the correspondence of the verbal sign--whether mental, spoken, or written--to the object it sought to describe: vox sequitur rem. Language, in other words, was not held to be heuristic, but indicative or commemorative.[10]

While Christian thinkers differed in their orientation to, and assimilation of, classical views, they were generally united by this belief that language was the key to cognition and the communication of objective reality. Their religious beliefs supplied them with the assurance that knowledge of God, too, could be mediated through signs: Christ, the Logos, had become man, and as such was the perfect guarantee that God could be known, and that human language and thought, though still limited by the human condition, had been redeemed and could faithfully spread knowledge of the Word to the world. The Divine Word as vehicle of communication and meaning was not, of course, original to Christianity. In Hellenistic thinking, the Logos was considered to be a divine utterance, emanation, and mediation of the superessential and ultimate One which communicated its being through descending grades of the celestial hierarchy by way of illumination.[11] Jewish belief held that the Word of God had been made manifest in God's revelation of Himself through works of power

and grace in creation and in prophecy. What is new in the Christian understanding though, is the idea that the Word, as an utterance from the Father which perfectly mirrors and manifests God, could become flesh. Flesh reflected the transitory, the imperfect, the mortal. The Word, in becoming flesh, assured Christians that the apparently incompatible qualities of the eternal and temporal, spiritual and corporeal, divine and human, could be united in a single reality.

St. Augustine projected that rhetoric, too, had been redeemed as a consequence of this doctrine of the Incarnation. Christ, as the verbal and actual reconciliation of God and man, becomes the foundation for his linguistic epistemology. In the Confessions, where Augustine's philosophy of language is most evident, speech is considered to be a man-made art, corporeal in nature because part of the created universe. Each word is a transient, auditory form which, "once its syllables have been pronounced, gives way to make room for the next."[12] The possibility of intellectual contact with God and other nondiscursive realities by means of a human language so full of inadequacies would seem to be tenuous, yet the reality of the Incarnation gives the Christian confidence that the disparity between the divine and human, the transient and the eternal, can be overcome, and that meaning may inhere in language, i.e. in finite, corporeal signs, in the same way that God and man became one in Christ. Thus Augustine, and those who in succeeding generations subscribed to his view, believed that the being of God Himself "was the guarantee, the criterion, and the conditio sine qua non of whatever men might know about him, or about anything else."[13]

The verbal epistemology which Augustine bequeathed to the later Middle Ages (and for our purposes, the Twelfth Century), so firmly grounded as it was in classical thought and the theology of the Incarnation, was inextricably bound up with the conception of the world called Realism in the Middle Ages—the belief that essences or substances such as "whiteness", "being", "love", were not merely generic (or species) names, not merely verbal abstractions, but that they were self-subsistent entities with foundation in reality. Armand Maurer distinguishes three schools of philosophical realism flourishing in the Middle Ages. The Platonic (more accurately Neoplatonic), and most extreme form of realism posited a real distinction between the individual and its nature or essence (alternately referred to as the universal), for example, between Socrates and his humanity; another, and more moderate form of realism allowed for only a formal distinction between the individual and his nature, and yet another--the least realistic of all--posited only a distinction of reason between the two.[14] There were differences of opinion in regard to whether the universal was ante rem or in re, but in all realisms, moderate or extreme, the metaphysical bias was prevalent, and the belief that the universal had existential value was coupled with the assurance that the mind was able to attain it and thus construct within itself a knowledge which is true or in conformity with what is.

Platonism, with its distinctive conception of the universal, informed philosophical and theological speculation throughout the Middle Ages but was particularly influential in the Twelfth Century which witnessed a veritable renaissance of this mode of realism.[15]

For Plato, universals existed in an intelligible world of their own beyond sensory perceptions and the world of changing particulars; consequently, these ideal forms or Ideas, unchanging and unchangeable, were held to be the objects of true knowledge:

> In speaking of the copy and the original we may assume that words are akin to the matter which they describe; when they relate to the lasting and permanent and intelligible, they ought to be lasting and unalterable, and, as far as their nature allows, irrefutable and invincible--nothing less.[16]

Centuries later, the Christian Augustine was to locate the Ideas in the mind of God and explain human cognition of them as being dependent on an illumination by God of human intellects,[17] and in his amalgamation of Christian theology with Greek philosophy, Augustine further developed a notion first introduced by Plato in the Timaeus. In this account of the formation of the universe it is suggested that the Ideas, as thoughts of God, are embodied in creation and that the particular things perceived by the senses depend in some way on the Ideas for being what they are:

> The world has been framed in the likeness of that which is apprehended by reason and mind and is unchangeable, and must therefore of necessity, if this is admitted, by a copy of something.[18]

Augustine modified this notion by suggesting that "just as our thought is clothed externally in our words," so too is the thought of God, the Logos (or Verbum) deployed externally in His creation.[19] All created things, taught Augustine, as vestigia Trinitatis,[20] are signs or

symbols of the Creator, and because all refer to God as the principle of their being and intelligibility, the world can be apprehended as a sacred text, a meaningful order.

This idea that all created things are symbols of God becomes the common property of theologians throughout the Middle Ages. It characterizes the thought of the Christian Neoplatonist Pseudo-Dionysius.[21] His translator and commentator John Scotus Eriugena likewise elaborates on the concept and suggests that as well as being signs of the incorporeal and spiritual, all material things exist as true and beautiful in proportion to their representation of the changeless and eternal Ideas; in other words, all beings are theophanies of the inexpressible Beauty.[22] Boethius had praised the divine beauty "which bears in its mind the idea of the beautiful universe, and creates the image of this in matter."[23] St. Isidore expressed much the same idea when he postulated that"it is from finite beauty that God gives man understanding of infinite beauty,"[24] and St. Bonaventure, centuries after Augustine, contemplated the world and saw it transfigured:

> All creatures of this sensible world...are shadows, echoes, and pictures, the traces, simulacra, and reflection of [the] First Principle... They are signs divinely bestowed which, I say, are exemplars or rather exemplifications set before our yet untrained minds, limited to sensible things, so that through the sensibles which they see they may be carried forward to the intelligible which they do not see, as if by signs to the signified.[25]

For those who subscribed to Augustine's theory of semiological ontology throughout the Middle Ages, then, everything was taken to be

a sign of a higher reality. The meaning of things was not accounted for by pointing out their function and place in the phenomenal world, for by their essences they reached into a world beyond this one. Visibilia were held to bear an analogical[26] relation to invisibilia, and thus, as the nature of the former was disclosed, something of the latter was understood. Since each created being was considered to be a sacramentum, or a sign of an inner reality, each particular thing pointed to another; everything was referential, and the world unfolded as a vast whole of symbols.[27]

To the medieval mind a symbol was more than an arbitrarily defined sign. As an emblem, the symbol was able, by virtue of its inner structure, to enter into particular relationships. Informed by Realist philosophy, the symbolist mentality necessarily presupposed the idea that properties are essential to things. An example of this disposition at work is given by J. Huizinga:

> The vision of white and red roses blooming among thorns at once calls up a symbolic assimilation in the medieval mind: for example, that of virgins and martyrs, shining with glory, in the midst of their persecutors. The assimilation is produced because the attributes are the same: the beauty, the tenderness, the purity, the colours of the roses, are also those of the virgins, their red colour that of the blood of the martyrs. But this similarity will only have a mystic meaning if the middle-term connecting the two terms of the symbolic concept expresses an essentiality common to both; in other words, if redness and whiteness are something more than names for a physical difference based on quantity, if they are conceived as essences, as realities [Emphasis mine][28]

This tendency to ascribe substantiality to things, presupposing as it does the classic Platonic thesis of two worlds, the

intelligible and the sense-perceptible, lent well to the hierarchic conception of the universe operative in the Middle Ages. Once the ultimate significance of things had been determined in relation to God, they easily ranged themselves "as so many fixed stars in the firmament of thought." Once defined, they only needed to be classified, subdivided, and distinguished according to purely deductive norms. As an infinity of relations among things was revealed, impeccable order, architectonic structure, and hierarchic subordination ensued; all things woven together became "a polyphonous expression of eternal harmony."[29] Language, as a shadow-pattern of the real, was man's most godlike tool in disclosing the motivational ingredients not intrinsic to each object's sheer materiality. It is for this reason that St. Augustine had said in his De Doctrina Christiana, that the enlightened intellect loves not words but the truth in them, not appearances but the realities behind them. Words, as sacred ciphers, were signs of the knowledge of God, and were to be used to make truth plain, pleasing, and effective.[30] Universal ideas were thought to have ontological reality; in its theandric orientation, language could describe them and thus a universe which was comprehensible and useful to man.

This type of cosmological thought characterizes the work of Hildegard of Bingen. Like her predecessors, Hildegard considers everything to be a sign of the Creator's plenitude, yet even in the context of twelfth-century symbolics, Hildegard's use of figurative language is remarkable, and she uses some of the common theological

and philosophical themes outlined above in a highly innovative fashion. In the Ordo Virtutum, combining a theology of the Incarnation with a Neoplatonic or Eastern theology of grace, Hildegard articulates her belief in the reciprocity of the corporeal and spiritual realms by presenting a poetic language in which a complex array of metaphors and symbols are employed, not incidentally for mere illustrative purposes, but as instruments capable of reflecting higher realities--realities beyond the limits of conceptual statement.

