Hildegard of Bingen

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Hildegard of Bingen

Homilies on the Gospels

Translated with Introduction and Notes by

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For all who have aided this work:
students, staff, colleagues,
and especially for Edward, Kathleen, and the cats,
"when at home we sit and find, entertainment to our mind." (*Pangur Ban*, ninth-century poem)

Contents

Abbreviations

CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954–)
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum (Vienna, 1866–)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, *series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 volumes (Paris: Garnier, 1844–64)
SCh	Sources chrétiennes
Vulg.	*Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983).

Hildegard of Bingen's Works

Cause	*Cause et cure*, ed. Laurence Moulinier and Rainer Berndt, Rarissima mediaevalia Opera latina 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003).
De reg. Bened.	*De regula Sancti Benedicti,* ed. Hugh Feiss, in *Opera minora*, 67–97.
V. Disib.	*Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi*, PL 197:1095–1116 (Paris: Garnier, 1855).
Diu. operum	*Hildegardis Bingensis Liber diuinorum operum*, ed. Albert Derolez and Peter Dronke, CCCM 92 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996).
Epistolarium, 1	*Hildegardis Bingensis Epistolarium*. *Pars prima*: I–XC, ed. L. Van Acker, CCCM 91 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

Epistolarium, 2	*Hildegardis Bingensis Epistolarium. Pars secunda* XCI–CCLR, ed. L. Van Acker, CCCM 91A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993).
Epistolarium, 3	*Hildegardis Bingensis Epistolarium. Pars tertia* CCLI–CCXC, ed. Monika Klaes, CCCM 91B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).
Expl. Atha.	*An Explanation of the Athanasian Creed*, trans. with intro. and commentary by Thomas M. Izbicki (Toronto: Peregrina, 2001).
Expl. Symb.	*Explanatio Symboli Sancti Athanasii*, ed. Christopher P. Evans, in *Opera minora*, 109–33.
Expl. Rule	*Explanation of the Rule of Benedict by Hildegard of Bingen*, trans. with intro. and commentary by Hugh Feiss (Toronto: Peregrina, 1990).
Expo. Euang.	*Expositiones euangeliorum*, ed. Beverly M. Kienzle and Carolyn A. Muessig, in *Opera minora*, 185–333.
Letters	Hildegard of Bingen, *Letters*, trans. Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman, 3 vols. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, 1998, 2004).
Life of Hildegard	*The Life of the Saintly Hildegard by Gottfried of Disibodenberg and Theodoric of Echternach*, trans. with notes by Hugh Feiss (Toronto: Peregrina, 1996).
Opera minora	*Hildegardis Bingensis Opera minora*, ed. Peter Dronke, Christopher P. Evans, Hugh Feiss, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Carolyn A. Muessig, and Barbara J. Newman, CCCM 226 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).
Ordo	*Ordo uirtutum*, ed. Peter Dronke, in *Opera minora*, 503–21.
V. Rup.	*Vita sancti Ruperti ducis, confessoris Bingensis*, PL 197:1083–92 (Paris: Garnier, 1855).
Sciuias	*Hildegardis Sciuias*, ed. Adelgundis Führkötter and Angela Carlevaris, CCCM 43, 43A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978).

Scivias (Eng.)	*Scivias*, trans. Columba Hart and Jane Bishop; intro. Barbara J. Newman; preface by Carolyn Walker Bynum (New York and Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1990).
Solut.	*Solutiones triginta octo quaestionum*, PL 197:1037–54 (Paris: Garnier, 1855).
Symph.	*Symphonia armonie celestium reuelationum*, ed. Barbara Newman, in *Opera minora*, 371–477.
V. Hild.	*Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, ed. Monika Klaes, CCCM 126 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993)
Vite mer.	*Hildegardis Liber uite meritorum*, ed. Angela Carlevaris, CCCM 90 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).

Preface

The English translation of Hildegard of Bingen's *Expositiones euangeliorum* follows my coediting of the text, with Carolyn A. Muessig and George Ferzoco, published in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (*Hildegardis Bingensis Opera minora*, 2007), and my book, *Hildegard of Bingen and Her Gospel Homilies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). My comprehension of Hildegard's method and theology of exegesis and her use and interpretation of sources has grown during the process of editing the texts and reflecting and commenting on them and their historical and monastic context. Still, the *Expositiones*, described by the fifteenth-century monastic scholar Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) as "quite obscure" and "intelligible only to the learned and devout," pose a formidable challenge to the translator.

I wish to acknowledge first my mentors in monastic spirituality, the scholars in Cistercian studies who first welcomed and encouraged me and guided my work in the sessions at the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo beginning in the 1980s. My research on Hélinand of Froidmont and especially on Bernard of Clairvaux paved the way for my study of Hildegard and Benedictine monasticism. It seems most appropriate to have the translation published jointly by Cistercian Publications and Liturgical Press. I am grateful to Fr. Mark Scott and the editors at Liturgical Press for their thoughtful and capable editing.

Barbara Newman first made me aware of the need for work on the *Expositiones euangeliorum* over a decade ago, when I was searching for evidence that medieval religious women preached to their sisters. Carolyn A. Muessig, my coeditor of the *Expositiones*,

and George Ferzoco provided important insights on the Riesenkodex that bear on the analysis of the *Expositiones* and thus on the translation. Discussions with Carolyn over the meaning and appropriate punctuation of the Latin edition, and the interweaving of patristic sources, helped elucidate the possible ways of interpreting the Latin text and translating it. The editor of the *Opera minora* for Brepols, Luc Jocqué, raised important questions that shed light on the reading of the homilies. Stephen D'Evelyn, a scholar working primarily on Hildegard's *Symphonia*, was a teaching assistant in my 2005 course on "Hildegard and the Gospels" and a valuable discussion partner for the translations we looked at in class. I am grateful also to my colleagues François Bovon and Kevin Madigan, who invited me to their courses on exegesis for fruitful discussions of the *Expositiones*. Bovon, a New Testament scholar, guided my first efforts at analyzing Hildegard's exegesis. Bernard McGinn shared his insights on Hildegard's visionary exegesis.

My students have been eager participants in the ongoing intellectual exchange about the *Expositiones*. Deserving of special mention are Fay Martineau, Annelies Wouters, and Regina Christianson, all of whom worked on the translation itself. Fay Martineau undertook the translation of all the *Expositiones*; she worked from the transcription that predated the examination of the manuscript in order to produce a rough draft that we discussed and corrected. Annelies Wouters checked both the transcription from photocopies of the microfilm and an early draft of the translation. The early draft underwent many changes after examination of the manuscript and preparation of the critical edition. Debates in my classes provoked a periodic reexamination of the translation and a method for breaking Hildegard's lengthy sentences into comprehensible English. In class discussions Norman Sheidlower and Justin Stover made noteworthy suggestions on the translation of problematic passages. Kyle Highful reviewed the translation, added additional scriptural allusions, and checked the biblical references for the entire text. Jenny Bledsoe and Katherine Wrisley assisted with checking the proofs and with the indexing. Finally, the Reverend Regina

Christianson translated many of the *Expositiones* as preparation for her Doctor of Ministry thesis at Episcopal Divinity School, and my correction of her translations provided a further opportunity to check my translation and examine the questions she raised as well as to add several more allusions to Scripture she identified.

I am grateful for the institutional assistance that has supported this work. Harvard Divinity School allowed me research leave during which I completed the revision of the manuscript. I also owe thanks to the staff at Harvard Divinity School, the Information Technology Department, the Andover-Harvard Library, the Operations Department, and my faculty assistants, especially Kathleen Shanahan, Katherine Lou, Cole Gustafson, and Kimberly Richards O'Hagan, who have helped with organizing various phases of the project. Cole Gustafson made helpful suggestions on methods for punctuating the homilies.

Finally, I express thanks to friends and family who have followed the progress of the book over the years. Christopher Jarvinen has been a generous supporter of my research. Six cats—Walter, Basile, Athena, Tecla, Cecilia, and Stella—joined the household after the project began and graced its many drafts, notebooks, and boxes with the warmth of their presence. My family has supported the course of this project, as of others, for many years: my daughter, Kathleen Cary Kienzle, debated translations with me and assisted with typing and preparing the manuscript, and my husband Edward read, indexed, typed, listened, commented, helped sort out the complex theology of some Hildegardian sentences, and provided unfailing encouragement. His love and support sustain all that I do.

Introduction

Hildegard of Bingen and her *Homilies on the Gospels* (*Expositiones euangeliorum*)

The virtues hastened to Fortitude, in order that they would be taught by her, and that they would be edified in those things, because she remained in the fire of the Holy Spirit.

Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) thus describes the virtue of Fortitude and its instruction of the virtues.[1] Like Fortitude, Hildegard was enkindled by the fire of the Spirit and edified many with her teaching. As the *magistra,* teacher and superior, to her sisters she probably spoke to them in the chapter house, with the scriptural text either before her or recited from memory, section by section, according to Benedictine liturgical practice and as described in her own commentary on the Rule of Benedict.[2] The sisters recorded and preserved that informal preaching in a collection of homilies on the gospels, the *Expositiones euangeliorum.*

The learned abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) observed that Hildegard of Bingen composed a book of fifty-eight homilies (*homelias*) on gospel readings and that they were "quite obscure" and "intelligible only to the learned and devout."[3] Those homilies,

[1] Hom. 45 on Luke 5:1-11; p. 174.

[2] *De reg. Bened.* 67–97; *Expl. Rule* 24–25.

[3] Johannes Trithemius, *Catalogus illustrium uirorum, Johannes Trithemii Opera Historica*, ed. Marquand Freher (Frankfurt, 1601; repr. Frankfurt am Main:

the *Homilies on the Gospels* (*Expositiones euangeliorum*), recently edited and now translated for the first time into English, expound twenty-seven gospel pericopes—selections used for the liturgy on Sundays and feast days. They establish Hildegard as the only known female systematic exegete of the Middle Ages. The homilies are preserved in Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek 2, the so-called Riesenkodex, which includes all Hildegard's writings considered as "inspired," and in two later manuscripts.[4] The *Homilies on the Gospels* prove essential for comprehending the coherent theological vision Hildegard constructs throughout her works, including the themes of salvation history, the drama of the individual soul, the struggle of virtues against vices, and the life-giving and animating force of greenness (*uiriditas*). Before further exploration of these important texts it will be useful to survey briefly Hildegard's life and works.

