



The Representation of Antichrist in Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*: Image, Word, Commentary, and Visionary Experience

Author(s): Richard K. Emmerson

Source: *Gesta*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (2002), pp. 95-110

Published by: International Center of Medieval Art

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4126576>

Accessed: 15/06/2010 18:16

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=icma>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



International Center of Medieval Art is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Gesta*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

The Representation of Antichrist in Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*: Image, Word, Commentary, and Visionary Experience*

RICHARD K. EMMERSON

Medieval Academy of America
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Abstract

Drawing on inherited traditional symbolism, apocalyptic iconography, and monastic exegesis, this essay explores how the representation of the Vision of the Last Days in Hildegard's Scivias, and, in particular, the image of Antichrist, may have been understood by Hildegard, her monastic magister, Volmar, and other members of her earliest audience. Focusing on the miniature included in the lost Rupertsberg manuscript of Scivias as the best witness to Hildegard's original designs, the essay argues that the vision, its visual rendering, Hildegard's description of it, and the commentary on it spoken by the Voice from Heaven are qualitatively and temporally distinct aspects of Hildegard's visionary experience. In a concluding analysis, the frontispiece of the Rupertsberg manuscript, which depicts Hildegard in vision, is shown to distinguish four stages in her visionary experience.

Scivias by Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) is the source of one of the most startling and daring images of Antichrist in medieval art (Fig. 1; Color Plate 1). A tripartite miniature representing an apocalyptic nightmare, it visualizes the seer's vision of the Last Days (*Scivias* 3.11).¹ According to Hildegard, *Scivias* originated in 1141 when, at the age of forty-two, she was instructed by a Voice from Heaven to record the prophetic visions she had experienced since childhood (60). Receiving first the support of her monastic magister, Volmar (d. 1173), and then—according to medieval tradition—the encouragement of the most respected mystic of her time, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), as well as the endorsement of Pope Eugenius III at the Synod of Trier (1147/48), Hildegard completed *Scivias* in 1151.² It is the first of three remarkable visionary works, which also include her *Liber vitae meritorum* (1158–63) and her *Liber divinorum operum* (1163–74). The subject of much recent scholarship, Hildegard, as Peter Dronke writes, “still confronts us, after eight centuries, as an overpowering, electrifying presence—and in many ways an enigmatic one.”³ An excellent example of the electrifying and enigmatic nature of Hildegard's work is her vision of the Last Days, which fuses the prophet's personal experience with a deep understanding of monastic theology. The result is a uniquely imaginative repre-

sentation of the events Hildegard expected to precede the Last Judgment.

The image that is the subject of this essay is one of thirty-five miniatures that once illuminated the lost Rupertsberg manuscript (Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibl., MS 1, ca. 1165–75), a deluxe copy of *Scivias*.⁴ In an ill-fated attempt to protect the manuscript, it was taken in 1945 to Dresden, where it disappeared. Fortunately, black-and-white photographs of its images had been published earlier, and between 1927 and 1933 the nuns of Eibingen had prepared a facsimile, including color copies of its miniatures.⁵ The extent to which Hildegard was responsible for the miniatures in the lost manuscript—which was the culmination of a process that began with the visions in 1141 and continued through their inscription, authorization, and circulation in subsequent decades—is a matter of debate. Some art historians distance Hildegard from the production of the miniatures, whereas others credit her with their inspiration, design, and even execution.⁶ Without further direct evidence, the issue must remain a matter of speculation. Nevertheless, given Hildegard's vigorous personal attention to all she set out to accomplish, it is reasonable to assume that she supervised the production of the luxury manuscript, which was probably made at Rupertsberg during her lifetime.⁷

Recently Madeline Caviness has made a persuasive case for Hildegard being the ultimate source and designer of the miniatures, suggesting that during her visions she sketched designs on wax tablets “of the kind she drew in her self-portrait at the opening of the book,” and that these designs were later redrawn onto “single parchment leaves.”⁸ As I will argue below when discussing the manuscript's frontispiece (fol. 1; Fig. 8), designs on wax tablets were most likely the means by which she first recorded her visionary experience. It remains unclear how these designs were transmitted during the years between the time Hildegard experienced and recorded her visions and the time she prepared her commentaries on them in *Scivias*, or how the designs were then transmitted during the additional ten to twenty-five years between the completion of *Scivias* and the production of the Rupertsberg manuscript and its miniatures. Nevertheless, I agree with Caviness that the images “are so close to the text in spirit (but not in the literal way that

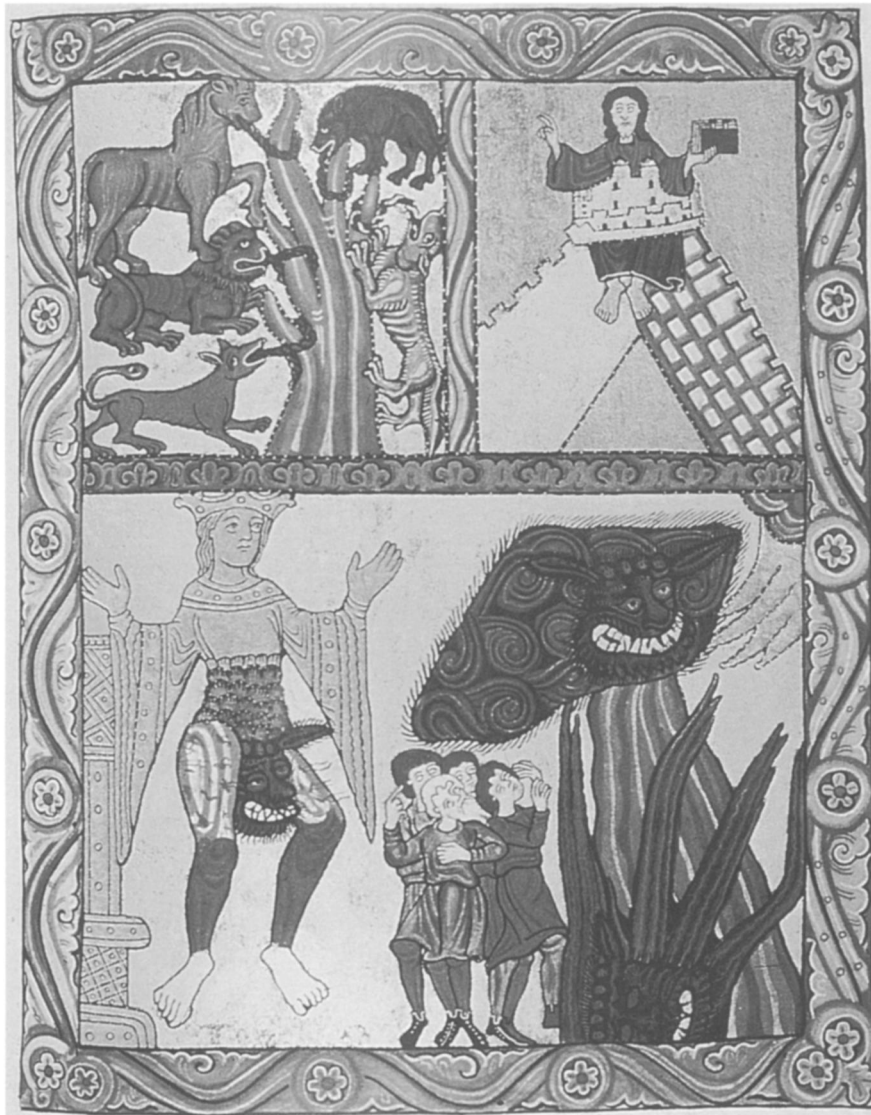


FIGURE 1. Hildegard, *Scivias*, 3.11, Eibingen, MS 1, fol. 214v (copy of Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS 1), *Vision of the Last Days* (photo: after Scivias, CCCM 43A, by permission of Brepols Publishers).

illustrations depend on the word for their genesis) that the compositions must have come from the visionary's own stylus and should therefore be given the same status as her verbal or musical compositions."⁹ This study will therefore treat the miniatures as informed and informative visual representations of Hildegard's visionary experience. They are primary representations of what Hildegard saw, which precede in time and, I will argue, in importance the transcriptions of the Voice from Heaven that offer comment on her visions throughout *Scivias*.

The miniature of the Last Days that is the focus of this study (fol. 214v) provides a means for exploring Hildegard's apocalypticism precisely because Hildegard privileged the visual over the verbal in describing her visionary experience.¹⁰ Although Hildegard was clearly learned in monastic

book culture, as will be demonstrated below, she understood the importance of her visions to lie in their status as visual phenomena, a point she emphasized in her letter to Guibert of Gembloux: "But what I do not see I do not know, for I am not learned."¹¹ Thus this essay will first analyze the miniature that provided visual representation of the vision of the Last Days in the Rupertsberg manuscript. Although the miniature was painted many years after Hildegard experienced her vision, it provides the best visual evidence of her original rendering of the vision, which can be compared with her verbal description of what she saw. Analysis will focus on how Hildegard's immediate circle might have responded to the image as a visual simulation of a vision and particularly to her novel representation of Antichrist, which may have been

troubling for her first audience and encouraged the interpretations and extensive explanations she would include in her commentary. The essay will then explore the exegetical context of the vision, examining the extent to which the commentary that accompanies the image and description of the vision in *Scivias* developed traditional eschatological expectations evident in monastic thought. Finally, it will suggest how the vision and its visual and verbal representations provide insights into the status and order of Hildegard's visionary experience.

