

HILDEGARD OF BINGEN'S *ORDO VIRTUTUM*: NEW CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING "DISCIPLINA" AND "SCIENTIA DEI" ACCORDING TO THE URTEXT ¹

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Resum

A l'*Ordo Virtutum*, al llarg de la segona escena, cada Virtut es presenta a la resta, fent una descripció dels seus atributs. En dos passatges del *Scivias*, Hildegarda fa una descripció de les mateixes Virtuts amb tota mena de detalls. Curiosament, les Virtuts apareixen gairebé en el mateix ordre d'aparició que trobem a l'*Ordo*. El Riesencodex, el principal manuscrit de l'*Ordo*, mostra una rasura en el lloc on el nom d'una de les Virtuts hauria de ser esmentat. M. Böckeler (1927), seguida per Dronke (2007), proposà de restablir-hi el nom de *Disciplina*, d'acord amb un passatge del *Scivias*. Però al meu parer, hi ha alguns indicis que semblen indicar que el nom de *Disciplina* no acaba d'encaixar-hi del tot. L'objectiu d'aquest article és proposar una nova conjectura referent a aquesta rasura, proposant de restablir-hi el nom de *Gratia Dei*, que apareix a *Scivias* i sembla tenir les mateixes característiques físiques que la *Disciplina*. En aquest estudi presentarem també una hipòtesi per explicar per què la *Scientia Dei* apareix a la primera escena i no pas a la segona, com la resta de Virtuts. Aquest fet és important perquè, al meu parer, aporta més evidències referents a l'*Urtext* de l'*Ordo Virtutum*.

Paraules clau: *Ordo Virtutum*, Virtuts, Virtutes, *Gratia Dei*, *Scientia Dei*, *Disciplina*, Hildegard von Bingen

Abstract

During the second scene of the *Ordo Virtutum*, each Virtue introduces itself to the others, describing its own attributes. In two different passages of *Scivias* the same Virtues are commented upon by Hildegard, who provides all kind of details. Strikingly, they are presented almost in the same order as they appear in the *Ordo Virtutum*. In the Riesencodex, the main extant manuscript of the *Ordo Virtutum*, the place where the name of one of the Virtues should be mentioned appears scraped off. M. Böckeler (1927), followed by Dronke (2007), proposed the name of *Disciplina*, according to one passage of *Scivias*. However, in my opinion, there are some clues that seem to indicate that the name of *Disciplina* does not fit well in this passage. The aim of this paper is to propose a new conjecture about this scrapping by taking into account the name of *Gratia Dei*, which appears in *Scivias* and seems to possess the same physical characteristics as *Disciplina*. In this article I will also formulate a hypothesis as to why *Scientia Dei* appears in the first scene and not in the second, as the rest of Virtues. This fact is important because it brings more evidence regarding the *Urtext* of the *Ordo Virtutum*.

Key Words: *Ordo Virtutum*, Virtues, Virtutes, *Gratia Dei*, *Scientia Dei*, *Disciplina*, Hildegard von Bingen.

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1. Introduction

Hildegard's *Ordo Virtutum* is one of the most important musical dramas of the Middle Ages. Its Latin text and the score in pneumatic notation have been preserved in its entirety.² It was written by the German mystic Hildegard of Bingen (Bermersheim 1098 - Rupertsberg, Bingen, 1179), around 1151, and describes the path that a soul (*Anima*) must tread in order to reach salvation. This path is full of dangers, traps and temptations (*Diabolus*), but thanks to the invaluable help of the heart of the Virtues (*Virtutes*), the soul finally achieves redemption and liberation.

There are 17 Virtues in the *Ordo Virtutum*. In the second scene, one of the most melodic passages of this spiritual drama, each Virtue introduces herself to the rest of the group and the audience, describing her particular attributes. Apart from the *Ordo Virtutum*, the Virtues are also mentioned in another of Hildegard's works, the *Scivias*, in two different passages (*Scivias* III, 3, 160-593 and III, 8, 930-1245, FÜHRKÖTTER 1978)³ where the Virtues are described in detail, both physically and spiritually. Interestingly, in this work, the Virtues are presented in almost the same order in which they appear in the *Ordo Virtutum*, although divided into two groups.

