

- 55 'Hoc datum signum deum benedicet': this use of acc. with *benedicere* has good biblical precedent – in the Vulgate, 'benedicere deum' is found particularly in the Book of Tobias.
- 56 See especially J. Bugge, *Virginitas*.
- 57 See Section x below.
- 58 P.L. 197, 269; cf. *Pastor Hermas* Vis. II 4; III 10-13; Boethius, *Cons.* I pr. I. Hildegard knew Boethius' text so well that she could recreate moments from it freely; the importance of the contents of the *Consolatio* for her cosmological thought would also repay detailed study.
- 59 P.L. 197, 192 D – 193 A. I have given a corrected text (based on R, fol. 343rb), with translation, in *Medieval Latin* 1 67f.
- 60 Cf. E. Jeuneau, 'La division des sexes chez Grégoire de Nysse et chez Jean Scot Erigène', in *Eriugena: Studien zu seinen Quellen*, ed. W. Beierwaltes (Heidelberg 1980) pp. 33-54.
- 61 Cf. Liebeschütz pp. 117f. The Manichaean texts I have in mind can be found in *Die Gnosis III: Der Manichäismus*, tr. J. P. Asmussen and A. Böhlig (Zürich-München 1980) pp. 103-88, 257-91; see also, more generally, G. Widengren (ed.), *Der Manichäismus* (Wege der Forschung, Darmstadt 1977). It should perhaps be underlined that there is no question of direct or conscious adoption by Hildegard of Manichaean ideas, and that she actively combated the Cathars, the 'neo-Manichaeans' of her own day (cf. esp. Pitra pp. 347-51, and A. Borst, *Die Katharer* pp. 91, 95). Nonetheless, the deep affinity between some of Hildegard's leitmotifs, such as Lucifer's challenge, and the archaic Manichaean mythologems, is undeniable.
- 62 'Per zelum dei': probably an objective genitive here, though Hildegard also (esp. in *Scivias* III 5) uses *zelus dei* with the force of a subjective genitive, to designate God's avenging zeal.
- 63 For ease of reference, the *Causae et curae* passages edited below (pp. 241-50) do not always follow the order in the manuscript, but are grouped thematically, in a way that corresponds to the discussion in this section.
- 64 Schipperges (*Heilkunde* p. 41) denied that any of the section-headings in the København MS could be by Hildegard. Yet here is a heading that seems essential for sense, and that presumably must be authorial: while it is possible in principle that the heading was inserted by a later hand, and that this entailed a modification of the sentence that follows, we have no evidence for such an assumption.
- 65 The comparison with the stag echoes Ps. 41: 2 ('Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum'). Hildegard's view, that woman's sexual delight is gentler than man's (cf. K56ab (*Causae* p. 76): 'De mulieris delectatione . . . levior in ea est quam in viro, quoniam huiusmodi ignis in ea tam fortiter non ardet ut in viro'), is the opposite of that in the Salernitan tradition – 'mulieres viris ferventiores sunt in libidine' (cf. *The Prose Salernitan Questions*, ed. B. Lawn (British Academy 1979) p. 4, and the parallels ad loc.).
- 66 *Heilkunde* p. 42. It is clear that Hildegard was familiar with the genre and form of *lunaria*, and in particular with the kind that predict the characteristics of children born under each of the lunar mansions. These belonged to the more popular medical tradition already in the early Middle Ages: e.g. there are two ninth-century copies (in the MS Sankt Gallen 751) of a *lunaris sancti Daniheli*, beginning 'Luna prima puer natus erit studiosus, vitalis' (A. Beccaria, *I codici di medicina* p. 378). What is unusual in Hilde-