Hildegard's Vision of the Last Days

One way to approach the pictorial representation of the vision and its verbal counterpart is to consider what someone like Volmar, Hildegard's secretary and spiritual advisor, might have made of its imagery before the commentary had been composed. We know from Hildegard that she first confided in Volmar and that, once he had overcome his initial astonishment and received the approval of his abbot, he was the first to urge her to record her visions.¹² What about the vision might Volmar, his abbot, and other contemporaries trained in monastic exegesis and apocalyptic thought recognize, and what might seem foreign or enigmatic, requiring explanation? As Bernard McGinn has noted, "In its Latin expression and salvation-historical emphasis," Hildegard's theology "can be seen as a variant of medieval monastic theology, one in which Hildegard's visions serve as the base text, a new visionary scripture, for her theological exegesis."¹³ An awareness of monastic eschatology and traditional expectations regarding Antichrist can thus provide clues to the earliest reception of Hildegard's visionary text.¹⁴ Similarly, knowledge of iconographic sources and visual analogues can help to contextualize the initial response to the design that provided a visual approximation of her vision of the Last Days. Although Hildegard's visions are genuinely unique, their visualization could not entirely escape the influence of contemporary pictorial conventions any more than her description of her experience could escape traditional modes of expression.

Some components of the vision rely on an inherited symbolism. As the vision opens, for example, Hildegard sees five colorful beasts in the North tied by ropes to a mountain in the West:

Then I looked to the North, and behold! five beasts stood there. One was like a dog, fiery but not burning; another was like a yellow lion; another was like a pale horse; another like a black pig; and the last like a gray wolf. And they were facing the West. And in the West, before those beasts, a hill with five peaks appeared; and from the mouth of each beast one rope stretched to one of the peaks of the hill. All the ropes were black except the one that came from the mouth of the wolf, which was partly black and partly white (493).

The geographical directions Hildegard specifies in her vision may be interpreted with reference to traditional symbolism as well as to the conventions established by her other visions. First, Hildegard looks to the North, which suggests that her vision will be a revelation dealing with evil, since North in Indo-European folklore as well as Christian symbolism is the direction from which evil arises, the dwelling place of enemies, demons, and giants, and the location of hell.¹⁵ Images in *Scivias* usually picture North on the upper left,¹⁶ so the visual and verbal representations of the vision reinforced each other. But in the upper left quadrant the miniature also portrays the mountain to which the beasts are tied in the West, which is again appropriate, since West is the apocalyptic direction, often associated with the Last Judgment.¹⁷

The five beasts in the North tied to the mountain in the West would thus have carried both evil and apocalyptic associations. The third beast, the pale horse (*equus pallidus*), would more specifically have brought to mind the fourth horseman of the Apocalypse, identified as Death riding a pale horse, followed by Hell (Rev. 6:8). But the symbolic meaning of the other beasts, their species and colors, could not be determined solely by the visual evidence or Hildegard's visionary description. It is unlikely that members of her first audience would immediately recognize them or identify what they signify: they would later need to be explicated by the Voice from Heaven (*Scivias* 3.11.1–6). The beasts, nevertheless, would be readily understood in a more general sense as apocalyptic symbols, for they recall the many creatures that populate biblical prophecies regarding the Last Days, particularly Daniel and the Apocalypse. In addition to being symbols of evil, beasts in apocalyptic texts often symbolize future events, kingdoms, or ages. According to Jerome's widely known commentary on Daniel, the beasts in Daniel 7, for example, symbolize the four ancient empires, ranging historically from Babylon to Rome, that will be followed in the future by Antichrist's reign of evil established at the end of time.¹⁸ McGinn has noted the originality of Hildegard's five-age scheme of the Last Days, and her choice of these particular five beasts is definitely unusual.¹⁹ Yet those of Hildegard's community who knew Jerome's exegesis and traditional apocalyptic symbolism would have been prepared to interpret the five beasts of her vision as temporal signs, symbols of consecutive ages or powers of evil. This interpretation would later be made explicit in the commentary that Hildegard received from the Voice of God (*Scivias* 3.11.1).

Hildegard also looks to the East, where she sees a Youth whom she had seen in a previous vision seated at the eastern corner of a building:

And lo, in the East I saw again that youth whom I had first seen on the corner of the wall of the building where the shining and stone parts came together, clad in a purple tunic. I now saw him on the same corner, but now I could see him from the waist down. And from the waist down to

the place that denotes the male he glowed like the dawn, and there a harp was lying with its strings across his body; and from there to the width of two fingers above his heel he was in shadow, but from there down to the bottom of the feet he was whiter than milk (493).

The vision describes the Youth as sitting on the eastern corner of the building, recalling the cornerstone named in Psalms 117:22.²⁰ This figure could be interpreted intervisually with reference to an earlier image (fol. 130v; Fig. 2), where his cross nimbus reveals him to be Christ, an identification made explicit in the commentary (*Scivias* 3.2.6). Hildegard's apocalyptic vision (Fig. 1) again places the Youth in the East, which is associated ecclesiastically with the church altar and symbolically with Jerusalem, the source of truth. He thus geographically balances the five beasts portrayed in the North and West, just as in the apocalyptic scenario he morally balances their evil with good. To stress this moral and geographic balance, the image echoes the earlier miniature, again picturing the shining and stone parts of the wall but also now showing the brightness of the Youth's torso and white feet.²¹ The bright dawn of the Youth's waist and the shadow across his loins at "the place that denotes the male" and below imply again a dualistic contrast between good and evil. Read temporally, it suggests that the brightness of Christ's church will be overcome by the shadow of evil, at least for a short period of time. This use of dark and light symbolism would also have helped Hildegard's first audience understand the ropes that tie the five beasts to the mountain in the West. Unlike the black ropes of the first four beasts, the rope of the fifth beast is white and black, a feature clearly illustrated in the miniature. This mixture suggests that the gray wolf symbolically mixes elements of good and evil.

The first part of the vision, portrayed in the upper third of the miniature, would thus probably have suggested the following to Hildegard's original monastic audience. The beasts represent ages or periods of history, perhaps church history, given their connection to the Youth who serves as the foundation of the Church. The Youth is almost totally good, but he is enshadowed by a darkness suggesting evil or tribulation, even if in a small way or for a short period; at the same time, the beasts represent ages that are almost totally evil, but the gray wolf, tied to the mountain by a white and black rope, implies an age that mixes at least some hope for good with its evil. So much would be reasonably clear and accessible, even without the seer's explication, which, as I will argue below, may have been composed to explain the vision's complex imagery some time after the visionary experience was first sketched and recorded.

The next scene Hildegard sees in vision is pictured in the lower two-thirds of the miniature (Fig. 1). Its focus is a large Woman who is so tall that her crown touches the frame separating the upper and lower registers. This figure can be interpreted intervisually, in accord with Hildegard's vision:

"And I saw again the figure of a woman whom I had previously seen in front of the altar that stands before the eyes of God; she stood in the same place, but now I saw her from the waist down" (493). Hildegard here alludes to *Scivias* 2.3, in which she had described a magnificent Woman standing before the altar of Christ: "After this I saw the image of a woman as large as a great city, with a wonderful crown on her head and arms from which a splendor hung like sleeves, shining from Heaven to earth" (169). This earlier vision is clearly the point of reference for the large crowned Woman whom Hildegard sees in her apocalyptic vision, and details of its illustration (fol. 51; Fig. 3)²² are incorporated into the apocalyptic miniature.

The iconography of the Woman, although once again unusual, would not have been difficult to decipher, since phrases in the earlier vision associate her with traditional symbols of Holy Church: "And that image spreads out its splendor like a garment, saying, 'I must conceive and give birth!'" (169). This readiness to give birth recalls the central symbol of the Apocalypse, the *mulier amicta sole*, described as "clothed with the sun, and the moon was under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" (Rev. 12:1). Pregnant and harassed by the Dragon (Rev. 12:2–3), she is often identified as Ecclesia. Her iconography, furthermore, was well established by the twelfth century, for she played a central role in the long tradition of Apocalypse illustration, ranging from the earlier illuminated commentaries of the eighth-century Spanish monk, Beatus of Liébana, to the later Anglo-French Apocalypses.²⁴ Typical of this iconography is the representation of the Apocalyptic Woman in the *Liber floridus* (Fig. 4), a spiritual encyclopedia written around 1120 by Hildegard's near contemporary, Lambert of St.-Omer.²⁵ The Woman holds her new-born son, who is caught up to heaven (Rev. 12:5), and she is harassed by the red Dragon with seven heads and ten horns, who is identified in the biblical text as Satan (Rev. 12:9).

Hildegard's Antichrist

Though Hildegard's Ecclesia recalls a well-established apocalyptic tradition, the depiction in the *Scivias* vision of the Last Days (Fig. 1) differs in one crucial respect from that traditional iconography, and this difference is Hildegard's most original and startling contribution to medieval eschatology. As demonstrated by the *Liber floridus* image (Fig. 4), the Apocalyptic Woman was usually shown being attacked by an outside force, the Dragon, which symbolizes the devil, sometimes Antichrist, or, in the polemics of the later Middle Ages, some other power such as a counterfeit pope, the German emperor, or the Saracens.²⁶ This is true, for example, in the spiritual encyclopedia compiled by Herrad of Hohenbourg, a German abbess contemporary with Hildegard.²⁷ An enormous and complex volume intended for the instruction of Herrad's nuns, the *Hortus deliciarum* (ca. 1176–96) includes



FIGURE 2. Hildegard, *Scivias*, 3.2, Eibingen, MS 1, fol. 130v (copy of Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS 1), Vision of the Youth and the four-sided building (photo: after Scivias, CCCM 43A, by permission of Brepols Publishers).