The Riesencodex,⁴ the main source of the *Ordo Virtutum* and the oldest one, shows a scrapping in one of the didascalia, where the name of one of the Virtues should appear. Years ago, M. BÖCKELER (1927: 65 footnote 4) suggested restoring the name as *Disciplina*, based on a passage from the *Scivias* (III, 3, 283 and following, FÜHRKÖTTER 1978) and on one of the miniatures of the facsimile of the Rupertsberg codex. This suggestion was later taken up by Dronke in his 2007 edition. But in my opinion, there are some indications that the name *Disciplina* does not quite fit in this passage: firstly, because in the scrapping there seem to be two words erased and not just one, which suggests a compound name, and secondly, because the attributes that appear in this antiphon of the *Ordo* do not seem to fall too closely to the semantics of the name *Disciplina*.

The aim of this article is none other than to suggest an alternative, taking into consideration the expression *Gratia Dei*, which also appears in the *Scivias* (III, 8, 1155, FÜHRKÖTTER 1978) and appears to possess the same physical characteristics as *Disciplina*. In this article we will also formulate a new hypothesis, concerning the reason why *Scientia Dei* ("Knowledge of God") appears in the first scene and not in the second, like the rest of the Virtues. This feature has

² I use the Latin edition by DRONKE 2007: *Hildegardis Bingensis Opera Minora*. 2007. Edited by Peter Dronke, Christofer P. Evans, Hugh Feiss, et alii. *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 226, Turnhout. For the edition of the Gregorian notation, see STÜHLMAYER. 2012: STÜHLMAYER, Barbara, 2012. *Hildegard von Bingen. Lieder. Symphoniae*, Beuron.

³ I use the Latin edition of the *Scivias* by FÜHRKÖTTER 1978: *Hildegardis Scivias*. 1978. Edited by Adelgundis Führkötter, with the collaboration of Angela Carlevaris. *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 43 and 43 A, Turnhout.

⁴ This manuscript can be found in the Hessische Landesbibliothek 2 ('Riesencodex'), f. 478va-481vb, annis 1175-1179 (Wiesbaden).

gone unnoticed by scholars and, in my opinion, it is important because it provides new evidence concerning the *Urtext* of the *Ordo Virtutum*.

2. *Dramatis personae in the Ordo Virtutum*

The *Ordo Virtutum* involves some twenty characters: the *Anima* (“Soul”), the choir of the seventeen *Virtutes* (“Virtues”), the *Diabolus* (“Devil”), the choir of *Patriarche et Prophete* (“Patriarchs and Prophets”) and the choir of the *Animae in carne posite* (“Incarnate Souls”), the last two of which are of indefinite number. Of all these characters, the main protagonist is the Soul, followed by the choir of the Virtues and the Devil, who also play a central role in the play and appear throughout the drama: the Soul will be constantly tempted by the evil arts of the Devil—he cannot sing, but he shouts and screams—but the Virtues, in the end, will manage to set her on the right path and save it from the clutches of Evil. The choir of Patriarchs and Prophets, as well as that of the Incarnate Souls play a minor role in the drama, as they appear only on a few occasions.⁵

With the exception of *Scientia Dei* (“Knowledge of God”), which appears in the first scene, the rest of the Virtues are listed throughout the second scene and in this order: *Humilitas* (“Humility”), *Caritas* (“Charity”), *Timor Dei* (“Fear of God”), *Innocentia* (“Innocence”), *Contemptus Mundi* (“World-rejection”), *Amor celestis* (“Heavenly Love”), *Disciplina* (“Discipline”), *Verecundia* (“Shamefastedness”), *Misericordia* (“Mercy”), *Victoria* (“Victory”), *Discretio* (“Discretion”) and *Patientia* (“Patience”).