CHAPTER 2

Referring to the ever-increasing attention the works of Hildegard are receiving after centuries of neglect, Robert Potter, in a distinctively modern vein, praises the saint as "the medieval super-celebrity of the 1980's."[1] Hildegard's influence in the Middle Ages was equal to what it is proving to be in the latter part of this century, and her contemporaries, the white monks of Villers, once gave voice to their admiration for her with the following song of praise:

> Hail, after Mary full of grace: the Lord is with you! Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the word of your mouth, which brings the secrets of the invisible world to men, unites heavenly things with earthly, and joins the divine to the human.[2]

While penning this paean, the monks might well have been pondering the liturgical music drama which the abbess wrote at her convent on the Rupertsburg for the use of her high-born nuns. The play presents an exchange between seventeen personified female Virtues, and one rather obstreperous Devil on the nature and meaning of life. In the course of the bandy, the Virtues assist a penitent human soul in her endeavour to overcome the temptations of the Devil and ascend to a higher spiritual plane. But the Ordo Virtutum is a morality play only insofar as it includes, incidentally, a fight for a soul;

thematically it is far removed from the worldly, sometimes scatological, concerns of many later "realist" moralities. In keeping with trends in twelfth-century monastic theology, and with her reputation as a holy nun, Hildegard's interest lies less in documenting a soul's fall from grace and adventures in sin than in bringing "the secrets of the invisible world to men" and revealing something of the life of grace itself in a lyrical and mystical exposition of Virtue. Language is the tool with which these divine "secrets" are revealed: a host of images and symbols enable the author to transcend the limits of conceptual statement and to emblematically present the reality she perceived to underly the visibilia of nature; indeed, Hildegard's use of symbol perfectly exemplifies Richard of Saint Victor's definition of the same: "A symbol is a juxtaposition, that is, a coaptation of visible forms brought forth to demonstrate some invisible matter."[3] As Peter Dronke points out, twelfth-century sacred poetry rarely uses such symbolic constructs "without some scaffolding--didactic, allegorical, or figural."[4] Hildegard refuses such scaffolding, and so there is a certain risk involved when interpreting her work of imputing unverifiable and even imaginary relationships to the reality being described. However, an examination of Hildegard's poetry in the context of medieval Platonism does much to explain the assumptions which informed the conception of the play and contributed to the expressive force of its imagery and texture of its language.

The Ordo Virtutum begins with a short prologue in which a chorus of patriarchs and prophets express their admiration for a group of numinous figures filtering down from heaven. "Who are these" they wonder, "who are like clouds?"(1). The allusion, appropriately, is to the prophet Isaiah who foretold the coming of Christ, for the Virtues to whom the wise men of old address their question immediately explain that their significance is understood only in the light of Christ's incarnation: they "shine with him, edifying the members of his beautiful body" (4-5). The patriarchs and prophets approve of this description and explain how they, too, have meaning in relation to Christ:

> We are the roots and you are the branches,
> fruit of the living bud,
> and we were a shadow in him (6-8).

Christ's incarnation, exemplified by the image of the cosmic tree and the concept of the mystical body, is the locus for all dynamism, physical and spiritual, and gives meaning to all time--past, present and future. The tree of Jesse iconography ("And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root" Isa.11.1) is skilfully combined with a passage from St. John (Christ says "I am the vine; you are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit" Jn.15.5) in order to highlight the organic unity between Old Testament and New. Before the coming of Christ the patriarchs and prophets existed in shadow, though as roots they contained the potential scion or bud. The Virtues, fruits ripened by the Logos or light on the tree of life,[5] continue the work

of Christ as supernatural infusions of grace which nourish or bind together the members of his mystical body so that those members, too, might grow up into the divine.

At the opening of the first scene, a group of souls "imprisoned in the flesh" express their desire to emerge from the shadow of sin into the light of the living Sun with the help of the Virtues. One of them, eager to achieve immediately the spiritual consolation she describes as "a kiss from [the] heart" (24), loses hope when the Virtues remind her of the struggle involved on the road to salvation (29-35). Overcome by the burden of her carnality and torn by the Devil's temptations, the once "Happy Anima" throws away her bright garment of spiritual blessedness and dashes off the way of all flesh while the Virtues bemoan the fact that her spiritual enthusiasm was really thinly disguised spiritual hubris (50-53). The wily serpent, having convinced Anima so readily that there is no profit in spiritual toil (48-9) spends the rest of the scene hurling insults at the Virtues, but they, unperturbed, merely reflect on their many and varied redeeming qualities (63-67).

The body-soul/light-darkness diastasis in evidence in this scene has a distinctly Platonic colouring, but the opposition does not take the form of a simple dualizing theology for Hildegard. The corporeal realm appears to be a darkened level of being within the divine world of light, but the body, while a source of tribulation for the soul, is not intrinsically evil;[6] in fact, the Virtues are convinced that mortal nature has been "created in the profound depths of God's wisdom" (21). The dualism serves instead to effect the mental operation proper to

symbolism--translatio--or the transference from the limitations of sense-knowledge towards an appreciation of the true nature of things.

In the lyrical second scene the Virtues, while singing their own praises, give some indication of what that true nature is. Beginning with Queen Humility each Virtue reveals something of the divine life which she is privileged to participate in. Charity, using language which recalls the cosmic tree of the Prologue, explains that she knows the way "into the bright light of the flower of the rod" (78); Fear knows a secret which she will tell to her fellow Virtues so that they may "look on the living God and not perish (81);" Hope, "the sweet surveyor of the living eye" (98) overcomes "the power of death" (102); Heavenly Love, the "golden gate of heaven" (122) promises that all who pass through her will achieve spiritual blessedness (123-4); Mercy extends a hand "to all who are grieving" (138) and annoints the poor and feeble (141).

In keeping with a tradition which goes back to ancient Latin scurces the Virtues are here characterized as female, but their gender is perhaps all Hildegard's visionary forms have in common with the stale, cardboard-like allegorical constructs of the Psychomachia.[7] The stately figures appearing in the Ordo Virtutum and describing something of the divine life do not strike the reader as being mere reified abstractions as virtues (and vices) often do in the more conventional morality, but rather appear as figures whose doctrinal and ontological significance supersedes any didactic purpose they might have.[8] In the Prologue, the Virtues betray their doctrinal significance when they describe themselves as supernatural infusions of grace "edifying the

members" of Christ's body, the Church; and in her visionary opus Scivias (of which the short text of the Ordo forms the thirteenth vision of Book Three), Hildegard further clarifies the theological nature of virtue when she explains that every virtue is "a brilliant star given by God that shines forth in human deeds" and that virtues "do not work in a person by themselves, for the person works with them and they with the person."[9] In other words, the Virtues have a dual nature: as well as betokening divine grace, they are also the manifestations of human cooperation with it.[10]

But there is plenty of evidence in the Ordo to suggest that the Virtues have a deeper significance yet. When the Devil sneers that the Virtues do not know what they are worshipping (85) and chants his refrain: "you do not know what you are!" (237 cf.62), he gives perhaps the biggest clue as to their meaning. Pre-existing in God in the shape of Intelligible Ideas or Forms--they were even around to see the "dragon of old" hurled into the abyss when he dared to "soar above the highest one" (63-5)--the Virtues, as the same dragon correctly notes, have no identity of their own and are incapable of the self-assertion that he, at least, is so adept at. They exist only "in the Sun on high" (62) and all of their activity takes place eternally, in the mind of God. Chastity, imperturbed by the taunts of the Devil, and satisfied with her place in the grand cosmic scheme, sings:

> In the mind of the Most High, O Satan, I trampled your head underfoot,
> and in a virgin's form I nurtured a sweet miracle
> when the Son of God came into the world;
> therefore you have been cast down in all your spoils,
> and now let all rejoice in heaven,
> because your belly has been confounded (229-234).

Iconographically identified with the Virgin Mary, Chastity's trampling of the serpent is an act performed not only at the beginning (cf.Gen.3.15) and projected end (Apoc. 12) of salvific time, but also eternally, in the mind of God. In keeping with the Platonic and exemplarist scheme of things, Hildegard here de-existentializes creation by lifting the history of an individual's time-bound activity into the sphere of the eternal, the unchangeable, the imperishable.

This privileging of ontological categories or the "Ideas" in God's mind as the true reality is heightened in the Ordo in a fusion of the identities of the Virtues into the person of the Virgin Mary, who Hildegard believed was the paradigm for womankind conceived from all eternity in the mind of the Highest. Contempt of the world (120), Modesty (132), and Victory (143), like Chastity (229), also trample the serpent underfoot. Elsewhere, the Virtues are characterized simultaneously as virgin, bride, mother and daughter. Humility (74-5), and Chastity (128-131), "greatly adorned for the royal nuptials" enjoy as brides the embraces of the King, but Virginity (104) is also admitted into the royal wedding chamber. Mercy (139), and Discretion (150), are both hailed as mother, and Chastity (230-231) is the virgin-mother of God. Humility (204) is identified as "daughter Zion" (cf. 156-158,80,89,94,124). All Virtues are figurative types for Mary, who, as Barbara Newman points out, captured Hildegard's imagination not as an individual but as a symbolic form, a type "of the unique feminea forma".[11] A residual Platonism defines the feminine gender as an ontological category first distinguished within the divine realm and only then embodied in the physical. The symbolic form of the Virgin-

Mother of the Son and Daughter of the Father is endowed "with more depth, substance, and detail" than Hildegard was prepared to see in individuals; Mary becomes "a cosmic theophany of the [eternal] feminine."[12]

If, in the Neoplatonic ordering of the universe, Ideas exist first in God's mind and are only then bodied forth in the world, for some Neoplatonists God could be seen only in this embodiment in creation, in His theophanies or in "the multiplicity of His consequences."[13] For the Christian Hildegard this appearance of God is manifested primarily in the "holy virtues" who "were clearly shown in God's Only-Begotten and illumine the hearts of the faithful as if in His form."[14] In the Scivias Hildegard tells us that Christ is a pillar and

> in the pillar, there is an ascent like a ladder from bottom to top. This is to say that in the incarnate Son of God all the virtues work fully, and that He left in Himself the way of salvation; so that faithful people both small and great can find in Him the right step on which to place their foot in order to ascend to virtue, so that they can reach the best place to exercise all the virtues ... Therefore, you see all the virtues of God descending and ascending, laden down with stones; for in God's Only-Begotten the lucent virtues descend in His Humanity and ascend in His Divinity.[15]

In less philosophically sophisticated terms, perhaps, Hildegard is reflecting an idea found in the work of the ninth-century writer John Scotus Eriugena[16] who believed that the Word had descendedto earth

> in order to reunite the primordial causes that inhere in his divinity with their created effects, by means of his humanity. Christ thus mediates cosmic unity by completing the cycle of emanation and return, so that both temporal creatures and eternal exemplars are "saved" by their reunion in the Word.[17]

Interestingly, in the Periphyseon, Eriugena associated these causae primordiales not only with the Platonic Ideas but also with the virtues which are of such importance in Hildegard's theology.[18] In the Ordo Virtutum, as a result of the Incarnation, the Virtues, inhering in God's divinity and bodied forth in creatures as virtuous activity, are the means by which man is reunited with God, and the means by which the heavenly Ecclesia is constructed, since they are able to descend the hierarchical rungs of the ladder of being and ascend again "with the winged and shining deeds people do, with their help, to win salvation."[19] Anima is aware that she is only capable of transcending her carnality and reaching the divine light with the help of the Virtues; in fact they stand as objective intermediaries between her soul and God. At the beginning of Scene 3 the sinful soul repents of her wanton ways and pleads with the Virtues to help her improve her spiritual life; they obligingly, invite her to "come up" (165), but, lacerated with sores gained from a life of sin (171-172, 176-177), Anima is unable to ascend to their plane without their help. She pleads with them again:

> Incline yourselves to me, because I, a stranger, was in exile from you, and help me, so that in the blood of the Son of God I may be able to rise (181-182).