FIGURE 3. Hildegard, *Scivias*, 2.3, Eibingen, MS 1, fol. 51 (copy of Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS 1), Vision of the Woman before the altar of Christ (photo: after Scivias, CCCM 43A, by permission of Brepols Publishers).

an image of the Apocalyptic Woman (Fig. 5) that shows her attacked not only on the right by the Dragon of Revelation 12, but also on the left by the cruel seven-headed Beast of Revelation 13, which rises from the sea to wield a sword against the faithful. Receiving its authority from the Dragon (Rev. 13:4), the Sea Beast in monastic exegesis symbolizes Antichrist.²⁸ Herrad's *Hortus*, like Hildegard's *Scivias*, was a casualty of war, destroyed during the bombing of Strasbourg in 1870. Luckily, earlier nineteenth-century studies included some handcolored copies and drawings of the manuscript's miniatures, so we can be confident that this image is close to Herrad's original and that it, like the illuminated Apocalypses, stresses Ecclesia's purity and bodily wholesomeness and identifies the source of the attack on her as external rather than internal.

In contrast to Herrad's image, the illustration in the *Liber floridus*, and all other medieval depictions of the apocalyptic Woman, Hildegard's vision makes clear—both verbally as described by the seer and visually as represented by the miniature (Fig. 1)—that Ecclesia is not attacked from the outside. Instead, she is herself corrupt, especially at “the place that denotes the female”: “And from her waist to the place that denotes the female, she had various scaly blemishes; and in that latter place was a black and monstrous head. It had fiery eyes, and ears like an ass’, and nostrils and mouth like a lion’s; it opened wide its jowls and terribly clashed its horrible iron-colored teeth” (493). Some visual clues might have helped Hildegard's earliest audience to interpret this “black and monstrous head.” The miniature finds a parallel in the image of the Youth symbolizing Christ as the foundation of the Church (Fig. 2) and also in the image illustrating the earlier vision of Ecclesia (Fig. 3). Like the Youth, who is described in positive terms but is said to be overcome by a shadow (*umbrosus*), the Woman is presented as basically good but suffering from a horrible evil, represented by the scaly blemishes and the black head. The locus of both points of evil, furthermore, is the same: the genitalia, whether male or female. This brings to mind the visual motif in the lower right quadrant of the miniature of Ecclesia, which shows black children entering the womb of the Church through a series of openings.

Just as the shadow marring the Youth is limited, so are the blemishes of the Woman: “And from this head down to her knees, the figure was white and red as if bruised by many beatings; and from her knees to her tendons where they joined her heels, which appeared white, she was covered with blood” (493). The blood on her legs suggests tremendous suffering, presumably caused by the monstrous head.²⁹ The whiteness of the Woman's feet, therefore, comes as an unexpected contrast, promising that Ecclesia is ultimately good. Since the vision is introduced by the five beasts that would likely have been associated with temporal ages, Hildegard's audience may also have understood the change from good to evil and again to good as consecutive periods in ecclesiastical history.³⁰ This would suggest that, although Ecclesia will



FIGURE 4. Lambert of St.-Omer, *Liber floridus*, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Guelf. 1. Gud. Lat. 2, fol. 14v, Apocalyptic Woman attacked by the Dragon (photo: Herzog-August-Bibliothek).

experience a time of evil and suffering (the Youth's shadow, the Woman's monstrous head, the bloody legs), ultimately it will enjoy a period of goodness, perhaps at the end of time, as symbolized by the white feet of both the Youth and the Woman.

Hildegard's first audience, responding to the image and description of the Woman's monstrous genital head, may not have recognized the source of evil plaguing Ecclesia, since Hildegard does not identify it as Antichrist in her account of the vision. The image, furthermore, is unusual: the last great persecutor of the Church is usually portrayed in medieval art and exegesis as a human figure rather than as a demon.³¹ But a clue to this reading was provided by two further depictions of the monstrous head, one above a mountain pictured in the lower register to the right of the Woman and one partially obscured at the base of the mountain. Hildegard describes what she saw, as the head attempts to ascend to heaven: "And behold! That monstrous head moved from its place with such a great shock that the figure of the woman was shaken through all her limbs. And a great mass of excrement adhered



FIGURE 5. Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum*, formerly Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, fol. 261v, Apocalyptic Woman (photo: after Straub-Keller, *Hortus deliciarum*, 1879–99).

to the head; and it raised itself up upon a mountain and tried to ascend the height of Heaven" (493). According to apocalyptic tradition, the final way Antichrist will deceptively imitate Christ's life will be by attempting to rise to heaven in a parody of the Ascension. This expectation was reinforced by legends describing the blasphemous career of the first great heretic, Simon Magus. It was known through the biblical Acts of the Apostles and other accounts of the ministry of Peter and Paul in Rome that Simon Magus denounced the apostles before Nero and tried to purchase the Holy Spirit to strengthen his magic (Acts 8:18–19).³² Because he used money to gain spiritual authority, he gave his name to the practice of simony, a condition characterizing the Church in Hildegard's day. According to legend, to prove his divinity, Simon tried to fly up to heaven with the aid of demons, but, when cursed by Simon Peter, he fell to his death.³³

As the legend of Antichrist developed throughout the Middle Ages, it was influenced by earlier events associated with Simon Magus and other evil figures in salvation history who prefigured the deceiver of the Last Days. Thus the



PLATE 1. Hildegard, *Scivias*, 3.11, Eibingen, MS 1, fol. 214v (copy of Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS 1), *Vision of the Last Days* (photo: after Scivias, CCCM 43A, by permission of Brepols Publishers).

pseudo-ascension became a feature of Antichrist's legendary life and was illustrated in various contexts, including a drawing from Herrad's *Hortus deliciarum* (fol. 242v; Fig. 6). In the top register of one of three folios picturing the life and career of Antichrist, he is shown attempting to rise from the Mount of Olives, where Michael, emerging from a cloud and wielding a sword, strikes him down.³⁴ This is the most common version of Antichrist's death. Hildegard offers a novel variant: "And behold, there came suddenly a thunderbolt, which struck that head with such great force that it fell from the mountain and yielded up its spirit in death. And a reeking cloud enveloped the whole mountain, which wrapped the head in such filth that the people who stood by were thrown into the greatest terror. And that cloud remained around the mountain for a while longer" (493). Although McGinn states that Hildegard is the first to claim that Antichrist will attempt to rise to heaven in a parody of the life of Christ,³⁵ the notion that Antichrist will go to the Mount of Olives in order to ascend to heaven as did Christ but would instead be killed had been suggested almost eight hundred years earlier in Jerome's commentary on Daniel, which posited that Antichrist would meet his end at the apex of the Mount of Olives.³⁶ Thus Volmar and others among Hildegard's earliest audience who were familiar with Jerome's exegesis may have been able to identify the monstrous head with Antichrist and the mountain with the Mount of Olives, even though the mountain is not named either in Hildegard's account of her vision or in the commentary.

In envisioning Antichrist in the form of a demonic head integral to the body of the Church, Hildegard is at her most original and radical. Caviness has referred to this image as "the church invaded by Antichrist," and Newman has described Antichrist as assaulting Ecclesia.³⁷ It must be stressed again, however, that Hildegard clearly sees evil coming from within the Church. This is not an attack from without, whether led by the traditional Antichrist born of the Jews or an Antichrist supported by Islamic military power, as others feared. By representing evil as internal to Ecclesia, Hildegard conveys her vivid sense that the Church has grown corrupt, especially from simony. This image may also suggest "her midcentury disillusionment over the schism."³⁸ Whatever its immediate source, the originality of Hildegard's insight that Antichrist emerges from within the Church, should not be underestimated.

The remainder of the vision conforms to a more traditional eschatology. After the head is destroyed by the thunderbolt, the terrified followers of Antichrist, depicted between Ecclesia and the mountain, repent, saying: "O Almighty God, have mercy on us! Let us return, let us return; let us hasten to the covenant of Christ's Gospel; for ah! ah! ah! we have been bitterly deceived!" (493–94). This passage represents the orthodox expectation developed by Jerome in his commentary on Daniel that a brief period for the "refreshment of the saints" will follow the destruction of Antichrist

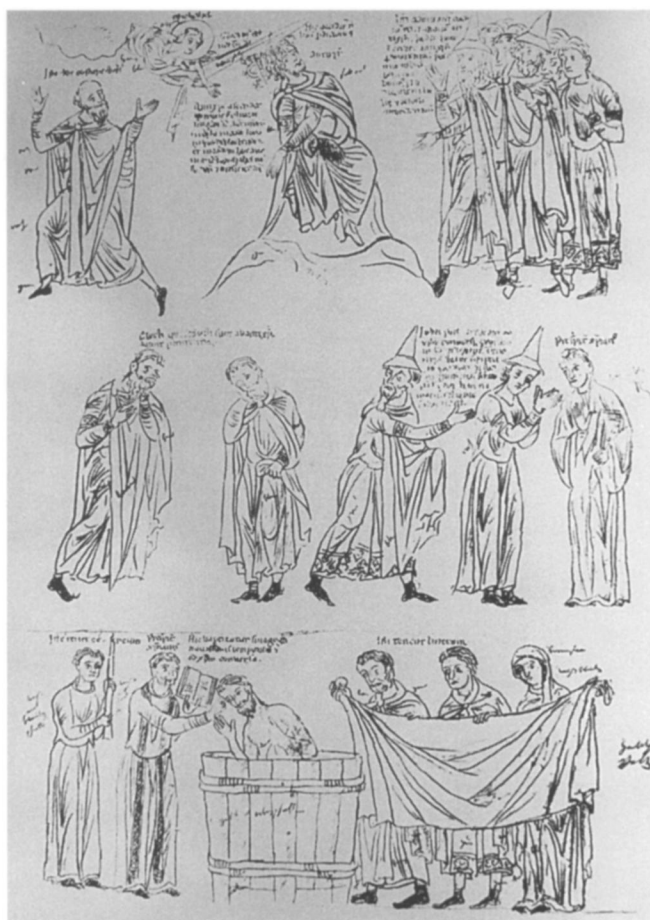


FIGURE 6. Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum*, formerly Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, fol. 242v, Antichrist's death and subsequent events (photo: after Straub–Keller, *Hortus deliciarum*, 1879–99).