- gard's predictions is that she refers throughout to the date of *conception* of the child, not, like the *lunaria*, to the date of birth; the content of her predictions likewise appears to be her own (though this impression might have to be qualified after more comprehensive work on *lunaria*, many of which remain unpublished). Again, she does not venture (as do widespread works such as 'Alchandreus') to predict the child's exact life-span. The recent survey by C. Weisser, 'Das Krankheitslunar', gives a valuable guide to *lunaria* – not only those concerned with illness – and to their bibliography. For knowledge of this article, and helpful advice on Hildegard's relation to the *lunaria* tradition, I am indebted to Dr Charles Burnett.
- 67 The passage receives no mention in Jacques Le Goff's recent *La naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris 1981); but Le Goff (pp. 124-7) valuably signals the anecdotes in Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* (IV 42, 57) where the place of purgation is set in thermal baths on earth. It is probably these passages that lie behind Hildegard's attempt at scientific explanation.
- 68 Cf. P. Dronke, *Fabula* pp. 50-5; 'New Approaches' pp. 133-9.
- 69 Cf. R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy*, esp. pp. 110f. The Latin physiognomic treatises, collected in *Scriptores Physiognomici Graeci et Latini*, ed. R. Förster (2 vols., Leipzig 1893), discuss the significance of physical features item by item, but do not assemble complete characterologies, and do not treat character in terms of the humoral temperaments. Compare also P. Diepgen, *Frau und Frauenheilkunde*, who, while claiming in a generalization that 'Die ganze Physiologie und Pathologie Hildegards wird von der antiken Tradition beherrscht' (p. 75), is forced to admit soon afterwards, that Hildegard's characterization of feminine temperaments 'mir in dieser Form vorher nicht begegnet ist' (p. 76). Similarly with her physiology of menstruation: 'Wie weit Sankt Hildegard bei dieser Theorie eigene Wege geht, haben wir nicht feststellen können' (p. 157).
- 70 Lat. 'livosus': the formation, not recorded in the dictionaries, would appear to be Hildegard's own.
- 71 Cf. Klibansky *et al.*, Part I, *passim* (and especially the tables on pp. 62-3).
- 72 K 52 a (*Causae* p. 71): 'oculi eorum velud sagitte sunt ad amorem femine . . . et cogitationes eorum quasi procella tempestatum'.
- 73 It is a pity that this passage was not noticed by the authors of *Saturn and Melancholy*, since it would have prompted a modification of their central argument, that the Aristotelian conception of melancholy – condition of the diseased and of the brilliant mind – was largely forgotten in the Middle Ages and not rediscovered before the Quattrocento. For other medieval instances of this conception, see my review of the book, *Notes and Queries* CCX (1965) 354-6.
- 74 The passage in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātiq (1048/9) is translated by F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike in Islam* (Zürich-Stuttgart 1965) pp. 48f; cf. A. S. Riginos, *Platonica: The Anecdotes concerning the Life and Writings of Plato* (Leiden 1976) p. 152. The detail of Plato's weeping enters Western tradition with the thirteenth-century Spanish translation of al-Mubashshir, made under the aegis of Alfonso the Wise: *Los Bocados de Oro*, ed. H. Knust (Bibl. des litt. Vereins in Stuttgart 141, Tübingen 1879) p. 204. On the other hand, the equivalent passage in the Latin version, *Liber philosophorum*, that was made from the Spanish, omits the weeping, as the editor, E. Franceschini (*Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto* XC I (1931-2)) notes ad loc. (p. 463 n 1). F. Novotný, *The Posthumous Life of Plato* (Academia Prague 1977) p. 224 n 9, mentions that Firmicus Maternus, *Math.* VI 30, 24, suggests a horoscope for Plato that would account for his

being 'an interpreter of divine and celestial laws, and tempered with gentle speech and the power of divine genius'. The text of Firmicus was not widely diffused in the twelfth century, though it was known for instance to Bernardus Silvestris; whether there are traces of Firmicus' influence in Hildegard is a problem that would deserve detailed investigation.

- 75 Details are given in 'Problemata' pp. 117ff, together with text, translation and discussion of three of the unpublished letters. Below (p. 192), I revert briefly to the third letter published there (p. 131), because of its special importance for the question of Hildegard's self-understanding.
- 76 While a marginal entry shows that the MS belonged from an early period to S. Maria de Palatolis (Pfalz bei Trier), which was a *Chorherrenstift*, it is not known whether any part of the MS was copied there. The hand that copied the *Vita*, the letters, and the 'Berlin fragment' in this MS (B), is of the beginning of the thirteenth century, and is identical with that of the illuminated Lucca MS of the *LDO* (*Echtheit* p. 80 and pl. xvi; the illuminations and some examples of the script of this MS, Lucca Bibl. Govern. 1942, are now available in a superb facsimile, *Sanctae Hildegardis Revelationes*, published by the Cassa di Risparmio di Lucca, 1973). Both the Lucca MS and B may have been copied in the Rupertsberg scriptorium (*Echtheit*, loc. cit.).
- 77 Cf. 'Problemata' p. 118 n 62, and the two new identifications of addressees proposed below.
- 78 Scotus Eriugena (*Periph.* III 35) had called 'the text of divine discourses [the Bible] and the sensible aspect of the visible world the two garments of Christ (*duo vestimenta Christi*)'. There is a remarkable archaic parallel to the notion of the earth as divine garment in the fragments of the pre-Socratic philosopher Pherecydes (H. Diels, W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 7. Pherekydes, B 1-3), but these were not accessible in Latin translation.
- 79 A similar juxtaposition is made by Notker, in his sequence *Sancti spiritus* (ed. W. von den Steinen, *Notker* II 54ff): 'Tu aspirando / das spiritaes / esse homines' ('By your breathing you let human beings become spiritual'). On the sequences of Notker known to Hildegard, see 'Problemata' pp. 116f and n 57.
- 80 Cf. P.L. 197, 329f, and 338-41; also *Briefwechsel* pp. 207-10.
- 81 P.L. 197, 330 C, 340 D, 341 A.
- 82 So too an early Minnesinger, Meinhloh von Sevelingen, a contemporary of Hildegard's, composing perhaps in the 1170s, praises his lady as 'in rehter mæze gemeit' (*Minnesangs Frühling* 15, 12).
- 83 V. Scivias, *Index verborum et elocutionum* pp. 907-10, s.v. *voluntas*.
- 84 *Expositio Evang.* (ed. Pitra) p. 251. Cf. 'Problemata' pp. 114-16.
- 85 *LDO* I 4 (P.L. 197, 897 C).
- 86 Cf. K 53 b (*Causae* p. 73): 'sed in eis est temperata prudentia quam feminea ars habet'.
- 87 *Conf.* VIII xi, 27; on Hildegard's possible acquaintance with the *Confessions*, see also 'Problemata' p. 107.
- 88 A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen* II 52, 57f, 194, 229f.
- 89 *Carmina Burana* I 3, ed. O. Schumann, B. Bischoff (Heidelberg 1970) no. 7*.
- 90 Text in 'Problemata' p. 131; translation *ibid.* p. 126.
- 91 The correction was made by Schrader and Führkötter, *Echtheit* p. 81 n 25.
- 92 *Echtheit* p. 143.
- 93 Schrader and Führkötter alluded to this possibility but cast doubt on it (*Echtheit* p. 146