Life and Works

Hildegard was born in 1098 at Bermersheim (near Mainz) to Mechthild and Hildebert, who ranked in the lower free nobility. At around eight years of age she was devoted to a religious life and placed in the care of the holy woman Jutta, daughter of the count of Sponheim, who had ties to Hildegard's father. Jutta and Hildegard entered the Benedictine monastery of Disibodenberg on All Saints' Day, 1 November 1112.[5] A small community of women developed in

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Minerva, 1966), 138: *Liber super Euangelios Dominicalibus [sic] homelias LVIII composuit ualde obscuras et nisi deuotis eruditis intelligibles*.

[4] *Expo. Euang.*; discussion of the manuscripts on 144–69. The earlier edition was *Expositiones quorumdam evangeliorum quas divina inspirante gratia Hildegardi exposuit*, in *Analecta Sanctae Hildegardis opera Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, ed. Joannes Baptista Cardinal Pitra, *Analecta Sacra* 8 (Paris, 1882). The first full study of the *Expositiones* is Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen and Her Gospel Homilies: Speaking New Mysteries*, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

[5] See Anna Silvas, trans. and annot., *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 54. See also John Van Engen, "Abbess: 'Mother and Teacher,'" in *Voice of the Living*

dependence on the abbot of Disibodenberg with Jutta as superior.[6] Hildegard remained under Jutta's tutelage for around thirty years. When Jutta died in 1136, Hildegard became the *magistra*.[7] Hildegard obtained permission to found Rupertsberg, where she and her nuns settled around 1150; then in 1165 Eibingen was founded across the Rhine from Bingen. From the Rupertsberg Hildegard journeyed to other audiences, primarily monastic communities whom she admonished about monastic and clerical reform.[8]

The *magistra* received exegetical mandates in three decisive visions of 1141, 1163, and 1167. In 1141 Hildegard experienced a forceful vision that instructed her to "speak and write" what she heard and saw.[9] About that 1141 vision she states: "And suddenly I knew the meaning of the exposition [*intellectum expositionis*] of the Psalter, the Gospels, and other catholic books from the volumes of the Old as well as the New Testaments."[10] Hildegard specifies that she did not possess a command of "the interpretation of the

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Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 30–51 (at 32). The foundational study on Jutta is Franz Staab, ed., *Vita domnae Juttae inclusae*, in "Reform und Reformgruppen in Erzbistum Mainz. Vom *Libellus de Willigisi consuetudinibus* zur *Vita domnae Juttae inclusae*," in *Reformidee und Reformpolitik im Spätsalisch-Frühstaufischen Reich. Vorträge der Tagung der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte vom 11. bis 13. September 1991 in Trier*, ed. Stefan Weinfurter, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Mittelrheinische Geschichte 68 (Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1992), Appendix II, 172–87 of 119–87. Subsequent references will be made to the Silvas translation.

[6] See the letter of Guibert of Gembloux to Bovo in Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, 99–117, at 109–11. Guibert of Gembloux, *Epistolae quae in codice B.R. Brux. 5527–5534 inueniuntur*, ed. Albert Derolez, Eligius Dekkers, and Roland Demeulenaere, CCCM 66, 66A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988–89), II, 38, 367–79.

[7] Guibert of Gembloux to Bovo, Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, 111. Guibert of Gembloux, *Epistolae* II, 38, 375, ll. 297-99.

[8] Kienzle, *Speaking New Mysteries*, 47–57.

[9] *Sciuias* 3–4, ll. 24-33; *Scivias* (Eng.), 59.

[10] *Sciuias* 3–4, ll. 24-33: *Et repente intellectum expositionis librorum, uidelicet psalterii, euangelii et aliorum catholicorum tam ueteris quam noui Testamenti uoluminum sapiebam*.

words in the text, the division of syllables, the cases and tenses."[11] She seems to have distinguished between the exegetical training acquired in the schools ("the interpretation of the words in the text"), including syntactic analysis, and the spiritual understanding of Scripture that came from her instant enkindling.[12]

After that divine command she began to produce her first work, *Sciuias*, which was followed by two more visionary treatises. Hildegard discloses in the second work of her trilogy, the *Liber uite meritorum*, that she "sweated over" the "true visions" of her first book for ten years.[13] The commentary and images of that first book, *Sciuias*, create a vast didactic edifice, a primary text of visions upon which ensue further explanations in a different mode. In *Sciuias*, Hildegard in God's voice criticized contemporary exegetes for their neglect of patristic commentary and identified herself as the one to revive and continue the teaching of the doctors.[14] Hildegard toiled over the *Liber uite meritorum* for five years, approximately 1158–1163. Inspired by a vision she received at age sixty, the *magistra* began to write it down at sixty-one. Through the work's six visions the figure of a man, superimposed on the universe, looks in four directions and describes what he sees. The *magistra* explains that the man, the *uir preliator* in Isaiah 42:13, represents God and Christ. Following a description of the visions Hildegard highlights vices, specifying the remedial virtues along with the corresponding punishment and penance.

Hildegard recounted two additional visions that furthered her understanding of Scripture. A powerful vision in 1163 opened her first understanding of Genesis 1 and John 1 and shook her profoundly. A gentler vision in 1167, in which she received knowledge from the Spirit of God in the form of "soft raindrops," compelled

[11] *Sciuias* 4, ll. 33-35: . . . *non autem interpretationem uerborum textus eorum nec diuisionem syllabarum nec cognitionem casuum aut temporum habebam*.

[12] See also *Epistolarium* 1, 4: *Scio enim in textu interiorem intelligentiam expositionis librorum, uidelicet psalterii, euangelii et aliorum uoluminum, que monstrantur mihi de hac uisione*.

[13] *Vite mer*. 1, 8, ll. 4-5.

[14] *Sciuias* III, 11, 586, ll. 379-91; *Scivias* (Eng.), 499.

her to "explore every statement and word of this Gospel regarding the beginning of the work of God."[15] The 1167 vision heightened her comprehension of those texts to such a degree that she could no longer refrain from writing her third visionary treatise, the *Liber diuinorum operum*. She states that she had barely completed the work after seven years.[16] The *Liber diuinorum operum* adopts the quasi-homiletic style of vision followed by commentary as it explains the spiritual significance of creation: the interrelationship of the human microcosm, body and soul, with the macrocosm of the universe.[17] Ten visions, comprised in three books, advance from the creation through the history of salvation. The percentage of the text devoted to exegesis increases significantly as compared to *Sciuias*.[18] Final changes to the work were finished probably in 1174 and incorporated into its earliest manuscript.[19]

In addition to the visionary treatises, Hildegard composed the *Ordo uirtutum,* the first extant morality play; the lives of Saints Disibod and Rupert; the *Cause et cure* (*Causes and cures*), a medical work on the humors; the liturgical songs of the *Symphonia*;

[15] *V. Hild*. 2.16, 43–44; *Life of Hildegard*, 66–67. For Hildegard's self-comparisons see *V. Hild*. 2, 28–29, 32, 34, 38; *Life of Hildegard*, 50, 54, 56, 60.

[16] Hildegard states in the Prologue that she was sixty-five years old (hence in the year 1167) when she felt compelled to write down these visions, the first of which occurred in 1163, when she had just completed the *Vite mer*. See *Diu. operum* 45, ll. 5-14; *V. Hild*. 2.16, 43, ll. 1-10; *Life of Hildegard*, 66–67.

[17] The Lucca manuscript (Biblioteca Governatina MS 1942), which probably was made as part of an effort to canonize Hildegard in the 1220s, contains remarkable illustrations. See Madeline Caviness, "Artist: 'To See, Hear, and Know All at Once,'" in *Voice of the Living Light*, 110–24, at 112; and Caviness, "Hildegard as Designer of the Illustrations to Her Works," in *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of Her Thought and Art*, ed. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London: Warburg Institute, 1998), 29–62. On the canonization effort, see Sabina Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bingen*, 1098–1179. *A Visionary Life*, 2d ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 11–12.

[18] See Bernard McGinn, "Hildegard of Bingen as Visionary and Exegete," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Mainz: von Zabern, 2000), 321–50, at 343.

[19] See Peter Dronke and Albert Derolez, "Introduction," *Liber diuinorum operum*, xii.

commentaries on the Rule of Saint Benedict and the Athanasian Creed; the *Solutiones triginta octo quaestionum* (*Solutions for Thirty-Eight Questions*); over three hundred letters, including several that preserve sermons she delivered; a coded language for her nuns; and the *Expositiones euangeliorum*.[20] During the 1170s Hildegard began organizing the writing of her *Vita* as she completed other works.[21] A well-known letter (23) deals with the interdict imposed on Hildegard's monastery in 1178–1179, because she allowed the burial of a man she thought to be wrongly excommunicated. The interdict was finally lifted six months before her death.[22]

The *Expositiones euangeliorum*

When did Hildegard compose the "quite obscure" texts of the *Expositiones euangeliorum*? Some of the *Expositiones* had been written at least in part by the time Hildegard wrote the prologue to the *Liber uite meritorum*, for there she refers to "*certain expositions*."[23] Four *Expositiones* (1–4) may have been delivered to the religious at Disibodenberg around 1170.[24] Two *Expositiones* contain intratex-

[20] Hildegard's published works are found in the list of abbreviations for this volume.

[21] On the dating, see Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, 122.

[22] *Epistolarium* 1, 23, 24, 24r, 61–69; *Letters*, 1, 23, 24, 24r, 76–83. See the detailed study of Wolfgang Felix Schmitt, "Charisma gegen Recht? Der Konflikt der Hildegard von Bingen mit dem Mainzer Domkapitel 1178/79 in kirchenrechtsgeschichtlicher Perspektive," *Hildegard von Bingen 1098–1998, Binger Geschichtsblätter* 20 (1998), 124–59. On Hildegard and the archbishops of Mainz, see also Van Engen, "Letters and the Public Persona of Hildegard," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, 379–418, at 379–89; Flanagan, *A Visionary Life*, 17–18, 22–26.