and precede Doomsday.³⁹ This refreshment, giving those deceived by Antichrist the opportunity to repent—to turn from Antichrist's false religion to Christ's true Gospel—leads not to a millennial kingdom but to a brief period of ecclesiastic renewal, a period symbolized in the vision by the white feet of the Youth and the Woman. This period of repentance is visualized explicitly in the second register of the folio picturing the conclusion of Antichrist's life in Herrad's *Hortus deliciarum* (Fig. 6). After Michael strikes down Antichrist in the top register, his followers, including Jews and Christians, are amazed, and some turn to the true Church, as represented by the man in the second register holding a book. The lower register shows the goal of the refreshment of the saints: conversion and baptism.

The Voice from Heaven

Hildegard's claim in *Scivias* is that she not only simultaneously saw and heard divine secrets in visions, but that she also heard a Voice from Heaven explicating her visions. The

biblical prophets provided a model for this claim: Daniel, for example, received a heavenly explication of his enigmatic vision of the beasts (Daniel 7:16–28). In the case of Hildegard's vision of the Last Days, the commentary she received comprises forty-two discursive chapters (*Scivias* 3.11.1–42), each transcribed in the Rupertsberg manuscript after the miniature depicting the vision and after Hildegard's description of what she saw.⁴⁰ These chapters represent a dramatic shift in content and tone. The mode of representation of the vision is emphatically visual, innovative, and individualistic, whereas that of their explication is verbal, traditional, and conventional, conforming to patterns characteristic of contemporary monastic exegesis. The change in mode results in a corresponding shift in effect on the reader-viewer of the *Scivias* manuscript. If we accept Hildegard's belief that both the vision she sees and the voice she hears are divinely inspired revelations, then God is a more interesting artist than exegete.

The forty-two chapters of commentary may be divided into three categories based on purpose and subject matter. Texts of the first type repeat and explain small sections of the vision. After a short introduction, the Voice from Heaven clarifies the literal meaning of each section and then usually interprets the imagery as a prophecy of the future. It is explained, for example, that the five beasts represent five temporal ages (3.11.1).⁴¹ Although characterized by evil, the fifth age, the time of the “son of perdition” (3.11.6), will include some who resist evil: “And then the children of light will be pressed in the winepress of martyrdom; and they will not deny the Son of God, but reject the son of perdition who tries to do his will with the Devil's arts” (495)—an allusion to Antichrist's use of supernatural powers to convert the unwary.⁴² This resistance, the Voice further explains, is the reason the gray wolf's rope mixes white with black. Such visionary explication, serving both to clarify and to supplement the ambiguous imagery, typifies these chapters, which, for example, explicitly identify the Youth as the Son of Man (3.11.9), the shadow that covers him as a time of persecution (3.11.10), and the Woman as the Bride of the Son of God (3.11.13). Of the forty-two chapters recording the heavenly Voice, however, only eighteen—fewer than half—specifically explicate portions of the visions.

The second type of text, represented by eight chapters, comprises quotations from and commentaries on biblical passages, drawing upon traditional monastic exegesis and emphasizing tropological interpretations. Interestingly, the Voice justifies the content of Hildegard's vision by citing the apathy of the contemporary Church and the need to “speak through a person who is not eloquent in the Scriptures or taught by an earthly teacher” (3.11.18). This authorization may have been needed in the commentary both because of the disturbing nature of the Last Judgment vision—particularly its image of Antichrist—and because, as McGinn notes, it was more unusual for a woman in the Middle Ages to be an

exegete than a visionary or prophet.⁴³ Hildegard's practice of using scriptural exegesis to supplement her visions, therefore, is exceptional, whereas the content of the commentary itself, which does not always relate directly to the images, is generally conventional, homiletic, and often highly moralized. The moralizations can be quite extensive and take on a life of their own. They are particularly concerned with sexual purity or deviance, which may explain the locus of evil in the images of the Youth and Woman. If Hildegard's vision may be designated mystical apocalypticism, her discussion of the vision based on the Voice from Heaven may be labeled moralized apocalypticism.

Of particular relevance to an analysis of Hildegard's knowledge of monastic eschatology and its influence on her vision of the Last Days is the third type of text recording the Voice from Heaven. The passages, digressions on key themes, together form a compendium of traditional Antichrist lore. Although not revealed in the vision itself, they add numerous details regarding the Last Days and life of Antichrist. This material draws on a monastic tradition best known from the *Libellus de Antichristo* (ca. 950), compiled by Abbot Adso of Montier-en-Der.⁴⁴ The *Libellus* greatly influenced later apocalyptic narratives, in part because Adso organized the disparate exegetical and legendary beliefs regarding Antichrist into a coherent *vita* modeled on the well-established form of the saint's legend.⁴⁵ Altogether sixteen chapters of *Scivias* develop specific features of the Antichrist legend. The longest digression occurs after the Voice from Heaven explicates the Woman's monstrous genital head and bloody legs by describing the son of perdition, his persecutions, and the bloody suffering of the faithful (3.11.15–16). Then, before discussing the next scene in the vision—the monstrous head breaking away from the Woman (3.11.37) to rise up the mountain—Hildegard inserts several chapters summarizing both popular and theological accounts of the conception, deceits, and persecutions of Antichrist. It is here that the son of perdition is finally named (3.11.19) and distinguished from the Son of God: “For those who forerun and follow the son of perdition whom you call Antichrist are in the way of error; but as for you, follow the footsteps of Him Who taught you the way of truth, when He appeared with humility and not with pride in the world in the body” (499).

It is important to remember that the extended explication of Antichrist's life that now follows was not *seen* by Hildegard in her vision of the Last Days. Instead, it was received from the heavenly Voice by way of explication of the vision (“Hear therefore and understand” [499]), and it is only at this point that Hildegard introduces traditional lore concerning Antichrist. These include his vile conception and childhood (3.11.25), his pretense to be Christ (3.11.26), his startling miracles (3.11.27, 29), his observance of Jewish ritual (3.11.30), his pretended death and resurrection (3.11.31), and his persecution of the elect (3.11.32). Once again, sexual depravity is emphasized, this time in the description of Antichrist's

mother: “She will separate herself from all people, so as to conceal herself more easily; and then she will secretly engage in vile fornication with men, though only a few, defiling herself with them with a great appetite for wicked doings, as if her holy angel commanded her to do this deed of shame. And in the burning heat of this fornication, she will conceive the son of perdition without knowing which man’s semen engendered him” (502). The evil, demonically inspired nature of Antichrist’s conception—exemplifying the mixture of folklore and exegesis in this popular apocalyptic legend—particularly worried monastic commentators and is therefore stressed by the Voice from Heaven.⁴⁶

Enoch and Elijah and the Salem Miniature

The most common expectation concerning Antichrist—outlined in patristic exegesis and expanded in narrative and dramatic accounts—is that Enoch and Elijah will return in the Last Days to challenge the deceiver. The Voice from Heaven develops this expectation at length when explaining the monstrous head (3.11.33–36), even though Hildegard had not seen the patriarch and prophet in vision. The commentary also alluded to them relatively early when explicating the white feet of the Youth and Woman (3.11.10–11, 16). According to an extensive exegetical tradition, Enoch and Elijah are the Two Witnesses of Revelation 11, who will preach the true Gospel of Christ for 1260 days and then be killed by the Beast that rises from the Abyss.⁴⁷ The Beast is identified as Antichrist, who is particularly enraged by Enoch and Elijah. Recording the Voice of God, Hildegard states that their preaching will be like a thunderbolt challenging Antichrist’s supernatural powers (3.11.35). Unable to withstand such a doctrinal challenge, he will finally kill them (3.11.36): “But by the consent of My will, Enoch and Elijah will at last be killed by Antichrist; and then they will receive in Heaven the reward of their labors” (506)—an allusion to their promised resurrection (Rev. 11:12).

It is not surprising that the heavenly Voice’s extended digression on the life of Antichrist develops the legend of Enoch and Elijah, given how common it was in literary, artistic, and exegetical contexts. But what does this legend have to do with Hildegard’s vision, which does not include the Two Witnesses? Nothing Hildegard had seen and described—as depicted in the *Scivias* miniature of the Last Days (Fig. 1)—alludes to Enoch and Elijah. To put the question in terms of her mystical experience, how does what Hildegard saw in vision relate to what she then heard about the vision from the heavenly Voice? This is the crucial question to be addressed when analyzing the relationship between image and word in *Scivias* and when considering Hildegard as an apocalyptic visionary.

An answer to the question is suggested by comparing the Rupertsberg image to a miniature in another manuscript of *Scivias*, produced at the Cistercian monastery of Salem ca.