Characters in the *Ordo Virtutum* are mostly female with the exception of the *Diabolus* and the chorus of *Patriarche et Prophete*. Dronke (1994: 154), probably influenced by Ursprung (1958-61: 943), saw a direct correspondence between the twenty nuns that made up Hildegard’s community (*viginti puellis nobilibus et de divitibus parentibus natis*) and the female characters in the *Ordo Virtutum* (the Soul, the Virtues, and three women that constitute the choir of incarnated souls). Furthermore, Ursprung (1958-61: 943) also argued that the choir of incarnated souls, which appears only in the first part, consisted of a group of about five people, the novice nuns of Rupertsberg.

As for the Virtues, their earliest precedent is to be found in the *Psychomachia*, written at the end of the 4th century in Latin hexameters by Prudentius, a Latin Christian poet probably from Tarragona (see DRONKE 2007: 483).⁶ However, a substantial difference between the two texts is that, while in the *Psychomachia* we find a direct combat between Virtues and Vices, in the *Ordo*,

⁵ In the case of the Incarnate Souls, they are only mentioned once in the first scene, and the Patriarchs and Prophets are mentioned twice in the first scene.

⁶ See THOMSON 1949 for an edition of the *Psychomachia*. On the parallels between Prudentius’ *Psychomachia* (ca. 405 aC) and the *Ordo Virtutum*, see HOZEWSKI 1982: 17-18 (particularly on p. 12): «Actually the strongest link between Prudentius and Hildegard is that they were both pioneers in the writing of personification allegory». Unlike the *Ordo Virtutum*, where *Humilitas* (“Humility”) is the *Regina Virtutum* (“Queen of the Virtues”), in Prudentius’ epic poem, Faith is the heroine, leading the rest of the Virtues to combat the Vices.

on the other hand, only the Virtues appear, and the Vices are no longer represented as such, but have all been personified in a single figure, that of the *Diabolus*, which in Hildegard's work is the *only one* that cannot sing, as aforementioned.

3. “*Disciplina*” or “*Gratia Dei*”?: a new conjecture

Regarding the names of the Virtues, the Riesencodex (R) shows a scrapping in a didascalia, where the name of one of the Virtues should be (verse 174, Dronke 2007):

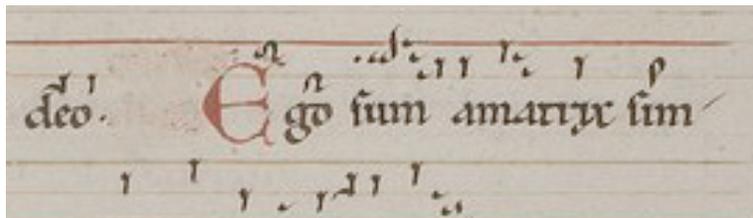


Fig. 1 Scrapping in a didascalia of the Riesencodex that shows the name of one of the Virtues, “*Disciplina*” or, according to my new interpretation, “*Gratia Dei*” (R 480r).

Böckeler (1927: 65, n.4) suggested reinstating the name *Discipline*, based on a passage from the *Scivias* (III, 3, l. 283 i ss. ed. FÜHRKÖTTER 1978) and on one of its miniatures (“Five Virtues at the Tower of the Anticipation of the Will of God”), preserved in a facsimile of the Rupertsberg Codex.⁷ In this passage of the *Scivias*, the name *Disciplina* was indeed mentioned just after *Amor Celestis* and before *Verecundia*, followed by *Misericordia* and *Victoria* and this is why Böckeler suggested the name “*Disciplina*”. It can be seen in second position from the left in a miniature of the facsimile of the Rupertsberg Codex:



Fig. 2 “Tower of the Anticipation of the Will of God” (“*Turm des Ratschlusses Gottes*”). Miniature of the facsimile of the *Scivias* (RupertsbergCodex) where the following Virtues are shown (starting from the left): *Amor caelestis*, *Disciplina*, *Verecundia*, *Misericordia* and *Victoria*.