This time, obeying Queen Humility (in keeping with the hierarchical ordering of the universe the Virtues are ranked), the Virtues descend, bind the Devil, retrieve Anima, and return to their elevated state.[20] In keeping with the Neoplatonic scheme of things, then, Hildegard is here expressing the notion that "ousia" is the ideal reality and that the finite can only ascend to the infinite through intermediaries which only partially capture its essence.

Throughout the play, metaphors which place the accent on immanence serve best to describe this emanation and diffusion of the divine essence. As Stephen Gersh points out, in Neoplatonic thought the Greek verb ῥεῖν ('flow' or 'stream'), its compounds (e.g. ἀπορρεῖν 'to flow forth'), and related substantives (e.g. ἀπορροή or ἀπόρροια 'an effluence') are commonly used to express the concept of emanation or "the way in which spiritual principles--for pagan writers the One, the henads, etc., for Christians God and his divine attributes--exercise causality" [Emphasis mine].[21] Proclus speaks of an effect as "flowing" from its cause "as if from some fountain."[22] Such a concept is also at work in the Enneads of Plotinus where the "Intellectual-Principle which is the primal Life ... is itself poured forth, so to speak, like water from a spring", yet it is a spring

> that has no source outside itself; it gives itself to all the rivers, yet it is never exhausted by what they take, but remains always integrally as it was; the tides that proceed from it are at one within it before they run their several ways, yet all, in some sense, know beforehand down what channels they will pour their streams.[23]

The metaphor is given pride of place in the philosophical works of Eriugena who, at one point, refers to God as "the first Source of all things which flow forth from Him into infinity and return to Him again.[24] In the Scivias Hildegard explains that the Virtues descending by way of Christ's humanity and ascending in His divinity "are going with keen zeal to their work; for they run zealously to their divine labor like torrents of water, that the members of Christ may shine brighter than the sun and be nobly perfected in splendor and united to

their Head." Each virtuous action on the part of human beings gains "bright splendor with which to shine before God; for what flows from the fountain of eternal life cannot be obstructed or hidden."[25] In the Ordo Virtutum the emanation metaphor is reserved most specifically for Christ and his incarnate activity: He is "the fountain of life", "the scorching fountain", the true and "rushing fountain" (118, 145, 95-97). In the Antiphon[26] preceding the play, He is described as a "fountain leaping from the Father's heart" (fons saliens de corde Patris) who brings the "serene glory of that sun" (serenum decus solis), or Father, into the world. Gersh points out that scorching and boiling metaphors are commonly used in Neoplatonic thought to describe the way in which an effect is literally filled with its cause[27] and Hildegard seems to employ the metaphor of the scorching fountain (fons torrens) in much the same fashion. Christ as fountain is the effusion of God's wisdom; with the Virtues he pours himself sacramentally (hoc ipsum Verbum exspiravit omnes virtutes) into the members of his Body and when in the Ordo Virtutum the Virtues sing

> O Father all-powerful, from you flows a fountain in fiery love:
> lead your children into the right wind for sailing in water,
> so that we too may lead them in this way
> into the heavenly Jerusalem" (248-251).

they are expressing the notion that Christ (the fountain) and they, his Virtues or "divine attributes", are the means by which the cycle of emanation and return is completed, cosmic unity restored (as creatures sail through the fountain into heaven), and temporal creatures are saved.

The fountain metaphor for Hildegard, as for her Neoplatonic predecessors, is the consummate way of describing the theophany, or

appearance, of God: it represents both the inexhaustible vitality of the divine and, in its ability to reflect a form, the very nature of divine illumination. The Virtues are privileged to behold the fons (source) and therefore sing its praises:

> O living fountain, how great is your sweetness,
> you did not dismiss the gaze of these upon you (198-199).

As they gaze upon the fountain, the Virtues (and creatures who do the same) necessarily see themselves reflected in it: their form is illuminated, finds definition and achieves vitality only in and through Christ; they are so many reflections of the divine. A more explicit metaphor connoting divine revelation is introduced elsewhere in the play:

> Faith: I am Faith, the mirror of life:
> Venerable daughters come to me
> and I will reveal to you the gushing fountain.
>
> Virtues: O serene reflection, we have faith
> that we will reach the true fountain through you (93-97).

Hildegard's use of the mirror here closely resembles that of the Pseudo-Dionysius who had used it to explain the celestial hierarchy:

> A hierarchy bears in itself the mark of God. Hierarchy causes its members to be images of God in all respects, to be clear and spotless mirrors reflecting the glow of primordial light and indeed of God himself. It ensures that when its members have received this full and divine splendor they can then pass on this light generously and in accordance with God's will to beings further down the scale.[28]

In the Scivias, Hildegard had explained that God

> brought forth from the universe the different kinds of creatures, shining in their miraculous awakening, as a smith makes forms out of bronze; until each creature was radiant with the loveliness of perfection, beautiful in the fullness of their arrangement in higher and lower ranks, the higher made radiant by the lower and the lower by the higher.[29]

In the Ordo Virtutum, likewise, all being is participatory and interdependent and all knowledge is contingent upon regarding the being above where something of the higher still is reflected. Faith, "higher" than her sisters (she is a theological virtue, after all), as the "mirror of life," has the privilege of revealing to them something of of the divine mystery which they lack in themselves; each of the Virtues in turn reveals aspects of the "living light" to the others. With the Pseudo-Dionysius, then, Hildegard perceives that divinity is communicated via a descending scale and by way of the emanation of the multiple forms of being which, rank upon rank, participate directly but differently in God so that his fulness is thus manifested through them.[30]

The mirror emblem recurs in the Ordo's Finale where Christ Himself is identified as "paternum speculum" (257), the mirror of the Father. As fountain or mirror, He is the being through which the divine dimension is best revealed and made visible. Creatures in turn are truly fulfilled when they behold and reflect Him. Hildegard elaborates upon this idea toward the end of the play by means of an arresting image describing the transformation of Christ's wounds into jewels (263): all creatures (here, members of his body, the Church) will glimmer and

shine like jewels as the divine Logos or light beams upon them and they reflect His glory (cf. lines 4.5 of the Prologue and Gen. 1.26, where man is said to be made "in the image of God").

The mirror and fountain emblems are not the only images of luminous quality to be found in the Ordo Virtutum. Like her Neoplatonic predecessors, Hildegard frequently employs light imagery to convey the notion that higher realities illuminate the lower; that is, she employs it as a consistent effect of the doctrine of emanation. Iamblichus had used the image to show how the light of the gods "irradiates" (ἐλλάμπει) lower beings. Proclus believed that each cause produces a series of effects described, again, as irradiations, and Damascus declared that cognition of the intelligible resulted from the reception of a "sudden flashing trace" from above.[31] The Pseudo-Dionysius--perhaps the principal channel for the transmission of the Neoplatonic admiration for light to the Middle Ages--relies on the metaphor frequently, calling the divinity an "outpouring of illumination", and "the Light which, by way of representative symbols, makes known to us the most blessed hierarchies among the angels".[32] For Hildegard, no less, the image of light is much more than a literary figure--it refers to the filling of all nature and intelligence with the splendour of the divine: her celestial maidens are repeatedly described as "spendid" (162), "gleaming" (162,207), "glorious" (72, 119, 222), and "brilliant" (224); they are "the brightness of life" (114), and they mediate a light--as rays of "the living Sun" (13, 162)--that would otherwise be too bright to reach the earth. Sinners redeemed with the help of these emanations of radiance "gleam in greater light" (206) and "shine in supernal goodness" (246).

The many and varied images of divine effulgence in the Ordo are juxtaposed with images conveying the sensuousness of colour. Heavenly Love is the "golden gate" of heaven (122); and all of the Virtues are described as "dazzling lilies blooming among purple roses" (135, 180);[33] the blood of the Son ofGod is the price of salvation (182); "viriditas" or greenness--perhaps the most central motif in Hildegard's work--recurs throughout the play and has many metaphorical equivalences, among them life, hope, and fertility. Often "viriditas" is combined with a paradisal imagery of flowers.[34] In the Finale we are told that

> In the beginning all creation blossomed,
> flowers bloomed in the midst of it;
> afterwards greenness declined (252-254).

As a result of the Fall of man, all natural life becomes disordered. The "flower of the field" representing the earthly, physical life, is easily dispersed or killed (109); celestial flowers existing in God's mind, on the other hand, "never wither" (111). When Virginity is admitted into the royal wedding chamber, she burns so sweetly in the embraces of the King, that when the sun "blazes" upon her, her "noble flower never falls" (104-108). Recalling the Song of Songs here, Hildegard does not gainsay the erotic nature of the poem, but nonetheless uses the idea of physical love to intimate the nature of the eternal bliss and fulfillment to be had for those who share in the divine life. Viriditas, too, expresses the notion of spiritual fertility: Christ "the flower of the rod" (cf. Prologue), promises that all creation will be restored by him to the "fulness which was made in the beginning" (260); He, the "living bud" (7), is the promise of future resurrection,

the provider of all greenness and life. Through His Incarnation He brings about the reconciliation of the divine and human; consequently He is the guarantee that the dualism between heavenly and earthly, spiritual viriditas and disordered human viriditas, can be overcome.