1200 and now in Heidelberg (Fig. 7).⁴⁸ It illustrates the same vision of the Last Days as the miniature we have been examining, but with significant differences. For example, although the five beasts are still portrayed in the upper left corner symbolizing North, they now face in the same downward direction, explicitly denoting West. In this the Salem illustration is closer to Hildegard’s description of her vision than is the Rupertsberg miniature (Fig. 1). Another difference is that the Salem image depicts a musical instrument covering the Youth’s lap, a feature of the vision described by Hildegard and interpreted by the commentary as the songs of those persecuted by Antichrist (3.11.9). The miniature also places the Woman and the Youth next to each other in the upper right corner, which may illustrate the commentary’s identification of the Youth as “Bridegroom of the Church” (3.11.9) and the Woman as “Bride of the Son of God” (3.11.13). Significantly, the Woman is now fully clothed, so that the blood on her legs is not shown and the monstrous head is depicted as superimposed on her clothing, rather than as an integral part of her body. This representation of the head as external to the Woman may have been influenced by the commentary, which tends to moderate the most disturbing aspects of the vision. It, for example, treats Antichrist’s persecutions as external attacks and stresses that the Church “must endure assault, until the coming of the two witnesses of Truth” (498). Another notable difference in design is the placement of the heavenly thunderbolt directly below the Youth, so that when it strikes the monstrous head, it appears as an extension of the Youth’s power. This design may reflect how the thunderbolt is allegorized by the Voice from Heaven: “For God’s power will manifest itself and destroy the son of perdition, striking him with such jealousy that he will fall violently from the height of his presumption, in all the pride with which he stood against God” (507).

The Salem miniature thus provides a careful illustration of the *Scivias* text. In this illustrative function it differs from its counterpart in the lost Rupertsberg manuscript, which—probably based on Hildegard’s sketches and designs—functions as an independent witness to the visionary experience. The difference between the two manuscripts is stressed by Caviness, who notes that the pictures in the Salem manuscript seem “to have been created as ‘illustration,’ that is, their genesis was secondary to the text.”⁴⁹ I would add, too, another significant distinction: at least in the Salem image of the Last Days, the text illustrated is not only Hildegard’s account of her vision, but also the explication of it ascribed to the heavenly Voice.⁵⁰ This is particularly evident in the miniature’s lower left quadrant (Fig. 7), where two holy figures are depicted, their names—Enoch and Elijah—inscribed above their heads. Thus the artist of the Salem miniature has responded to the text of the commentary by picturing what the vision and the Rupertsberg miniature lacked: the expectation that the Two Witnesses would preach in the Last Days. The Salem miniature illustrates the commentary’s emphasis on



FIGURE 7. Hildegard, *Scivias*, 3.11, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Salem X.16, fol. 177, *Vision of the Last Days* (photo: Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg).

their opposition to Antichrist (3.11.33–36) by showing Elijah using his staff to poke the monstrous head. Furthermore, the two biblical figures have taken the place of Antichrist's duped followers, whom the Rupertsberg image pictures looking up in amazement at the reeking cloud. The Salem design illustrates the commentary's promise that Enoch and Elijah "will terrify and cast out [Antichrist's] whole cohort with the thunderbolt of righteous doctrine, and so fortify the faithful" (506). By focusing on the faithful witnesses rather than those deceived by Antichrist and by showing the fallen head as upside down and with eyes shut, the Salem miniature depicts the ultimate victory of Ecclesia over Antichrist, a victory stressed by the Voice from Heaven.

Since the role of the Two Witnesses is one of the most commonly represented elements of the Antichrist legend, its illustration in the Salem manuscript is traditional, just as its absence from the Rupertsberg image is unusual. The Salem miniature's traditionalism and dependence on the text of the commentary highlights by contrast the originality and self-sufficiency of the Rupertsberg miniature. This independence strengthens the likelihood that it was designed by, or was immediately and thoroughly influenced by, Hildegard. Although it was painted much later, when the Rupertsberg manuscript was produced, the miniature probably preserves authentic elements of Hildegard's visionary experience that preceded the lengthy explanations ascribed to the Voice from Heaven.

Thus comparing the Salem and Rupertsberg miniatures helps clarify the relationship between Hildegard's vision and the commentary. Hildegard captured what she saw and heard in vision only in part and by two means: first, in the original designs that form the basis of the Rupertsberg miniature; and second, in her verbal description of the vision recorded in *Scivias*. The original designs do not depict elements discussed by the Voice from Heaven probably because the commentary was added later to the visual and verbal representations of the vision to restrain their disturbing imagery and explain their perplexing features. The commentary also drew upon established monastic exegesis to incorporate standard apocalyptic expectations into the original vision of the Last Days, such as Enoch and Elijah's opposition to Antichrist, which provides assurance that at least some faithful will remain steadfast in the Last Days. This is such a traditional feature of Christian eschatology that an image produced under the influence of the commentary, such as the Salem miniature, would be expected to illustrate it. The differences between these two miniatures should remind us that, when analyzing representations of the vision of the Last Days, we need to recognize the experiential and temporal distinctions between Hildegard's original visionary experience, her sketching of it, her description of it, and her recording of the explication provided by the heavenly Voice.

Hildegard's Visionary Experience and the Rupertsberg Frontispiece

The famous frontispiece to the Rupertsberg *Scivias* that portrays Hildegard and Volmar (fol. 1; Fig. 8) and substantiates her claim for divine inspiration visually represents and underscores the importance of these experiential and temporal distinctions in her visionary experience. My discussion of the frontispiece borrows terms from the philosophical analysis of Peter Moore, who, although he does not discuss Hildegard, outlines four elements of mystical experience that can provide insight into her visions.⁵¹ The first, which Moore calls "raw experience," is mystical experience unavailable for analysis because it cannot be communicated by the mystic. In the frontispiece this raw experience is pictured by the tongues of fire licking Hildegard's head and touching her eyes. The fire comes directly from heaven and recalls the flames of Pentecost. The apostle Peter's pentecostal sermon is relevant here: "God says, 'This will happen in the last days: I will pour out upon everyone a portion of my spirit; and your sons and daughters shall prophesy . . .'" (Acts 2:16). This prophetic moment is recalled by the *Scivias* image, which establishes Hildegard as directly inspired by the Holy Spirit, a daughter of God endowed with the gift of prophecy. Moreover, unlike traditional illustrations of Pentecost, in which the tongues of fire alight on the heads of all present—the disciples as a group and often on the Virgin Mary as well—this image stresses that Volmar, although a witness to Hildegard's visions, is not a



FIGURE 8. Hildegard, *Scivias*, Eibingen, MS 1, fol. 1 (copy of Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS 1), frontispiece, Hildegard and Volmar (photo: after *Scivias*, CCCM 43A, by permission of Brepols Publishers).

participant in the pentecostal gift. The raw experience of the vision is divine in origin and Hildegard's alone.

Moore calls the second element of mystical experience "incorporated interpretation." The mystic integrates prior beliefs and experiences and known images and symbols into received visions, thereby communicating—to the extent it is possible—the original experience to others. In my view the *Scivias* frontispiece seeks to represent this "incorporated interpretation" by depicting Hildegard as she sketches on the wax tablets stacked on her lap. It is the first way in which she records her visionary experience, an immediate interpretation that incorporates the raw experience into a recognizable visual language based both on her previous visionary images and on an inherited iconography. For Hildegard, these designs—which, as Caviness suggested,⁵² she probably redrew on parchment—are the primary record of her vision, which she developed in her verbal account of the vision and expanded in her commentary.

Caviness has argued that, even while sketching on these wax tablets, Hildegard "could have dictated part of the text

more or less simultaneously—as she shows herself dictating to Volmar in this frontispiece.”⁵³ Strictly speaking, the frontispiece does not show Volmar taking dictation, since he holds a closed book, not a pen or a parchment sheet,⁵⁴ but the miniature strongly suggests verbal communication, since Volmar leans forward as if to hear words spoken. Although the initial sketching precedes the dictation—Hildegard refers in the past tense to what she “saw”—the two are closely related. It is reasonable to assume that after immediately and quickly sketching the vision as she sees it, Hildegard would next describe it to Volmar, who would make a record that formed the basis of the verbal description in *Scivias*. It is important to note, however, that although closely related, Hildegard’s verbal dictation is distinct from her sketching and forms a separate element of her visionary experience. It represents the third of Moore’s four elements, “reflexive interpretation,” which includes interpretations “spontaneously formulated either during the experience itself or immediately afterwards.”⁵⁵ It is crucial to distinguish this element in Hildegard’s work, for just as her sketches cannot capture the raw visionary experience, neither can her dictated description capture verbally what she draws, even if she describes it shortly after she sketches it. Thus the verbal description of the vision is distinct from its visual representation, just as the artistic image is distinct from the original vision.