[23] *Vite mer*. I, 8, 6–13: *postquam eadem uisio subtilitates diuersarum naturarum creaturarum, ac responsa et admonitiones tam minorum quam maiorum plurimarum personarum, et symphoniam harmonie celestium reuelationum, ignotamque linguam et litteras cum quibusdam aliis expositionibus, in quibus post predictas uisiones multa infirmitate multoque labore corporis grauata per octo anos duraueram, mihi ad explanandum ostenderat.*

[24] *Epistolarium* 1, 77, 77R, 174, ll. 226–27: *hec uerba in magnis egritudinibus uidi et audiui, ut ea in loco uestro uiua uoce proferrem iussa sum; Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi*, PL 197:1095–1116 (Paris: Garnier, 1855).

tual references that allow for tentative dating of the texts. One of these alludes to heretics and the other to schism, which may place them respectively to 1163, when heretics suspected of Catharism were burned in Cologne, and somewhere between 1159 and 1177, a period of schism.[25] The *Vita Hildegardis* sets a chronology of her works that would indicate that Hildegard wrote the collection of *Expositiones* after the *Symphonia* and extended her *oeuvre* of liturgically-linked compositions with gospel commentaries and explanations of the Rule of Saint Benedict and the Athanasian Creed.[26] Furthermore, if Hildegard gave the *Expositiones* their final form after she composed the *Symphonia*, it is plausible to assume that the content of the *Expositiones* took shape as Hildegard composed her other works.[27] The *magistra* would have added to them and filled out her coverage of the liturgical year.

While the *Expositiones euangeliorum* show the fruit of Hildegard's exegetical visions, no vision opens any of the *Expositiones.* The collection presupposes the *magistra*'s visionary authority, but Hildegard does not claim it therein. Nonetheless, the dominant themes present in Hildegard's other compositions permeate the collection. One may locate a unifying thread in the frequent elaboration of the theology of history, or in the drama of the individual soul, or in the struggle of virtues against vices within the soul and throughout the universe, or in a number of key words and motifs such as the life-giving and animating force of greenness (*uiriditas*).

A taste of this richness can be savored in a brief summary of how the *Homilies on the Gospels* portray the Holy Spirit. The Spirit's circular motion guides all of salvation history with its life-giving

[25] See *Expo. Euang*. 54 and 55, 323–27; Homs. 54–55, pp. 192–96. In *Expo. Euang*. 54 Hildegard attacks the Cathars' docetic tendencies: 323–24, ll. 1-12 and 21-29; in *Expo. Euang*. 55 she refers to schism: 326, ll. 28-29 and 46-48.

[26] *V. Hild*. 2.1, 20, ll. 16-17; *Life of Hildegard*, 41. See Kienzle, *Speaking New Mysteries*, 43–44.

[27] Beverly M. Kienzle, *The Sermon*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, fasc. 81–83, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 172–73, 974–78. See Barbara Newman, "Introduction," *Symphonia armonie celestium reuelationum*, ed. eadem, in *Opera minora*, 371–477, at 350, on the composition of the *Symphonia*.

power (Hom. 35).[28] It directs the creation, moving with God across the waters (Hom. 34), tracing circles like the flight patterns of birds (Hom. 1), moving into the fastenings of the human body (Hom. 23) and whirling in the tempests of the soul within (Hom. 56), and, in several homilies, sending the virtues to rescue the sinful soul.[29] The Spirit's light works miracles (Hom. 9), the small as well as the major events of salvation history.[30] It animates the power of greenness in the universe, touching and kissing the sinful soul in need of healing (Hom. 19).[31] Hence the Spirit participates in the work of creation and redemption. It also directs the transformation of history, which Hildegard saw as the transformation of the Scriptures from the Old Law to the New, accompanied by their interpretation according to spiritual understanding (Hom. 47).[32]

Theology of Exegesis and the Senses of Scripture

Monastic exegesis tended to interpret the Scriptures according to the spiritual meaning, a term that designates the senses of Scripture that are not literal or historical, namely, the allegorical, the tropological—that is, moral—and the anagogical, which regards the soul's union with God in heaven. The concept of the spiritual meaning, inspired by Origen, Augustine, and others, underlies all of Hildegard's exegesis. It comprises a hermeneutic that is tropological in its aims but typological in its concept and method, that is, it finds "types" in the Old Testament that point to the New.[33] For Hildegard, spiritual interpretation illumined what was previously hidden, and it ushered in truth, humility, purity, and spirituality. Not one word (*nec iota unum*) of the old remained

[28] Hom. 35, pp. 143–46.

[29] Homs. 1, p. 31; 23, p. 104; 34, p. 141; 56, p. 197.

[30] Hom. 9, pp. 58–60.

[31] Hom. 19, p. 92.

[32] Hom. 47, pp. 178–79.

[33] The best-known explanation of the four senses comes from John Cassian (ca. 360–435), who defined *spiritualis scientia* as having three genres of interpretation: tropology, allegory, and anagogy, which contrast with the historical. See Kienzle, *Speaking New Mysteries*, 93–94, and the sources cited there.

unchanged by the new interpretation, an indication that every word of Scripture must be interpreted spiritually.[34]

Homilies like Hildegard's were part of both the written culture and the oral practice of monasticism. Until the eleventh century and the growth of cathedral schools, medieval biblical interpretation circulated primarily in monasteries. Monastic commentators heard, read, echoed, responded to, and extended patristic works as they developed the hermeneutical methods that grounded the scholastic exegesis of subsequent centuries. The *magistra* gained access to patristic and medieval authors by listening to them in the Office and by reading them. In the Benedictine milieu, sermons, informal and formal, were part of the monastic liturgy and routine. The community listened to patristic works that were read aloud during the nocturns of Matins; public reading occurred in the refectory; devotional reading was integral to monastic discipline. Benedictine life holds at its center the Scriptures and their interpretation through the spoken and written word as well as the "lived exegesis" of the Rule and the Divine Office—the *opus Dei*.[35] Hildegard herself wrote a commentary on the Rule in which she paraphrases its directives for reading the gospel after the nocturns on Sunday and other feast days, and she emphasizes the importance of committing the Scriptures to memory.[36] In accordance with the Rule, Hildegard's community would have heard patristic readings in the nocturns, followed by the gospel text itself.[37] The foundation for the *magistra*'s familiarity with the history of

[34] *Expo. Euang*. 47, 312–13, ll. 18-21: "carnales institutiones in spiritali intellectu ad humilitatem ducent. *Et non relinquent lapidem*, id est nullam litteram, nec iota unum, nec ullam culturam tuam, super lapidem, nisi mutetur." See Hom. 47, pp. 178–79 and Kienzle, *Speaking New Mysteries*, 80–84.

[35] See Adalbert de Vogüé, *The Rule of Saint Benedict: A Doctrinal and Spiritual Commentary*, Cistercian Studies 54 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1983), esp. 133–36.

[36] *De reg. Bened*. 67–97, at 73–74; *Expl. Rule*, 24–25.

[37] Angela Carlevaris calls attention to the importance of those readings in "Ildegarda e la patristica," in *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of Her Thought and Art*, ed. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London: Warburg Institute, 1998), 65–80.

biblical interpretation, as for others in the religious life, remains the liturgy, with the patristic readings for the night office.[38] What scholars have observed about other twelfth-century monastic sermons may extend to Hildegard's as well. Chrysogonus Waddell noted the patristic influence on language in Cistercian sermons, notably those of Bernard of Clairvaux. As often as not the biblical texts used by the Cistercians in their sermons were drawn not directly from the Scriptures but from ecclesiastical writers and from glossed Bibles. Consequently, the Scripture texts as they appear in so many sermons by Cistercian authors were surrounded with resonances of the patristic exegesis at large.[39]

Hildegard never identifies her sources directly, but she names Gregory the Great, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, whom she calls interpreters of Scripture, as well as Origen, whom she cites as an example of pride. She praises the first four commentators together for changing the Old Law and Testament into the new spiritual understanding (*spiritalis intellectus*) through spiritual interpretation (*spiritalis interpretatio*). This concept was inspired

[38] According to Guibert of Gembloux the cells of Hildegard and Jutta at Disibodenberg were situated so that they could hear the Divine Office. Guibert of Gembloux, *Epistolae* II, 38, 373: *Tres . . . incluse . . . et preter fenestram admodum paruam, per quam aduentantibus certis horis colloquerentur et uictui necessaria inferrentur . . . in orationibus sacrisque meditationibus sedule Deo intendentes*. See Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bingen*, 26–32. Textual claims are being examined against the archaeological evidence from Disibodenberg. See Eberhard J. Nikitsch, "Wo lebte die heilige Hildegard wirklich? Neue Überlegungen zum ehemaligen Standort der Frauenklause auf dem Disibodenberg," "*Im Angesicht Gottes suche der Mensch sich selbst": Hildegard von Bingen 1098–1179*, ed. Rainer Berndt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), 147–56; and Falko Daim and Antje Kluge-Pinsker, eds., *Als Hildegard noch nicht in Bingen war: Der Disibodenberg—Archäologie und Geschichte* (Regensburg: Schell and Steiner; Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2009). I am grateful to Professor Franz J. Felten for providing me with a copy of this book.