In her subtle use of images drawn from the physical realm--the fountain, the mirror, jewels, light/darkness, viriditas--Hildegard intimates something of the nature of the ultimate realities and principles which she believed lay behind the earthly. She does not need to make explicit her conviction that one must ascend to the infinite by way of the finite realm, her images--sudden flashes of perception--work through their own expressive power to "bring the secrets of the invisible world to men"; indeed, the use Hildegard makes of metaphors and symbols to connote divine reality closely resembles Augustine's idea of sacred signs: sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibilis forma.[35] The possibility of intellectual contact with God and other nondiscursive realities by means of a human language so full of inadequacies would seem to be tenuous, yet Hildegard, like Augustine before her, is assured by her belief in the Incarnation that the disparity between the divine and human can be overcome, and that meaning may inhere in verbal and non-verbal finite, corporeal signs, in the same way that God and man became one in Christ.

Incipit Ordo Virtutum.

<PROLOGUE>

Patriarche et Prophete

Qui sunt hi, qui ut nubes?

Virtutes

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

Patriarche et Prophete

Nos sumus radices et vos rami,
fructus viventis oculi,
et nos umbra in illo fuimus.

<SCENE 1>

Querela Animarum in carne positarum

O nos peregrine sumus.
Quid fecimus, ad peccata deviantes?
Filie regis esse debuimus,

The Ordo Virtutum Begins

<PROLOGUE>

Patriarchs and Prophets

Who are these, who are like clouds? [Isa. 60.8]

Virtues

O holy ones of old, what do you marvel at in us?
The Word of God becomes bright in the form of man,
and therefore we shine with him,
edifying the members of his beautiful body [John 1.1, 14; 8.12; Rom. 12.5; 1 Corinthians 12.12-13; Ephesians 4. 15-16; Philippians 2.8; Colossians 1.18].

Patriarchs and Prophets

We are the roots and you are the branches,
fruit of the living bud [John 15.5],
and we were a shadow in him.

<SCENE 1>

The Complaint of the Souls imprisoned in flesh

O we are strangers.
What have we done, wandering into sin?
We ought to have been daughters of the King,

sed in umbram peccatorum cecidimus.

O vivens sol, porta nos in humeris tuis

in iustissimam hereditatem quam in Adam perdidimus!

O rex regum, in tuo prelio pugnamus.

Felix Anima

O dulcis divinitas, et o suavis vita,

in qua perferam vestem preclaram,

illud accipiens quod perdidi in prima apparitione,

ad te suspiro, et omnes Virtutes invoco.

Virtutes

O felix Anima, et o dulcis creatura dei, 20

que edificata es in profunda altitudine sapientie dei,

multum amas.

Felix Anima

O libenter veniam ad vos,

ut prebeatis michi osculum cordis.

Virtutes

Nos debemus militare tecum, o filia regis.

Sed, gravata, Anima conqueritur

O gravis labor, et o durum pondus

quod habeo in veste huius vite,

quia nimis grave michi est contra carnem pugnare.

but we have fallen into the shadow of sin.

O living Sun, carry us on your shoulders

into the most righteous inheritance which we lost in Adam!

O King of Kings, we are fighting in your battle!

A Fortunate Soul

O sweet divinity, and o delightful life,

in which I shall wear a bright garment,

accepting that which I lost in my first appearance,

to you I sigh, and invoke all the Virtues.

Virtues

O fortunate Soul, and o sweet creature of God, 20

you who have been created in the profound depth of God's wisdom,

you love much [Luke 7.47].

The Fortunate Soul

O freely I will come to you,

so that you may give me a kiss from your heart.

Virtues

We should serve as soldiers with you, o daughter of the King.

But, burdened, the Soul complains

O burdensome labour, and o harsh weight,

which I have in the garment of this life,

because it is too hard for me to fight against the flesh.

Virtutes ad Animam illam

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

Anima illa

Succurrite michi, adiuvando, ut possim stare!

Scientia Dei ad Animam illam

Vide quid illud sit quo es induta, filia salvationis,
et esto stabilis, et numquam cades.

Infelix, Anima

O nescio quid faciam,
aut ubi fugiam!
O ve michi, non possum perficere
hoc quod sum induta.
Certe illud volo abicere!

Virtutes

O infelix conscientia,
o misera Anima,
quare abscondis faciem tuam coram creatore tuo?

The Virtues to that Soul

O Soul, created by the will of God,
and o fortunate instrument, why are you so tearful
in the face of what God has trampled upon in the being of a virgin?
Through us you ought to overcome the Devil.

The Soul

Run to help me, so that I may stand firm!

The Knowledge of God to that Soul

Consider what it is with which you have been endowed,
daughter of salvation, and be steadfast, and you will never fall.

The Unhappy Soul

O, I do not know what to do
or where to flee!
O woe to me, I am not able to perfect
this garment which I have put on.
Indeed, I want to throw it away!

Virtues

O unhappy conscience,
O wretched Soul,
Why do you hide your face in the presence of your Creator?

Scientia Dei

Tu nescis, nec vides, nec sapis illum qui te constituit.

Anima illa

Deus creavit mundum:
non facio illi iniuriam,
sed volo uti illo!

Strepitus Diaboli ad Animam illam

Fatue, fatue quid prodest tibi laborare? Respice mundum, et amplectetur te magno honore.

Virtutes

O plangens vox est hec maximi doloris!
Ach, ach, quedam mirabilis victoria
in mirabili desiderio dei surrexit,
in qua delectatio carnis se latenter abscondit,
heu, heu, ubi voluntas crimina nescivit
et ubi desiderium hominis lasciviam fugit.
Luge, luge ergo in his, Innocentia,
que in pudore bono integritatem non amisisti,
et que avariciam gutturis antiqui serpentis ibi non devorasti.

Knowledge of God

You do not know, nor do you see, nor do you understand the One who placed you here.

The Soul

God created the world:
I do no harm to him,
but I want to enjoy it!

The rumblings of the Devil to that Soul

Fool, fool, what does it profit you to work? Look to the world, and it will embrace you with great honour.

Virtues

O this is a wailing voice of utmost anguish! 50
Ah, Ah, a certain wondrous victory
has sprung up in the wondrous desire for God,
in which the delight of the flesh secretly conceals itself,
alas, alas, where previously the will was ignorant of crimes
and where desire fled man's capriciousness.
So, therefore, Innocence, lament, lament for these things,
you who lost no perfection in your virtuous propriety,
you who did not devour with the ravenous greed of
the serpent of old.

Diabolus

Que est hec potestas, quod nullus sit preter deum? Ego autem dico, qui voluerit me et voluntatem meam sequi, dabo illi omnia. Tu vero, tuis sequacibus nichil habes quod dare possis, quia etiam vos omnes nescitis quid sitis.

Humilitas

Ego cum meis sodalibus bene scio
quod tu es ille antiquus dracho
qui super summum volare voluisti--
sed ipse deus in abyssum proiecit te.

Virtutes

Nos autem omnes in excelsis habitamus.

‹SCENE 2›

Humilitas

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

The Devil

What is this power, that there should be none except God?
I, however, say, he who wants to follow me and do my will,
I will give him all [Matt. 4.9].
But you have nothing which you could give to your followers,
because all of you still do not know what you are.

Humility

I with my companions well know
that you are that dragon of old
who wanted to soar above the highest one--
But God himself threw you down into the abyss [Isa. 14.12-15;
Apoc. 20.2-3].

Virtues

We, however, all dwell on high.

‹SCENE 2›

Humility

I, humility, queen of the Virtues, say:
Come unto me, Virtues, and I will train you
to search for the lost drachma [Lk. 15.8-9]
and to crown the one who perseveres happily.

Virtutes

O gloriosa regina, et o suavissima mediatrix,

libenter venimus.

Humilitas

Ideo, dilectissime filie,

teneo vos in regali talamo.

Karitas

Ego Karitas, flos amabilis--

venite ad me, Virtutes, et perducam vos

in candidam lucem floris virge.

Virtutes

O dilectissime flos, ardenti desiderio currimus ad te.

Timor Dei

Ego, Timor Dei, vos felicissimas filias preparo

ut inspiciatis in deum vivum et non pereatis.

Virtutes

O Timor, valde utilis es nobis:

habemus enim perfectum studium numquam a te separari.

Diabolus

Euge! euge! quis est tantus timor? et quis est tantus amor? Ubi est pugnator, et ubi est remunerator? Vos nescitis quid colitis.

Virtues

O glorious queen, and o sweetest mediatrix,

we come willingly.

Humility

Therefore most beloved daughters,

I keep you in the royal wedding-chamber.

Charity

I, Charity, am the flower of love--

come to me, Virtues, and I will lead you

into the bright light of the flower of the rod [Isa. 11.1-2].

Virtues

O most beloved flower, with ardent longing we run to you.

The fear of God

I, Fear of God, will prepare you most fortunate daughters

so that you may look on the living God and not perish. 81

Virtues

O Fear, certainly you are very helpful to us,

we have a complete desire never to be separated from you.

The Devil

Well done! Well done! What is this great fear? and what is this

great love? Where is the fighter, and where is the rewarder? You

Virtutes

Tu autem exterritus es per summum iudicem,

quia, inflatus superbia, mersus es in gehennam.

Obedientia

Ego lucida Obedientia--

venite ad me, pulcherrime filie, et reducam vos

ad patriam et ad osculum regis. 90

Virtutes

O dulcissima vocatrix,

nos decet in magno studio pervenire ad te.

Fides

Ego Fides, speculum vite:

venerabiles filie, venite ad me

et ostendo vobis fontem salientem.

Virtutes

O serena, speculata, habemus fiduciam

pervenire ad verum fontem per te.

Spes

Ego sum dulcis conspectrix viventis oculi,

quam fallax torpor non decipit--

do not know what you are worshipping.

Virtues

You, however, are terrified by the highest Judge,
because, puffed up with pride, you were plunged into hell.

Obedience

I am shining Obedience--
Come to me, most beautiful daughters, and I will lead you
back to the homeland and to the kiss of the King. 90

Virtues

O sweetest summoner,
it is fitting that we, with great devotion, come to you.

Faith

I am Faith, the mirror of life:
Venerable daughters, come to me
and I will reveal to you the leaping fountain [Jer. 2.13].

Virtues

O serene reflection, we have faith
that we will reach the true fountain through you.

Hope

I am the sweet surveyor of the living eye,
the one whom deceptive torpor does not deceive--

unde vos, o tenebre, non potestis me obnubilare.