⁷ In German, “*Turm der Vorbereitung*” (according to BÖCKELER 1927: 63) or “*Turm des Ratschlusses*” (according to sister Gutjahr, from the Abbey of St. Hildegard. For an excellent edition of the miniatures in the *Scivias*, along with her commentaries, see <http://www.abtei-st-hildegard.de/?p=642>).

At this point, before proceeding with this conjecture, it is worth making a brief digression to point out that, apart from the *Ordo*, the Virtues are mentioned in detail in another of Hildegard's works, namely in two passages of the *Scivias* (III, 3 l. 160-593 and III, 8, l. 930-1245 FÜHRKÖTTER 1978), written in prose. In these two fragments, where Hildegard comments on the spiritual and physical attributes of each of the Virtues, there is something that has gone unnoticed by scholars: the Virtues in the *Scivias* appear in almost the same order as in the *Ordo Virtutum*, but whereas in the *Ordo* they are presented one after the other, in the *Scivias* they are separated into two groups. The following table shows, in a more schematic way, the order in which the Virtues appear, as we find them in the *Ordo* and in the *Scivias* (for more details see VERNET, E. and M. in press 2017: 43):

List of the Virtues in the <i>Ordo Virtutum</i> (2nd scene)		List of the Virtues in the <i>Scivias</i>
1. <i>Humilitas</i>	<i>Scivias</i> III, 8 l. 930-1245	8. <i>Humilitas</i>
2. <i>Caritas</i>		9. <i>Caritas</i>
3. <i>Timor Dei</i>		10. <i>Timor Domini</i>
4. <i>Obedientia</i>		11. <i>Obedientia</i>
5. <i>Fides</i>		12. <i>Fides</i>
6. <i>Spes</i>		13. <i>Spes</i>
7. <i>Castitas</i>		14. <i>Castitas</i>
8. <i>Innocentia</i>		15. <i>Gratia Dei</i>
9. <i>Contemptus mundi</i>		----
10. <i>Amor Caelestis</i>	<i>Scivias</i> III, 3 l. 160-593	1. <i>Amor Celestis</i>
11. <Empty>		2. <i>Disciplina</i>
12. <i>Verecundia</i>		3. <i>Verecundia</i>
13. <i>Misericordia</i>		4. <i>Misericordia</i>
14. <i>Victoria</i>		5. <i>Victoria</i>
15. <i>Discretio</i>		6. <i>Patientia</i>
16. <i>Patientia</i>		7. <i>Gemitus</i>
17. <i>Scientia Dei</i> (1st scene)		---

Fig. 3 Order of appearance of the Virtues in the *Ordo Virtutum* and in the *Scivias* (M. Vernet)

That said, it is important to mention that Dronke's 2007 edition, the most recent we have of the *Ordo Virtutum*, took up Böckeler's 1927 conjecture and edited the passage in question writing *Disciplina* in brackets (DRONKE 2007: 513, l. 174).

But although Böckeler's hypothesis may at first sight appear to be correct, and in fact has been accepted by Dronke in his edition, there is one small detail that caught my attention and made me question *ab initio* this conjecture: when one looks at the manuscript, it seems that in the scrapping of the Riesencodex there are two scraped words and not one, which leads one to believe that the name of the didascalia should be a name made up of two words, and not just one. This small detail seems to go unnoticed by Böckeler and Dronke. Furthermore, one must also consider why the scribe would have wanted to erase the didascalia of this particular passage, which is striking

because it is the only case in which the name of a Virtue is erased. In order to be able to resolve these questions, the first step was to consider what information the other manuscripts showed.

Manuscript A from the British Library (Add. 15102, fol. 2072-2215),⁸ the second most important manuscript after the Riesencodex, shows *Caritas* instead of *Disciplina*. But the choice of *Caritas* shown in this manuscript is even less satisfactory: as a character, *Caritas* has already been introduced before, at the beginning of second scene (verses 103-107 DRONKE 2007), so it would not make sense for it to be introduced again later in the play. Therefore, this must be an error of the copyist. Since manuscript A is presumably not a direct copy of the Riesencodex (see DRONKE 2007: 496), it is rather difficult to suggest the same name for the Riesencodex.