[39] Chrysogonus Waddell, "The Liturgical Dimensions of Twelfth-Century Cistercian Preaching," in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 335–49, at 348. Waddell notes that readings in Bernard's sermons that Jean Leclercq identified as coming from a pre-Vulgate Bible actually derive from patristic sources.

by Origen, whose works Hildegard could have consulted; she also could have become acquainted with Origen's terms and ideas through any number of patristic and medieval Latin exegetes. Ambrose followed Origen's exegesis of Luke; Augustine drew from him for *De doctrina Christiana*, probably the most influential guide to hermeneutics for Western exegetes, which includes the theory of signification.[40]

Nearly one-half of the *Expositiones* deal with some aspect of the soul's inner struggle, a consistent theme in monastic literature that draws on Origen's use of Platonism. Most of the other homilies interpret the text according to an allegory of salvation history. At most six offer a literal interpretation, while elements of anagogy are evident in several homilies but do not constitute the primary mode of exegesis. Hildegard often blends the senses of Scripture within one homily, reading a passage in the context of salvation history, for example, but including a moral interpretation of some verses. She does not label the senses of Scripture in the *Expositiones*, but the rubrics added to the manuscript at a later time identify a few of the texts as either literal, allegorical, or moral.[41]

When Hildegard focuses on the inner struggle of the soul, particularly in the monastic life, she expounds the gospel texts in such a way as to create dramatic readings that engage the virtues and

[40] The exegete prepares himself to interpret signs, natural and conventional, knowing that "things are perceived more readily through similitudes." Augustine of Hippo, *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. Josef Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), 2.6.6, 37, ll. 15-23: *Nunc tamen nemo ambigit et per similitudines libentius quaeque cognosci et cum aliqua difficultate quaesita multo gratius inueniri.* See Bernard McGinn, "The Originality of Eriugena's Spiritual Exegesis," in *Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: The Bible and Hermeneutics, Proceedings of the Ninth International Colloquium of the Society for the Promotion of Eriugenian Studies*, Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve, June 7–10, 1995, ed. Gerd Van Riel, Carlos Steel, and James McEvoy (Leuven: University Press, 1996), 55–80, at 75 n. 21; and on Augustine's interpretation of Scripture, see Pamela Bright, ed. and trans., *Augustine and the Bible* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

[41] See "Introduction," *Expo. Euang*. 144–50, where George Ferzoco describes the Riesenkodex.

vices in conflict and dialogue. The tropological readings of Scripture instruct her audience on how to live according to the ideals of the Benedictine Rule. The *magistra* stresses the key virtues of humility, charity, and obedience. Several homilies, such as those on Luke 16:1-9 and Matthew 20:1-16, emphasize the importance of obedience to a superior, whether Adam to the Creator or the other creatures to Adam. The obedience the nuns owed to Hildegard as their superior underlies the message rather forcefully, given that she was the speaker, teacher, and preacher.

In some instances Hildegard simplifies thorny exegetical questions for her sisters, speaking from the perspective of a commentator who knows the stumbling blocks and theological controversies around a particular verse of Scripture. In both homilies on the parable of the Prodigal Son, for example, Hildegard digresses briefly to explain an apparent discrepancy in the biblical story: the son mentions the hired servants when he rehearses his repentance speech (Luke 15:19) but omits them when he actually addresses his father (Luke 15:21).[42] Hildegard's awareness of controversy is apparent in the exegesis of John 1:3-4. For John 1:3, *sine ipso factum est nihil* ("without him nothing was made"), Hildegard introduces two interpretations.[43] When she turns to verse 4: *quod factum est*

[42] *Expo. Euang*. 26 and 27, 260–69; Homs. 26–27, pp. 117–26.

[43] *Expo. Euang*. 9, 210, ll. 14-22: "*Et sine ipso*, scilicet sine racionalitate, id est sine filio, *factum est nichil* quod est contradictio. Deus angelum racionalem fecit; sed quod racionalitas Deum in angelo contradixit, ipse non fecit sed fieri permisit. Quamuis etiam alio modo intelligatur, ita quod sine filio nichil factum sit. Deus deleri non potest. Sed quod ipsum deleri uoluit, nichil erat, quia hoc fieri non potuit. Angelus enim id quod est nichil inuenit, quem homo postea subsecutus, idem per inobedientiam fecit." Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus* CXXIV, ed. Radbodus Willems, CCSL 36 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), I, 13, 7, ll. 3-11; Haymo of Auxerre, *Homiliae de tempore* I, 5, PL 118:57; Heiric of Auxerre, *Homiliae per circulum anni*, ed. Richard Quadri, CCCM 116, 116A, 116B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992–1994), I, 11, 95, ll. 148-56; 95, ll. 149-53 (*negationem*). The interlinear gloss reads: *nulla res subsistens sine ipso est facta*; the marginal gloss has entries from Origen, Augustine, John Chrysostom, and Hilary. *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria*: facsimile reprint of the *Editio Princeps*, Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81, introduction

in ipso ("what was made in him"), she again offers two readings and states which she prefers.[44]

Each of the fifty-eight *Expositiones* comments on the biblical passage progressively, that is, phrase by phrase. Medieval preachers followed two basic methods of organization and development in their sermons: the progressive exegesis of a complete pericope, phrase by phrase, and the focus on certain phrases, words, or images to develop themes.[45] The texts that employ sequential exegesis are most often called homilies; the thematically structured texts are generally called sermons. While Hildegard's progressive commentary follows the form of the homily, she differs from her predecessors in her technique of glossing nearly every word or phrase. In comparison, Bede and Gregory the Great tend to cite the whole of the biblical verse and then explain it from multiple

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by Karlfried Froehlich and Margaret T. Gibson, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), IV, 224.

[44] *Expo. Euang*. 9, 210–11, ll. 23-28: "*Quod factum est in ipso*, id est in uerbo, scilicet in racionalitate, uidelicet in filio Dei, qui erat homo incarnatus, *uita erat*, quia filius Dei homo talis erat quod nichil ipsum nec tetigit, nec intrauit, sicut in angelum et in hominem fecit; quamuis etiam quod factum est aliter intelligi possit, quia omnia quae facta sunt in Deo uitam habent. *Et uita*, id est incarnatio filii Dei." In her commentary on the Athanasian Creed, Hildegard includes both interpretations of v. four: that *nihil* could not pertain to God and that all things have life in God; but she does not overtly differentiate the two. *Expl. Atha*. 109–33, at 118, ll. 250-60. John Scotus Eriugena, *Homélie sur le prologue de Jean*, ed. Edouard Jeauneau, SCh 151 (Paris: Cerf, 1969), 242, 244; Heiric, *Homiliae* I, 10, p. 84, ll. 92-109; I, 11, pp. 96–97, ll. 167-199; p. 96, ll. 177-78. The *Glossa* IV, 224, reads (interlinear): *haec vita, id est sapientia Dei*; the marginal gloss cites Augustine only for this.

[45] See Beverly M. Kienzle, "Introduction," *The Sermon*, 161–64. James E. Cross, "Vernacular Sermons in Old English," *The Sermon*, 561–96, at 563, explains that a homily follows the "sequential structure of the pericope" while the sermon "elaborates . . . on its dominant topic." Michael Casey observes that Cistercians generally did not follow the method of "sentence-by-sentence biblical commentaries." He prefers the term "talk" for chapter preaching and teaching, and the term "discourse" instead of sermon for preaching on major feast days. "An Introduction to Aelred's Chapter Discourses," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 45.3 (2010): 279–314, at 280–81.

perspectives. Gregory often moves sequentially through the passage and comments on clusters of the text a few lines at a time.[46]

Hildegard constructs her continuous narratives out of comments I describe as intratextual glosses.[47] The words or phrases *scilicet*, *id est*, *uidelicet* ("namely," "clearly," "evidently," "that is," "in other words") frequently introduce each unit of commentary and direct the listener, or the reader, to the interpretive narrative. This method of keeping glosses in parallel with the scriptural passage differs from the usual medieval practice of placing glosses outside the text on the manuscript page as either interlinear or marginal notes.

Hildegard's sequential commentary often constitutes a dramatic narrative. The story that unfolds involves conflict and interaction, a crisis, a dénouement, and sometimes dialogue. It entails narrative when Hildegard reports events and interaction between the characters. She speaks as the narrator, retaining the third-person voice of the biblical text, or in the voice of one or more biblical characters, or in her own voice as expositor commenting in the third person or as exhorter of her audience. Her method is influenced by the structure of the biblical text itself; some of the parables or episodes from Jesus' life unfold as a drama would and Hildegard develops a drama in parallel. The biblical text and her commentary constitute separable narratives, in some cases seeming like parables based on parables.

Hildegard and Bernard of Clairvaux

The distinctive features of Hildegard's exegesis stand out from the tradition of commentary by her predecessors but compare with some of the preaching of her contemporary, Bernard of Clairvaux, notably his *Parabolae*, a collection of texts probably intended for an early level of instruction in spirituality and the monastic life. Like many of Hildegard's homilies, the *Parabolae* teach about

[46] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, ed. Raymond Étaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), I.8, pp. 53–56.

[47] Kienzle, *Speaking New Mysteries*, 115–31.

spiritual growth and employ personified virtues that enter the action in order to aid the sinful soul to conversion.[48] The *Parabolae* may be compared to *exempla*, the short illustrative anecdotes medieval preachers employed to illustrate and lighten their sermons. However, the *Parabolae* stand on their own as independent narratives that convey a moral lesson in themselves, whereas *exempla* serve simply to support a more extensive text.[49] The *Parabolae* were probably delivered in the vernacular but taken down and preserved in Latin. They are considered close in form to their oral delivery, as are Bernard's *Sententiae*, short straightforward compositions with obvious outlining. They probably reflect the form and substance of the abbot's chapter talks, in contrast to the polished literary quality of his revised sermons.[50]

[48] On the *Parabolae* see Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Parables and The Sentences*, ed. Maureen O'Brien; includes *The Parables*, trans. and intro. Michael Casey; *The Sentences*, trans. Francis R. Swietek, intro. John R. Sommerfeldt, CF 55 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2000); *The Parables*, "Introduction," 11–17, at 12–15. See also the extensive study by Mette Bruun, *Parables: Bernard of Clairvaux's Mapping of Spiritual Topography*, Brill Studies in Intellectual History 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[49] The *exemplum* represents a genre associated with and encompassed by the sermon. On the medieval *exemplum*, see Claude Brémond, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L'Exemplum*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982); Kienzle, "Introduction," *The Sermon*, 145.