Moore’s fourth element of mystical experience is not represented in the frontispiece, although it is implied by Volmar’s prominence in the miniature and by what we know of their collaboration. Moore names it “retrospective interpretation,” and it includes doctrinal interpretations formulated after—often very long after—the experience is over. The forty-two chapters of *Scivias* that follow upon the image and description of the vision of the Last Days and that record the Voice from Heaven represent Hildegard’s retrospective interpretation of her vision. They probably resulted from her discussions with Volmar and her memory of her experience contemplated within the context of monastic exegesis. In her famous letter to Guibert of Gembloux, Hildegard notes the importance of memory and its role in making her visions immediate and understandable: “Whatever I have seen or learnt in this vision, I retain the memory of it for a long time, in such a way that, because I have at some time seen and heard it, I can remember it; and I see, hear and know simultaneously, and learn what I know as if in a moment.”⁵⁶ The role of memory in her retrospective interpretation of her vision may explain the different tenses Hildegard uses in describing her vision and in recording the Voice. Whereas the description of the vision is in the past tense (e.g., “then I looked” and “I saw again,” 3.11), the Voice from Heaven interprets the vision in the present (e.g., “And this is mystically signified by the vision you are seeing,” 3.11.1) while it is being recalled by Hildegard, perhaps as she looks at the image of the vision she had sketched earlier. But memory and explanation should not be confused with the visionary

experience itself. Scholars have tended to conflate this retrospective interpretation with the vision, as if Hildegard had her stunningly original visual experience and heard the heavenly Voice—with its extensive explanations, biblical exegesis, moral precepts, legendary details, and numerous digressions—all at once. But surely this was not the case. Although an important part of Hildegard’s response to her visionary experience, the commentary ascribed to the Voice from Heaven is in my view far removed both temporally and experientially from not only the raw experience of her vision, but also from her picturing it in a sketch (“incorporated interpretation”) and describing it in words (“reflexive interpretation”).

By invoking a supernatural Voice, Hildegard can claim prophetic inspiration for her explications as well as for her visions. This is not an unusual move for the seer. In the introduction to her commentary on the Benedictine Rule, for example, she writes: “And I, a poor little female in form, unlearned by human teaching, looked toward the true light and to the memory of blessed Benedict as you requested, in order that the matters in the teaching of the Rule which are more difficult and obscure to human understanding might be revealed to me through the grace of God. And I heard a voice from the true light saying to me . . .”⁵⁷ This text did not originate in a divinely sent vision but was written at the request of a Benedictine house about a decade after Hildegard completed *Scivias*. Here and elsewhere in her vast corpus of visionary, exegetical, and epistolary literature, the voice (whether originating in Heaven or the *lux vivens*) signals Hildegard’s shift from an experiential to an explanatory mode. It is for this reason that, as Joan Ferrante notes, “There are, in fact, times when it is virtually impossible to distinguish God’s voice from Hildegard’s.”⁵⁸

The traditional character of the material received from the Voice from Heaven, dependent on monastic exegesis and orthodox eschatology, reveals Hildegard’s impressive command of monastic learning.⁵⁹ It may also suggest the learned influence of Volmar and possibly others in her immediate circle with whom Hildegard probably discussed her original visionary experiences, sketches, and descriptions. To suggest that Hildegard did not ruminate on her visions in a vacuum, that she may have discussed them with colleagues whom she trusted, does not denigrate her learning, raise doubts about her authorship, or in any way minimize the control she clearly wielded over her visionary works, which led her to condemn anyone who dared change their final inscribed form.⁶⁰ Ferrante has described the relationship between Hildegard and her scribes as “one of author to copyeditor,”⁶¹ in that Volmar and later scribes did not change the content of her writings and dictations but only corrected their grammar. Nevertheless, this concern with the inscribed form of her visions and commentaries does not mean that, during the decade it took to complete *Scivias*, Hildegard did not discuss her visions and their meaning with trusted associates, even as she developed her sketches into the form that would become

the basis for the Rupertsberg manuscript's miniatures. It is true that, as Constant Mews states, "It is impossible to know how far both Hildegard's individual ideas and the final structure of *Scivias* were worked out through discussion with Volmar, who was certainly familiar with the contemporary theological treatises and scriptural commentaries."⁶² Nevertheless, I imagine that, at least occasionally, Volmar was the ventriloquist for the Voice from Heaven.

Conclusion

This essay has focused on one of Hildegard's most highly original visions to examine the complex relationship between image and word in *Scivias*. The distinctions between the vision, its visual representation and verbal description, on the one hand, and its explication by the Voice from Heaven, on the other, should not be elided but instead should be understood as representing different forms of visionary experience, forms that should be distinguished in temporal as well as experiential terms. Moore's analysis of the four stages of mystical experience provides one way to highlight the distinctions between the raw material of Hildegard's vision, her incorporated interpretation of it as represented in the Rupertsberg image, her reflexive interpretation provided by the *Scivias*' verbal description of the vision, and her retrospective interpretation received from the heavenly Voice and recorded in the forty-two chapters of explication. The four stages of Hildegard's visionary experience also help account for the disjunction one feels in *Scivias* between the vision of the Last

Days and the commentary, between the freshness and startling power of the vision's imagery and the accompanying mundane and unexceptional explication. The commentary develops a more traditional form of monastic exegesis and apocalypticism, as illustrated by the Salem depiction of the Last Days.

This disjunction may help explain, furthermore, why Hildegard's apocalypticism has been interpreted in such differing ways by scholars. For example, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton terms it "radical" and calls Hildegard a "spiritual meliorist," whereas McGinn labels it "essentially conservative and pessimistic."⁶³ In my view Hildegard's apocalypticism lies somewhere between these two extremes: I think Kerby-Fulton overestimates Hildegard's millenarian tendencies, yet I agree that the visions are potentially radical, as evident in the Rupertsberg miniature. Hildegard's Antichrist and her apocalypticism in general are simultaneously radical and conservative, depending on whether we focus on the rich visual depictions of her visionary experience or her extensive verbal explanations of it. Unfortunately for the later Middle Ages, the Hildegard who became widely known was the Hildegard of the verbal explanations, and then often only in the condensed and sometimes domesticated form provided by Gebeno of Eberbach's *Pentachronon*.⁶⁴ The daring and imaginative images of the Rupertsberg manuscript seem not to have been copied. Fortunately for us, we have records of the images as well as the explanations, but we should always be clear which Hildegard we are examining when we discuss her apocalypticism.

NOTES

- * This essay began as a paper read at a symposium on Hildegard held at Rice University, November 20–21, 1998. I thank Honey Meconi for inviting me to participate. I am grateful to Adam Cohen, Madeline Caviness, Jeffrey Hamburger, and Elizabeth Sears for their insightful critiques of this essay and their many helpful suggestions.
1. *Scivias*, ed. A. Führkötter and A. Carlevaris, CCCM 43 and 43A (Turnhout, 1978); for Book 3, Vision 11, the vision of the Last Days, CCCM 43A, 576–603. Along with Hildegard's other writings, the text is also available in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 197. Since the CCCM and PL editions of *Scivias* are readily available for those who wish to check the Latin, this study will quote the translation by C. Hart and J. Bishop, in *Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1990), cited in the text by page number. Visions are cited by book, vision, and section numbers.
2. John van Engen disputes the medieval "grand founding myth" that Bernard and Eugene authorized Hildegard's visionary writings. See his "Letters and the Public Persona of Hildegard," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld: Internationaler wissenschaftlicher Kongress zum 900jährigen Jubiläum, 13.–19. September 1998, Bingen am Rhein*, ed. A. Haverkamp and A. Reverschön (Mainz, 2000), 375–418, esp. 379–91.
3. P. Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite Porete (†1310)* (Cambridge, 1984), 144. For Hildegard's thought see B. Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Berkeley, 1989); S. Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bingen, 1098–1179: A Visionary Life*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1998); *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of Her Thought and Art*, ed. C. Burnett and P. Dronke (London, 1998); and *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. B. Newman (Berkeley, 1998). On Hildegard as prophet, see R. Emmerson, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Emmerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca, NY, 1993), 298–99; C. Mews, "Hildegard of Bingen: The Virgin, the Apocalypse, and the Exegetical Tradition," in *Wisdom Which Encircles Circles: Papers on Hildegard of Bingen*, ed. A. Davidson (Kalamazoo, 1996), 27–42; and M. Zöller, "Aufschein des Neuen im Alten: Das Buch *Scivias* der Hildegard von Bingen im geistesgeschichtlichen Kontext des zwölften Jahrhunderts," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld* (as n. 2), 273–76.
4. For Hildegard's manuscripts, see M. Schrader and A. Führkötter, *Die Echtheit des Schrifttums der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 6 (Cologne and Graz, 1956).