Besides this observation, there are four aspects that should be taken into account even if they have gone unnoticed. First, the scrapping in the Riesencodex clearly shows two rows, as if there were originally two words, which seems to suggest that the Virtue had a compound name, and therefore “Discipline” would not be appropriate. Second, in the *Ordo Virtutum*, *Disciplina* displays attributes that do not match the intrinsic characteristics of its name. Let us examine the specific passage in the *Ordo* in which this Virtue is introduced to the rest of the group (*Ordo Virtutum* verses 174-178 DRONKE 2007):

<Disciplina>
175 Ego sum amatrix simplicium morum
qui turpia opera nesciunt;
sed semper in regum regem aspicio
et amplector eum in honore altissimo.⁹

Third, we should bear in mind that the order of appearance of the Virtues in the *Ordo* and in the *Scivias* (III, 3 and 8, FÜHRKÖTTER 1978) is almost the same, the only difference being that in the *Scivias* Virtues are divided into two groups, although the order is the same as that we found in the *Ordo*. However, after a thorough comparative analysis, I have been able to observe that, in both works, there are small fluctuations and changes in the name and position of some of the Virtues, even if they are only a few (see fig. 3): *Innocentia*, is mentioned in the *Scivias* as *Gratia Dei*; *Discretio*, is mentioned in the *Scivias* as *Patientia*; and *Patientia*, is mentioned in the *Scivias* as *Gemitus*. These small changes show that the order of appearance of the Virtues is not a reliable source of information and, consequently, Böckeler’s conjecture is not entirely reliable either.

Finally, the fourth aspect we should consider is that the *Scivias* (III, 8, l. 1155 and following FÜHRKÖTTER 1978), introduces the name of a Virtue, *Gratia Dei*, that is not mentioned in the *Ordo* (*Innocentia* is shown instead). *Gratia Dei*, displays the same physical features and wears an outfit very similar to that of *Disciplina*, which we find in some miniatures of the facsimile of

⁸ London, British Library, Add. 15102, fol. 207r-221r, anno 1487.

⁹ “*Disciplina*: I am one who loves innocent ways/ that know nothing ignoble;/ I always gaze upon the King of kings/ and, as my highest honor, I embrace him. /”.

the *Scivias* in the Rupertsberg codex. Let us examine the passages that highlight the similarities between the two Virtues:

Disciplina:

Secunda autem praetendit disciplinam ... Quae induta est purpurea tunica: quia circumdata est lege mea et mortificatione carnis in hominibus... Stat etiam ut adulescens, qui nondum est ad plenum uirilis aetatis, sed tamen magnae grauitatis: quoniam disciplina semper est in puerili timore, ut puer est in constrictione timens magistrum suum sub magistratione (*Scivias* III, 3, l. 283 and following, FÜHRKÖTTER 1978).¹⁰

Gratia Dei:

Et faciem uirilem habet tantae ardentis claritatis, ut eam perspicue considerare non possis ut faciem hominis: quia gratia Dei in uirtuosa uirtute Omnipotentis dans uitam in uita aparuit... Quod autem est purpurei et subnigri coloris tunica induta... (*Scivias* III, 8, 1169-1179. FÜHRKÖTTER 1978).¹¹

In these fragments of the *Scivias*, both *Disciplina* and *Gratia Dei* have a manly face and are dressed in a purple robe. Given this similarity, and the fact that the scrapping has two rows, it seems plausible that the name behind this scrapping is *Gratia Dei*, rather than *Disciplina*.

To summarise, considering that: (a) the name of the Virtue is scraped in the Riesencodex, (b) the scrapping seems to show originally two erased words, (c) *Caritas*, as suggested by manuscript A from the British Library, is not correct either, (d) the order of appearance and the names of the Virtues in the *Ordo* and the *Scivias* are not a match, and e) *Disciplina* and *Gratia Dei* show attributes that are easy to confuse because of their resemblance, I suggest that “*Gratia Dei*” is the name of the Virtue that was scraped.