n 91). They suggested that another *scriptura* and another abbot might be in question. However, the extensive verbal parallels between the two letters make this, in my view, wholly unlikely. It would be necessary to discover a second abbot to whom Hildegard writes with such complete intimacy, and whom she also reminds that in his youth he was foolishly worldly, before one could plausibly suggest any recipient other than Ludwig for the second letter. The suggestion (*Echtheit*, loc. cit.) that it was unnecessary for Hildegard to send the copy of *LDO* to Ludwig because he himself came to her on the Rupertsberg, is not decisively supported by the words in the Epilogue of *LDO* (R 308rb):

Tunc vero reverentissimus et sapientissimus vir coram deo et hominibus, Ludewicus abbas sancti Eucharri in Treveri, magna misericordia super dolore meo motus est, ita quod per se ipsum et per alios sapientes stabili instantia auxilium mihi fiducialiter prebuit, et quia ipse predictum felicem hominem [Volmarum] et me ac visiones meas [quas R] prius bene cognovit, in lacrimabili suspirio de illo, quasi eum a deo suscepissem, gaudebam.

Even if this could mean that Ludwig came to Hildegard, it does not necessarily do so: 'stabili instantia' can well mean 'with unfailing constancy' rather than 'by making a long stay'. And even if there was a visit of some length by Ludwig (or by Hildegard in Trier?), this in no way precludes his having been sent the manuscript in advance, which is the only plausible inference that can be made from the Berlin letter.

In Herwegen's ed. of the *LDO* Epilogue ('Collaborateurs' pp. 308f), the following readings especially need correction: 18 *Quidam* et: *Quidam* etiam R 19 *gente*: *genere* R 26 *quum*: *quoniam* R.

- 94 With the Latin text (edited below, pp. 263-4) compare the following lines in the *Schlüsselbrief* (*Echtheit* p. 143):

. . . teipsum coerce, ne per gratiam honorifici nominis vel per seculares mores a stabilitate bone intentionis tue amovearis . . . Deo etiam et tibi, mitis pater, gratias ago, quod infirmitati et dolori meo, que pauperula forma sum, condolere dignatus es, que modo velut orphana sola in opere dei laboro, quoniam adiutor meus, ut deo placuit, mihi ablatus est. Librum quoque per gratiam spiritus sancti in vera visione cum illo scripsi, et, qui nondum finitus est, mox tibi ad corrigendum representabo, cum perfectus et scriptus fuerit.

and the following in the *LDO* Epilogue (R 308rb, Herwegen p. 309):

. . . participes mercedis laborum illius faciam . . . mercedem eterne claritatis in celesti Ierusalem dones.

- 95 W. Harms, *Homo Viator in Bivio* (München 1970); E. Panofsky, *Herkules am Scheidewege* (Leipzig 1930).
- 96 *Le roman de Perceval*, ed. W. Roach (Genève 1956) 39-46.
- 97 *Cit. supra*, n 93.
- 98 P.L. 197, 107 B, 112 B-C.
- 99 *Echtheit* p. 13.
- 100 P.L. 197, 135 B.
- 101 The letter survives in B 54rb-56rb, and R 308va-309va. In the passages cited here, I basically follow the B text, and give variants (other than purely orthographic ones) from R. (Divergences from the text in P.L. 197, 218 C - 221 D, are not listed.) -