5. The Eibingen color images are published in the CCCM edition. For photographs of the originals, see L. Baillet, "Les miniatures du 'Scivias' de Sainte Hildegarde conservé à la bibliothèque de Wiesbaden," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Monuments et Mémoires* 19 (1911), 49–149, pls. IV–XI. Madeline Caviness compares the copy and the original image of the Last Days vision in "Gender Symbolism and Text Image Relationships: Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*," in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Beer (Kalamazoo, 1997), 76, figs. 10, 11. Although the copy differs from the original in a few details, I will use the copy because it provides a reliable basis for analysis and its color and design visually entice us into the world of Hildegard's visionary experience that the original must have vividly depicted.
6. See the discussion in M. Caviness, "Hildegard as Designer of the Illustrations to Her Works," in *Hildegard of Bingen: Context* (as n. 3), 29–30 and n. 7; K. Suzuki, "Zum Strukturproblem in den Visionsdarstellungen der Rupertsberger 'Scivias'–Handschrift," *Sacris Erudiri* 35 (1995), 232–33; and L. Saurma-Jeltsch, "Die Rupertsberger 'Scivias'–Handschrift: Überlegungen zu ihrer Entstehung," in *Hildegard von Bingen: Prophetin durch die Zeiten*, ed. E. Forster et al. (Freiburg i. Br., 1997), 340–58. L. Saurma-Jeltsch, in *Die Miniaturen im "Liber Scivias" der Hildegard von Bingen: Die Wucht der Vision und die Ordnung der Bilder* (Wiesbaden, 1998), gathers numerous possible analogues for the manuscript's iconography and argues against Hildegard as artist.
7. Schrader and Führkötter, *Die Echtheit des Schrifttums*, 44, date the manuscript ca. 1165, a dating followed by K. Suzuki, *Bildgewordene Visionen oder Visionserzählungen: Vergleichende Studie über die Visionsdarstellungen in der Rupertsberger "Scivias"–Handschrift und im Luccheser "Liber divinorum operum"–Codex der Hildegard von Bingen* (Bern, 1998), 23–24, 256–70. In two recent studies A. Derolez dates the manuscript somewhat later: 1170–79, based on paleographical evidence ("Neue Beobachtungen zu den Handschriften der visionären Werke Hildegards von Bingen," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, as n. 2, esp. table I), and 1175–80, based on the manuscript's chapter headings ("The Manuscript Transmission of Hildegard of Bingen's Writings: The State of the Problem," in *Hildegard of Bingen: Context*, as n. 3, 17–28). Katrin Graf, in "Les portraits d'auteur de Hildegard de Bingen: Une étude iconographique," *Scriptorium* 55 (2001), 179, suggests 1165–90. Saurma-Jeltsch (*Die Miniaturen im "Liber Scivias,"*) stands apart in dating the manuscript as late as the 1190s, after Hildegard's death. Caviness—who dates the *Scivias* images 1160–75—in a recent review ("Hildegard of Bingen: Some Recent Books," *Speculum* 77 [2002], 115–16) questions Saurma-Jeltsch's methodology and casts doubt on her conclusions. For the difficulties of dating the images, see K. Niehr's review of the books by Saurma-Jeltsch and Suzuki in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 129 (2000), 215–22, esp. 221–22.
8. M. Caviness, "Artist: 'To See, Hear, and Know All at Once,'" in *Voice of the Living Light* (as n. 3), 115.
9. M. Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?" in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. J. McCash (Athens, Georgia, 1996), 115. Caviness posits that the color and design of some miniatures—particularly the non-figural elements—suggest that Hildegard may have received some visions while suffering from migraines. Caviness adds that the examples she cites "are not meant to imply that Hildegard's visions can be reduced to one kind of physiological state, and certainly not to a 'pathological' cause" ("Gender Symbolism," 87). For this possibility, see C. Singer, "The Visions of Hildegard of Bingen," *From Magic to Science: Essays on the Scientific Twilight* (London, 1928), 199–239.
10. A. Obermeier and R. Kennison, "The Privileging of *Visio* over *Vox* in the Mystical Experiences of Hildegard of Bingen and Joan of Arc," *Mystics Quarterly* 23 (1997), 137–67.
11. Trans. Dronke, *Women Writers*, 168. See Letter 103R, ed. L. van Acker, in *Hildegardis Bingensis Epistolarium*, CCCM 91A (Turnhout, 1993), 262.
12. See Godfrey and Theodoric's *Vita sanctae Hildegardis*, ed. Dronke, in *Women Writers*, 232; for a translation see Dronke, 145. On Hildegard's relations with Volmar, see J. Ferrante, "Scribe quae vides et audis: Hildegard, Her Language, and Her Secretaries," in *The Tongue of the Fathers: Gender and Ideology in Twelfth-Century Latin*, ed. D. Townsend and A. Taylor (Philadelphia, 1998), 112–14.
13. B. McGinn, "'To the Scandal of Men, Women are Prophesying': Female Seers of the High Middle Ages," in *Waiting in Fearful Hope: Approaching a New Millennium*, ed. C. Kleinhenz and F. LeMoine (Madison, 1999), 77.
14. For the medieval Antichrist tradition, see R. Emerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle, 1981); B. McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco, 1994), esp. chs. 4 and 5; and R. Rusconi, "Antichrist and Antichrists," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. B. McGinn (New York, 1998), 287–325. The most detailed study of Hildegard's Antichrist is H. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter: Von Tyconius zum deutschen Symbolismus*, 2nd ed., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen, N. F. 9 (Münster, 1979), 474–527.
15. For a contemporary version of this symbolism, see Hugh of St. Victor, *De archa Noe: Libellus de formatione arche*, 11; CCCM 176 (Turnhout, 2001), 157. According to Ezekiel 38:6, 15, North is also the home of Gog and Magog, who in medieval apocalyptic belief represent the armies of Antichrist; see Emerson, *Antichrist*, 84–88.
16. Caviness, "Hildegard as Designer," 36. In placing North to the left, Hildegard follows a convention used in medieval world maps, which treat North as left (*sinistra*) of East, thus further associating it with the sinister. See D. Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, 1987), 337.
17. See Hugh of St. Victor, *Libellus de formatione arche*, 11; CCCM 176, 157. For the association of the West with the Last Judgment in medieval art, see P. K. Klein, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Art," in *Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (as n. 3), 165. According to Daniel's vision of the time of the end, the apocalyptic "he goat" arises from the west (Daniel 8:5).
18. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Daniele libri III (IV)*, 2.7.2–28, CCSL 75A (Turnhout, 1964), 838–50. On the symbolic beasts and other agents of evil, see Emerson, "Apocalypse in Medieval Culture," 320–28. For an eleventh-century illustration of such beasts, see the Roda Bible (Paris, BNF, MS lat. 6, vol. III, fol. 66); reproduced in W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, NY, 1982), 75, fig. 46.
19. McGinn, "To the Scandal of Men," 83–84.
20. Jesus associated himself with the cornerstone in Matthew 21:42. On this exegetical tradition, see G. Ladner, "The Symbolism of the Biblical Corner Stone in the Mediaeval West," *Mediaeval Studies* 4 (1942), 43–60.
21. The Eibingen copy depicts a walled city (perhaps the New Jerusalem?) in place of the harp, which can be dimly seen in the original image. See Saurma-Jeltsch, *Die Miniaturen im "Liber Scivias,"* 196, fig. 97.
22. *Ibid.*, 96–103.

23. Traditional exegesis also associates the Apocalyptic Woman with the Virgin Mary, as evident in Hildegard's sequence, "O virga ac diadema"; see *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum*, ed. and trans. B. Newman (Ithaca, NY, 1988), 128–31. For the Woman, see E. Vetter, "Mulier amicta sole und Mater Salvatoris," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 9/10 (1958/59), 32–71.
24. For Beatus manuscripts, see J. Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, I– (London, 1994–); and R. Emmerson and S. Lewis, "Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts Containing Apocalypse Illustrations, ca. 800–1500," pt. I, *Traditio* 40 (1984), 347–79. For Anglo-French Apocalypses, see S. Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (New York, 1995); and Emmerson and Lewis, "Census," pt. II, *Traditio* 41 (1985), 370–409.
25. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., Guelf. 1. Gud. lat. 2, fol. 14v. This Franco-Flemish manuscript, a copy of the original manuscript, now in Ghent, was produced ca. 1150–70. See the facsimile, *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici, Liber floridus*, ed. A. Derolez (Ghent, 1968); and Emmerson and Lewis, "Census," pt. III, *Traditio* 42 (1986), 457–60. For a color reproduction of this folio, see Frederick van der Meer, *Apocalypse: Visions from the Book of Revelation in Western Art* (New York, 1978), 128.
26. On the polemical tradition, in which symbols of evil represent contemporary political or religious threats to the Church, see McGinn, *Antichrist*, 143–72.
27. Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum*, ed. R. Green, M. Evans, C. Bischoff, and M. Curschmann, 2 vols. (London, 1979), which includes a color reproduction of the Apocalyptic Woman (II, 454, pl. 151). The manuscript was transcribed and traced in the 1830s by A. Comte de Bastard, whose papers are now Paris, BNF, MSS nouv. acq. fr. 6044, 6045, 6083. See Emmerson and Lewis, "Census," pt. III, 470–72.
28. The miniature is accompanied by a text based on the *Speculum ecclesie* (*Hortus deliciarum*, ed. Green et al., II, 458–59). It identifies the Woman as the Church, the Dragon as the Devil, its seven heads as the seven deadly sins, and the Beast as Antichrist. For exegetical interpretations of these apocalyptic symbols, see Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 21–33.
29. It might also suggest, as Caviness pointed out to me, menstruation, which in the Middle Ages was regarded as polluting. On such attitudes see M. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum* 68 (1993), 347 and n. 73.
30. The serial use of different colors may also signal temporal movement, as it does in depictions of the large statue in Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Daniel 2:31–45), where colored metals mark the empires symbolized by the beasts of Daniel 7. For an illustration from ca. 1000, see Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Bibl. 22, fol. 31v; color repr. in *Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, ed. G. Suckale-Redlefsen and B. Schemmel (Lucerne, 2000), II, fig. 9. For discussion see H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottoman Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, rev. ed. (London, 1999), II, 34–35, fig. 24; and Saurma-Jeltsch, *Die Miniaturen im "Liber Scivias"*, 75, 198, fig. 42.
31. G. Schüssler notes that medieval exegesis often called Antichrist the "caput iniquitatis," a possible source for the head; see *Studien zur Ikonographie des Antichrist* (Dissertation, Ruprecht-Karl-Universität zu Heidelberg, 1975), 119 n.1. For Antichrist in medieval art, see Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 108–45; B. McGinn, "Portraying Antichrist in the Middle Ages," in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst, and A. Welkenhuysen, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, I/15 (Leuven, 1988), 1–48; and R. Wright, *Art and Antichrist in Medieval Europe* (Manchester, 1995).
32. On this tradition in exegesis, art, and literature, see Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 26–31, 122–24; and R. Emmerson and R. Herzman, *The Apocalyptic Imagination in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia, 1992), 28–30, 114–25, and figs. 3, 6, 7.
33. In the Stammheim Missal (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 64; ca. 1170), an initial D introducing the feast of Peter and Paul (fol. 138v) pictures Simon Magus in the arms of two demons rising above a tower. See E. Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal* (Los Angeles, 2001), fig. 15.
34. An accompanying text (fol. 243v) explains: "Antichristus enim, post incomparabilem quam exercet tyrannidem, ascendet in montem Oliveti fingens se ascensurum in celum in eodem loco in quo Dominus ascendit. In eadem hora veniet Michahel archangelus jussu Domini et interficiet eum, et destruetur illustratione adventus Christi" (ed. Green et al., II, 410).
35. McGinn, *Antichrist*, 132.
36. *Commentariorum in Daniele libri III (IV)*, 4.11.44–45, 933–34; trans. G. L. Archer, Jr., *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids, 1958), 142: "Then he shall come up to the summit thereof, that is of the mountainous province, or the apex of the Mount of Olives, which of course is called famous because our Lord and Savior ascended from it to the Father. And no one shall be able to assist the Antichrist as the Lord vents his fury upon him. Our school of thought insists that Antichrist is going to perish in that spot from which the Lord ascended to heaven."
37. Caviness, "Artist," 117. See also Newman, *Sister of Wisdom*, 243, and the caption for fig. 13: "Virgin Ecclesia assaulted by Antichrist" (244). Although similarly stressing the violence of the scene, McGinn's account more closely describes the effect of the imagery, since Antichrist originates in Ecclesia: "Antichrist is a sexual criminal, one whose very birth from his typological mother, the Church, is so violent and bloody . . . that it can be seen as a kind of reverse rape" (*Antichrist*, 131).
38. K. Kerby-Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer: 'Smoke in the Vineyard,'" in *Voice of the Living Light*, 77; she cites C. Czarski, "The Prophecies of St. Hildegard of Bingen" (Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1983). I am reluctant to link Hildegard's visionary experience so closely to contemporary events, especially since it is impossible to date this vision with any precision. For example, if Hildegard experienced it early in her career—say shortly after her prophetic call in 1141—it would precede her concern with the schism, but would explain her initial reluctance to report her visions. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that Pope Eugene and the Trier commission would have approved such criticism aimed directly at the Church; it is thus possible that, coming late in *Scivias*, the vision may not have been recorded in 1148, when Hildegard, according to tradition, was authorized to continue writing *Scivias*.
39. On this expectation, see R. Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time After Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* 32 (1976), 97–144.
40. It is this extensive body of commentary that led E. Benz (*Die Vision: Erfahrungsformen und Bilderwelt* [Stuttgart, 1969], 152) to classify Hildegard as a didactic visionary. Along with her even more extensive discussions of the Last Days in *Liber divinorum operum*, 3.5 (ed. A. Derolez and P. Dronke, CCCM 92 [Turnhout, 1996], 405–63), this commentary is the basis for most scholarly analyses of Hildegard's apocalypticism. For a comparative study, see S. Gouguenheim, *La sibylle du Rhin: Hildegard de Bingen, abbesse et prophétesse rhénane* (Paris, 1996), 97–124.
41. Dronke (*Liber divinorum operum*, introduction, lxxx) thinks the beasts symbolize five types of contemporaneous evil kingdoms before