4. “*Scientia Dei*”: new considerations regarding the Urtext of the *Ordo Virtutum*

Yet another peculiarity concerning the characters of the *Ordo Virtutum* that seems to have gone unnoticed is the character *Scientia Dei* (“Knowledge of God”).



Fig. 4 Image of *Scientia Dei*. *Scivias*. Facsimile.

¹⁰ “Second, however, is the Discipline.... She wore a purple robe, for she was surrounded by my law and the mortification of the flesh in men.... She stood like an adolescent who has not yet reached the fullness of manhood, but, nevertheless, with great dignity: for Discipline is always present in the fear of the young, since the young man restrains himself beneath authority, for he fears his master”.

¹¹ “And she has a virile face of such great brightness, that you cannot behold it clearly as a human face: for the grace of almighty God in virtuous Virtue, giving life, appeared in life.... For she is also clothed in a robe of purple and of a blackish colour”.

Of all the Virtues mentioned in the *Ordo*, only one, *Scientia Dei*, is introduced in the first scene and not in the second, like the rest of the Virtues. The first appearance of *Scientia Dei* in the *Ordo* is *in medias res*. It is not previously introduced, which is unusual considering that each Virtue enters the scene for the first time through an introduction where its attributes are described. However, *Scientia Dei*, appears *ex abrupto*, in response to a request made by the Soul. Let us examine the passage (verses 44 and following, DRONKE 2007):¹²

45 *Anima illa*
 Succurrite michi, adiuuando,
 ut possim stare!

Scientia Dei ad Animam illam
 Vide quid illud sit
 quo es induta, filia saluationis,
 50 et esto stabilis,
 et numquam cades.

The reason why *Scientia Dei* appears in the first scene is surprising, at least for the internal coherence of the play, because one would expect to find it in the second scene. Scholars do not seem to have mentioned this peculiarity either. In my opinion, we could be dealing with a pre-existing, very old passage, which was part of the prototext of the *Ordo Virtutum*. But before we can reach a conclusion, it is necessary to explain the genesis of the *Ordo Virtutum* and its *Urtext* or prototext, in order to familiarise the reader with the origin of this work and, ultimately, to understand why *Scientia Dei* appears in such an unexpected place.

The *Ordo Virtutum*, as we know it today, is comes from the manuscript text preserved in the Riesencodex (R fol. 478va-481vb) containing the pneumatic notation. This same text is also preserved in other manuscripts, such as the manuscript A from the British Library, but these codices are more recent than the Riesencodex. In addition to this collection of manuscripts, a shorter, non-musicalised version of the *Ordo Virtutum*, by the end of the *Scivias*, in the thirteenth vision of the third part, between chapters 8 and 9 (*Scivias* III, 13, verses 193-495, FÜHRKÖTTER 1978). This reduced version of the *Ordo* is inserted *in medias res*, without any context or musical notation.

This reduced version of the *Ordo Virtutum* can be found in the Riesencodex (R₂ fol. 133r-134r) together with the *Scivias*. According to Führkötter (1978: XLVI), editor of the *Scivias*, the other manuscripts were copied from the *Scivias* of the Riesencodex, so the *Scivias* of the Riesencodex should be considered the oldest version.

The main differences between the text of the *Ordo Virtutum* in manuscripts R₂ (*Scivias*, Riesencodex) and R (*Ordo Virtutum* with pneumatic notation, Riesencodex), are the absence of

¹² «L'Ànima / Auxili! Socorreu-me, / perquè em pugui sostenir! / Coneixement de Déu a l'Ànima / Mira què és allò, / amb què has estat abillada, filla de la salvació: / mantén-te ferma / i així mai no cauràs. /»

the prologue (verses 1-13), the absence of the second scene (verses 92-218), and the absence of the epilogue (verses 342-360). The *Ordo Virtutum* in the *Scivias* (R_2) also features some verses that have been rearranged in comparison to the other version (R).¹³ Another difference is that at the beginning of R_2 , there are two verses that are missing in R: *Vivens enim lux* (verses 215-224, FÜHRKÖTTER 1978) and *Nos uirtutes in Deo sumus* (verses 232-243, FÜHRKÖTTER 1978). Another change between the two versions is the didascalias or titles with the name of the actor who was to utter the verse. Also, the *Ordo Virtutum* in the *Scivias* (R_2), features more detailed titles than the version in R.