Virtutes

O vivens vita, et o suavis consolatrix,

tu mortifera mortis vincis

et vidente oculo clausuram celi aperis.

Castitas

O Virginitas, in regali thalamo stas.

O quam dulciter ardes in amplexibus regis,

cum te sol perfulget

ita quod nobilis flos tuus numquam cadet.

O virgo nobilis, te numquam inveniet umbra in cadente flore!

Virtutes

Flos campi cadit vento, pluvia spargit eum.

O Virginitas, tu permanes in symphoniis supernorum civium:

unde es suavis flos qui numquam aresces.

Innocentia

Fugite, oves, spurcicias Diaboli!

‹Virtutes›

Has te succurrente fugiemus.

whence you, o darkness, are not able to cloud my gaze. 100

Virtues

O living life, and o sweet comforter,

you overcome the powers of death [Isa. 25.8; Osee 13.14;

1 Cor. 1554-55; 2 Tim. 1.10]

and with your seeing eye you open the closed door of heaven.

Chastity

O Virginity, you stand within the royal wedding-chamber.

O how sweetly you burn in the embraces of the King,

so that when the sun blazes upon you

your noble flower never falls.

O noble virgin, the shadow of the falling flower

will never find you!

Virtues

The flower of the field dies in the wind, rain sprinkles it.

O Virginity, you abide in the harmonies of celestial citizens:

where you are a charming flower that will never wither.

Innocence

Flee, sheep, the defilements of the Devil! 112

<Virtues>

We will flee them with your help.

Contemptus Mundi

Ego, Contemptus Mundi, sum candor vite.
O misera terre peregrinatio
in multis laboribus--te dimitto.
O Virtutes, venite ad me
et ascendamus ad fontem vite!

Virtutes

O gloriosa domina, tu semper habes certamina Christi,
o magna virtus, que mundum conculcas,
unde etiam victoriose in celo habitas.

Amor Celestis

Ego aurea porta in celo fixa sum:
qui per me transit
numquam amaram petulantiam in mente sua gustabit.

Virtutes

O filia regis, tu semper es in amplexibus quos mundus fugit,
O quam suavis est tua dilectio in summo deo!

‹Pitra: Castitas; Böckeler: Disciplina›

Ego sum amatrix simplicium morum qui turpia opera nesciunt;
sed semper in regem regum aspicio
et amplector eum in honore altissimo.

Contempt of the World

I, Contempt of the World, am the brighteness of life.
O wretched wandering on earth
with great toils--I dismiss you.
O Virtues, come to me
and let us climb to the fountain of life! [Jer. 2.13; Apoc. 21.6].

Virtues

O glorious mistress, you always fight Christ's battles,
O great strength, you who trample the world underfoot
[Gen. 3.15; Ps. 90.13]
you still live victoriously in heaven.

Heavenly Love

I am fixed as a golden gate in heaven:
whoever passes through me
will never taste bitter frustration in her mind.

Virtues

O daughter of the King, you are always in the embraces which
the world flees,
O how pleasant is your delight in God on high!

<Pitra: Castitas; Böckeler: Disciplina>

I am the lover of simple character who knows not disgraceful deeds,
but I always look upon the King of Kings
and, as my highest honour, I embrace him.

Vitutes

O tu angelica socia, tu es valde ornata
in regalibus nuptiis.

Verecundia

Ego obtenebro et fugo atque conculco
omnes spuricias Diaboli.

Virtutes

Tu es in edificatione celestis Ierusalem,
florens in candidis liliis.

Misericordia

O quam amara est illa duricia que non cedit in mentibus,
misericorditer dolori succurrens!
Ego autem omnibus dolentibus manum porrigere volo.

Virtutes

O laudabilis mater peregrinorum,
tu semper erigis illos,
atque ungis pauperes et debiles.

Victoria

Ego Victoria velox et fortis pugnatrix sum--
in lapide pugno, serpentem antiquum conculco.

Virtues

O you angelic companion, you are greatly adorned
for the royal nuptials [Matt. 22.11-12].

Modesty

I overshadow and put to flight and trample on
all the filth of the Devil.

Vitues

You are the foundation of the heavenly Jerusalem,
blooming among dazzling lilies [Isa. 60.1-4].

Mercy

O how bitter is that harshness in the mind which does not yield
and come mercifully to the help of the sorrowful.
I, however, want to extend a hand to all who are grieving.

Virtues

O praiseworthy mother of pilgrims,
you always raise them up,
and anoint the poor and the feeble.

Victory

I, Victory, am a swift and strong fighter--
I fight with a stone [1 Kings 17.49], I trample the ancient
serpent underfoot [Gen. 3.15; Ps. 90.13].

Virtutes

O dulcissima bellatrix, in torrente fonte
qui absorbuit lupum rapacem--
o gloriosa coronata, nos libenter
militamus tecum contra illusorem hunc.

Discretio

Ego Discretio sum lux et dispensatrix omnium creaturarum,
indifferentia dei, quam Adam a se fugavit per lasciviam morum.

<Virtutes>

O pulcherrima mater, quam dulcis et quam suavis es, 150
quia nemo confunditur in te.

Pacientia

Ego sum columpna que molliri non potest,
quia fundamentum meum in deo est.

Virtutes

O firma que stas in caverna petre,
et o gloriosa bellatrix que suffers omnia!

<Humilitas>

O filie Israhel, sub arbore suscitavit vos deus,
unde in hoc tempore recordamini plantationis sue.
Guadete ergo, filie Syon!

Virtues

O sweetest warrior, who devoured the rapacious wolf
in the scorching fountain--
O glorious crowned one, we willingly serve with you
against this deceitful one [Eph. 6.11-17].

Discretion

I, Discretion, am the light and treasurer of all creatures,
the impartiality of God, whom Adam drove from himself
through his licentiousness.

Virtues

O most beautiful mother, how sweet and gentle you are, 150
because no one is confounded in you.

Patience

I am the pillar that cannot be made soft,
because my foundation is in God.

Virtues

O strong one who stands in the hollow of the rock [1 Cor. 10.4],
and o glorious warrior who endures all!

Humility

O daughters of Israel, God raised you from under the tree,
wherefore in this time you should recall his planting of you.
Rejoice, therefore, daughters of Jerusalem!

‹SCENE 3›

Virtutes

Heu, heu, nos Virtutes plangamus et lugeamus,
quia ovis domini fugit vitam!

Querela Anime penitentis et Virtutes invocantis

O vos regales Virtutes, quam speciose
et quam fulgentes estis in summo sole,
et quam dulcis est vestra mansio--
et ideo, o ve michi, quia a vobis fugi!

Virtutes

O fugitive, veni, veni ad nos, et deus suscipiet te.

Anima illa

Ach! ach! fervens dulcedo absorbuit me in peccatis,
et ideo non ausa sum intrare.

Virtutes

Noli timere nec fugere,
quia pastor bonus querit in te perditam ovem suam.

Anima illa

Nunc est michi necesse ut suscipiatis me,

<SCENE 3>

Virtues

Alas, alas, we Virtues lament and mourn,
because a sheep of the Lord flees life [Lk. 15.4-7]!

The complaint of the penitent Soul calling upon the Virtues

O you royal Virtues, how splendid
and how gleaming you are in the Sun on high,
and how sweet is your dwelling--
and therefore, o woe to me, because I fled from you!

Virtues

O fugitive, come, come to us, and God will take you up.

The Soul

Ah! Ah! a burning sweetness devoured me in sins,
and therefore I did not dare to enter.

Virtues

Do not be afraid, do not flee,
because the good Shepherd searches for his lost sheep in you.
[John 10.14-16]

The Soul

Now it is necessary for me that you support me,

quoniam in vulneribus feteo

quibus antiquus serpens me contaminavit.

Virtutes

Curre ad nos, et sequere vestigia illa

in quibus numquam cades in societate nostra,

et deus curabit te.

Penitens Anima ad Virtutes

Ego peccator qui fugi vitam:

plenus ulceribus veniam ad vos,

ut prebeatis michi scutum redemptionis.

O tu omnis milicia regine,

et o vos, candida lilia ipsius, cum rosea purpura,

inclinate vos ad me, quia peregrina a vobis exulavi,

et adiuvate me, ut in sanguine filii dei possim surgere.

Virtutes

O Anima fugitiva, esto robusta,

et indue te arma lucis.

Anima illa

Et o vera medicina, Humilitas, prebe michi auxilium,

quia superbia in multis viciis fregit me,

multas cicatrices michi imponens.

because I am teeming with the wounds

with which the ancient serpent corrupted me.

Virtues

Run to us, and follow those footsteps

in which you will never fall with our companionship,

and God will care for you.

The Penitent Soul to the Virtues

I am a sinner who fled life:

full of sores I will come to you,

so that you may offer me the shield of redemption.

O all you of the Queen's army

and o you, her dazzling lilies and purple roses, 180

incline yourselves to me, because I, a stranger,

was in exile from you,

and help me, so that in the blood of the Son of God

I may be able to rise.

Virtues

O fleeing Soul, be strong,

and array yourself in the armour of light [Rom. 13.12].

The Soul

And o true medecine, Humility, grant me your help,

because pride broke me with many vices,

inflicting many scars upon me.

Nunc fugio ad te, et ideo suscipe me.

Humilitas

O omnes Virtutes, suscipite lugentem peccatorem,
in suis cicatricibus, propter vulnera Christi,
et perducite eum ad me.

Virtutes

Volumus te reducere et nolumus te deserere,
et omnis celestis milicia gaudet super te--
ergo decet nos in symphonia sonare.

Humilitas

O misera filia, volo te amplecti,
quia magnus medicus dura et amara vulnera
propter te passus est.

Virtutes

O vivens fons, quam magna est suavitas tua,
qui faciem istorum in te non amisisti,
sed acute previdisti
quomodo eos de angelico casu abstraheres
qui se estimabant illud habere
quod non licet sic stare;
unde gaude, filia Syon,

Now I flee to you, so therefore receive me.

Humility

O all you Virtues, support a mournful sinner,
with her scars, on account of the wounds of Christ
and lead her to me.

Virtues

We are willing to lead you back and we are not willing to
desert you,
and all the heavenly host rejoices on account of you-- [Lk. 15.10]
therefore it is fitting for us to sing in harmony.