[50] See *The Sentences*, Introduction, 105–16. Bernard of Clairvaux's editors define *sententiae* as follows: *quae sive compendia sunt sive schemata orationum quas ipse habuit que edidit* (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols. [Rome: Editiones cistercienses, 1957–1977], VI. 2, *Ad lectorem* [n.p.]). The *sententiae* frequently have a simple numerical structure; the shortest *sententiae* constitute a list of the sermon's main points, with numbering to aid the preacher and the listener. On the *sententiae* see Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catharine Misrahi, 3d ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), 169–70, and Christopher Holdsworth's suggestion that the *Parabolae* and *Sententiae* are "the unrevised notes taken by some of [Bernard's] listeners," "Were the Sermons of St Bernard on the Song of Songs ever Preached?," *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Carolyn Muessig, 295–318, at 316. However, I think it just as likely that the *Sententiae* represent the sort of outline Bernard might have used as an *aide-mémoire*,

Bernard's *Parabola* I narrates, with a few direct allusions to Scripture and notably to Luke 15:11-32 (the parable of the Prodigal Son), the story of a wealthy and powerful king (God), who created the human being, granted him free will, and forbade him to eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. The human in the tale, who at first resembles his first ancestor, disobeyed, but he thereafter took a course that varies from Adam's in Genesis: he fled and began to wander through fields of vices, as does the younger son in the Lukan parable. Bernard turns banishment from the garden, as in Genesis 3, into the deliberate violation of monastic stability. The ancient enemy and a host of vices vie for the human against an army of virtues. Bernard enlivens the tale by giving voice to the personifications of Hope, Prudence, Fortitude, Wisdom, and Charity.[51] The *parabola* provides insight into monastic taste for stories that might have entertained converted knights who had left feudal pursuits behind.[52]

Whereas Hildegard follows the scriptural text faithfully and sequentially, constructing an elaborate allegory in parallel to it, Bernard spins a Scripture-based story that is not a commentary. Still both authors teach allegorically and morally about the spiritual life, and the *Parabolae* stand as an important contemporary witness to the taste for Scripture-based storytelling in twelfth-century monastic circles.[53]

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composed before preaching, which Holdsworth, 315, also allows in Bernard's preparation for preaching. Kienzle, "Twelfth-Century Monastic Sermon," *The Sermon*, 291–95.

[51] *Parabolae*, SBOp, VI. 93 2, 261–303, at 261–67.

[52] Otfrid of Weissenburg's *Evangelienbuch* constitutes a precedent for the genre. Otfrid, a biblical scholar, directed Old High German verse renderings of biblical narratives to a late tenth-century courtly audience. See discussion of the *Evangelienbuch* and reproduction of a page in Margaret T. Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 8, 40–41. See Bruun, *Parables*, 167–206, on this parable.

[53] Similar to Bernard's *Parabolae* and *Sententiae* are other collections of short monastic texts such as Odo of Cambrai's *Homilia de uillico iniquitatis* on the parable of the unjust steward (*PL* 160:1131–50), a copy of which was held at Saint Eucharius at Trier (Josef Montebaur, *Studien zur Geschichte der Bibliothek*

Hildegard and Bernard: The Superior's Voice

Hildegard's *Expositiones* again merit comparison with the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, notably the sermons in which he addresses behavior that hinders progress in observance of the Rule. This concept of a superior's accountability for the salvation of souls in his or her charge is deeply grounded in Benedictine spirituality and the Rule.[54] The responsibility for teaching weighed heavily on Hildegard; she expressed in her *Vita* that she "put a moat and a wall around" the sisters "with the words of the Sacred Scriptures, regular discipline, and good habits."[55] Moreover, her correspondence with abbesses and abbots demonstrates her strong feeling that a superior should inspire her sisters to desire to hear her words.[56] In the *Expositiones*, however, Hildegard does not identify herself as the superior as Bernard does in his sermons, where he reflects on his duties as abbot.[57] Nonetheless,

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der Abtei St. Eucharius-Mathias zu Trier [Freiburg: Herder, 1931], 141), and the *sententiola* or *dicta* of Anselm of Canterbury, talks recorded by Alexander, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury. Alexander explains that Anselm spoke these various things *in commune* and that he, Alexander, took them down in various places. Others, which were borrowed or stolen, became lost. *Memorials of St. Anselm*, ed. by Richard W. Southern and Franciscus S. Schmitt, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 107. Jean Leclercq discusses monastic literary genres in *Love of Learning*, 153–90, and the informal *sententiae* and related texts on 168–70. See Bruun, *Parables*, 157–62, on the *similitudines* of Anselm and the *Parabolarium* of Galand of Reigny.

[54] *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. Timothy Fry, (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1980), 2.6, 172, 173.

[55] *V. Hild*. 2.12, 37, ll. 29-32: *At ego per ostensionem Dei eis hoc innotui ipsasque uerbis sanctarum scripturarum et regulari disciplina bonaque conuersatione circumfodi et muniui. Life of Hildegard* 2.12, 60. Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, 174, translates the passage as "I fenced them about and armed them," which overlooks the notion of digging (*circumfodere*).

[56] See John Van Engen, "Abbess: 'Mother and Teacher,'" in *Voice of the Living Light*, 30–51. Hildegard wrote that a certain abbess was bearing her burden well because her sheep wanted to hear God's admonishment through her teaching: *Epistolarium* 2, 150R, 339, ll. 2-4; *Letters* 2, 150R, 95.

[57] See Sommerfeldt, "Introduction," *The Sentences*, 105–14, at 105–9; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "*Verbum Dei et Verba Bernardi*: The Function of Language in Bernard's Second Sermon for Peter and Paul," in *Bernardus Magister: Papers*

the *magistra*'s voice of responsibility carries over subtly into the homilies, several of which deal with the virtue of obedience.

Hildegard and Bernard: Writing Against Heresy

Both Hildegard and Bernard entered the church's battle against heresy with zeal. Hildegard's denunciation of heresy enters into a few *Expositiones*. Her strongest attacks on heresy are tied to preaching but are preserved in letters as well as in a *sermo* and an *admonitio*. Bernard railed against heresy in several of his *Sermons on the Song* and in his *Letters*. For the most part the sermons he and other twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Cistercians preached against heresy have not been preserved. Historians rely on letters and reports narrated by other people. Hildegard's letters on heresy and schism constitute important parallels to the letters of Bernard that address heresy in southern France. Her writings against popular heresy outnumber Bernard's.[58] The abbot's invective employs dense biblical imagery and skilled figures of speech, but Hildegard's language surpasses Bernard's in intensity by virtue of its apocalypticism and boldness. Her writing brings to mind later texts written by Henry of Clairvaux or Geoffrey of Auxerre and contemporary with Joachim of Fiore.[59]

Hildegard and Bernard: The Legends

Hildegard may have known Bernard's writings, but is there any other indication of contact between the two?[60] Hildegard's first biographer, Gottfried of Disibodenberg, recounts that Pope Eugene III sent a delegation to Disibodenberg to inquire into

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Celebrating the Nonacentenary of the Birth of Bernard of Clairvaux, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1992), 149–59.

[58] Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press/Boydell Press, 2001), 78–108.

[59] Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, 205–6, and sources cited there.

[60] See Kienzle, *Speaking New Mysteries*, 36–38.

Hildegard's writing. Gottfried further relates that the Pope then requested a copy of the seer's work and read from it publicly, whereupon Bernard of Clairvaux and others urged him to confirm the "great grace" manifested in Hildegard. According to Gottfried's account, Eugene sent letters to Hildegard, granted her "permission (*licentia*) to make known whatever she had learned through the Holy Spirit and encouraged or urged (*animauit*) her to write."[61] Hildegard repeats and strengthens this story about twenty-five years later when she states in the *Vita* that Pope Eugene sent her letters and "instructed" (*precepit*) her to write what she saw and heard in her visions.[62] What Gottfried expresses as permission and encouragement from Eugene III, Hildegard presents as a papal mandate.

Scholars question the veracity of Gottfried's and Hildegard's accounts, but they generally agree that Hildegard wrote a letter to Bernard of Clairvaux in early 1147 and that he replied briefly. Additions were made to the letter around 1170 when Volmar compiled the definitive letter collection. Moreover, Hildegard sent a letter with part of the *Sciuias* to Eugene III, who spent the winter of 1147–48 (30 November–13 February) in Trier. From the letter and the autobiographical narrative one may conclude that Eugene III sent a delegation to Disibodenberg to investigate Hildegard's writings and bring her work back to him in Trier. Subsequently Eugene issued a charter of protection for Disibodenberg, but he made no reference to Hildegard or the women's community. Hildegard in turn wrote the Pope again to seek his approval and protection, but he sent no written reply. Instead, Volmar drafted a letter in Eugene III's name around 1170, when he also revised the letter from Bernard of Clairvaux.[63]

[61] See *V. Hild*. 1.4, 9–10; *Life of Hildegard*, 29–30.

[62] *V. Hild*. 2.2, 24, ll. 95-102; *Life of Hildegard*, 46.

[63] See John Van Engen, "Letters and the Public Persona of Hildegard," 375–418, at 379–89, on what he calls the "myth of authorization." Van Engen argues that the later letters reflect Hildegard's "self-understanding," which "claimed or imagined" approval from Bernard and Eugene. He clearly presents the case against any formal authorization for Hildegard to write.

What does Bernard's letter to Hildegard in its shorter, unrevised form reveal about his opinion of her? The abbot wrote: "Besides, when there is inner enlightenment (*interior eruditio*) and anointing that teaches about all things (*unctio docens de omnibus*), what is there for us to teach or advise?"[64] The phrase *unctio docens de omnibus* alludes to 1 John 2:27: "And the anointing which you received from him abides in you and you have no need that anyone should teach you; but just as his anointing teaches you about all things and is true and is not a lie, and just as it has taught you, abide in him."[65]

It also echoes 1 John 2:20: "but you have anointing from the Spirit and you know all things."[66] Bernard employs the notion of *unctio* as teacher of all at least ten times in his various works, citing 1 John 2, and he evokes *unctio* even more often in the general sense of teaching or anointing from the Spirit. Bernard at times employs *eruditio* alone to contrast spiritual with "book" learning; furthermore, he speaks of *spiritualis eruditio*, the equivalent of *interior eruditio*, or the enlightenment of the inner person.[67] The notions of *interior eruditio* and *unctio* represent spiritual enlightenment in the context of his writings.[68] Therefore, when the abbot

[64] *Epistolarium* 1, 1R, 6, ll. 12-13: *Ceterum, ubi interior eruditio est et unctio docens de omnibus, quidnos aut docere aut monere*? The *apparatus biblicus* for the letter does not identify the Johannine echoes. The text of the longer, later letter is noted in the *apparatus criticus*.

[65] *Et vos unctionem quam accepistis ab eo manet in vobis et non necesse habetis ut aliquis doceat vos sed sicut unctio eius docet vos de omnibus verum est non est mendacium et sicut docuit vos manete in eo*.

[66] *Sed vos unctionem habetis a Sancto et nostis omnia.* Jean Leclercq, *Women and St. Bernard*, CS 104 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1989), 65–66, notes that this text was "dear to Bernard."