Apart from these differences, the rest of the text of the *Ordo Virtutum* is almost identical in both versions, with the exception of a few textual variants.

Once the differences between the two versions have been established, we will try to find out which is the Urtext or the original text, that is, which of the two versions of the *Ordo Virtutum* was written first, because, as we will see later on, this question is closely related to the peculiarity of the *Scientia Dei*. Although the shorter version of the *Ordo Virtutum* in the *Scivias* was initially considered as the Urtext,¹⁴ years later Dronke (1981 and 2007) found arguments to defend just the opposite, i.e. that the *Ordo Virtutum* of the Riesencodex (R fol. 478va-481vb), should be considered as the older text, and was, therefore, written before the last vision in the *Scivias* (R_2 fol. 133r-134r).¹⁵

However, Dronke's arguments are not compelling enough. Dronke bases his hypothesis on the different textual variants present in R and R_2 , as well as on the differences in the arrangement of some verses that we mentioned before. But the same arguments used by Dronke (1981) can be used to defend the opposite, and are therefore not conclusive.¹⁶

I agree with Böckeler (1927: 69-72) and Iversen (1992: 81) that there is evidence to suggest the opposite, i.e. that the *Ordo Virtutum* of R_2 is an earlier text than the *Ordo Virtutum* of R. Firstly, because in the *Liber meritorum*¹⁷ Hildegarda mentions the works she wrote during the second period of her life as a writer (1150-1158), among which the *Symphonia* is explicitly mentioned. The *Ordo Virtutum* should also be included in this musical collection, in addition to her *Lieder*

¹³ For example, the *O plangens vox* appears in the first part of R (verses 70-79, DRONKE 2007), but appears at the beginning of R_2 (verses 193-204, FÜHRKÖTTER 1978). *O uiuens fons*, appears in the third part of R (verses 273-283, DRONKE 2007), but appears in the second stanza of the beginning of R_2 (verses. 205-214, FÜHRKÖTTER 1978).

¹⁴ See BÖCKELER 1927: 34-35, with an excellent introduction; SCHRADER and FÜHRKÖTTER 1956: 21; URSPRUNG 1958-61: 944; BARTH, RITSCHER and SCHMIDT-GÖRG 1969: 165-205 and the edition of the *Scivias* by FÜHRKÖTTER 1978: XIII, XXXI, LI-LII “*Die dem Scivias entnommenen Texte*”; KONERMANN 1991: 54; IVERSEN 1992: 81..

¹⁵ In his canonical edition of the Latin text, DRONKE 2007 does not use the reading variants that appear in the *Scivias* and does not even mention them in his critical apparatus, which is surprising because, regardless of the age of the manuscript—and in this case R_2 happens to be contemporary with R and therefore very old and of great philological value—and of whether or not it is a later copy, these variants should also be taken into account when drawing up a critical apparatus.

¹⁶ See for example BÖCKELER 1927: 69-72, where she defends the exact opposite of Dronke, with arguments of textual comparison between the *Ordo* and the *Scivias*.

¹⁷ See Hildegard of Bingen, *Liber vitae meritorum*. 1994. Translated by Bruce W. Hozeki, New York and Oxford.