- Antichrist; however, I agree with Rauh (*Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter*, 508) that they symbolize successive kingdoms leading up to Antichrist, the “son of perdition.” For Hildegard’s beasts, see Gouguenheim, *Sibylle du Rhin*, 102–9.
42. See Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 91–94.
 43. McGinn, “Hildegard as Visionary and Exegete,” in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld* (as n. 2), 350. McGinn calculates that exegesis comprises about 16% of the chapters in *Scivias*; see “*Ratio and Visio*: Reflections on Joachim of Fiore’s Place in Twelfth-Century Theology,” in *Gioacchino da Fiore tra Bernardo di Clairvaux e Innocenzo III. Atti del 5° Congresso internazionale di studi gioachimiti*, ed. R. Rusconi (Rome, 2001), 46 n. 74.
 44. Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976); trans. B. McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality* (New York, 1979), 81–96. For analysis, see R. Konrad, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi: Antichristvorstellung und Geschichtsbild des Abtes Adso von Montier-en-Der* (Kallmünz, 1964); and Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 74–107. Adso’s influence on contemporary monastic eschatology is particularly evident in Herrad of Hohenbourg’s *Hortus deliciarum*, fols. 243r–v, ed. Green et al., 409–10.
 45. See R. Emmerson, “Antichrist as Anti-Saint: The Significance of Abbot Adso’s ‘Libellus de Antichristo,’” *American Benedictine Review* 30 (1979), 81–96.
 46. In his *Libellus de Antichristo*, Adso argues that Antichrist’s mother does not conceive Antichrist with a devil, although her womb is later possessed by a devil. The *Jour du Jugement*, a fourteenth-century play staging a full life of Antichrist, develops a more popular account of his demonic conception rooted in folklore. See *Antichrist and Doomsday: The Middle French Jour du Jugement*, trans. R. Emmerson and D. Hult (Asheville, NC, 1998).
 47. On this expectation see Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 95–101.
 48. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Salem X.16, fol. 177. The Salem manuscript includes ten miniatures; see A. von Öchelhäuser, *Die Miniaturen der Universitätsbibliothek zu Heidelberg* (Heidelberg, 1887), I, 75–107, pls. 11–17. For this manuscript see also Schrader and Führkötter, *Echtheit des Schrifttums*, 46; *Scivias*, ed. Führkötter and Carlevaris, I, xxxix–xlii; and W. Werner, *Die mittelalterlichen nichtliturgischen Handschriften des Zisterzienserklosters Salem*, Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 5 (Wiesbaden, 2000), 314–16.
 49. Caviness, “Artist,” 113.
 50. Although she did not discuss the Antichrist image, C. Kessler showed that the images she studied in the Salem manuscript are based on the commentary ascribed to the heavenly Voice; see “A Problematic Illumination of the Heidelberg *Liber Scivias*,” *Marsyas* 8 (1957/59), 10.
 51. P. Moore, “Mystical Experience, Mystical Doctrine, Mystical Technique,” in *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*, ed. S. Katz (New York, 1978), 108–9. On the frontispiece and other portraits of Hildegard, see Graf, “Portraits d’auteur” (as n. 7), 179–96.
 52. Caviness, “Artist,” 115.
 53. *Ibid.* The distinction between Hildegard and Volmar is stressed again in the Salem manuscript portrait. See von Öchelhäuser, *Miniaturen der Universitätsbibliothek zu Heidelberg*, pl. 13; and P. Dronke, “Hildegard’s Inventions: Aspects of Her Language and Imagery,” in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld* (as n. 3), 315 and color pls. IV, V.
 54. A point made by A. Derolez, “Deux notes concernant Hildegarde de Bingen,” *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 292.
 55. Moore, “Mystical Experience,” 108.
 56. Trans. Dronke, *Women Writers*, 168; see Letter 103R, *Epistolarium*, ed. Van Acker, II, 261–62. See also A. C. Bartlett, “Miraculous Literacy and Textual Communities in Hildegard of Bingen’s *Scivias*,” *Mystics Quarterly* 18 (1992), 45–49; and Ferrante, “*Scribe quae vides et audis*,” 108–12.
 57. Trans. H. Feiss, *Explanation of the Rule of Benedict* (Toronto, 1990), 18; for the Latin, PL 197, 1055. See also G. Constable, “Hildegard’s Explanation of the Rule of St. Benedict,” in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld* (as n. 3), 163–87.
 58. Ferrante, “*Scribe quae vides et audis*,” 104.
 59. Analysis of Hildegard’s complex eschatology—both in *Scivias* and *Liber divinorum operum*—clarifies the depth of Hildegard’s learning and reading. I therefore disagree with Gouguenheim, *Sibylle du Rhin*, 57, who discounts Hildegard’s learning as superficial. On Hildegard’s reading, including classical, philosophical, and patristic texts, see A. Carlevaris, “Ildegarda e la patristica,” in *Hildegard of Bingen: Context* (as n. 3), 65–80; Dronke, “Problemata Hildegardiana,” 107–17; and Ferrante, “*Scribe quae vides et audis*,” 105–8.
 60. See Ferrante, “*Scribe quae vides et audis*,” 105, 131 n. 8.
 61. *Ibid.*, 103.
 62. C. Mews, “Religious Thinker: ‘A Frail Human Being’ on Fiery Life,” in *Voice of the Living Light* (as n. 3), 57.
 63. See Kerby-Fulton, “Prophet and Reformer,” 73; and McGinn, “Apocalypticism and Church Reform,” in *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (as n. 14), II, 83. More recently McGinn has noted that Hildegard’s visions “were accepted as confirming, enriching, and elucidating traditional monastic theology, especially in the key areas of cosmology, anthropology, salvation history, and eschatology” (“Hildegard as Visionary and Exegete,” 332).
 64. For Gebeno’s fashioning of Hildegard as apocalyptic prophet in the tradition of John the Revelator, see C. Meier, “*Nostris temporibus necessaria*: Wege und Stationen der mittelalterlichen Hildegard-Rezeption,” in *Architectura poetica: Festschrift für Johannes Rathofer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. U. Ernst and B. Sowinski (Cologne, 1990), 307–26.