[67] A CETEDOC search produced seventy-seven hits for *unctio** in Bernard's works. Two of numerous examples for *eruditio* follow: (1) Ep. 108.2, SBOp, VII, 278: *Nec enim hanc lectio docet, sed unctio; non littera, sed spiritus; non eruditio, sed exercitatio in mandatis Domini*. (2) *In Ascensione Domini* 6. 6, SBOp, V, 163: *Nam de ignorantia, fratres, quaenam excusatio nobis, quibus numquam doctrina caelestis, numquam divina lectio, numquam spiritualis eruditio deest*?

[68] The term *interior eruditio* echoes Hildegard's words in her letter to Bernard. *Epistolarium* 1, 1, 4, l. 17: *interiorem intelligentiam*. Leclercq, *Women and*

employed this scriptural allusion, he acknowledged Hildegard's gift from the Spirit.[69]

While there is no evidence for any contact between Hildegard and Bernard beyond the exchange of these letters, later monastic legends report that the two figures did meet in Rupertsberg, where Bernard visited Hildegard. The fifteenth-century abbot Johannes Trithemius recounts that Bernard examined the seer's writings, acknowledged the gift of the Holy Spirit in them, and expressed unspeakable admiration for her work. A learned and devout monk who was present at the time reported to Bernard that many objected that Hildegard's writings were "womanly dreams" (*somnia muliebria*), the "phantasms of a ruined mind" (*destructi cerebri phantasmata*), or that they had been sent through demons (*fallaciter per daemonas immissa*). Bernard replied that people who were filled with vice could not recognize true revelations. He warned that anyone who said that the writings were sent by demons deserved to be judged in the same way as the haughty detractors of Christ who said that he worked miracles with the power of Beelzebub. The abbot of Clairvaux then assured Hildegard that God would protect her against the shameful actions of foolish men, and he promised that he would have the Pope read her volumes, just as he did those she had sent to Trier (*sicut etiam illa quae Treuirum misisti comprobanda*). In turn, Hildegard reportedly bestowed on the abbot of Clairvaux a relic from the body of Saint Rupert. The two wished each other well and Bernard then resumed his journey and performance of astonishing miracles.[70] This account from Trithemius denounces Hildegard's critics and legitimizes both her writings and a local relic. Moreover, it constructs a sort of

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St. Bernard, 65–66, states that Bernard "respected the working of grace within" Hildegard, and that, in writing to Hildegard, Bernard was pointing out "the contrast between the power of the Spirit and his own inability."

[69] Van Engen, "Letters and the Public Persona of Hildegard," 382, describes the letter as "certainly ambiguous, probably condescending, and ironic."

[70] *Chronica Insignia Coenobii Spanheimensis, Johannes Trithemii Opera Historica* 251: *Dedit autem sancta Hildegardis viro Dei postulanti particulam reliquiarum sancti Ruperti, ducis Bingionum et confessoris*.

mutual benefit from the encounter: Hildegard gained Bernard's approval for her writing, and the abbot acquired a relic that must have contributed to the success of his miracle-working. The legend fills a lacuna in the historical record and describes a mutual admiration between two of the most important monastic figures of the twelfth century.

Interpreting and Translating the *Expositiones euangeliorum*

In conclusion, some explanation is needed on the technicalities of interpreting and translating the homilies. What follows will interest fellow translators above all, but it may prove helpful to those who find themselves asking about the original Latin texts as they read the English translation. The dual narratives in the homilies prove baffling at times;[71] hence the words of Scripture are italicized in this volume to help the reader distinguish them from Hildegard's commentary. A literal translation of the following verse and commentary on Matthew 2:7 will illustrate the running, sequential form of Hildegard's interpretation as it is found throughout the *Expositiones*:

> *Then Herod,* the devil, *secretly*, namely in his craftiness, *having called together the kings*, the seekers of creatures, *learned attentively from them*, seeking *the time*, clearly, the appetite for understanding, *of the star*, that is of God's gifts, *which appeared to them*, namely which was shown to them.[72]

Given that English does not show gender agreement as Latin does, the links between relative pronouns and antecedents are not obvious, as for *stellae* ("of the star") and *quae* ("which"), and

[71] Kienzle and Muessig, "Introduction," *Expositiones*, 159.

[72] *Expo. Euang*. 12, 221, ll. 45-48: "*Tunc Herodes*, diabolus, *clam*, scilicet in astutia sua, *uocatis magis*, inquisitoribus creaturarum, *diligenter didicit ab eis*, requirendo *tempus*, uidelicet gustum intellectus, *stellae*, id est donorum Dei, *quae apparuit eis*, scilicet qui eis ostensus est." See Hom. 12, p. 68.

gustum intellectus ("the appetite for understanding") and *qui* ("which"). Hildegard's audience would retain the gender and number of the Latin words and make connections that English does not permit. Moreover, the sisters would know the Scripture by heart and thus be able to process both channels of text.

Hildegard's commentaries generally are built on a complex system of glossing within the text. A summary of the types of glosses Hildegard uses will illustrate not only her exegetical range but also the challenge to the reader and the translator. Occasionally Hildegard employs the simplest sort of gloss: a word that provides a synonym. These glosses fall into the category of literal exegesis, as they clarify the meaning of words or phrases. In the homilies on Mark 16:1-7, for example, the *magistra* defines the word *reuolutum* ("rolled back") with the phrase: *id est ablatum* ("that is, removed").[73] In other cases the gloss in one homily of a set is lexical while in the other homily it is not. In Homily 11 on Matthew 2:13-18 she explains *qui consurgens* ("and rising up") in verse 14 as *se erigendo* ("lifting himself up").[74] In contrast, for the previous homily (10) Hildegard adds an adverbial prepositional phrase to *qui consurgens* in accordance with her line of interpretation: *de tenebrosa natura ad rectitudinem* ("from shadowy nature to righteousness").[75] In Homily 11 the *magistra* glosses *ululatus multus* ("much wailing") with *uidelicet tristicia* ("clearly sadness"), again a lexical gloss, whereas the reading in Homily 10 for *ululatus multus* gives *scilicet calumpnia* ("namely, calumny") in accordance with the typological theme of leaving the Old Law behind.[76] Similarly, Hildegard mixes the allegorical and the lexical when she explains the phrase in Luke 16:9, *de*

[73] *Expo. Euang*. 28, 270, l. 28; *Expo. Euang*. 29, 273, ll. 15-16. *Glossa* IV, 135 provides no lexical gloss but interprets the stone as original sin (interlinear) and the Old Law, which was written on stone (marginal). Homs. 28–29, p. 128, 130–31.

[74] *Expo. Euang*. 11, 217, l. 11; Hom. 11, p. 65.

[75] *Expo. Euang*. 10, 215, l. 12. *Glossa* IV, 9 states that Joseph represents preachers who brought faith to the Gentiles (*gentes*). See Hom. 10, p. 63.

[76] *Expo. Euang*. 11, 219, l. 42; *Expo. Euang*. 10, 216, l. 38. *Glossa* IV, 10 situates the passage in the history of Israel, then provides an allegorical interpretation of Rachel as a figure for the church. See Hom. 11, p. 66; Hom. 10, p. 64.

mammone iniquitatis ("from the mammon of iniquity"), allegorically as *de pullulatione iniquitatis* ("sprouting up of iniquity") and then clarifies the meaning of *iniquitatis* with the phrase: *id est viciorum* ("that is, of vices").[77] The definition of *iniquitatis* provides a lexical gloss at the same time that it extends to the tropological interpretation of the pericope.

Hildegard often adds her commentary without an introductory phrase such as *id est* in order to extend the meaning of the biblical text in accordance with her allegory.[78] For Luke 16:7 the master in the parable speaks to the debtor: *ait illi* . . . ("said to him"). No explicit subject or indirect object other than *illi* appears in the scriptural text. Hildegard adds *creaturae* to the indirect object and supplies Adam as the subject, reading: "*ait illi* creaturae Adam" ("Adam said to the creation").[79] Her commentary often adds a noun following a demonstrative pronoun, thus assigning the pronoun an adjectival function. For Luke 16:26 the *magistra* adds *predictis causis* to the scriptural *Et in his omnibus* to read: "*Et in his omnibus* predictis causis" ("*and in all these* aforesaid matters"), so that the pronoun *his* ("these") then functions as an adjective modifying *causis* ("matters").[80] Similarly, Hildegard adds nouns or pronouns in the genitive to create partitive constructions, as for John 6:7, "*ut unusquisque* illorum *modicum quid* temperamenti *accipiat*" ("so that each one of them for the measure of temperament that he may receive"). The partitive genitives *illorum* ("of them") and *temperamenti* ("of temperament") can be read within the biblical text without interruption.[81]

Hildegard frequently supplements the scriptural text with adverbial phrases or gerunds in the ablative. For John 6:5, "*cum*

[77] *Glossa* IV, 138 explains that mammon, a Syrian word in origin, means the richness of iniquity: *mammona lingua syrorum: divitiae iniquitatis, quia de iniquitate collectae sunt*. *Expo. Euang*. 2, p. 194; Hom. 2, p. 36.

[78] The following examples are taken from Kienzle and Muessig, "Introduction," *Expositiones*, 174–77. The translations here are literal.

[79] *Expo. Euang*. 1, 189, l. 58. See Hom. 1, p. 32.

[80] *Expo. Euang*. 37, 291, l. 65. *Glossa* IV, 139 has no note. See Hom. 37, p. 152.