Humility

O unfortunate daughter, I want to embrace you,
because the great physician suffered hard and bitter wounds
on account of you.

Virtues

O living fountain [Jer. 2.13; Apoc. 21.6], how great is your
sweetness,
you did not dismiss the gaze of these upon you,
but saw very clearly in advance
how you might turn them away from falling as did the angels,
who thought they could hold power
in a way that could not be;
therefore, rejoice, daughter of Sion,

quia deus tibi multos reddit

quos serpens de te abscidere voluit,

qui nunc in maiori luce fulgent

quam prius illorum causa fuisset.

‹SCENE 4›

Diabolus

Que es, aut unde venis? Tu amplexata es me, et ego foras eduxi te. Sed nunc in reversione tua confundis me--ego autem pugna mea deiciam te!

Penitens Anima

Ego omnes vias meas mala esse cognovi, et ideo fugi a te.

Modo autem, o illusor, pugno contra te.

Inde tu, o regina Humilitas, tuo medicamine adiuva me!

Humilitas ad Victoriam

O Victoria, que istum in celo superasti,

curre cum militibus tuis

et omnes ligate Diabolum hunc!

Victoria ad Virtutes

O fortissimi et gloriosissimi milites, venite,

et adiuvate me istum fallacem vincere.

because God is giving back to you many
whom the seprent wanted to cut off from you,
who now gleam in greater light
than had formerly been their lot.

<SCENE 4>

The Devil

Who are you, and where do you come from? You embraced me,
and I led you out of doors. But now in your turning back you
confound me--I, however, will knock you down with my fists!

The Penitent Soul

I came to know that all my ways were evil, and therefore I
escaped from you.
Now, however, o deceitful one, I fight against you.
Therefore, you, o Queen Humility, help me with your medicine.

Humility to Victory

O Victory, you who conquered this one in heaven,
run with your soldiers
and all of you bind this Devil!

Victory to the Virtues

O most valiant and most glorious soldiers, come,
and help me conquer that deceitful one.

Virtutes

O dulcissima ‹bellatrix, in torrente fonte
qui absorbuit lupum rapacem--
o gloriosa coronata, nos libenter
militamus tecum contra illusorem hunc.› ‹supplet redactor›

Humilitas

Ligate ergo istum, o virtutes preclare!

Virtutes

O regina nostra, tibi parebimus,
et precepta tua in omnibus adimplebimus.

Victoria

Gaudete, o socii, quia antiquus serpens ligatus est!

Virtutes

Laus tibi, Christe, rex angelorum.

‹Castitas›

In mente altissimi, o Satana, caput tuum conculcavi,
et in virginea forma dulce miraculum colui,
ubi filius dei venit in mundum;
unde deiectus es in omnibus spoliis tuis,
et nunc gaudeant omnes qui habitant in celis,
quia venter tuus confusus est.

Virtues

O most sweet <warrior who devoured the greedy wolf 220
in the scorching fountain--
O glorious crowned one, freely we serve
as soldiers with you against this deceiver> [Eph. 6.11-17].

Humility

Therefore bind him, o brilliant Virtues!

Virtues

O Queen of ours, we will be obedient to you,
and in all things we will implement your precepts.

Victory

Rejoice, o companions, because the ancient serpent has been bound!

Virtues

Praise to you, Christ, King of the angels!

<Chastity>

In the mind of the Most High, o Satan, I trampled your head
underfoot [Gen. 3.15; Ps. 90.13; Apoc. ??].
and in a virgin's form I nurtured a sweet miracle
when the Son of God came into the world;
therefore you have been cast down in all your spoils,
and now let all rejoice who live in heaven,
because your belly has been put to shame.

Diabolus

Tu nescis quid colis, quia venter tuus vacuus est pulchra forma de viro sumpta--ubi transis preceptem quod deus in suavi copula precepit; unde nescis quid sis!

Castitas

Quomodo posset me hoc tangere
quod tua suggestio polluit per immundiciam incestus?
Unum virum protuli, qui genus humanum
ad se congregat, contra te, per nativitatem suam.

Virtutes

O deus, quis es tu, qui in temetipso
hoc magnum consilium habuisti,
quod destruxit infernalem haustum
in publicanis et peccatoribus,
qui nunc lucent in superna bonitate!
Unde, o rex, laus sit tibi.
O pater omnipotens, ex te fluit fons in igneo amore:
perduc filios tuos in rectum ventum velorum aquarum,
ita ut et nos eos hoc modo perducamus
in celestem Ierusalem.

The Devil

You do not know what you are nurturing, because your womb
is empty of the beautiful form appropriated from man--
wherefore you transgress the precept that God enjoined in the sweet
act of intercourse [Gen.1.28; cf. Lk 1.34-36]; therefore you do not
know what you are!

Chastity

How could what you say affect me
since your suggestion is defiled by the filth of unchastity?
I gave birth to one man who joins a human nature to his own,
against you, by his nativity. 241

Virtues

O God, who are you, who in your very self
held this great deliberation,
which destroyed the infernal draught
in publicans and sinners,
who now shine in supernal goodness!
Therefore, o King, praise be to you.
O Father all-powerful, from you flows a fountain in fiery love:
lead your children into the right wind for sailing in water,
so that we too may lead them in this way 250
into the heavenly Jerusalem.

‹FINALE›

‹Virtutes et Anime›

In principio omnes creature viruerunt,
in medio flores floruerunt;
postea viriditas descendit.
Et istud vir preliator vidit et dixit:
'Hoc scio, sed aureus numerus nondum est plenus.
Tu ergo, paternum speculum aspice:
in corpore meo fatigationem sustineo,
parvuli etiam mei deficiunt.
Nunc memor esto, quod plenitudo que in primo facta est
arescere non debuit,
et tunc in te habuisti
quod oculus tuus numquam cederet
usque dum corpus meum videres plenum gemmarum.
Nam me fatigat quod omnia membra mea in irrisionem vadunt.
Pater, vide, vulnera mea tibi ostendo.'
Ergo nunc, omnes homines,
genua vestra ad patrem vestrum flectite,
ut vobis manum suam porrigat.

‹FINALE›

The Virtues and the Soul

In the beginning all creation blossomed [Gen. 1.11-12],
flowers bloomed in the midst of it;
afterwards greenness declined.
And the man who was a warrior saw this and said:
"This I know, but the golden number is not yet full [Apoc. 6.11].
You then, behold me, mirror of the Father:
in my body I undergo weariness,
even my little ones are disappointing me.
Now remember that the fullness which was made in the beginning
ought not to have withered, 261
and that then you had that in you which your eye would never yield
until you beheld my body full of jewels.
For it wearies me that all my limbs are subjected to ridicule.
Father, see, I show you my wounds."
Therefore, now, all men,
bend your knees before your Father,
so that he may stretch forth his hand to you.

CONCLUSION

For Hildegard of Bingen, the Incarnation is the pivotal event in human history, the event which assures her that divine, inexpressible mysteries can take form within the parameters of corporeal signs normally incapable of containing them. In her liturgical morality play, Hildegard, in keeping with the Christian and Neoplatonic "expressivist" theory of language, employs such rhetorical devices as symbol and metaphor to trace the limits of the higher, more beauteous order which she believed underlay the visibilia of nature. Though there is no logical continuity between the two realities "thrown together" or juxtaposed by such devices, they are able, in their evocative capacity, to convey meaning beyond what could be expressed abstractly, and, encouraging the reader by means of them to become involved with all the senses, Hildegard presents to the intuition the cascade of illuminations she perceived as coming from God, the theophanies or "secrets" to be found in all beings.

NOTES

Introduction

[1]Robert Potter, "Reports on Productions: Hildegard of Bingen's Ordo Virtutum", Medieval English Theatre 8.1(1986): 67.

[2]Vita S. Hildegardis, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 197 (Paris, 1855): 91-130, qtd. in Peter Dronke, Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (d.203) to Marguerite Porete (d.1310)(Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1984) 145.

[3]Hildegard claims direct visionary inspiration for her works and never cites her sources so that attempts to trace her readings in classical and Christian authors remain, to a certain degree, conjectural. Nonetheless, it is evident from Hildegard's writings that she was well-read. Prudence Allen R.S.M., The Concept of Woman: The Aristotelian Revolution 750BC-AD1250 (Montreal: Eden P, 1985) 294, citing Joseph Singer, From Magic to Science (1958) 235-8, suggests that Hildegard was familiar with Aristotle's De Caelo et Mundo and Meteorologica, Isidore's De Rerum Natura, Bernard Sylvester's De Mundi Universitate Sive Metacosmos et Microcosmos, Constantine of Africa's On the Nature of Man, and Hugh of St. Victor's On the Members and Parts of Man. Barbara Newman in her Introduction to Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, trans. Mother Columba Hart, O.S.B. and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist P, 1990) 44-45, claims that Hildegard knew Rabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbertus, Alan of Lille, John Scotus Eriugena (or at least

his twelfth-century popularizer, Honorius Augustodunensis), and Bernard of Clairvaux, and that she would have "acquired her knowledge of the Church Fathers from florilegia and earlier medieval adaptations as well as original texts."

[4]Barbara Newman in the Introduction to Hildegard of Bingen's Scivias, 13. Newman dates the completion of the Ordo Virtutum to the period after Hildegard completed Scivias. See Scivias, 13. Peter Dronke, on the other hand, argues that the version of the Ordo contained in the final draft of Scivias "is a reworking of the already existent play" and that it probably belongs to the period before 1148 "when Odo of Soissons praised Hildegard's 'modes of new lyrical composition.'" See the Introduction to Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000-1150, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1986) xxxiv.

[5]E.K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage (London: Oxford UP, 1903); Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (London: Oxford UP, 1933); Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953); O.B. Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1965); Fletcher Collins, Jr ., The Production of Medieval Church Music Drama (Charlottesville: U of VirginiaP, 1972); Robert Potter, The English Morality Play (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975); William L. Smoldon, The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas (London: Oxford UP, 1980). All of these standard authorities neglect to mention Hildegard's music drama. More recently, Richard Axton in European Drama of the Early Middle Ages (London: Hutchinson U Library,

1974) has attempted to redress the neglect, but his study of the Ordo really serves only as a synopsis of the narrative.