(URSPRUNG 1958-1961: 942). In line with this observation, and given that the *Scivias* was written between 1141 and 1151, and thus during her first phase as a writer, the *Ordo Virtutum* with pneumatic notation that we find in R must necessarily be considered as posterior to the reduced version of the *Scivias*. Moreover, the epilogue of the *Ordo*, which is found only in the R and not in the *Scivias*, must necessarily be of a later date, since it comes from the book *Divinorum operum* III 10, written between 1163 and 1170.¹⁸

Aside from the external dating, from a structural point of view, there are other indications that point in the same direction and suggest that the *Ordo* of R₂ is an earlier version than that of R. The fact that R₂ lacks a prologue and epilogue, as well as the second scene, could indicate that we are dealing with an older, more rudimentary original text, not as elaborate or structured as the one we find in R, which already has a well-developed beginning and end that provide a good dramatic structure and better coherence to the work, and which is at the same time enriched by the second scene, in which the virtues are presented one by one. Furthermore, the fact that R₂ has no musical notation, but only text, and that there is an indication of the end of each verse, also shows that R₂ should be considered as a first attempt to fix the written text, which was enriched years later by the musical notation in R. This hypothesis is consistent with Stühlmeyer's idea of musical composition (2012:7), according to which Hildegard would have composed her *Lieder* on the basis of a more or less fixed text that could be modified. One could imagine something similar to what happened with Gregorian chant, which was created and embellished from simple melodies that were constantly modified and adapted to new needs.

These observations, which Dronke (1981) seems to overlook, show that the identification of the *Urtext* is as complex as it is interesting. The aforementioned peculiarities of *Scientia Dei* may help to shed some light on this issue, and support the claim made in this article, according to which the reduced version of the *Ordo* of R₂ would be the *Urtext*. If we take into account all the considerations we have just mentioned about the genesis of the *Ordo*, we can understand why *Scientia Dei* appears, strangely enough, in the first scene and not in the second, like the rest of the Virtues. The passage where *Scientia Dei* appears should be considered a very old passage from the *Ordo Virtutum*, belonging to the *Urtext*, which did not yet include the second scene (remember that the second scene appears only in R). According to this first version, the fact that a Virtue such as *Scientia Dei* appeared *in medias res* in the first scene, without being presented, because in this first version there was not yet the second scene in which each virtue is introduced. But as soon as the second scene was introduced, *Scientia Dei* was automatically out of place in the plot of the play, as an anomalous Virtue, because it appeared in the first scene and not in the second, as the rest. For all these reasons, *Scientia Dei* would be a very ancient witness to the emergence of the text, and further evidence in favour of the reduced version of the *Ordo* of the

¹⁸ See *Liber divinorum operum*. 1996. Edited by Albert Derolez and Peter Dronke. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 92, Turnhout.

Scivias being earlier than the version of the *Ordo* with pneumatic notation, which already shows the second scene and a more elaborate structure.

Conclusions

Throughout this article, we have had the opportunity to analyse and delve deeper into two aspects that caught my attention from the beginning: two of the virtues that appear in the *Ordo Virtutum*, namely *Disciplina* and *Scientia Dei*. In the first case, based on the scrapping in the Riesencodex and on the information provided by some passages of the *Scivias*, I have proposed that *Disciplina* should be replaced by *Gratia Dei*, contrary to what was proposed by Böckeler in 1927 and accepted by Dronke in 2007. In the second case, I have argued that the passage that mentions *Scientia Dei* is an anomaly because it features the Virtue in the first scene and *in medias res*, and it must necessarily be a very old passage from the *Ordo*, and part of the *Urtext*. In order to reach this conclusion, we have previously explored the origin of the *Ordo* and its prototext. The reduced version of the *Ordo* that appears in the *Scivias*, with no pneumatic notation, no prologue, no epilogue, and no second scene, should be considered the earliest version, the *Urtext*. This hypothesis would be reinforced precisely by the anomaly involving *Scientia Dei*. The passage in which it appears *would be a very old version still belonging to the Urtext*, something that seems to have escaped the attention of scholars. In order to understand and try to explain the problems posed by each of these Virtues, we have analysed in more detail the questions concerning the manuscripts and their origins, because it is by understanding these questions that we often find the answers to some of the questions that have not yet been resolved.

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