[81] *Expo. Euang*. 4, 200, ll. 35-36. See Hom. 4, p. 43.

subleuasset ergo in laude felicitatis *oculos*" ("when he had raised his eyes, therefore, in praise of blessedness"), the adverbial phrase "in praise of blessedness" modifies the verb in the scriptural text, *subleuasset* ("had raised").[82] Reflecting the usage of the Vulgate Bible, Hildegard often employs the preposition *in* with a noun in the ablative as an equivalent of an ablative of means. For example, the Good Shepherd, represented by Faith, states: "illis clamabo, ut in magno auxilio et in nouis miraculis ueniant" ("I will cry out to them, so that they will come with great aid and through new miracles").[83] The two prepositional phrases introduced by *in* both have an adverbial function. When the *magistra* adds a gerund in the ablative it often extends the meaning of the verb, like a synonymous aorist, following the usage of the Vulgate. For Matthew 2:5 Hildegard adds *respondendo* ("responding") to *dixerunt ei* ("they said to him") in order to read: "*dixerunt ei* respondendo . . ." ("They said to him responding").[84] At times the meaning of the gerund the *magistra* adds differs considerably from the scriptural verb, as with Luke 2:5: "*ut profiteretur*, enarrando, *cum Maria*, id est cum caritate" ("that he set forth, by relating, with Mary, that is with charity"). The meaning of *enarrare* (to relate or tell) remains consistent with the moral allegory of virtue and vice that Hildegard constructs from Joseph and Mary's journey to Bethlehem, but it is not synonymous with the idea of journeying (*proficiscor*).[85]

For the most part Hildegard systematically uses glossing to facilitate her allegorical or tropological interpretations. In *Expositio* 2 on Luke 16:1-9, for example, she glosses the phrase in Luke 16:8, *filii huius saeculi* ("children of this world"), tropologically as: "id est peccatores in seculo conuersantes" ("that is, sinners dwelling in the world").[86] For Matthew 2:17, *tunc adimpletum est quod dictum*

[82] *Expo. Euang*. 4, 199, l. 20. See Hom. 4, p. 42.

[83] *Expo. Euang*. 31, 276, ll. 26-27; Hom. 31, p. 134.

[84] *Expo. Euang*. 13, 224, l. 27. See Hom. 13, p. 72.

[85] *Expo. Euang*. 8, 208, ll. 12-13. See Hom. 8, p. 53.

[86] *Expo. Euang*. 2, 193, ll. 68-69. *Glossa* IV, 138 reads: *Filii huius seculi, id est tenebrarum*. Hom. 2, p. 36.

est per Ieremiam prophetam dicentem ("then what was said through Jeremiah was fulfilled"), Hildegard provides a theological definition of prophecy: *quod dictum est* ("what was said") means that which God uttered through the exhortation of the Holy Spirit. She adds that no one could stand who wants to stand on his own; but the one whom God sustains will stand because God is that one's staff (*baculus*).[87]

The variety of intratextual glosses outlined above makes translation into English quite a challenge. No one approach works for all cases, as Hildegard adapts her method to the structure of the biblical text and to the interpretation she constructs. Moreover, Hildegard's Latin is somewhat paratactical in that she places thoughts together with no conjunctions or with a range of syntactically weak connectors. Therefore, when translating, one at times has to provide connections in English and at other times eliminate some of the connecting words that are translated from Latin. The frequent parenthetical comments introduced by *id est*, *hoc est*, *scilicet*, and *uidelicet*, which reflect Hildegard's explanatory pauses, are sometimes omitted in translation and other times added when the Latin parataxis is too jarring. Certain conjunctions, especially introducing temporal, purpose, and result clauses, ("when," or "so that," Latin *cum*, *ut*) are often weak and simply equivalent to the coordinating conjunction "and" (*et*). Those too are at times omitted in the translation or rendered as a simple "and" or "when." Similarly, in Hildegard's usage it is often difficult to distinguish the *quia, quod, quoniam* ("that") introducing indirect statement from their use as causal conjunctions (because, since), or even from the relative pronoun *quod* (which, that).

The approach to other sorts of words, and not only conjunctions, varies also according to the flow of Hildegard's interpretive

[87] *Expo. Euang*. 11, 218, ll. 35-39: "*Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per Ieremiam prophetam dicentem*, scilicet quod a Deo dictum est in exhortatione Spiritus Sancti, quia nullus stare possit qui per se stare uult, sed ille stabit quem Deus sustentat, quoniam ipse baculus illius est." The *Glossa* does not define prophecy here (*Glossa* IV, 10), but for Matthew 1:18-21, *Glossa* IV, 7 gives a definition of prophecy: *Prophetia signum est praescientiae Dei*. Hom. 11, p. 66.

text. She incorporates certain words from the scriptural passage into her narrative but passes over or substitutes for others. When translating, repetition of certain elements of the scriptural text proves necessary to produce a coherent second text. Moreover, the translation uses fragments at times in order to prevent excessive repetitions of words from the scriptural text or to avoid making awkward or ambiguous connections merely for the sake of constructing a complete English sentence.

Given these particularities of Hildegard's commentary, a literal English translation from Hildegard's Latin generally would be awkward if not incomprehensible. On the other hand, a literary translation, smoothing out the rough spots and making dubious connections for the sake of good English prose, would both force the sometimes ambiguous meaning and misrepresent the quality of the Latin. Consequently, I lean more toward a literal than a literary rendering of the Latin in order to keep the homespun quality of the original, which is grammatically unsophisticated but poetically and theologically profound. Footnotes to the translation mark problematic passages as well as figures of speech, such as metonymy, and words, such as *uiriditas* (greenness) that signal important theological motifs.

Punctuating the English translation of the homilies poses a challenge to the translator. The Latin punctuation system is rather simple. The *punctus* is used throughout the Riesenkodex to indicate four forms of modern punctuation: full stop, comma, semicolon, and colon. Occasionally, the *punctus interrogativus* indicates sentences that contain a question. No punctuation signals the introduction of direct speech, and Scripture flows together with commentary.[88] It was necessary to add punctuation consistently in the Latin edition in order to aid the reader. How does one employ contemporary punctuation to separate the various voices in the scriptural text (the narrator, the author, or Jesus himself recounting a parable, the characters within historical narratives and parables) from the voice of Hildegard, who speaks not only

[88] See Kienzle and Muessig, "Introduction," *Expositiones*, 174–77.

as herself but in the voices of various biblical persons, including God, Jesus, Adam, and others?

First of all, the translations always mark Scripture with italics, so that Hildegard's words easily stand out from the biblical text because of the different typefaces used. Second, the identifications of specific chapters and verses are provided in footnotes only when they are not part of the gospel passage so as not to clutter a text already complicated by numerous glosses. Third, a scheme of suitable quotation marks has been devised. That system begins with the assumption that the italicized text of Scripture is equivalent to standard quotation marks (". . ."). Within that overarching system one must differentiate between the words of Hildegard, spoken in her own voice, and those in which she takes on the voice of someone else. Her commentary, when she explains and speaks in her own voice—that is, not assuming the voice of someone else such as Adam—is presented without quotation marks. However, when Hildegard takes the voice of a speaker in the text her words are enclosed in quotation marks (". . .") in all cases. Note that she alternates frequently from commentary to her own voice and that of someone else.

The words of the speakers in the scriptural texts require further layers of quotation. Single quotation marks designate the words of speakers within narrative passages of Scripture which are not parables. However, for parables, single quotation marks ('. . .') denote Jesus' voice when he narrates a parable such as the Great Banquet (Luke 14:16-24), or the Good Shepherd passage in John 10:11-16. The speakers within such passages have speaking parts themselves, and those are enclosed in standard quotation marks (". . ."). Their words are differentiated primarily by the typeface from Hildegard's extension of their voices; her words appear in roman type while the biblical words are regularly italicized. The two typefaces and levels of quotation will assist the reader in identifying what Hildegard herself says and the instances when she assumes the voice of a biblical personage.

Homilies 1 and 2

The Eighth Sunday after Pentecost

Luke 16:1-9

'A certain man was rich and had a steward. And charges were brought to the rich man against the steward, that he might have squandered the rich man's goods. So he summoned him and said to him: "What is this that I hear about you? Turn in the record of your stewardship, for you can no longer be steward."

Then the steward said to himself: "What shall I do, since my master is taking the stewardship away from me? I am not able to dig, and I am ashamed to beg. I know what I will do, so that, when I am removed from the stewardship, people may receive me into their homes."

After summoning his master's debtors one by one, he said to the first: "How much do you owe my master?" He answered: "A hundred jugs of olive oil." Then he said to him: "Take your bill, sit down quickly, and write fifty."

Then he said to another: "And you, how much do you owe?" He answered: "A hundred measures of wheat." He said to him: "Take your bill and write eighty."

The master praised the steward of iniquity because he had acted prudently. For the children of this age are more prudent in their own generation than are the children of light. And I tell you, make friends for yourselves from the mammon of iniquity, so that when you lack it, they will receive you into the eternal habitations.'

1. The Eighth Sunday after Pentecost, 1

'A certain man was rich and had a steward.' The one who created humanity, who is God and man, lacked nothing in the fullness of good; he *'had a steward,'* namely Adam, to whom he had entrusted Paradise and all creatures. *'And charges were brought to the rich man against the steward, that he might have squandered the rich man's goods.' 'Charges were brought'* among the angels, because God sees our deeds in them and in other creatures, that Adam wanted to divide for himself, as it were, God's honor, which no one can divide. As the serpent said: '*you will be like gods,*'[1] which means, "God made you like himself, whence you are gods." Likewise human beings later made themselves somewhat like gods by means of idols.

'So he summoned him and said to him: *"What is this that I hear about you?"'* as when God said: *'where are you?'*[2] when Adam disobeyed the divine command, and when God again spoke: *'for who told you that you were naked, unless you have eaten from the tree from which I had commanded you not to eat?'*[3] *"Turn in the record of your stewardship*, since you will be judged according to your deeds and will leave *the land of the living."*[4] *"For you can no longer be steward*, because you cannot excuse yourself, that you have not done evil."[5] Therefore, *'the earth is cursed by your deed. In labors you will eat from it all the days of your life; it will sprout thorns and thistles for you, and you will eat the herbs of the field. In the sweat of your face you will eat* your *bread*' "because you first initiated the evil and bitter deed." And he made *pelts*[6] *for them, and banished Adam.*[7]

'Then the steward,' namely Adam, to whom God had entrusted Paradise and all of creation, *'said to himself,'* clearly, in his con-

[1] Gen 3:5.

[2] Gen 3:9.

[3] Gen 3:11.

[4] Pss 26:13; 51:7; 141:6; Isa 38:11; 53:8; Jer 11:19; Ezek 26:20; 32:23-27, 32.

[5] In this first homily Hildegard adduces citations from Genesis as glosses for the words of the rich man, just as she does with the words of the householder in Matt 20:1-16, Homily 22.

[6] Gen 3:21.