[6]According to Peter Dronke, Poetic 180, Böckeler departs from the original manuscript in nine places. A more recent translation of the Ordo Virtutum is included in Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, trans. Mother Columba Hart, O.S.B. and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist P, 1990). A distinction should be made, however, between the short-text version of the Ordo which is included in Hildegard's visionary opus Scivias, and the extended version forming part of Hildegard's liturgical song cycle, Symphonia Armonie Celestium Revelationum. Mine is a translation of the latter. Peter Dronke has also recently translated the play for the notes accompanying a recording by Sequentia, Hildegard von Bingen: Ordo Virtutum (Harmonia Mundi 77051-2-RG, 1990).

[7]Bruce William Hozeski, "Ordo Virtutum: Hildegard of Bingen's Liturgical Morality Play", diss., Michigan State U, 1969.

[8]Robert Potter, "The Ordo Virtutum: Ancestor of the English Moralities?", Comparative Drama 20.3 (1986): 204.

[9]On the "Hohenstaufen spirit" see Josef Pieper, Guide to Thomas Aquinas, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Random House, 1962) 45-6.

[10]Stephen Gersh, Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: The Latin Tradition, vol.1 (Notre Dame, Indiana: The U of Notre Dame P, 1986) 25, distinguishes five categories of Platonism: "(i)'Pagan Ancient Platonic,' (ii)'Christian Middle Platonic,' (iii)'Pagan Middle Platonic,' (iv)'Christian Neoplatonic,' and (v)'Pagan Neoplatonic'." Hildegard

belongs to the fourth category for which, in general, there is no direct or "pure" Platonic tradition, her knowledge of Platonic themes being derived almost exclusively from Christian sources. See Gersh, Middle 1-26 for a detailed discussion of types.

Chapter 1

[1]Terms are being introduced here (symbol and so on) that have no historical justification, but as Peter Dronke points out in Fabula: Explorations Into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism (Leiden und Köln: E.J. Brill, 1974) 13-14, certain thinkers in the Twelfth Century in particular utilized concepts close to those familiar from modern, not medieval, critical theory, and their frequent usage in discussions of medieval texts suggests that there are elements in these texts not readily accounted for within the framework and terminology of medieval rhetoric and poetic. Dronke distinguishes and discusses the related medieval concepts "integumentum" and "involucrum" ("covering" and "wrapping" respectively).

[2]George Steiner, Real Presences (Chicago: The U of Chicago P, 1989) 211. See also Charles Taylor, Human Agency and Language: Philosophical Papers 1 (1985); Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1990). In chapters on "Language and Human Nature" and "Theories of Meaning", Taylor distinguishes two general theories of language in the history of thought which he broadly categorizes as the "designative" and "expressive". Designative theories, in positing designation as fundamental, "make meaning something relatively unpuzzling, unmysterious". Expressive

theories, on the other hand, allow for "a dimension of expressive meaning which is not simply determined by designative meaning" and consequently maintain some of the mystery surrounding language. The expressive doctrine considers language as a "medium in which we are plunged, and which we cannot fully plumb" 235.

[3]Peter Dronke in the Epilogue to Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry 1000-1150 (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1970) 193, suggests as a path for further inquiry for Hildegard's Ordo her concern with unconfined meaning rather than fixed signification, her power of "meaning more than she says." I am not aware of any other studies that explore this aspect of her poetry.

[4]Such a charge was levelled decades ago by C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (1936) 46-7: "But of course the poetry of symbolism does not find its greatest expression in the Middle Ages at all, but rather in the time of the romantics: and this, again, is significant of the profound difference that separates it from allegory. I labour the antithesis because ardent but uncorrected lovers of medieval poetry are easily tempted to forget it. Not unnaturally they prefer symbol to allegory; and when an allegory pleases them, they are therefore anxious to pretend that it is not allegory but symbol." Quoted in Dronke, Poetic 193.

[5]Denying universality a parte rei, Nominalists in the late Middle Ages held that concepts are only arbitrarily defined names (nomina) which convey nothing of the essence of things and which cannot provide any indications about higher realities. Today a nominalist denies mental entities, e.g. concepts, ideas, etc.

[6]Charles Taylor, Human Agency and Language: Philosophical Papers 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1990) 233-245.

[7]Evelyn Birge Vitz, Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology: Subjects and Objects of Desire (New York: New York U P, 1989), shows how medieval texts are treated reductively by literary theories which reflect a modern view of the human subject and the world. Vitz holds that the medieval narrative "is often surprisingly like a picture"--imagistic or rhetorical, not causal or chronological, so that it is not readily susceptible to structural analyses.

[8]The use of the term "epistemology" here is, of course, an anachronism, but the reader should understand the term simply as a way of describing speculation on knowledge and not necessarily in the modern sense as a separate, technical branch of philosophy. For a discussion of medieval and contemporary uses of various philosophical and literary terms, see Marcia L. Colish, The Mirror of Language: A Study in the Medieval Theory of Knowledge (Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1983) xv-xvi.

[9]Discussion of classical sign theory would lead us too far afield. Colish's treatment of the subject is extensive. See Colish, Chapter 1. Suffice it to say that despite their many points of divergence, the Platonic, Peripatetic and Stoic schools, as well as Roman rhetors such as Cicero, were united in the belief that words could reflect realities (or universals).

[10]Colish 4. Regarding the indicative and commemorative aspects of language, Colish points out that "the word of the speaker, although it cannot produce knowledge of the object, can point to it if it is not already in the mind of the subject. If the subject already knows the

object, the word of the speaker can recall it to him, making it vividly present in his mind."

[11]Later, following upon this antique philosophy, the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius were to enshrine a slightly Christianized Neo-Platonic mysticism. Dionysius' The Celestial Hierarchy was translated into Latin by the Irishman John Scotus Eriugena who also subscribes in his works to this doctrine of the ultimate One revealing itself "in the multiplicity of its consequences." See Etienne Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages (New York: Random House, 1955) 119. Recognition of such doctrine is, I believe, important for an understanding of the Ordo and is discussed more extensively in Chapter 2.

[12]Saint Augustine, Confessions, trans. R.S. Pine-Coffin (1961; Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984) 4.10.15-4.11.

[13]Colish 1.

[14]Armand A. Maurer, C.S.B., Medieval Philosophy (Random House: New York, 1968) 277. The Scotistic and Thomistic positions delineated here were formulated after the Twelfth Century and are therefore not particularly relevant to a discussion of Hildegard. The Neoplatonic conception of the universal is that which informed her world-view.

[15]On the twelfth-century renaissance, see Winthrop Wetherbee, Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1972).

[16]Analogously, Plato continues: "But when they [words] express only the copy or likeness and not the eternal things themselves, they need only be likely and analogous to the former words. As being is to becoming, so is truth to belief." Timaeus 29b-c in The Collected Dialogues of Plato, Including the Letters, ed. Edith Hamilton and

Huntington Cairns (1961; Princeton: Princeton U P, 1989) 1162. Of all Plato's dialogues, the Timaeus alone was available to the early medieval West.

[17]In the Introduction to his translation of Thomas Aquinas' Faith, Reason, and Theology (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1987) xvi, where he compares Thomistic and Augustinian theories of knowledge, Armand Maurer points out that for Augustine "the mind knows truth within certain limits, but truth itself, being eternal and immutable, transcends the created and changeable human mind. Hence, if the mind is to know the truth it must be illumined by the eternal and immutable ideas in the mind of God." Hildegard reflects a similar belief in the Ordo Virtutum. Cf. Chapter 2, p. 30.

[18]On "participation" see Timaeus 29 a-b.

[19]Taylor 223.

[20]De Doctrina Christiana in John Chydenius, The Theory of Medieval Symbolism (Hebinfors: Centraltryckeriet, 1960) 9. For Augustine and his followers, the Creator is the only thing which is not a sign.

[21]See, for example, The Celestial Hierarchy, 121A-121C in The Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works, trans. Colm Luibheid (New York: Paulist P, 1987) 145-146.

[22]Johannes Scotus Eriugena, Periphyseon: The Division of Nature, trans. I.P. Sheldon-Williams, revised John J.O'Meara (Montréal: Editions Bellarmin, 1987).

[23]Boethius, Cons. Phil. III, metr. 9, qtd. in Edgar DeBruyne, The Esthetics of the Middle Ages, trans. Eileen B. Hennessy (New York: Frederick Ungar Pub. Co., 1969) 6.

[24]Sententiae 1, qtd. in DeBruyne 6.

[25]Saint Bonaventura, The Mind's Road to God, trans. George Boas (New York, 1953) Chapter II, section 11, qtd. in Sheila Delany, "Undoing Substantial Connection: The Late Medieval Attack on Analogical Thought", Mosaic 5 (1972): 31.

[26]The use of the word "analogy" here should be taken to mean merely "a proportional relation among things otherwise unlike". Joseph A. Mazzeo, "Universal Analogy and the Culture of the Renaissance", Journal of the History of Ideas 15(1954): 302.

[27]The intellectual history of this "mentalité symbolique" has been written by M.-D. Chenu, O.P., Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West, selected, edited and translated by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (1957; Chicago and London: The U of Chicago P, 1968). Chenu distinguishes and discusses the diverse philosophies behind the symbolist mentality, particularly the Augustinian and Pseudo-Dionysian varieties. Chenu also points out that the growing discredit of symbolic or anagogical modes of thought was brought about largely by the spread of Aristotelian logic in the Twelfth Century and after, 103.

[28]J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, trans. F. Hopman (1924; London: Penguin Books, 1987) 198.

[29]Huizinga, 195, 206-7. Of course, it is an illusion to think that this was a time of unanimity. There were anti-hierarchical critics throughout the age. See R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (London: Penguin Books, 1988) 48-52 for examples of these.

[30]St. Augustine's Christian Doctrine 4.11.26 in Philip Schaff, ed., A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1979).

Chapter 2

[1]Potter, Reports 66.

[2]Epistola 21, J.-B. Pitra, ed., Analecta Sanctae Hildegardis (Monte Cassino, 1882) 395, as qtd. in Barbara Newman, Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine (Berkeley: U of California P, 1989) 2.

[3]"Symbolum collatio videlicet, id est coaptatio visibilium formarum ad demonstrationem rei invisibilis propositarum." Expos. in Hier. cael. iii ad init (P.L. CLXXV, 960D) as qtd. in Chenu, 114.