[7] Gen 3:24.

science, when he was leaving Paradise then in a wretched state: "*What shall I do, since my master*, namely God, *is taking the stewardship away from me?*: evidently the honor given to me in innocence in Paradise, expelling me because I disobeyed his command." "*I am not able to dig*, that is, not able to make the creatures subject to me in obedience, as they were subject to me in Paradise, although I am not able to forget the honor that was given to me by God." "*And I am ashamed to beg*, that is, to supplicate, with mourning and wailing, the creatures once subject to me." "*I know*, in my soul's perception, *what I will do, so that when I am removed from the stewardship*, that is, when I have lost the honor that I had in Paradise these creatures which were first subject to me, *will receive me into their homes*, namely, into their cohabitations, so that we may live and dwell together on earth."

'After summoning his master's debtors one by one,' that is, after Adam was expelled, he summoned each and every one of the creatures that from its nature owed service to God and enjoined them in subjection to him. '*He said to the first: "How much do you owe my master?"'* that is, to the flying creatures and to the other creatures of this type, which were created before the human: "*How much* service do *you owe*, in the capacity of your nature, to the one who is my Creator?" *'He answered: "A hundred jars of olive oil."'* The creature told the capacity of its nature: "A superabundance of fullness for places with the excellence *of oil*, because we fly near the earth below and in the clouds above, just as also oil floats above other liquids." *'Then he said to him: "Take your bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty."'* Adam *'said'* to the creatures, namely to the ones that fly: "Take up this nature of your flight; descend to me *quickly*, since you fly rapidly; trace the circles of your flight; leave the middle course of that flight's possibility and be with me in the midst of the air, reaching to me, I who have the five senses of the body."

'Then he said to another: "And you, how much do you owe?"' that is, to the herds: "And you, herds and similar animals, which walk upon the earth, *how much* service *do you owe* in your nature?" *'He answered: "A hundred measures of wheat,"'* that is, the herds *'answered'*: "The fullness of the circle of the earth in its best fruit, since

we take our nourishment from the earth." *'He said to him: "Take your bill and write eighty."'* Adam *'said'* to the creatures: "Take up the circle of your nature, in which you roam over the earth; that is, trace the circles of your travel, lest you go forth more than necessary, according to what I, the human being, order you by God's power, through my five bodily senses. By those I encompass three creations, namely the skies, the air, and the earth. [Five and three] number eight, because I too must toil in the eight beatitudes."[8]

'The master praised the steward of iniquity.' Clearly, God commended Adam on this, because at some time he was going to raise himself to heavenly things, since God knew beforehand that the same understanding which had led Adam to this and turned him toward sins, would lead him back again to knowing God, even though at that time he was a *'steward of iniquity.'* Clearly, first as a steward in Paradise, he was in the innocence of justice; when, however, he disobeyed God's command, he became a steward of sin in iniquity, because he ignored God's command. *'He praised him, because he had acted prudently'*; although he had turned himself away from the light through disobedience, having no other consolation, he then associated himself to the other creatures in darkness, that is, in the world. *'For the children of this age,'* namely human beings, *'are more prudent in dealing with their own generation than are the children of light.'* Adam, when he lost joy, prudently drew out for himself the tears of wandering; and after being expelled from Paradise he also prudently associated himself with other creatures by necessity. And for this reason human beings appear *'more prudent'* than the fallen angels, who were created in the light of brightness and truth. When they lost heavenly glory they neither attached themselves nor inclined themselves to search for God's grace by any happiness, but instead remained obstinate in the inextinguishable darkness of unhappiness. And in this way humans are more prudent than those in their own generation, that is, their own children, who beget and are begotten in this age, when here also they can perform good or evil.

[8] Cf. Matt 5:10.

'And I,' namely Christ, *'tell you,'* human beings: "*Make for yourselves friends*, namely, good angels and humans, in justice and truth, so that they may hold you in esteem for good deeds. Do this *by mammon of iniquity*, namely with the work of perversity and sin, *so that when you lack it they may receive you into the eternal habitations*. When physical strength so fails in you that you must pass on from this world, *they will receive you* with good report and praise of reward before God. They whom you have led in this age from unfaithfulness to faith and from sin to righteousness and thus into the eternal habitations, will hasten to you with supreme mercy and welcome you into the heavenly and unfailing homeland which you lost because of Adam."[9]

2. The Eighth Sunday after Pentecost, 2

'There was a certain man who was rich, who had a steward.' The one who made the human being *in his image and likeness*[10] '*was rich*,' having no need on heaven or earth. The *steward* [denotes] the human will under his power; the will leads and coaxes the human being according to what pleases him. *'And charges were brought before him against this steward, that he might have squandered the rich man's goods.'* Evil report went out from the will, as much before humans as before God, when it stooped toward evil. It had esteemed [divine] commands lightly through the pleasure of this world.

'So he summoned him, and said to him: "What is this that I hear about you? Turn in the record of your stewardship for you can no longer be steward."' Evidently *'he summoned'* the human will through baptism and the gospel precepts, and said to the human by the Holy Spirit's admonition: "Why does evil report raise itself up about

[9] Note that the voice of Hildegard becomes assimilated to the voice of Christ here, as she exhorts her audience in the second person plural. This dramatic technique is all the more interesting since this homily may be one of four delivered at Disibodenberg in 1170, some twenty years after she had left to found Rupertsberg. See Kienzle, *Speaking New Mysteries*, 44–45.

[10] Gen 5:3; cf. Gen 1:26, 27.

you, so that you worship evil and iniquity more than the good? *Turn in the record* of your will, in which you have performed evil; for *you can no longer* satisfy your will in shameful actions, as you did before."

'Then the steward said to himself: "What should I do, since my master is taking the stewardship away from me?"' Clearly, the human will *'said'* to itself that it must then turn itself toward some other and better behavior: "*What should I do* now in other deeds, *since my master*, whom I was supposed to serve but did not, *is taking the stewardship away from me* in the cultivation of my inordinate desires? *I am not able to dig*, that is, to seek out and fulfill the small and even the least commands, when before I could not keep the great ones. *And I am ashamed to beg*, that I would seek other paths than I considered before in my practice. *I know*, in rationality, *what I will do, so that when I am removed from the stewardship, they will receive me*." Clearly, since the outset of the beginning of good has such a rapid journey in rationality, it may even be necessary that the human being keep himself together in sadness, as happened to the Apostle Paul.[11] "*When I am removed* from my evil custom by divine inspiration, the good and righteous people, they who also sinned before, and afterwards repented, *will receive me* into their homes, that is, into their community."

'After summoning his master's debtors one by one, he said to the first: "How much do you owe my master?"' 'After summoning,' by the admonition of good counsel, those who had sinned as he himself did in disobedience of God's commands, *'he said'* to one who had abnegated faith, which is the foundation of good deeds, and thus had sinned also against God and had not loved his neighbor: "In which things have you sinned against God's commands?" *'He answered* with compunction: "*A hundred jars of olive oil,*"' that is: "I sinned beyond measure, when I did not worship the Lord; neither did I show the honor due to him. Hence I did not fulfill the commands of mercy." *'Then he said to him: "Take your bill, and write quickly fifty."'* Divine inspiration said to him: "Learn another

[11] Hildegard perhaps alludes here to Rom 8:8-9.

custom in your deeds and restrain your pleasures quickly, and believe that you will receive remission of sins by serving God in your five senses, when you amend the sins you first committed through them."

'Then he said to another, evidently with an admonition: *"And you, how much do you owe?"'* that is, "You who have committed greater bodily sins, *how much do you owe* to absolve your sins by repentance?" '*He answered: "a hundred measures of wheat,* that is, an abundance and excess of evil deeds, as it were, the worst circles in the wheat of the law, when in the fatness of the flesh I became a disobeyer of the law."' *'He said to him: "Take your bill, and write eighty."'* God *'said'* to the will through supernal inspiration: "Take the deeds you did with good counsel, and believe that you will be saved by the eighth beatitude, if you have been willing to suffer *persecution* and tribulation *for righteousness*.[12] Since you sinned in the four elements, God will seek you in the fourth vigil, when you will be saved by the eighth beatitude."

'The master praised the steward of iniquity.' In other words, God *'praised'* the will, since it demonstrated its conversion to the angels and to the saintly souls, when it abstained from the depraved custom in which it was a '*steward of iniquity*', when it took delight in sins. In another sense the '*steward of iniquity*' can be understood as a priest, because sins are consigned to him in people's confession, so that he may minister to them when he absolves and removes them by penance.[13] Therefore, the Lord *'praised him because he had acted prudently,'* because although the human will had first turned itself away from the good, it finally converted itself prudently to another path to the good, where it would discover its Lord.

[12] "The eighth beatitude" refers to Matt 5:10, "Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake because theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

[13] Note that Hildegard offers two possible readings here for "steward of iniquity," introduced by "vel alio modo." Jean-Baptiste Pitra mistook this for the beginning of another homily. See "Introduction," *Expo. Euang*. 160; and *Expositiones quorumdam evangeliorum quas divina inspirante gratia Hildegardi exposuit*, ed. J.-B. Pitra, in *Analecta Sanctae Hildegardis opera Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, Analecta Sacra 8 (Paris : A. Jouby et Roger, 1882), 320–22.

'For the children of this age are more prudent in their own generation than the children of light.' The sinners living in the world *'are more prudent'* because, when sinners reject and leave their sins behind in repentance, with their entire progeny of penitents, by this they become more prudent than the evil angels, who were created in light and who persuade humans of evil. When sinners do penance for evil actions, so that they receive glory from their repentance, the evil angels, whose persuasions led them to those iniquities, are then confounded, since they do not seek to have any repentance for their fall. *'And I,'* "who bring about the remission of sins for sinners," *'tell you,'* the penitents: "*Make friends for yourselves from the mammon of iniquity, so that when you lack it, they will receive you into the eternal habitations.*" "Make virtues for yourselves from the sprouting of iniquity, that is, of vices, so that you may associate virtues to yourselves by repentance, and leave behind the burning lust of vices. In that way, when you lack vices, and you do not want to sin further, they will receive you, repentant and renewed in the good, into life's pastures, where there is no lack of security or fullness of eternal joys."[14]

[14] Hildegard ends this second homily as well with a direct exhortation, addressing her audience with second-person plural forms.