[4]Peter Dronke, The Medieval Poet and His World (Roma: Edizioni Di Storia E Letteratura, 1984) 85.

[5]Dronke, Poetic 171.

[6]Dronke believes that the frequency with which such oppositions occur throughout Hildegard's oeuvre is evidence of her "unconscious Manichaeism". See Dronke, Women 188. Mani (born in Persia A.D. 216) taught a dual origin of life and the universe. The good principle is the creator of spirits; the evil principle is the creator of matter, which is intrinsically evil. The soul-body conflict in man reflects the perpetual antagonism of the two supreme principles, God and the Devil. While, with Dronke, I agree that it would be wrong to minimize

the moments of pessimism about the human body in Hildegard's work, it is hard to see how such oppositions exemplify "archaic Manichaean mythologems". In the Ordo Virtutum, the devil is hardly a towering figure, equal to the supreme good that he is in the gnostic scheme of things, but appears rather as a rebel who, despite his noise, is easily confounded by the Virtues. Moreover, Hildegard's cosmos is one informed with divinity, and any pessimism about matter is countered by her strong incarnational theology. On Mani, see Maurer, Medieval 385.

[7]The Psychomachia by the Spanish Christian writer Prudentius depicts a bloody and action-packed combat between allegories of virtues and vices. See Rosemary Burton, ed. Prudentius: Psychomachia (Pennsylvania: Thomas Library, 1989). See also Newman, Sister

[8]Newman, Sister 16-17. Newman also points out in the Introduction to Scivias 37 that Hildegard plays on both senses of the Latin virtus, which can mean "energy" or "power" as well as "virtue".

[9]Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias III, iii.3, 345-346.

[10]Newman, Sister 17.

[11]Newman, Sister 247.

[12]Newman, Sister 260, 160.

[13]Cf. Chapter 1, 9-10. This phrase characterizes the philosophy of John Scotus Eriugena, who presenting God as the supreme unity, postulates that creation is the procession of the many from this Unity. The Fall from God is characterized by division, Redemption by unity as creatures return to God by a process called analysis. See Maurer, Medieval 37-8.

[14]Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias III, viii.14, 436.

[15]Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias III, viii.13, 435.

[16]While it is unlikely that Hildegard knew Eriugena's work directly, it is believed that she knew a digest of the Periphyseon, Honorius' Clavis Physicae: See Newman. Sister 60. In the Periphyseon, Eriugena divides nature into four species: nature which creates, but is not created; nature which is created and creates; nature which is created, but does not create and, lastly, nature which is neither created nor creates. From God (who belongs to the first category), proceeds the level of nature which is created and creates. Eriugena identifies the "primordial causes" of this level with the Platonic Ideas, the predestinations and the prototypes of earlier thinkers. See Arthur Hyman and James J. Walsh, eds.. Philosophy in the Middle Ages: The Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Traditions (1973; Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1987) 132-133.

[17]Newman, Sister 58.

[18]Newman, Sister 58.

[19]Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias III, viii.13, 436.

[20]The concept of emanation and return is reinforced dramatically: directions for a performance of the play contained in the original manuscript indicate that the Virtues should be seated on raised sedes at the top of a set of stairs from where they descend and to where they return after tying up the Devil.

[21]Stephen Gersh, From Iamblichus to Eriugena: An Investigation of the Prehistory and Evolution of the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978) 17-18.

[22]Proclus, In Alcibiadem, ed. M. Hayduck (Berlin 1882), as qtd. in Gersh, 18.

[23]Plotinus, The Enneads, trans. Stephen Mackenna (London: Faber and Faber, 1962) III, viii.10.4-13, 248-249.

[24]Johannes Scotus Eriugena, Periphyseon: The Division of Nature, trans. I.P. Sheldon-Williams, revised John J. O'Meara (Montréal: Editions Bellarmin, 1987) II, 553C.

[25]Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias III, viii.13, 436.

[26]For the Latin text and Peter Dronke's English translation of the Antiphon, see the notes accompanying the recording of the play: Sequentia, Hildegard von Bingen: Ordo Virtutum (Harmonia Mundi 77051-2-RG, 1990) 31.

[27]Gersh, Iamblichus 19-20.

[28]The Celestial Hierarchy, 165A, in Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works, trans. Colm Luibheid (New York: Paulist P, 1987) 154.

[29]Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias II, i.6, 152.

[30]See Chenu 81-2. Chenu discusses this aspect of the Pseudo-Dionysius' thought extensively.

[31]Gersh, Iamblichus 23-24.

[32]The Celestial Hierarchy, 121B, in Luibheid, 146.

[33]Any performance of the play would have been visually spectacular. Hildegard attached intricate symbolism to the colours of the Virtues' costumes. Bruce William Hozeski, examining the illuminated manuscripts which are contained in the Scivias, explains the thematic significance of the Virtues' iconography: Humility, for example, as Queen of the Virtues, is depicted as wearing a golden crown studded with precious

jems, and a tunic of green, red, and white. The green, Hozeski suggests, represents "the 'bloom' of [Christ's] youth"; the red, the blood spilled when He died on the cross, and the white, His Resurrection and Ascension. See Hozeski, Ordo 76. Other associations for these colours are possible, of course. Green could be the colour signifying the hope of resurrection, and the red and white, the states of martyrdom and virginity respectively. For a detailed analysis of the significance of the colour of each Virtue's costume, see Hozeski, 76f.

[34]Dronke, Medieval 82-83.

[35]Chydenius 26.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Augustine, Saint. Confessions. Trans. R.S. Pine-Coffin. 1961. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984.

Eriugena, Johannes Scotus. Periphyseon: The Division of Nature. Trans. I.P. Sheldon-Williams. Revised John J. O'Meara. Montréal: Editions Bellarmin, 1987.

Hildegard of Bingen. "The Text of the Ordo Virtutum" in Peter Dronke, Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry 1000-1150. 1970. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1986.

---, Scivias. Trans. Mother Columba Hart, O.S.B. and Jane Bishop. New York: Paulist P, 1990.

Plato. Timaeus in The Collected Dialoques of Plato, Including the Letters. Eds. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. 1961. Princeton: Princeton U P, 1989.

Plotinus. The Enneads. Trans. Stephen Mackenna. London: Faber and Faber, 1962.

Pseudo-Dionysius. The Celestial Hierarchy in Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works. Trans. Colm Luibheid. New York: Paulist P, 1987.

Secondary Sources

Allen, Prudence, R.S.M. The Concept of Woman: The Aristotelian Revolution 750BC-AD1250. Montréal: Eden P, 1985.

Axton, Richard. European Drama of the Early Middle Ages. London: Hutchinson U Library, 1974.

Burton, Rosemary, ed. Prudentius: Psychomachia. Pennsylvania: Thomas Library, 1989.

Chenu, M.-D., O.P. Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West. Trans. and Ed. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little. 1957. Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1968.

Chydenius, John. The Theory of Medieval Symbolism. Hebingfors: Central-tryckeriet, 1960.

Colish, Marcia L. The Mirror of Language: A Study in the Medieval Theory of Knowledge. Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1983.

De Bruyne, Edgar. The Esthetics of the Middle Ages. Trans. Eileen B. Hennessy. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1969.

Delany, Sheila. "Undoing Substantial Connection: The Late Medieval Attack on Analogical Thought". Mosaic 5 (1972): 31-52.

Dronke, Peter. Fabula: Explorations Into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism. Leiden und Köln: E.J. Brill, 1974.

---, The Medieval Poet and His World. Roma: Edizioni Di Storia E Letteratura, 1984.

---, Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000-1150. 1970. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1986.

---, Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from

Perpetua (d.203) to Marguerite Porete (d.1310). Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1984.

Gersh, Stephen. From Iamblichus to Eriugena: An Investigation of the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978.

---, Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: The Latin Tradition. 2 vols. Notre Dame, Indiana: The U of Notre Dame P, 1986.

Gilson, Etienne. History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages. New York: Random House, 1955.

Hozeski, Bruce William. "Ordo Virtutum: Hildegard of Bingen's Liturgical Morality Play". Diss. Michigan State U, 1969.

Huizinga, J. The Waning of the Middle Ages. Trans. F. Hopman. 1924. London: Penguin Books, 1987.

Hyman, Arthur and James J. Walsh, eds. Philosophy in the Middle Ages: The Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Traditions. 2nd ed. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co. 1987.

Lauter, Werner. Hildegard-Bibliographie. Vol. 2, 1970-1982. Alzey: 1984.

Luibheid, Colm, trans. Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works. New York: Paulist P, 1987.

Marenbon, John. Early Medieval Philosophy, 480-1150: An Introduction. 1983. 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge, 1988.

Maurer, Armand A. Medieval Philosophy. New York: Random House, 1968.

---, trans. Thomas Aquinas: Faith, Reason, and Theology. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1987.

Mazzeo, Joseph A. "Universal Analogy and the Culture of the Renaissance". Journal of the History of Ideas 15 (1954): 299-304.

Moran, Dermot. The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena: A Study of Idealism in the Middle Ages. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1989.

Newman, Barbara. Introduction. Scivias. By Hildegard of Bingen. New York: Paulist P, 1990. 9-53.

---, Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine. Berkeley: U of California P, 1989.

O'Meara, D., ed. Neoplatonism and Christian Thought. Albany, New York: Suny P, 1982.

Pieper, Josef. Guide to Thomas Aquinas. Trans. Richard and Clara Winston. New York: Random House, 1962.

Plotinus, The Enneads. Trans. Stephen MacKenna. London: Faber and Faber, 1962.

Potter, Robert. "The Ordo Virtutum: Ancestor of the English Moralities?" Comparative Drama 20 (1986): 201-210.

---, "Reports on Productions: Hildegard of Bingen's Ordo Virtutum". Medieval English Theatre 8.1 (1986): 66-67.

Schaff, Philip, ed. A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Vol. 2. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1979.

Southern, R.W. Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages. London: Penguin Books, 1984.

Steiner, George. Real Presences. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1989.

Taylor, Charles. Human Agency and Language: Philosophical Papers 1. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1990.

Vitz, Evelyn Birge. Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology: Subjects and Objects of Desire. New York: New York U P, 1989.

Wetherbee, Winthrop. Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres. Princeton: Princeton U P, 1972.